

FIELDWORK LIMA

The fieldwork was done as a mix of interviews, shorter conversations and personal observations. Most of the interviews were done with a voice recorder, and full transcriptions were possible to write up. Shorter conversations were taken down as personal notes on-site. Sketches and on-site mappings were also done. Pictures were taken extensively and have contributed to process registrations and personal impressions. Two students from the Ricardo Palma University participated in the fieldwork; their names are Joel Huayanca Palacios and Jhonatan Castro. All translations of interviews to English are done by them.

VISIT 1 - 21.01.2014

Visit to the governmental housing project *Mirones* by Avenida Colonial with Joel.

It has two stages: stage 1 from the Odría government and stage 2 from the Belaunde government. *Mirones* was built as a complete community from stage 1 – with church, school, police office, supermarket, health services etc.

Conversation 1:

Police officer in the local *Comisaria*. We found this police station using Google Maps, and it was stated as the one closest to the area. But from the police officer we learnt there is one in Mirones Bajos too. He told us about the general security – or lack of such – in the areas. He also said that the whole of Lima is insecure these days.

Conversation 2:

Old lady, in her late sixties, out walking her dog. Moved to the area when it was built (stage 1 in the 1950s). The typologies are a mix of apartment blocks (4 floors and 3 stairways) and row housing. Several of the row houses have been modified since their construction. The old lady said that she was happy when they moved there – they had everything nearby. The area isn't particularly dense, and had a lot of green areas and open spaces between the buildings. Now parking lots have been built, as well as fenced-in sports areas and people have fenced in little gardens for themselves (this wasn't allowed originally). People are taking advantage of the vast open spaces to meet their own needs. But she still appreciates living there, and especially points out how fresh it is, and possibilities for good cross ventilation. She also appreciates being able to look out her window when cooking to see people and activities.

Conversation 3:

Elderly man, late seventies. Lives in a row house in stage 2, with two floors. This area is a lot denser, but has more or less the same typologies as stage 1 (although the apartment blocks have one more floor). The old man said that he moved there when it was new, and that the area has 820 living units. He said that the property of each house was not fenced at the beginning, but he built a fence in the recent years as people started to gather and do drugs in his garden. The little green areas between the buildings are also maintained by the people living near them. The municipality only takes care of the public spaces outside of the area, and not within it. When this area was built, it was for people that were employed by the state. It was also constructed in an area that was already consolidated, meaning that it was already urbanised and that people were buying plots of land to build their houses in this area of the city. In regards to safety, the old man said that there is a lot of drug distribution in the area and thereby considered unsafe. He pointed east and said "Be careful over there too, there are some new people that just moved there". He said that the main problem is the new people that move there, and that the original owners have either passed away or moved on. The fact that people rent there also creates a greater fluctuation of people, and more and often "new people" to the neighbourhood, thus great potential for troubles.

Observation: The apartment buildings in stage 2 have some elements for shadows around the windows, and they have been used to extend the apartments. The area is very dense and you have little overview of the spaces. The inside is purely pedestrian.

VISIT 2 – 22.01.2014

Visit to the area of Mirones Bajo with Joel. We got off the bus in Av. Universitaria, and walked through the neighbourhood.

Conversation 1:

Old lady in a bakery shop.

So is many people renting in this area? Yes. Many of the original neighbours have modified their houses in order to rent them out. There are many houses where they have extended up to five floors.

Is there a lot of young or old people here? There are only a few of the original owners that remain, as they have grown old. Most of the people here now are relatives of the original owners or people that rent.

How old is the neighbourhood? I moved here in the 1960s. When I arrived, everything was already here. Houses were already built, and the main distribution of the streets was here. But everything was rocks and dust. Everything was part of the river. There were trenches. I am not the owner of the house I live in

now, although I have lived here for a long time. Back then there was no sewage and water, but there was electricity. There were no vehicles that passed through the area, and we had to walk a bit to catch the bus. *So there was only one avenue at that time?* Yes, but all the main roads were built at that time (Av. Peru, for example).

So was this whole area invaded? No, only some parts. Some people, including myself, bought the land and/or house from someone else, not the government. After that the state tried to register all the properties. People were given property titles.

How much time does it take to travel from here to the centre? Today there are so many buses that it only takes 20 mins. But the rush hour is worse, and then it takes around 1 hour and I have to walk to Universitaria.

Since you have lived here all your life – how do you see the green areas and public spaces? At one point, the municipality used to come and cut the grass and water the plants, and they tried to plant trees in the streets. This area actually used to be a bit like Carmen de La Legua. One park – 9th December – used to be a publicly maintained park. But now an organisation called ORBE takes care of it. The organisation is by the neighbours.

We went to the police station, and know that there is a lot of crime here. What is your opinion about this? Yes, it is very unsafe. All around us – thieves, drugs and prostitutes. I have fenced in my shop because of it, I have had several robberies.

How old are you? 62. And I came when I was 11.

How does this area seem now? Things are actually getting better now. People were good in this area back in the days, and kids were playing in the street. But then came decay and something happened, the kids in the streets had nothing to do. Many turned out to be thieves in the end. The physical decay came first with the earthquake in 1972, many houses were damaged or ruined. This also affected people's attitudes. The municipality tried to fix some things, but it was up to the people to maintain it.

What about the houses along the river? Were they there when you came? Yes. But at one point the municipality tried to remove the people. But some people or their relatives, stubborn and in lack of housing, returned. It was like an invasion generation after generation. Now it is happening again. People have been removed, but they return. The municipality are trying hard to get the people to move because the ground is very unsafe.

Conversation 2:

Elderly shoemaker in his shop.

How long have you had your business here? When did you start? Do you live here? I just work here, I have never lived here. I have worked here for 45 years. I came to the area the first time in 1958. When I came, all this area existed, but it is not like it is now. It was all rocks and dust. Where the park is now used to be a large area where they could find construction materials – either other people's waste or rocks etc. The spot where the church and school is now used to be a big hole where they could dig out rocks and materials for construction.

How old are you? 72.

What year did you notice it was an area was consolidated and good to live in with all you needed in a neighbourhood? The change has come gradually. The area has been like this with the buildings for a long time, and in the beginning there were wells where you could go and get water, and the sewage and electricity came later. The areas of the park were left as a large space to get rid of construction materials, and the large hole mentioned earlier was turned into a church etc. It all became a public area later.

