

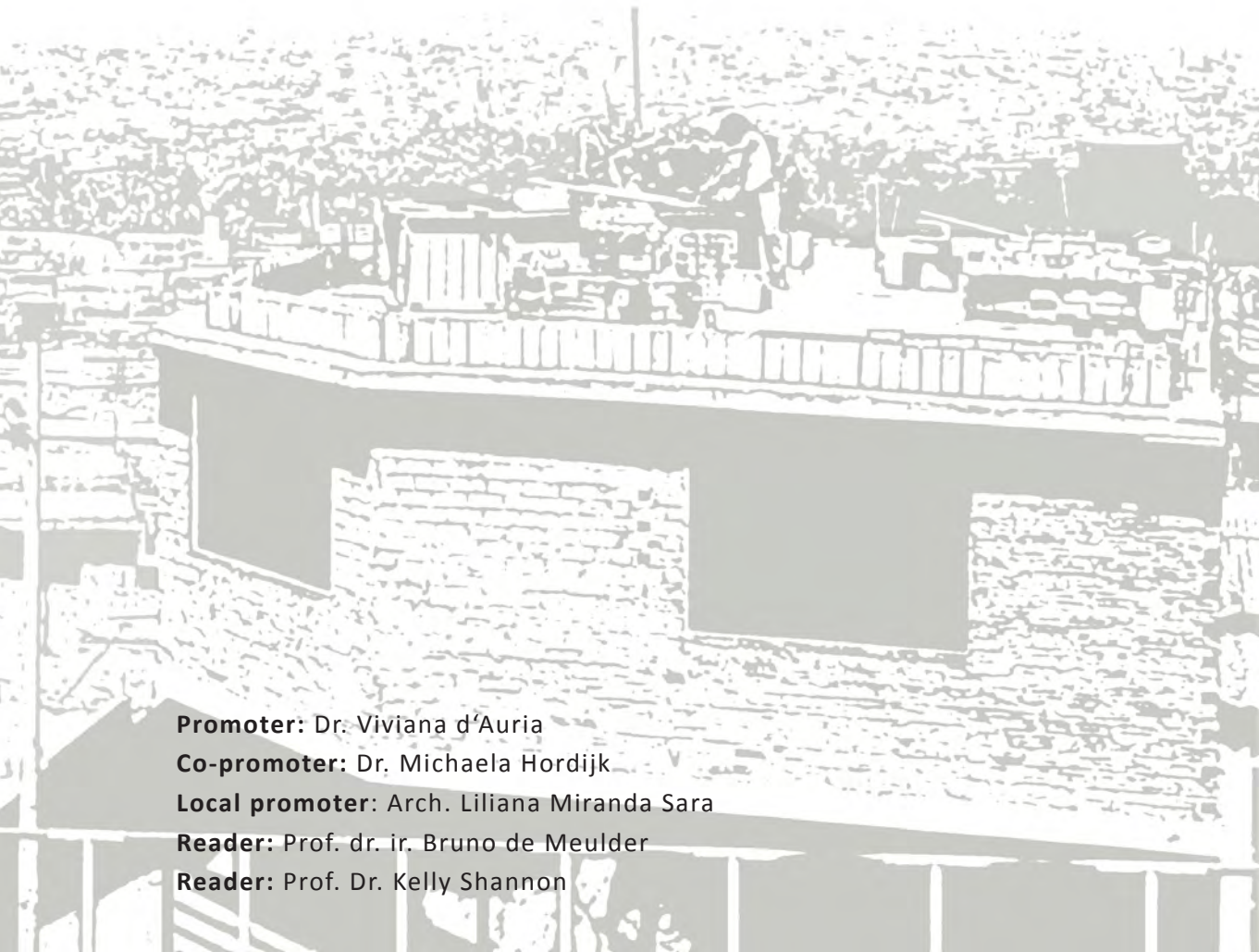
Living between desires and possibilities

[RE] VISITING AND [RE] ENVISIONING THE SELF-HELP HOUSE IN
THE 'CONSOLIDATED' LOW-INCOME SETTLEMENTS OF LIMA, PERU

Olga Peek

Master of Human Settlements

2012-2013



Promoter: Dr. Viviana d'Auria

Co-promoter: Dr. Michaela Hordijk

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Reader: Prof. dr. ir. Bruno de Meulder

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ABSTRACT

Keywords: *Lima, self-help housing, spontaneous urban development, home space*

*A 60 per cent self-build city¹ Lima is characterized by spontaneous urban development, in which the user and the constantly growing, transforming and adapting homes are shaping the urban environment. Lima's city making is characterized by this inverted planning process from the small to the large scale. The old *barriadas* changed from rural squatter settlements to urban neighbourhoods and single-family homes transformed into collective, multigenerational or rental homes.*

*Various decades after the formation of the *barriadas*, it is questionable whether the self-help-housing models promoted by John Turner in the 1960s², are still fitting the current population living in the now 'consolidated' *barriadas*. After the 1980s the characteristics of the population that had to be accommodated in the city shifted from migrants coming from the countryside to second generations that grew up in Lima³. As Peter M. Ward argues, no one had foreseen nor imagined "the second- and third-generational complexities that might evolve"⁴. Today the city is confronted with a second, third and upcoming fourth generation that are still in need for housing.*

The self-help housing model has reached its limits and homes are not always able to adapt to changing social structures and characteristics of the extended families. It can be assumed that there are more factors involved than Turner initially showed. Furthermore the spontaneous process of city making, initiated by individual actions of home transformation has its constraints in shaping a qualitative urban environment. The presented thesis will reflect on the issues of spontaneous city making in Lima that starts off at the home space, using an empirical study based upon on-site fieldwork carried out in the neighbourhood Pampas de San Juan, a low-income settlement in the southern periphery of Lima.

1 SÁEZ GIRALDEZ, Elia; GARCÍA CALDERÓN, José; ROCH PEÑA, Fernando, "La ciudad desde la casa: ciudades espontáneas en Lima", in: *Revista INVI*, 2010: p. 79.

2 TURNER, John F. C., "The Squatter Settlement: An architecture that works", in: *Architectural Design, Architecture of Democracy*, August 1968, pp. 355-360.

3 See article: DRIANT, Jean-Claude; GREY, Carlos, "Acceso a la vivienda para la segunda generación de las *barriadas* de Lima", in: *Boletín del Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos*, 1988 (17) 1, pp. 19-36

4 See article: WARD, Peter M., "Self-help housing policies for second generation inheritance and succession of The House that Mum & Dad Built.", In: *Habitat International*, 2011 (35) 3, pp. 467-485.

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Furthermore I would like to express my gratitude to my local promoter Liliana Miranda for her guidance during my stay in the field, her engagement and for introducing me to current realities of low-income settlements in Lima. Without her input I would never have been able to get insight into the local context as I did now.

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I am especially grateful to Nora Jesusi and her family for accommodating me in Pampas during the six weeks of intensive fieldwork and ensuring my personal safety. A special thanks goes to the children and grandchildren of Nora for making my stay pleasant and joyful, making me feel at home in Pampas.

Nora moreover was a key informant in the field and deeply committed to my studies. My sincere gratitude goes to her for all her time, help and support.

I also would like to thank Roberto, who lives in Pampas and works for the local municipality, for showing me other parts in the three 'cones' of Lima, and his view on the current situation in Pampas de San Juan.

Furthermore I would also like to acknowledge with much appreciation the crucial role of Juan Tokeshi, who is deeply committed to the topic and with whom I had the pleasure to meet and discuss my findings with, also in our continues email sessions after I left Lima.

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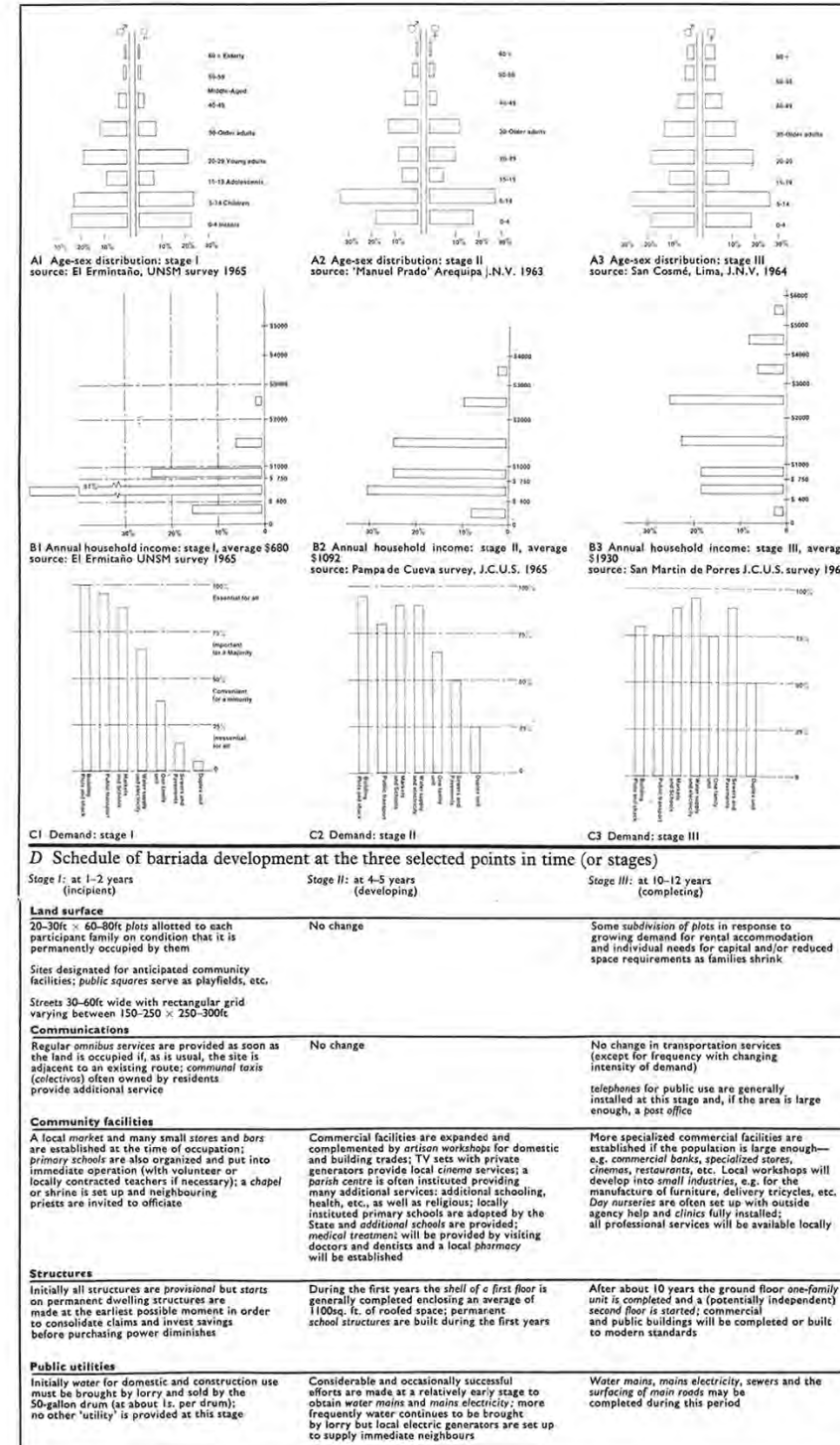
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Bibliography



[01] [Re] visiting Pampas de San Juan



The essential lesson that I learned through long association with *barriada*-builders was how to distinguish between the architecture of *mounds* and the architecture of *systems*. Because the architecture of the *barriada* is based on a system it can respond to changing demands and it places itself in the hands of the user—it is a vehicle that he can drive in many alternative and unforeseeable directions. This cannot be said for the superficially sophisticated project which governments sponsor with vain intent of eradicating *barriadas*.

Charts A1, A2 and A3 show one aspect of the social change that takes place: the *barriada* is established by young families with a high proportion of very young children; after passing through an intermediate stage when the ratio of infants has dropped and the average age of the adults has risen, the local population structure is similar to that of the city as a whole. After 10 or 15 years, the *barriada* population is spread across the generations and is balanced between the sexes in the pattern typical of cities in rapidly urbanizing countries. These demographic changes, together with the changes of household structure, translate into changing demands for schools, health services, transportation and so on, as well as for the volume and organization of domestic living space.

Charts B1, B2 and B3 show the changes of income and income distribution that commonly occur during the *barriada* development period. Very young families who establish the *barriada* have low or very low incomes; they are upwardly mobile, however, and their incomes increase substantially over time—if the three different cases of the same type of settlement (at three stages of development) are as representative as I believe, the average household income trebles during the most rapid development period. As the majority of the permanently resident families enjoy rising incomes, the socio-economic spread or heterogeneity of the population increases, along with the density, intensity and diversity of activities.

Charts C1, C2 and C3 show the changing demand and, by inference, the changing priorities for the basic components of the physical environment. Each column on the charts represents the percentage of the population, at each stage, that both demands and has the material means to obtain or to use the component. A study of the incomes and family structure of the incipient *barriada* in the context of Lima (which, for instance, has a very mild climate and virtually no rainfall) soon leads to the conclusion that the highest priorities are for building land, transportation and local community facilities—all of which are cheap and all of which are essential for the low-income family moving from an inner-city, rented slum to a peripheral *barriada*. With these components, the family can live, and generally much better than in the worst kind of slum, erecting a provisional shack and buying water delivered by lorry. A decade later, however, the vast majority can afford the full complement of modern utilities; the increased density also makes their installation necessary, just as increased income levels and status heighten the demand. It takes the average family at least 10 years to complete the ground-floor, first stage of their house and it is only when the structure is well advanced that the full complement of installations is required. The demand for rental accommodation grows, at the expense of owner-occupied properties, as the area diversifies and as land values increase. Opportunities for local employment will also increase, especially for those with very low incomes who cannot afford to build or own a property at the level achieved and who, therefore, demand rental accommodation. This demand is met by original settlers seeking secondary sources of income who sub-divide and sub-let their property in part. Although this process often results in slums that really are a health menace, there is no intrinsic reason why this should be so; sensibly regulated, it provides an economic and socially viable answer to an acute problem.

The schedule of actual development (Chart D) is self-explanatory and confirms the environmental 'fit' or 'response' of the progressively developing *barriada*. It is not a perfect fit, of course, either socially or economically and however enthusiastic one may be over the qualities emphasized in this article, the architectural form of the planned *barriadas* leaves much to be desired.

PROBLEM STATEMENT

Within the changing context of modernization and democratization in Lima, the rural squatter settlements transformed into urban neighbourhoods and the characteristics of the *barriada* residents shifted from a migrant population from the Peruvian countryside to an urban population of second and third generation citizens that were grown up in the city. For years self-help was seen as the most viable solution to house the urban poor and today the majority of the city dwellers still live in the peripheral self-help settlements, in Peru referred to as *barriadas*. Despite many critiques, the self-help housing model, in which the users are constantly changing, transforming and extending their homes, has been proved a successful strategy in the past¹². From the nineteen eighties onwards it remained quiet around the debate on self-help housing, while

1 As Peter Lloyd argues: “*The barriadas, though seen by the administrator or planner as a ‘problem’ are a ‘solution’ to the urban poor*”, after which he explains the success of the *barriada*: LLOYD, Peter, *The ‘young towns’ of Lima: Aspects of urbanization in Peru*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1980: p.140

2 Also Chambers summarizes the successes of the *barriadas*: “*The barriadas in fact have provided millions of cheap homes [...], allowed an early escape from inner city slums and enhanced the value of real-estate in Lima [...]*”, CHAMBERS, Bill, “The *barriadas* of Lima: Slums of hope or despair? Problems or solutions?”, in: *Geography*, 2005: p. 221.

the practice of self-help went on, housing the children and grandchildren of the original invaders. Hence the time has come to evaluate on previous models of self-help related to the current situation in Lima’s *barriadas* in order to see if they are still accurate and on which aspects the model needs to be re-envisioned. This leads to the following problem statement:

1. The self-help housing model in metropolitan Lima has reached its limits and homes are not always able to adapt to changing social structures and characteristics of the extended family.

Furthermore the inverted exercise of spontaneous city making, has proved to generate different types of tissue³, in this study referred to as social tissue, productive tissue and environmental tissue. Reflecting on homes within the broader scope of the neighbourhood shows that under certain conditions these processes are moderated and lead to other realities. The increase of both population and social differences, the rising social insecurity and the shift from a community oriented society to an individual society (that are all char-

3 See article: SÁEZ GIRALDEZ, Elia; GARCÍA CALDERÓN, José; ROCH & Peña, Fernando, “La ciudad desde la casa: ciudades espontáneas en Lima”, in: *Revista INVI*, 2010, 25 (70), pp. 77-116

acteristic in the process of becoming a city)⁴, highly influence the spontaneous process of shaping the environment and not always result in a qualitative urban neighbourhood. This brings us to the second statement:

2. The spontaneous process of city making, starting from home space and individual actions, has its constraints in shaping the urban environment and lowers the spatial quality of the neighbourhood.

AIMS OF THE RESEARCH

This empirically grounded study has three aims. The first aim is to document and analyse processes of home consolidation and adaptation, as well as multigenerational growth, in order to gain insight on the interrelations between the development trajectory and physical characteristics of the house.

A second aim is to show and understand the effects of spontaneous development, in which users are shaping their environments, firstly at the scale of the home and secondly at the level of the neighbourhood.

The final aim is to relate the main findings to the broader debate on self-help housing strategies and spontaneous urban development and reflect and critically evaluate upon previous theories and models of self-help housing. Whether these models are still accurate in the current situation in low-income settlements and on which aspects self-help housing models need to be revised and can be improved are major interrogations.

THESIS STRUCTURE

The thesis consists of four chapters. Following the presentation of the research methodologies and related research questions and

4 As described by Massey, Allen & Pile, “*The particularity of the city is that it concentrates differences through its density of people and lived spaces [...]*.” (Massey, D.; Allen, J. & Pile, S. (1999). *City worlds: understanding cities*. Psychology Press.)

hypotheses. Chapter 2 describes the theoretical and historical background that will lay the foundation of the empirical study presented in Chapter 3. In the final chapter theoretical models are critically evaluated and discussed with respect to the contemporary discourse and the results of recently published longitudinal studies.

The second chapter deals with issues of the house and the extended family in the *barriadas* of Lima in the changing setting of modernization and democratization. The debate on self-help housing that started from the 1940s, when Jacob Crane first introduced the term⁵, related to theories on self-help housing developed by John Turner are examined in this section. Subsequently the theory is brought in relation with the practice of self-help housing in the context of metropolitan Lima.

In the third chapter ten in-depth case studies developed during fieldwork in Pampas de San Juan⁶ are presented. The study describes and critically reflects upon the process of home transformation and adaptation in relation to changing social structures and characteristics of the extended family and their consumption norms. Furthermore this section of the thesis addresses the process of home transformation in relation to the broader scale, reflecting on homes within the changing social fabric and how individual actions, when cumulated, have an effect on the spatial quality of the neighbourhood.

5 Jacob Crane was head of the International Office of U.S. Housing and Home Finance Agency between 1947 and 1954 and used the term ‘aided self-help’ for the first time in 1945 talking from his experience in Puerto Rico where in 1939 an early experiment of ‘sites and services’ was carried out. See: HARRIS, Richard, “The Silence of the Experts: ‘Aided Self-help Housing’, 1939-1954”, in: *Habitat International*, 1998 (22) 2, pp. 165-189.

6 Pampas de San Juan is a low-income settlement in the urban periphery of southern Lima. The area is part of the greater district San Juan de Miraflores.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The content of the thesis will be articulated around two research questions that either focus on the scale of the house or the scale of the neighbourhood. The first questions is as follows:

1. To what extent are homes able to adapt to the changing social structures and characteristics of the extended family and what are the main factors that influence the process of home consolidation?

In the question it is assumed that there are more factors involved in the process of home transformation than Turner originally showed in his model of self-help housing.⁷⁸ This major interrogation is broken down into sub-questions:

First, in order to understand the house's physical structure, the spatial characteristics of the home space and the consolidation process of the home are looked into.

1a. How did the house grow progressively?

⁷ The model referred to here is Turner's 'three stages of housing' including the incipient stage, the developing stage and the completing stage: Turner, John F. C., "The Squatter Settlement: An architecture that works", in: *Architectural Design, Architecture of Democracy*, August 1968, pp. 355-360.

⁸ More recent research in self-help settlements, founded on empirical data obtained through several visits to the area, already show that not all Turner's expectations became true. See the work of Peter Ward in Mexico and Michaela Hordijk in Lima, Peru. WARD, Peter M., "Self-help housing policies for second generation inheritance and succession of The House that Mum & Dad Built.", In: *Habitat International*, 2011 (35) 3, pp. 467-485.

HORDIJK, Michaela, "Nuestra Realidad es Otra: Changing realities in Lima's peripheral settlements: a case study from San Juan de Miraflores", in: *The production, use and dissemination of Urban Knowledge in Cities of the South*, BRUNFAUT, V.; d'AURIA, V.; DE MEULDER, B.; MORETTA, L.; SHANNON, K. (eds.), Brussels, N-AERUS, 2010, pp. 361-374.

How are home investments made by users over time? What are main physical characteristics of the house as it is encountered today?

Subsequently the social dimensions will be considered according to the following questions:

1b. What is the social composition of the house? How do different generations and users share the house and make use of the different spaces?

1c. What 'use values' does the home space have and under what circumstances does 'sharing' result in either creative solutions or conflict?

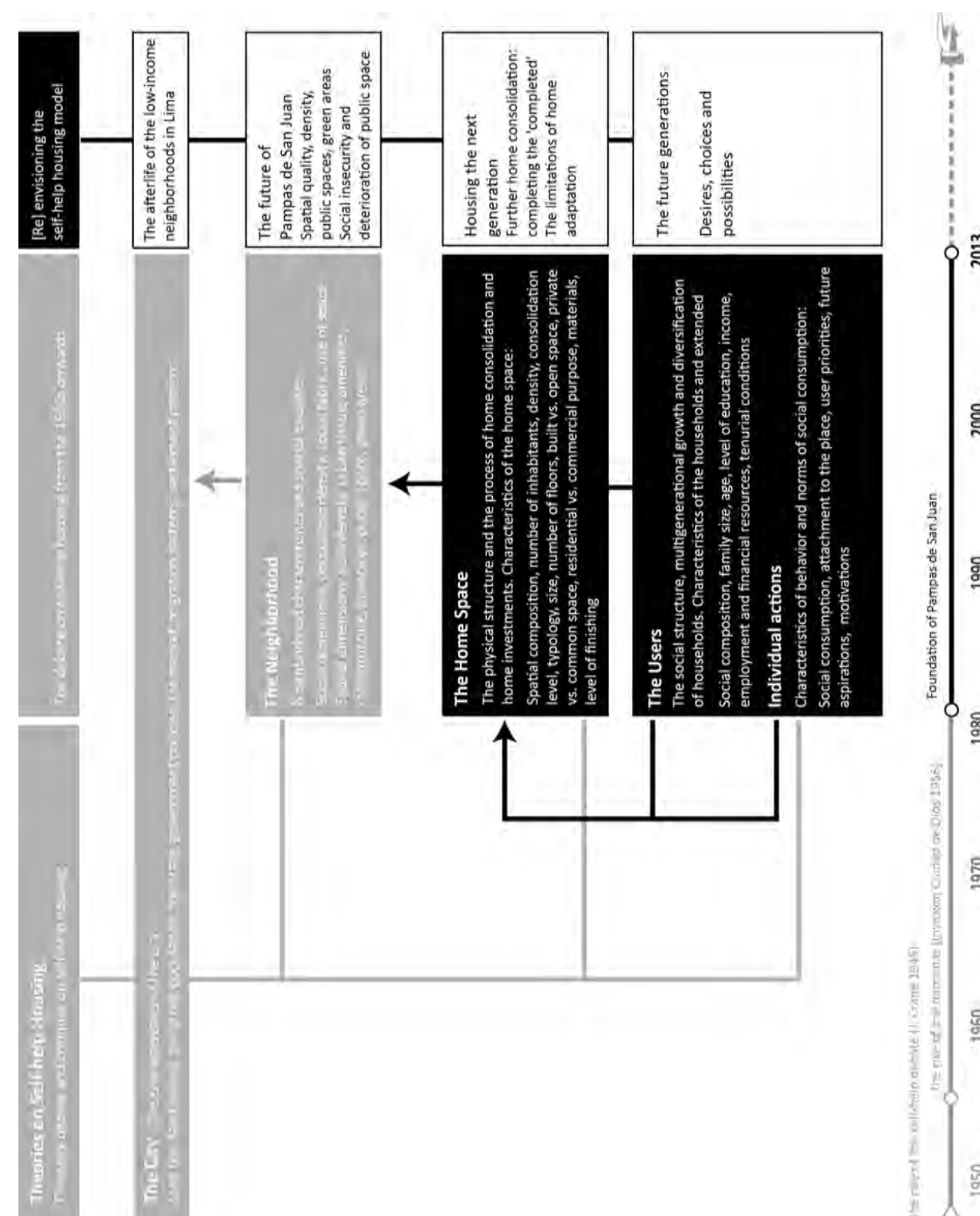
Thirdly the interrelations between spatial and social dimensions, the related factors involved that influence the process of home consolidation and what this means for the future of both house and family will be explored through the following questions:

1d. What are users' main priorities and motivations in the process of transforming and improving their homes and how does this relate to their future aspirations?

Subsequently the process of home transformation is discussed in relation to the broader context, reflecting on homes within the changing social fabric. This leads to the following research question:

2. To what extent and under what circumstances homes and individual actions contribute to the aggradation of the urban tissue and how do these have an effect on the spatial quality of the neighbourhood?

The issues and problems related to spontaneous development that occur at neighbourhood level will be analysed and evaluated according to two sub-questions:



2a. How does the individual process of home consolidation determine the formation of urban tissue and what conditions either intensify or moderate this process?

2b. What does the individual process of home consolidation mean for the afterlife of the neighbourhood of Pampas de San Juan? What are the opportunities and threats regarding the future of self-help housing?

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The key variables and the expected relations between them are arranged in the conceptual framework presented on the previous page. The three key variables in the research are the users, their individual actions and the home space.

Subsequently it is presumed that the process of home consolidation initiated by the user and influenced by individual actions, interrelates with the broader context including the theoretical and historical background.

Time is another factor that has an effect on the expected relations. Both the variables as well as the interrelations between them change in time. The context wherein this happens also undergoes several transformations and radical shifts in time.

HYPOTHESES

The expected relations between the variables presented in the conceptual framework result in the following hypotheses:

1. The size of the family and changing household composition do not directly affect the process of home consolidation.

The way in which homes grow, adapt and are transformed by the owners in relation to changing social structures and characteristics

of the extended family, are not always synchronized processes. While two families grow in a comparable way, the house may respond in two very different ways.⁹

2. The financial resources available to households do not necessarily influence the process of home investment and consolidation. The process depends on other factors related to user behaviour and their consumption norms.

The financial resources of a household, related employment type and involving both mutual income and additional income, do influence the process of home investment and consolidation; nevertheless the two are not interdependent. A third factor has to be included that shows the priority and motivation of the user to invest either in the home or in other commodities.

3. The tenurial condition of users sharing a house does influence their individual willingness to invest in the house and contribute to home improvement, though the process equally depends on other factors related to both the spatial and social structure of the home.

The different status of tenure, people owning the house, sharing the house or renting it, has an affect on the process of home consolidation. The owner of the house will be more willing to invest in his house than someone who rents it. This does not necessarily mean that renters and sharers do not invest in the house. Home investment also strongly depends on the relations between the users and to what extent the spatial composition can provide independence and privacy.

4. Social consumption, the user's attachment

⁹ See also: WILLIAMS, Susana M., *Young Town growing up: four decades later: self-help housing and upgrading lessons from a squatter neighborhood in Lima*, Master thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2005.

to the place, their future aspirations and prime concerns and motivations to invest in the house are the key factors that either stimulate or inhibit the transformation and adaptation of the house.

Home transformation and adaptation primarily depends on the abovementioned factors. If the user is not planning to stay in the future or does not feel attached to the home or the neighbourhood, he will not be willing to contribute to home improvement. The same applies if the prime concerns and motivations for investment lie in something other than the house.

The following hypotheses relate to the second research question and show the assumed affect of how the process of home consolidation can contribute to the aggradation of the urban tissue (accumulation of small scale urban tissues generating larger scale urban tissues) and what conditions either intensify or moderate this process. The aggradation of the urban tissue is identified along three subcategories, namely the productive tissue, the social tissue and the environmental tissue.

5. Within the process of home consolidation productive and commercial spaces are assimilated in the residential spaces that contribute to formation of the productive tissue and are amenities for the neighbourhood. The process of aggradation is intensified by the increasing level of consolidation of the homes and the corresponding densification.

6. The process of home consolidation starts from a human scale that allows for a favourable relation between the house and the street. It serves as an intermediate space linking the private and the public, thereby contributing to the formation of qualitative spaces of interaction. This process is inhibited by several external factors: (1) social diversification, resulting in an increasing diversification

of owners, tenants and sharers which contribute to the feeling of defensiveness and fear of the other that in the worst case leads to social detachment; (2) increasing social insecurity (3) the shift from a community-oriented society to an individualistic society.

7. During the home consolidation process residents appropriate parts of the public space, transforming them in green areas and thereby contributing to the aggradation of the environmental tissue. Simultaneously the process is moderated due to the same factors as presented in hypotheses 6.

This means there is potential for spontaneous development to form intermediate places for interaction and green spaces. To a certain extent this is already happening, though this process is under serious threat because of the three indicated factors that moderate this process.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGIES

The empirical data on which this thesis is based was gathered during an intensive field-work session carried out in the neighbourhood of Pampas de San Juan in Lima, Peru for 6 weeks. Prior to this experience literature review was used qualitatively to design the research's theoretical backbone. To achieve the research aims and answer the research questions, mixed methods were used that rely on both quantitative and qualitative techniques. For the data collection household surveys were conducted incorporating open interviews and closed questionnaires. Additionally personal observations and drawings carried out in the field are used to triangulate and confirm findings. The data analysis is founded on qualitative techniques using different visual ethnography methods.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The reviewed literature, which lays the theoretical and historical foundation of the empirical

study, was selected according to relevance regarding the central issue self-help housing and *barriada* settlement in Lima. Initially, in order to understand the debate that took place on self-help housing and grasp its origins, the most influential writers on the issue were selected. The work of John Turner was a seminal reference, especially the writings in which he develops his theoretical models and elaborates on his expectations of the self-help house in the future¹⁰. Subsequently the main critiques on Turner's ideas expressed by other authors were analysed, including Rodd Burgess' and Peter Ward's influential critiques of the model.¹¹

Secondly, to address the key problems in the *barriadas* and get insight in the specific issues of Lima's urban development, a combination of reports was analysed ranging from authors framing the problem in a broader context such as Alan Gilbert¹² to publications from local authorities and local publishers, with the most important being DESCO¹³. Finally a selection of 'revisits' was reviewed to position my own empirical study in the broader contemporary discourse on the 'afterlife' of self-help hous-

10 TURNER, John F. C., "The Squatter Settlement: An architecture that works", in: *Architectural Design, Architecture of Democracy*, August 1968, pp. 355-360. And TURNER, John F. C., *Housing by people: Towards autonomy in building environments*, London, Boyars, 1976.

11 WARD, Peter M. (ed.), *Self-Help Housing: A critique*, London, Mansell, 1982.

12 GILBERT, Alan, *The Mega-City in Latin America*, London, Russell Press, 1996.

13 DESCO, Centro de Estudios y Promoción del Desarrollo has long experience in Lima and has published many influential books. In the thesis mainly the work of Gustavo Riofrio and more recent work of Juan Tokeshi is used. Two key publications of DESCO of significant relevance in this study:

RIOFRÍO, Gustavo; DRIANT, Jean-Claude, *¿Que vivienda han construido? : nuevos problemas en viejas barriadas*, Lima, Centro de Investigación, Desarrollo y Asesoría Poblacional, 1987

ZOLEZZI, Mario; TOKESHI, Juan; NORIEGA, Carlos, *Densificación habitacional: Una propuesta de crecimiento para la ciudad popular*, Lima, Desco, 2005.

ing.

These recently published longitudinal studies also helped to reflect on the earlier debate and historical context and evaluate how valuable original theories on self-help housing still are for today's generations.

DATA-COLLECTION METHODS

The data collection for the case studies is based on six weeks of on-site fieldwork carried out in February and March 2013 in the neighbourhood of Pampas de San Juan in the southern 'cone' of Lima. Ten households were documented in that period and interviews with local inhabitants were held across three generations in the extended families. The ten cases were selected to present a relevant and representative range in respect to the neighbourhood. Divergences, convergences and a representation of the widest range of consolidation levels were criteria used to select the most viable and interesting material to further develop the analysis. Furthermore the amount of cases was previously determined as realistic number to be studied over the 6-week period. For fieldwork preparation some additional literature was reviewed including Davies' book on Reflexive Ethnography¹⁴ that helped in define ethnographical research methods and prepare related techniques such as interviews, questionnaires and photographic material.

IN-DEPTH CASE STUDIES

The specific method concerning intensive case studies or "*casos a profundidad*" is described by Peter M. Ward.¹⁵ This detailed method for analysis is crucial in order to closer understand and contextualize the findings. It allows for the uncovering of additional factors involved

14 DAVIES, Charlotte Aull. *Reflexive ethnography: A guide to researching selves and others*. Routledge, 2008.

15 WARD, Peter M.; JIMENEZ, Edith; VIRGILIO, Mercedes, "Methodology for the Intensive "Interesting" Case Studies (Casos a Profundidad) in Monterrey, Guadalajara, & Buenos Aires." LAHN, 2009. Retrieved from the LAHN webpage: www.lahn.utexas.org

in the complex processes of self-help housing. Peter M. Ward and researchers from LAHN¹⁶ used this methodology in a comparative case study that was completed across various Latin American cities. The methodology incorporates mixed methods and different scales of research. In the LAHN comparative case study the first level of research involves general data collection and selection of settlements. Secondly surveys were held among a broad audience in the selected settlements and additionally a 'third level' of "*casos a profundidad*" (in-depth cases) was added in order to get a closer understanding of home consolidation in relation to changing family characteristics. This allowed to triangulate between findings from the more general and broader surveys and from the more in-depth cases. In my own empirical study this 'third level' was carried out. These findings were compared with broader findings from publications in the discourse, including the longitudinal study of Michaela Hordijk that was completed in the same area, Pampas de San Juan.¹⁷

THE DOCUMENTATION OF HOME SPACE

Different techniques were used for the documentation of the home space. As a first step personal observations and drawings were made in the field. These were first used as a quantitative technique to distinguish the characteristics of home space evolution relevant to the study, such as size, spatial composition,

16 The Latin American Housing Network (LAHN) is a research network focusing on third generation housing policy issues in 'consolidated' low-income settlements in Latin American cities. Peter M. Ward is the coordinator of the network. The main goals of the LAHN is to develop the 'third generation' housing policies in order to meet not only the needs for the original homeowners, but by documenting the evolutions of the self-help settlements, unravelling the new demands of the second and third generations. For detailed information see the LAHN webpage: www.lahn.utexas.org

17 HORDIJK, 2010, op. cit: pp. 361-374. HORDIJK, Michaela, *Of dreams and deeds: the role of local initiatives for community based environmental management in Lima, Peru*. PhD dissertation, University of Amsterdam, 2000.

built versus open space, construction materials used and level of finishing of rooms. To further identify quantitative and qualitative data (such as number of inhabitants, private versus common space area, the development trajectory of the house and the process of home investment) household surveys were held.

THE HOUSEHOLD SURVEYS

To determine a wider range of characteristics of the house and the users of the extended family households, a set of interviews were held with various members of the family (mainly the family members living in the house and where possible also second generations who moved out). The surveys are based upon both semi-structured and informal interviews to determine specific quantitative data concerning the house and family (size, financial capacity, tenurial condition) and qualitative information concerning attitudes, aspirations and social change.

Indeed questions related to their individual actions and norms of consumption were asked in open interviews in order to gain insight in the users' motivation and priorities in home investment and their future aspirations and attachment to the house and neighbourhood. The respondents were arranged in three focus groups corresponding to their age and generations: the originators of the neighbourhood, the children of the founding fathers and the grandchildren. In some cases the households also included renters and additional family members. They are arranged according to their age. In total 38 people were interviewed. The conversations took place in the case study house itself and the majority of the cases are based upon various visits to the family. An overview of the respondents is provided in table 2.

Personal interviewing has a certain limitation, since it consists of subjective in-gathered

information, moreover captured at a certain moment in time. The relation between researcher and respondent also plays a part. Sometimes the life-stories of the families are very personal, sometimes even traumatic, something not easily shared with a 'stranger'. For this reason I held frequent conversations with the same person in order to gain their trust and took time to explain the aims and intentions of the research in order to inform people how the information would be used. Furthermore the way in which people express themselves may not always exactly reflect their real intentions. Sometimes people do not have a clear opinion or might interpret the question slightly different than was intended. 'Testing' different sort of questions helped to get the most viable answers. Drawing was another very helpful tool to verify information with people.

In addition to the interviews with residents, several interviews were held with local experts and key informants. Several conversations took place with architect Liliana Miranda Sara, director of the Cities for Life Forum in Lima. An in depth interview was held with Juan Tokeshi, local architect and influential writer in the field of *in situ* improvement of the *barriadas*. Several meetings also were set up with local neighbourhood leaders local municipality staff of San Juan de Miraflores.

DATA ANALYSIS METHODS

Mixed methods are used for the data-analysis using visual ethnographic methods as the main tool in which drawings, and photography are combined to illustrate the empirical data and evaluate the case study. The mixed methods research is chosen to ensure triangulation. In triangulation the findings are reflected upon and confirmed by using different methods of data-collection. Through this 'double-checking' the validity of the findings in question will increase. Written text supports the visual material and is used in the final part where the



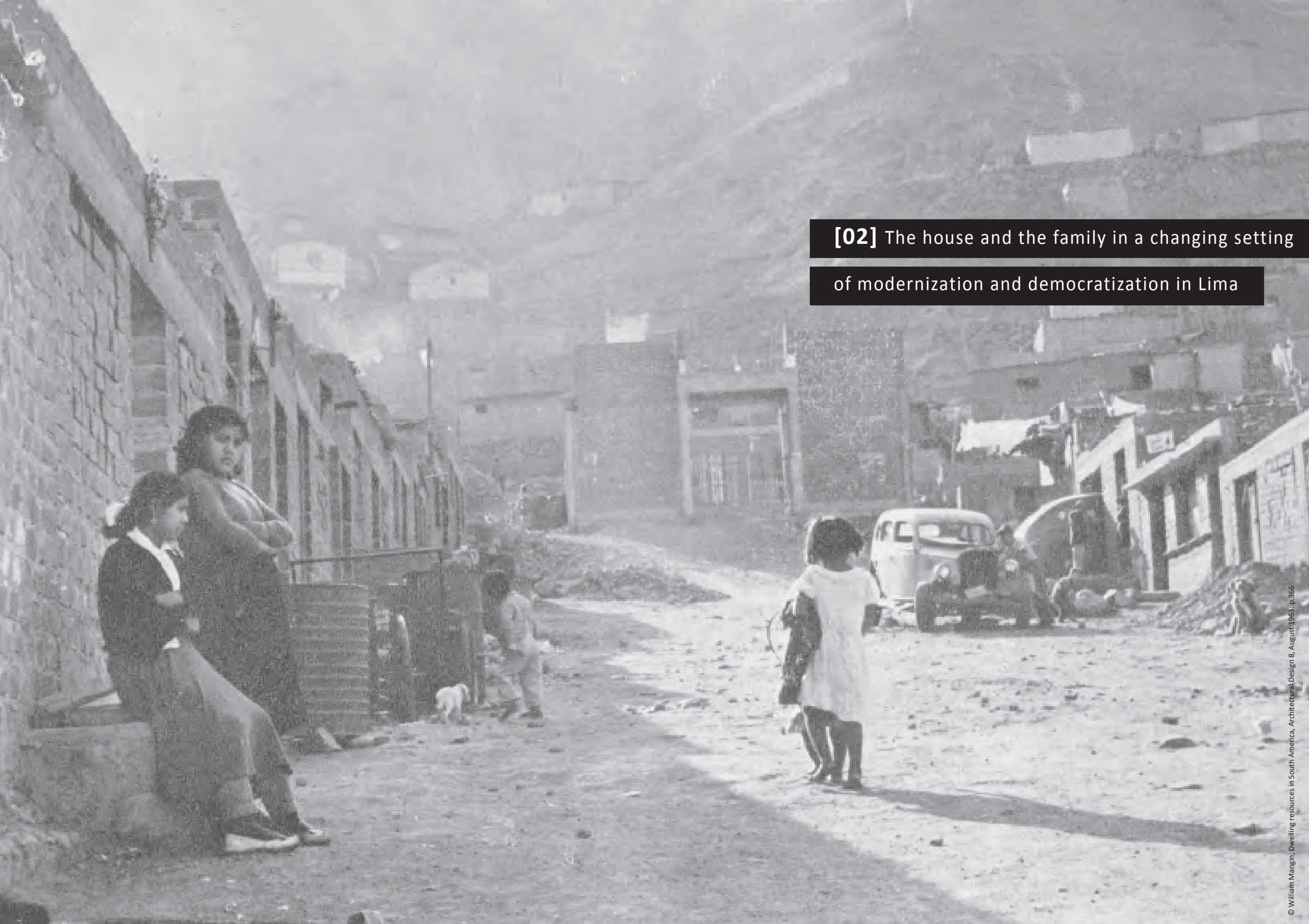
Location of documented cases

Table 1: List of cases

Case Neighborhood	Users (first generation) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Interviewed <input type="checkbox"/> no interview	Users (second generation) <input type="checkbox"/> in-laws → Moved out <input type="checkbox"/> second-line family ♦ with own family <input type="checkbox"/> outsiders	Users (third generation)
(1) Casa Nora Asentamiento humano 20 de Mayo	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Wilberto Anchelia (60) father <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Nora Jesusi (58) mother	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Karin (34) daughter <input type="checkbox"/> Stev (33) son ♦ [wife-1child] → <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> William (31) son ♦ [wife-2children] → <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Janet (30) daughter ♦ [husband-2children] <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Margarita (29) daughter ♦ [husband-1child] → <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yoseph (27) son <input type="checkbox"/> Elisabeth (25) daughter → <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Sharon (16) daughter <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Lesly (16) daughter	<input type="checkbox"/> Facundo (3) son Janet <input type="checkbox"/> Nayan (0) daughter Janet
(2) Casa Aleman Asentamiento humano 20 de Mayo	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Señor Aleman (72) father <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Señora Flores (69) mother	<input type="checkbox"/> Jacqueline (46) daughter <input type="checkbox"/> Henry (42) son ♦ [wife-3children] <input type="checkbox"/> Lucia (37) wife Henry <input type="checkbox"/> Robert (39) son ♦ [wife-1child] → <input type="checkbox"/> Patricia (40) daughter ♦ [husband] → <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Amanda (37) daughter ♦ [husband-3children] <input type="checkbox"/> Edmundo (42) husband Amanda <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Julia (36) daughter ♦ [husband-2children] <input type="checkbox"/> Wilmer (37) husband Julia <input type="checkbox"/> Ricardo (33) son ♦ [wife-2children] → <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Alexander (31) son <input type="checkbox"/> Eduard (30) son ♦ [wife-3children] <input type="checkbox"/> Wife Eduard (29) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yilisa (24) daughter	<input type="checkbox"/> Angel (14) daughter Henry <input type="checkbox"/> Diego (13) son Henry <input type="checkbox"/> Claudia (4) daughter Henry <input type="checkbox"/> Angy (6) daughter Amanda <input type="checkbox"/> Lady (4) daughter Amanda <input type="checkbox"/> Camila (1) daughter Amanda <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Melanie (13) daughter Julia <input type="checkbox"/> Andrès (7) son Julia <input type="checkbox"/> Daughter Eduard (6) <input type="checkbox"/> Daughter Eduard (4) <input type="checkbox"/> Son Eduard (2)
(3) Casa Sandra Asentamiento humano 20 de Mayo	<input type="checkbox"/> Cecilio Flores Cueva (55) father <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Sandra Medina (53) mother	<input type="checkbox"/> Magaly (29) daughter ♦ [1child] <input type="checkbox"/> Samuel (25) son <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Ruth (15) daughter	<input type="checkbox"/> Luciana (5) daughter Magaly
(4) Casa Brenda Asentamiento humano 20 de Mayo	<input type="checkbox"/> father → moved to Pamplona <input type="checkbox"/> mother → past away	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Brenda (30) daughter ♦ [1child-expecting baby] <input type="checkbox"/> Sandra (28) daughter ♦ [husband-1child] → <input type="checkbox"/> Juli (20) daughter →	<input type="checkbox"/> Giordana (3) daughter Brenda
(5) Casa Vacilia Asentamiento humano El Paraíso	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Señora Vacilia (65) mother <input type="checkbox"/> Husband 1 → <input type="checkbox"/> Señor Marcelo (64) father	<input type="checkbox"/> Jaime (39) son ♦ [wife-1child] → <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Wilbert (37) son <input type="checkbox"/> Bertha (36) daughter ♦ [wife-3children] → <input type="checkbox"/> Marcelino (34) son <input type="checkbox"/> Ana Cecilia (22) daughter <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Sebastián (18) son	
(6) Casa Cristina Asentamiento humano 1 de Junio	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Cristina (51) mother <input type="checkbox"/> Meli sister ♦ [5children] →	<input type="checkbox"/> Jaime (27) son ♦ [wife-1child] <input type="checkbox"/> Katrin (25) wife Jaime <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Miguel (24) son <input type="checkbox"/> Marilou (18) daughter → moved to Arequipa <input type="checkbox"/> Bernard (23) nephew →	<input type="checkbox"/> daughter Jaime and Katrin (1)
(7) Casa Julia Asentamiento humano 1 de Junio	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Julia (58) mother <input type="checkbox"/> Husband 1 → <input type="checkbox"/> Husband 2	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> César (24) adopted son Julia ♦ [wife-expecting baby] <input type="checkbox"/> Girlfriend (22) wife César <input type="checkbox"/> Niece (22) niece Julia ♦ [2children] →	
(8) Casa Justina Asentamiento humano 1 de Junio	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Justina (60) mother	<input type="checkbox"/> David (42) son ♦ [3children] → <input type="checkbox"/> Liz (31) daughter ♦ [1child] <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Alberto (42) nephew <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Sandra (31) temporary renter	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Rubén (11) son Liz <input type="checkbox"/> daughter Sandra (6) <input type="checkbox"/> daughter Sandra (4) <input type="checkbox"/> daughter Sandra (3)
(9) Casa Cita Asociación de vivienda El Universo	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Cita (56) mother <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Feliciano (54) father	<input type="checkbox"/> daughter (26) → <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Sergio (22) son	
(10) Casa Rufina Asentamiento humano Laderas de Villa	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Rufina (58) mother <input type="checkbox"/> father → past away	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Elida (34) daughter ♦ [2children] <input type="checkbox"/> Wilfredo (31) son <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Octovio (30) son <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Mariela (28) daughter ♦ [2children]	<input type="checkbox"/> son Elida (5) <input type="checkbox"/> daughter Elida (4) <input type="checkbox"/> son Mariela (7) <input type="checkbox"/> son Mariela (5)

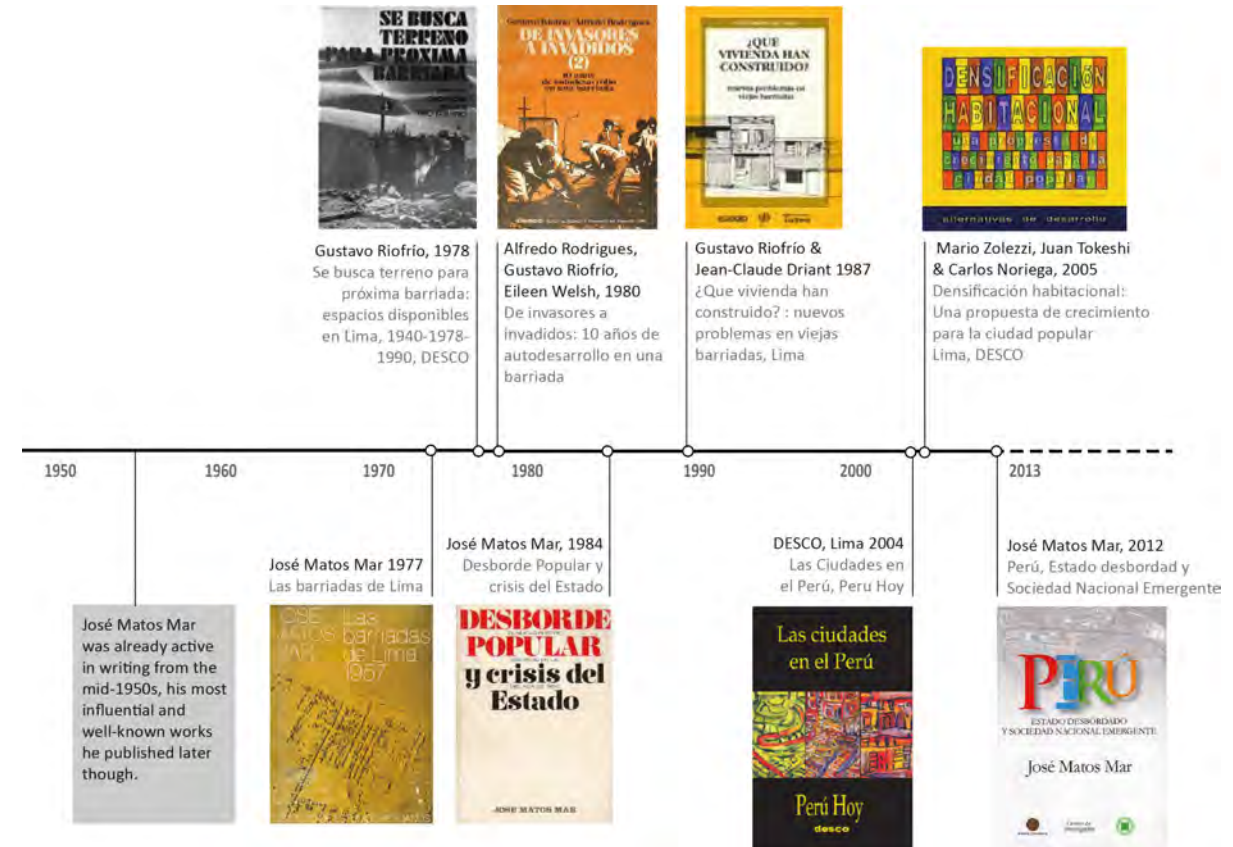
Table 2: List of respondents

Generation focus group A: (50-80) originators B: (15-40) children founding fathers / in-laws / second-line family C: (0-15) grandchildren	Respondent (age) male - female	House Related to case:	Date of interview ♦ Informal interview ↗ Recorded
A01	01. Wilberto Anchelia (60) m	(1)	♦ 23-02-2013
A02	02. Nora Jesusi (58) f	(1)	♦ 03-02-2013 ♦ 10-02-2013
A03	03. Señor Aleman (72) m	(2)	♦ 01-02-2013 ↗ 06-02-2013 ♦ 06-03-2013
A04	04. Señora Flores (69) f	(2)	♦ 07-02-2013 ♦ 06-03-2013
A05	05. Sandra Medina (53) f	(3)	↗ 07-03-2013
A06	06. Señora Vacilia (65) f	(5)	↗ 18-02-2013 ↗ 01-03-2013
A07	07. Cristina (51) f	(6)	♦ 24-02-2013 ↗ 28-02-2013
A08	08. Julia (58) f	(7)	↗ 21-02-2013
A09	09. Justina (60) f	(8)	↗ 23-02-2013 ↗ 01-03-2013
A10	10. Cita (56) f	(9)	↗ 12-02-2013 ↗ 16-02-2013
A11	11. Feliciano (54) m	(9)	♦ 16-02-2013
A12	12. Rufina (58) f	(10)	♦ 04-02-2013 ↗ 21-02-2013
A13	13. Julia (54) f	-	↗ 17-02-2013
A08	14. Señor Poemape (56) m	-	↗ 17-02-2013
B01	15. Karin (34) f	(1)	♦ 08-02-2013 ↗ 09-03-2013
B02	16. William (31) m	(1)	♦ 24-02-2013
B03	17. Janet (30) f	(1)	♦ 10-02-2013 ♦ 09-03-2013
B04	18. Margarita (29) f	(1)	♦ 10-02-2013
B05	19. Yoseph (27) m	(1)	♦ 03-02-2013 ♦ 10-03-2013
B06	20. Sharon and Lesly (16)	(1)	♦ 10-02-2013 ♦ 24-02-2013
B07	21. Amanda (37) f	(2)	↗ 13-02-2013
B08	22. Julia (36) f	(2)	♦ 07-02-2013
B09	23. Alexander (31) m	(2)	♦ 10-02-2013
B10	24. Yilisa (24) f	(2)	↗ 06-02-2013 ♦ 06-03-2013
B11	25. Ruth (15) f	(3)	↗ ♦ 07-03-2013
B12	26. Brenda (30) f	(4)	↗ 10-03-2013
B13	27. Wilbert (37) m	(5)	♦ 18-02-2013
B14	28. Sebastián (18) m	(5)	♦ 24-02-2013
B15	29. Miguel (24) m	(6)	♦ 28-02-2013
B16	30. Cesár (23) m	(7)	↗ 06-03-2013
B17	31. Alberto (42) m	(8)	♦ 24-02-2013
B18	32. Sandra (31) f	(8)	♦ 01-03-2013
B19	33. Sergio (22) m	(9)	♦ 16-02-2013
B20	34. Elida (34) f	(10)	↗ 20-02-2013 ♦ 26-02-2013
B21	35. Octavio (30) m	(10)	♦ 21-02-2013
B22	36. Mariela (28) f	(10)	♦ 20-02-2013
C01	37. Melanie (13) f	(2)	♦ 06-02-2013
C02	38. Rubén (11) m	(8)	♦ 01-03-2013

A black and white photograph of a street scene in Lima, Peru. The street is unpaved and dusty. On the left, a woman and a young girl are standing near a stone wall. In the center, a young girl is walking away from the camera. On the right, a vintage car is parked. The background shows a hillside with more buildings.

[02] The house and the family in a changing setting
of modernization and democratization in Lima

The global and the local discourse



PART I - Self-help housing: the debate and the practice

For the vast majority of the urban poor living in developing countries, self-help has been the principal and often the only way to gain access to housing. From the beginning of the 1940s cities were confronted with the first rural to urban migration flows that accelerated further in the 1960s. Parallel to the increasing (largely poor) population and the rise of a serious large-scale housing problem, the concept of self-help housing emerged in the debate.

One of the probably most influential writers on self-help housing is British architect John Turner, of many of whose ideas originated in the Peruvian context where he worked in the squatter settlements between 1957 and 1965. When Turner arrived in Peru, yet an intensive intellectual debate on housing policies was going on amongst Peruvian urban theorists, Fernando Belaúnde, Pedro Beltrán and Carlos Delgado¹ (who all sooner or later were involved in local politics as well). Besides that there were also local authors and social scientists active in the studies on the squatter settlements and the *in situ* *barriada* development, including anthropologist José Matos Mar. For John Turner these were all favourable circumstances to develop and later integrate

1 BROMLEY, Ray, "Peru 1957–1977: How time and place influenced John Turner's ideas on housing policy", in: *Habitat International*, 2003: p. 271

his self-help theories in the housing policies. In the case of Lima self-help even became the prime strategy to provide housing for the urban poor during the 1970s.

When John Turner and William Mangin published their early seminal work in which the squatter settlements were depicted as "*an architecture that works*"², they set off a conceptual shift in the attitude towards the slum, either neglecting or accepting them. Turner developed his ideologies further into theories on self-help housing; a model based on user control of the housing process.

Subsequently there has been an intensive debate on self-help housing that reached its peak in the 1980s with Peter Ward publishing the book "*Self-Help Housing: A critique*" in 1982 and Rod Burgess expressing his opposing ideas in various articles³.

2 The most influential early works of Turner referred to here are: TURNER, John F.C., "Dwelling resources in South America", in: *Architectural Design*, 1963. TURNER, John F. C., "The Squatter Settlement: An architecture that works", in: *Architectural Design*, 1968: pp. 355–360.

3 BURGESS, Rod, "Petty Commodity Housing or Dweller Control? A Critique of John Turner's Views on Housing Policy", in: *World Development*, 1978 (6) 9/10, pp. 1105–1133.

BURGESS, Rod, "Self-help housing advocacy: a curious form of radicalism. A critique of the work of John FC Turner",



The self-builder vs. outsourced construction



© CAMINOS; TURNER; STEFFIAN, 1969. By author, 2013.

While the debate on self-help became less intense after the 1990s, the practice of self-help and autonomous construction in Lima went on resulting in a contemporary situation in which the major part of the city is characterized by spontaneous urban development, in which the user and the constantly growing, transforming and adapting homes are shaping the urban environment. Lima's *barriadas* changed from rural squatter settlements to urban neighbourhoods and single-family homes transformed into collective, multigenerational or rental homes. In the city that is now confronting a second, third and upcoming fourth generation in search for a place to live, it is disputable if the Turnerian model developed in the 1960s is still accurate in the current urban situation of metropolitan Lima. Hence it is time to reflect upon Turner's self-help housing model. More recent empirically grounded studies by Peter Ward, Michaela Hordijk and the Lime-nean urbanist Gustavo Riofrío already show that, though Turner's thoughts were right to a certain extent, today's reality in the self-help settlements turned out to be different to what Turner envisioned⁴.

in: WARD, Peter M. (ed.), *Self-Help Housing: A critique*, London, Mansell, 1982: pp. 55–97.

4 Recent work of Peter Ward in Mexico and Michaela Hordijk in Lima, Peru, founded on empirical data obtained through several visits to the area show the realities of the self-help settlements of today.

This paper aims to reflect upon self-help as a housing strategy in metropolitan Lima. It is hypothesized that the self-help housing model has reached its limits, heavily influenced by the changing setting of modernization and democratization in Peru. In order to prove this, the pioneering ideas of John Turner and critiques on his vision are discussed first. After which I will reflect on the self-help housing theories in the Limean context, where self-help was for decades predominant in the process of city making.

WARD, Peter M., 2011: pp. 467–485. HORDIJK, Michaela, 2010: pp. 361–374.

PART II – Theories on self-help housing



The stages of barriada development

“The value of the house must be determined by how far it satisfies or frustrates the needs of its user, what matters in housing is what is does for people rather than what it is.”⁵
John F.C. Turner, 1976

This expression exemplifies Turner’s understanding of housing that should be seen as a ‘verb’, a process or activity rather than a material matter, similar to its value that lies in the function and not in the physical structure⁶.

WHO DECIDES?

Opposing ‘centrally administered’ or ‘heteronomous systems’ against ‘autonomous systems’, Turner points to the main concern of housing namely, the question of “who decides what for whom”⁷. In Turner’s perspective, instead of the top-down production of formal housing, in which authorities decide for the people, housing should be self-governed and self-management processes where the people determine and produce their dwelling

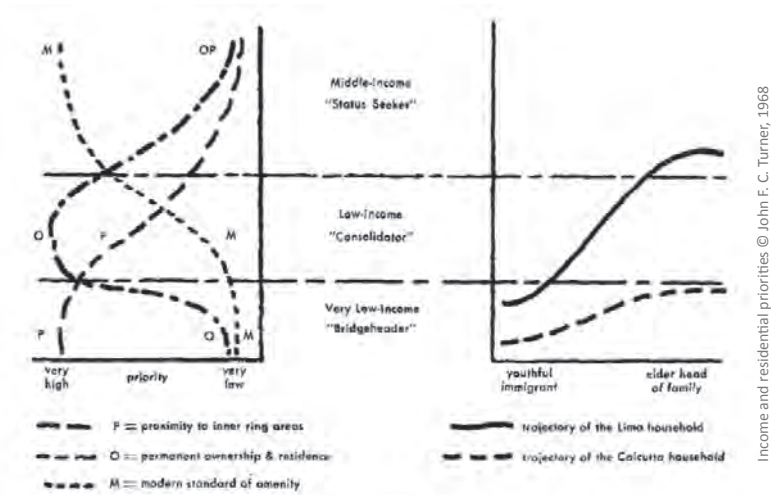
themselves. Only in an autonomous housing system, that according to Turner should be the principle for ALL of the housing production, “supply and demand can be properly matched and consequently satisfied. And only then will people invest their own relatively plentiful and generally renewable resources.”⁸

The autonomous and heteronomous systems are illustrated with the depiction of the ‘supportive shack’ and the ‘oppressive house’⁹ that are explored through their material needs (access, shelter and tenure) and the existential needs (security, opportunity and status) that were broached in the influential book ‘Freedom to Build’ published in 1972¹⁰. The ‘oppressive house’ seems to have no advantages and only frustrates the needs of the user, while the ‘supportive shack’ or self-help dwelling provides shelter at low costs, has a high use value, low rentals or tax and is adjusted to users’ needs. Turner also points to the vital advantage of self-managed housing in terms of location and employment.

The problem Turner states of ‘who decides’ is in his belief described to the attitude of planners and the state, who deny the actual needs and priorities of people and misunderstand

5 TURNER, John F. C., *Housing by people: Towards autonomy in building environments*, London, Boyars, 1976: p. 102
6 The concept housing is fully developed in: TURNER, John F. C., “Housing as a verb”, in: *Freedom to Build, dweller control of the housing process*, TURNER, John F.C.; FICHTER, Robert (eds), New York, Macmillan, 1972: pp. 148-175.
7 TURNER, 1976, op.cit.: p. 11.

8 TURNER, 1976, op.cit.: p. 102.
9 TURNER, 1976, op.cit.: pp. 54-59.
10 TURNER, 1972, op.cit.: pp. 164-169.



the process of urban settlement¹¹. His arguments to show the merits of self-help housing are founded on extensive empirical research carried out in Peru. Turner’s contribution to the special issue on the ‘Architecture of Democracy’ in *Architectural Design* in 1968¹², manifesting the squatter settlement as ‘an architecture that works’, is a clear example of his ‘learning from’ experience in the barriadas of Lima.

THE THREE STAGES OF HOUSING

In the same article Turner describes the housing process he envisions in more detail. In the model he presents the barriada self-builder has several freedom: the freedom of community self-selection, the freedom of budget one’s own resources and the freedom to shape one’s own environment¹³. The house within the autonomous system starts off with a basic shack that subsequently is completed by the user who has all the control to shape his own environment according to his needs and priorities. The progressive development

11 As described in: TURNER, John F. C., “Housing priorities, settlement patterns and urban development in modernizing countries”, in: *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 1968 (34) 6, pp. 354-363.
12 TURNER, John F. C., “The Squatter Settlement: An architecture that works”, in: *Architectural Design, Architecture of Democracy*, August 1968, pp. 355-360.
13 TURNER, 1968, op.cit.: p. 358.

is divided into five categories that each have three stages according to the consolidation level it reaches after a certain period of time. The three stages are defined as the incipient stage (1-2 years), the developing stage (4-5 years) and the completing stage (10-12 years). The five categories involved in the consolidation process are land surface (including the plots, the sites and public squares), communications, community facilities, (dwelling) structures and public facilities.

ACCESSING THE HOUSING MARKET

In the same year Turner developed another model in which he now starts linking the settlement patterns of the rural migrants arriving at the capital, to a spatial urban context¹⁴. The model is based on the city of Lima and gives a clear understanding how the first newcomers accessed the housing market. Turner classified the settlers according to their social status that he relates to their income. The lowest is the “bridgeheader” a poor migrant searching for opportunities in the city, followed by the “consolidator” who has a slightly better (but not yet stable) socioeconomic status, and finally the higher income level that is described as the “status seeker”. What Turner aimed to illustrate was the link between the places in the city where people

14 TURNER, 1968, op.cit.: pp. 354-363.

PART III - The self-help housing debate

settle and their priorities. In a scheme (see below) he shows that priorities strongly varied according to the status the settlers were able to achieve. How this subsequently shows how this would evolve in within the urban setting. Here three stages for the city are defined, the early transitional city, the mid-transitional city and the late transitional city. The later critique on this model is primarily based on the fact that Turner in this model denies certain specific contextual circumstances and depicts the place where people settle as a 'choice', in reality this is often more related to the only opportunity that lies within ones possibility.

When Peruvian architect Eduardo Neira invited John Turner to come and work in Peru, there was already an intensive debate around self-help going on¹⁵. Hence the circumstances were al favourable to develop his ideas. Turner's theories indeed would become highly

15 John Turner came to Peru in 1957 encouraged by local architect Eduardo Neira. The two had met at the International Congress of Modern Architects (CIAM) in Venice in 1950 and shared the interest in Patrick Geddes' work.

See: GYGER, Helen, "John F.C. Turner in Peru: Reflections on the Development of a Practice", in: D'AURIA, Viviana; DE MEULDER, Bruno; SHANNON, Kelly (eds.), *Human Settlements: Formulations and (re) Calibrations*, SUN Academia, 2010: p. 30

influential adopting his ideas eventually in self-build policies of the World Bank and the United Nations.

PART III THE SELF-HELP HOUSING DEBATE

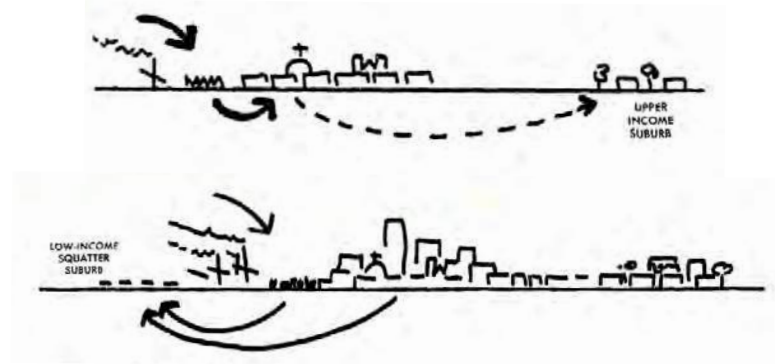
DEFINING THE CONCEPT

In the broad scope of literature on the issue there has been quite some difficulty in developing a clear definition of the term 'self-help'. As Alan Gilbert describes, self-help is primarily referred to as a 'spontaneous process' in which the user is gradually improving his home environment, that starts off after an illegal land occupation¹⁶. John Turner himself describes self-help housing as *"the competence of a household to arrange accommodation according to its priorities"*¹⁷ seeing it primarily from the user's point of view. As the debate commences, the approach towards the concept is often mutually misunderstood because there was never, according to Niented and Van der linden, a *"commonly recognized terms of reference"*¹⁸. Furthermore Turner's standpoints have been heavily criticized mainly blaming Turner for

16 GILBERT, Alan, *The Mega-City in Latin America*, London, Russell Press, 1996: p.80

17 TURNER, 1976, op.cit.

18 NIENTED, P.; VAN DER LINDEN, J., "Approaches to low-income housing in the Third World", in: *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 1985: pp. 311-329



The early and mid-transitional city

seeing self-help outside a broader context in a too narrow, romanticized vision¹⁹.

THE EMERGENCE OF SELF-HELP HOUSING

First of all it is critical to understand that, although John Turner theorized the concept of self-help housing and brought it into a more extensive debate, self-help is not a new concept but in fact a really old one. This again depends on what we mean by the term self-help. As Harms describes how in a traditional society *"the motivation for construction was the direct fulfilment of people's own needs."*²⁰ Looking at the practice of self-help as a government strategy in which people fulfil the role of self-builders, early practices of self-help can be found in Europe already during at the start of the 20th century (Sweden

19 Harms blames Turner on distorting realities, placing autonomous system: *"Turner and others tend to see self-help and squatter housing in relation to individual social mobility but in relative isolation from the rest of the economic and structural changes in those countries."* HARMS, Hans, "Historical perspectives on the practice and purpose of self-help housing", in: WARD, Peter M. (ed.), *Self-Help Housing: A critique*, London, Mansell, 1982: p. 19 *"Many have accused Mangin, myself and others of romanticizing the truly hard conditions of ordinary people in most world cities because they have failed to differentiate between the practice we describe and the principles we perceive..."* Turner, 1976, op.cit.

20 HARMS, 1982, op.cit.: p. 19

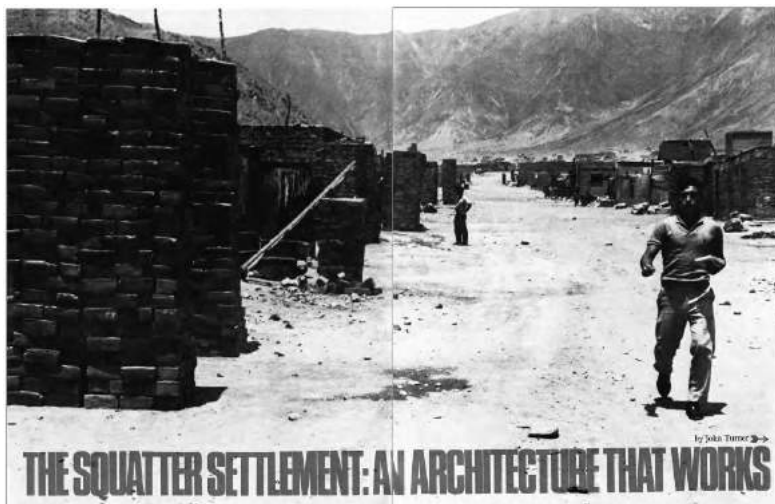
1904)²¹. Before the self-help debate arrived to the developing world, it had its prehistory in Europe and therefor self-help is primarily a Western invention that after was exported to the southern continents.

The term self-help was popularized by Jacob Crane²², using the term 'aided self-help' for the first time in 1945 talking from his experience in Puerto Rico were in 1939 an early experiment of 'sites and services' was carried out in which communities received government assistance in acquiring land and support in the construction of basic shelter after which they were encouraged to further construct and 'finish' the house themselves. This pilot project, promoted by agencies of the United States, became a key example that started off the implementation of the self-help in other countries in The Caribbean in the early 1950s, followed by several other countries in the Americas including Peru soon after.

Turner and his colleagues Charles Abrams and William Mangin never fully acknowledged the existence of these previous early practices on

21 BREDENOORD, Jan, "The people's struggle for affordable living space. The role of (assisted) self-help housing from 1950 – 2010 and beyond." The Housing Research Group, 2009.

22 HARRIS, Richard, "The Silence of the Experts: 'Aided Self-help Housing', 1939-1954", in: *Habitat International*, 1998: p. 165.



self-help housing. They never referred to the factual origin of self-help practices and started a 'second generation' debate that eventually did reach a broader audience than the original one. The efforts of Turner promoting self-help housing did have major influence on the global discourse, ultimately adopting self-build strategies in World Bank policies.

THE CONCEPTUAL SHIFT AND NEED FOR HOUSING

Self-help housing was in the 1950s still seen as a threat that would encourage more migrants to come to the city. This negative attitude remained for years and the response in many cities of the South was often closer to the eradication of the squatter settlements rather than accepting the squatters as citizens. Charles Abrams, John Turner and William Mangin were pioneer writers in the shift that took place in the conception of the 'slum'. They opposed the preconceived ideas of the squatter settlement, in which the slum was depicted as "that of a fungus attached to and growing out from the carapace of the city"²³ by presenting the squatter as "an architecture that works".

Their writings had major influence in the

23 JUPPENLATZ, Morris. *Cities in Transformation: The Urban Squatter Problem of the Developing World*. Queensland, University of Queensland Press, 1970: p. 5.

discourse of self-help. Slowly it was more and more accepted that the migrants were coming to the cities anyhow and since governments were not able to provide sufficient accommodation, self-help was the only way out. During the 1970s in Peru, the forerunner in self-help, this housing strategy was adopted in the formal system and seen as the most suitable option for housing the poor population. The Turnerian model in which land is invaded and homes are step by step improved by the user, was for years the predominant one. John Turner even managed to bring self-help into global attention and integrate self-help housing strategies in World Bank policy agenda's.

CRITIQUE ON SELF-HELP HOUSING

An early critique on the self-help approach was made by Charles Abrams in 1966, where he identified several disadvantages of self-help, though his general attitude towards self-help was rather positive and he pointed out the viability of the self-help strategy particularly in peripheral areas, were "it is likely that self-help is already functioning and will continue, since it is part of the contest of survival."²⁴

24 ABRAMS, Charles, *Man's struggle for shelter in an urbanizing world*, Cambridge (Mass.), MIT press, 1966: p. 173.

Different counterarguments on Turner's 'freedom to build' and his proposed autonomous housing system, were expressed by Harms, Burgess and Ward in the influential book published by Ward in 1982: *'Self-help Housing: A Critique'*²⁵. The common critique stated that Turner disregarded 'true choice', that the three saw as a "structural constraint of poverty and lack of effective choice."²⁶

Rod Burgess' writings were probably most critical towards Turner, heavily appraising his visions. He questioned Turner's ideas on who he considered responsible in the self-help process. Turner describes the responsibilities as follow: "The governments roles changes from one of financier builder to one of promoter coordinator of all available agents and resources." Turner (1963). Saying this, the provision of housing was relinquished from the government duty. Burgess saw this as "an attack on their living standards" while the self-builders now had to take care of other things than what was their "moral duty to society."²⁷

25 WARD, Peter M. (ed.), *Self-Help Housing: A critique*, London, Mansell, 1982.

26 WARD, Peter M., "Self-Help Housing: Ideas and Practice in the Americas.", in: *Planning Ideas that Matter*. Eds. Bishwapriya Sanyal, Lawrence Vale and Christina Rosan. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2012: p. 296.

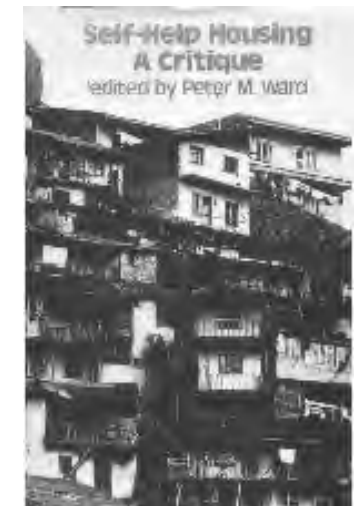
27 BURGESS, 1982, op.cit.: p. 56-99.

Burgess also blamed Turner for 'misunderstanding the nature of the housing problem' and seeing the housing process "outside the process of commodity formation". In the capitalist mode of production, money would only be invested there where profit can be made. Hence low-income classes have no choice other than adopt strategies of self-help, since they are excluded from the conventional housing market.

According to Van Lindert the problem of housing, that Turner assigned to the issue of 'who decides what for whom', is in fact not the problem of the market or the state in their incapability of providing the required amount of houses, nor the fact that simply the income does not match the available housing stock, but the lack of purchasing power of the poor population²⁸. An important distinction has to be made here respecting the level or stability of the people's income and what Gilbert calls "the share of income people are prepared to dedicate to housing".²⁹ As a response to the blames on individual approach, Turner later

28 VAN LINDERT, Paul, *Huisvestingsstrategieën van lage-inkomensgroepen in La Paz*, KNAG/NGS, Utrecht/Amsterdam, 1991: p. 23.

29 GILBERT, A; VARLEY, A, "Renting a home in a third world city: choice or constraint?", in: *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 1990: p. 93. Cited in: VAN LINDERT, 1991, op.cit.: p. 25.



PART IV - Self-help housing in practice: the case of Lima, Peru

acknowledged that the focus of indeed also should lie on the 'collective', hereby meaning the state.

EMPIRICALLY GROUNDED REFLECTIONS ON TURNER'S THEORY

In the Burgess-Turner discussion there was often a misunderstanding of terms. The Marxist ideas of Burgess opposing the anarchist ideologies of Turner, made this mutual misunderstanding probably even worse. Burgess was talking from a theoretical perspective, while Turner founded his arguments on empirical research. Generally speaking Turner's ideas have been heavily criticized both on the grounds of his concept and ideological vision as well as the methodology he used.

Peter Ward critiques were more constructive based on his own empirical research carried out in Mexico during the end of the 1970s. Ward evaluated upon the everyday realities of the self-help practice, showing that this is in fact much more complex than Turner stated originally in his three-stage model. He observed diverging patterns in the home consolidation process with some houses that were consolidating rapidly while other homes had not developed much farther than the incipient stage. The main determinant Ward points out that allows this process to actually happen is the surplus income of the family. In

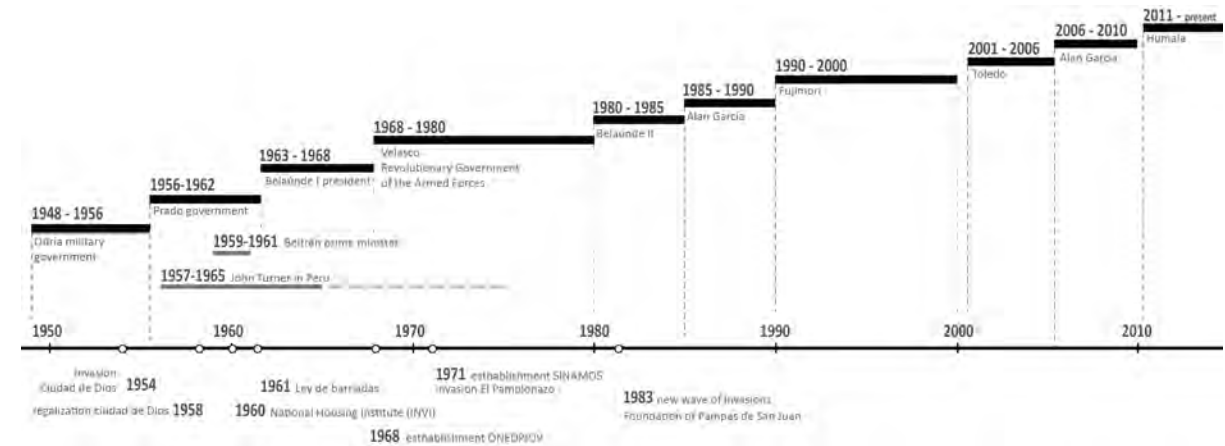
other words, consolidation was not likely to happen if a family had no resources left after paying their daily living expenses. This is one example, which already shows that there are more factors involved in Turner's original self-help housing model. Furthermore Ward agrees with Burgess that the house cannot be seen outside the 'process of commodity formation'. As Ward explains: *"Burgess has rightly predicted, the formalization of the informal self-help process created additional costs, slowing self-built consolidation."*³⁰

Another early evaluation upon Turner's theories was made by Ashraf Huque in 1982; testing Turner's findings with his empirically grounded studies in Dacca, Bangladesh.³¹ A fundamental point that Huque put forward is that the development of a settlement cannot be seen outside a broader setting that is constantly changing under the affects of external political and economical factors.³² He proved

³⁰ WARD, 2012, op.cit.: p. 299.

³¹ Ashraf Huque analyzed (talking from his experience in Dacca, Bangladesh) some of the key premises of self-help housing theory: HUQUE, Ashraf, *The myth of self-help housing: a critical analysis of the conventional depiction of shanty towns*, Department for Building Function Analysis, Royal Institute of Technology, 1982.

³² "The development trajectory of a settlement does not remain constant over time [...] it can take a different trajectory when intervened by a process, f.e. changes in the use of land and buildings, changes in the



for example that conditions of accommodation would not necessarily improve according to the length of residence nor the tenurial status.

Ward and Huque were in fact among the first researchers who criticized Turner based on empirical grounded surveys. Both studies show essential findings that can enrich Turner's theory on self-help. The importance of real-life observation for improving or envisioning an existing theory is essential in order to successfully and carefully develop and integrate self-help housing theories in practice. Another conclusion we can draw from the debate that took place is the importance to see self-help housing in a broader social context including socio-economical and political circumstances as well as the priorities of the people and their willingness to invest in housing.

PART IV SELF-HELP HOUSING IN PRACTICE

THE CASE OF LIMA, PERU

As mentioned in the introduction of this paper, the theories of Turner are to a large extent based on his experiences in Peru where he worked between 1957 and 1965. In his

general economic and political conditions." HUQUE, 1982, op.cit.: p. 59.

later career Turner was able to integrate his theories in housing policies of the World Bank. In Lima self-help evolved as a main strategy to house the urban poor, reaching its peak during the 1970s. Hence Turner's work can be understood to be highly influential for the *barriada* development within the context of Lima as well. From the other side local political figures and Peruvian researchers were an inspiration for Turner.

A travel through history, looking critically into the process of the *barriadas* development and the immense scale in which it was carried out, will show that this was only possible under certain favourable conditions. Besides that, in Lima self-help was not only the 'freedom to build' as Turner positively envisioned, but also a particular way of governments to relinquish themselves from their duty: providing housing for the urban poor, not to mention using it as a specific instrument to separate the rich from the poor.

At the time John Turner just got started with his job in the pilot program for *barriada* improvement OATA³³ in Arequipa, local research-

³³ Eduardo Neira who invited Turner to come and work in Peru was head of the Department of Urbanism in the Peruvian Ministry of Public Works between 1953 and 1959 and his role was essential in the establishment of OATA (Oficina de Asistencia Técnica a las Urbanizaciones



Lima's urban landscape in 1963

© John Turner, 1963.

ers, including José Matos Mar, already carried out major studies on Lima's *barriada* development starting in the mid-1950s³⁴, way before Turner and Mangin's published their first article on Lima's *barriada* movements.³⁵ The rich tradition of documenting the *barriadas* continued and was followed up by more researchers, both 'western visitors' to the country such as MIT³⁶ and local researchers including urbanist and sociologist Gustavo Riofrío. The broad range of valuable material published over the years allow for a profound understanding of the *barriada* in different time frames.³⁷

Populares de Arequipa). Helen Gyger and Ray Bromley describe the influence of Eduardo Neira on Turner's career. GYGER, 2010, op.cit.: p. 30. BROMLEY, 2003, op.cit.: p. 272.

34 Other Peruvian researchers who studied and published on the *barriadas* in the mid-1950s were Adolfo Córdova (1958), Carlos Paz-Soldán (1957). BROMLEY, 2003, op.cit.: p. 275.

35 MANGIN, William; TURNER, John, F.C., "The *barriada* movement", in: *Progressive Architecture*, 1968 (49) 5: pp. 154-162.

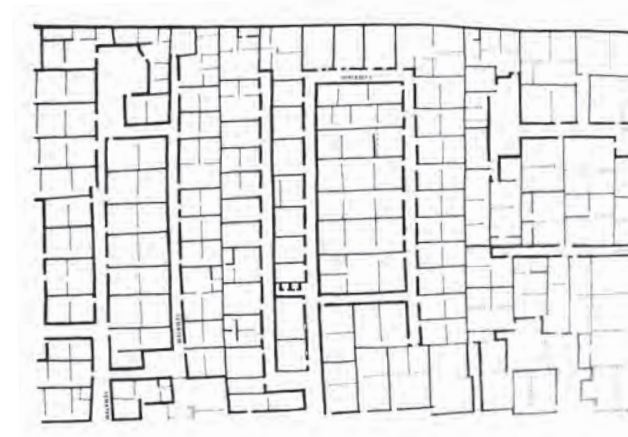
36 In Urban dwelling environments included a case study from Arequipa and several cases from squatter settlements in Lima.

37 For further reading, the tradition of documenting and current "revisiting" of projects is studied by Rodrigo Pérez de Arce, Esther Jacobs and Viviana d'Auria based upon the cases of PREVI in Lima and Mariano Melgar in Arequipa. "Dwelling Practices Informing Urbanism / Urbanism Informing Dwelling Practices", in: *Human Settlements*, 2010: p. 113-127

Apart from the influence of local researchers that were active in studying the *barriadas*, the ideas of Turner were highly influenced by the intellectual debate on self-help housing policies that already started off before Turner's arrival in Peru. The local urban theorist and politicians Fernando Belaúnde, Pedro Beltrán and Carlos Delgado, who were the leading figures in the debate on housing policies, had quite some contrasting ideas compared to Turner. Despite their opposites, the ideas of both sides became highly influential and resulted in the integration of self-help in experimental government programs and laws. These political circumstances were highly favourable for the population to gain access to land and crucial for the way in which the progressive development of the *barriadas* then could set off.

Other particular conditions in Lima that made it possible to put the self-help housing into practice on the scale it actually happened, were the specific geographical and economical characteristics of the Peruvian coastal cities, comprising of large spread-out desert areas with relatively low economic and productive value.³⁸ For the state the plain desert areas were the perfect locations to provide land for sites and services for the poor people, since it

38 GILBERT, 1996, op.cit.: p. 57



The inner-city *callejones* where the first migrants or bridgeheaders settled

© John F. C. Turner, Urban dwelling environments, 1969

was far away from central Lima and it was not of any value to them.

All these factors exemplify this particular setting in which the practice of self-help housing emerged in Lima, resulting in major transformations set out since the first organized groups of settlers invaded the desert land in large amounts. The radical shift that took place in the spatial context of metropolitan Lima is evident. Thanks to the rich and extensive tradition of documenting Lima's *barriadas*, supported by stunning photographs of the squatter houses embedded in Lima's mountainous landscape, this physical transformation became unmistakable. Related to the outstanding transition that the city made, in which rural squatter settlements became urban neighbourhoods, the usage of terminology to describe the squatter settlements changed within the Peruvian context. The various terms in a way also reflect the different attitudes towards the 'slums', either accepting or ignoring them. Initially the squatters were labelled as *urbanizaciones clandestinas*, in 1953 the term *barriada* was coined, from the 1970s onwards the term *pueblos jóvenes* came into the picture, then for some time *urbanizaciones populares* was used and currently the previous *barriadas* are referred to as *asentam-*

*ientos humanos*³⁹.

THE DEVELOPMENT AND CONSOLIDATION OF THE CLASSICAL BARRIADAS

1940-1954: FROM BRIDGEHEADER TO CONSOLIDATOR

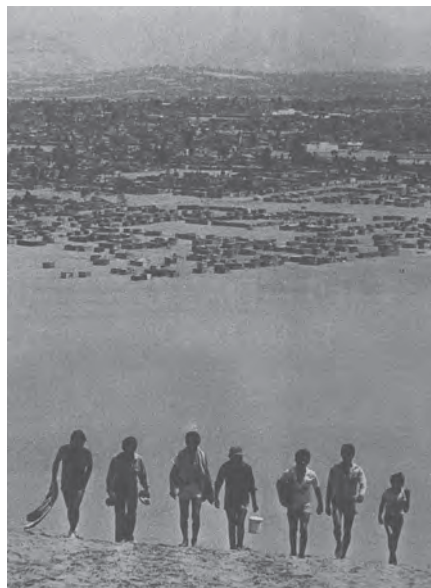
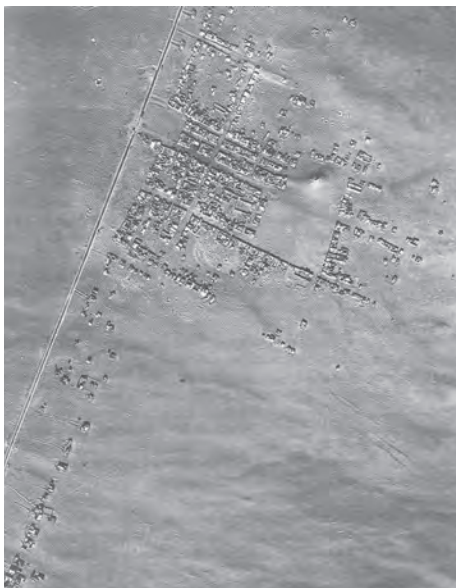
Already in the beginning of the 20th century the massive migration from rural peasants to the capital got started, mainly initiated by ambitious single young people looking for a more prosperous future in the city. The rural to urban migration accumulated in the 1960s when the migrants represented 75 per cent of the urban population in Lima.⁴⁰

Between 1940 and 1954 the first migrants or *bridgeheaders* boarded in the city centre, mainly in the so-called *callejones*⁴¹ and in the

39 See: CHAMBERS, Bill, "The *barriadas* of Lima: Slums of hope or despair? Problems or solutions?", in: *Geography*, 2005: p. 202. The term *barriada* was defined by Collier as: "A residential community formed by low income families in which the houses are constructed in large measure by the residents themselves and which are generally but not exclusively formed illegally." COLLIER, David, *Squatters and oligarchs: authoritarian rule and policy change in Peru*. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976: p. 18.

40 CHAMBER, 2005, op.cit.: p. 203

41 *Callejones* are small alleyways located in the city centre of Lima that were built until the 1930s and functioned as rental accommodation. 64% of the migrant population used to live in this type of settlements during



Ciudad de Dios in 1955. © Servicio Aerofotografico Nacional. José Matos Mar, 2012.



Straw squatter homes in Ciudad de Dios. © José Matos Mar, 1955

early formed *barriadas* along the river Rímac. To access the housing market they highly depended on family and relatives (*paisanos* and *compadrazgos*) that provided them shelter.⁴² With the tremendous increase of the (largely poor) urban population, the inner city areas and the floodplains around the river Rímac were filling up rapidly and the city was facing a serious housing problem.

At this time the country was under military rule of General Odría who's populist policies and reforms later would become crucial for Lima and in fact already prepared the ground for the further large-scale development of the *barriadas*. Two laws were adopted in 1949 allowing the government in trading-off land and transforming all land without a clear tenurial status into the state property. The state by then would still not negotiate with individuals in land titling, only with organized groups of residents. This on the other hand stimulated the formation of neighbourhood organizations

that after would coordinate the massive invasions of in the peripheral areas of Lima⁴³. In 1954 the first massive illegal land occupation on state owned vacant land took place, known as the invasion of **Ciudad de Dios**⁴⁴. The invasion of Ciudad de Dios was strongly encouraged by the popular opposition leader Pedro Beltrán, who later was assigned as Prime Minister. The government of Odría would neither neglect the land occupations. The settlers could stay on the land, though they were not given individual land titles. Odría's actions were in a way a political move to gain votes and at the same time a 'solution' for the housing problem the government was simply not able to solve, as chambers explains: *"The rise of the squatter settlements was mainly a direct consequence of the inability of the state to provide sufficient housing."*⁴⁵ As Turner puts forward between 1949 and 1959 less then 5500 dwelling were provided by the state and in the same period over

50.000 people invaded land.⁴⁶ Hence the land invasion became the main strategy for the urban poor population to access the housing market.

1954-1968: THE BARRIADA IN THE 'DEVELOPING' STAGE

Elected president Manuel Prado followed up Odría in 1956. Soon after Ciudad de Dios was legalized in 1958. Pedro Beltrán, opposition leader under Odría and editor of the conservative newspaper *La Prensa*, was assigned as Prime Minister. Beltrán was the founder of the National Housing Institute (INVI), (where Turner was employed for a time) that was established in 1960. In his housing policies Beltrán promoted *'la casa barata que crece'* (the cheap house that grows) that was in fact the precursor of the sites and services schemes that Turner later advocated.⁴⁷ In his liberal policies Beltrán envisioned 'self-help' in which the real estate developers would provide the main opportunities for housing and mortgages would enable people to finance their home construction.

Beltrán can also be seen as an early advocate of the 'satellite towns'. These autonomous cities (including industries providing work opportunities, services and housing in accordance with the sites and services schemes) had to be formed in the peripheral desert lands that had a low economical and productive value.

The first pilot was put in practice in Ventanilla located in the northwest, 25 kilometres away from the central Lima. The rise of the satellite towns would of course result in an even more sprawling city, separating the poor from the rich even more.

Crucial for the further development of the *barriadas* was the *Ley de Barriadas* that was adopted in 1961. In this law the government pretended to incorporate the *barriada* dwellers into the formal system. Although the existing *barriadas* were officially recognized, at the same time it strictly prohibited new invasion and illegal land occupations.⁴⁸ However this did not mean invasions did not take place anymore.

By passing this law the provision of land and

the 1960s. CHAMBER, 2005, op.cit.: p. 206.

Furthermore the callejones were documented by Turner, Caminos and Steffian at MIT. Caminos, Horacio; Turner, John F.C.; Steffian, John A., *Urban dwelling environments: an elementary survey of settlements for the study of design determinants*. MIT Press, 1969.

42 TURNER, 1968, op.cit.: pp. 354-363.

43 HORDIJK, Michaela, *Of dreams and deeds: the role of local initiatives for community based environmental management in Lima*, Peru. PhD dissertation, University of Amsterdam, 2000.

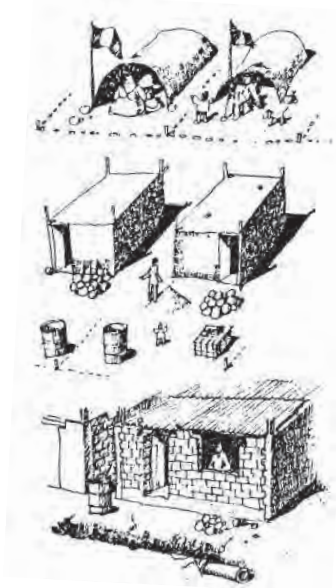
44 MATOS MAR, José, *Las barriadas de Lima*, Lima, IEP, 1977.

45 CHAMBERS, 2005, op.cit.: p. 209

46 TURNER, John F.C., "Dwelling resources in South America", in: *Architectural Design*, August issue, 1963.

47 BROMLEY, 2003, op.cit.: p. 284. HORDIJK, 2010, op.cit.: p. 77.

48 MATOS MAR, José, *Perú: estado desbordado y sociedad nacional emergente*, Lima, Centro de Investigación Universidad Ricardo Palma, 2012: p. 152



Evolution of the house and the *barriada* © Gustavo Riofrio, De invasores a invadidos, 1980

services and technical and financial assistance for the infrastructure was now assigned to the government, though in reality the government's interventions were long in coming. The *Ley de Barriadas* can be seen as very progressive, nevertheless it also implied that, by integrating 'self-help' officially into the formal system, the state was relinquished from its responsibility in providing housing for the urban poor⁴⁹. The positive point was that the existing *barriada* dwellers did not have to fear for eradications, although they still did not have individual land titles, that was now their first concern.

With the change of government in 1963 it was not very prosperous that the *barriada* settlers would obtain their services and individual titles soon. The new president's Fernando Belaúnde prime concern was to slow down the migration flows towards Lima rather than invest in the *barriadas*. This quickly resulted in marches of an unsatisfied, but a more and more mobilized society, demanding their land titles and service and infrastructure networks.

1968-1980: THE FUNDAMENTAL REFORMS UNDER MILITARY RULE

Hope returned when the left-wing military government of Velasco took over in 1968.

49 HORDIJK, 2000, op.cit.

Under the rule of the government of the Armed Forces series of fundamental reforms took place. It started off with the formation of ONEDPIOV (The National Organization for Development of the Young Towns) in 1968. The *barriadas* (that in Velasco's eyes had a negative image) were renamed as *Pueblos Jovenes* or Young Towns. Community organization was strongly encouraged and the families finally got their individual land titles after years of struggle. At the same time large-scale programs for road construction and infrastructure were launched.

The population quickly took up Velasco's positive approach towards the *barriadas* and a massive land invasion followed in 1971. The invasion, known as 'El Pamplonazo' took place close to the where Ciudad de Dios was established. The major part of the population was relocated in the southern Villa El Salvador, some stayed in the area that is now known as Pamplona Alta.

In the same year the Velasco Government established SINAMOS (Sistema Nacional de Apoyo a la Movilización Social). This created an official link between invaders and government that would be essential for the future development of the settlement. The level of consolidation that can be found in the *barria-*

das today strongly depended on the capacity of inhabitants to organize themselves and the relation of the neighbourhood with the government.⁵⁰

On account of the fundamental reforms under the military rule of Velasco, people who invaded land now could really start to extend and transform their homes. This was of course already happening, but the changing policies strongly stimulated and accelerated the process of home consolidation. Although Turner already left Peru in 1965, his theories on self-help seemed to have found its way into the government housing policies.

THE REPRODUCTION OF THE BARRIADA⁵¹

1980-1990: THE 'COMPLETING' OF THE BARRIADA

In 1980 there came an end to military government of Velasco and Belaúnde was re-elected as president. During this period the process of spontaneous city making in Lima went on, yet it changed in its characteristics. Firstly the *barriadas* were growing and transforming rapidly

50 BARREDA, José; RAMÍREZ CORZO, Daniel, "Lima: consolidación y expansión de una ciudad popular", in: *Perú hoy: Las ciudades en el Perú*, Lima, Desco, 2004, pp. 199-218.

51 The term is used by Riofrio to illustrate the shift towards a new generation that needs to be accommodated.



Self-builders © José Matos Mar, 2012

and reached (what Turner would define as) the 'developing' stage if they were not already in the 'completing' stage. Secondly the characteristics of the population also changed. The families extended and a second generation was growing up. Consequently the city was now facing the problem of housing the second generations rather than the rural migrants.⁵² The *barriadas* that were established in the 1960s obtained their land titles and the majority of the settlements were provided with basic services and infrastructure. At the beginning of the 1980s, a third of Lima's population was living in the self-help settlements.⁵³ The classical *barriadas* reached a level of considerable improvement and homes consolidated close to what Turner would call 'complete'. After numerous invasion of the past (that began with the invasion Ciudad de Dios in 1954, followed by many more illegal land occupations) Lima extended tremendously. The concentration of *barriadas* in the urban peripheries formed the three 'cones' of Lima.

52 Between 1972 and 1981 the population increased with on average of 145.000 new inhabitants. Driant showed explicitly that the *barriada* was the principal place for this demographical increase. In this period the share in the population growth due to the natural increase for the first time exceeded the proportion of the immigrant population. DRIANT, Jean-Claude, *Las barriadas de Lima: historia e interpretación*, 1991: p. 129.

53 DRIANT, 1991, op.cit.: p. 161

LAND ACCESS AFTER THE 1980S

With the desert lands filling up, land was becoming scarce after the 80s. As Gustavo Riofrío already put forward in 1978, by the end of the 1970s there was still enough land available to invade, though there were certain factors that impeded this process to actually happen⁵⁴. Riofrío mentioned several hindering factors. Firstly the far distances of the remaining vacant areas from central Lima were unfavourable and would contribute to high costs of transportation and services. Secondly the river valleys of Lurín and Chillón formed physical barriers in the continuity of the city and would segregate new neighbourhoods even more. Lastly Riofrío points out that the state began to see value in the peripheral areas and was planning to develop it. This would undoubtedly lead to conflict if people were planning to invade these lands.

This did not mean the large-scale organized invasions were completely over. Riofrío mapped in 1978 the areas where the ‘next *barriadas*’ could be established. The available land or areas ‘*sin planos de urbanización urbanos*’ (without an urban development plan) are

54 This is illustrated by Gustavo RIOFRÍO, Gustavo “Se busca terreno para proxima *barriada*: Espacios diponible en Lima 1940-1978-1990” (In search for new sites for the next *barriada*), Lima, Desco, 1978: p.39.

marked in black. What immediately stands out is the large area in the eastern cone and the smaller black spot in the southern periphery, located in-between Pamplona and Ciudad de Dios in the north and Villa el Salvador in the south. It soon turned out that these areas indeed would be occupied by new groups of land invaders. Furthermore Riofrío visualized the areas, which were consolidated less than 50%. Here inner densification could take place in the future.⁵⁵

THREE GENERATIONS OF BARRIADAS

Hence the access to land became more and more difficult, though the great demand for cheap housing was still there. As a consequence the places where the people settled changed from the mid 80s onwards, as described by Barreda and Ramírez Corzo (2004). Still new settlements were formed mainly as an extension of the already existing *barriadas*, covering the surrounding hills and sometimes in the few open spaces that were left inside the *barriada*⁵⁶.

As Hordijk adds to the process that Barreda and Ramírez describe, this shows the differentiation between three generations of

55 RIOFRÍO, 1978, op.cit.

56 BARREDA, José; RAMÍREZ CORZO, Daniel, 2004, op.cit.: pp. 199-218.

barriadas, which diverge extensively in their characteristics⁵⁷. The ‘*first generations barriadas*’ that emerged along the Rímac river were smaller and did not have a strongly organized community yet. Later when populations mobilized and undertook the extensive land invasions (as happened in Ciudad de Dios) on vacant desert land in the outskirts of Lima, the ‘*second generation barriadas*’ were born. The new settlements that appeared after the mid 1980s in the fringes of existing settlements can be comprehended as the ‘*third generation*’ of *barriadas*, consisting of smaller plots on substandard and often dangerous sites and steep hillsides.

With a first period of *barriada* development behind, the population gained some experience in land invading and still many people aspired to have ‘a house of one’s own’. Second generations were quite familiar with the phenomenon of land invasions and the formation of new settlements went on, as Driant illustrates: “We can conclude that the *barriada* no longer is only the last step in the housing career of the immigrants, it is also the first step in the housing career of their children.”⁵⁸

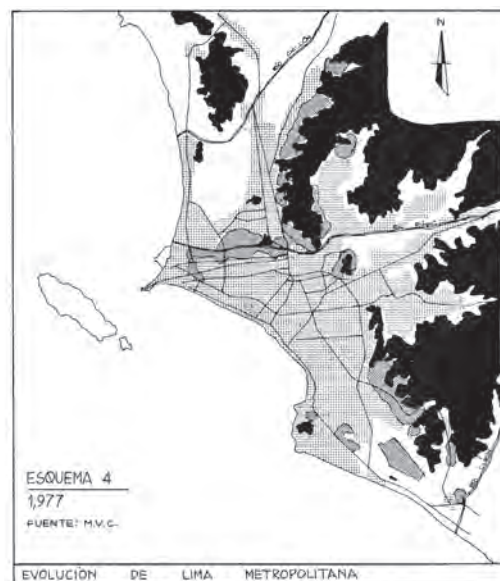
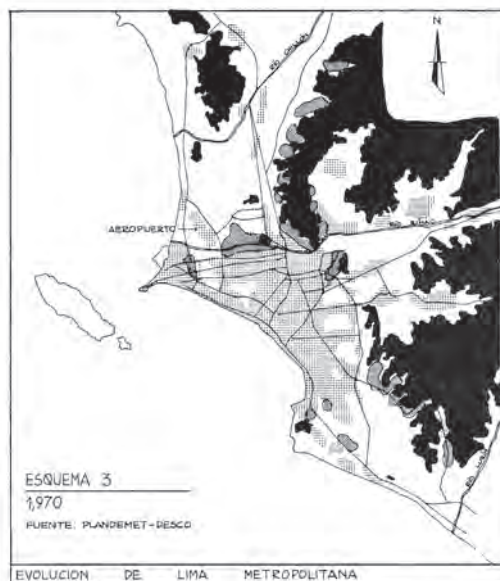
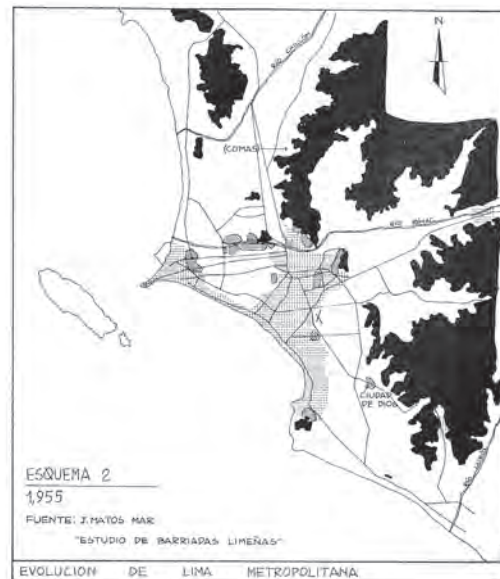
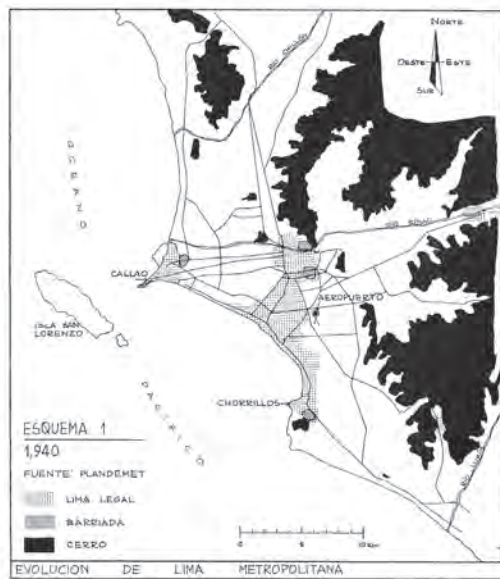
57 HORDIJK, 2010, op.cit.: pp. 361-374.