Why did you decide to come and work here? I came here because I saw that there was a demand for it. I had a friend that lived here. I actually wanted to work in La Victoria, but that area was dangerous. *But I have heard that this area is dangerous too?* No, people here are mostly nice. But the thing that makes it unsafe is that people from other areas – like across the railroad – come and make it unsafe. The same thing happens in Miraflores – people come from other places to rob in that area. It happens all around the city.

I see that this building is quite old, and it look like it used to be a house? Yes, this area was all housing before, and this one was indeed a house. I used to work by the park before. In a 4 floor building, which was the first private school of the area. It was called Thomas Jefferson School (this school was the first one, the large one we see by the park now – La Mercet – came later).

So you have a school, a market, a church...do you have everything here? Yes, everything was here when I first came here to work. But I remember I used to visit a friend here before that, to play football, and I remember then that it was more like a Pueblo Joven. *So this was an invasion?* Parts of it, yes. Not all of the area. This area used to be part of the riverside, all the way to the railroad. And this one president – which name I can't remember – dug this channel and made the river like it is today. I didn't see this, because I came after they had done it, in 1957. The bridges were there already. People started arriving to this area when the roads and bridges were built.

Do you think people are different here now than before? Yes. Because most of the people that originally settled here are dead. People now are relatives of them or they are renting. I have been noticing lately

that there is a lot of new people that come here that are from the jungle. A lot of new costumers of mine are from the jungle. I ask them why they come here, and they say that they come because of the eradication of the coca leaf. It has left them without jobs. The coca leaf was their income, and they now come here looking for jobs to put food on the table. The government don't support these people. They have lived off the farming of the coca leaf for generations, and now they don't have anything to do. The people of Lima in general, you know, are mostly people from the provinces. You are too young to realise this. When I came, you could still see the two types of Limeños; the original Limeños were very elegant and dressed elegantly. They really dressed well, in suits. White suits, and light yellow shirts. White shoes with yellow socks and handkerchief in the pocket. And a hat. That was the way they were. When people from the provinces started coming here, you could really notice the difference. They were really humble and hard-working people, but they had less fancy clothes and things. So the Limeños that were there in the beginning felt they had a higher rank than the people from the provinces. The large amounts of people that arrived to Lima really had to travel far, because the roads and infrastructure as we know it didn't exist. And it left Andean communities deserted. They came to Lima and didn't look back and had to find somewhere to live with the little amounts of money they had.

Conversation 3:

Lady in a corner shop, with two older men sitting by a table having a cold coke. We talked to the lady first.

How old are you? 42

How long have you lived here? I was born here. I was born in my house, along Morales Duarez along the riverside. This corner shop is just my workplace, I still live by the riverside.

What do you like the most about this place? I liked it up until 20 years ago, but now I don't like it very much. *Why don't you like it?* There is a lot of bad people living around here. Seeing a dead person in the street was something you could never imagine 20 years ago. Today, it is not a surprising sight. When you reach that point you know that you don't want to live here anymore. By "here" I mean Lima. If I had a house in the "sierra" (Andes region) I would go! *Is your family from there?* Yes, my parents are from Arequipa. *Why did they come here?* They were young and needed opportunities. Even now a days people come here to Lima to search for more opportunities than what you find in the provinces.

Did they come here to have their own house? They came to Lima to search for somewhere to live, and they were living at a relative's house that was not in this particular area at first. And then he heard from another relative that there were small parcels of land for sale by the riverside. *Did your parents buy that land from the government or a private person?* A private person. I assume that this person had occupied the land first, and then claimed it his own before selling it to my parents.

Was this area nice to live in in those days? When I was little I used to play in front of our house. There used to be a large green area where Morales Duarez is today, and the road itself was a lot smaller.

This green area you talk about is not there anymore, and you have two parks in the immediate surroundings. Do you feel this is enough? I really think there should be a sports area in Mirones Bajos between Universitaria and Nicolas Dueñas and the railroad.

Do you have children? What do they want? I have a daughter that is over 20, she is not very interested in that. When I was a kid we used to go to the park. But in those days the park was horrible. But you had the choice both between the park and the streets.

Would your daughter like to settle down here? She lives here still, with me. *Have you asked her if she wants to live in this area?* She doesn't want to live here. She wants to live in Miraflores and those areas, like everybody else her age.

And why is it that she wants to move? It is mostly because of the crime and violence. The area has changed a lot, it didn't use to be this way. In this corner, where I am working, it is really, really dangerous. The neighbourhood is really ugly. And I think it is mainly because of the neighbours. I think that people that have been here for a long time have been influenced negatively by people from other neighbourhoods, and also a lot of people rent here, and it creates a bad mix.

How do you feel about the location of this neighbourhood in relation to the rest of the city? It is okay, it is a good location. It is close to the centre, San Miguel and Miraflores. But it is a problem in the peak hours. Because of the location, the renting prices are quite high. It costs from 250-300 soles per month for a room.

(we get interrupted by a costumer, and we start talking to one of the elderly men by the table)

How old are you? 60

How you lived here all your life? No, I am from Piura, north of Peru. I moved here when I was 20. I came because I wanted to join the army. I ended up staying here because I met a girl. I have 20 children now.

How do you think this place has changed since you first came here? It has changed a lot. This area used to be just rocks.

How do you think the people have changed through the years? Do they live in better conditions now? Well, many people say that this area has changed a lot. But it has always been a bit unsafe. Before the people from El Montón used to come here. There used to be a movie theatre near here, and that's where the young people from Montón used to come. Little punks, up to no good. But in those days they only used to take your watch or things like that. . . now they take everything. And now, near the river, there are a lot of people that consume drugs like marihuana.

So most of the bad people were from El Montón? Yes, there has always been trouble around that area. Young people, teenagers, quite typical of that age and status, are very often up to no good. In the old days, when I was going to my work in the centre of Lima, I would leave my house at 6.30, and arrive to my work at 7.20. That was because it was just one road, and the vehicles were very few. The ones that were there were very over crowded too. People with children had large problems getting transportation because of that. The buses used to have to leave school kids at the stop because the bus was too packed. Everything was bad until Fujimori became president. He built roads and schools, there were more buses etc. All the roads here were built during his government. In the 80s there was barely anything here. No roads and you had to walk far. Everything changed in the 90s.