58 DRIANT, 1991: p. 178. in: HORDIJK, 2000, op.cit.: p. 103.

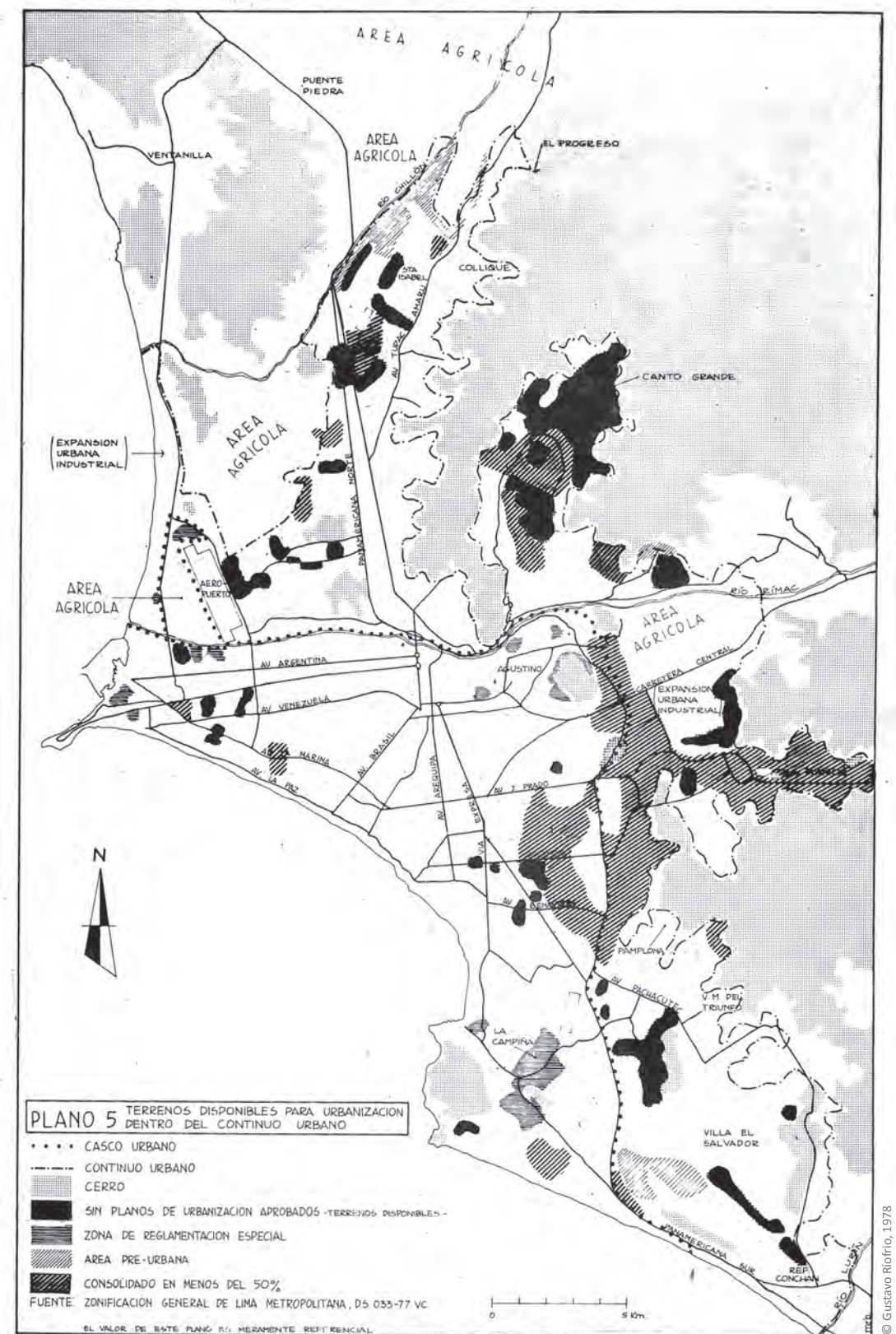
Within a changing setting of modernization and democratization in Lima, social dynamics and characteristics of different generations equally changed. As Hordijk described, for the second generation ‘their reality is different’ and the children grew up in a completely other environment than their parents.

In fact the actual amount of invasions went down after the 1980s. Besides that it was very common for second-generation dwellers to share a house with their parents. Though it is questionable if this was really out of a true desire. Surveys in a ‘consolidated’ *barriada* carried out in a 1987 by Riofrío and Driant (that will be discussed more profoundly in chapter 4) showed that in numerous cases the respondents who ‘choose’ to stay in the parents’ home answered this was because: “*there was no other solution.*”⁵⁹ The reasoning of second generations to either ‘stay’ or ‘leave’ clearly depends on the housing alternatives the city offers. The empirical research of Riofrío and Driant (that was in fact an early ‘revisit’ to the *barriadas* that would be followed by many other restudies later on) already illustrates the complexities that evolved across different

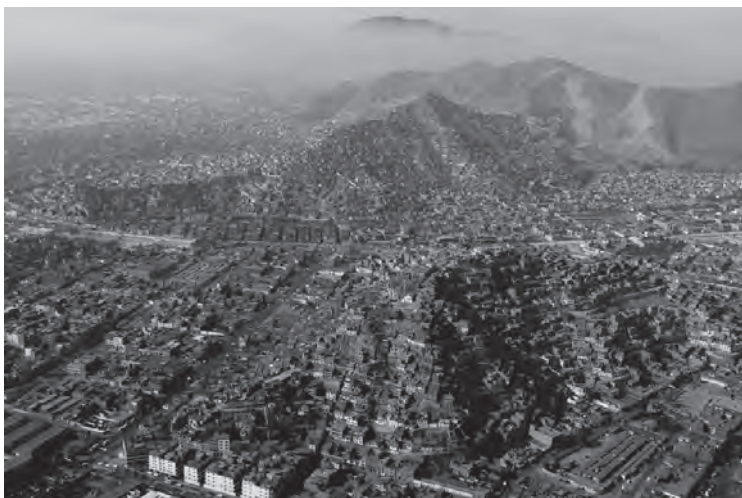
59 RIOFRÍO, Gustavo; DRIANT, Jean-Claude, *¿Que vivienda han construido? : nuevos problemas en viejas barriadas*, Lima, Centro de Investigación, Desarrollo y Asesoría Poblacional, 1987: p. 121



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Evelyn Merino Reyna, 2012

Lima's contemporary urban landscape

generations and the gap between the desires of the second generation and their actual possibilities on the housing market.

1990-PRESENT: A THIRD GENERATIONS GROWING UP

Although new invasions could still be found on the steep hillsides after the 1990s, in general the population now started seeing invading as something from the past, and the *barriada* was about to grow further in its vertical dimension, housing the members of the extended families, second and now the upcoming third generations in 'los aires', as is described and studies in detail by Peruvian architect Juan Tokeshi.⁶⁰ The vertical growth resulted in an enormous increase of densities in the 'consolidated' *barriadas* located in the three 'cones' of Lima, now reaching densities that are similar to that of the inner city of Lima, housing more than two third of the population.⁶¹

The 'second generation *barriadas*' and part 60 The densification process that starts of with the individual process of home consolidation is widely studied by Limean architect Juan Tokeshi. See the publication of a longitudinal study in Villa El Salvador: ZOLEZZI, Mario; TOKESHI, Juan; NORIEGA, Carlos, *Densificación habitacional: Una propuesta de crecimiento para la ciudad popular*, Lima, Desco, 2005. This work will be discussed in more detail in chapter 4.

61 Source: INEI - Censos Nacionales de Población y Vivienda, 1981, 1993 y 2007.

of the 'third generation *barriadas*' which did not obtain their titles yet, were given their individual titles for the land properties under the Fujimori government, which established the COFOPRI (Organismo de Formalización de la Propiedad). Nearly half a million self-built homes where regularized between 1996 and 2007.⁶²

At the time Turner and Mangin carried out their studies, they were mainly focused on an immigrant population that would soon become the originators of the newly formed *barriada* settlements. As Peter Ward argues, in that time it was not that researchers expected a linear trajectory of development, but neither one had foreseen nor imagined "the second- and third-generational complexities that might evolve"⁶³.

Ward, whose empirical grounded work is mainly conducted in the Mexican context, emphasizes the importance to return to the settlements in order to evaluate better upon changes that take place and understand the

62 HORDIJK, 2010, op.cit.: pp. 361-374.

63 See article: WARD, Peter M., "Self-help housing policies for second generation inheritance and succession of The House that Mum & Dad Built.", In: *Habitat International*, 2011 (35) 3, pp. 467-485.



Lima Urbanphoto, 2012

Globalizing Lima

multigenerational complexities. After publishing the book *Self-Help Housing: A critique* in 1982, he remained active in the field. In recent publications from Mexico, he illustrates how multigenerational households are transforming their homes, in many cases subdividing the houses for second and third generations or renters. The main problem he puts forward is the tenurial status and the issue inheritance. He argues that if second generations do not have a secure title, they are not likely to invest in the house, it can lead to conflicts in common spaces and even lead to deterioration. Hence his overall impression is not very positive⁶⁴.

Several empirical studies conducted in the 'reproducing' *barriadas* of Lima encounter major problems as well, although they have a more positive undertone. As Michaela Hordijk shows in her research of the neighbourhood of Pampas de San Juan (located in the southern periphery of Lima) in 2010⁶⁵, the *barriada* has been successfully consolidated. As she explains: "in general John Turners thoughts are proven right" and the area seems to have developed "beyond Turners expectations." It is clear that this at the same time

64 WARD, 2011, op.cit.: pp. 467-485.

65 The study was based on studies comparing the same households in Lima in 1997 and 2010.

implies a problem for the future generations that have to be accommodated. This leads her to the conclusion that re-envisioning the settlements is crucial, hereby especially emphasizing the necessity of community action.

The studies of local architect Juan Tokeshi and Riofrío, both associated with Desco⁶⁶, especially focus on how transformations of the house took place in time and in what kind of house the people have constructed after several decades. In 2005 Juan Tokeshi observed, after documenting a number of case studies in Villa El Salvador, certain spatial limitations of the self-help house after 30 years of home consolidation. On the other hand he strongly focuses on the potentials that the self-help house offers, in terms of community life in the Peruvian family traditions, such as the inner patios for interactions as well as commercial activities that are adapted in the house that allow for economical contributions to the families. He concludes that a certain technical assistance is required to, without losing the flexibilities the self-managed house offers.

(Re)visiting the *barriadas* today, the settlement-

66 DESCO, Centro de Estudios y Promoción del Desarrollo has long experience in Lima and has published many influential books. In the thesis mainly the work of Gustavo Riofrío and more recent work of Juan Tokeshi is used.

PART V - Conclusions

ts completely changed in all its dimensions. Ciudad de Dios, first surrounded by the extensive landscape of vacant desert land, as José Matos Mar showed on the cover of his book published in 1977, is now surrounded by the district of san Juan de Miraflores. Ciudad de Dios is unrecognizable and can only be noticed from the self-painted names of destinations of small *micros* that bring some from one place to the other. All the vacant land that Riofrío pointed out in 1978 is urbanized, populations changed from *bridgeheaders* to *consolidators* and perhaps also *statusseekers*? In the city, the majority of the Limeños today live in what we called before a *barriada*. But not anymore, because this is 'La Nueva Lima'.

PART V - CONCLUSIONS

To evaluate upon the self-help practice it is crucial to take into account the different scales of action, the house and the family, the neighbourhood, the city and the country. First of all it has to be understood that in order to implement self-help housing strategies on such a large scale as happened in Lima, this was only possible on account of Lima's geographical conditions of desert land with low economical interest.

Although Turner might have polarized his views a bit, seeing self-help as the only housing solution, it is true in the end that in the case of Lima in fact millions of people gained access to an affordable place to live in the extent that the state could never have solved with the provision of 'formal housing'. Besides that, the *barriada* was on the level of the country, as Bill Chambers (2005) illustrates, a solution for the national poverty and 'an escape from rural deprivation': "*It is salutary to consider what might have happened in rural areas of Peru had this safety valve not been available.*"⁶⁷ Nevertheless it is disputable if the city really offered the conditions to escape from poverty and if living conditions in the city were really that better than in the Peruvian villages. Chambers also put forwards the additional benefit of self-help housing for the real estate values in Lima and the incentives for the local construction and services industries. Furthermore it can be concluded that on the city level the *barriadas* did prevent the inner city to transform into an overcrowded slums. This on the other hand, resulted in urban sprawl, as Riofrío (1996) rightly points out, at the cost of the city's infrastructure, and at the same time segregating the urban poor who were pushed to the outskirts of the city.

67 CHAMBERS, 2005, op.cit.: p. 221.

Reflecting upon the house and the family were the people made tremendous efforts, both in extending and transforming their homes as well in organizing themselves to provide the services for their neighbourhood, we see tremendous changes. Earlier it was hypothesized that the Turnerian self-help housing model has reached its limitations to house a contemporary urban population.

What Gustavo Riofrío already showed in the early stages of what he would call 'the reproduction of the *barriada*', is that the house could simply not adapt as fast as the family extended. Juan Tokeshi on the other hand showed years later, that the house did extent and grew tremendously, while the inhabitants were in fact decreasing. Though this is just one case, and as Tokeshi puts it "*Cada casa es un caso.*" Every house differs greatly from each other, though in general many houses now, with an third generation growing up and an upcoming fourth generation (that all tend to stay with their family) is facing serious problems, or will in the nearby future. All simply because the house is too small.

Though if we return to what Turner envisioned for what the house 'should' be, as mentioned at the start of this paper:

*"The value of the house must be determined by how far it satisfies or frustrates the needs of its user, the house in what it does for the user rather than what it is."*⁶⁸

In both the studies of Gustavo Riofrío in 1987, Ward Michaela Hordijk in 1997 and 2010, Juan Tokeshi in all his life experience and my own in 2013, the population was generally very positively about their neighbourhood, from which we may conclude that the most advantageous result of the *barriada* probably lies in its 'social success' and that John Turner maybe wasn't so wrong.

68 TURNER, 1972, op.cit.: pp. 148-175.

[03] A journey from the house to the city and back



“Ursula suddenly realized that the house had become full of people, that her children were on the point of marrying and having children, and that they would be obliged to scatter for lack of space. Then she took out of the money she had accumulated over long years of hard labour, made some arrangements with her costumers, and undertook the enlargement of the house. [...] Ursula fixed the position of light and heat and distributed space without the least sense of its limitations. The primitive building of the founders became filled with tools and materials, of workmen exhausted by sweat, who asked everybody please not to molest them, exasperated by the sack of bones that followed them everywhere with its dull rattle. In that discomfort, breathing quicklime and tar, no one could see very well how from the bowels of the earth there was rising not only the largest house in the town, but the most hospitable and cool house that had ever existed in the region of the swamp.”

Gabriel García Márquez

One Hundred Years of Solitude, 1967: p. 56.

PART I - 60 years of self-help housing practice in Lima

The previous chapter illustrated how the *barriada* was seen as a 'solution' for housing the urban poor in Lima during the 1960s and 1970s. Though the way in which the self-help model was carried-out and its seemingly successful consolidation was only possible under very specific circumstances such as the low economic and productive values of Lima's desert land and the favourable political climate.¹ As Chambers concluded, the *barriada* did provide shelter for millions of poor migrants who became homeowners and prevented inner-city slums to further deteriorate.² Nevertheless the peripheral *barriada* was also an effective way to segregate the urban poor, who were pushed to the outskirts of the city.³

Turner's theories on self-help housing were heavily criticized by Rod Burgess. Burgess blamed Turner for seeing self-help "*outside the process of commodity formation.*"⁴ As

1 See chapter 2: p. . GILBERT, Alan, *The Latin American city*, 1996: p. 57.

2 CHAMBERS, Bill, "The *barriadas* of Lima: Slums of hope or despair? Problems or solutions?", in: *Geography*, 2005 (90) 3, pp. 200-224.

3 RIOFRÍO, Gustavo, *Producir la ciudad (popular) de los '90: entre el mercado y el Estado*, Lima, Desco, 1991.

4 See chapter 2, BURGESS, Rod, "Petty Commodity Housing or Dweller Control? A Critique of John Turner's Views on Housing Policy", in: *World Development*, 1978 (6) 9/10, pp. 1105-1133.

Matos Mar proclaimed 50 years later, self-help housing indeed turned out to be highly influenced by commercialization of markets in which prices of both land, labour and construction material increase.⁵

Nonetheless, self-help housing did have many advantages for users. It offered a lot more possibilities to 'choose' and flexibility to shape one's own environment than formal housing systems. The urban poor managed to become homeowners that gave them tenurial security of owning a property. In a rental situation they were more vulnerable for evictions since income levels often were not stable. Furthermore the self-help house had many advantages for income generations either through shops and workshops that could be assimilated in the residential space or by renting out parts of the house.⁶

Turner's projections of how the self-managed process of home improvement would evolve over time were envisioned in his three stages model, which stopped in the 'completing stage' after 12 years of consolidation.⁷ Other

5 MATOS MAR, José, *Perú: estado desbordado y sociedad nacional emergente*, Lima, Centro de Investigación Universidad Ricardo Palma, 2012

6 GILBERT, Alan; GUGLER, Josef, *Cities, Poverty and Development: Urbanization in the Third World*, Oxford University Press, 1992: p. 124.

7 TURNER, John F. C., "The Squatter Settlement:

scholars who carried out empirically grounded studies of *barriada* development over a longer period than Turner included in his model, showed that home consolidation should be measured according to many more parameters than Turner used in his model and this process should be seen in a broader context.⁸

The preceding section also highlighted the shift that took place after the 1980s, when the population in search of a place to live was mostly a second generation that had grown up⁹. In this period of 'the reproduction of the *barriada*' local researcher Gustavo Riofrío already emphasized in 1987 how the process of home consolidation in Lima has reached a critical point in adapting to the layered social dimensions of multiple generations.¹⁰ Almost twenty years later Limenean architect Juan Tokeshi emphasized the spatial limitations of

An architecture that works", in: *Architectural Design, Architecture of Democracy*, 1968: p. 358.

8 Riofrío and Driant were the first scholars who completed a study revisiting the old *barriada* in 1987. RIOFRÍO, Gustavo; DRIANT, Jean-Claude, *¿Que vivienda han construido? : nuevos problemas en viejas barriadas*, Lima, Centro de Investigación, Desarrollo y Asesoría Poblacional, 1987

9 See: DRIANT, Jean-Claude; GREY, Carlos, "Acceso a la vivienda para la segunda generación de las *barriadas* de Lima", in: *Boletín del Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos*, 1988 (17) 1, pp. 19-36

10 RIOFRÍO; DRIANT, 1987, op.cit. : p. 138.

self-managed development and the further complexities that evolved in the households facing the third and an upcoming fourth generation.¹¹

In the international debate influential work from Peter M. Ward in Mexico showed the results of more than 30 years of home consolidation. Home sharing can lead to serious social deterioration among owners, shares and renters. Also other problems related to inheritance issues and the tenurial status of the inhabitants play part.¹²

Michaela Hordijk's longitudinal studies in Lima, focussing on second and third generation dwellers, have a more positive approach stating that in general "*Turner's thoughts are proven right.*"¹³ Nonetheless, within process-

11 ZOLEZZI, Mario; TOKESHI, Juan; NORIEGA, Carlos, *Densificación habitacional: Una propuesta de crecimiento para la ciudad popular*, Lima, Desco, 2005.

12 WARD, Peter M., "Self-help housing policies for second generation inheritance and succession of The House that Mum & Dad Built.", In: *Habitat International*, 2011 (35) 3, pp. 467-485.

13 HORDIJK, Michaela, "Nuestra Realidad es Otra: Changing realities in Lima's peripheral settlements: a case study from San Juan de Miraflores", in: *The production, use and dissemination of Urban Knowledge in Cities of the South*, BRUNFAUT, V.; D'AURIA, V.; DE MEULDER, B.; MORETTA, L.; SHANNON, K. (eds.), Brussels, N-AERUS, 2010: p. 362.



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es of radical social shifts, neighbourhoods will face serious problems housing the next generation.

This wide range of (re)visits within the discourse of both local and international scholars, underline the problem stated at the beginning of the thesis, that homes are not always able to adapt to both changing characteristics of extended families and social diversification of both the neighbourhood and the households themselves.¹⁴ Hence Turner's self-help housing model has reached its limits and in order to meet the aspirations of second and third generations of *barriada* dwellers it is crucial to rethink Turner's original ideas on self-help housing.

Despite increasingly more problems occurring while families extend, the self-help house can still be seen as an advantageous product of individual efforts where the Peruvian family everyday life takes place. John Turner's works published in the 1960s envisioned the house in the *barriada* to be adjusted to people's needs and priorities and, above all, that the house would play an important role in income generation. To a certain extent his projections found ground and today the *barriada* can still

14 WARD, 2011, op.cit.: pp. 467–485. HORDIJK, 2010, op.cit.: pp. 361-374.

be seen as a 'social success'. Up to this time, for instance, the house is an important determinant for employment generation.¹⁵

Nevertheless the way in which homes grow, adapt and are transformed by the owners, and how then homes respond differently to the changing characteristics of the extended families, are not always processes occurring synchronically. While two families grow in a comparable way, their respective houses may respond in a significantly different manner. Many distinctions can be found in the way this is represented in the house. One house can grow and adapt, while the family is still living under very poor conditions. Other houses remain untouched and users invest in other things such as luxury goods and therefore the family is not as poor as the house may reflect. A home investment is therefore not necessarily a direct consequence of an increase of financial resources or the extension of the family. There are many factors involved that influence improvement, transformation and adaptation of homes.¹⁶ Users' reasons and motivations for making home improvement

15 ZOLEZZI; TOKESHI; NORIEGA, 2005, op.cit.: p. 91.

16 WILLIAMS, Susana M., *Young Town growing up: four decades later: self-help housing and upgrading lessons from a squatter neighborhood in Lima*, Master thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2005.



Consolidating homes

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are really diverse and closely relate to both social consumption norms and the aspirations of different generations.

In order to determine the extent in which homes are able to adapt to changing social structures and characteristics of the extended family and to uncover additional factors influencing home consolidation processes, ongoing empirical research is needed. There is a long tradition of studying and revisiting self-help settlements, with Peru as a leading country in which many empirical studies were carried out, resulting in a wide range of valuable publications.¹⁷ John Turner's theories were mainly based on his experiences from the Peruvian context.¹⁸

As Turner and Mangin explained in their seminal work published in the late 1960s, it is important to see the house as 'a process' rather than a finished object.¹⁹ It is as crucial to look at how the process of home and neighbourhood consolidation continued in recent years to understand the *hereafter* of the self-help

17 The valuable publications carried out in Lima refer to the work of Matos Mar, Riofrio, Hordijk and Tokeshi as was reviewed in Chapter 2: pp. 47-51

18 BROMLEY, 2003, op. cit., p. 271

19 MANGIN, William; TURNER, John F.C., "Dwelling resources in South America", in: *Architectural Design*, August issue, 1963: pp. 366-370.

housing model. This term was coined by Bruno de Meulder who 'revisited' the modernist projects in Congo, reflecting upon original Modernist ideologies in a context of African colonization and decolonization.²⁰ The studies of the *hereafter* take into account the many years of 'lived-in' architecture of dwellers and the interplay between architectural space and dwelling culture.

The self-help housing model now involves a similar period of 'lived-in' experience. It was shown that original models are highly influenced by the context and the characteristics of users have changed so drastically that the self-help house is now starting its 'second life'.

In this chapter the process of home consolidation in the scope of three generations will be studied according to ten cases, ten families, in the neighbourhood of Pampas de San Juan. For this study intensive fieldwork was carried out in Lima during February and March 2013.

20 See: DE MEULDER, Bruno; PLISSART, Marie-Françoise, "Kinshasa, The Hereafter of Modern Architecture", in: *Back from Utopia. The challenge of the Modern Movement*, O10 publishers, 2002: pp. 160-173. DE MEULDER, Bruno, "The modern housing estates of OCA in Kinshasa (Belgian Congo. 1952-1960). On the dialectics of displacement and indigenization of modernistic housing estates", Proceedings of the conference Modern architecture in East Africa around Independence, 2004: pp. 141-148.

Different storylines are set out to illustrate the layered social structures of three generations and the different nature of home environments. The short stories of different houses are unravelled side by side in order to articulate convergences and divergences. These narratives are constructed around the central research question in order to inquire to what extent homes are able to adapt to changing social structures and shifting characteristics of the extended family. Users' priorities, aspirations and households' tenurial conditions in relation to home evolution are also discussed. Secondly the focus will shift from single house narratives to the social fabric of the neighbourhood. Here home transformation is discussed in relation to the broader scale, reflecting on homes within the changing urban tissue.

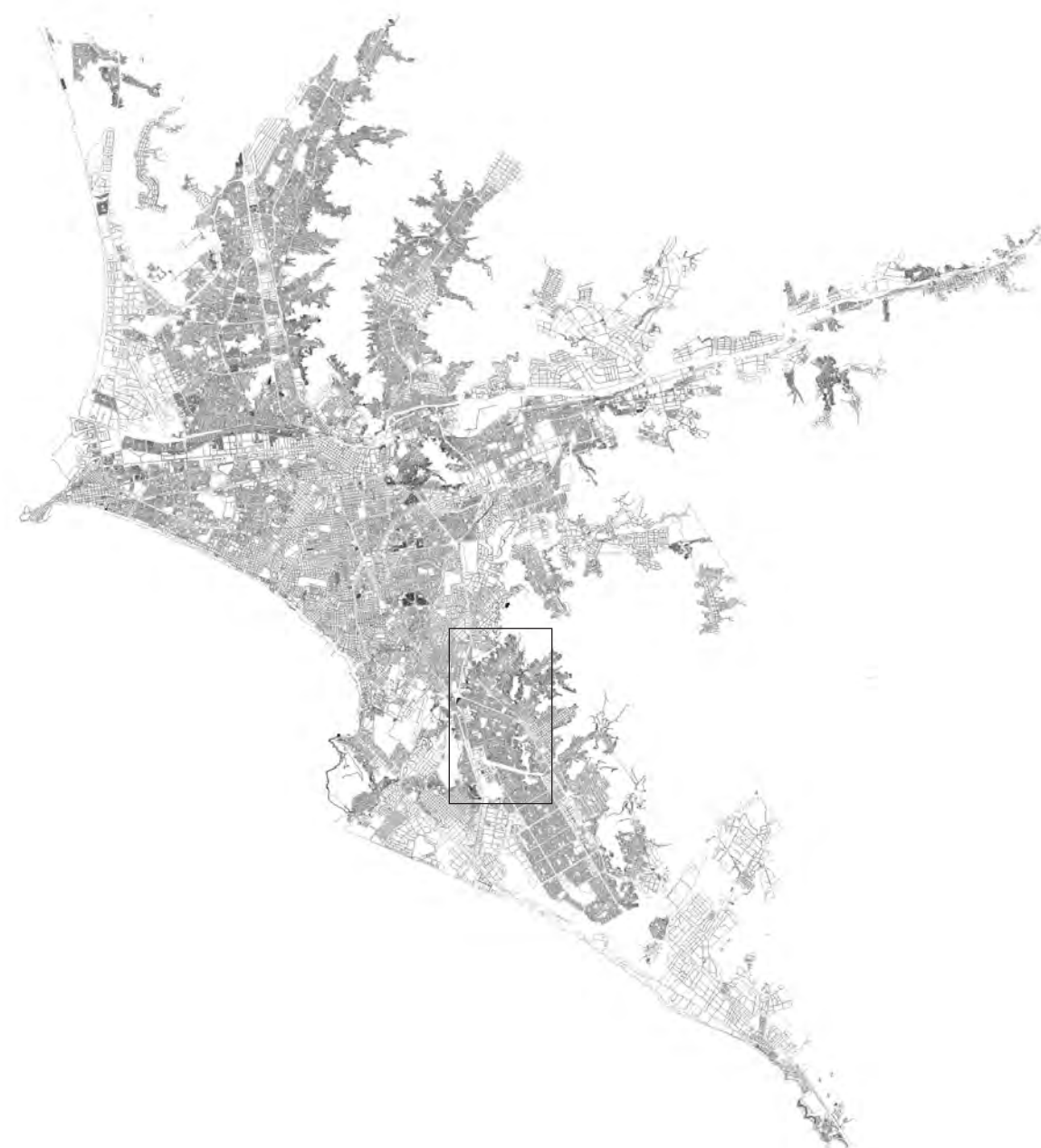
Prior to the ten in depth case studies, the historical background of Pampas de San Juan, a low-income settlement in the southern periphery of metropolitan Lima, is presented. The neighbourhood that was formed from the 1980s onwards can be classified as one of the ultimate 'second generation *barriadas*'.²¹ The

21 In Lima's urban development, Barreda and Ramírez distinguished three types of *barriadas*. The early *barriadas* formed along the Rimac river, the second generation *barriada* that caused the large city expansion during

settlements that emerged filled in the last remaining 'gap' Riofrío sketched on the map of Lima in 1978.²² Furthermore the concepts and terms that are widely used in the thesis are defined in this section.

the 1960s and 1970s, and the new *barriadas* that were formed after mid 1980s on steep hillsides. Pampas de San Juan is one of the late second-generation *barriada* type. BARREDA, José; RAMÍREZ CORZO, Daniel, "Lima: consolidación y expansión de una ciudad popular", in: Perú hoy: Las ciudades en el Perú, Lima, Desco, 2004, pp. 199-218. See Chapter 2: p. 46

22 RIOFRÍO, Gustavo, *Se busca terreno para próxima barriada: espacios disponibles en Lima, 1940-1978-1990, (In search for new sites for the next barriada)*, Lima, Desco, 1978. See Chapter 2: p. 49



Lima and the district of San Juan de Miraflores

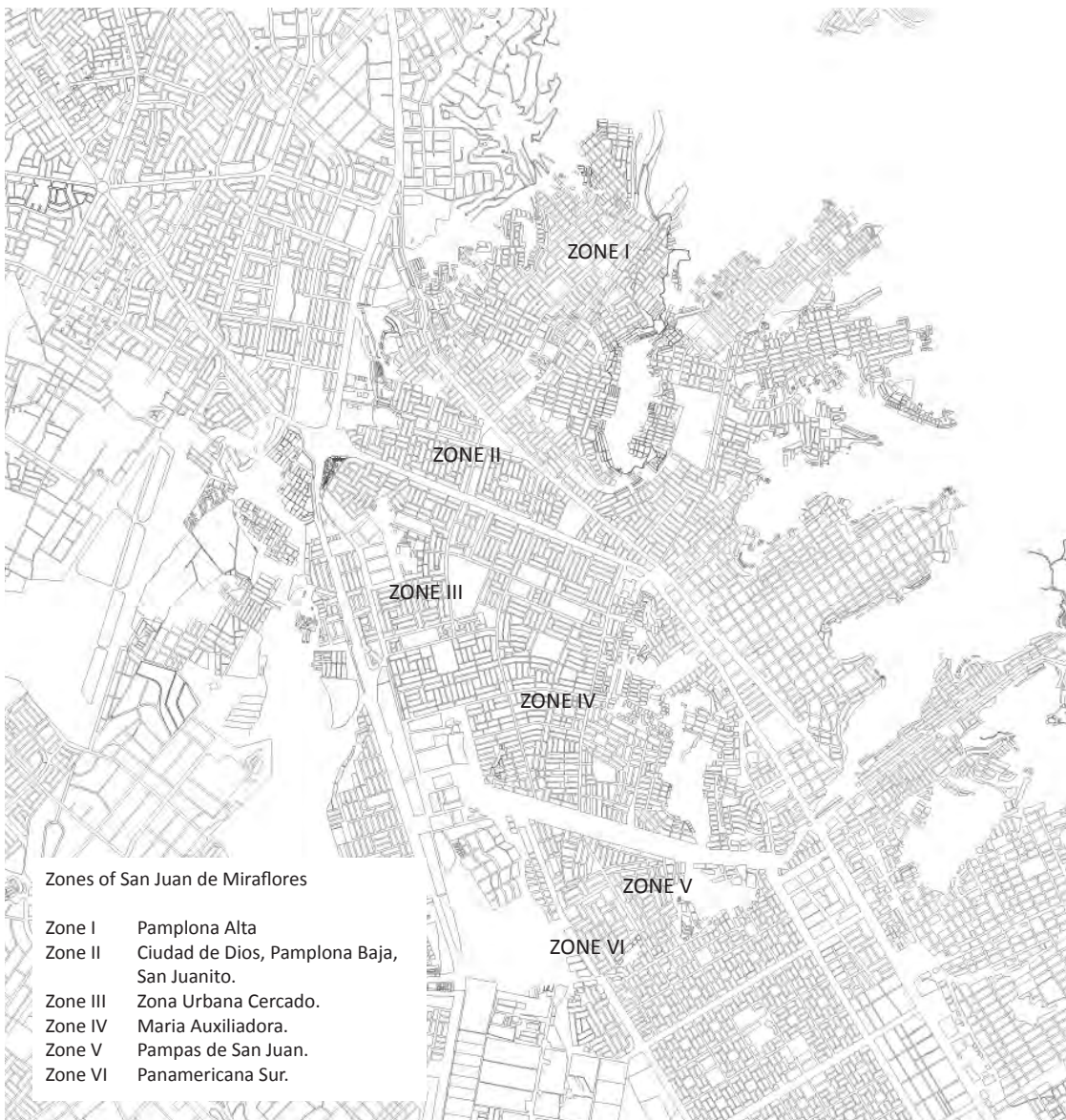
The history of Pampas de San Juan

Pampas de San Juan was one of the last remaining undeveloped pieces of land bordered by the in 1971 established Villa El Salvador in the south, and the spontaneously grown settlements of Ciudad de Dios and Pamplona in the north. In the east the steep hillsides enclose the area with Villa Maria lying on the other side. In the west a water treatment plant and a district leisure park are found. With a total of 65.000 residents Pampas de San Juan is a sub district within the larger area of San Juan de Miraflores that today counts over 393.000 inhabitants²³. The urban district originated in the northern area where, in the night of the 24th of December 1954, a group of invaders set up their camp of straw mats along the vacant desert areas of the Atocongo motorway. In the following days more and more families joined in and the invasion of Ciudad de Dios grew out to the largest invasion in national history.²⁴

The settlement was legalized in 1956. From this moment on the area started to expand. On the 27th of April 1972 another massive invasion took place, known as *El Pamplonazo*. A large part of the new invaders was relocated in Villa El Salvador. Another part stayed in the district that is now known as Pamplona Alta. The site of Pampas de San Juan was the last vacant area that remained, as Riofrío mapped

in 1978²⁵. The settlements emerged from the late seventies onwards and are comprised of both relocated settlers from other parts of the city, new invasions as well as existing neighbourhood extensions.²⁶ The area used to be privately owned, but the property fell back in state hands in 1982. The population quickly picked up this rumour and soon after new invasions took place on the hillside. A part of the area already had started to fill up with the so-called *asociaciones de vivienda*, settlements built by people who bought unofficial titles from land speculators. The later developed *asentamientos humanos* that began as squatters built by people who invaded land, were favoured by socialist mayor Alfonso Barrantes²⁷, who gave out land titles a few years after the invasions. Although the purchased plots of the *asociaciones de vivienda* were slightly bigger and started to develop earlier, today both settlements show similar levels of consolidation and it is hard to see the distinction between the two settlement types.

25 RIOFRÍO, Gustavo, *Se busca terreno para próxima barriada: espacios disponibles en Lima, 1940-1978-1990*, Lima, Desco, 1978
26 HORDIJK, Michaela, *Of dreams and deeds: the role of local initiatives for community based environmental management in Lima, Peru*. PhD dissertation, University of Amsterdam, 2000: p. 109.
27 HORDIJK, Michaela, 2000, op. cit.: p. 194.



Terminology

HOME SPACE

Turner defined the value of the house in terms of 'what it does for the user' rather than 'what it is',²⁸ seeing the house as 'a process' instead of a finished object. In Turner's approach, incorporating this social layer, the 'use value' or the extent to which a house "satisfies or frustrates the needs of its user"²⁹ was considered as the most important feature, as Turner argues: "the willingness of people to invest their energy and initiative and their savings or other material resources depends on the satisfactions they experience or expect as a result."³⁰

Building on Turner's theory, the house is equally seen as an entangled process in which both social and spatial aspects define the quality of the object. The physical structure and spatial composition of the house that developed progressively over time, together with the social structure of the extended family and the way in which spaces are used by different generations, are together embodied in home space.

THE EXTENDED FAMILY AND HOME SHARING

Household characteristics and social structures changed considerably more than thirty years after Pampas de San Juan was founded. The extended family consists of the founding fathers of the neighbourhood with their offspring. Most second-generation members now have a family of their own. In many of cases, the

three-generation family is further extended by taking in the son and daughter in-laws that married the children of the founding fathers. Less frequently other kins or (unrelated) renters are part of the extended household as well. The diversification of households in terms of owners, tenants and sharers is something that can be seen across various Latin American cities. Though this can vary between cities, as was shown by Peter M. Ward in comparative studies completed in Mexico and Colombia.³¹

HOME OWNERSHIP

Self-help housing has provided for people to become homeowners. Today in Pampas de San Juan most of the neighbourhoods' original invaders still live in the self-built house on the plot they invaded during the 1980s. The tendency of both the low mobility among owners is something that can be seen across Latin American cities. As Peter Ward explains once a settlement is established and has undergone some consolidation there is almost total lack of mobility among owners.³² Also Alan Gilbert claims that across several Latin American cities "A home is forever"³³.

31 WARD, Peter M., "Self-help housing policies for second generation inheritance and succession of The House that Mum & Dad Built.", In: *Habitat International*, 2011 (35) 3, pp. 467–485.

32 Ward, Peter M., "Self-Help Housing: Ideas and Practice in the Americas", in: *Planning Ideas that Matter*. Eds. Bishwapriya Sanyal, Lawrence Vale and Christina Rosan. Cambridge, MA, MIT Press, 2012: p. 301.

33 GILBERT, Alan. "A home is for ever? Residential mobility and homeownership in self-help settlements", in: *Environment and Planning*, 1999 (31) 6: pp. 1073-1091.

HOME SHARING

Another common trend can be found of children and grandchildren living under the same roof as their parents. The vast majority of Pampas' originators still are living in the area and many second and third generations share the house with their parents. It is very common in Pampas to either share the original house or live in a separate quarter on the same plot.

HOME SUBDIVISIONS

Home sharing often leads to one or more split-ups of the home space, dividing the home into multiple apartments arranged in a wide typological variety of multifamily homes. Some split-ups are very obvious and visible from the outside, such as external staircase and various entrances. Zooming in on the urban tissue taking a closer look at the home spaces many more complex spatial compositions can be found. Home subdivisions were extensively studied and documented by Peter M. Ward and Juan Tokeshi.³⁴

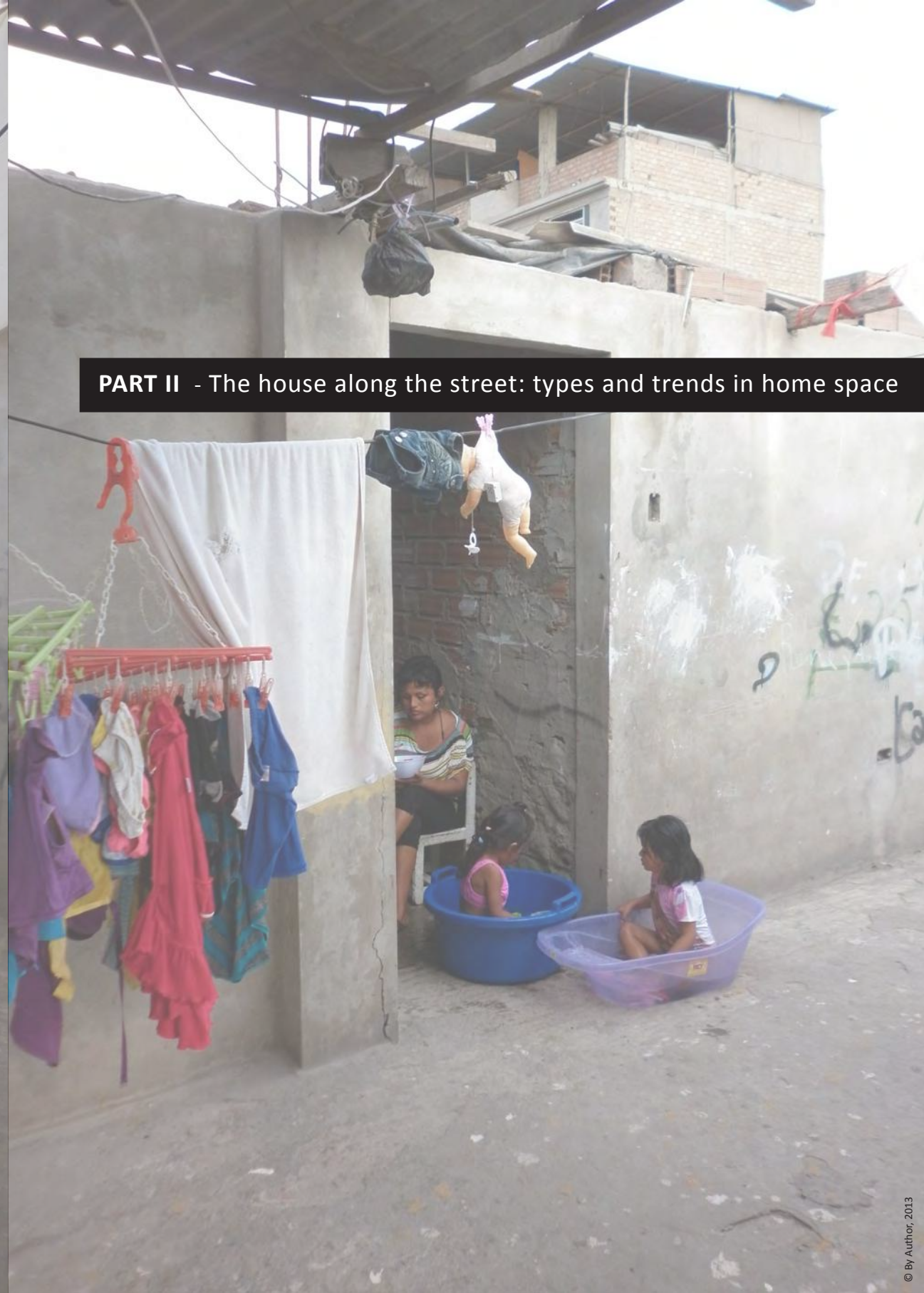
CHANGING SOCIAL CONSUMPTION NORMS AND USER PRIORITIES

Users' consumption patterns have changed considerably over time. Mainly as a consequence of the economical improvement people now possess cars, smart-phones, flat screen televisions, refrigerators, washing machines and more and more houses have a private

34 WARD, Peter M., 2011, op.cit.: pp. 467–485. ZOLEZZI, Mario; TOKESHI, Juan; NORIEGA, Carlos, *Densificación habitacional: Una propuesta de crecimiento para la ciudad popular*, Lima, Desco, 2005.

internet connections and cable connections for television. This changing pattern of belongings and aspirations of second generations were intensively studied by Michaela Hordijk.³⁵ The way in which people make home investments highly depends on their social consumption norms and their aspirations for the future. When second generations do not see their parents' house as the place they want to live in the future, it is unlikely that they make home investments and they would rather invest in other things either short-term investments of consumable goods or long-term investments such as education.

35 HORDIJK, Michaela, "Debe ser esfuerzo propio: changing patterns of belonging in Lima's peripheral settlements", paper presented at the International RC21 conference, 2011. HORDIJK, Michaela, "Nuestra Realidad es Otra: Changing realities in Lima's peripheral settlements: a case study from San Juan de Miraflores", in: *The production, use and dissemination of Urban Knowledge in Cities of the South*, BRUNFAUT, V.; D'AURIA, V.; DE MEULDER, B.; MORETTA, L.; SHANNON, K. (eds.), Brussels, N-AERUS, 2010, pp. 361-374.



PART II - The house along the street: types and trends in home space



Source: by author



THE VISIONARY HOUSE

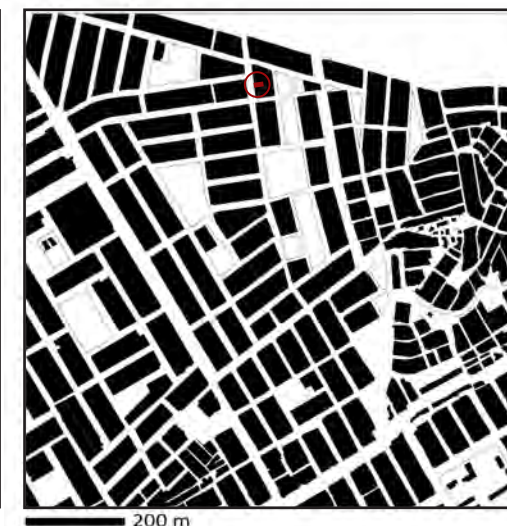
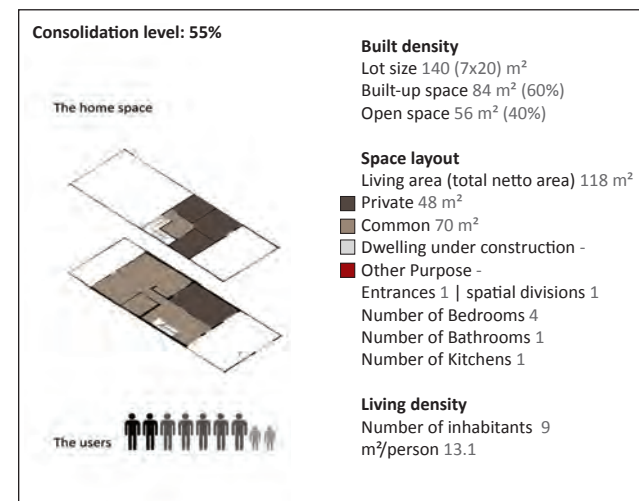
The sun rises above the hills of Pampas de San Juan and the house of Nora Jesusi and her husband Wilberto slowly wakes up. Rays of sunlight find their way to the small openings in the corrugated sheet ceiling and the walls made out of wooden panels, cardboard covered with plastic sheets and other material the family gathered together to build the house. The silence is broken by the barking street dogs. A rooster crows and a baby cries. There is the sound of several televisions that are turned on. A mobile phone rings. You can even hear the eggs frying in the pan in the kitchen below and the lady from next-door singing along with the *saya* music on the radio.

The house of Nora and Wilberto is small and consists of two floors. In contrast to many other houses in the surrounding area that are directly facing the street this house lays back from it because of a small front patio. A large tree grows promptly in the middle of it. Its branches rise above the small dwelling, providing a little shade, though in summer the family will cover the patio with a large white plastic sheet for shelter against the bright sunlight. The patio is enclosed by an old brown entrance gate and a smaller wooden door beside it that creaks when it opens. On

it visitors knock when passing by, a knock that is soon answered by a voice coming from the house calling out *Quien?* The door can only be closed from the inside. There is no need to close it from the outside. Of the large family, there will always be someone at home. In total, nine children and six grandchildren live in the house. Four of the nine children moved out to live with their in-laws, though they all still live close by and many of them can be found in their parents' home almost every day. Besides that Nora prefers to always have people around the house to prevent burglars to enter.

The house is mainly built with money the parents earned through the years, with the exception of a small loan to finance the roof. The children did not invest much in their home, though they do contribute to the payment of monthly bills, including electricity, water, cable television and Internet connection. Occasionally they buy luxury products for their mum and dad. The computer, washing machine and refrigerator that are shared by all household members were bought with money the children gathered.

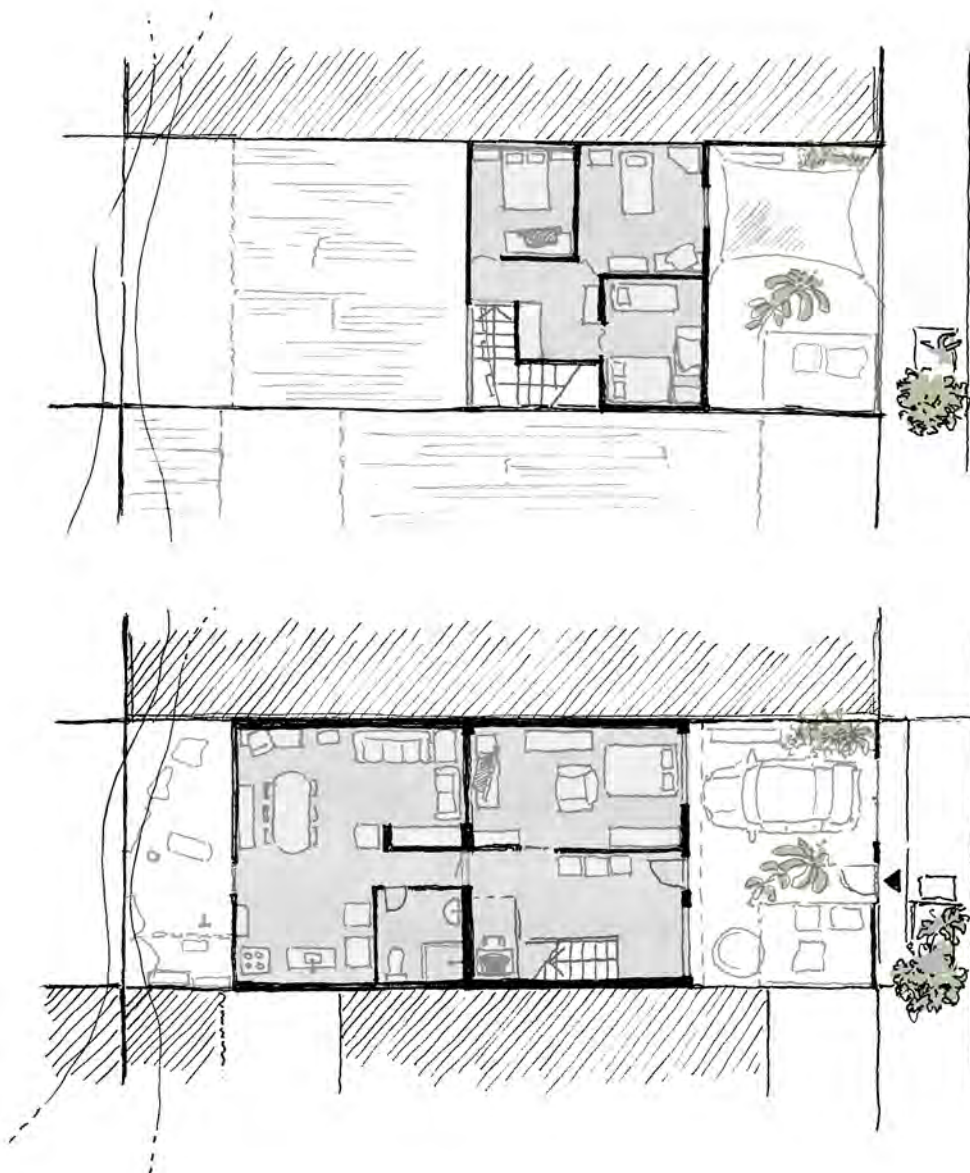
The ground floor is partially built in durable materials and covered with a concrete roof that was constructed about ten years ago. Big



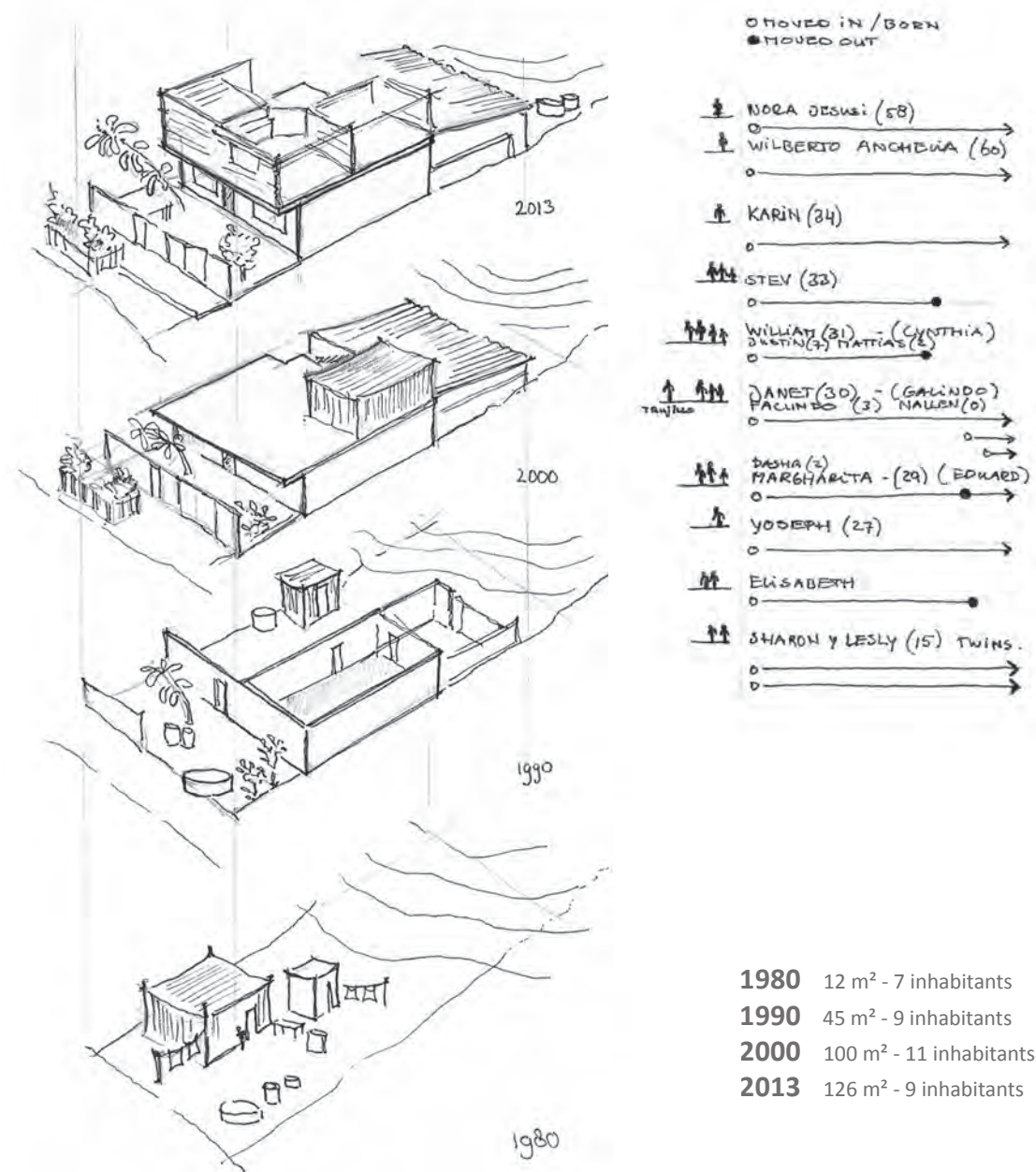
openings perforate the front façade, painted in a glaucous green. For the time being the windows are filled up with wooden panels, until there is money available to complete the finishing. The back part of the house does not contain a consolidated roof yet. Semi transparent corrugated sheets cover the passageway linking front and back. The front part, consisting of a spacious hallway and a bedroom quarter is in stark contrast with the improvised spaces that lie behind it. The provisional kitchen and capacious living area under the temporary roof have a sandy floor and are enclosed by walls partially built in concrete that are further closed up with roofing sheets and wooden panels. At the backside of the house a small exterior space is found that holds a pen for breeding ducks. This part of the plot is left empty since building on this part of the plot it more complex due to the steep slope implying the necessity to first construct a retaining wall. The staircase in the hallway leads to a compact upper floor covered by a corrugated sheet roof. Wooden cardboard partitions distribute the small bedroom spaces.

Nora and Wilberto built their house without any official plan or technical assistance. Although it is lagging behind in its consolidation, they have great ideals of how the house will develop in the future. While none of the

interior spaces in the entire house have a finishing yet, Nora dreams of her beautiful kitchen complete with modern equipment and spacious quarters with painted walls and tiled floors. Of the nine children, the first-born daughter sketched out a proposal for the family's dwelling. The patio will be kept and from it a newly planned staircase will lead to the upper floor that is bound to be twice as large as it is today. Here either the children can build their own private apartment or the spaces can be rented out to others. The family is highly creative and imaginative in envisioning the construction of their house of the future. However little of their dreams are represented in the actual home improvement process. What is left behind is the small visionary house where the large family gathers together in improvised spaces while they keep dreaming about future possibilities.



Site plan scale 1:200



House trajectory vs. Life trajectories





THE COURAGEOUS HOUSE

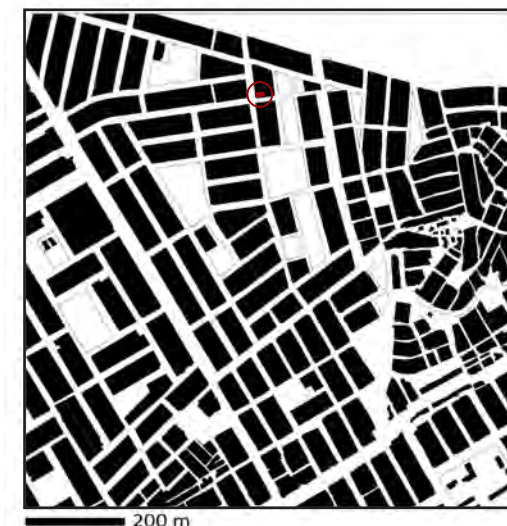
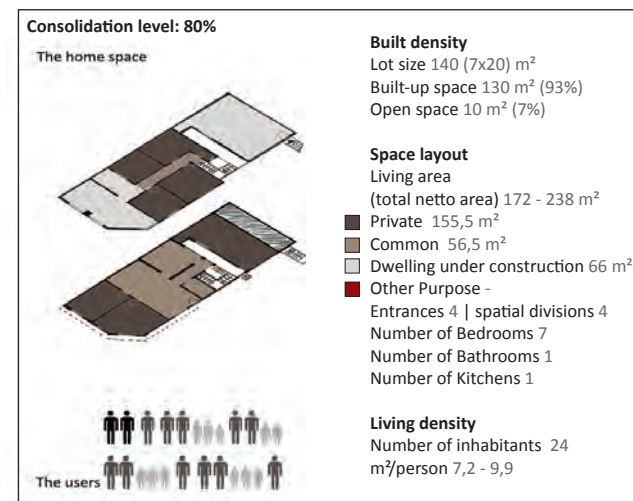
A few houses down the block a young man is putting up a banner on the façade of a two-storey house. “*Apoyo el NO*”, it says. The young man is Alexander, one of señor Aleman and señora Flores’ ten children. The house of the Aleman family, painted in pale orange and sharp white, is situated at the corner of the block along the main road that runs all the way up to the hill. It is the perfect place to look out over the street and the surrounding area. During the day looking for shelter from the sweltering heat, señor Aleman can be found here, observing the neighbourhood from under the small tree in front of the house.

The house covers nearly the entire plot. Only a narrow space containing a staircase and a blue tiled sink for the laundry is left open. It separates the original dwelling from the quarter adjacent to it.

The house is split up both horizontally and vertically into different apartments, some completely detached while others are still connected with additional living areas. From the street the dwelling can be accessed through four entrances, although one is not in use anymore. The upper floor protrudes slightly

over the narrow exterior alleyway lying at the corner, shading the space that guides to the main entrance. Behind the front door, which is usually found wide open during the day, lies the living room. In recent years this area has been perfectly finished with a decorated tile floor, plastered walls matching the colours of the floor and an outer façade. Under the tree further up the steep road lies a small staircase that leads directly to a separate room on the second floor that is still under construction. A third door located in the middle of the house gives access to the small open space in the heart of the dwelling and connects to the interior staircase and the rooms on the upper floor. Señor Aleman likes silence to read his books. This was one of the reasons he encouraged his children to make the additional entrances to the house they share.

The family invaded the land in the early 1980s. When Señor Aleman and his wife Lucia settled in their straw shelter of no more than twelve square meters they already had nine children. Soon after the invasion the land was subdivided into individual plots after which the people could start building their homes. For señor Aleman, who was the community leader, the house was not always the first thing to worry about. Aleman could see the houses slowly rising around him and the straw transforming



first to wood and then to brick, while his own home was still in its ‘incipient stage’. Aleman and his wife remember well how bricks were piled up in front of the houses along the not yet paved dusty roads, waiting till the self-builders had money to buy cement and could continue the home construction. On other occasions the people had different priorities and the bricks remained there lying in the shade of the house. The Alemans were fortunate to obtain a lot in the corner that allowed them to build the various entrances and several large windows in the longitudinal façade. These ventilate the quarters that lie behind it and allow for daylight to enter in abundance.

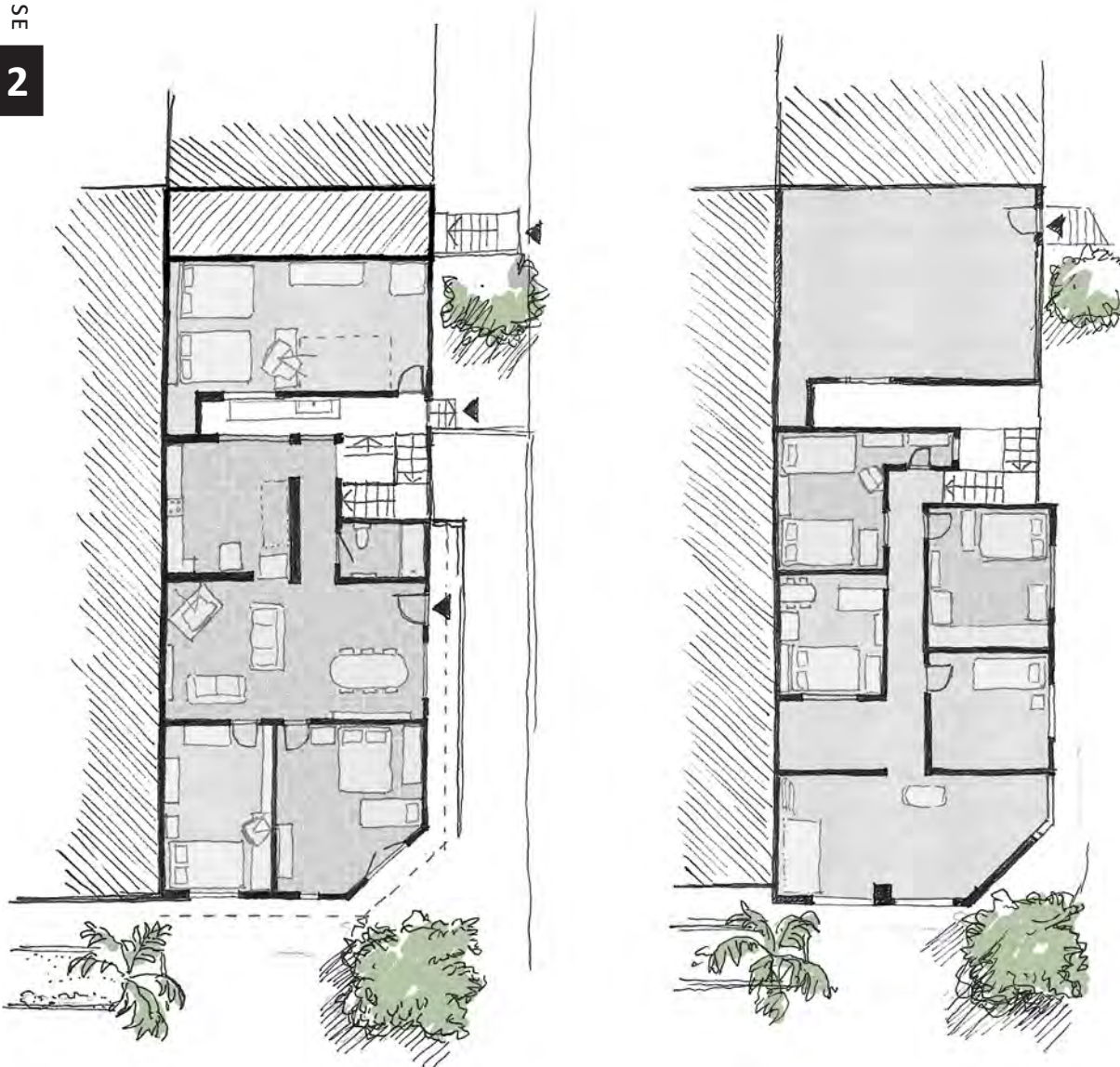
While the family increased in number and the children grew, Aleman’s house expanded in parallel. It synchronically adapted to the family’s growth. In the early 1990s, ten years after the families invaded the land, the straw house had been transformed into the initial dwelling that would represent the next stage in home improvement. By that time Aleman’s children were becoming teenagers and the house soon would become too small for all of the ten children. In the following years three of the children moved out but the other seven stayed. The second-generation members that remained in the house started to collect their savings to invest in their home. With the

additional input of some loans they continued to expand the house. Eventually the second floor was built. While the parents were putting most effort in building the house, the children took over though the parents remained the official owners.

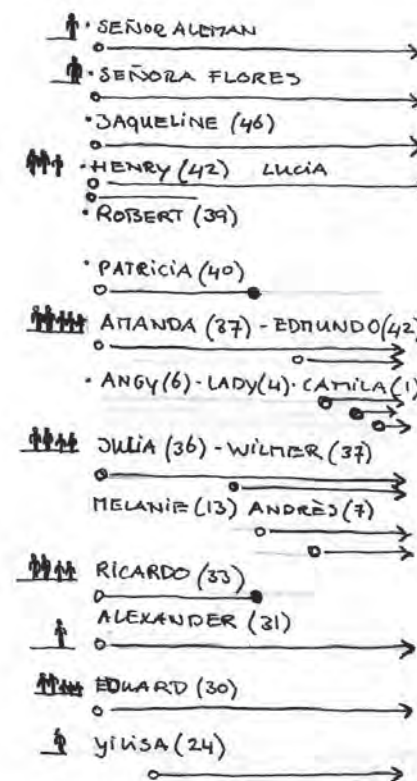
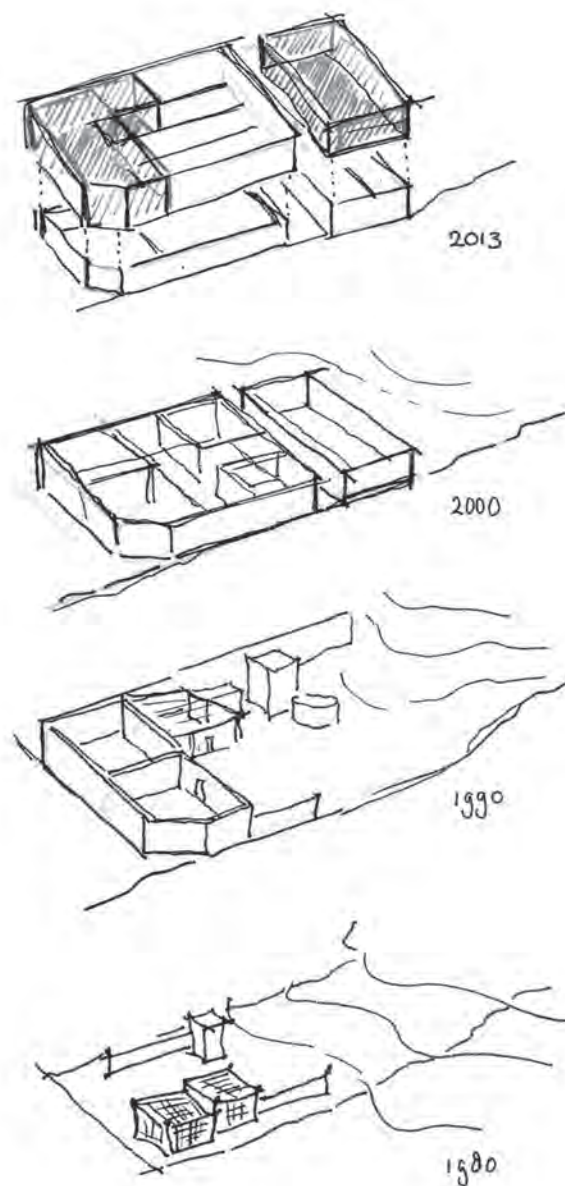
Over the past ten years not only the house doubled in size, but the family extended considerably as well. By 2013 it counts twenty-four family members sharing one home space. Husbands and wives of the second generation moved in and numerous third generation children are growing up under the same roof. During this period the second-generation members invested in the finishing of the ground floor living area though their main concern was now focused on the upper floor. On this floor each one has constructed their own single room apartment. Some of the rooms already have complete flooring and finished walls and windows and are completely furnished. In other spaces only the walls are up though the rooms are furnished and immediately inhabited. The quarters built last still need roofing and are not used yet. Until new capital can be invested these incomplete spaces function as an extension of the small individual living units built by the Alemans’ children.

All efforts that were made towards home improvement, first by the parents and later by the children, were rewarded. Today this results in a spacious and highly consolidated home built without the help of any contractor or professional builder. The tremendous

family size did not scare off the Alemans. With great determination and family cohesion they together built the courageous house. It is one of the most creative results of a fully self-managed house in the neighbourhood of Pampas.



Site plan scale 1:200



1980	12 m ² - 11 inhabitants
1990	50 m ² - 12 inhabitants
2000	110 m ² - 13 inhabitants
2013	238 m ² - 24 inhabitants

House trajectory vs. Life trajectories





THE STEADY HOUSE

Longitudinal blocks in the urban fringe enclose the northern area of Pampas, neighbouring the open strip of land reserved for the power pylons that supply almost all homes in the larger district with electricity. In the inner corner of one of the fringe blocks stands a corpulent edifice offering an introverted cement façade to its surroundings, but closing off all glimpses of life inside the house. Its shape differs from the surrounding homes due to the squared shape plot on which the house is built. Two voids ventilate the interior spaces and bring in the light.

Sandra and Cecilio Flores procured the plot at the beginning of the 1980s. Like other families that settled in the area, the young Peruvian couple lived in a straw squat until they obtained their individual land titles several years after the invasion.

Upon arrival in Pampas the oldest daughter Magaly was still a baby of only a few weeks. Several years after Sandra gave birth to a son named Samuel. Before Samuel was born his father Cecilio had already constructed two extra rooms with a separate kitchen and a bathroom that were then connected to the living room combined with a sleeping area.

Along the years the straw mats gradually vanished and newly built brick quarters popped up in the large corner plot. The well-organized parents both worked since their early years. They would always keep close track of their expenditures setting aside small amounts that were reserved for future investments in the house. All the savings went directly to home improvement, which is built without any loans or external funding. At the end of the 1980s a professional builder was contracted to make the outline and plans for the Flores' future that cost them a considerable amount of money. Despite the fact that the architectural plans for a fully constructed house consisting of two floors was already on the table in 1988, final realization took much longer. Home extensions and transformations followed an incremental pattern of investment, where small amounts of personal savings were employed.

Nevertheless the overall process of home consolidation, in which first the family and later professional scholars built up the house, is depicted in a linear trajectory of progression in which the volume of the house would increase constantly, doubling in size throughout every passing decade. Meanwhile the family increased moderately with a third child born ten years after Samuel. The family has further extended recently with the husband of Magaly

Consolidation level: 80%

The home space



The users



Built density

Lot size 138 m²
Built-up space 123 m² (89%)
Open space 15 m² (11%)

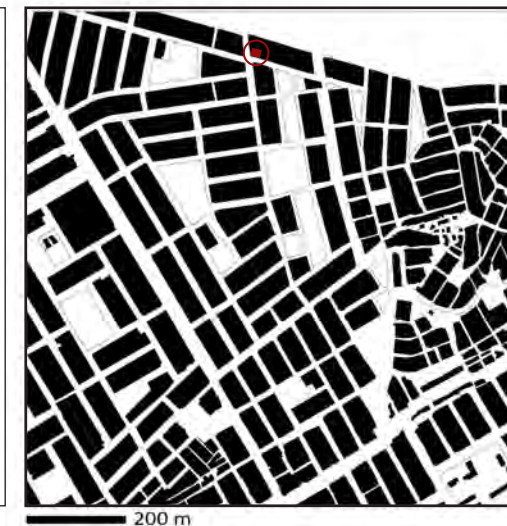
Space layout

Living area
(total netto area) 153 - 247 m²
Private 70 m²

Common 83 m²
Dwelling under construction 94 m²
Other Purpose -
Entrances 3 | spatial divisions 1
Number of Bedrooms 4
Number of Bathrooms 3
Number of Kitchens 1

Living density

Number of inhabitants 6
m²/person 25,5 - 41,2

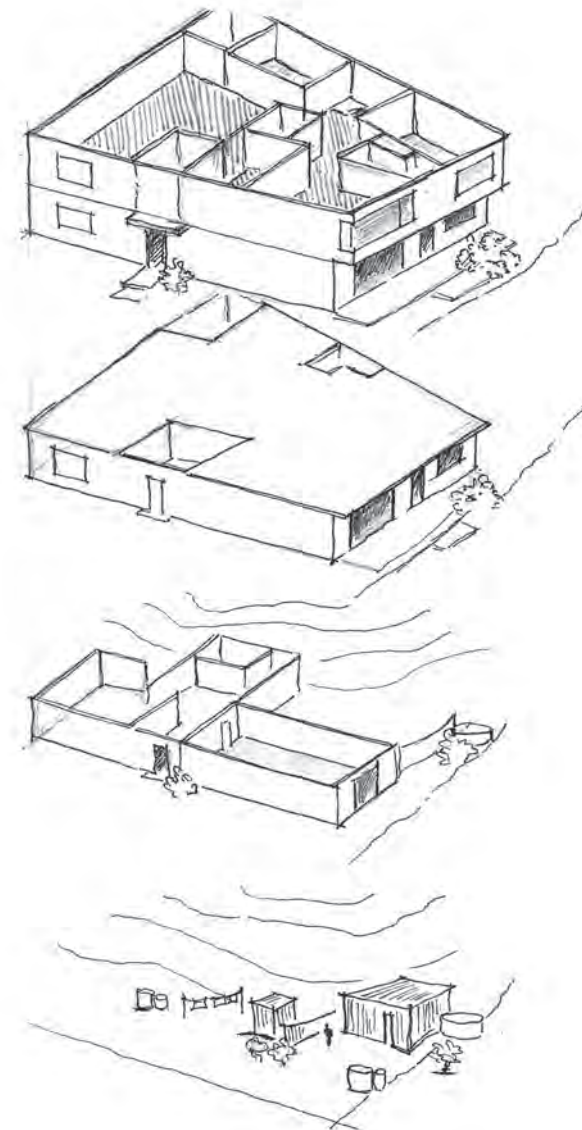


moving in and the couple's first child born soon after. The second generations claimed a part of the second floor and the parents correspondingly moved to a more comfortable bedroom space with a private bathroom on the upper floor. The latter is accessed through a concrete stairway positioned at the heart of the ground floor.

The ground floor, made up of several consolidated living room spaces, is connected to the street w by two doorways slicing through the thick outer walls. The corner plot offers many opportunities to create numerous private entrances, yet the family chose not to split up their home. While the household is now made up of multiple families sharing the house, the dwelling remains a single-family home in its typology. Throughout more than thirty years of settlement the home developed steadily, giving more and more comfort to Sandra, Cecilio and their small family.



Site plan scale 1:200



1980	10 m ² - 3 inhabitants
1990	70 m ² - 4 inhabitants
2000	123 m ² - 5 inhabitants
2013	247 m ² - 7 inhabitants

House trajectory vs. Life trajectories





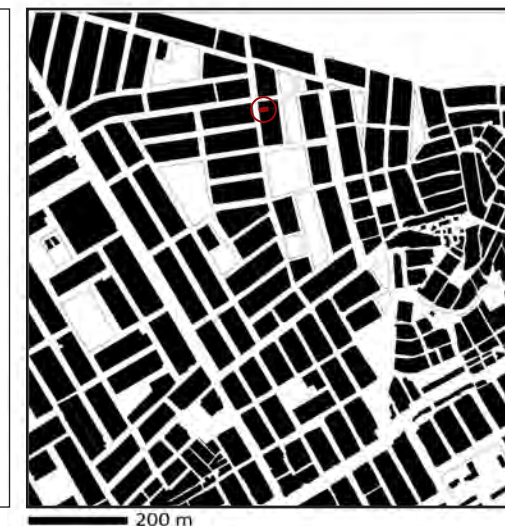
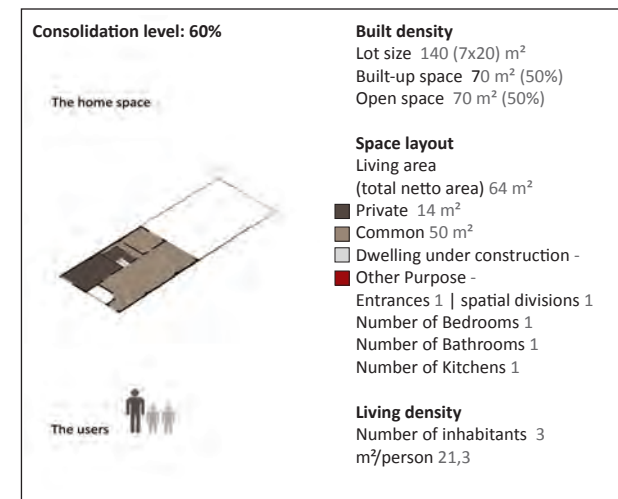
THE FALTERING HOUSE

Brenda's tiny one-storey house stands out against the background of the street where the majority of the houses count at least two floors. The small house appears ambitious while at the same time it features elements, which reveal its faltering past and the difficulties it has constantly tried to overcome. A brand new metal fence door is placed in front of the old worn out front door. The memories of old times cannot be erased; a creaking wooden door will always remind Brenda of the original entrance from where she accessed her home as a child. However it is placed in the background and covered with a layer of current times. Walls are plastered with a fresh coating of cement but small cracks in the original wall, like a wrinkle on a human skin that betray one's age, unfold the fact that the house was there years before these layers were applied. The shiny reflecting windows hide every glimpse of what is happening inside.

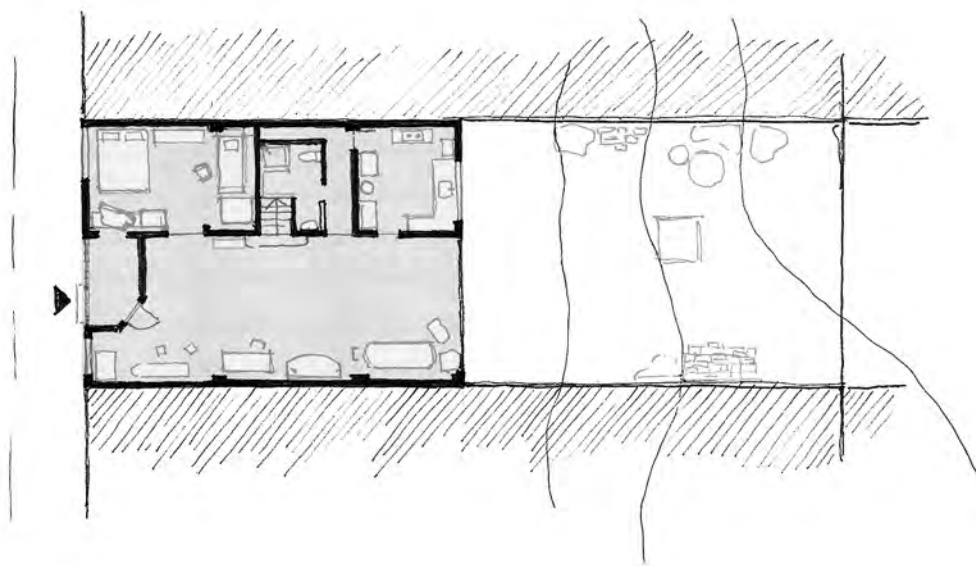
Brenda and her younger sister Sandra arrived as little kids with their parents who invaded the land. Ten years after a third daughter was born and the small brick house of no more than forty square meters was extended to make place for the three daughters growing up. The young parents built an internal stair-

case and with a small loan from a local bank they were able to construct the consolidated roof of the small home. On the additional floor Brenda and Sandra each had their own room their father built with the leftover construction materials. The kitchen was moved to the courtyard at the back of the house and concealed with a corrugated sheet cover. Even though the original quarters on the ground floor had barely been modified they seemed discharged from the previous overcrowded living situation and the rooms suddenly looked incredibly spacious as if they were brand new and freshly built.

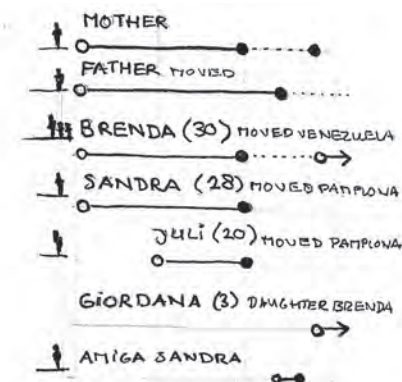
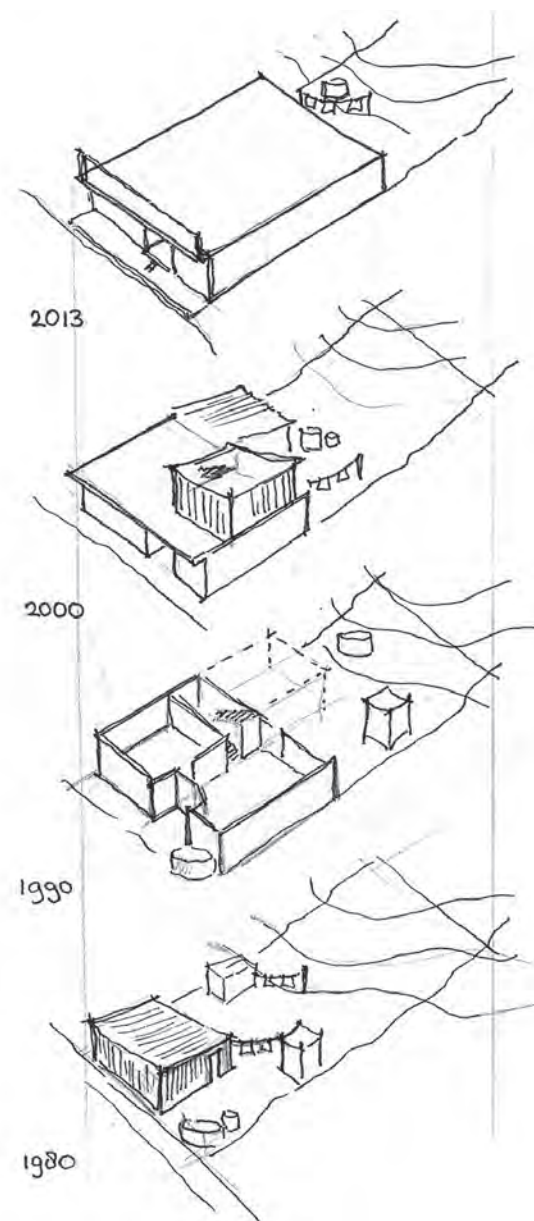
The years that would follow were not as prosperous, neither for the family nor for further home improvement. The parents separated, though they lived together in the house for years after that. Finally, the situation deteriorated to the point that Brenda's mum decided to join her mother in Pamplona, bringing along the youngest daughter. Brenda and Sandra would leave soon after. In the year 2000 Brenda set off to Venezuela and Sandra settled with her mother, grandmother and little sister in Pamplona. The father stayed unaccompanied in the tiny house that was at the beginning of its course towards consolidation, now forcefully interrupted. It got even worse when a few years after the dad was obliged



to move due to his economic and drinking problems, leaving the once so lively house alone. This departure almost caused the owners to lose their property. The mother managed to recover their tenurial rights, though she could not return to live in the original house due to incumbent illness. The house was abandoned for a while, till the mother rented it out to one of Sandra's friends. The little money gained by renting the home could only just cover health costs made necessary by Sandra's mother's worsening health situation. Hospital treatment came nevertheless too late and the poor old lady passed away, forcing the heavily pregnant Brenda to return from Venezuela. Sandra's friend left and Brenda moved back to the house. Her sisters wanted to sell the place, but Brenda disagreed. She recovered the house with the little money she earned in Venezuela and the help of an additional small loan, redistributing and appropriating the spaces. The property rights were passed to the second generation and for the first time local builders were called upon. The spatial layout was redrawn and made into an official plan, which was required for making a home extension. The house was now ready to make a new start after a painful past and faltering growth.



Site plan scale 1:200



1980	15 m ² - 4 inhabitants
1990	40 m ² - 4-5 inhabitants
2000	65 m ² - 1-0 inhabitants
2013	70 m ² - 3 inhabitants

House trajectory vs. Life trajectories





THE EXPEDITIOUS HOUSE

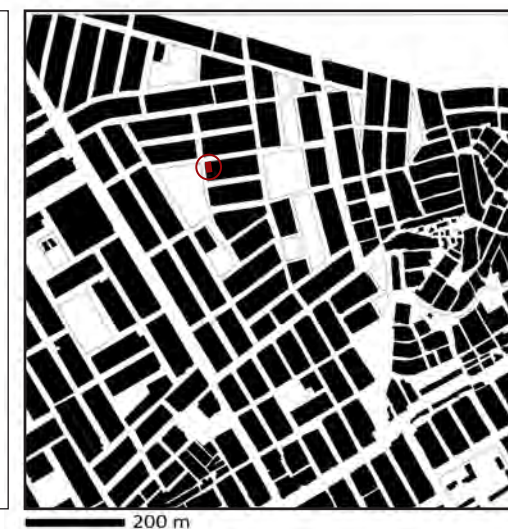
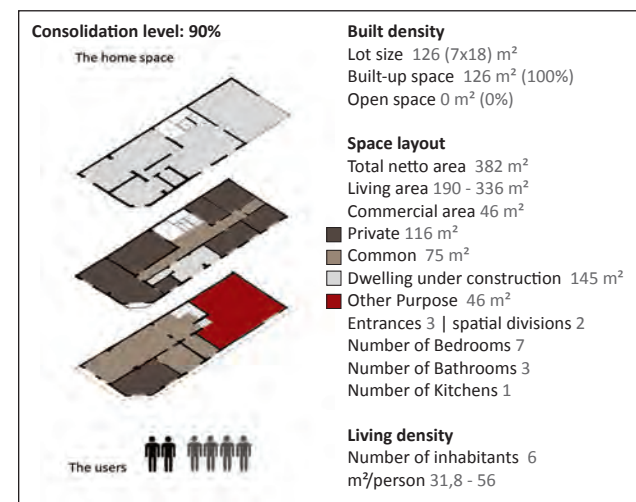
During a hot summer day in Lima hardly any shade place can be found along the road crossing the main uphill street in southern Pampas. Only a small cool and dark void at the corner of a sidewalk relieves passers-by from the bright sunlight. The corner is sheltered by overhanging plants and walled on one side by a three-storey house of brickwork. The bulky brick house stands in front of the football field and allotment garden embedded in the sloping hill. It is owned by señora Vacilia and her second husband Marcelo.

Vacilia arrived in Pampas more than thirty years ago together with her first husband and their four children. The family lived for years in the small straw settlement on the longitudinal corner plot looking out over the wider peripheral areas of Lima with the Pacific Ocean in the distance. The relationship between Vacilia and her first husband did not last long and several years after they settled in Pampas they divorced. Shortly after the two separated, Vacilia remarried a young carpenter called Marcelo. From then on the young couple started transforming the improvised dwelling of straw, sheet and wooden poles into a solid brick house.

Marcelo raised Vacilia's kids as if they were his own children and later the couple would have another son and daughter. The children's growth triggered Marcelo to build an extra room for the boys at the back of the house. Since their childhood the little boys watched their father's skilled movements when making furniture for the house as well as doors and window frames. The beautifully carved woodwork raised their interest in carpentry from early times and they later all followed in their father's footsteps, joining in his carpentry workshop.

The house as found today has transformed tremendously since then. The corner location exposes an outsized part of the brick façade shaping the street walls. The different shades of weathered brickwork express the house's layered stories and leave no doubt of its different phases of development. The ground floor paint is of many years ago. The sun has faded out the paint and softened the original orange colour.

From the street one does not immediately notice the large carpentry workshop behind the immense façade. Only shrill sounds of machinery coming from the narrow opening under reveals Indoor activities. A large living area borders the productive space on the ground



floor separated by a hallway and staircase enlightened by voids in the upper floors. Little light enters through the void that cuts through the three layers of the built-up space. Furthermore the ground floor consists of a separate kitchen and the original bedroom quarter that now functions as a room for occasional visitors since Vacilia and her husband moved in to an oversized new bedroom they built upstairs. Amazingly the old room has hardly been transformed and no finishing has been applied since it was built at the beginning of the 1980s. The past times can strongly be sensed, even by means of the distinctive warm smell of earth that spreads through the space. The greyish brick walls form a large contrast with the decorations and painted walls of the highly consolidated spaces around it as if the house grew all around, over and on top of its original embryo.

The home spaces of *los aires* are distributed among the second generations and the parents, currently all claiming their individual room on the second floor. The third floor is still under construction but is reserved for the second generation in the future. Mum and dad retain their bedroom area with private bathroom in the most prominent and brighter section of the second storey corner, while the youngest children are accommodated in

substandard blind rooms in the back.

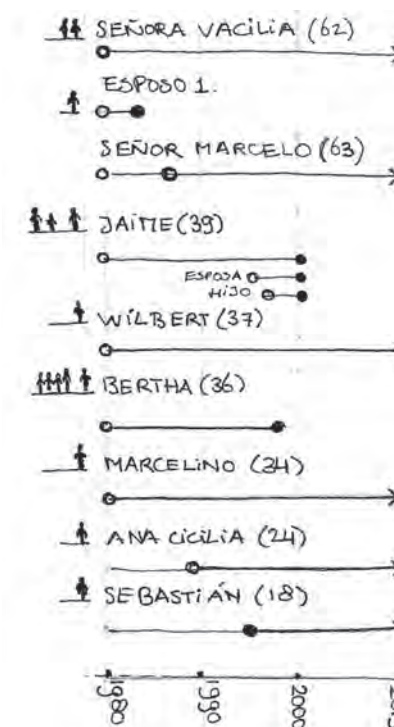
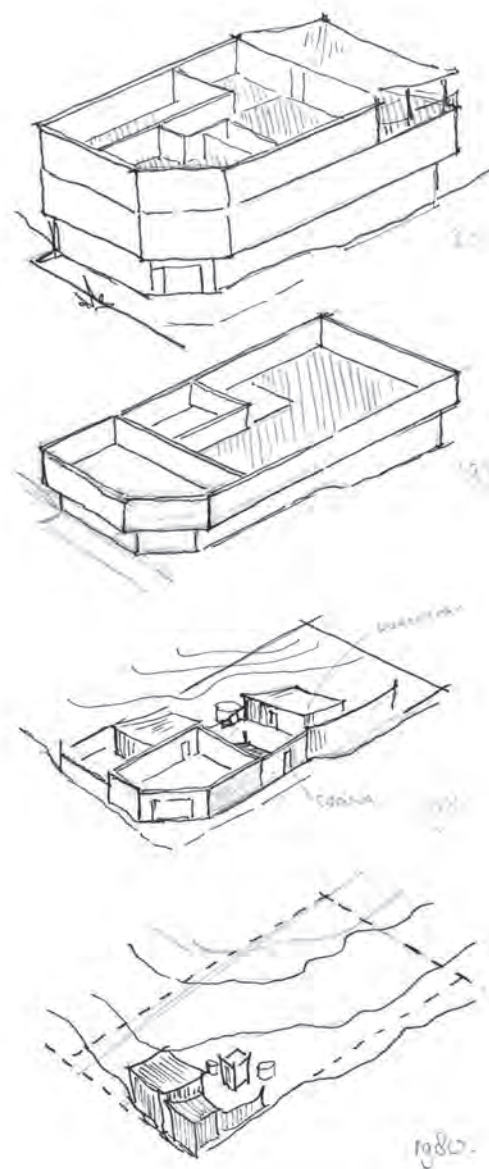
In the kitchen of señora Vacilia's three-storey house an old lady is staring out the window. She is dressed in traditional Peruvian attire, wearing a long dark blue skirt, an old pink jacket and a pretty brown felt hat. The old lady with her weary face is holding her whisk tight, trying to kill every housefly that lands within her reach. The old lady is Vacilia's mother who comes to stay with her daughter from time to time. The lady sits silently at the kitchen table, occasionally murmuring unintelligible words in Quechua or Spanish, and observing the outside world from this kitchen window. She can see the football field where youngsters gather, the brick houses surrounding it, the little shops across the street, people passing by, sometimes not paying attention to the outside world, sometimes waving at her at the kitchen window. Every now and then a small *mototaxi*, with a sharp buzzing sound announcing their approach, runs by the window.

The old lady is bewildered of what she sees and of all that is not in tune with her memories. Lately she gets confused more and more and all her observations of the neighbourhood find scarce recognition in her mind, which is filled with memories of the past. Her bewilderment makes her constantly complain



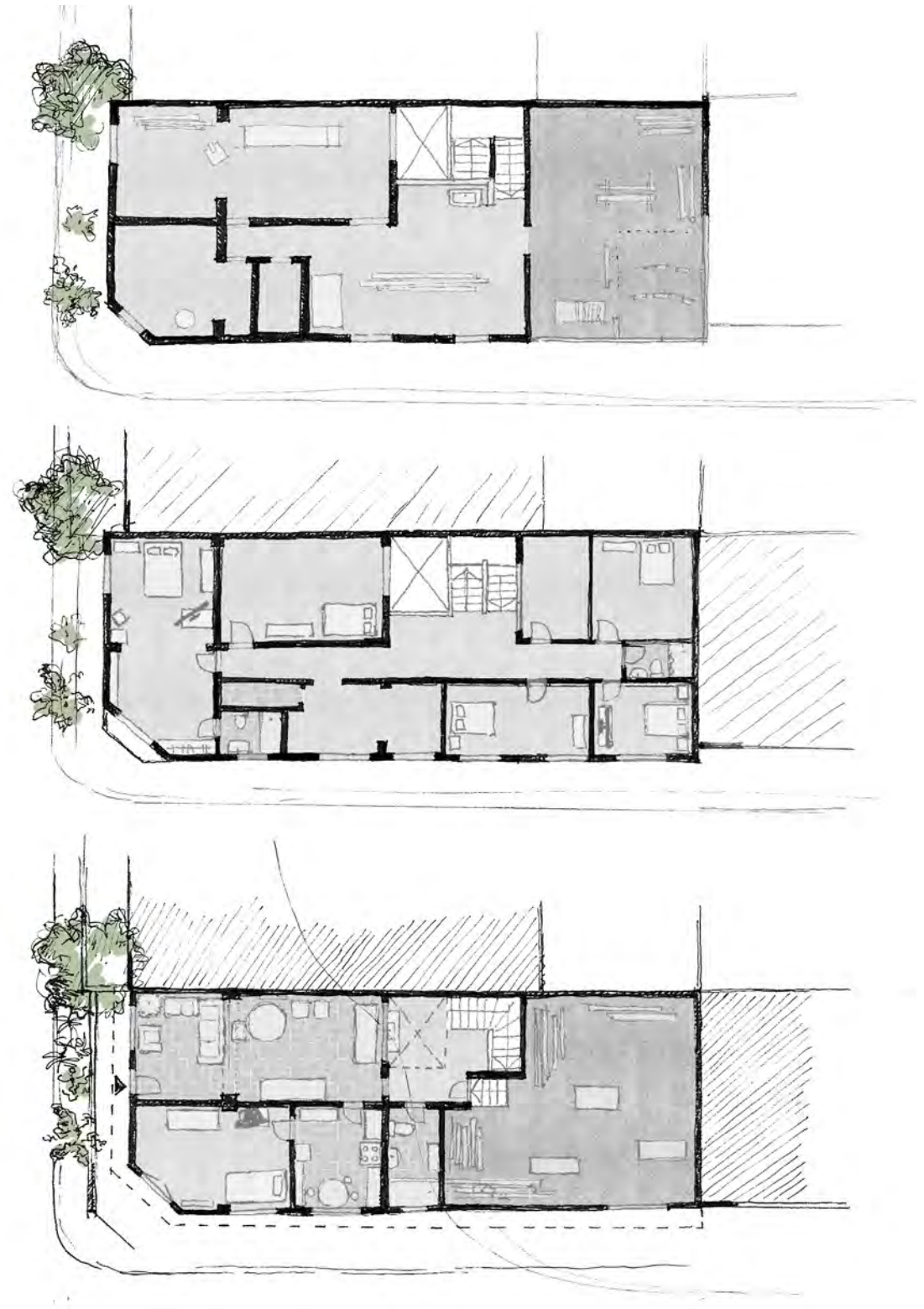
she wants to go back home. She cannot keep track of all that is happening in the fast world, nor with the speedy way in which her daughter Vacilia, her husband Marcelo and his sons are transforming the house.

In recent years the house developed remarkably fast. While at the start of home transformations the father improvised and built the house based on his experience with his skilled talents as a carpenter, the final phases were built with formal construction plans made by an architect. The workshop generated an abundant financial backing since there was a high demand for woodworks in the direct surroundings. The money could be invested back in the house. Apart from that, the family attained financial assistance from a local government program named *techopropio*. With the money generated by the workshop, the support from other second generation workers, the financial assistance from the local government program and additional banking loans the expeditious house could grow at a speed that hardly no other house in Pampas could keep up with.



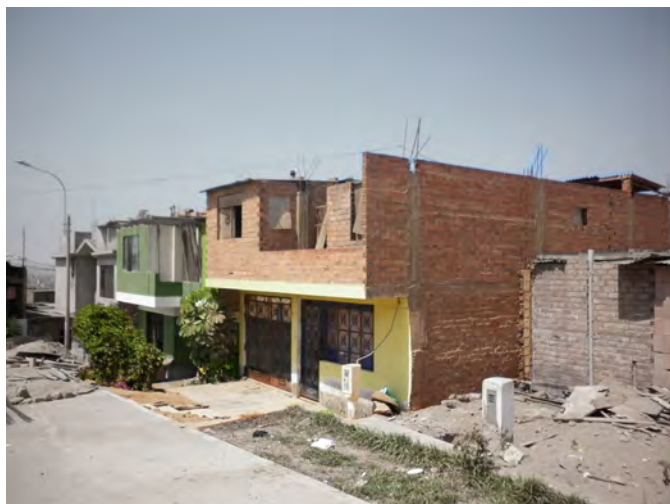
1980	14 m ² - 6 inhabitants
1985	50 m ² - 6 inhabitants
1995	250 m ² - 10 inhabitants
2013	336 m ² - 6 inhabitants

House trajectory vs. Life trajectories



Site plan scale 1:200





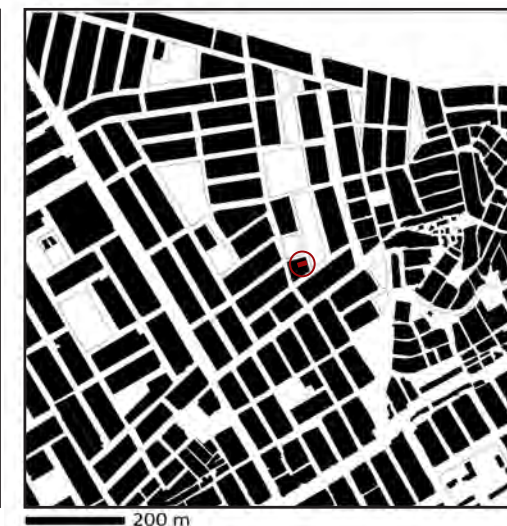
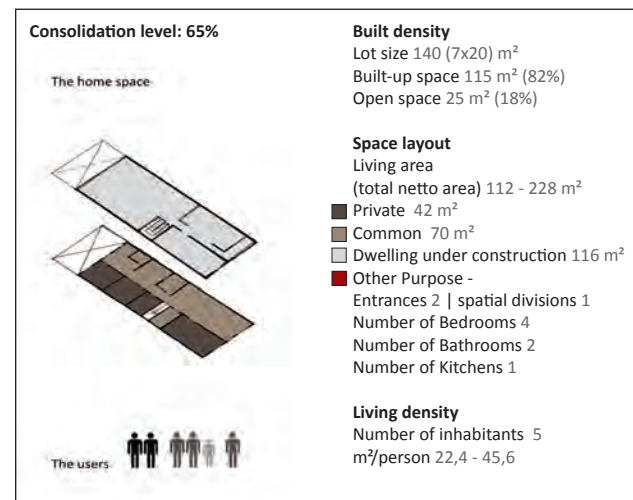
Of Cristina's modest two-storey home, the ground floor is clearly completed. The partially built spaces in *los aires* makes it very emblematic of the self-built Limean homes emerging in all variations along the streets of Pampas. Over more than thirty years of self-managed construction, the residents have gained significant experience in home construction, often copying from their neighbours and depending on skilled workers or kinship networks for construction. On the other hand certain families hired building professionals at some point. Though this practice is also based on regulations making government approval a requirement for home extension, this does not mean the informal self-building activities have actually lessened.

Initially Cristina, a divorced mother of two children, lived with her offspring in a single quarter they extended during the 1990s when the children grew older. Four years after the second child was born she got one more child from another relationship. Though the father disappeared from the eye soon after, leaving the young mother behind with her three kids. Cristina constructed various rooms in a row on one side of the dwelling, illuminating the spaces with large openings facing the living room and interior spaces. At this point the house co-

vered almost the entire plot. Due to the steep drop at the back of the plot, they left this part open with a lower open space that could not be entered until a staircase was built.