You are surrounded by factories and industries to the south, what are your thoughts about that? When they were built there were a lot of jobs for the people here. Many factories opened in the 1960s. I came here in 1964, and there was a lot of industry, which gave jobs to many. Everybody was interested in working in the industry, because it would provide you with insurance and money after the retirement. Quite a lot of people came to live here because they wanted to have kiosks and services to provide for the industrial workers. People came from everywhere.

Where do people come from in this area? When they come here, what part of Peru do they come from, you think? From the mountain regions.

(The shop keeper told us when we were leaving that the water and sewage came to this area in 1985).

Conversation 4:

A younger couple sitting in a park with their little daughter. We talked to the man.

How old are you and where are you from? 32 years old, and I come from the jungle. From San Martin county.

How long have you lived here? We arrived a month ago.

So why did you decide to come to Lima and this neighbourhood? The decision was mainly taken because we wanted to know Lima, and how it is to live here.

How do you find this area? I think it is stressful. It's very unsafe; it's not like in the little town I come from. The noise of the traffic, and the pollution and the radiation are all bad.

You have a young daughter. Do you think this neighbourhood is an ok place to raise a child? No, I don't think so. You can't go anywhere you want at any time you want, and the kids don't have the freedom to go and play where they want. Children even steal from their parents here. You can see it in the news – kids get lost, run over by cars... things like that don't happen where I come from. (He said "where I live") And the rent here is too expensive for us.

How much do you pay in rent? 250 soles per month for a single room with a shared bathroom. (He points at a 4 floor house nearby, and says that that house probably rents out 10 rooms, and has only one bathroom).

Do you see a good future for your family here? I see a good future in the sense that my daughter will receive a better education here than where we come from. And that is very good.

If you decide to stay, how would you like your house to be? I would really like a house with a balcony and a garden. Here, when you open the window, you see another person's house. And here are no balconies.

Do you feel you find everything you need around here? Yes, most things are found nearby.

Do you see other couples your age and younger that live in this area? From the provinces or in general? *In general.* Well, there aren't that many, but some. But most young people here are from the provinces, because they wish to explore how it is to live in Lima.

If you could find anything better for a better price, would you move away from here? Yes. I would not hesitate to leave. Even though this area is very central and close most things.

If there was to be developed new things here, what do you think that should be? More public areas, and green areas. That would help a lot. I think that is the largest problem, as well as the safety.

How does all this that you have told us, affect you by the end of the day? I have a terrible headache.

VISIT 3 – 23.01.2014

Another visit to Mirones Bajo with Joel, this time we went straight to the central park (Parque 9 de diciembre).

Conversation 1:

We started talking to an elderly lady with a food trolley and one of her costumers, a woman in her forties.

How long have you lived here? The owner of the trolley: 36 years. The costumer: 15 years.

How long have you worked here? (Directed to the trolley owner) 20 years.

Has this park we are next to now, always been the same? Yes. The costumer: It's at least been like it is now for 15 years, since I moved here. The owner of the trolley: It has changed a little, the statue has been moved, and the stairs on the west side of the park didn't exist at the beginning.

Who made all the changes? The neighbours or the municipality? It was the municipality.

There are only three parks in this area. Are these parks used in different ways? Are there events in some of them? Yes, there are some large events at certain times of the year, for all the people in the area. If there are celebrations, like around holidays, we celebrate it here in the big park.

Did this area around the park used to be all commerce? Yes, and here still is a lot of commerce here now. But earlier there used to be a lot more. People used to come to sell food, and filled the roads and sidewalks. But they were removed by the municipality. Now everything is more organised and quiet.

Around the stairs in the west corner of the park, do young people gather there usually? Yes, young people meet up here, especially in the afternoon. Sometimes you see bad people, like robbers, drug dealers and people that do nothing. There's a lot of skateboarders here. There's a lot of graffiti on the stairs, but we don't know who's done it. People hang out there till late at night.

Have the church and the school always been here? Yes, the school is 50 years old. And the church is around the same age. They were both built at the same time. They are like one, it's one building.

The small health centre on the corner – has it always been there? Yes, for a long time.

Is there a market near here? One big enough to serve the whole area? Yes, there is a market further south, one block. Most people go there to buy their groceries.

We heard that this park has been fixed by a neighbourhood organisation, is that true? I've heard that the park was going to be fixed in January last year, by an organisation called JUVECO. This is an organisation that is in the building here right next to us. That is also where the neighbourhood council gathers. They have meetings and everything, but they don't produce much. The building where they have their meetings is also used for parties and events.

Do you like living here? The costumer: Not really. I am sometimes afraid of the other people that live here. I am from Huacho, and I moved here to work here at the school. If I worked somewhere else, I would move away from here.

If you were to say something that you feel this area needs in terms of urban upgrading, what is that? Green areas. And fenced green areas for dogs. And sports areas for kids, they need somewhere to play. The kids play in the street, they ride their bikes and play football. It is not safe. And another thing that is needed: Public toilets. The park in Magdalena has that, toilets that are underground and not very visible.

Was this area different when you started to work here? (directed at the woman with the trolley) Yes. It was more quiet. And not as dangerous as it is now. For example, around our independence day, the park is fixed and prepared really nicely. Benches are painted, it is cleaned and everything. And the next

day it looks horrible. There is for example also this house on the corner, where they keep painting over graffiti. And the next day there is a new graffiti.

Conversation 2:

A man working in the neighbourhood organisation.

What do you do here, are you responsible for this organisation? Yes. We are an organisation for the young people in this neighbourhood. The main role for this organisation is to try to improve this neighbourhood in the areas where it is needed. We especially work in relation to this park. The main reason why we experience that people don't want to change this park drastically is because they see it as a "plaza civica" – a main square rather than a typical park. What we have done here is to gather some people in that will take care of the transition of the park, and it is a work in progress. This is for example because the dogs here need somewhere to be. They do what they need to in the streets, and the owners don't pick it up. And there is nowhere to put the animal faeces anyway. Kids want to play in the green areas, and they step in it. The trees in the park are really old too, and people are scared they might fall over. Also the main goal for this organisation is to create a youth centre here, so the young people have somewhere to go and engage in activities. Our main goal in general is to take care of the young adults and kids. We have some thoughts about how to develop this park into a place that young adults can enjoy. We want to cut down some trees, and make a sports area where the steps are, for example.