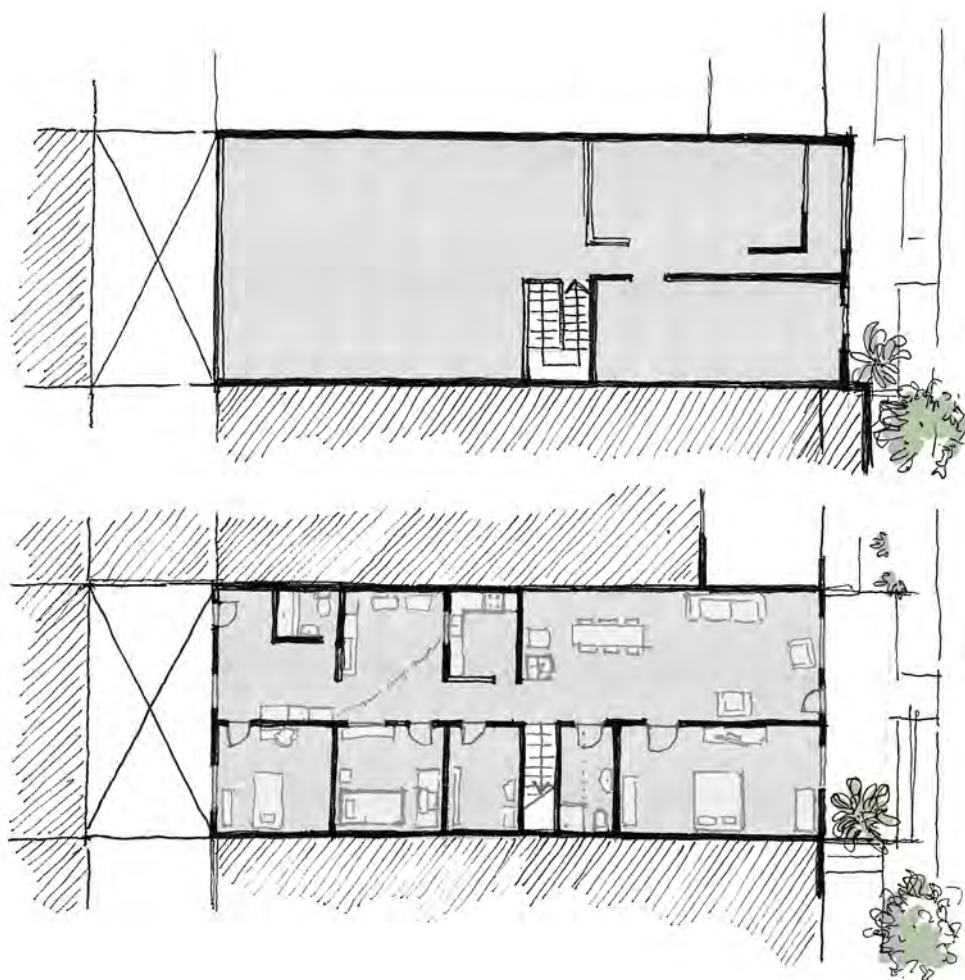
Eight years ago Cristina took out a loan to fund the construction of consolidated roof. This home extension came at the right moment since Cristina's sister Meli also divorced and moved in with her five kids. She stayed for a couple of years until she found a place for her own in Villa El Salvador. The sisters improvised a space on the second floor where Meli could settle with the children. When Meli moved out there was a little money available. Cristina, the homeowner, saved from her earnings in the many hours she worked as a housekeeper in one of the upper-class districts of Lima. With these savings she started buying the bricks and building materials required to give shape to the upper floor.

In the meantime the ground floor had simply become too small. In addition, the oldest son Jaime got married and his wife moved in when pregnant. Though Jaime worked, he was still finishing his studies. Family extension was more of a priority than home improvement, so he contributed little to the latter. Cristina's other children were also primarily concerned with their studies which meant that further

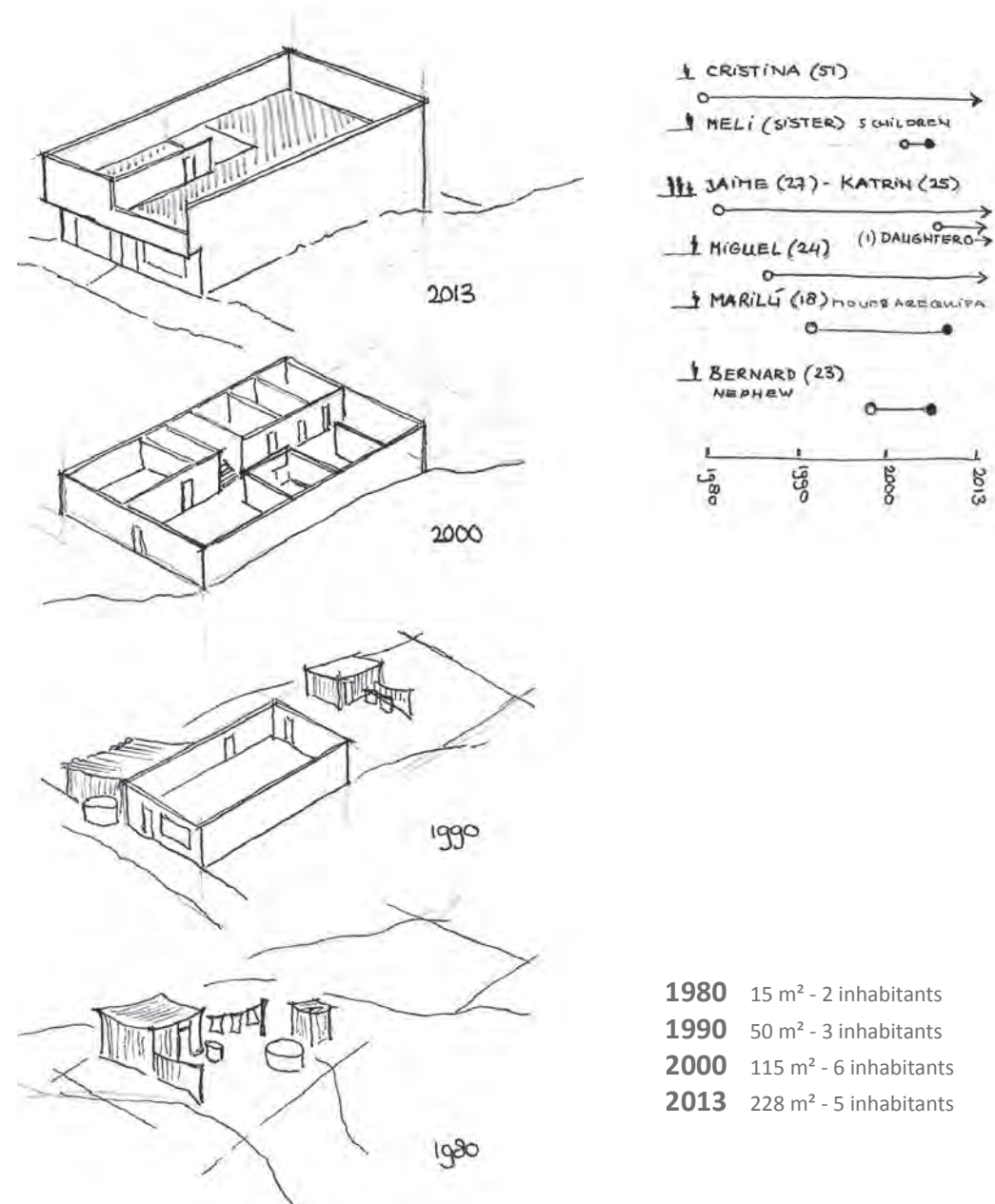


dwelling extension initiatives came to a halt.

Nevertheless the house, which was moderately transformed over time, has undergone major changes compared to when Cristina first settled in Pampas. Moreover, Cristina is determined in continuing to steadily extend home space until the second floor is finished. A third floor will not be achievable because the structure will not be able to support more than two stories. All arrangements were made at low-cost with sketches Cristina made with a friend who had some building experience. The outcome is a modest house that not stands out particularly, but is nonetheless spacious and well kept. The large living room allows for a gradual transition into the back part of the home with a kitchen lying in between. The visual relation between front and back allows visitors to perceive the full length of the house immediately upon their entrance through the heavy steel front door. A big window at the back offers a stunning view over Pampas. When the evening falls, thousands of tiny lights show up little by little reflecting the starlit sky above.



Site plan scale 1:200



House trajectory vs. Life trajectories





THE AMIABLE HOUSE

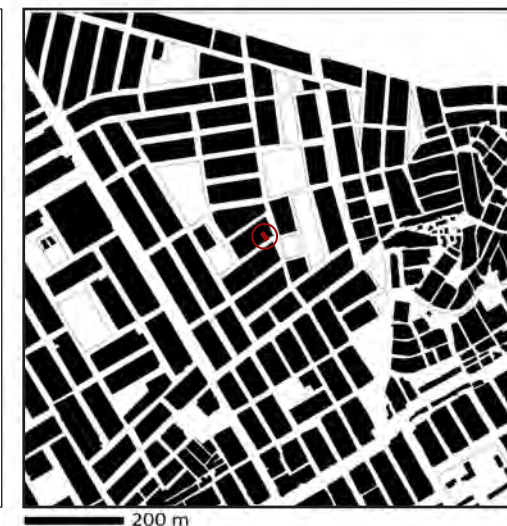
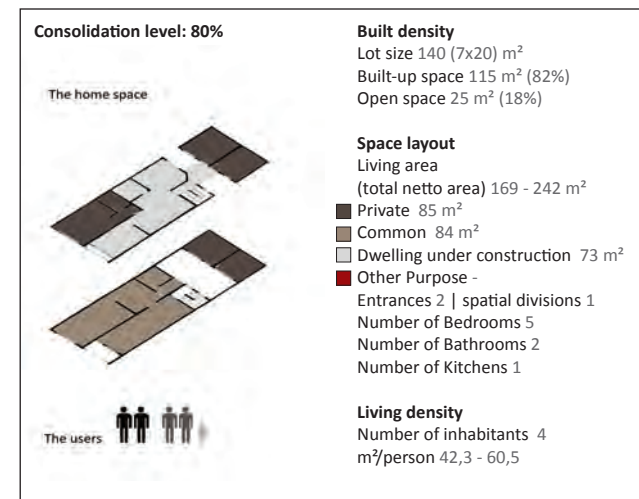
Julia arrived rather late in Pampas and was lucky to obtain one of the last vacant lots where she could fabricate her straw dwelling. She almost immediately changed this 'squatter's shack' into a small house consisting of two rooms and a patio where she installed her kitchen. She ran a small shop next to the dwelling for years. Here she sold basic food supplies, groceries and liquor. When her husband, who had a drinking problem, started to drink away her liquor supply she closed it down. Once the young couple eventually separated, Julia did not re-open the shop. Instead she integrated the commercial space into the house to have more room for the kid she adopted and had to raise.

Over the last thirty years the house transformed into an amiable house with colourful spaces that are extremely inviting. A smooth concrete pavement lies in front of the flamboyant green house. The front door is set back holding a small threshold shaded by the tree on the sidewalk and closed off by a metal fence. Another larger door gives access to the main part of the house. The attractive interior spaces with the bright blue, pink and yellow walls are as vibrant as the exterior suggests. They are highly consolidated and built in

durable materials with complete finishing and shiny tiled floors. The spaces on the ground floor are furnished with comfortable sofas and chairs inviting visitors to stay on for a little chat.

The major transformation of the house started eight years back when Julia took out a bank loan to construct the second floor. A professional architectural company was paid to draw the plan and shape the future home Julia imagined for herself and her son Cesar. She moved her bedroom upstairs and created a private bathroom integrated in the space. The new bedroom space upstairs was gradually finished with tiles and fresh layers of paint on the walls matching the details used to decorate the rooms. In contrast with the caring way with which Julia rapidly completed her bedroom space, other spaces on the newly added storey were not even touched. The idea was to wait until enough money was gathered so they could be finished in one go. Cesar remained in the bedroom quarters downstairs neighbouring the patio in the heart of the plot.

One day Julia's niece knocked at the front door in search for a place to live with her child. The house seemed to almost naturally open up to provide a place for them. A comfortable room was arranged to host the



newcomers as if it wanted them to stay and never leave again. The house is as hospitable as Julia's kind-hearted personality. Two rooms were quickly finished, including the tile flooring, warm coloured walls, new windows and freshly carved wooden doors. Nothing was left unfinished. Nevertheless the niece moved out several years later.

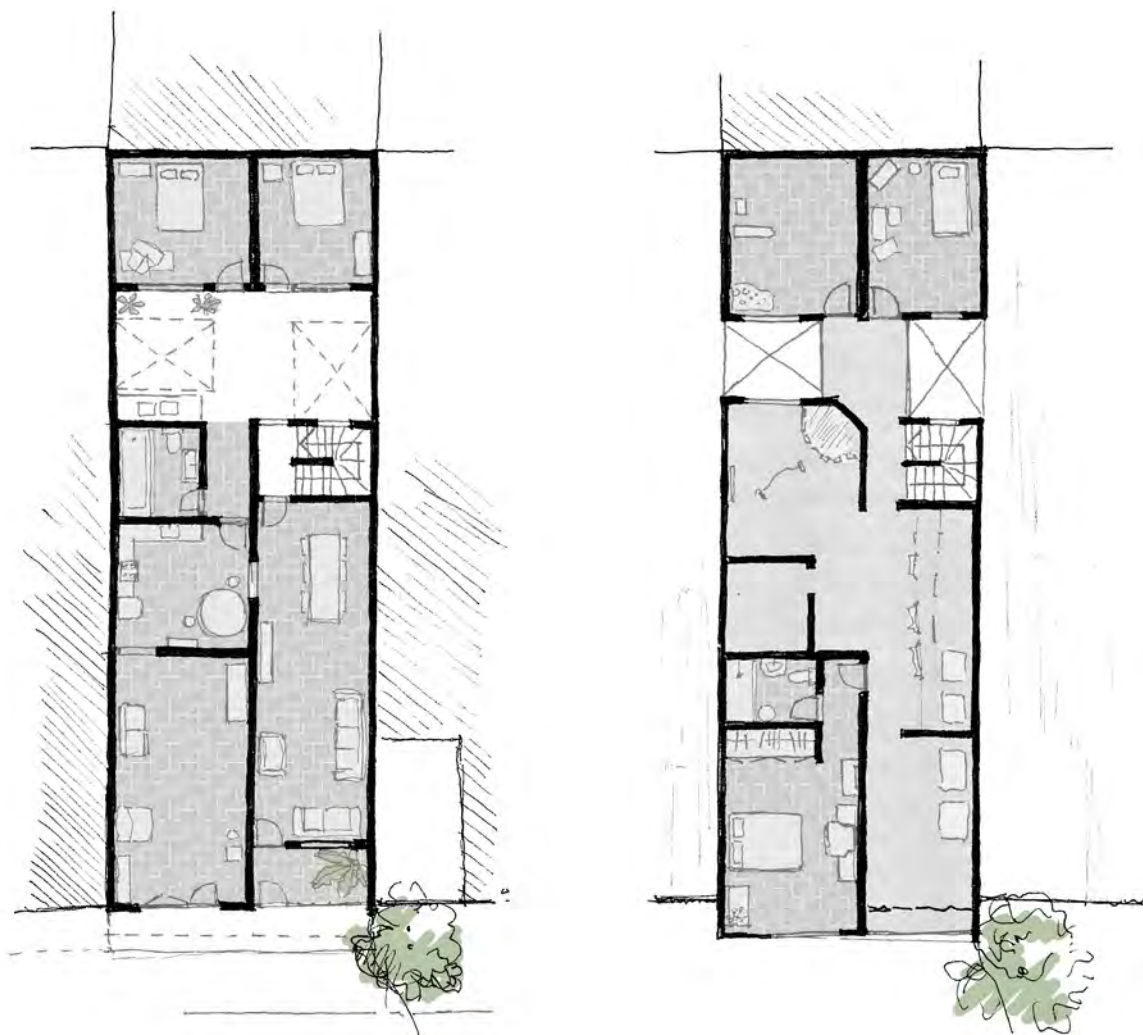
Cesar was less happy with his mother's niece moving in. The young adolescent was really keen on his privacy. Although he shared the single-family house with his mum, they two lived separate lives. When the Cesar's cousin moved in with her children, part of his personal space was taken from him by the newcomers.

Cesar used to come home after long unwounded Sunday nights, somewhat mellow from gatherings with friends at the corner shop. He then would always enter the house through the garage door, trying to make as little sound as he could, avoiding the living room hoping not to bump into his mum, to go straight to his quiet bedroom space on the ground floor at the back part of the house. Other times, especially during the fresh summer nights, he stayed at home and climbed the roof on the second floor that was partially built. Here he could look out over the hundreds of rooftops

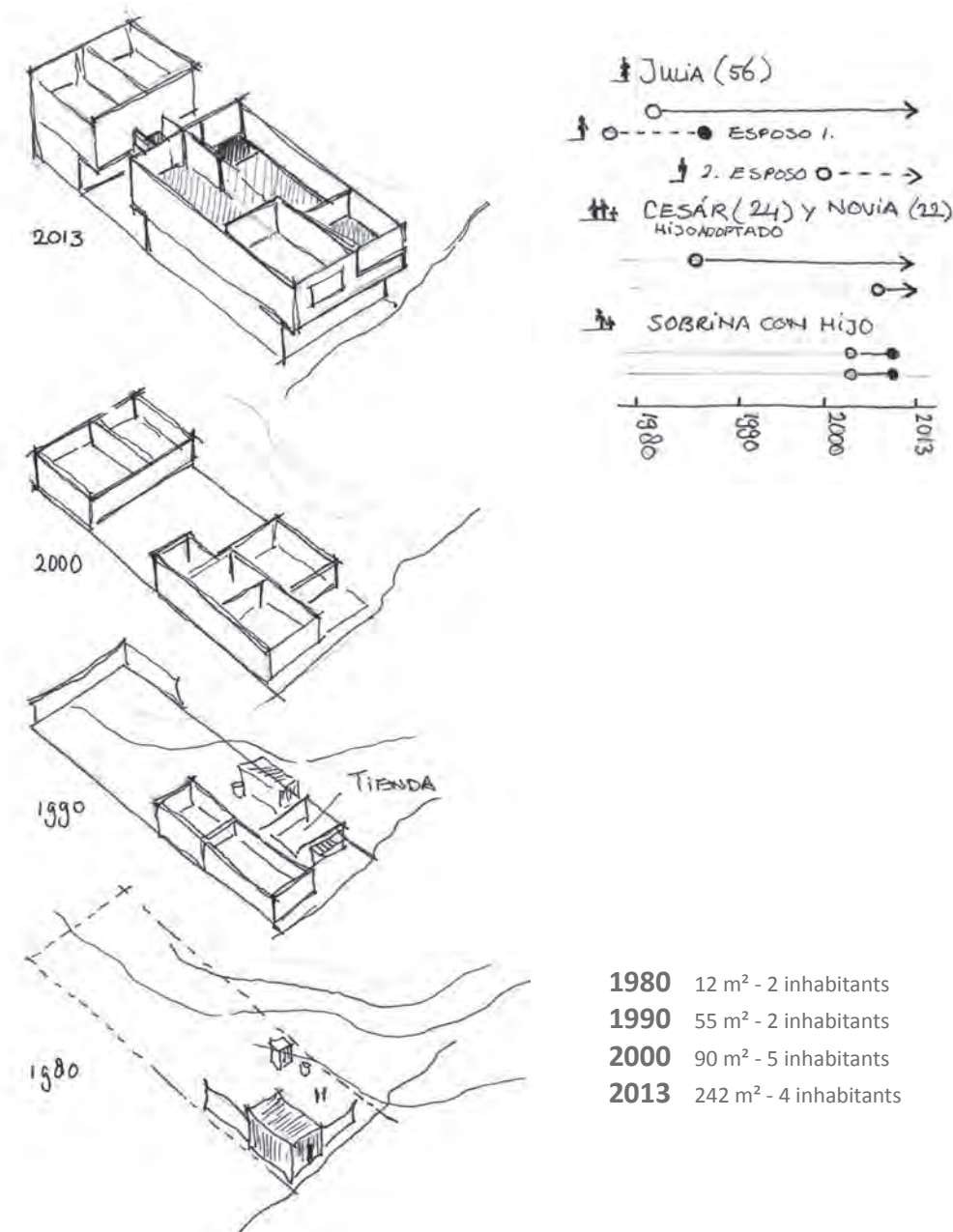
in the surrounding area and smoke some pot. When his cousin moved in, occupying the upper floor with her children, these beautiful silent nights were over.

Over an eight-year time span the house extended massively from a ninety square meter one-storey building to a large and generous home more than twice its initial size. During the final years of this period Julia and Cesar were the only sharers together with Julia's boyfriend who comes to visit occasionally. Last year Cesar's girlfriend moved in and is now expecting a baby. Since then Cesar started paying rent to his mum and every now and then he buys new furniture or decorations for the house.

Julia's amiable house of Julia is an unquestionably hospitable place. It lives to give space to the upcoming second-generation family. Despite its friendly openness there is no intention to modify its typology and strangers are not welcome to come and rent a room. As long as Julia lives here, spaces will remain as part of a well-kept single-family house and household.



Site plan scale 1:200



House trajectory vs. Life trajectories





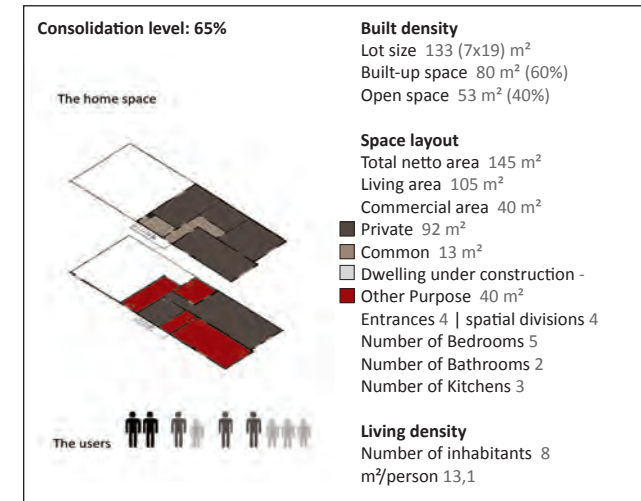
THE PROGRESSIVE HOUSE

Justina settled in Pampas with her baby daughter Liz and older son David. During the first year the threesome slept in holes they dug in the sand, surrounded by a precarious shelter built out of a few wooden sticks, plastic sheets and straw mats. Without any intervention from professional builders and with the little financial resources Justina had, she built the house step by step all by herself. For heavy construction works some relatives came to help and gradually the house transitioned into the two-storey corner house it is today. The solid brick structure covers half of the plot. Its few openings do not make optimal advantage of the corner location.

Nevertheless various entrances divide the home space vertically and horizontally into individual apartments. The upper floor is accessible through an improvised staircase located outside the house. Downstairs a corner shop is assimilated in the home adjacent to the lower apartment that is accessed through a separate entrance. The other half of the plot is left vacant apart from a small self-built structure that nearly falls apart. It is here Justina has run her community kitchen for elderly people for over twenty-five years.

Speaking in terms of the building structure, Justina's progressive house is far from consolidated. Both exterior and interior spaces under the corrugated sheet roofing are lacking all kind of finishing. Additionally, some parts of the roof contain gaps and openings, which are temporally closed off with cardboard and recycled billboards. Despite the quality of the building lagging behind, the home did extend considerably, doubling in size every decade in synchrony with the increasing number of inhabitants.

Initially the ground floor, now split up in three parts, was built as one house for Justina and her children. It progressively grew till major transformations were made at the end of the 1990s. David and Liz were starting to have their own families and the small home of no more than eighty square meters would soon become too small. The children did not have many financial resources, but they gathered what they had in order to construct a second floor. Liz gave birth to her son while the home extension was still fully in progress. When the upper floor was completed the two children moved upstairs. They built their individual rooms out of brick. No money was available for further finishing and the family was still very poor.



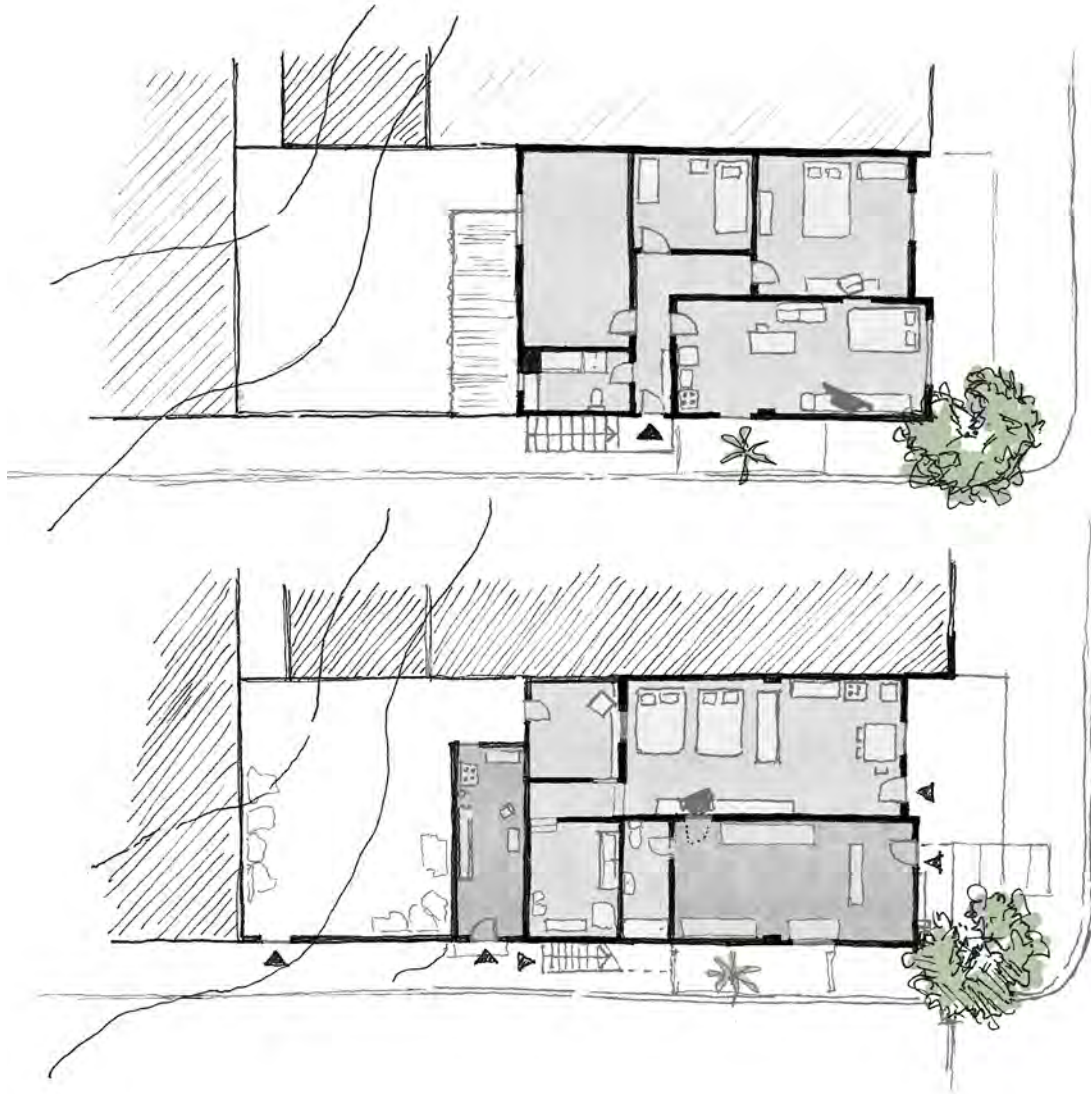
A few years later Justina decided to rent out the floor downstairs in order to gain some additional income. This move was not necessarily motivated to collect funds for home improvements. Rather, the money was primarily needed for everyday expenses. She knew a young lady named Sandra was desperately looking for an affordable place to stay, not easy to find in Pampas. Sandra was planning to build a house with her four brothers and sisters further down the road on her parents' plot. After the parents' passed away, the five children had tore down the old dwelling and planned to construct a completely new apartment with a separate room for each of them. Nonetheless, the plot had remained vacant for years due to intense disagreement between them.

At the same moment that Justina contacted Sandra, Justina's niece who lived close by wanted to start a small business. However, her house did not have a very strategic location. Consequently she asked her aunt if she could rent a piece of the house for her commercial activities. Justina did not hesitate and moved to a room upstairs and arranged the spaces downstairs for the newcomers. The door opening between the living room and additional room with bathroom was closed off with recycled wooden panels. The smaller space

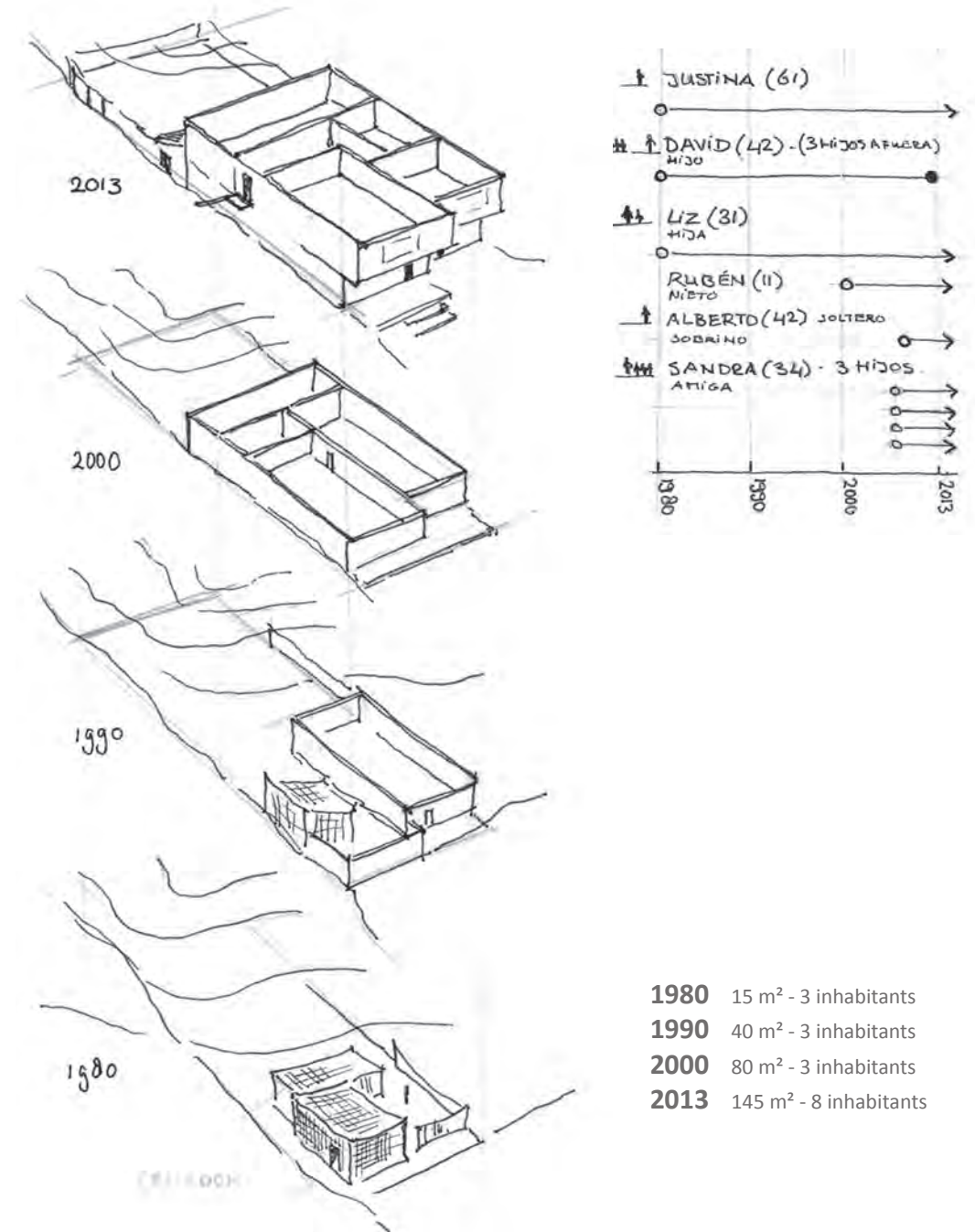
containing the bathroom was occupied by the niece and Sandra moved to the adjacent dwelling with her three children.

A year later Justina's nephew, who had previously lived with his parents in Villa El Salvador, knocked at the door. He had changed jobs and needed a room closer to his workplace. With the same ease as she did before, Justina switched rooms again, swapping the large well-lit corner room on the second floor for a tiny blind room further down the tiny hallway.

For the last ten years the household characteristics as well as the dwelling typology have changed incredibly. The house has transformed from a single family home to a multi-family dwelling and beyond. The flexible home adapts to the various sharers and renters that come and live with homeowner Justina, who easily sacrifices her own living space for them. In a certain sense, the home was consolidated proportionally to the increase in built surface over time. On the other hand it is hard to speak about home improvement since the building structure is very poor and over the last ten years the living comfort has not improved for any of the progressive home's inhabitants.



Site plan scale 1:200



House trajectory vs. Life trajectories





THE GARDEN HOUSE

The majority of houses along the quiet backstreet behind the main avenue heading to Villa El Salvador count multiple stories and their facades are freshly painted in green, blue and white. Some of the upper floors are still naked with a skin of reddish brick waiting to be plastered with a layer of cement. Consolidated homes form a sharp contrast with the dusty road of loose sand, which after more than thirty years of settlement is still unpaved. The heavy heat radiates from the ground burnt by the bright Limean sun, inviting people to stay inside.

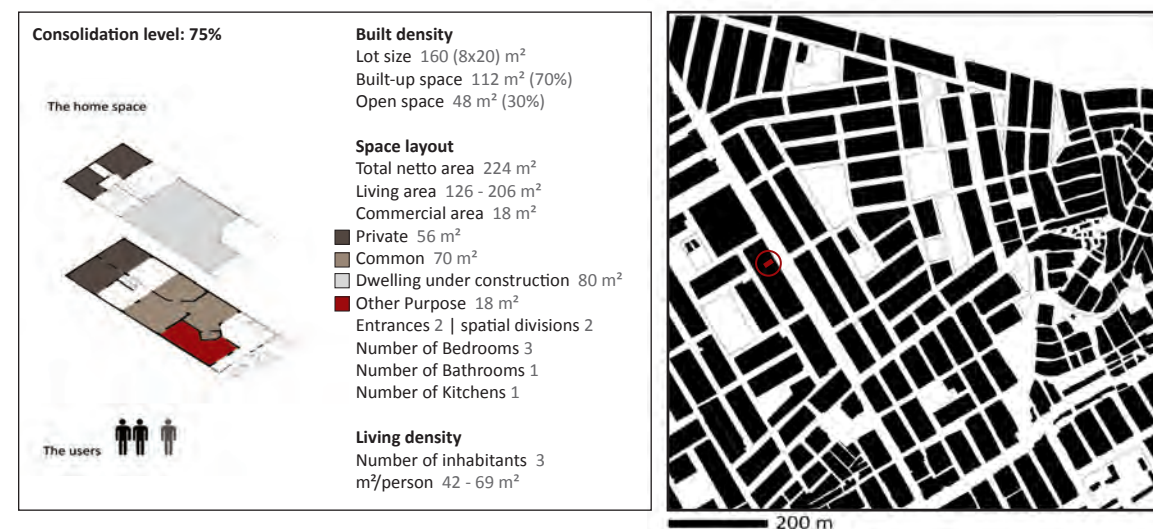
At the end this dusty street Cita's garden house emerges as a cool oasis of densely growing plants, shrubs and small trees. It claims a part of the public area outside the plot. The house that lies behind it only counts one storey. All its spaces feature a high level of finishing and though the house did not grow much vertically it is highly consolidated.

Cita's house is part of the so-called *asociaciones de vivienda*. Unlike other dwellers in the *asentamientos humanos* who illegally occupied the desert land areas, Cita and her husband Feliciano bought the land at the end of the 1970s. It soon turned out that the land

titles were fake and a long struggle began to obtain their official property rights. While the *asentamientos humanos* were privileged under the rule of socialist mayor Barrantes during the 1980s, the *asociaciones de vivienda* were not considered. Cita and Feliciano finally received their individual land title in 2011, more than thirty years after they started building the home.

The absence of a clear title did not prevent the family nor other members of the *asociaciones de vivienda* from extending and transforming their home space. Remarkably the processes of home consolidation are very similar to those occurring in the *asentamientos humanos*. Cita and her husband lived in a small straw settlement during the early years, after which they changed the precarious structure into an incipient brick dwelling in the early 1980s. With two children born at the end of that decade, a second floor was added to the small dwelling occupying the backside of the lot. The large patio stayed in front of the house. Here Cita used to keep her plants, which she later moved to the street edge.

The tiny built structure remained until the late 1990s. It was always just enough for the small size of the family. Back then all home investments came from personal savings and inco-



me the parents gained from work. The latest transformation the dwelling has undergone was financed through bank loans and allowed to fill the vacant front part of the plot. Still the house did not have official property rights by the time the large renovation was undertaken. This time round, unlike previous changes, architectural plans determined the new interventions and labourers were hired for most of the construction works. Feliciano however, completed the finishing of the tile floor and the painting of the walls independently.

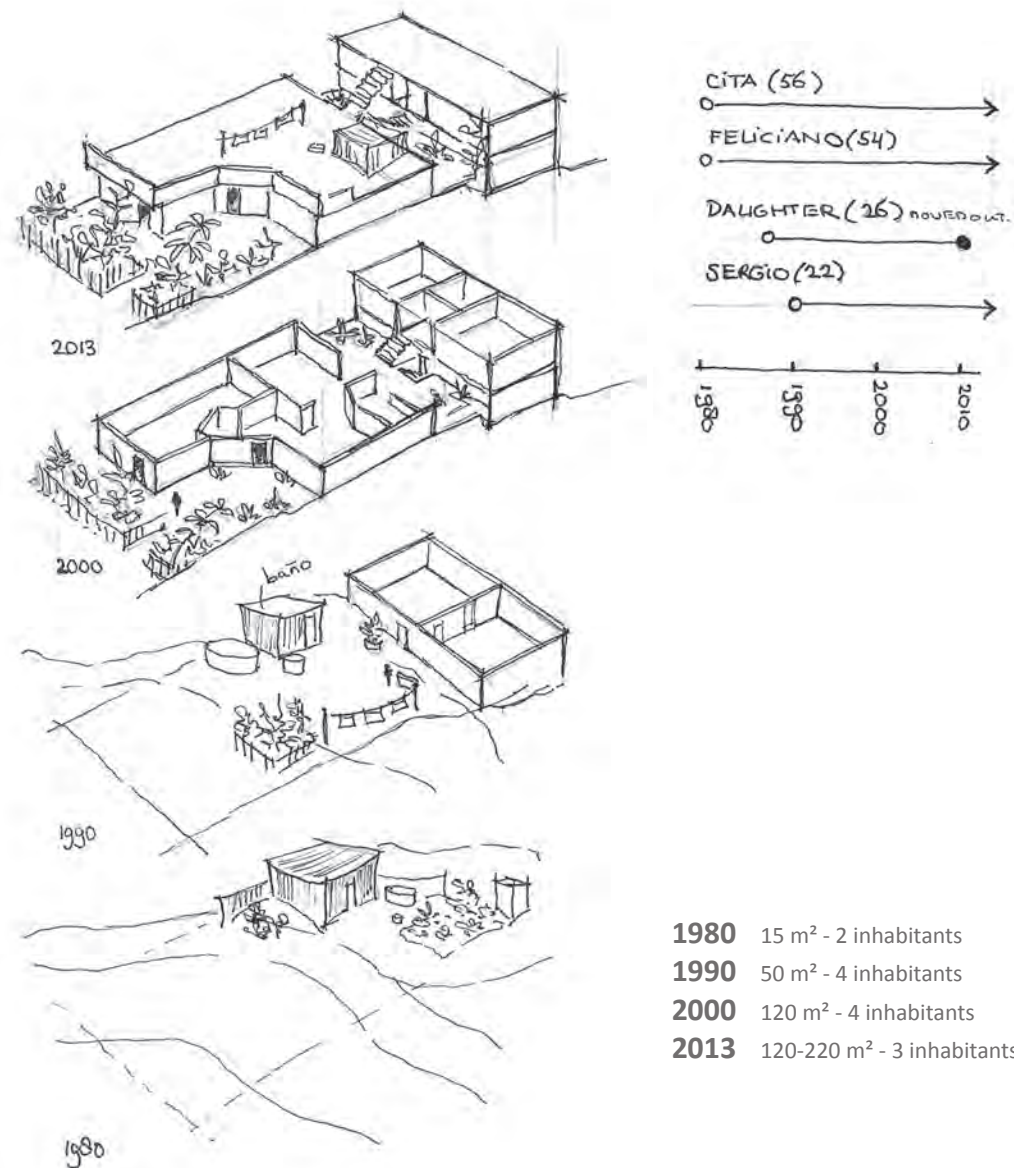
Cita worked with the architect - a friend - to distribute the rooms in order to keep the large open area in front of the house for the garden. An inner patio with cactuses and a small rose garden, allowing a fresh breeze to cool the bright living room and kitchen were also installed. They made smart use of the different heights of the plot by creating a split-level between the original two-storey structure and the newly added section, with the patio in between lighting all indoor spaces. The home could now be entered through two new doors allowing Cita to have a more private area for her neighbourhood work for which she receives guests.

The brand new house that arose on the sloping plot did not erase traces of the past.

Apart from a new coat of paint, the old home is still intact with the original front door opening into the spacious inner patio. Although the home more than doubled in size with the latest extension, the garden of Cita and Feliciano still grows and dominates the everyday home environment.



Site plan scale 1:200



House trajectory vs. Life trajectories





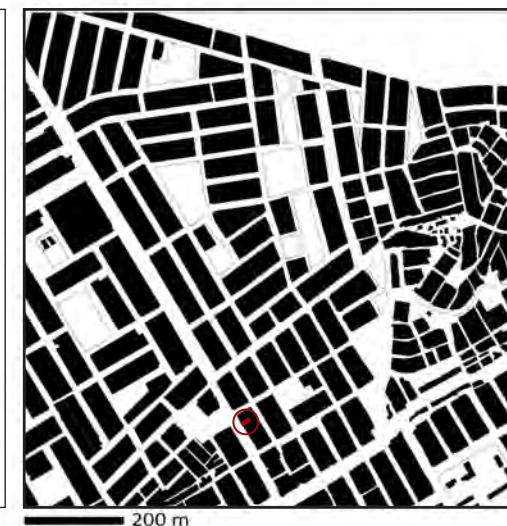
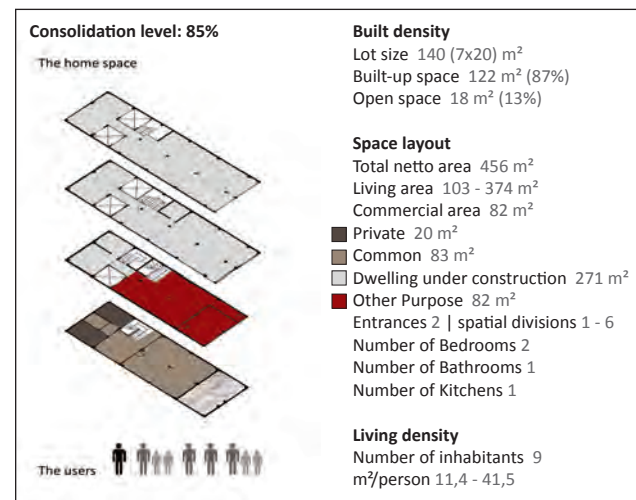
THE AMBITIOUS HOUSE

Rufina's ambitious house is located along the main road to Villa El Salvador. The dwelling is currently undergoing massive reconstruction. Piles of sand and stones lie in front of the house along the busy street. Every now and then a young guy comes out of the building to load some materials on his wheelbarrow. Concrete pillars with jutting bars stick out of the skyline facing the southern district of Lima. The house is covering three layers of *los aires* and will eventually become a five-storey apartment building. The closed ground floor façade, apart from two heavy steel doors through which the house can be entered, does not contain any window or opening. From the outside the spaciousness of the home and the immense basement it includes can hardly be spotted. Big windows are kept in the upper front façade that at the same time provide a stunning view over the busy commercial street where *micros*, buses and *mototaxis* run up and down, and where the residential blocks of Villa El Salvador appear in the distance. The internal staircase also offers some illumination, though when all five floors will be constructed this will be greatly reduced. The lack of light can already be previewed in the dusky basement lit by fluorescent tube lights during daytime. Here the family spends most

of their time. In between the furniture that is stored and waiting to be carried up to the brand new apartments, an old mattress lies on the ground where Rufina sleeps. The family lives in an improvised manner.

In the provisional kitchen downstairs Rufina runs her *comedor*. Every morning you can find Rufina cooking here among the young construction workers running up and down the stairs carrying bags of cement. She started selling food at a small stall on the street more than twenty years ago. Back then the house was already built in brick, set back from the street and consisting of a single floor. Here Rufina, her husband and the four children lived together in two small quarters with the patio and separate toilet at the back of the house. The parents later extended the house to the outer borders of the plot adding an extra floor. The *comedor* was integrated in the home space. Just after they completed the home extension Rufina's husband passed away. The oldest daughter Elida had already moved out to live with her husband and parents-in-law. The young couple did not last long, and Elida, who could see her mother suffering, moved back in with her, together with the two children that were born in the meantime.

While the second generation was growing



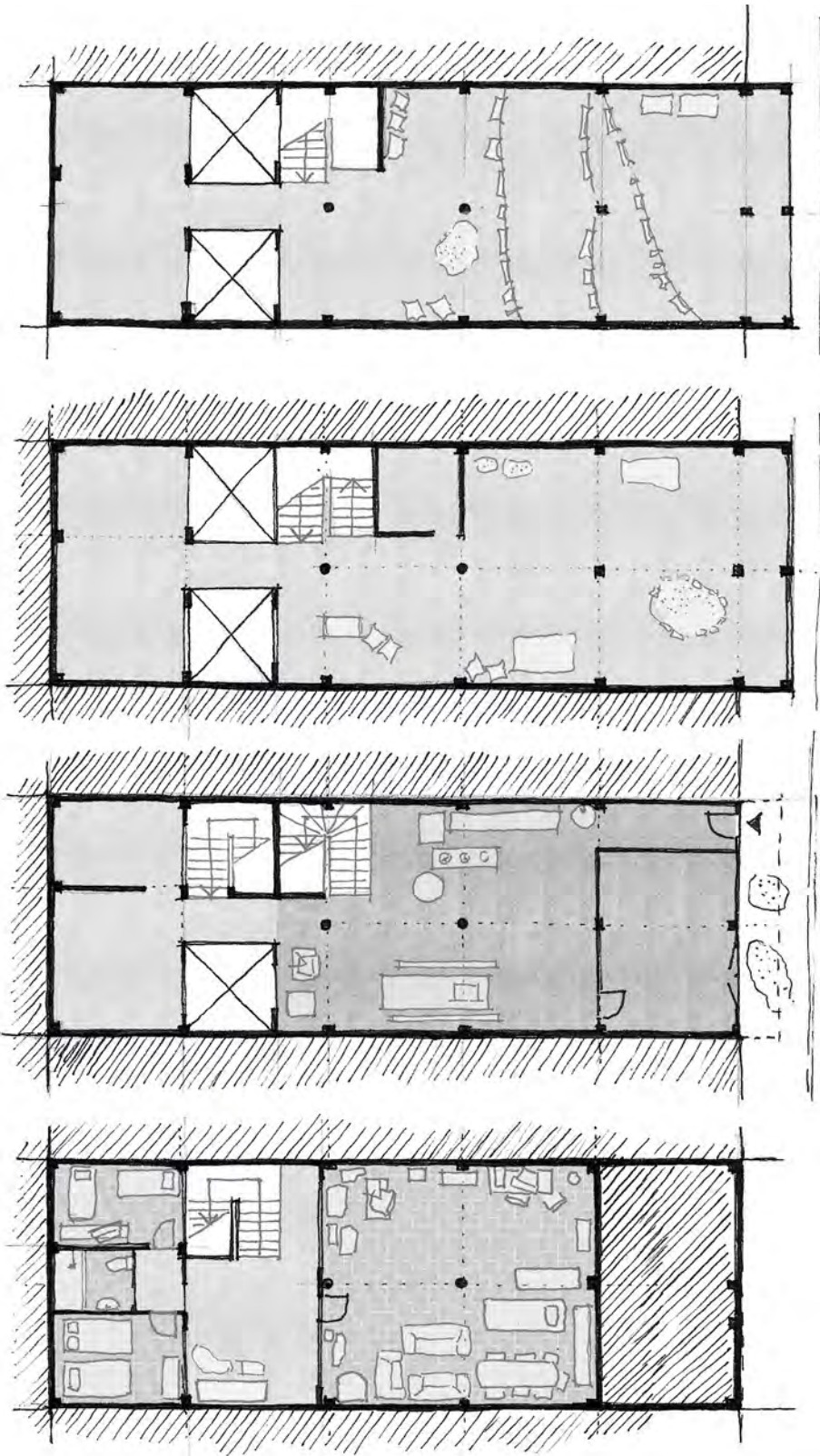
older and starting to have their own families, new ideas were discussed. The mother and the four teenagers agreed on an ambitious plan for the future development of their home. The second generations each claimed a part of *los aires* where they still are constructing their individual apartments. Most resources for home improvements are now also provided for by the children.

All of Rufina's children went to university. The oldest son Wilfredo finished law school a few years ago and managed to access a well-paid job. This allowed the family to take out big loans to finance the house, though the children also had to pay for university with the loans. Nevertheless the ambitious plans of transforming the original dwelling into a multi-storey apartment building could take off. It was based on the principle creating an individual living space for every child on each of the upper floors. Additionally, the possibility of renting it to outsiders, in case the children would have to move somewhere else closer to work, was acknowledged from the start.

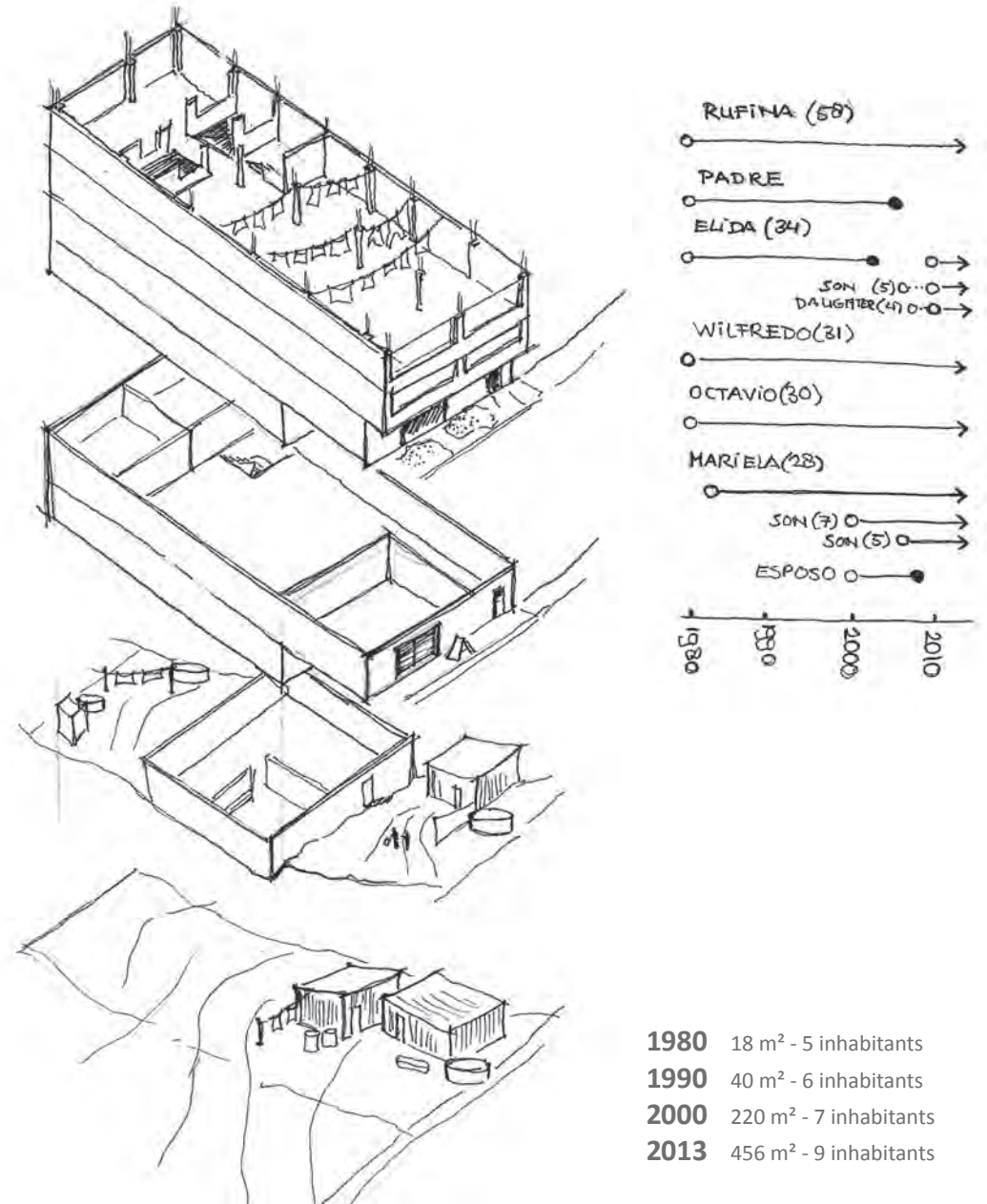
The ideal situation for the vertical subdivision of the house would be to create an exterior staircase sewing individual entrances to the upper floors, but since the plot was already entirely built up and construction on

the sidewalks is strictly prohibited, the only solution was to create an internal connection. The ground floor is to be kept as a semi-public commercial space, which in the future will function as an entranceway for the residents of *los aires*.

The final home transformations were completed rapidly by means of hiring various construction workers active seven days a week. The old incipient dwelling has completely disappeared, as did many other buildings along the busy commercial street. The house epitomises the ambitions of the highly educated second generation, who invested collectively in what will be their future home (or source of income).



Site plan scale 1:200



House trajectory vs. Life trajectories



PART III - From the house to the city via the street



PART III - From the house to the city via the street

"Some people really care about our neighbourhood, there are neighbours who built beautiful gardens in front of their homes, but there are others that come and throw their trash in our public spaces, they simply don't care. The people who care are mostly original dwellers who have lived here from the beginning and feel more attached to the area. Together we worked really hard to acquire all of what you see today; the roads, electricity, water. When new people came to the neighbourhood the problems started. The violence and drugs gangs are big problems nowadays. I do not want the children to play on the street, because it is too dangerous."

Nora Jesusi (58), neighbourhood leader 20 de Mayo

SPONTANEOUS CITY MAKING

The urban development in metropolitan Lima is characterized by a spontaneous process, which begins from home space, where the user is constantly extending, transforming and improving his or her dwelling. Today, 60% of the built environment is comprised of spontaneously developed self-help settlements.¹

The ten in-depth cases of the multigenerational families living in Pampas de San Juan, presented in the previous section, illustrated the divergences and convergences in the home consolidation process. It furthermore showed how home space is appropriated by the users and how the house is constantly trying to adjust to the changing social structures and characteristics of the households. Sometimes home transformation resulted in creative solutions and the home extended and transformed in synchrony with the extension of the family. In many cases however house growth was lagging behind causing conflicts in home space between homeowners and sharers. Empirical findings thus validated the initial hypothesis

1 SÁEZ GIRALDEZ, Elia; GARCÍA CALDERÓN, José; ROCH PEÑA, Fernando, "La ciudad desde la casa: ciudades espontáneas en Lima", in: *Revista INVI*, 2010: p. 79.

that the self-help housing model has reached its limits and homes are not always able to adapt to the changing social structures and characteristics of the extended family. The evaluation of home consolidation in relation to the social dynamics of households will be treated in the final section.

In this section, home transformation is discussed within a broader scope, reflecting on homes within the constantly changing social tissue. As was pointed out by Sáez, García and Roch (2010), Lima's city making is based on an ascendant model from the small scale to the big scale. This inverted exercise of spontaneous city making, initiated by the home space, has proved to generate an array of urban tissue types.²

In the exploration of how and under what circumstances the individual process of home transformation determines the formation of urban tissue, both the physical as well as the social determinants have to be taken into consideration. The spontaneous processes of home transformation do not exclude that comparable improvement of the broader physical environment might occur. This process is however depends on several external factors that affect the spatial quality of the neighbourhood.



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THE STRAW HOUSE AS A 'STRATEGY FOR CITY MAKING'

The *barriadas* emerged from the 1950s onwards on the vacant desert land of Lima's peripheries. The first migrants settled in precarious shelters made out of straw mats that eventually became consolidated neighbourhoods that now dominate the contemporary urban landscape. The breadth with which the self-help housing model was carried out was only possible under the favourable political climate of Peru and Lima³. During the 1960s and 1970s the self-help housing model was seen as the most viable solution for accommodating the poor population, and illegal land occupations were rarely forcefully neglected by the government. As Sáez, García and Roch proclaim, "*the straw house has become a strategy for city making.*"⁴

3 BROMLEY, Ray, "Peru 1957–1977: How time and place influenced John Turner's ideas on housing policy", in: *Habitat International*, 2003 (27) 2, pp. 271-292.

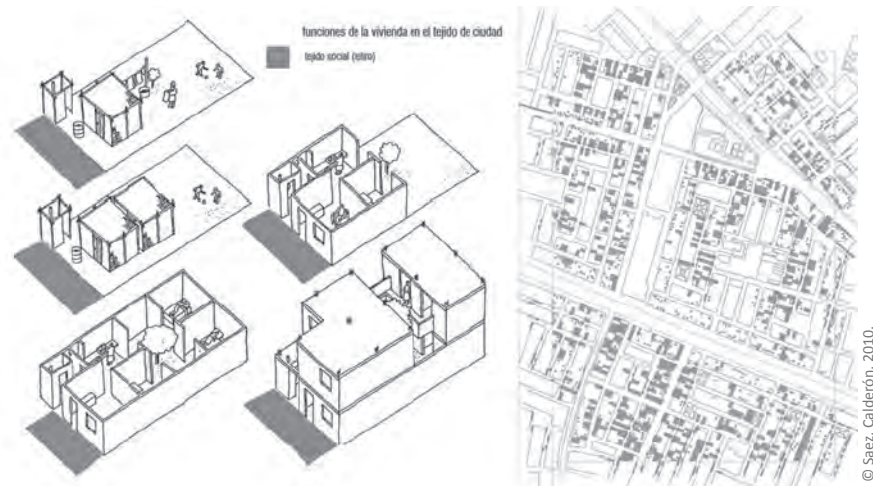
4 SÁEZ GIRALDEZ, Elia; GARCÍA CALDERÓN, José; ROCH PEÑA, Fernando, 2010, op.cit: p. 77.

Soon after an invasion would take place, the land was subdivided in individual lots on which the people could start building their homes. Nevertheless public authorities were practically absent in the incipient stage of *barriada* development and services were only installed after a long struggle of community organizations. When the squatter settlements began to show a certain level of consolidation the population's attention shifted towards the construction and improvement of the house, as Riofrío pointed out in 1987.⁵

Within the structure of the parcelled land, the straw houses gradually transitioned to first-stage dwellings and eventually the *manzanas* or housing blocks densified to an extent that is now comparable to the city centre.⁶ In this inverted process of city making the house is the basic unit from which the city's urban fabric is generated.

5 RIOFRÍO, Gustavo; DRIANT, Jean-Claude, *¿Que vivienda han construido? : nuevos problemas en viejas barriadas*, Lima, Centro de Investigación, Desarrollo y Asesoría Poblacional, 1987: p. 61.

6 Perfil Sociodemográfico de la Provincia de Lima, INEI, 2007: p. 26



FROM THE HOUSE TO THE STREET

In a formal planning system land uses are defined beforehand and then implemented into an urban structure. On the contrary in spontaneous processes, as Sáez, García and Roch argue, echoing Turner's depiction of the autonomous housing system, uses emerge as a function of user's demands and priorities over a certain period of time. Homes absorb specific additional functions that change over time. Furthermore through home transformation and densification, homes have the capacity to change the characteristics of urban tissue at a broader scale such as density, typology and use patterns. The house moreover generates spatial fabric in which the individual processes determine the formation of urban tissue.

This process of 'spatial aggradation' is favourable since it starts off at a human scale arranging for a major flexibility than in a predetermined formal planning system. It therefore provides for a favourable relation between the house and the street in which homes are part of an interactive play with the public space. Initially authorities did not maintain streets or sidewalks. As a consequence users extended their private domain towards the street edges by assembling shops, gardens and small self-

built terraces creating a sequences from public to semi-public spaces.⁷ When spaces where formalized the responsibility shifted back to the state. Meanwhile residents had (temporary) appropriated these intermediate spaces, linking the private and the public, thereby contributing to the formation of qualitative spaces of interaction. Within the process of spatial aggradation, different tissue types are formed (see above image). Commercial and productive spaces are assimilated in the residential spaces that contribute to the formation of the productive tissue and are amenities for the neighbourhood. The process of aggradation is intensified by the increasing level of consolidation of the homes and the corresponding densification, as was already predicted by Turner in 1968.⁸ Furthermore the appropriate parts of the public space, transforming them in green areas and thereby contributing to the aggradation of the environmental tissue.

Sáez, García and Roch have a rather optimistic approach. Tokeshi is however critical towards the way in which amenities emerge sponta-

7 SÁEZ GIRALDEZ; GARCÍA CALDERÓN; ROCH PEÑA, 2010, op.cit: p. 88

8 TURNER, John F. C., "The Squatter Settlement: An architecture that works", in: *Architectural Design, Architecture of Democracy*, August 1968, p: 358.



neously. Though Tokeshi points out the individual advantages of commercial spaces that can be assembled in the house, he also states that the diversification of commercial uses is represented in a disordered zoning and does not necessarily match local demands. Functions appear mostly out of the individual need of the owner and a commercial perspective. On the broader scale it often does not reflect a coherent use pattern.⁹

Reflecting on spontaneous city making at different scale levels, it becomes apparent that this type of urban development has its limits in the formation of larger urban areas. Moreover problems occur related to the city's continuity. The inverted process of city making ensures certain self-sufficiency at the scale of the house, but at the larger scale it is detached from the formal systems hereby contributing to a fragmented city.¹⁰

CHANGING SOCIAL REALITIES

The fast process of globalization that took place during the preceding two decades, caused unforeseen and extraordinary changes in society, as was pointed out by Matos Mar

9 Tokeshi, Juan, *Sembrando Huellas, Criterios técnicos para el crecimiento de la vivienda*, final report, Desco, 2001: p. 51.

10 SÁEZ GIRALDEZ; GARCÍA CALDERÓN; ROCH PEÑA, 2010, op.cit: p. 112.

(2012)¹¹. In this neoliberal urban setting the spontaneous urban development and densification were accompanied by an increase of social insecurity.¹² This increase in both population and social differences characterizes the process of becoming a city. As described by Massey, Allen & Pile, "The particularity of the city is that it concentrates differences through its density of people and lived spaces."¹³

Neighbourhood densification and the heterogeneous society that transpired after a certain aging of the *barriada*, were already predicted by Turner in 1968.¹⁴ Paralleled with densification and diversification of the area, amenities and job opportunities would occur, though Turner did not look closely into the social differences between first and second generations that evolved.

Now, 4 decades later, the old *barriadas* changed form rural squatter settlements to

11 MATOS MAR, José, *Perú: estado desbordado y sociedad nacional emergente*, Lima, Centro de Investigación Universidad Ricardo Palma, 2012

12 PLÖGER, Jörg, "Gated barriadas: Responses to urban insecurity in marginal settlements in Lima, Peru." In: *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, 2012: p. 212.

13 Massey, D.; Allen, J. & Pile, S. (1999). *City worlds: understanding cities*. Psychology Press.

14 TURNER, John F. C., "The Squatter Settlement: An architecture that works", in: *Architectural Design, Architecture of Democracy*, August 1968, pp. 355-360.



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urban neighbourhoods, side by side with a transition from a communal-based society to an individualistic society. The early stages of this process of social change were uncovered by Riofrío in 1987. He pointed to major difference and divergent aspirations between the better-educated second generation raised in the city and their working-class parents who were migrants coming from the countryside, as Riofrío argued, after a communal struggle for service acquisition, the attention shifted towards the individual process of home improvement.¹⁵

More than 20 years later, Michaela Hordijk revisited the now 'consolidated' *barriadas* and found similar transitions as Riofrío uncovered in 1987. It became apparent that children of original invaders grew up in a completely other environment than their parents, who built the neighbourhood through collective efforts. The second generation was moreover better educated, had better access to jobs and moreover their housing aspirations changed considerable. Unlike their parents, the children tend to solve their housing problem "through the market."¹⁶ Furthermore the shift towards an individualistic society was underlined by the second generations, who expressed to

15 RIOFRÍO; DRIANT, 1987, op.cit: p. 61.

16 HORDIJK, 2010, op.cit.: p. 372.

have less interest in participating in communal organizations.

The differences between the initial socially organized community and the current individual society was explained by Plöger (2012) as follows: *"While social deprivation and the desire for progress were significant drivers for community mobilization and collective action, these have been facilitated by shared cultural background and, consequently, mutual trust or pressure from within the community."*¹⁷

Common features were expressed from respondents in my own research:

"The neighbourhood changed a lot. People today do not care anymore. They do not care if their children have a better place to live tomorrow. That was really different before. People cared. But back then we did not have access to water and electricity. So it was also more necessary to get together. Nevertheless we also did a lot more other activities together before. Now every single person stays in his house."

Julia (58), original invader of Pampas de San Juan

Another outstanding fact in Hordijk's study was that violence and social insecurity were seen as the main problem according to 90% of the respondents. The increasing urban insecurity

17 PLÖGER, 2012, op.cit.: p. 214.

"Violence is a big issue nowadays. Almost daily a group of kids are smoking pot at the corner of the street. They know who I am and they won't harm me. But a little bit further down the road youngsters from outside the neighbourhood gather at night. They are really violent and don't have respects for the place and the inhabitants."

Señor Poemape (56), neighbourhood leader of 1 de Junio

city is translated in the physical environment in various manners. Parallel to the process in which user appropriate parts of public space, street gating is appearing in the urban landscape. Furthermore the use of public space is threatened by the increasing social deterioration, keeping the people inside their homes and hardening the edges between private and public. Hence, adding a social layer, the potential of the favourable relation between the house and the street, pointed out by Sáez, García and Roch, turn out to be different. This confirms the pre-assumed affects expressed in the first chapter that social diversification, that in the worst case leads to social detachment, the increasing social insecurity and the shift from a community-oriented society to an individualistic society, inhibit the interactive play between home and street. The residents describe these problems as follows:

"I really believe in the good of people, but I see there are more and more bad people coming to the neighbourhood. Last week during the night they broke in to the building and stole 20 guinea pigs. When I went to the police they just laughed at me. That is the world we live in."

Cita, resident El Universo

"Though there are many problems now with drugs and robberies. Last week they mugged me here

in the street during the day. And that is not the first time that happens. Before it was only during the night but now you should be really aware also during the day."

Julia (36), daughter Aleman

CONCLUSIONS

Looking into Lima's spontaneous city making, it became apparent that the individual process of home consolidation determines the formation of urban tissue. Sáez, García and Roch, who mainly focus on the physical transitions in the urban landscape, have a rather positive approach. They argue that spontaneous city making allows for more flexibility than formal planned systems, since homes have the capacity to change the urban characteristics such as density, typology and use patterns. Furthermore the human scale of the ascendant model has high potential for the street as a social space for interaction, in which Intermediate spaces occur through user appropriations of public space adjusted to their specific necessities. Tokeshi contrasted this idea stating that this only counts for the individual.

Sáez, García and Roch argue that the future of these neighbourhoods should be embedded in a more sustainable form of urbanism that has the capacity to evolve over time. The development of new planning systems should



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follow the current logic and spontaneous processes of city making. Not exchanging them for formal system but finding the connection between the two.

It was furthermore shown that under influence of social change other realities appear, causing social deterioration on the neighbourhood scale. Hence the increase of both population and social differences, the rising social insecurity and the shift from a community-oriented society to an individual society, highly influence the spontaneous process of shaping the environment and not always result in a qualitative urban neighbourhood. Deterioration of public space can be observed and despite the fact that neighbourhoods now are fully serviced, there are still needs for improvement.

"I hope that the neighbourhood will improve further, with parks and sidewalks and more green areas."

Cristina (51), resident of 1 de Junio

Furthermore the *asentamientos humanos* and *asociaciones de vivienda* of Pampas might have started differently,¹⁸ (the land of the *asentamientos humanos* was invaded when the *asociaciones de vivienda* already had start-

18 See: page 63

ed to consolidate), today they have reached similar consolidation levels that makes it hard to spot differences between the two, as a resident from *asociación de vivienda* El Universo proclaims:

"Asentamiento humano, asociación de vivienda? It is all the same. We might have started differently, now we all have constructed our houses and share the same needs and desires for the future of our neighbourhood."

Cita Gonzales, resident El Universo

Hordijk and Plöger both pointed to the importance of strong community cohesion. In order to guard against the increasing violence and social insecurity. Current inhabitants seem to share the same desire:

"The most important that matters for the future is that we have to keep organizing ourselves. There are still many things to improve; parks and sidewalks are missing and some roads are badly constructed. But we also have to act as a community to solve problems with neighbours and find solutions for the insecurity and the robberies that is really getting too much now."

Nora Jesusi (58), original invader of Pampas de San Juan and current neighbourhood leader 20 de Mayo

PART IV - Living between desires and possibilities



PART IV - Living between desires and possibilities

In the spontaneous urban development of Lima, urban dwellers shape their own living environment through a self-managed process of home improvement. This inverted exercise of city making (from the small to the large scale) begins with illegal land occupations made by migrants, mostly through invasion and on occasion by purchasing non official titles from land speculators. Subsequently a long community struggle begins to acquire services and private property titles.¹ Between 1954, when the first large land invasion took place in Ciudad de Dios,² and today, the *barriadas* gradually transitioned from rural squatter settlements to urban neighbourhoods that now are part of metropolitan Lima. This process characterizes the way in which most *Limeños* accessed the housing market in the past.

Today more than two thirds of the urban population live in peripheral low-income settlements and the vast majority of the *barriada's* founding fathers continue to live in their self-built homes.³ Household compositions changed considerably since the mid 1950s. Families extended with a second and third generation and sometimes households extended even further with other relatives or renters who moved in, sharing the same house. As a consequence homes frequently have been subdivided, both horizontally and vertically, into multiple apartments constructed on the same plot.⁴

1 See Chapter 2.

2 MATOS MAR, José, *Las barriadas de Lima*, Lima, IEP, 1977

3 WARD, Peter M., "A Patrimony for the Children: Low-Income Homeownership and Housing (Im)Mobility in Latin American Cities.", 2012: pp. 1489-1510.

4 WARD, Peter M., "Self-help housing policies for second generation inheritance and succession of The House that Mum & Dad Built.", In: Habitat International, 2011 (35) 3, pp. 467-485.

As was mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, John Turner's model stopped after 12 years of consolidation when homes had reached the 'completing stage'.⁵ What would happen next was not clearly defined by Turner, though other scholars continued to research the 'second life'⁶ of self-help settlements.⁷

These 'revisits' showed clearly that self-help settlements, which emerged in the 1960s and 1970s, developed far beyond the third stage of Turner's model. In the changing setting of modernization and democratization in Lima many complexities evolved after a certain 'aging' of the *barriadas*. Today, after 3 to 5 decades of lived-in experience in the 'consolidated' self-help settlements we can conclude that the model Turner promoted in the 1960s has reached its limits.

THE HOUSE ALONG THE STREET: A DIVERGENT AND CONVERGENT PROCESS OF HOME TRANSFORMATION

At the beginning of the research the capacity of homes to adapt to the changing social structures and characteristics of the extended family was questioned. Factors which influence the process of home consolidation have been unfolded. The ten documented cases illustrated that homes follow extremely distinctive trajectories while they consolidate over time. From the houses along the street some divergences are immediately visible. The

5 TURNER, John F. C., "The Squatter Settlement: An architecture that works", in: Architectural Design, Architecture of Democracy, August 1968: p. 358.

6 See: page 61

7 Riofrío and Driant (1987) were the first who reflected on home consolidation over a longer period of time than Turner included in his model. Later Ward revisited the self-help settlements in Mexico. RIOFRÍO, Gustavo; DRIANT, Jean-Claude, ¿Que vivienda han construido? : nuevos problemas en viejas barriadas, Lima, Centro de Investigación, Desarrollo y Asesoría Poblacional, 1987. WARD, 2011, op. cit.: pp. 467-485.

rapidly developed houses rise promptly above the surrounding urban landscape while the slow growing homes, consisting of small home spaces built out of provisional materials, lag behind. Many complexities become apparent within the home consolidation process by taking a closer look. Every house has its own story and own reasons for extending, improving, transforming and adapting along certain lines. Susana Williams (2005) already illustrated some of the major complexities arising during the self-managed process of home improvement. Williams exposed the many additional external and internal factors that influence the process of home improvement and determine people's decision of the people to make home investments or not.⁸

In the first chapter it was hypothesized that homes are not always able to adapt to changing social structures and characteristics of the extended families⁹. The empirically grounded study illustrated there are many more factors involved in home improvement than those originally developed in Turner's self-help housing model.¹⁰ The 'use values' and 'spatial values' of the ten cases of Pampas de San Juan, show how diverse trajectories of home consolidation can be. Furthermore these empirical findings are not always consonant with the original expectations of the self-managed process of home improvement as was endorsed by John Turner at the end of the 1960s. Hence it is time to reflect upon this model in order to better understand how complexities have evolved across different generations and if the self-help house is still adjusted to the needs of the current users.

In the subsequent section the ten case studies

8 WILLIAMS, Susana M., *Young Town growing up: four decades later: self-help housing and upgrading lessons from a squatter neighborhood in Lima*, Master thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), 2005.

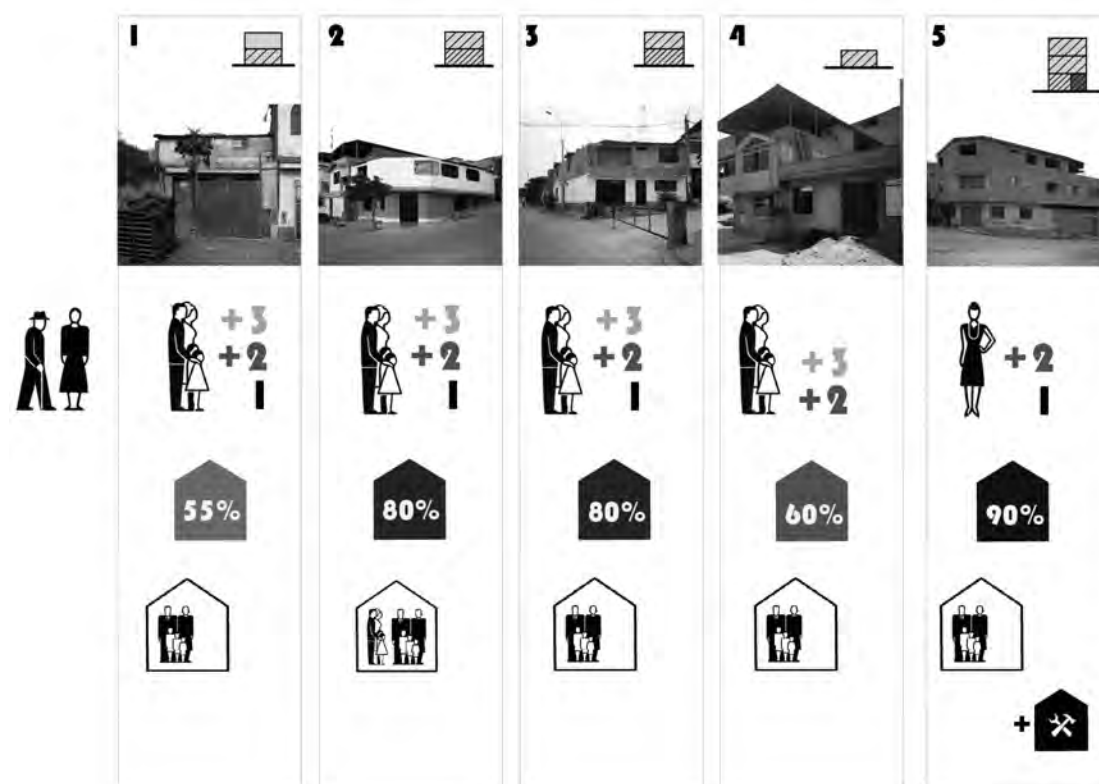
9 See Chapter 1: p. 64

10 TURNER, 1968, op. cit.: p. 358.

are disentangled side-by-side in order to demonstrate what factors influenced the progressive development of the house. The divergences and convergences of continuously changing social structures in extended families result in distinctive spatial compositions while at the same time some common trends in home transformation can be identified.

Firstly the influence of changing household compositions and family size that Turner considered an essential condition for homes to grow and adapt, are examined, showing the most divergent examples among the ten studied cases. Secondly financial resources of families are studied, looking at where the money invested in the house comes from, if and how second generations contribute to home improvements either directly or indirectly and if additional income (of commercial, productive spaces or rented out spaces) is speeding up home consolidation. Tenorial conditions, that Turner pointed out as one of the main causes to start off home consolidation and transformation, are examined in the third sections. Now thirty years later all homes have individual property rights, and the question now should shift towards tenorial conditions of second and third generation dwellers, who in most cases continue to share a home that belongs to their parents.¹¹ Finally the progressive development of the house is discussed in relation to future aspirations of second generations, social consumption norms, priorities and motivations for making home improvements.

11 GILBERT, Alan. "A home is for ever? Residential mobility and homeownership in self-help settlements", in: Environment and Planning, 1999 (31) 6: pp. 1073-1091. WARD, 2011, op. cit.: pp. 467-485.



1. FAMILY SIZE, CHANGING HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITIONS AND HOME CONSOLIDATION

Initially, Lima's urban development occurred in a horizontal manner caused by the formation of *barriadas* in the urban peripheries, resulting in low densities and an enormous city expansion. After the *barriadas* were established, low-income districts experienced a period of intensive densification that was initiated by self-help consolidation. As Riofrío showed the city's population growth during the 1970s and 1980s was mainly concentrated in the low-income sectors.¹² Along with the densification of the low-income districts of Lima, household structures changed radically. Families extended with a second and third generation and sometimes renters, and both neighbourhoods and households diversified in terms of age, income and educational levels.¹³

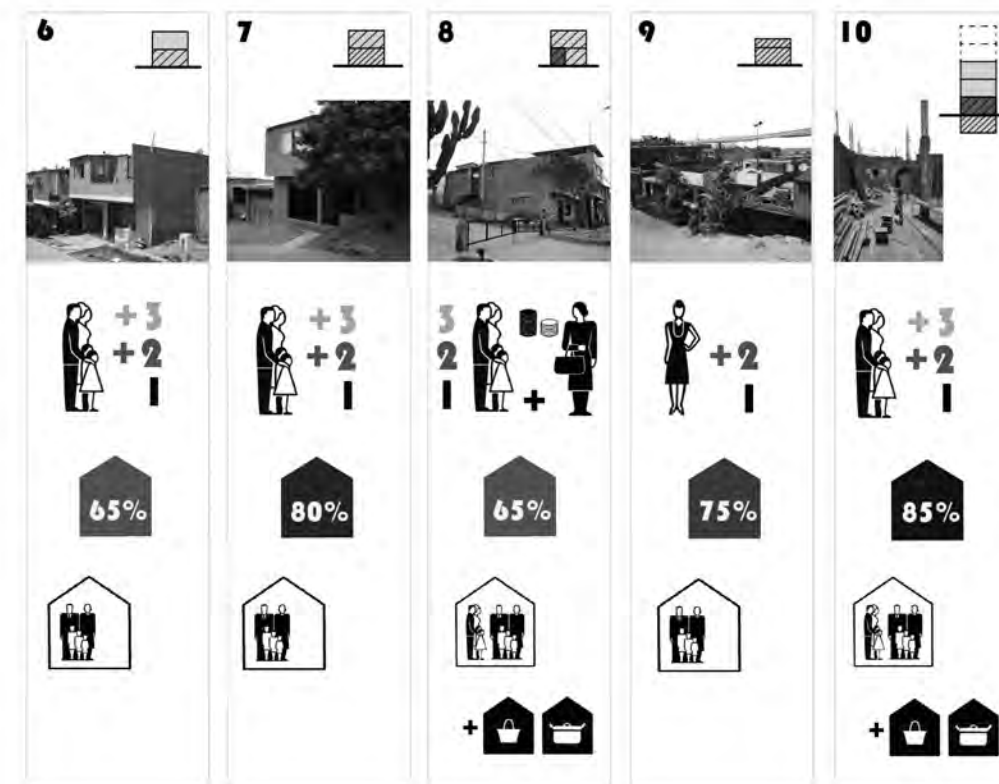
¹² RIOFRÍO, DRIANT, 1987, op. cit.: p. 32

¹³ RIOFRÍO, DRIANT, 1987, op. cit. HORDIJK,

Other than Turner's showed in his model, demographic growth of extended families did not directly influence home consolidation. Turner expected homes to consolidated in line with the growth of the family, when more children were born additional rooms would be added. From Susana Williams' findings of a revisit to low-income settlement Independencia in Northern Lima, it became apparent that the size of the family was not necessarily reflected in the development of the house. Large extended families did not always have a developed and improved home and vice-versa. Williams argued that there are many determinants in the home investment and improvement process.¹⁴

Michaela, "Nuestra Realidad es Otra: Changing realities in Lima's peripheral settlements: a case study from San Juan de Miraflores", in: *The production, use and dissemination of Urban Knowledge in Cities of the South*, BRUNFAUT, V. ; D'AURIA, V.; DE MEULDER, B.; MORETTA, L.; SHANNON, K. (eds.), Brussels, N-AERUS, 2010, pp. 361-374.

¹⁴ WILLIAMS, 2005, op. cit.: p. 107



Turner, to a certain extent, was right in his predictions about how diversification of households as a consequence of the neighbourhood densification would evolve over time. The first settlers in the *barriadas* were young families but while the *barriada* would develop the population distribution in terms of age and income would gradually shift towards a heterogeneous population comparable with that of cities that have a certain age. As a consequence, according to Turner, there would be a greater demand for rental accommodation after three phases of consolidation and upper floors of homes would be subdivided for the new generations.¹⁵

There is a common trend of both the low mobility among the original homeowners and grown-up children that continue to live in the

¹⁵ TURNER, 1968, op. cit.: p. 358

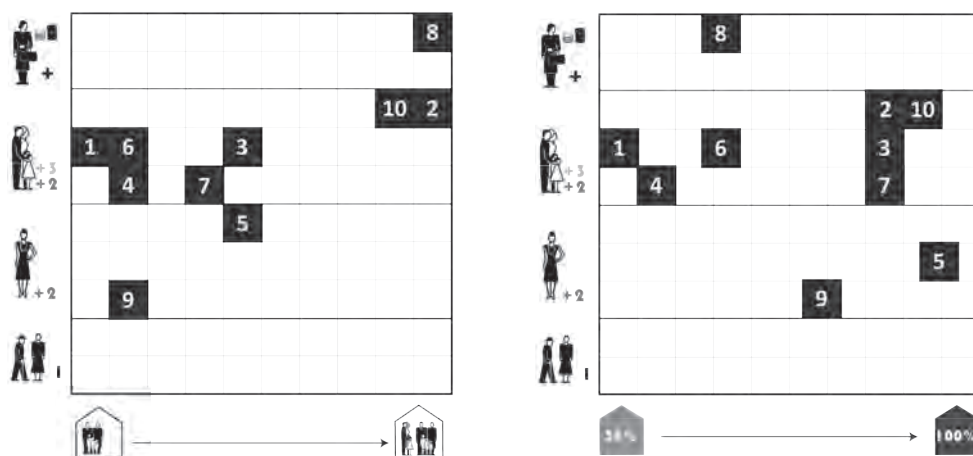
house of their parents.¹⁶ As Turner anticipated, in response to family extension and a growing need for privacy of three generations of users, homes are often been subdivided either horizontally by splitting up parts of the plot or vertically constructing individual apartments in 'los aires' with independent staircases.¹⁷ Nonetheless, also here counts that more factors influence this process resulting in divergent outcomes when looking at the realities.

The ten cases illustrate that home transformation and the way in which homes are extended in relation to the extension of the family are

¹⁶ WARD, Peter M., "Self-Help Housing: Ideas and Practice in the Americas", in: *Planning Ideas that Matter*. Eds. Bishwapriya Sanyal, Lawrence Vale and Christina Rosan. Cambridge, MA, MIT Press, 2012: p. 301

¹⁷ See the work of Ward and Tokeshi, in chapter 4 this will be discussed in more detail: WARD, 2011, op. cit.: pp. 467-485. ZOLEZZI, Mario; TOKESHI, Juan; NORIEGA, Carlos, Densificación habitacional: Una propuesta de crecimiento para la ciudad popular, Lima, Desco, 2005.

SCHEME 2 HOME TRANSFORMATION AND FAMILY GROWTH, DIVERGENCES AND CONVERGENCES



not always synchronized processes. Every house has its own particular development process as every family has its own personal story and reasons for making home investments and enlarging in home space. Hence the hypothesis stated at the beginning of this chapter that the family size and changing compositions of the household do not directly affect the home consolidation process is confirmed by empirical findings.

THREE FAMILIES, THREE HOMES

1. The visionary house of Nora and Wilberto

The family extended but the house did not follow the same trajectory and remained practically unimproved, in terms of both level of consolidation and housing typology.

2. The courageous house of the Alemans

The family extended and the house grew, transformed and adapted in synchrony with the growing family. The house was subdivided into 4 separate apartments and is highly consolidated in terms of building materials that are used in the construction and levels of finishing of interiors spaces.

8. The progressive house of Justina

The family extended with second and third generations, relatives and renters. The house

grew and transformed into a collective home comprising four individual entrances. Nevertheless this did not result in a fundamental home improvement. The house remained small, is poorly constructed and has a low level of consolidation.

The three cases presented above all involve a large household size that has undergone major changes over the past 3 decades and show the most striking differences in the way in which family size and changing household compositions influenced home consolidation. Comparing the visionary house of Nora with the courageous house of the Alemans, we see that both families extended in a similar way. However, the process of home consolidation is very dissimilar in the two cases.

More than 30 years after the parents invaded the desert lands of Pampas both Nora's and Aleman's family extended with a second and a third generation. Some of their children moved out, but most of them stayed to live in the parents' house, including grandchildren that were born in the meantime.

The two houses responded very differently to

THREE FAMILIES, THREE HOMES



family extension: while the visionary house of Nora and Wilberto remained practically untouched, Alemans courageous house grew and adapted in synchrony with the family extension and transformed into a collective home. The contrast can be easily spotted from a distance, with Aleman's two-storey house is built in durable materials covering the entire plot next to Nora's visionary house consisting of small home spaces built out of provisional materials.

In the third case of Justina's progressive house, household characteristics changed even more drastically. The family extended not only with a second and third generation, but other kinship and tenants joined the household as well. The home is being transformed in line with the extension of the household. Though the house is adapting to accommodate newcomers, arranging individual spaces and new entrances to allow for more privacy, it is not substantially improving and consolidating in terms of both its physical structure as well as its 'use value'.

Therefore it can be concluded that family size and changing family composition do not es-

entially have a direct affect on home transformation. Furthermore, as Justina's house and family trajectories together show, a house can adapt to changing household characteristics, but that does not necessarily mean that house transformation and adaptation entails home improvement.

HOME SPACE REFLECTING A LIFE HISTORY

3. The steady house of Sandra and Cecilio

All of the three adolescent children of Sandra and Cecilio stayed living in the parents' house and the family further extended now including a third generation. The house extended and the oldest daughter is constructing her own apartment on the second floor, though no subdivision was made and the house remained a single-family home. The house developed steadily in line with the family trajectory.

4. The faltering house of Brenda

The previous homeowners do not continue to live in the house. The father moved out and the mother passed away. The first-born daughter Brenda took over and now lives in the house. In this case the family has been split up and experienced many conflicts. The



80%



60%



house transformed similar to the faltering past of the family. It first decreased, then slowly recuperated, after which it was taken over by the second generation.

The previous cases illustrated how the increasing size of the family does not directly and necessarily have an effect on the home consolidation and that homes with a similar consolidation level follow very distinctive trajectories that are not always in line with the family extensions. The cases of Sandra and Brenda illustrate how the trajectory of the family can have a major affect on the development of the house. The contrasting life histories of each woman directly translates in the way their home space has developed.

RAPID CONSOLIDATION, SIMILAR FAMILIES, DISSIMILAR SPACES

5. *The expeditious house of Vacilia and Marcelo*

The family extends, the house grows considerably but remains a single family home

2. *The courageous house of the Alemans*

the family extends the house grows and transitions to a collective home by horizontal and vertical subdivisions intended for the second

and third generations

10. *The ambitious house of Rufina*

The family extends the house grows and is being transformed into department building, subdivided vertically with second generations claiming the spaces in 'los aires'

The households of the ambitious and the courageous house extended with a second and third generation. The residents of the expeditious house involve only first and second generations, children who started their own family moved out. In all three cases the majority of the children stayed to live with their parents. Comparing life trajectories with the house trajectory it can be assumed that an increasing family size does affect house improvement. Though in some cases this is true, factors such as the commercial and productive values of the house and the future plans of the second generations, are also highly influential.

Furthermore the spatial outcomes of the consolidation process are very diverse. Cases 5 and 10 extended in a similar way, having both vertical home enlargements, though one house remains a single-family home and the other is split up into individual apartments.

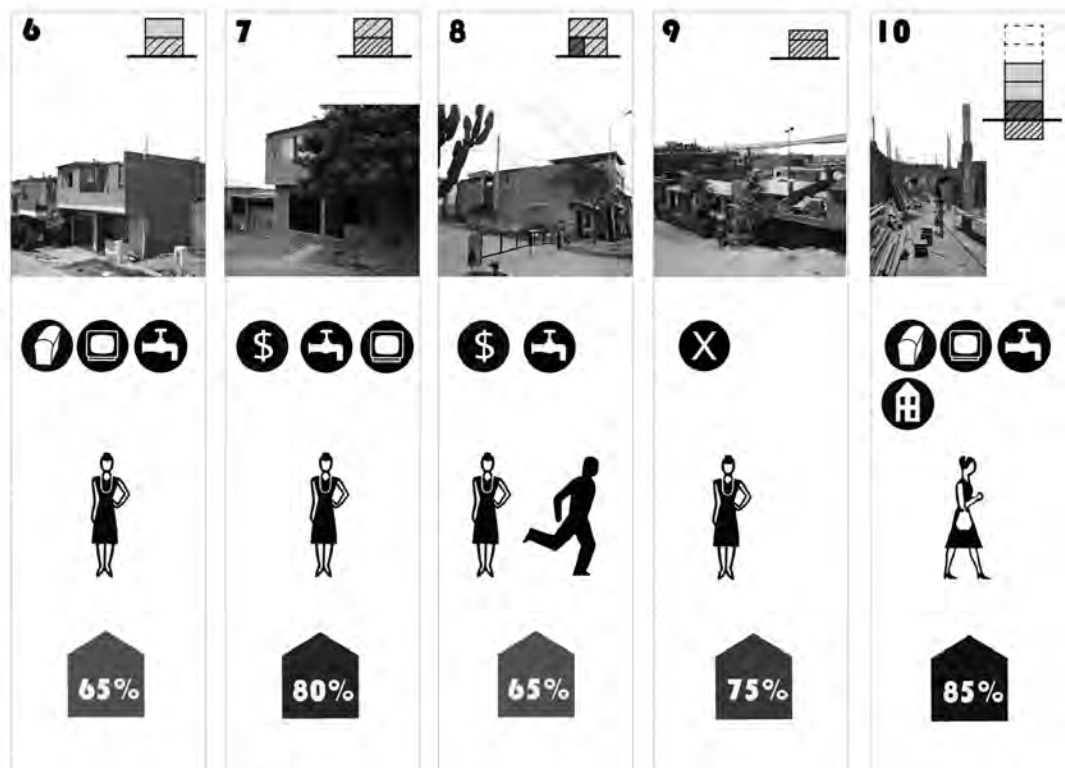
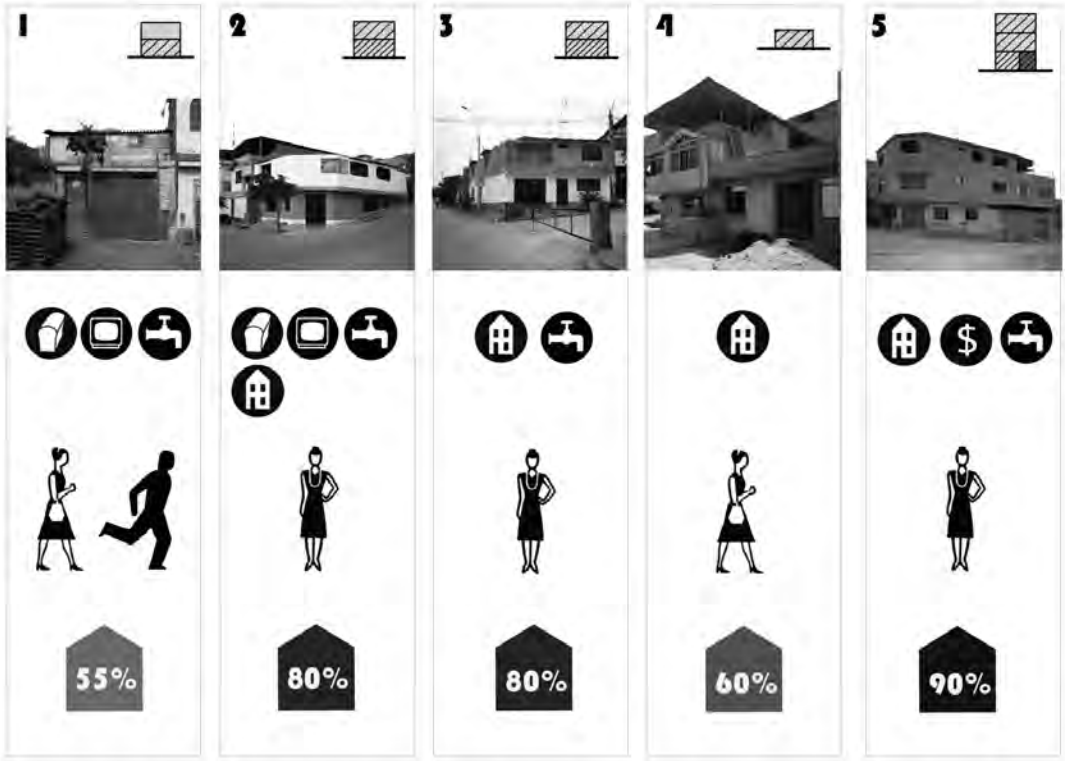


Case 2 did not expand vertically as the other two cases, though the spaces are more consolidated and the house is being subdivided both horizontally as well as vertically.

These results show that three homes that reached a similar level of consolidation result in very different built structures. The tracks that homes follow towards improvement are as unique as every individual family, who makes its home investments gradually and not always in concomitance with the extension of the family. This will be further analysed in the part on financial resources and home investments.

"We are constructing upstairs 4 extra floors for us, the children, to live in the future. This way we always have a place to stay here, but we are not sure if all of us stay."

Elida (34), daughter of Rufina



2. FINANCIAL RESOURCES AND HOME INVESTMENTS

“The willingness of people to invest their energy and initiative and their savings or other material resources depends on the satisfactions they experience or expect as a result.”¹⁸

Looking back on how John Turner assumed how resources would be invested in the house by users, he pointed to the advantages of ‘autonomous’ housing systems, in which, according to Turner, there is a proper balance between supply and demand¹⁹. He argues that the ‘supportive shack’ has a high ‘use value’ since the dwelling is adjusted to the needs of the users who have the ‘freedom to decide’.

18 TURNER, John F.C., *Housing by people: Towards autonomy in building environments*, London, Boyars, 1976.
19 TURNER, 1976, op. cit: p. 51.

As Turner adds, “people will invest their plentiful and generally renewable resources.”²⁰

Furthermore an upward trajectory of household incomes was expected after the first stage in which poor young families settled and started to build an incipient house.²¹ This means that in a self-managed process of home improvement, which ‘satisfies the needs of the user’, people would automatically invest and improve their home. If levels of income would increase, the home would develop in synchrony.

It is indeed true that, when household incomes increase it is likely that it speeds up the development and improvement of the dwelling, though Turner does not describe precisely how subsequently financial resources would be invested in the house. Turner forgot to

20 TURNER, 1976, op. cit.: p. 102. See chapter 2
21 TURNER, 1968, op. cit: p. 358

make an important distinction between the accessible financial resources and what in the end motivates people to undertake action, or as Gilbert explained “the share of income people are prepared to dedicate to housing.”²² Gilbert’s interrogations from a broader perspective already implied that users’ aspirations also affect the decision to pursue home improvement.

Tokeshi portrayed the home construction as a progressive process made through emotional commitment of a family.²³ Homes consolidate gradually and capital is invested step by step by the user. Sometimes rapidly when there is

22 GILBERT, A; VARLEY, A, “Renting a home in a third world city: choice or constraint?”, in: *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 1990: p. 93. Cited in: Van Lindert, Paul, 1991: p. 25.
23 ZOLEZZI; TOKESHI; NORIEGA, 2005, op.cit.: p. 91.

suddenly money available, other times home improvements are long in coming.

In my own investigation into the origin of capital that is invested in homes and looking at who is investing in the house, a wide range of home investment patterns can be found. The resources range from personal earnings and savings to bank loans or additional income. In only one of the ten cases the family received financial support from a government program²⁴. In Lima there do exist government programs, such as the Banco de Materiales (BANMAT), MIVIVIENDA or Techopropio, that provide small loans or funding for home improvement. Nevertheless, according to Tokeshi and Riofrío, these programs are too small to cover the whole popular housing sector. They proclaim

24 Case 5. The expeditious house – Sra. Vacilia

SOURCES OF CAPITAL INVESTED

1. wages, personal savings, bank loans, additional income occasional renters
2. wages, personal savings, bank loans
3. wages, personal savings
4. wages, savings, bank loans
5. personal earnings, savings, bank loans, techo propio government program, additional income workshop
6. personal earnings and savings, bank loans
7. additional income (before from rent niece and shop), wages and savings, bank loans
8. wages and savings, additional income shop renters
9. wages, savings, bank loans
10. wages, savings, bank loans, and additional income

that home improvement is highly dependent on people's capacity of saving and borrowing capital.²⁵ Furthermore there is a trend of an increasing amount of people who built their houses with bank loans.

TWO EXCEPTIONAL CASES, HOMES BUILT WITHOUT BANK LOANS.

3. *The steady house*: home investments entirely made by personal earnings and savings resulting in a highly consolidated home
8. *The progressive house*: home investments made without bank loans, resulting in a sub-standard building structure where not a lot of money has been invested.

REMITTANCES²⁶

Across different Latin American countries scholars frequently found homes that were built with remittances. Ward found a few cases in Monterrey Mexico that were built with money second generations worked for in the United States and brought back home.²⁷ In the study Williams completed in Independencia Lima, even 30% of the cases used remittances in improvements of the house, sent home by

25 RIOFRÍO, Gustavo; TOKESHI, Juan, "Un mercado paso a paso. Autoconstrucción en la ciudad popular", in: *Peru Hoy*, Lima, Desco, 2007: p. 368

26 Money that is sent home by family members who work abroad.

27 WARD, 2011, op. cit.: p. 479

second and third generations.²⁸

In the exploration of cases to document in Pampas de San Juan that would represent divergences and convergences in home consolidation, a relative low number of homes where found that were built with remittances. In none of the ten in-depth case studies remittances were used. Among the neighbourhood residents who were interviewed hardly anyone knew cases where family members migrated and sent money back home to improve the house.

One case was found a child moved across borders. Brenda, owner of the faltering house, lived and worked in Venezuela for a period of time. Though she explained that the money she earned abroad was just enough for her weekly expenses back there. When she came back home to Lima, she had no savings left to invest in the house.

In the case of Sandra, the sister bought a plot nearby the house of Sandra. Sandra's sister bought the plot in 1994. They demolished the house of the previous owners and built a complete new house. The entire family moved to Spain in 2006. They rented out the house after they migrated. Sandra, who lives one block down the street, takes care of the house now and makes arrangements with the rent-

28 WILLIAMS, 2005, op. cit.: p. 98.



The expeditious house of Vacilia, workshop in home space



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ers. With money her sister sends home from Spain, they improved the house little by little to make it suitable for the renters.²⁹

"My sister did not invade, she bought the land later. Before there was living a family with a lot of problems. They left and put the lot up for sale. I told my sister and she bought it in 1994. In recent years we made some improvements to the house, we finished the spaces and placed a new kitchen. We did not extend the house further after my sister left."
"My sister asks 400 soles for the rent for the whole house, that's not much. Her we are in an area still let's say semi-urban. In San Juan the rents are much higher; they charge you in dollars."
 Sandra, owner of the steady house

Additional income from commercial spaces
 A common practice in the low-income settlements of Lima is that the house has an added commercial or productive value and is used to generate additional income either from small businesses, shops and workshops, primary school, community kitchens or other rented out spaces. These spaces of economic use are of great significance for the user. As Tokeshi explains: *"the potential for economic use of*

29 It was attempted to document this case.

Though the owners, who live in Spain did not give permission. The information is based on an interview with Sandra, the sister of the homeowner.

*the property has an important added valued for the family that makes it unlikely that that would want to sell the property or part of it."*³⁰

The possibilities for economic activities that Turner equally put forward as a great potential, can therefore still be seen as one of the greater advantage of self-help housing.