When was this organisation founded? It was founded in the 1940s because my grandfather was in it from the start. He was one of the leaders. The organisation hasn't been working in this exact location all the time; it does now because the large gatherings and events happen here in this space today. The organisation used to be called ORVE (Organización Vercinal), now it is called JUVECO (Organización Juvenil de Mirones). People have taken new leadership of this organisation since the old people didn't do much, and this change of people in charge happened recently.

How do you get funding for this organisation? We have contact with the Lima Municipality, and we also provide services for the community, like little courses in the summer. This is the first summer we offer courses. We also try to find companies and entities that can sponsor us. We rent out this building we are in now too for private events.

Do you feel you have enough public spaces? Do you think this affects the younger generation? Yes, it affects the people here. When you don't have good public spaces, you feel less motivated to use it. Also, it creates a situation where young people don't have much space to engage in activities, and they turn to crime. I believe that the people running this organisation also didn't use to really work for the people around here; they focused more on earning money from events. You can see that they young people here have taken ownership of the stairs in the west side of the park, they hang out there, and a

lot of skateboarders and street dancers gather there. We have now gotten one of the dancers to do a course for us this summer, he is going to teach here in our building. In fact, so many people use this park for so many different activities that they kind of displace each other. Another purpose for creating this better and new public space is so that they can meet and share the space. And create more of a community. We also want a space where we can teach people about different things, like Linea 100(Cien), a program where they give information about domestic abuse. What we want now is to find people that can help us reach our goals. And we hope to find that as soon as possible.

How do you see this organisation in 20 years? It's hard to say, but I know we really need to reach the goals we already have. Our idea is to build a building too. A large building, with many floors and different activities on each. Sports fields, classrooms, halls etc. Spaces to gather, like a cultural centre. There is one in Los Olivos, called "Palacio de La Juventud". There is also one in Carmen de La Legua Reynoso, and people here go all the way down there sometimes.

A young girl, around 16, who has joined us says: We are seen as the "Conchito de Lima" (Lima's leftovers), they always forget us. We are 10 blocks from Callao, so nobody cares. Mirones used to be better than Reynoso, but now we're not. *You mean in regards to public spaces?* No. Everything! The streets, the people, etc. The crime rates here are high. A lot of people who live here now, rent properties. People who own the houses have moved or passed away, and then they rent them out. And people from other neighbourhoods come here and they make a mess for us. We really need to find out here what we can do with the security issues. I got robbed right outside the Municipality Security Guard post here (A parked trailer outside, that says Municipality of Lima on it), and they didn't do anything.

Are you saying that you would like to plan for this community to be gated? The man replies: No, we don't want that. We want to have security guards in the streets and organise workshops for people about security.

In this area, what your impression about the largest age groups? There is a lot of young people, kids and teenagers. That group of the population is largest. Here are a lot of young people that can be guided and encouraged to get things done. Like the young people that dance and skate in the park. They are not bad youths, but from a distance they might be perceived as that. I don't actually understand why the old people reject what the youngsters are doing in that corner of the park, because it is quite healthy. We really need support to get our plans into action, you know. I am for example a catering chef, and I have a workshop here where I teach cooking. The courses we provide here are quite cheap, but they are formal in the terms that they get a diploma and people from the municipality come and there's an event when they complete the course.

How far do you have to go to use a sports field? We have to leave the district. We have to go to Carmen de La Legua, for example. That's why we want this building. We want a four floor building with a football field on top. But all the neighbours are against it. It was like a domino effect, one was against it

and got others to follow. This was mainly the conservative, old people. They don't seem to want to see a good development in the future, even though their grandchildren are the meant as the main users.

(...we go away but get called back again and we talk more. We take a map up and start asking about the neighbouring districts).

How is it with the people along the river? There is a process where they are being removed because of the Via Rio Rimac project, and some of them even didn't have papers to prove the property was theirs. They are being relocated to the area Patio Union.

What about the area in the industry here (points to the map)? They have their own neighbourhood organisation. The area is called Palermo. It's a dangerous area, and gangs from there and from San Martin de Porres come here to Mirones to fight. Five years ago, the situation was different, it was horrible. Gangs were making this neighbourhood really unsafe, so we had to do something. The neighbours would take the matter into their own hands, and when there were fights in the streets, people would come out of their houses with sticks and such, to scare the criminals into leaving.

VISIT 4 – 24.01.2014

Visit to the area Palermo with Joel.

Conversation 1:

An older woman, a shop keeper.

How old is this area? It's about 42 years old. The name of it is "1 de septiembre". All of it was originally a brick factory. My mother and a lot of other people invaded the area that is called "9 de Octubre", by Av M. Duarez. During Velasco's government (1968 – 75) those people were re-located to this area. Also people from El Montón were relocated to here. After a while they were able to buy the parcels from the government.

So people own the land here? Yes, we have property titles and papers.

If it was a factory here first, was it ready to build houses here? No, it was just land, nothing more. We used to have our toilet area, holes in the ground, along that wall (points towards the east and the wall of the industry). Three houses/lots shared a toilet. And there was just one central pipe with water to serve for many households.

When did water and sewage systems arrive? Probably about 28 years ago.

Do you feel well located living here? Yes, we are quite close to Lima centre, so we are close to everything. But the main problem years ago was that no taxis wanted to take us here. It was really

dangerous. And if taxis actually would bring us, we would advise them to not pick up anyone else from the streets here. We didn't want them to get robbed. At one point, this area was declared a "red zone", a highly conflictive area. Back then you could not even walk along the streets. The area has seen a great improvement now since those days. *Were the criminals in this area, actually from here?* No, they were from Planeta and Rescate, not from here. People from here are working people, quiet people. But now we see that the younger generation is making this area more dangerous again.

What would you like to have in this neighbourhood? More security. The area really needs it. What about public areas and the things the city could provide you – what do you need? A big issue here is that a lot of people are renting. And when they go to the government to apply for a housing support programme ("Techo Propio"), the government say that they are not qualified. The financial status for many people living here is that they struggle with their expenses, like this example where the man has a job, but the woman works with just little jobs here and there. They have to pay rent and many other things, and struggle to make ends meet. In order to get Techo Propio you have to have a stable income, and the monthly payments are not reachable for these people. Many people here wouldn't have the finances to cover it, even though this programme is aimed at low income people. So I think that the government should think about better ways to allow poor people to get an apartment or a house. Many people come from the north, like my family, and they come here because the farming (for example rice farming) doesn't provide enough work nor money throughout the year. They come to Lima and they need housing.

Did you come here because of what you just described? No, I didn't. But my mum came here to Lima for similar reasons, she needed a job. She was part of an invasion, and was moved here to Palermo like I mentioned.

Do you know if the industry around here is going to move in the coming years? From what I know, the factories named Sole and Duraplast are moving to Lurín. There are plans to make housing in those areas. That is what I heard.

Have you heard that with these housing projects, new public spaces are going to be developed? No, I haven't heard anything about that. The only green areas I know are the four we have here in Palermo. One of our green spaces here actually has a sports field.

Are people here happy with the amounts of public space? No, it is not enough. There are a lot of children here, and they don't have enough space to play in.

So here is a large number of young people and children here? Yes. The older generation is reduced. The people who rent here are young. *Are they from other parts of Lima or the provinces?* The provinces. The largest amount of the immigrants are from Pura in the north of Peru. Most of the four floor houses here are filled with people that rent. They have been renting here a very long time. And they aren't full apartments, they are rooms. With shared bathrooms.

Do you know how much they pay for a room here? That depends of the size. But I know I pay 250 soles per month for renting this space for my shop (16-20 square metres).

Do you find everything you need in this area? Yes. We are close to shopping malls, hospitals, supermarkets, we have our local market and we are close to Lima's historic centre.

What do you do if you want to go to Lima downtown? If you want to go to Lima downtown I go to Av N. Dueñas. If we want to go to Miraflores, San Miguel or such, we go to Universitaria. We take a mototaxi there and take a bus the rest of the way.

When you go to Universitaria or Dueñas, which route do you take? If we walk to Dueñas, we walk along the railroad. And if we go to Universitaria, we go by a mototaxi. The area isn't very pedestrian friendly in that way.

If you walk to Dueñas, and the train passes, what do you do? We have to wait until the train passes.

I've observed that there is a collection of rubbish along the railroad to Dueñas, who owns that? It is the people that live close to railroad. The rubbish truck comes there and they leave it out there.

How is the attitude of the municipality towards Palermo? The municipality has chosen Palermo, Planeta and Rescate to get new sidewalks and roads. We have been working hard to get Materiales improved, the way it is now is a disaster. We want it to be improved all the way from Universitaria to Dueñas, it is an important road. They are finally going to fix it now, and it is going to be a road with two lanes in each direction.

When you were re-located here, was this area like it is now or has it expanded? It is like we see it today. The land was distributed equally. Nobody has invaded any land afterwards.

They organised everything, the plots, the blocks, the public spaces, roads etc. Who planned this? I don't know, I was too young. But it must have been some sort of planner.

Is there a neighbourhood organisation here? Yes, and the president of the organisation is Mr. Gamboa. He must be right now with the people that have been removed from the market in Av. Materiales.

Conversation 2:

A young woman and man from the municipality. We meet them in the street, and they are wearing "Lima – ciudad para todos" vests, so we ask them to talk to us and tell us what they are doing here.

We start talking to the young man:

What are you doing here? We are running a project called “Presupuesto participativo” (Participatory budgeting). This means that the neighbourhood propose a project, and the municipality evaluate it and set up a budget for it. They don’t always get enough money to do the whole project, so they have to say what they want to prioritise. That way they get to decide what can be done in their neighbourhood. The most important thing is that people feel they are involved and have a say in this. By being able to make decisions for their own community, they feel they have greater control. This project also involves improving the roads and sidewalks of this area. We are also working towards improving the sports fields. This goes for the whole of the 1 de Septiembre-area.

How old is this municipality programme about participatory budgeting? It is 3 years old. It was initiated by the current mayor, Susanna Villaran. In Cercado de Lima (the municipality), the areas are divided into 6 neighbourhoods. Number 6 is this area along the River Rimac, and we are currently working towards improving Palermo, Villa Maria, Planeta, Rescate etc. We are working all over the city too, like in area 1 which is part of the historic centre. Here in Palermo (1 de septiembre) we just had to relocate some market activity in order to get our work done.

Where are you re-locating this people? We don’t know. We have been talking to them through a year to try and make an agreement to re-locate them. And now we had to order them to leave.

Do you have plans to make improvements in the market, the school or the medical centre? We don’t know, it hasn’t been discussed yet.

The young lady comes over to talk too:

Are there more Asentimientos Humanos in the area? Yes, there is one called Palermo 2, and 4 de Enero, but they are only about 2 blocks each.

I heard that some factories around here might move in the upcoming years. Does the municipality have any plans around this? I don’t know. *So there are no plans to integrate this area into whatever might be built?* No, I have no knowledge of that. There are indeed some new neighbourhoods that have been created. For example for the people that had to be re-located from the river Rimac because of the high risk of living there and because of the Parque Rimac project. This new area is called Residencial Union. These communities are gated because of the security. It is near Villa Maria.

Conversation 3:

Male, middle aged taxi driver.

How old is this area? It is old. It was built on the 1st September in 1972.

Why was this area created? The president Velasco moved us here from El Montón. Because El Montón was a waste disposal area. There was gases and fire coming out from the ground, so it was really dangerous to live there.

Was this area created in stages? No. We all came at the same time, and all was created at the same time. The army brought us here.

So it was the army that organised the streets and everything? No. All that was organised by the neighbours.

When did you get the services? They came in the 1980s. People fought for a long time to get the services.

What do you think this neighbourhood needs? It needs a really strong authority. Here are too many gangs and too much criminal activity.

What kind of crime do get here? A lot of gangs, and a lot of drug sales. People come from other neighbourhoods and they sell drugs to some kids, and the kids start selling too. The municipality seem to be very focused on making this street nice, but they are not focusing on the social aspect of it. The people they have re-located now from the market, for example, they are going to be without a job to go to. And what about their kids? Their parents are not going to be able to feed them, and they might end up getting into crime and such. The people that were working in the market were from provinces.

Are the people renting that worked at the market? Yes, in general many people rent here. A lot of people that own houses here, either move or extend their house in order to rent out.

You live here surrounded by factories. What do you feel about that? What attitude does the municipality have? You know how it works here in Peru – if you don't bother the municipality and make them listen, they won't give a damn about the neighbourhood. The only way they are efficient are with gathering taxes and such.