Homes with an added economic use

5. The expeditious house of Sra. Vacilia
8. The progressive house of Justina
10. The ambitious house of Rufina

ADDITIONAL INCOME FROM RENTERS

The growing demand for rental accommodation was already included in Turner's three stages model. In 1992 Gilbert and Gugler spotted similar trends:

*"While the richer families obviously contribute to the economy of the barrio, the poor may be an important source of income for the rich. For it is a undeniable fact that as settlements become older and consolidate, the proportions of renters increase; owners deliberately extend their houses to accommodate renters, thereby increasing their income."*³¹

Though the trend of renting out spaces can

30 TOKESHI, 2005, op. cit.: p.91

31 GILBERT, Alan; GUGLER, Josef, *Cities, Poverty and Development: Urbanization in the Third World*, Oxford University Press, 1992: p. 128



Subdivision of the plot

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vary across different countries. Ward found in a comparative study of capital cities in Colombia and Mexico large difference in the percentage of renters that were included in the households. In Bogotá, Colombia, 27% of the studies cases included (unrelated) renters, while in Mexico city only 3% of the household rented out parts of the house to outsiders.³²

In Pampas de San Juan renters were not frequently included in surveyed households. In only one case, of Justina's progressive house, the household was comprised of a combination of first, second and third generations, other kins paying rent and non-related renters. Furthermore homeowners were often not so keen to rent out spaces to 'strangers', because *"they did not want problems."* Only three of ten families considered the option for renting out spaces to unknowns in the future.³³ Families were more open when it came to taking in relatives. The majority expressed that if the opportunity arose, they would accommodate kins.

The little ambition for renting out part of the home space is really different from what Riofrío found in 1987. 15% of households included renters and people furthermore stated

32 WARD, 2011, op. cit.: p. 472.

33 Case 8 - Justina. Case 10 - Rufina.

that they were interested in extending their dwelling with the purpose of renting it out in the future.³⁴

An explanation for the negative attitude against renters in Pampas de San Juan can be ascribed to the social changes that took place in the settlement, resulting in an increase of social insecurity.

The majority of original inhabitants, who experienced how the neighbourhood changed, state that the problems of violence occurred when newcomers in the neighbourhood.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF SECOND GENERATIONS

The shift from the first generation investing in home improvements to a second generation that has taken over. Juan Tokeshi found from the studies he completed in Villa El Salvador, that in most cases the children were the ones to extend their parents' house.³⁵ Also in studies Michaela Hordijk completed, two thirds of the children contributed to the household income.

34 RIOFRÍO; DRIANT, 1987, op.cit.: p. 100

35 TOKESHI, Juan, personal communication feb.-aug. 2013. The issue of tenurial conditions across generations is fully described in Tokeshi, Juan, *Sembrando Huellas, Criterios técnicos para el crecimiento de la vivienda*, final report, Desco, 2001



Subdivisions in 'los aires'



My own experiences from Pampas de San Juan, were in line with the common trend Tokeshi and Hordijk observed. For the major part of Pampas' families the economical situation improved on account of additional household income of second generations. In the evaluation on how cumulative income from new generations influenced the home consolidation, an important distinction has to be made between direct and indirect investments.

In nine of the ten cases children of original homeowners made financial contribution to the household (see above scheme). Sometimes this money was used for making home improvements, either investing directly in the house or indirectly by paying rent that subsequently is invested in the house by their parents. In other cases the money is used for other purposes such as basic living expenses or other goods.

"I am really glad with the house as it is today. Thanks to the children who supported my husband and me. They invested most in the house. With their money we were able to built the second floor and improve the kitchen and living room downstairs. Our lives have become much better in many ways. There were times when it was really hard times to make ends meet, especially with 10 children."
Señora Flores (69), Aleman's wife

"I am supporting my mum and dad in their daily living expenses and by paying the electricity and water bills, but my salary is not that big to contribute in improving the house. Apart from that the kids come first of all."
Janet (30), daughter Nora and Wilberto

"Since last year I started paying rent, before I kept all my income for myself. I now see that in this way I can help my mother and sometimes I buy here things for the house like that dining table I bought her for Christmas."
Cesar (23), son Julia

"We all support my mum financially as much as we can, but she also finds it really important that we invest and finish our studies."
Mariela (28) Rufina's daughter

PRICE INCREASE

When family members in Pampas de San Juan were asked for their motivation for making a home improvement they often mentioned the increasing prices of construction materials.

"It is better to construct now because prices of materials are going up very fast and it also becomes harder to get loans."
Elida (34), daughter Rufina



Private belongings of second generations

3. TENURAL CONDITIONS

HOME OWNERSHIP

Many first generation residents in low-income settlements, who now own a house, before lived in rental accommodation often shared with many other kins, in Lima's inner city.³⁶ Alan Gilbert saw renting as a temporary stage prior to home ownership, since renters transition to homeowners in a certain period of time.³⁷ Though for the new generations things have changed.³⁸ Since *"the home is forever"*³⁹ and children in most cases still with their parents, their future housing career highly depends on possibilities they have of improving extending and transforming their parents' house.

Primarily, the great advantage of a self-help housing (in which people become home owners) over renting an accommodation is the tenorial security of owning property, meaning that home owners have less fear for evictions if their income is not stable, since they are not paying rent.⁴⁰

36 First migrants settled in the so-called *callejones* (small alleyways with the purpose of rental accommodation) in the inner city of Lim. See chapter 2

37 Gilbert, Gugler, 1992, op. cit.: p. 128

38 As was expressed by Riofrio and Hordijk, see chapter 2

39 GILBERT, 1999, op. cit.: pp. 1073-1091

40 GILBERT, GUGLER, 1992, op. cit.: p. 124.

Home ownership as was mentioned in the previous paragraph also opens up possibilities for economic use; integrating shops, workshops, internet cabins, and even private primary schools in home spaces.⁴¹ Furthermore, the desire to become a homeowner and invade land in the urban peripheries, lacking all kind of services, mainly came from their to obtain a property they could pass on to the children in the future.⁴²

New problems arise along with changing characteristics of households. Over the last three decades all homes in Pampas de San Juan have obtained individual land titles, however the house structure is not officially recognized. Furthermore titles are registered in the name of first generation owners. That means that actions undertaken by second generations, who frequently take over the home improvement from their parents, are based on a strong relationship of trust.

41 TOKESHI, 2005, op. cit. HORDIJK 2010, op. cit.

42 WARD, 2011, op. cit. Tokeshi: "The possession of a 'house of one's own', regardless of the stage that is in, is accomplished through the effort and sacrifice of the family and is considered as the main inheritance for the children." TOKESHI, 2004, op.cit.: p. 91



Private belongings of renters

4. FUTURE ASPIRATIONS AND SOCIAL CONSUMPTIONS NORMS

As was mentioned in paragraph two, an upward trajectory of a household income does not necessarily mean that the home would also improve along the same line. Gilbert stated that the process of home improvement is closely related to *"the share of income people are prepared to dedicate to housing."*⁴³ Gilbert's assumptions from a broader perspective in a way already implied that the aspirations of users also influence the decision to undertake action and make a home investment.

The process of home consolidation is highly depending on the future aspirations of the second generation. Their future plans and the priority they give to home improvement is the main factor that will eventually speed up or slow down the development of the house. Logically this also depends on the resources the children have.

Michaela Hordijk showed that parents often aspired their children to *"become a professional."*⁴⁴

The second generations, as Riofrio equally de-

43 Gilbert, A; Varley, A, "Renting a home in a third world city: choice or constraint?", in: *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 1990: p. 93. Cited in: Van Lindert, Paul, 1991: p. 25.

44 Hordijk, 2010, op. cit.: p. 369.



termined already in 1987, indeed experienced better education and accessed better jobs. The incomes of the aging first generation are much lower.⁴⁵ Therefore the future home improvement is now in the hands of the second and third generation.

STAYING OR LEAVING?

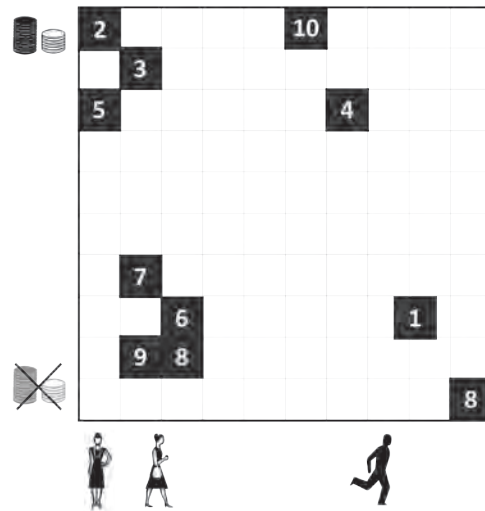
As the previous scheme already demonstrates the willingness of second generations to invest in the house highly corresponds with their future plans. It is clear that if the children do not have the intention to stay in the house they are less willing to invest directly in the house. Though there were also cases in which the children rather left, but did invest in the house. This had to do with the fact that these children 'chose' to stay because there was no other solution, similar to what respondents in Riofrio's study stated in 1987.⁴⁶ This in a way illustrates the gap between the people's desires and their actual possibility on the housing market.

Of the 22 second generation respondents the majority was optimistic about their home situation, though many would prefer to have more space in the future, more privacy and some if possible would like to have a house for them-

45 Hordijk, 2010, op. cit.: p. 369.

46 Riofrio, Gustavo; Driant, Jean-Claude, 1987: p. 121

SCHEME 3 FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTION OF
SECOND GENERATIONS AND THEIR FUTURE ASPIRATIONS



selves. Though almost all of the respondents consider a house for themselves as something impossible in Lima. Surprisingly many second generations had a clear understanding of their possibilities on the current housing market in Lima.

"Looking at my own housing situation, the best would be constructing my own house for me and my children, but if we are realistic that is just impossible in Lima these days. Invasions are now over, there is no land available anymore and I would not want to live all the way up the hillsides. It is too far and too dangerous. The problem is that rents are really high. Lima has to grow vertically from now on."
Elida (34), daughter Rufina

"It would be convenient to have a bit more space or a lot for my own family. Now we live with the five of us in one single room. But all the land has been taken and to buy a piece of land is just too expensive and invasions are just not very common any more."
Amanda (37), daughter of Aleman

The financial contributions that members of the extended family make can be categorized according to four trajectories related to direct home investments made by the second gener-

ations and their future plans either to stay or to leave (see image above).

- 'Invest and want to stay'
2. *The courageous house of the Alemans*
 3. *The steady house of Sandra*
 5. *The expeditious house of Vacilia*

"My parents did a lot for the neighbourhood. I experienced that from when I was little and I have much respect for them their efforts. Their efforts also makes me feel attached to this area, I cannot imagine living in another place."
Julia (36), daughter Aleman

"I want to study architecture. I like how my parents built the house. I am still very young so I do not know how I would like to live in the future, maybe like my sister did and build an apartment for myself upstairs."
Ruth (15), daughter of Sandra

- 'Do not invest and want to leave'
1. *The visionary house of Nora:* Most of the children are not planning to stay, even if they are not planning to leave soon either they do not see their future in the house of their mum and dad and therefore do not invest directly in

the house.

8. *The progressive house of Justina:* Temporary renters who do not have the intention to stay, pay their rent and do not invest or contribute directly in making home transformations and improvements.

'Do not invest and want to stay'

6. *The modest house of Cristina:* The children contribute in an informal way. Paying bills, food and goods. If they would have more resources they would like to invest directly in the house.

7. *The amiable house of Julia:* Cesar does not invest directly in the house but started paying rent recently. The improvements of the house are taken care of by the mother.

9. *The garden house of Cita:* The son still living in the house does not contribute at all since there are other priorities of their studies first and he is still quite young. When he will be able to he will start paying rent to his parents. The improvements of the house are taken care of by the parents.

- 'Invest but do not necessarily want to stay'
4. *The faltering house of Brenda*
 10. *The ambitious house of Rufina*

[04] The 'second life' of the consolidated self-help settlement



PART I - The consolidated self-help settlement

In the historical chapter¹ the early debate and John Turner's influential theories on self-help housing were reviewed in relation to the practice of self-help housing in metropolitan Lima. It showed that the early 'success' of the *barriadas* could be ascribed to favourable local circumstances. Empirical research 'revisiting' the consolidating *barriadas* after the incipient and developing stage also showed that the self-help houses were going to reach their limits soon². After 3 to 5 decades of lived-in experience the self-help settlements have developed even beyond the 'completing' stage³, illustrating that today's realities in the self-help settlements turned out to be different to what Turner envisioned in the 1960s.

Subsequently ten in-depth case studies based upon intensive fieldwork carried out in the peripheral low-income settlement of Pampas de San Juan were presented.⁴ To a certain extent the empirical findings were consonant with Turner's original expectations. Nevertheless many complexities have evolved confirming the pre-assumed idea that the self-help housing

1 See Chapter 2, The house and the family in a changing setting of modernization and democratization in Lima, Peru: pp.

2 As was described by the Riofrio and Driant already in 1987, and

3 Hordijk, 2010: p.

4 See chapter 3.

model has reached its limits and homes are not always able to adapt to the changing characteristics of extended households. While homes consolidate they do not always follow similar trajectories. In the process of home transformation many more factors are involved than Turner originally showed.

In this final chapter the contemporary debate on the 'second life'⁵ of consolidated settlements will be discussed reflecting back on the historical debate and the findings of the empirical study in Pampas de San Juan. A selected range of influential studies and 'revisits' of self-help settlements is presented first. All are based on longitudinal studies and documentation from experience in the Latin American context carried out by both local researchers and other scholars. This will support discussions about the future of self-help housing in order to meet the needs of the next generations.

Across various Latin American cities self-help settlements that emerged from the early 1960s onwards already showed major transformations after 10-25 years of existence. At the start of the 1980s, when urbanization was speeding up, many squatter settlements had changed into 'consolidated' neighbourhoods. With the parallel increase of poor citizens (for whom

5 See Chapter 3: p.



Consolidated self-help settlement in Guadalajara, Mexico

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living in a low-income self-help settlement was often the only possibility) the settlements covered between 10-60 per cent of numerous Latin American cities by the early 1980s⁶. One decade before many squatter settlements were regularized in several Latin American cities, land titles were given out and consequently services were installed⁷. The speed with which the consolidation of the settlement took place depended strongly on the local circumstances and political climate.⁸ Spontaneous urbanization that began with a process of self-improvement of home spaces, resulted in highly consolidated neighbourhoods that can be immediately seen from the changes in the physical environment. The multi-storey homes along the paved streets are built in durable materials, neighbourhoods are fully serviced, public transport runs through and more recently private cars are also appearing in the street view.⁹ Many of the original owners continue to live in their self-built homes on land they procured decades ago, often together with additional members of the family that extended with a second and third generation and some-

6 Gilbert, Alan. *The Mega-City in Latin America*, London, Russell Press, 1996: p. 74.

7 As described by Gilbert and Ward, *Housing, the state, and the poor: policy and practice in three Latin American cities*. Cambridge University Press, 1985.

8 See chapter 2: pp.

9 Hordijk, 2010: p. 368

times even including renters or other relatives in the household. Densities have increased and homes are frequently being subdivided both horizontally and vertically to adjust to the growing need for privacy¹⁰.

THE PARADIGM SHIFT

The paradigm shifted from first depicting slums as "*a fungus attached to and growing out from the carapace of the city*"¹¹ towards an attitude of seeing the squatter settlement as "*an architecture that works*".¹² The government responses and policies regarding squatter settlements changed considerably over time as well, first neglecting the irregular land occupations on invaded or purchased land without a clear property title, and later adopting self-help as a recognized housing strategy. In Lima during the 1960s and 1970s self-help housing was even seen as the preeminent way to house the poor population.

10 Ward, Peter M., "Self-help housing policies for second generation inheritance and succession of The House that Mum & Dad Built.", In: *Habitat International*, 2011 (35) 3, pp. 467-485.

11 Juppenlatz, Morris. *Cities in Transformation: The Urban Squatter Problem of the Developing World*. Queensland, University of Queensland Press, 1970: p. 5.

12 This refers to the influential paper written by Turner, John F. C., "The Squatter Settlement: An architecture that works", in: *Architectural Design*, 1968: pp. 355-360.

These radical changes in the approach can be ascribed to the rising number of positive voices and empirical surveys of various researchers studying the squatter settlement, including the influential writings of and John F. C. Turner, whose ideas were heavily influenced by his experiences from Peru and the favourable local circumstances¹³ and Peruvian anthropologist José Matos Mar.¹⁴

Self-help housing allowed the freedom to build and shape one's own environment, though by giving the power to the people the government also relinquished itself from its duty of providing adequate housing for the urban poor. Regularization allowed a large amount of the urban poor to become homeowners and obtain 'a house of their own'. On the other hand, it was also a strategy for governments to maintain a certain social control or as Peter Ward states, "*making low-income settlements the key arena for statecraft.*"¹⁵

13 Described by Gyger and Bromley. See Chapter 2: p.

Bromley, R., "Peru 1957–1977: How time and place influenced John Turner's ideas on housing policy", in: *Habitat International*, 2003 (27) 2, pp. 271–292.

Gyger, Helen

14 Matos Mar

15 Ward, Peter M., 2004: p. 272

The central question in the debate of 'who decides for whom'¹⁶ or seeing the squatter settlement as a 'problem or solution'¹⁷ equally changed. As Chambers (2005) argued, squatting was the 'solution' for the vast majority of the urban poor to gain access to housing.¹⁸ Furthermore informal settlements extended tremendously filling out major parts of the cities. As they became more and more visible, it became difficult to ignore the fact they existed. As architect Hubert Klumpner (2005) puts it, "*it is critical to recognize that informality is neither good nor bad - it simply is.*"¹⁹

After the debate on self-help housing reached its peak in the eighties, many of its participants remained quiet or, like John Turner did, shifted their interest to other topic issues. Other scholars continued researching the second life of the squatter settlement. Among them Peter M.

16 As John Turner regarded as the principal issue in his book *Housing by People*, Turner, John F. C., 1976: p. 11. See chapter 1: p.

17 The squatter as a problem or a solution refers to William Mangin famous article: Mangin, William, "Latin American squatter settlements: a problem and a solution", in: *Latin American Research Review*, 1967 (2) 3, pp. 65–98.

18 Chambers, Bill, "The barriadas of Lima: Slums of hope or despair? Problems or solutions?", in: *Geography*, 2005 (90) 3, pp. 200–224. See chapter 2: pp.

19 Klumpner, Hubert, Urban Think Tank in: Brillembourg, Alfredo; Feireiss, Kristin; Klumpner, Hubert (eds.) *Informal city: Caracas case*, Prestel, 2005.

Ward who, after publishing the influential book *Self-Help Housing: A critique* in 1982, remained active in the same field to date.

Within the discourse of human settlements today, a new momentum seems to be understood with the 'revisiting' of projects and reflections upon original ideas and theories²⁰. Many researchers return to their study area to compare and document changes over time. Peter M. Ward has returned to Mexico and numerous other Latin American countries, Caroline Moser to Ecuador, Janice Perlman to Brazil and Michaela Hordijk to Peru.²¹ These 'revisits' are crucial in order to 'test' if original theories are still valid in current times. Ideologies and utopias not always turn out in the way in which their founding fathers envisioned originally, and different generations manifest different aspirations.

These more recent reflections upon squatter settlements as an architecture that either

20 The tradition of documenting and current "revisiting" of projects is illustrated by Rodrigo Pérez de Arce, Esther Jacobs and Viviana d'Auria based upon the cases of PREVI in Lima and Mariano Melgar in Arequipa. "Dwelling Practices Informing Urbanism / Urbanism informing Dwelling Practices", in: *Human Settlements*, 2010: pp. 113–127.

21

'works' or 'malfunctions' are crucial to understand how 'other realities' evolve in order to rethink the future of self-help settlements across different generations both in social and spatial terms.²² In 1976 Turner proclaimed that: "*the value of the house must be determined by how far it satisfies or frustrates the needs of its user.*"²³ Keeping this in mind it is now crucial to see to what extent the house indeed 'satisfies or frustrates' the needs of the various generations sharing the home space.

22 For a complete definition of 'home space' see chapter 2: p...

23 Turner, John F. C., 1976: p. 102

PART II - [RE] Visiting the self-help housing model

1. “Que vivienda han construido?”

An early research reflecting upon 15 years of consolidation in one of the ‘second generation *barriadas*’²⁴ in Lima was carried out by Riofrío and Driant in 1987. That year the book *Que vivienda han construido? Nuevos problemas en Viejas barriadas* was published, summarizing their findings.²⁵

The *barriada* in Lima was the predominant mode in which urbanization happened in the past, in which the self-help scheme was applied and the settlements consolidated over time.²⁶

24 The term *barriada* was defined by Collier as: “A residential community formed by low income families in which the houses are constructed in large measure by the residents themselves and which are generally but not exclusively formed illegally.” Collier, David, *Squatters and oligarchs: authoritarian rule and policy change in Peru*. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976: p. 18.

See also Chapter 1: p.

The ‘three generations of *barriadas*’ are described by José Barreda & Daniel Ramírez Corzo, “Lima: consolidación y expansión de una ciudad popular”, 2004

25 (What kind of house did they built, new problems in old *barriadas*), Riofrío, Gustavo; Driant, Jean-Claude, Lima, Desco, 1987.

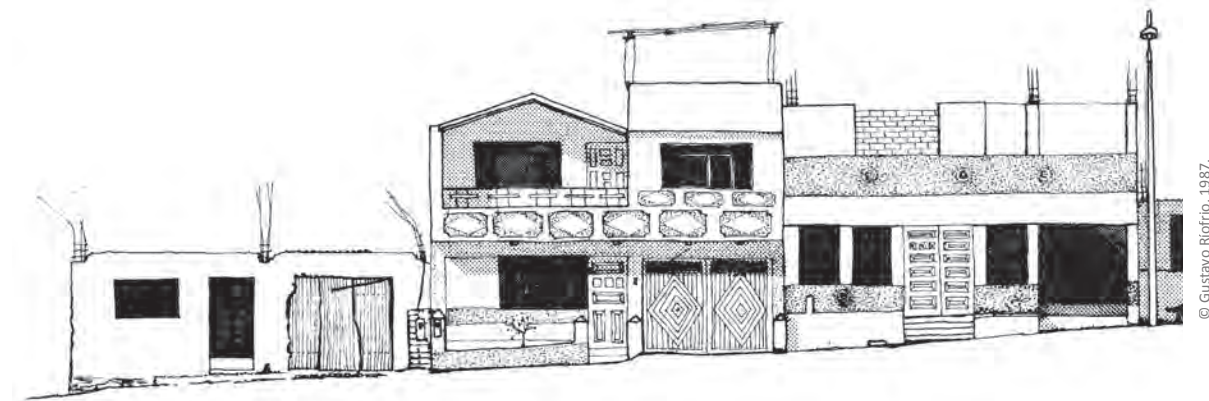
26 Riofrío, Gustavo; Driant, Jean-Claude, 1987: p. 19 | During the sixties and seventies in Lima the ‘*barriada*’ was seen as the main strategy for providing housing for the

The consolidation process of the *barriada*, the changing characteristics of the extended families and their housing perspectives were closely examined by Riofrío and Driant.

Whether the *barriada* was or not the best way of dealing with the problem of housing for low-income sectors was questioned. The investigation assumed that problems occurring after 15 years of settlement or more, did not only affect the original settlers since families had extended with a second and in some cases already with a third generation. Hence the authors argue that the focus of researchers should shift towards this ‘new’ generation of *barriada* dwellers. The selected settlements for the study were all established before 1967 and included Ciudad de Dios where the first large land invasion in Lima took place in 1954.²⁷ The study is spearheading in the sense that it was the first that looked across different generations, studying the process of home consolidation over a period of more than 15 years. Where Turner’s ‘completing’ stage stopped after 12 years of consolidation, Riofrío and Driant’s study examined the *barriada* development beyond this level.

urban poor. See chapter 1: p. ...

27 Described in detail by Matos Mar, José, 1977



© Gustavo Riofrío, 1987.

In 1987, the year the research was carried out, major densification had already taken place, concentrated in the low-income districts. As figure X shows the number of persons per household is significantly higher in these low-income periphery. The houses incremented as well, in synchrony with the family expansions (see figure X). From these figures it can be concluded that instead of forming new neighbourhoods the main housing strategy had shifted towards the densification of existing homes,²⁸ (though this did not mean this was the end of the land invasions).²⁹

Apart from self-construction Riofrío equally speaks about ‘self-urbanization’ hereby meaning the collective effort of a community to assemble their required facilities, services and infrastructure. After the ‘tradition of mutual aid’ of community organizations the focus shifted in the direction of individual exertions that are expressed in the home construction and –consolidation.³⁰

28 Riofrío, Gustavo; Driant, Jean-Claude, 1987: p. 32

29 Land invasion took place, however the invasions changed in their characteristics. See José Barreda & Daniel Ramírez Corzo, 2004

30 Riofrío, Gustavo; Driant, Jean-Claude, 1987: p.

From the study it became apparent that the process of home construction was in most cases also ‘self-built’, without contracting skilled workers.³¹ Noteworthy was the fact that self-construction went down considerably after mid 1970s.

Riofrío and Driant listed two main factors that influenced the trend that more labour was being contracted by homeowners to build their houses. First of all they pointed to the fact that the household compositions were already changing. Many parents had arrived in Lima as migrant workers, often for civil construction works. The children that now formed the greater part of the household were *Limeños* educated in the city and often had high educational levels, even beyond primary education. This indicated that the second-generation had less experience with construction work and also that the accumulated household income would increase with children who could access better jobs through their education.³² In general it was concluded that the level of self-construction

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31 For the complete definitions of self-help, self-build and self-managed housing see chapter 2: p...

32 Riofrío, Gustavo; Driant, Jean-Claude, 1987: p.

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tion was to a certain extent linked to the level of income of the households (if there is more money to invest, the share of self-construction will go down). However not all cases showed similar trends that implied that more factors influenced the decision for families to involve subcontractors in the process of home improvement.

The intrusion of capitalist modes of production and intensifying economic relations, expressed in the increasing offer of construction materials and building services (accompanied with their increasing cost) was a second factor that made it likely for families to outsource (parts of) the construction of the dwelling. This tendency emphasizes Burgess' critique on John Turner's self-help housing theories, seeing it 'outside a capitalist mode of production'³³.

The 15 year of home consolidation phase (and more) resulted in a significant improvement of the physical environment. Homes extended immensely and the average number of rooms increased from 2.9 to 4.2. The families grew in synchrony with the house, rising from 5.7 to 7.8 persons per household on average. Another important observation Riofrío and Driant made, besides that the households now mainly consisted of an adult second generation, was

33 Burgess, Rod, 1982: see chapter 1: p..

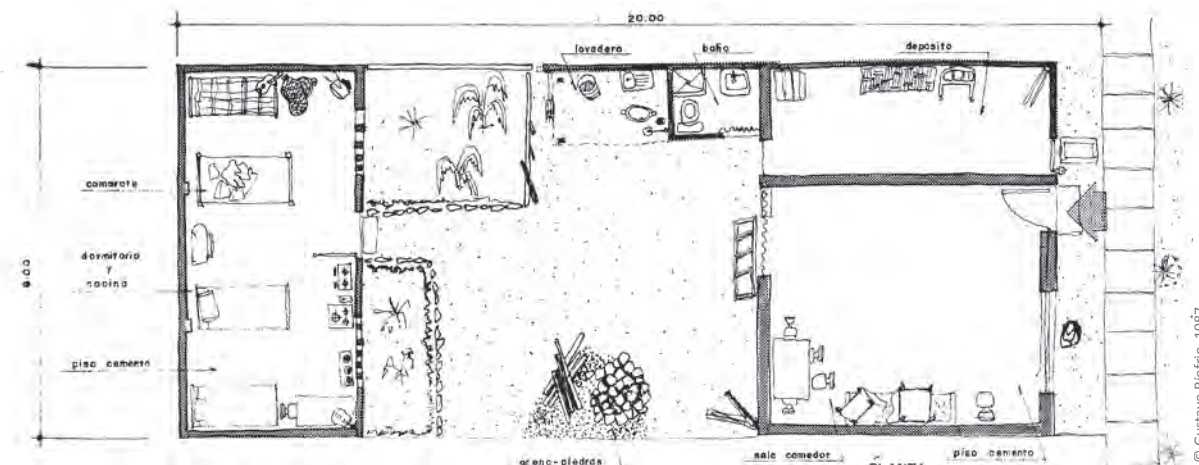
the proliferation of other *alojados*³⁴ in terms of additional family members or renters sharing the house with the original homeowners. The authors express their preoccupation about the social densification process with a special concern about how the rental market would evolve. In the 1987 household surveys they found that 15% of the all cases included renters even though law prohibited renting in these areas. Furthermore many families responded that they were interested in extending their dwelling with the purpose of renting it out in the future.³⁵

Although the issue of living-in with relatives was not extensively studied back then, we know that the first migrant population frequently started their housing career by staying with relatives.³⁶ According to the findings of Ri-

34 *Alojados* are people sharing the house who are not part of the nuclear family. Riofrío and Driant also included the adult children who established their own family and remained living in the parents' house among the *alojados*. Riofrío, Gustavo; Driant, Jean-Claude, 1987: p. 35

35 Riofrío, Gustavo; Driant, Jean-Claude, 1987: p. 100

36 Turner described how the migrant population arriving in Lima during the 1940s and 1950s boarded in the city centre often living in with *paisanos* and *compadrazgos* (family or relatives and godparents). Turner, John F.C., "Housing priorities, settlement patterns, and urban development in modernizing countries", in: *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 1968 (34) 6, pp. 354-363.



© Gustavo Riofrío, 1987.

ofrío and Driant, we can conclude that in many cases this is still a strategy for accessing the housing market in metropolitan Lima. Grown-up children still are living in with their parents who are homeowners as other family members and relatives also do (temporarily).

An important issue the second generation of the extended family was confronted with was the question of staying, renting a place somewhere else or invading a new territory. The results of the surveys were quite divided. The majority preferred to stay in the same area, though more than half of this group would favour a place for themselves. The high percentage of youngsters that prefers to stay in the area can also explain the invasions that take place in the fringes of the *barriadas*. Though in numerous cases the respondents who 'chose' to stay answered this was because: "there was no other solution."³⁷ This in a way illustrates the gap between the people's desires and their actual possibility to access the housing market.

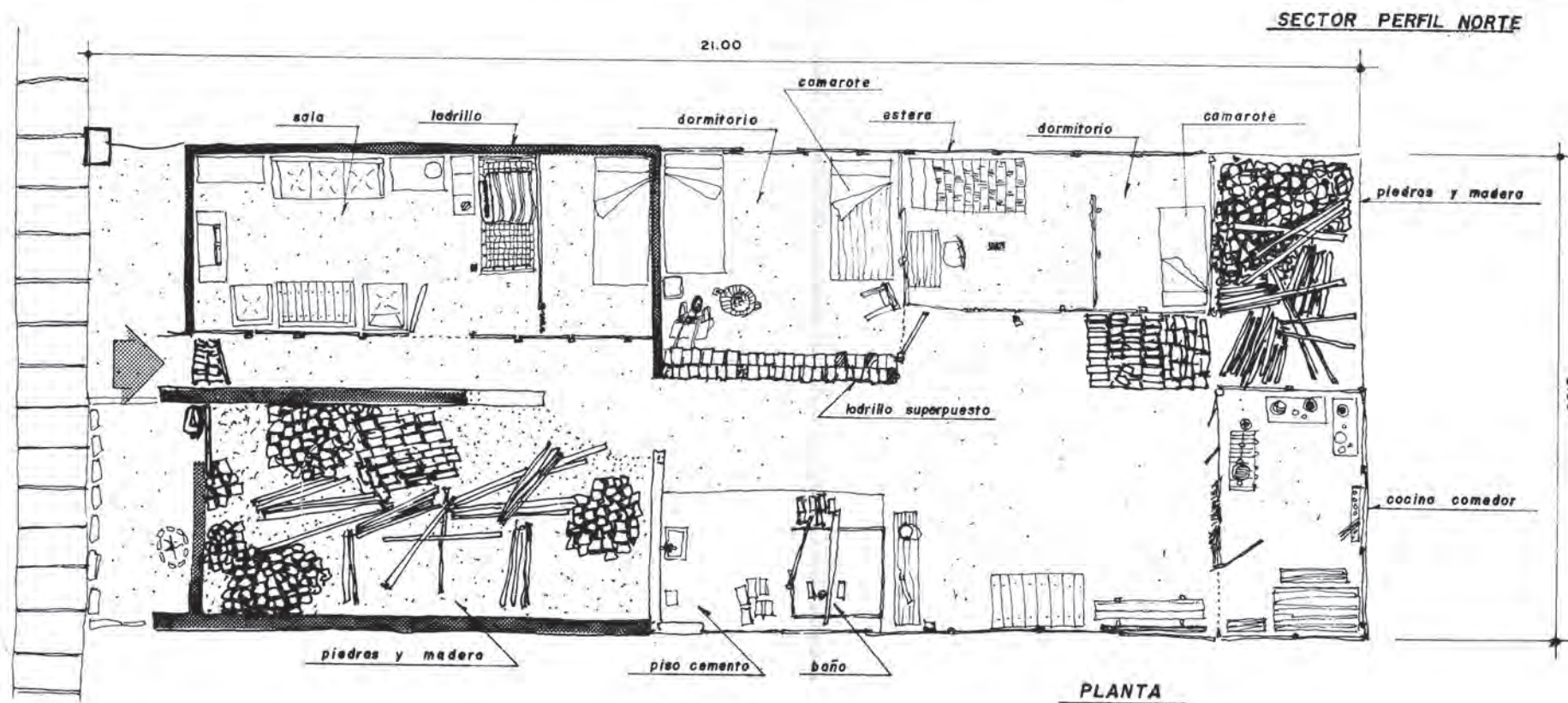
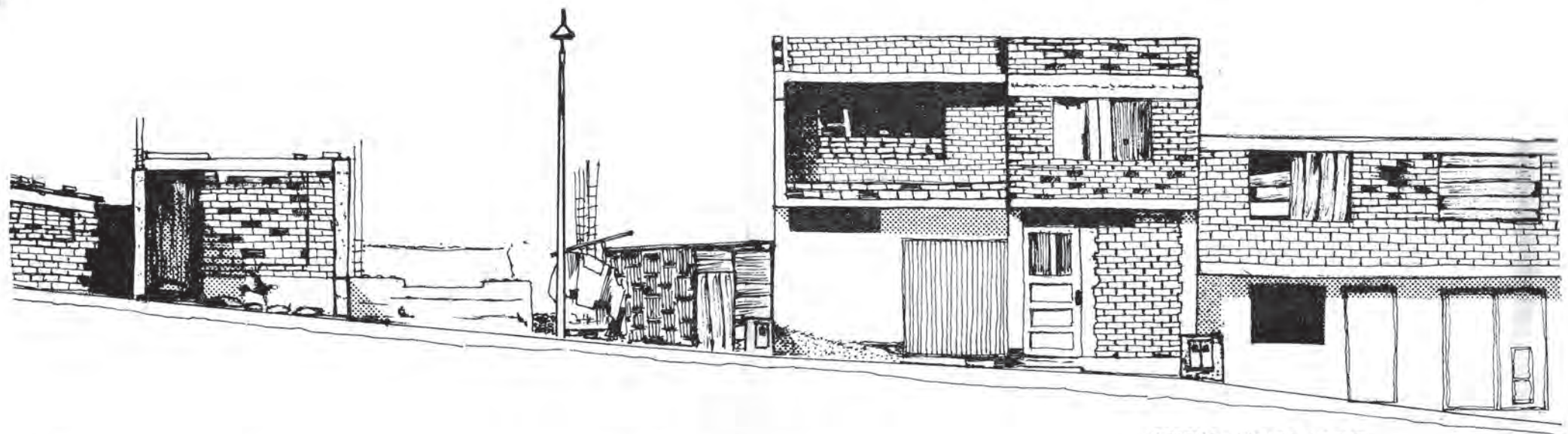
A low amount of children expressed the desire to live closer to the city centre. The children heard stories of previous housing experiences

See chapter 2: p.

37 Riofrío, Gustavo; Driant, Jean-Claude, 1987: p. 121

from the parents, who often had lived in the central district when they first arrived in Lima, mainly with negative experiences. Therefore it can be concluded that the children of the founding fathers of the *barriada*, strongly built upon the housing history of their parents. Furthermore Riofrío and Driant already point to the problems that would occur when the family would further extend in the future. At the time of the research most families could be addressed as single-family households, though they would soon turn into multifamily households.³⁸ The house they encounter at that time is not suitable for these changes, and therefore needs radical transformations in order to adapt to the changing family characteristics of the future.

38 Riofrío, Gustavo; Driant, Jean-Claude, 1987: p. 138



2. Reflections on “the house that mum and dad built”

As mentioned previously the major transformations of the ‘consolidated’ home started off when the founding fathers (who were often migrants or *bridgeheaders*) settled on public land, that they procured either through invasion or by buying the territory from land speculators, most commonly in the urban peripheries of Latin American cities. After a long struggle and through collective effort they managed to obtain the services and built their houses for them and their children. When revisiting the ‘consolidated’ settlements, Ward found that indeed 80 per cent of the original owners still lived on the lot they invaded during the 1960s and 1970s, showing that there is a low mobility among the original home owners.³⁹ Alan Gilbert equally stated: “*a home is forever*”.⁴⁰

Another important trend observed by Ward was the urge of original invaders to acquire ‘a house of their own’ that would also function as a place where their children could reside in the future. The inheritance aspect was in fact an important motive for the parents to go ahead with land invasion. Now 30 to 50 years

39 Ward, Peter M., “Self-Help Housing: Ideas and Practice in the Americas”, in: *Planning Ideas that Matter*. Eds. Bishwapriya Sanyal, Lawrence Vale and Christina Rosan. Cambridge, MA, MIT Press, 2012: p. 301.

40 Gilbert, Alan (1999) cited in Ward, Peter M., “Self-help housing policies for second generation inheritance and succession of The House that Mum & Dad Built.”, In: *Habitat International*, 2011: p. 471.

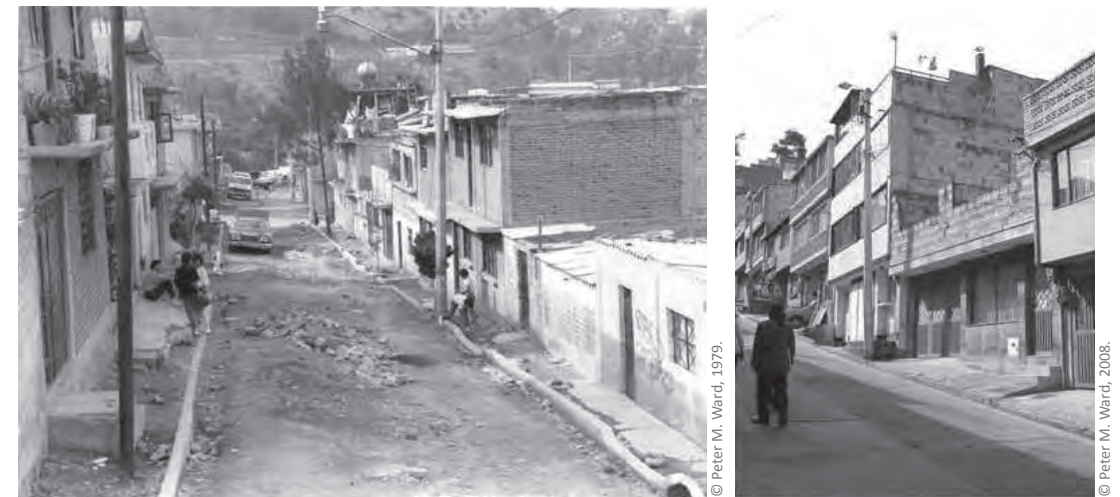
after the parents invaded the land many second and third generations indeed continue to live in the place they were born sharing the house with their mum and dad. That often results in subdividing the dwelling or the lot in various manners.⁴¹

Nonetheless, there are major differences between different cities. In the capital cities of Mexico and Colombia home subdivisions are very common with 40% of the cases in Mexico City including more than three separate households on one plot and 34% in Bogota. In non-capital cities as Guadalajara and Monterrey over two thirds were still single-family households. Ward ascribes these differences to the different nature of housing markets that are much more intense in capital cities.⁴²

At the end of the 1980s, long after John Turner left Peru, the debate on self-help housing lost momentum, though some scholars continued research on self-help housing. Ward revisited the places in Mexico he worked and lived in during the 1980s, tracing the transitions that occurred in 30 years of settlement consoli-

41 Ward, Peter M., “Self-help housing policies for second generation inheritance and succession of The House that Mum & Dad Built.”, In: *Habitat International*, 2011 (35) 3, pp. 467–485.

42 Ward, Peter M., 2011: p. 472.



The neighbourhood Casablanca - Bogotá in 1979 and when revisiting in 2008

dation. Ward emphasizes the importance of longitudinal studies to gain insight in the home consolidation process across different generations. These ‘snapshots’ allowed for a comparison and closer understanding of how home consolidation carried on after the intensive studies and debates of the 1980s and what new problems arise in home space when families extend and households diversify in term of owners, sharers and renters.

This section concentrates on the comparative studies by Ward and the Latin American Housing Network (LAHN)⁴³ completed in twelve ‘consolidated’ settlements or so-called *innerurbs*⁴⁴ in 2009 across eight different Latin American countries. These empirical studies are based upon a specific methodology, using mixed methods and different scales of research.

43 The Latin American Housing Network (LAHN) is a research network focussing on third generation housing policy issues in ‘consolidated’ low-income settlements in Latin American cities. Peter M. Ward is the coordinator of the network. The main goals of the LAHN is to develop the ‘third generation’ housing policies in order to meet not only the needs for the original homeowners, but by documenting the evolutions of the self-help settlements, unravelling the new demands of the second and third generations. For detailed information see the LAHN webpage: www.lahn.utexas.org

44 *Innerurbs* are the first suburbs where the self-help or squatter settlements emerged during the 1960s and 1970s across different Latin American cities.

The first level of research incorporated a more general data collection from different *inner-urbs*. Secondly surveys were held among a broad audience in the selected settlements and additionally a ‘third level’ of *casos a profundidad* (in-depth cases) was added in order to get a closer understanding of home consolidation in relation to changing family characteristics. This allowed to triangulate between findings from the more general and broader surveys and from the more in-depth cases.⁴⁵

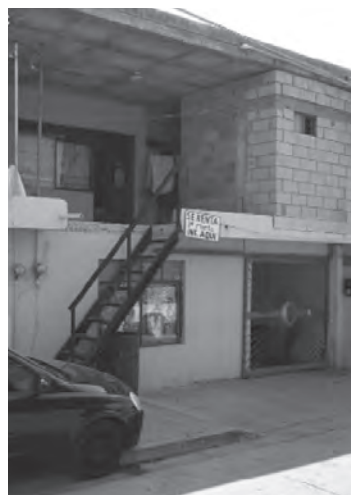
The findings of the first two levels of research manifested the low mobility among owners and the aging of the original owners (with the majority of owners who were over 60 years old). Furthermore the houses now had acquired a considerable value in the market, though it would not be likely for owners to sell the property since it continued to have use value for the majority of the children. Nevertheless arrangements about the use and inheritance of the house that were made with the second and third generations were in most cases purely based on trust, causing tensions and conflicts between family members.⁴⁶

45 Ward, Peter M.; Jiménez, Edith & de Virgilio, Mercedes, “Methodology for the Intensive “Interesting” Case Studies (Casos a Profundidad) in Monterrey, Guadalajara, & Buenos Aires.” LAHN, 2009. Retrieved from the LAHN webpage: www.lahn.utexas.org

46 Ward, Peter M., 2011: pp. 467–485.



Home subdivisions in Monterrey



© Peter M. Ward, 2011.

The in-depth studies carried out by LAHN in 2009 included a neighbourhood in Monterrey, Mexico, that emerged the late sixties and early seventies. A small number of 'interesting' cases was selected of which the houses were documented and interviews were held among different members of the extended family. The most outstanding findings are discussed below, contrasting with pre-assumed effects derived from the broader comparative analysis, thereby exposing additional factors involved in home transformation.

In the case of señora Guzman, all of the eight children moved out and were able to acquire a house for their own families. The kids frequently visited the home 'their mum and dad built', the place where they grew up and share lots of memories. The father passed away and the mother was left alone in the consolidated home comprised of multiple stories and various bedrooms. Although the house lost its purpose of providing shelter and accommodation for the next generation, the children agreed that the house should not be sold when their mother would die. What Ward describes as the continued 'symbolic value' of the house, was in the case of señora Guzman an important factor for either vending or sustaining the property. Though it is never certain that what respondents say to aspire for the future home

will actually happen in the way they foresee, it is very likely that if the house has a strong 'symbolic value' it will stay in the family. So will the house of señora Guzman most probably by the time she will not be here anymore, using the home space for family gatherings and *fiestas*. Additionally the house might function as a patrimony for the third generation while meanwhile renting the spaces out was also taken into consideration.

In an additional case study of the Martínez family, the children also left to live somewhere else and the parents stayed in the house renting out the upper floor to strangers. Nonetheless the children of the Martínez family were not as attached to the house they grew up in as the second generation of the Guzmans. The children declared that in the future they preferred to sell the house, to the chagrin of the parents.

The examples of Guzman and Martínez showed that the original home, which successfully consolidated assignable to the effort the parents put into the dwelling in the thirty years of inhabitation, does not always continue to have a 'use value' for the second and third generations. An important factor Ward witnessed was that in both households the children moved up on the socio-economic ladder, they had better financial resources and more possibilities to



Gradual extensions a self-built home

obtain a property to raise their own families. As a consequence the house where they grew up was likely to be sold or rented out. Furthermore it was concluded that the 'sentimental symbolic value' of the parents' home is another important factor that has a major effect on the likeliness of second generations to keep investing in the house and keeping the house as family property.

Another important observation from the in-depth cases was that the low mobility among the original founding fathers and homeowners for whom the "*home is forever*" applies for original owners, whereas for the following generations a much higher mobility is assumed. Second and third generations move in and out of the house, but often see the parents' house as bases to come back to, underlining the importance of the 'symbolic value' of the house. They moved to different places, often living in with other relatives or in-laws or renting on the local housing market (either formal or informal) and in some cases even (temporary) cross boarder migrants were found. Nonetheless, they moved but always came back 'home' at some point. In one maybe extreme example, it was estimated that in the almost 40year old house more than 74 people had lived in it. There were different motivations for out-going mobility, among which the most cited was mar-



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riage and another main one was the conflict between family members. The case furthermore illustrated the intensive use of the house over the years and the complexity of mobility within the extended families.⁴⁷

After 30 years of existence, the 'lived-in' self-help houses showed increased densities of three generations sharing a home, sometimes added with renters or additional family members. Homes lack privacy, have high rates of plot sharing and are often overcrowded. Based upon this empirical evidence Ward concludes that the current self-help house, or to use Ward's terms "*the heavily deteriorated fabric*" is no longer adjusted to the users' priorities and homes are in urgent need of recovery. Furthermore social problems occur with the increasing population densities in the consolidated self-help settlements. In the recent (re)visits of 2009 high 'new' poverty levels were found as well as problems of social insecurity. The problems that evolve in both the neighbourhood and individual home spaces show the importance of on-going research in 'consolidated' self-help settlements.⁴⁸

47 The findings and data presented were retrieved from the 2009 surveys in Monterrey presented on LAHN webpage. Ward, Peter; Jiménez, Edith & de Virgilio, Mercedes, LAHN, 2009, www.lahn.utexas.org/Methodology

48 Ward, Peter M., *Housing rehab for consolidated squatter settlements in Latin America's 'first suburbs': New*

3. “Other realities”

Parallel to Peter Ward’s research for the Latin American Housing Network, human geographer Michaela Hordijk completed a similar longitudinal study in a low-income settlement in Lima’s urban periphery. She compared the same households in 1997 and 2010 contrasting current realities and living conditions of the families in Lima with original influential theories of John Turner. Hordijk underlines the issues Ward raised about second and third generation dwellers in low-income settlements, stating that within the process of social change, where children grew up under completely other circumstances than the preceding generation it is time to “*renew our knowledge base on urban poverty and urban collective action*”⁴⁹. The studies are carried out in Pampas de San Juan, a low-income settlement located in the larger district of San Juan de Miraflores in the southern periphery of Lima. The neighbourhood was formed from the mid 1970s onwards,

policy approaches from LAHN in preparation for UNHABITAT III 2016, The Wilson centre’s Comparative Urban Studies Project, Washington D.C., 2013, www.lahn.utexas.org/meetings

49 Hordijk, Michaela, “Nuestra Realidad es Otra: Changing realities in Lima’s peripheral settlements: a case study from San Juan de Miraflores”, in: *The production, use and dissemination of Urban Knowledge in Cities of the South*, BRUNFAUT, V.; D’AURIA, V.; DE MEULDER, B.; MORETTA, L.; SHANNON, K. (eds.), Brussels, N-AERUS, 2010, pp. 361-374.

first by people who bought their (non official) land titles from a corrupted mayor and later from new invasions that took place further up the hillsides.⁵⁰ As Hordijk points out, the area clearly represents the process of home consolidation promoted by popular opposition leader Pedro Beltran (who became prime minister in 1958) with ‘*the cheap house that grows*’ and envisioned by Turner.⁵¹

Reflecting upon the progressive development of the squatter settlement and John Turner’s ‘three stages model’⁵², Hordijk found in 1996, only a decade after the neighbourhood formation, that the majority of the homes already consolidated to a level that Turner

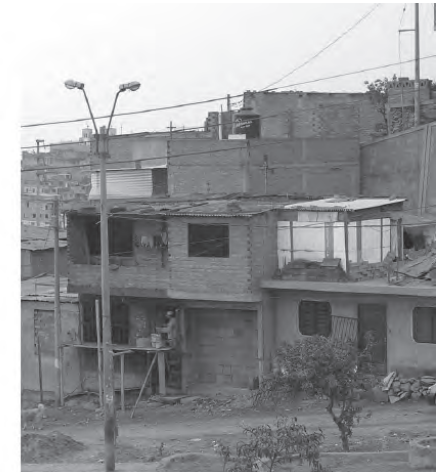
50 Hordijk, Michaela, 2010: p. 363. The fieldwork for this thesis conducted for the empirical in-depth case studies presented in chapter 3 *A journey from the house to the city and back*, was carried out in the same neighbourhood. See for a complete description of the history of Pampas de San Juan chapter 2: p. 64.

51 In fact it was not Turner but the conservative head of the Limean newspaper ‘La Prensa’ Pedro Beltran who later became prime minister and promoted “*the cheap house that grows*” a model that was surprisingly similar to the self-help housing model Turner later advocated. (Hordijk, 2000, 2010; Bromley, 2003). As was described in Chapter 2.

52 Turner presented his ‘three stages model’ in the article “The Squatter Settlement: An architecture that works”, in: *Architectural Design*, Architecture of Democracy, August 1968, pp. 355-360.



Family in Pampas in 1996 and 2010



© Michaela Hordijk, 2011.

would call ‘complete’⁵³. The land invasion of mid 1980s where privileged by the government programme of the socialist mayor Barrantes in which land titles were given out soon after the land was occupied. This allowed families to rapidly develop and consolidate their homes. Community organization also played an important role in the consolidation process and the struggle for basic services acquisition.⁵⁴

A revisit of Pampas de San Juan in 2010 showed even further improvement of the physical environment. Homes had been further extended and improved, roads were now mostly paved, local economic activities diversified and some informal markets had been formalized. Since 2008 all homes were provided with domestic drinking water and sewerage connection. Similarly to what Ward found in Mexico and Colombia, in Lima densities also increased considerably, caused by people sharing a house on the same plot. Of the cases Hordijk studied in 2010, 80% of the children stayed to live with their mum and dad and of those families 60%

53 As Hordijk states: “*Pampas de San Juan seems to have developed beyond Turners expectations.*” Hordijk, Michaela, 2010: p. 367.

54 The role of community action if fully examined in Hordijk’s PhD research: Hordijk, Michaela, *Of dreams and deeds: the role of local initiatives for community based environmental management in Lima, Peru*. PhD dissertation, University of Amsterdam, 2000.

already extended with a third generation.⁵⁵ At the end of the 1960s Turner already expected that densification would take place in the self-help settlements. He pointed to the possible subdivisions of lots for the “*growing demand for rental accommodation*” and questioned the possible transformation of housing typologies from single-family to multi-family home, predicting that the structure of the house could change to a single-family unit covering the ground floor and a second floor that could possibly be independent.⁵⁶

Furthermore commercial facilities would, in Turner’s perspective, also change according to the residents’ demand, attracting “*a wide range of individual interest*”⁵⁷. As Turner predicted, Hordijk showed indeed that community facilities diversified with all kind of commercial activities ranging from the small corner shop, different productive workshops, internet cabins and private primary schools. These were integrated within the home spaces. Hordijk’s findings were therefore in line with Turner’s predictions and theories about home sharing and the extended family.

However Turner perceived this process of

55 Hordijk, Michaela, 2010: p. 370.

56 Turner, John F.C., 1968, op.cit.: p. 358.

57 Turner, John F.C., 1968, op.cit.: p. 357.

densification and the interrelated social diversification in rather optimistic terms. He stated that: *“the wider the range of its members, the better served the community, and the greater the needs of those who most need them.”*⁵⁸ Hordijk’s conclusions show different realities: *“a gradual improvement of material wealth paralleled with deterioration of the social environment”*, findings echoing those of Perlman in Rio de Janeiro (2009) and Moser in Guayaquil (2009).⁵⁹

Apart from the major transformations that Hordijk detected in the built environment of the now ‘consolidated’ settlements, fundamental changes took place in society as well. An important feature Hordijk observed was the decreasing interest in collective action and community organization, especially among second and third generations. As Riofrío (1987) pointed out, once services were provided, the focus shifted towards the individual process of improving the house.⁶⁰

With children growing up the household characteristics also changed considerably within the family. Furthermore the second generations

58 Turner (1968: p. 357) cited in Hordijk, Michaela, “Debe ser esfuerzo propio: changing patterns of belonging in Lima’s peripheral settlements”, paper presented at the International RC21 conference, 2011: p. 2.

59 Hordijk, Michaela, 2011: p. 3.

60 Riofrío, Gustavo; Driant, Jean-Claude, 1987: p.

61.

grew up in a totally other environment than their parents. Riofrío already spotted an early stage of this transition in 1987, in which the working-class population of original invaders shifted towards a more educated second generation,⁶¹ showing how these changing realities influenced the process of home consolidation. Hordijk equally found outstanding differences between the children and their parents in terms of their educational levels that matched the desires of the parents of their children to *“become a professional.”*⁶²

Although most the children still share the house with their parents, some of them did manage to procure a house of their own. Hordijk pointed out that for new generations, invasions were really out-dated, only 7% of the children who moved out invaded land. Most of the kids went to live with in-laws. Respondents indicated to prefer renting or buying a home above invading land. They obviously learned from their parents’ experiences. Though they respected the efforts of their mum and dad, they also saw the struggles and long absence of the government that made them develop a ‘mistrust’ in public authorities. Hence they are less willing to participate in community organizations, which are still dominated by the original neighbourhood founders. The housing

61 Riofrío, Gustavo; Driant, Jean-Claude, 1987: p.

82.

62 Hordijk, Michaela, 2010: p. 369.

aspirations of the children have also changed. As Hordijk argues *“the new generation aspires to solve through the market.”*⁶³

Another issue that arose since the 1990s and form a serious problem in the neighbourhood today is increasing social insecurity. Escalating violence was the most important problem for 90% of Hordijk’s respondents.

CHANGING SOCIAL CONSUMPTION NORMS

Beside the increase of the physical environment’s consolidation level, the economic situation of many families improved, in parallel with the contributions to the household income of second generations.⁶⁴ Furthermore, comparing people’s belongings in the 1996 and 2010 study, a pattern of increasing consumption was traced. Car possession increased from 6% to 20%, almost 80% of families now owned a fridge (30% more than the 1996 study showed) and also other consumables including washing machines (possessed by 37% of the families). 30% now owned a computer and some even had internet access.⁶⁵

The changing consumption norms are closely related to the additional income and reciprocal relations between family members. Second

63 Hordijk, Michaela, 2010: p. 372.

64 Two third of the children where now contributing to the household income. Hordijk, Michaela, 2010: p. 368.

65 Hordijk, Michaela, 2011: p. 11.

generations often pay ‘rent’ in the form of luxury goods or support their parents with material goods in ‘return’ for babysitting. This may mean an improvement in terms of living comfort, but not it also shows that additional income is not always used for improvement of the house itself that as a consequence often is lagging behind.

The 25 to 30 years of consolidation in Pampas de San Juan showed major transformation in the physical environment and to a certain extent confirmed Turner’s predictions. Nevertheless the ‘other realities’ that evolved caused severe social deterioration in the neighbourhood. Although the problems occurring at the neighbourhood level are seen as the most problematic according to the population, the future of the homes is not very prosperous either. The aspirations of second and third generations do not match their current living situation. The studies of Hordijk are consonant with the pre-assumed idea that the self-help housing model has reached its limits and are not able to adapt to the aspirations of the ‘new’ generation. Turner’s model therefore needs to be re-envisioned urgently in order to prevent further deterioration in the ‘consolidated’ self-help settlements.

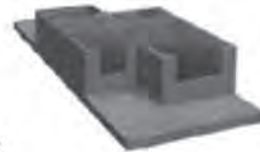
4. A local perspective



1971
3 INHABITANTS



1973
3 INHABITANTS



1995
7 INHABITANTS



1

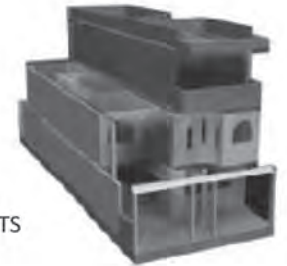


2



3

2005
9 INHABITANTS



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In bygone days urban development in Lima occurred in a horizontal manner resulting in low densities and an enormous city expansion.⁶⁶ The old *barriadas* are now catching up with the rest of Lima through self-help consolidation (in which more than two third of Lima's inhabitants live) reaching densities that are similar to the inner city of Lima⁶⁷.

The studies carried out in Villa el Salvador, formed through a relocation in a sites and services program of large group of settlers who invaded public land in San Juan de Miraflores in 1971, show that needs have changed since the formation of the settlement according to the increasing number of family members and the parallel changing household composition. From to the wide range of in-depth studies carried out by Desco in Villa El Salvador, it is apparent that there is a greater demand for privacy among the second and third generations as well as home extensions. This is translated in the houses by the various house subdivisions, both vertically as horizontally as well as the great variety of staircases that are constructed

66 RIOFRIO, DRIANT, 1987, op.cit: p. 54

67 INEI, op. cit. 2007....

to create individual entrances.

Tokeshi extensively documents the spatial transformations. In these studies Tokeshi found that children often construct an independent new housing unit on top of the original single-family dwelling. This trend is very similar to how Turner portrayed the expected changes of the housing structure in response to the progressively developing *barriada*.⁶⁸

As Turner furthermore predicted, a heterogeneity of uses and services can now be found. In Tokeshi's outcomes the commercial and productive spaces that are assembled in the homes still add an important value to the house, contributing to the household income, that makes it unlikely for homeowners to sell. Tokeshi is however critical towards the impact of this diversification at the level of the neighbourhood. As he states, the diversification of commercial uses is represented in a disordered zoning and does not necessarily match local demands.⁶⁹

68 Turner, John, "The squatter settlement: An Architecture that works", 1968: p. 358.

69 Tokeshi, Juan, Sembrando Huellas, Criterios técnicos para el crecimiento de la vivienda, final report,

TENURIAL CONDITIONS

One of the key findings from the studies in Villa El Salvador was that in most cases the children were the ones to extend their parents' home, despite the fact that they did not have the official rights over the property.⁷⁰ The lack of a clear title or ownership however, did not hinder their investment in the parents' home. This illustrates that these home transformations are based on a strong relationship of trust.

In order to proceed with the *densificación habitacional*,⁷¹ the juridical status of the house has to be clarified and renewed to enable homes to adapt to the increasing number of home sharers. As was mentioned earlier in this section, Ward likewise warned about the need to revise tenurial conditions in multi-generational households.

Desco, 2001: p. 51.

70 Tokeshi, Juan, personal communication feb.-aug. 2013. The issue of tenurial conditions across generations is fully described in Tokeshi, Juan, 2001, op.cit.

71 This term refers to the book with the same title *Densificación Habitacional*, published by Desco in 2005, meaning the process of home densification through the self-managed process of home transformation of the extended families in the low-income settlements in Lima.

In the redistribution of 'los aires'⁷², Tokeshi considers four possibilities regarding the tenurial status of the house.⁷³ The second generation can acquire the right to build the second floor either by purchasing 'the air', the parents can donate 'the air', rent part of the property independently or a final possibility is that the homeowner creates specific rights over the surface of his property. The last option implies that neither 'the air' nor the land have to be sold, but that the beneficiary has the right to take temporary ownership of (part of) the property. In Tokeshi's opinion, instead of the former horizontal growth, we now should give priority to 'densification growth' focussing on the self-managed process of home improvement in which single-family homes are being converted by the users into collective homes. The key problem Tokeshi points out it that the urban densification in poor neighbourhoods is mainly an isolated spontaneous process

72 'Los aires' is a term in Spanish that is used to define spaces in 'the air' or upper floors. Both Ward and Tokeshi frequently use the term to describe what is happening on the upper floor spaces, mainly relating issues of vertical subdivision.

73 Tokeshi, Juan, 2001, op.cit.: p. 54.



© Juan Tokeshi, 1998

Home space

without receiving much technical support. This uncontrolled process of explosive and irregular growth leads to a 'substandard housing category' of poor quality that now comprises extended families and new uses patterns.



© Juan Tokeshi, 2005

BOX 1 KEY FINDINGS FROM THE LONGITUDINAL STUDIES OF DESCO IN VILLA EL SALVADOR

1. The construction of each home is an on-going process (of 20 years on average), made through the emotional commitment of the family.
2. The possession of a 'house of one's own', regardless of the stage that is in, is accomplished through the effort and sacrifice of the family and is considered as the main inheritance for the children.
3. Home extensions, the use of 'los aires', and home subdivisions occur according to the growth of the family or the need for privacy of multiple generations.
4. In most cases, the lot (ranging from 100 and 300 square meter) is entitled, while the structure of the house itself has no official status and is not registered.
5. Of great significance is the potential for economic use of the property as an important added valued for the family that makes it unlikely that that would want to sell the property or part of it.
- 6 The ideal predominant structure is that of a two-storey house, made out of reinforced concrete and brick, wherein the second floor serves to accommodate children independently.
- 7 The access to the second floor is planned or improvised by independent external staircases either based within or outside the restricted boundaries of the lot.
- 8 The construction is mostly done without plans and without assistance of building professionals: the construction worker is the specialist with the highest capacities involved in the home construction.
- 9 Municipalities are neither involved in the project nor in the construction works.
- 10 The trend is to cover practically the whole lot with the roof, not taking into consideration issues of internal illumination through daylight, direct ventilation of interior spaces, nor for independent circulation areas.
- 11 Generally speaking the housing structures are suitable for vertical loads up to three floors, but these would be insufficient to withstand earthquakes.¹

¹ Translated from ZOLEZZI, Mario; TOKESHI, Juan; NORIEGA, Carlos, *Densificación habitacional: Una propuesta de crecimiento para la ciudad popular*, Lima, Desco, 2005: p. 91

5. The gap between desires and possibilities

As Michaela Hordijk's comparative study already showed families had extended considerably between 1996 and 2010 when the 'snapshots' were taken. The 496 households of the 1996 survey contained 80% of nuclear families with most of the children still under 16. As logically could be expected the children grew up and started their own families by 2010, 80% still lived in the house where they grew up and 60% of those already had children themselves. My own ten in-depth case studies carried out in the same neighbourhood 3 years after showed similar trends. Of the ten (all nuclear) families nine families extended with a third generation and in eight cases some or all of the grandchildren were living in the house of their grandparents. Only one case remained a single-family household. Two-thirds of all the 43 children of the ten families still shared the house with mum and dad. A surprisingly low amount of the grown-up kids of the households that were surveyed left to rent a place elsewhere in Lima and a few took off to other cities inside Peru, for work reasons. Trans-national migration was not very common in Pampas⁷⁴.

The children who left the parents' home went to different places. The majority moved in with their parents-in-law, often close by the parents' home. Some of the second-generations literally married 'the girl next door' and live only a few blocks away from where they grew up. Only one single case was found of a child that following the example of his parents and similarly made a land invasion on the steep hillsides of Villa María del Triunfo.⁷⁵ That underlined the

⁷⁴ See: p. 154.

⁷⁵ Jaime (39) the oldest son of señora Vacilia invaded

findings of Hordijk (2010) that second generations learned from experiences of their parents and land invasions were now longer seen as an appropriate way to gain access to housing. This was also confirmed by the declarations of my own respondents. None of them planned to make land invasion and a general response to invasion was that this was "really something of the past."

Some of the children who were living in the house at the time the fieldwork was carried out, did have a living experience elsewhere, either abroad or renting a place on the housing market in Lima, but eventually they moved back to the house where they were raised.⁷⁶ A comparable trend of "mobility within immobility" was also spotted by Ward in the in-depth case studies of Monterrey, Mexico⁷⁷. Ward ascribed the 'symbolic value' of the house as a main motive for children to come back to the house.

⁷⁶ Brenda (30), owner of the faltering house, lived in Venezuela for a couple of years. When her mother got seriously ill she returned to Lima. The house was abandoned for a period of time and eventually she moved back in. The house still had an 'emotional value' for her and she did not want the house to be sold. Furthermore Brenda knew that it was not so easy to find a house for your own in Lima, therefore keeping the house would provide a basis to come back to. See case 4. Elida (34) moved out to live with her parents in law years ago. When the young couple separated Elida moved back in with her mother. See case 10.

⁷⁷ Ward, Peter M.; Jiménez, Edith & de Virgilio, Mercedes, "Methodology for the Intensive "Interesting" Case Studies (Casos a Profundidad) in Monterrey, Guadalajara, & Buenos Aires." LAHN, 2009. Retrieved from the LAHN webpage: www.lahn.utexas.org

My overall findings of the aspirations of the second generations were rather divergent, though the majority of children that lived in the parents' house, was satisfied with their housing situation and was planning to stay in the house. Need for more privacy was however expressed frequently.

On the other hand, many families also preferred the collectiveness, which could explain why in so many houses, where three generations live, no subdivisions have been made. The aspiration was more to have an own room, rather than to have an individual apartment. Families regularly are very independent having complex reciprocal relations, that makes children stay and that is the main reason not want to move too far from their parents and brothers and sisters. Another important motive to stay that was mentioned, despite the serious problems of insecurity, was the 'symbolic value' the neighbourhood had for the children.

"We moved out to my parents-in-law. We still come to my parents place almost every day to have lunch and now during holidays my mum and my sisters are looking after our kids. We also have our small business together. So in many ways we are still very depend on each other."

William (31), son of Nora and Wilberto

Nevertheless it can be questioned if the many children that continued to live with their parents, stayed out of a true desire and if this was an actual 'choice' or just their only possibility. Surprisingly second generations were aware of their possibilities on the housing market in Lima quite often. As Karin and Elida pronounced:

"I would like to move to another part of Lima, closer to my work and friends, but rents of apartments are really high and my income is not (yet) stable. Nowadays it is quite impossible to access land and a house for your own. Land is scarce and land prices are really high. [...] Invading? No, that is no longer an option. I respect the effort of my parents for building up this neighbourhood. I like to be in the house and with the family, but my real life is somewhere else."
Karin (34), daughter of Nora

"Looking at my situation the best would be constructing my own house, but if we are realistic that is just impossible in Lima. Invasions are now over. There is now land and rents are really high. Lima has to grow in a vertical direction from now on."
Elida (34), daughter of Rufina and mother of two children

As a consequence, their need and desire for more privacy they seek in the house of the parents, underlining the similar trends Ward and Tokeshi spotted.

"We are constructing upstairs 4 extra floors for us, the children, to live in the future. This way we always have a place to stay here, but we are not sure if all of us stay."
Elida (34), daughter of Rufina, mother of two children

PART III - [RE] Envisioning the self-help housing model

In the work of the scholars re-studying the 'second life' of the self-help settlements that was reviewed here, various similar trends were uncovered in the process of home consolidation. Home sharing, that is a common practice across many Latin American cities,⁷⁸ and intensive use of the 'lived-in' self-help house resulted in serious problems both in the social dynamics of changing households as well as the spatial compositions of the 'consolidated' homes. The outcomes of different longitudinal studies from researchers with distinctive professional backgrounds, showed the importance of seeing the social and spatial dynamics in home consolidation as an interrelated process, together represented in *home space*.

As was already predicted by John Turner in 1968, there is an increasing demand for individual dwelling units as the family would extend and the neighbourhood would densify. How homes react to the changing household compositions, represented in subdivisions of the house and the lot, was illustrated by Peter Ward and Juan Tokeshi. Both authors clearly pointed out the limits of self-help in adapting to multigenerational growth of the family, particularly of the tenurial status of the house. They both mentioned the hitches of tenurial conditions of homes, which now all have clear titling of the land, but not over the construction of 'los aires'. Tokeshi was somewhat more positive than Ward showing the creative solutions of lot subdivisions and different spatial solutions for solving the issue of the lack of privacy. Other than Ward assumed,

78 WARD, Peter M., 2011, op. cit.: pp. 467–485.

Tokeshi showed that for the second generations not having clear ownership did not prevent them to invest in the house. The two scholars from different disciplines though are exposing similar issues in home transformation. Ward argues that the tenurial status and inheritance factors should be given priority while Tokeshi denotes the spatial limitations of self-construction pointing to the importance of assisted construction processes.

The social differences between parents and their children and major transitions that took place in society were other important aspects that influenced home transformation. This was especially put forward by Riofrío and Hordijk. Riofrío already spotted an early stage of the transition of children born and raised in Lima and parents who migrated to Lima, and how this affected their role in home self-construction. Since the children were born and raised in the city and had higher educational levels they were less willing to build a house by themselves. Ward found something similar: *"there is little attraction in following their parents' example by moving to the current periphery as self-builders in newly formed and poorly serviced settlements."*⁷⁹ Hordijk showed equally that invasions are really over. Second generations have become 'professionals' and grew up in a very different the setting than the first generation and now try to solve their housing problem through the market⁸⁰.

79 WARD, Peter M., 2012, op. cit.: pp. 283-310.

80 HORDIJK, Michaela, 2010, op. cit.: pp. 361-374.

CONCLUSIONS

It is of great importance to see self-help in a historical perspective and, as Peter M. Ward argues to understand *"how such ideas were shaped by the dominant paradigms of the day."*⁸¹ The early 'learning from' experiences and the later longitudinal 're-learning from' empirical studies, allow us to continuously renew and rethink our knowledge concerning the housing conditions of the urban poor. In the Peruvian context it is crucial to understand that the country has a rich history in documenting self-help settlements that still continues. Before John Turner arrived in Peru there were already local scholars, amongst others probably most well known Peruvian anthropologist José Matos Mar, carrying out empirical surveys from the squatter settlements. Besides the local political climate was very favourable for Turner to develop his theories on self-help housing.⁸²

In this thesis I attempted to bring together the broader global discussions on self-help housing with the long experience of local researchers, both of the early debates on self-help housing that reached its peak in the 1980s as well as the recent debate on the 'second life' of the 'consolidated' self-help settlements. Though the local researchers sometimes found their way through in the global debate, still they often are absent in the work of scholars publishing in English. Ward for example refers mainly to other scholars who published in English, while in the local reports mutually the broader discourse is not mentioned.

The different approaches from multiple disciplines that have been discussed in relation with my own empirical study based upon fieldwork conducted in Pampas de San Juan, allow for a broader understanding of how complexities evolved in the process of home consolidation

81 Ward, Peter M., "Self-Help Housing: Ideas and Practice in the Americas", in: *Planning Ideas that Matter*.

Eds. Bishwapriya Sanyal, Lawrence Vale and Christina Rosan. Cambridge, MA, MIT Press, 2012: p. 306.

82 Bromley, Ray, 2003: p. 271.

and confirmed the hypothesis that homes are not always able to adapt to the continuously changing household compositions and aspirations of next generations.

The influential theories and expectations of John Turner⁸³ (1968) to a certain extent are consonant with the outcomes of several 're-studies' in consolidated self-help settlements. The self-help house has a continued 'use value' for the second and third generations. Correspondingly the houses have great potentials to assimilate productive and commercial spaces in the home space that generate an important contribution to the household income and makes it unlikely that the house will be sold⁸⁴. Nevertheless the process of home transformation does not always follow the same trajectory of the extension of the family and is not always happening according to demands of all the users.

Furthermore the 25 to almost 60 years of 'lived-in' experience in the old *barriadas* resulted in problems that occurred across different scales. Earlier works⁸⁵ were mainly focused on the level of the house, seeing it in relative isolation from other scale levels of the block, the neighbourhood and the city. In Chapter 3 the inverted process of spontaneous city making (in which the home is building up the urban tissue) reflected upon how individual processes of home transformation interconnect with the social fabric of the neighbourhood.⁸⁶ Although the spontaneous process of city making (from the house to the city) proved to be able in the formation of different types of tissues⁸⁷, adding

83 Turner, John F. C., "The Squatter Settlement: An architecture that works", in: *Architectural Design, Architecture of Democracy*, August 1968, pp. 355-360.

84 Tokeshi, Juan, op. cit. (2005)

85 With early works is meant the early works of John Turner, his seminal works with William Mangin and other colleagues publishing on the squatter settlement between 1960 and the mid 1980s.

86 See: p. 134

87 Sáez Giraldez, Elia; García Calderón, José; Roch Peña, Fernando, "La ciudad desde la casa: ciudades

a social layer to this mode of development other realities reveal. The built environments might show high levels of physical improvement, the densification and accumulating social differences (that are part the process of becoming a city⁸⁸) correspondingly brought about a concerning increase of social deterioration. The majority of the current population living in the low-income settlements mentioned the increasing violence and social insecurity as the main problem they are confronted with today.⁸⁹ Furthermore it should be continuously questioned what actual housing demand exists in Lima today in order to solve the gap between the 'desires' of the second and third generations and their 'possibilities' on the current housing market. The 'new' generation is now trapped in living situations that often are not a real "choice" but because of other housing opportunities are beyond their reach.⁹⁰

espontáneas en Lima", in: *Revista INVI*, 2010, 25 (70), pp. 77-116.

88 As described by Massey, Allen & Pile, "The particularity of the city is that it concentrates differences through its density of people and lived spaces." Massey, D.; Allen, J. & Pile, S. (1999). *City worlds: understanding cities*. Psychology Press.

89 In Hordijk's surveys from Pampas de San Juan 90% of the respondents stated the violence as the biggest problem. Hordijk, 2010: p. 368. My own respondents equally mentioned the increasing social insecurity as a severe problem that got even worse the last year. See chapter 3

90 My personal exploration of current housing problems in Lima (in order to get a better understanding of the tensions and mismatches that exist between people's

The self-help housing model (that starts off with land invasions followed up with a gradual improvement of the settlements) was for decades the main strategy to gain access to housing for the urban poor in metropolitan Lima, but now (as was argued in this thesis) this model is no longer valid. Invasions now are undeniably out-dated, because land to invade has become scarce, but mainly because the children are not attracted to follow the example of their parents to invade un-serviced peripheral land, as Michaela Hordijk proclaimed, second generations often aspire "to solve through the market."

Though the aspiration for acquiring 'the house of your own' is sometimes still there, but the children of the original invaders also start to realize that in contemporary Lima, this is no longer an option⁹¹, since (within the changing modes of consumption) land prices have risen incredibly and land is often too expensive for them. The rental prices of apartments on the formal market equally rise and are not affordable. What rests in the housing 'possibilities' is the rental accommodations on the informal market, but the second generation were in 'desires' and their actual 'possibilities' on the housing market today in Lima) was only possible with the help and various discussions (Lima, Amsterdam 2013) I had with local promoter Liliana Miranda Sara (architect and executive director of Cities for Life Forum in Lima). I would like to thank her for all her help, commitment, enthusiasm and useful input.

91 See the statements Elida and Karin: p. 187

general not so keen on informal renting and sharing a home with 'strangers'. They then rather remained living in the house with mum and dad.

The attachment to the place was another factor that did not want the second generations to move to other parts of the city. The neighbourhood where they grew up had a strong 'symbolical value' for the majority of the second generations.

The divergent and convergent processes of home consolidation showed how users are majorly transforming, extending and improving their homes. Other than Turner expected, this happened not always as a direct consequence of their needs and desires. In the city of Lima, similar processes can be seen across the three 'cones'. Different areas started from a different underground, sometimes 'unplanned' such as Pampas de San Juan, sometimes constructed upon a scheme of sites and services like Villa El Salvador, and sometimes planned with great ideologies such as PREVI⁹².

Lima has the advantage that a wide range of these projects and settlements were documented from an early stage, starting with José Matos Mar and later Turner, Riofrío and

92 GARCIA-HUIDOBRO, Fernando; DIEGO TORRES, Torriti; TUGAS, Nicolás, i *El tiempo construye!: el Proyecto Experimental de Vivienda (PREVI) de Lima: génesis y desenlace*. Gustavo Gili, 2008.

Tokeshi. Also many scholars looking at the 'second life' of these settlements housing a 'new' generation have revisited these areas more recently.

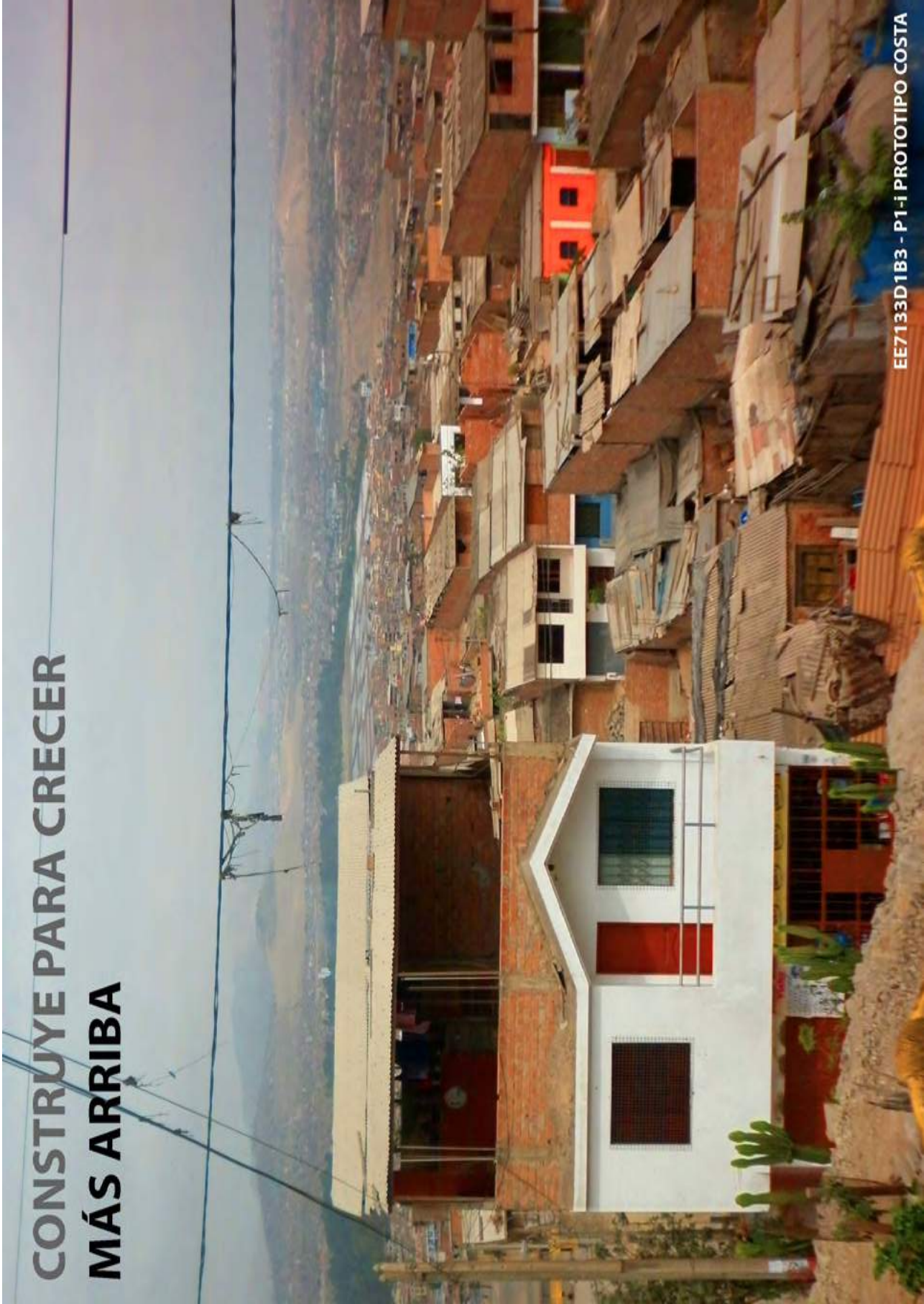
Riofrío documented the unplanned settlement of Ciudad de Dios, DESCO and Tokeshi the planned Villa el Salvador and Garcia-Huidobro, Diego Torres and Tugas revisited the Experimental housing project of PREVI, that was formulated in 1967, involving well-known architects Aldo van Eyck, Charles Correa, James Stirling, Christopher Alexander, Candilis Josic Woods and more. All these studies show how the many years of 'lived-in' experience set off change in home space.

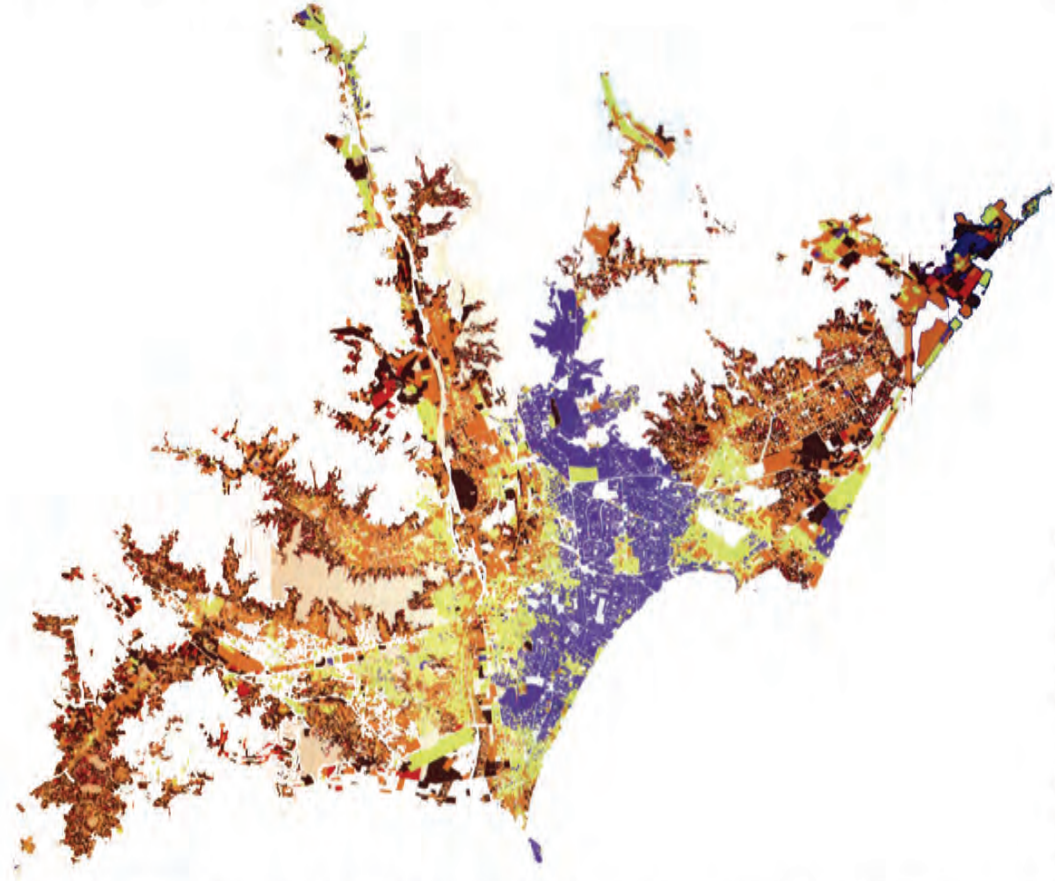
The reality furthermore shows that these empirically grounded studies should continue, since still many mismatches are found in Lima's housing systems, either not meeting the needs of next generations that live between their desire and possibility.



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CONSTRUYE PARA CRECER MÁS ARRIBA



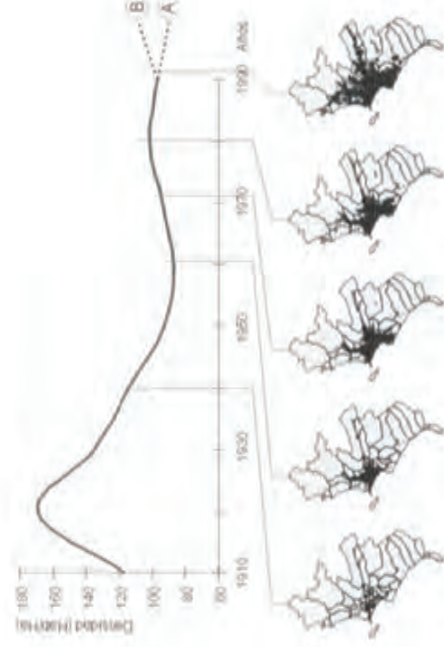


Desigualdad y expansión horizontal en Lima

Lima - ¿ciudad compacta?

¿Queremos seguir promoviendo crecimiento horizontal en Lima o queremos usar **la riqueza del tejido urbano** existente para construir una ciudad **compacta, sostenible**, más eficiente y con mejor calidad?

São Paulo	México Ciudad	Lima
> 7000 hab./km ²	> 6000 hab./km ²	solo 2800 hab./km ²



Evolución de densidad en Lima

Crecimiento progresivo y la riqueza del tejido urbano existente



Niveles de consolidación y la representación de la zona Estudios de San Juan de Miraflores, Lima



“El valor de la vivienda está en la relación entre el objeto y el usuario.”

John F. C. Turner, Housing as a verb, 1972



Fuente: José Matos Mar, Perú, 2012



1980

La barriada 30 años después

Las casas han evolucionado mas allá de las expectativas que tenían

John Turner y William Mangin y el nivel que ellos consideraban

“**terminado**”. Después 30 años de formación de la barriada,

la mayor parte de las casas han pasado el nivel de la consolidación

media. Casas han cambiado en typología, de vivienda

unifamiliar a **vivienda multifamiliar y colectiva**.



2013



2000



1990



1980

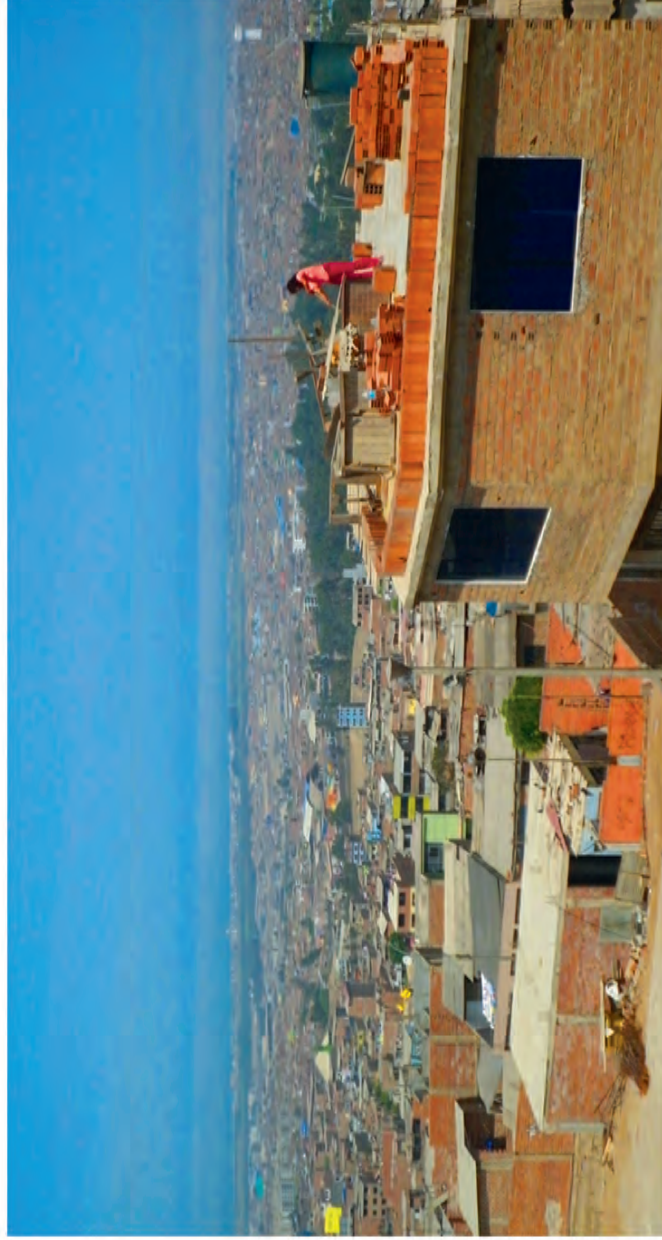


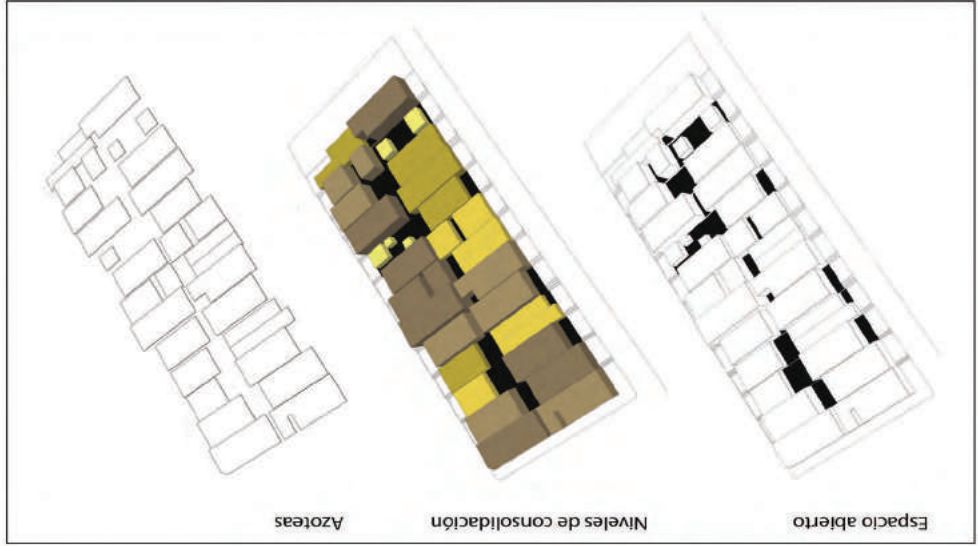
composición de familias en una casa en 2013

2013

CRECER...

progresivamente | con una **densidad** óptima | con mejor **calidad** | en una manera mas eficiente y **sostenible** | en una manera vertical



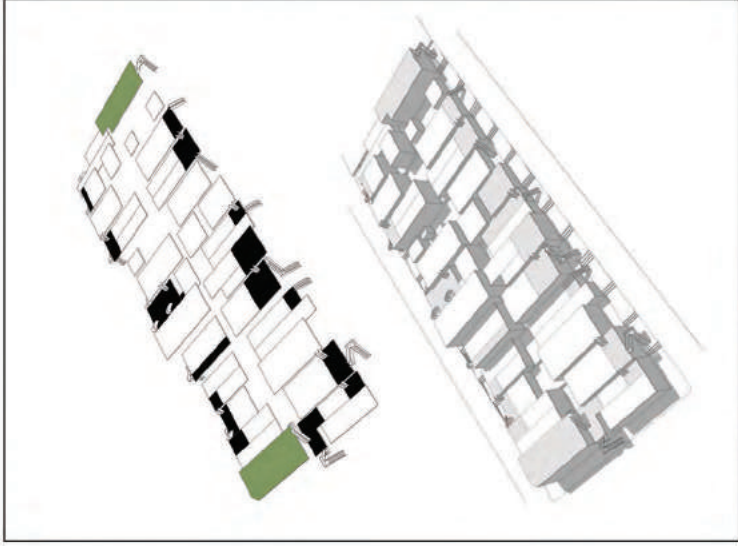


Capas

Fragmento del tejido urbano

A 01 CONTEXTO URBANA

COMPOSICIÓN DE UN BARRIO EN UNA MANZANA

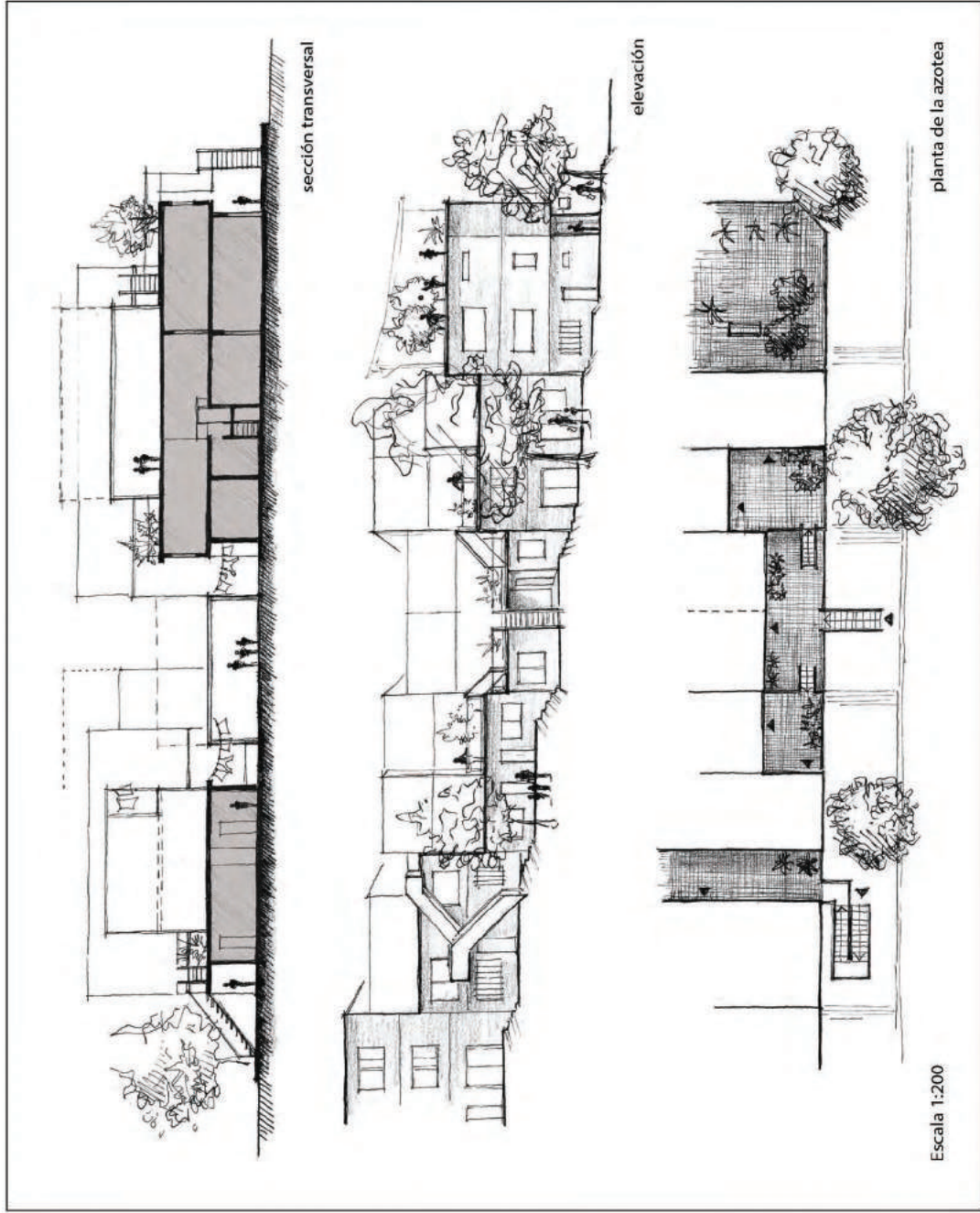
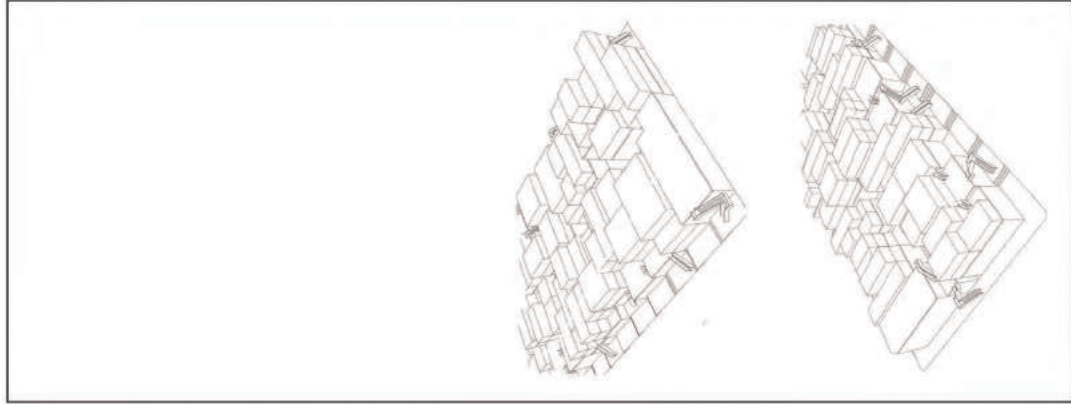


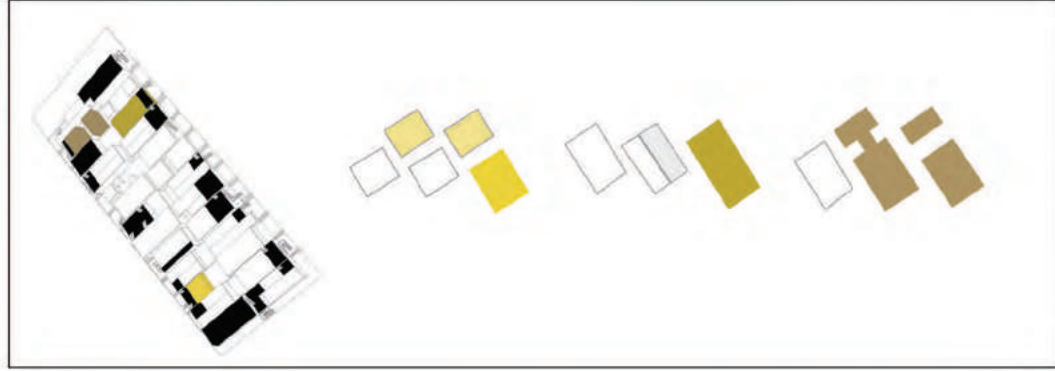
La manzana y las azoteas



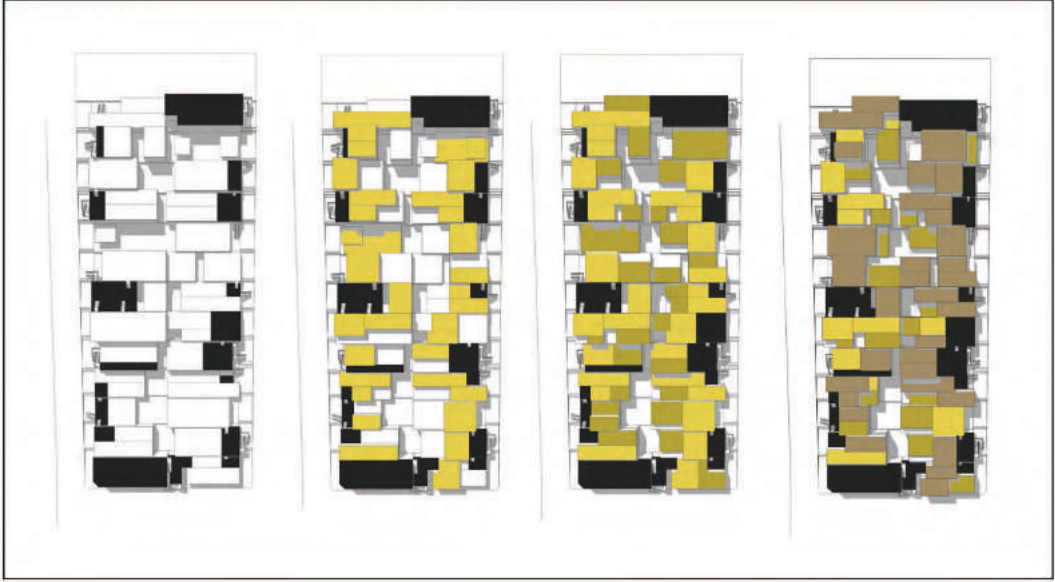
Espacios intermedios y accesibilidad

LA AZOTEA funciona como un **espacio intermedio** entre la calle y la casa | favorece un soleamiento óptimo | estimula **interacciones vecinales** | permite mayor **flexibilidad** de acceso a ampliaciones de la vivienda | da posibilidades para **vivienda colectiva**

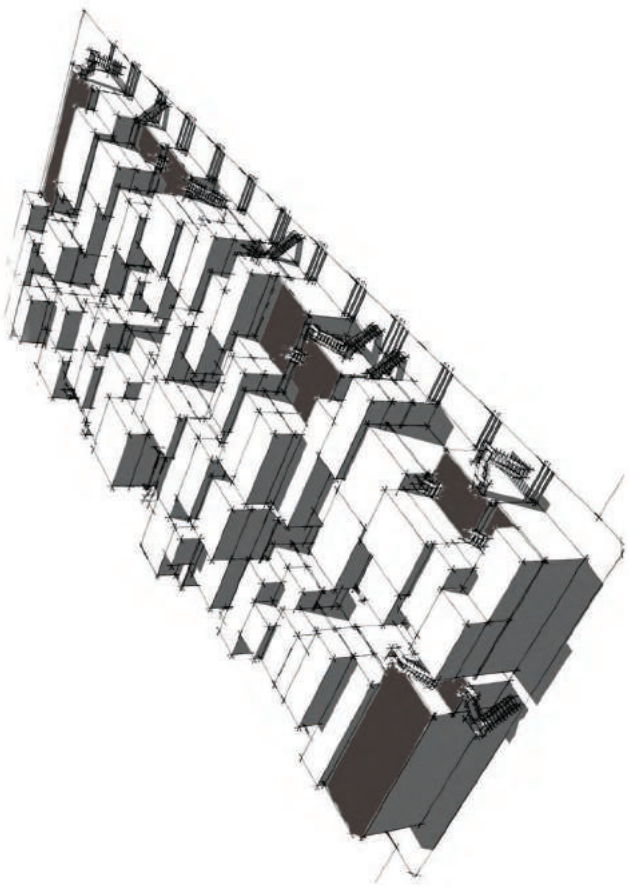




Propuestas para viviendas existentes en diferentes etapas de consolidación



Etapas de crecimiento en la manzana



VIVIENDA COLECTIVA

preserva y genera **espacio abierto** | contribuye a una **ciudad sostenible** | realiza una **diversidad** en tipos de vivienda | permite **vivienda asequible** de mejor calidad | crea equilibrio entre el individuo y la sociedad

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