How does this location and the traffic in Lima now a days affect you as a taxi driver? Yes, here is a lot of traffic. Especially in the peak hours from 7 to 9 pm. It's even worse in the holidays. We are relatively close to the Lima centre, but there is a lot of traffic around this area too, especially in the peak hours.

We heard that some taxi drivers are sceptical towards driving out here. What are your thoughts about that? Yes, some taxi drivers are scared of the area, because here are gangs etc. It's not because the area is known to rob taxis, but it is considered in general to be unsafe. I am also like that, I don't like going to neighbourhoods I don't know. We always have fights here against Rescate. That bad relationship between here and there has been going on for years. It is often (and more recent, really) attached to soccer teams, but here it was originally neighbourhood rivals. *What are these fights about, is it towards what one neighbourhood has and one hasn't?* No, it is trivial things, like parties, girls, soccer teams etc. Nonsense, really. A long time ago there were dance competitions, and that's where the problems would start and it would be attached to girls etc. Now it is purely about soccer teams and drugs.

Conversation 4:

Elderly lady outside her house by one of the sports fields. She has 15 grandchildren and her name is Dominga Palomino.

How do you find living here? We are living here without no organisation, we are about to get organised.

How long have you lived here? For 36 years.

Do you like living here? No. The municipality is always giving promises to us here about getting sidewalks and nice roads. They always say it's gonna start Monday, and it never does. It's been going on for years.

Why did you come here to live? We needed a place to live. We used to live in El Montón. We invaded the area there, I was 18 years old with a little daughter. We needed a place to live, everywhere was too expensive for us. I went to El Montón, and there were already a lot of people. I found a little spot, just the size of a room, and I lived there. During Velasco's government we were re-located here.

We heard that already, and it was because of gases from the ground, right? Yes. I remember that when I finally had a kitchen and my bed and everything, I noticed a funny smell under my bed and it was fire coming from the ground. El Montón used to be a place with water, and they held pigs there which they fed rubbish. The rubbish accumulated, and they burned the rubbish too. It grew to be El Montón.

When you came here, were the public spaces here like the one in front of your house, like this? No the public spaces were in the edges, next to the walls towards the factories. In the beginning, only the people in the outer circle of the settlement could enjoy the public spaces. One day an engineer or an architect came and re-organised us so that it would function better.

So this area like it is today, was designed by an architect? I actually don't know, I don't remember.

Do you feel that your neighbourhood is connected to the city? I feel we are on the outside of Lima, that's what I feel.

But geographically you are quite close to the centre. If you want to go and take a bus, how long does it take you? If I want to go to San Miguel, the bus takes 15 mins. If there is traffic, then half an hour.

Where do you go to take the bus from? I have to go to Av. N. Dueñas, and I go along the railroad.

What do you do at night? Do you always go along the railway? Yes. And it is not safe, I have to be really careful. There are a lot of people up to no good, and I have to be ready to protect myself.

Are the robbers from here? No they are often from Barrios Altos, or from new invasions like 4 de Enero or Rescate. Why do they come? I don't know. People here are really humble and nice, maybe they see us as easy prey. People use that path along the railroad every day, on their way from work or the market

and they have valuables. And they have to cross that area. One time I almost got robbed by four guys. But I had my pen and I used it to defend myself.

What do you want for your neighbourhood? I just want good roads and sidewalks. We are being forgotten in the city. Another thing is that when I go to the Comedores to eat, they say I have a house so I am not poor enough to get served. But I am paying most of my money for the materials I got to build the house. The municipality says I am not poor enough, but I am struggling.

Conversation 5:

We moved out from Palermo and to the riverside by Av. N. Dueñas. Here we talked to a middle aged, female shopkeeper.

When did you moved to this area and why did you decided to do it? I moved here when I was 18 years old and I got help from a friend of mine. She gave me the parcel because she saw I needed it in order to have a place on my own.

How was the area when you arrived here? It was an area full with waste from construction activities when people first started populating it. The services arrived with the years and then the roads. Now the roads are being renewed by the OAS Company (a company hired by the municipality for 40 years according to this woman). In order to get the work started, they relocated the neighbours that lived on the riverside of the RIMAC to new apartment buildings, giving them \$/. 32, 000 for their parcels and I think that amount of money is not enough to cover the costs of the regular price of a house, apartment or a parcel; specially one that is as well located as this one.

I think that a big part of the people that used to live here moved due to the impact of all the things that the municipality said to them. They were frightened and exhausted by the stress caused by the noise of the trucks, the closing of the roads and the weakening of the walls and the structures of their own houses caused by the wrecking of the ones of their neighbours next to them; but I'm not going to let them take my property and receive the money they offer because this is a central area and with a commercial usage; I wouldn't have the same amount of clients in my shop if I move from this area (even when the number of clients have reduced since the roadwork started) and that's why I ask at least \$/.120,000 just for my house and maybe more if I take into account the shop I have here. I have lots of things to lose if I move from this area: I have my house with a backyard, the chance to build more floors and my business. I'm not going to leave this place easily and I wish you could publish this interview so everyone knows what the people of this area really wants and claim for our rights.

How do you feel living here under these circumstances? I feel frustrated, stressed and even depressed because I can't do much about the things that are happening. I just get to see the roadwork and eating

the dust coming from it, plus the noise and the blocking of the roads have affected my business directly.

When did you feel that this place was a good and comfortable place to live? This place was nice before all these work started. I had a good Christmas and since this is a commercial area I had lots of clients and now everything is upside down. This is an important crossing in this area of the city because a large number of people use this path to travel through Lima and that's why it is a good, central location for a business like this.

What's the solution you feel it would satisfy you? I would like to receive a fair price for my land or receive a house with the same area in Mirones because I have many clients here and this is a central place. My whole family works and studies in Lima and I can't afford to leave Mirones and spend more time and money in transportation.

Do you know any of the people who decided to leave how the conditions in which they are living now are? They say they are OK, but the apartments where they are living now are too small for them since they were used to live in a house with a backyard, also they have to leave the house and go to the streets to feel comfortable and ventilated since the rooms are so small that they feel uncomfortable in their own houses.

Conversation 6:

Elderly woman who works for the Municipality's street cleaning service.

How is it to work in this area? Is this area more or less complicated to clean compared to other areas of Lima? It is a lot harder to clean since there is a lot of dust and dirt coming from the areas next to the river, also because of the recycling activity along the road. They make a mess of this place, throwing rubbish to the streets, gathering materials and paper they can't recycle on piles next to the road and sometimes they just leave the rubbish on the streets and it's spreading later by vehicles that pass by.

What do they do in these recycling companies? They pick their material from rubbish from many areas of the city and come here to organise it and send the rubbish to the big formal recycling companies that pay for the material. Since they are informal, they don't have an established way of working and just keep what they know can be used and discard all the remaining by throwing them to the river or to the streets.

Does the rubbish collector pass through this area? Yes it does and, as a matter of fact, it just passed minutes ago and you can see how these people keep gathering and throwing rubbish to the streets like nothing happened.

How is the attitude of the people of this area? Do they behave like these informal companies? Yes the act in the same way. They treat us like their servants and usually say “pick up my trash, that’s what I pay you for” when we ask them to not to throw rubbish after the collector passes.

VISIT 5 – 04.02.2014

Jhonatan called Fikko Castro (in the neighbourhood organisation) a few days earlier, and he agreed to meet us and show us around Mirones Bajo. We took pictures and made notes of the information we got.

Group of elderly ladies in the main park in Mirones Bajo.

- The explained how they are part of Lima Cercado, but they are in a conflict area, a limit between this municipalities and others. It makes them very upset, because they feel they get the short straw.
- 1948-49 – In president Odria’s government – he said that they were allowed to stay there.
- The main problem in the area is security. The Serenazgo does nothing. They are never there in the evening when it’s worst.
- The main park is horrible in the evenings, one of the ladies lives near and she doesn’t dare to leave her house.
- The group of ladies don’t like the park, and they would like to fix it. Make it look nicer.
- They don’t have any trouble with their services – the water is working fine, for example.
- They have street cleaning services because they pay taxes to the municipality.
- They don’t have organised cooperation with the other neighbourhoods, although people from other areas come to use the market in Mirones Bajo. They feel they can’t work with people from other neighbourhoods since they don’t have much trust in each other. It would be good to do it, but the lack of trust prevents them.

- Fikko explained that the main streets in Mirones Bajo are Capello, Mateo Silva, Mariana Angulo, Castillo, Perez Duela and Morales Duarez.

Lady in the administration of the market:

- People that work in the market are not necessarily from the area. The stalls are rented most of them, and the owners might be from the area. It functions like a co-op.
- The security guards are the ones that clean the common areas.
- Fikko explained that there are not many activities by the railroad. The whole area around it used to be really dangerous, but it isn't that dangerous anymore. It gets more dangerous now towards Palermo.
- When we asked how the people in Mirones Bajo see Palermo, Fikko answered that people in Mirones "are more decent people".

Fikko's cousin in San Fernando (a fenced-in area in the south of Mirones Bajo, next to the railroad):

- He wants Mirones Bajo to be more like Carmen de La Legua (the neighbouring district, in Callao)
- The mayor in Carmen de La Legua closed off the whole area to eliminate gangs. He thinks that should be done in Mirones.
- He estimates that about 50% of people in Mirones Bajo are owners of their houses. The rest rent.
- He also says that most of the people in Mirones Bajo work in other parts of the city.
- San Fernando was originally for people from the police, army or navy. They were offered to buy parcels and build their houses there.

Fikko's uncle that lives in Morales Duarez:

- He has had information from the municipality about the Via Parque Rimac road project. He says it will be a boulevard.
- He thinks the project is good, because the area will look better to others. People from the outside will think that the area is less dangerous. He's seen prospects, and they get the impression that they will make a park on the riverside like it is in the historic centre.

- On the question if there will be more pedestrian crossings over the river, he answers that he does not know.
- He says that maybe in 5 years his row of housing will be asked to re-locate, as they are in the zone of the road plans. But he will only move if he gets proper compensation for all that he has invested in his house.
- Mirones Bajo pays the same in taxes as the people in the historic centre, but they don't receive the same high quality of public services. He finds that annoying.

VISIT 6 – 06.02.2014

Another walk around the area with Fikko and Jhonatan. We asked Fikko to take us around the areas further east in MIRR. We took notes and pictures.

Woman in a small shop in Patio Unión:

- She moved to the apartment complex from 1 Mayo, by Morales Duarez. She had a 3 storey house, and now she only has an apartment of 65 square metres.
- She finds it challenging to live with people from other neighbourhoods
- For some people the re-location is a really good deal since their houses by the river were so small.

Woman working for the municipality in Villa Maria:

- They are completing a project that was initiated through the Participatory Budgeting Project. It is a sports hall, and it is expected to be finished by the end of the month.
- It is going to be run by the local people, by election.

VISIT 7 – 13.02.2014

Walk around Palermo and Av. Nicholas Dueñas with Fikko and Jhonatan. No interviews, only pictures.

VISIT 8 – 15.02.2014

Visit to Patio Unión with Jhonatan and Joel to talk to Daniel Siesquen (one of Joel's colleagues) and his mother.

Were all of the people here relocated from the riverside? Yes, the government brings people here in groups and this housing complex is exclusive for the people that used to live along the riverside and that are affected by the "Via Parque Rimac" Project.

It's quite a large building complex, isn't it? Yes it is, but this is not the only project that exists with this purpose, there's another one located nearby. But there are just 42 apartments in that complex, and they are constructing another one like this in Pachacamac.

In what part of the riverside did you live? We used to live in the 6th block of Av. Morales Duarez, near Carcamo.

Did your neighbours move from that area as well? Not all the people that lived on the riverside, near Av. Carcamo, has chosen to move from it. The Via Parque Rimac project affects the area in a 50m parallel from the riverside and all along it. In that way not just the people that lived right next to the river are affected, but the people on the other side of the road as well because the road to be build is wide and with free areas on each side.

We live in the first stage of this housing complex – Patio Union. Between the buildings there's a public area with a playground for kids, but it is really a small area compared to the amounts of people living here. The number of people per family is often more than what the apartment is built for - in some cases there are 9 people in a 3-room apartment.

Is it fresh to live here (good ventilation)? Is it bigger than what you used to live in? Yes, it is a fresh place to live in summer. But in our old house we had two levels and more room for everything.

When did you move here and how? We moved on May 13th of 2013. We were brought here by the company that's that is administrating this place, they paid the moving and transportation costs.

How was the process of choosing a house here? It was difficult to decide coming here because my husband, who lived in those days, wanted a house because we are 6 people in our family and we were used to live in a house all of our lives. The only place we could find an affordable house was in Puente Piedra (a district far up north from Lima) and it wasn't even a built house, but a parcel big enough to build a house on.

But we couldn't really move there because of the distance from the center of Lima and all my children work and study in areas close to where my house and this apartment are. When my husband died and I noticed that many of my neighbors decided to leave, I took the decision to get an apartment here as well.

So now you are the legal owner of this apartment, right? Well I have a document that says that I own this apartment but it is not a property title. The municipality says that we are going to be given that certificate in some years, because the municipality hasn't changed the legal use of this area from Industry to housing yet.

Is it safe to live here? Yes it is a lot safer than in our former place. This is a gated community with full time police officers and all it is paid by the administration.

How does the administration work? All these buildings and project is administrated by a private company called LANSAC, hired by the municipality and whose tasks have to do with security, caring of the green areas, cleaning and organizing the neighbours so they can follow with these tasks after their work is done.

So this company is not going to be here all the time? No, the municipality have a contract with them until all the apartments are taken. When everyone has moved in, the company leaves as well and the responsibilities with administration of the property passes on to the people living here.

Are the neighbours prepared for that? Do you have a neighbourhood organisation? Yes we do. We have a managing board and a secretary per Stage of the complex. I'm the secretary of the 1st Stage. There are two more organizations, in both the 2nd and 3rd Stage. We have been told to have a united organisation, but it has been hard for us since we organise ourselves from the moment they gather us to come here. That has resulted in an organisation per Stage.

Did you choose this specific apartment to live in? Yes. When I agreed to come to live here I said I needed to live on the first or the second level. I can't imagine myself living on the 5th floor because of my age and using stairs every day.

Could everyone choose apartments? As far as I know; yes. The others had the same opportunity, but it all depends on how soon you make the choice to move here. They try to fill the blocks and stages in order. The sooner you decide to come, the bigger the chance you have to choose what you want. By that system you don't get to have the same neighbours you used to have before.

How many stages are there left to be filled and how is the attitude of the people who come to live here now? We know that the second stage is full and the third in the process of being filled. There's always people who resists more to embrace the sense of community. It is important to remember that many people that live here, used to live in a house and, by that, having an stronger preconception of how much privacy a house provides and now that they are living in apartment building, they actually struggle with the feeling of being observed and having less privacy; it also has to do with the community agreements for parties, use of the playground, the music volume, etc. Those are the conditions that new people struggling with in the beginning; but most of them get used quickly, especially because they are mostly old people and living in a smaller, more manageable and safer place give them a friendly and easier environment to get used to .

VISIT 9 – 18.02.2014

Walk around Palermo, Dueñas and Mirones Bajo with Jhonatan and Joel. Counting of cars at 08.00am, 12noon and 6pm, talking with a couple of people and taking pictures.

Conversation 1:

Talk with Mr. Gamboa, the leader of the neighbourhood organisation in Palermo.

What does this organisation do? We are working with all issues in the area, and right now we have the support from the municipality to improve Av. Materiales. I am not really sure if the municipality wants this project, but we really do.

How did you first start to organise yourself? We arrived there in the late seventies from El Montón, we were re-located by the Government. They took us to this land, which used to be a hacienda (a ranch) at that time; it used to belong to an Italian guy. The ground here was good to grow plants, but we were placed here by the military government at the time.

Who organised the area in streets and such? It was done by this company that was hired by the government; they were called Sename (later the Ministry of Housing). They planned the width of the streets, the blocks and the lots. We also had to organise ourselves amongst the inhabitants. But the services were not here, the government only provided a faucet so people could get water. And there were toilet areas. We started to work towards getting services as a neighbourhood later.

How do you work in this neighbourhood organisation? How often do you gather? Do you get funding? No, we don't get funding. But we rent out the community building to small businesses and earn some from that. But in the beginning we had a rule that each family should pay 5 soles to the community foundation so and so often, but this disappeared with time. Now we have the opportunity to get some money through this Participatory Budgeting that the government has set up, and we hope to improve Av. Materiales.

We understand that a lot of people rent here. Do they rent apartments or only rooms? People rent only rooms mostly. Because some families aren't as big as they used to, and they live a whole family in a room. I estimate that they pay 100-200 soles per room per month.

How is it with the industry here, do you know if any of it will move out of the city and to the north? No, I don't know much about that. But the industry isn't good for the people living here. There is this textile company called Rayon that uses toxic dye for their fabric, and it pollutes the area and the river. People have experienced things like headaches and other health issues because of the pollution.

Was all the industry surrounding this area from the beginning? Yes.

So what are the exact plans for Av. Materiales? We want to improve it as a road.

Is there an area here called Palermo II? Yes, it's the area to the west of the community building. It appeared later than the rest of Palermo and wasn't part of the original settlement.

Conversation 2:

Woman living by the railroad.

When did you move here and why? I moved here 15 years ago. I used to live in a province of Peru and came here to work.

Did your neighbours come here at the same time you did? No. When we came here a lot of people were already occupying this area.

How many families live here at the moment? Have you asked the municipality to help you to make this property legal? Here are 28 families living here right now. The municipality hasn't done anything yet because every time we ask for it, they say that our settlement is not included in the master plan of the area. Even though we "own" the property and want to make this area legally ours, the municipality keeps us in stand-by and we don't have any documents that prove that this is ours.

If the Municipality asks you to move from this place, offering the same conditions they are giving to the people on the riverside, would you move? Of course, we will definitely move to a place with better conditions than the ones we have now.

What problems you find living here? What do you have to struggle with? The main issue for us is that we feel that this area can't improve because we feel we are trapped here. We are surrounded by crime, but the robbers never mess with us. It's funny they are always there in the railroad, but they never mess with us.

Comment in regards to the fieldwork: The interviews, short conversations and observations are not presented purely objective. The transcriptions have gone through translations and will automatically be affected by the opinions or perceptions of the translator. The same goes for my notes – the information was translated on-site for me and I wrote it down. My observations are automatically to some degree subjective as they are a result of a personal decision on what is more important and interesting.