Ain Shams University
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The Right to the City and Gender-Sensitive Urban Planning

The role of women-led community networks in informal settlements in the district of Carabayllo, Lima

A Thesis submitted in the Partial Fulfillment for the Requirement of the Degree of Master of Science in Integrated Urbanism and Sustainable Design

by

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Melanie Nogales Quinde

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Abstract

Lima (Peru) has experienced major transformations over the past forty years. Following the economic and political crisis of the 1980s, the investment in building construction, automobile infrastructure, and macroeconomic businesses has led to a climate of "prosperity" benefitting a neoliberal elite and producing new urban inequalities, poverty, and marginality.
The denial of the right to the city for diverse segments of the urban population manifests itself, among others, in various forms of exclusion of poor women in the everyday life of the city.
This thesis examines ways in which the 'right to the city' framework is engaged in Lima's Metropolitan Area urban transformations and sociocultural patterns of violence in its peripheries, illustrating socio-spatial patterns and the role of women within precarious settlements in the hills of the city. Focusing on the district of Carabayllo, a peri-urban district located in northern Lima with high levels of poverty, the research explores how low-income and precarious women engage as leaders and active members of self-managed community networks in their struggles against neoliberal spatial practices. It traces their interactions with each other, and the impact of NGOs on their self-governing dynamics.

This research is based on interviews with a broad range of actors, revealing the linkages and socio-spatial relations between social groups at the community level and ways in which precarious communities appropriate and engage "the right to the city". The study contributes to Lima's urban planning literature opening up a discussion on a gendered right to the city from the perspective of the city's peripheries.

Keywords: Gender, Women, Right to the City, Human Settlements, Community-Making, Governance, Violence

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

Acronyms and Abbreviations

CBO	Community Based Organization
CEBIG	'*Campeonas y Campeones empoderadxs buscando la igualdad de género*' Champions empowered seeking gender equality
CEM	'*Centro de Emergencia Mujer*' Woman Emergency Center
CMPFT	'*Centro de la Mujer Peruana Flora Tristan*' Flora Tristan Peruvian Women's Center
COFOPRI	'*Comisión de Formalización de la Propiedad Informal*' Formalization Agency of Informal Property
GBV	Gender Based Violence
LDC	Lomas de Carabayllo
LMA	Lima Metropolitan Area
MIMP	'*Ministerio de la Mujer y Poblaciones vulnérables*' Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Populations
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
PI	Plan International
PLAM	Lima Metropolitan Plan
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
WNC	The Women's Network of Carabayllo

Introduction

Inequalities may prevent people from having access to opportunities such as accessing the right to the city. Access from one's home to a range of employment, education, leisure, health, and social services is stated as a precondition for attaining a decent standard of living and enjoying adequate health and well-being (Whitzman, 2013). However, the rapid growth of cities in the Global South inscribes and reflects inequalities in multiple ways within urban spaces, where sociocultural patterns are reproduced. As the pace of urbanization grows in metropolitan cities like Lima, socio-spatial fragmentations and the neglect of certain groups of inhabitants who struggle in their right to the city is also a common phenomenon. From the global understanding of urban violence, indeed, women and men do not experience it in the same way, showing that women suffer it through a continuum: from the private to the public spheres. However, discriminations and -deeper- exclusions are rendered in several manifestations of violence towards women and the poor.

Since the 1980s, feminist scholars, architects, urban planners, and activists have brought gender equality to the center of urban planning's agenda, exploring how a human rights discourse can be incorporated to build more inclusive cities. In this realm, gender mainstreaming in urban planning has been slowly incorporated in policies in the Global South to include gender equality within a political framework. Similarly, feminist organizations and scholars in Latin America have progressively built theory and practices within international programs to address gender inequalities through translational dialogue and partnerships with global institutions such as UN-Habitat. International agendas and sustainable development goals (SDGs) have assisted several nations to incorporate indicators and variables to build inclusive cities. Likewise, outcomes of these regional programs have contributed to building knowledge and awareness on gender discrimina-

tion, building evidence through qualitative and quantitative data to contribute to creating strategies and tools with a gender-sensitive perspective. Studies have uncovered how Latin American cities have been built with an androcentric view, where patriarchal and neoliberalist models have been depicted in urban planning processes, resulting in unequal relations of power and fragmented spaces. Furthermore, studies also show that the poor, migrants and indigenous women experience deeper levels of discrimination during their inhabitance in the peripheries of the city.

Through programs and laws, Peru has already given attention to the various types of violence that women experience in urban spaces; as a result, it is considered a country with advanced gender-sensitive policies and gender awareness. Yet, gender disparities are still expressed through several violence indexes, in which 70,5% of women between 15 and 49 years old have experienced violence from their partners or ex-partners and did not look for help from any institution (Endes, 2019). While in the capital one out of four women has manifested suffering from street harassment (Lima Como Vamos, 2018). Nevertheless, gender inequalities must be measured with a diversity lens, uncovering conflicts of power in the different urban territories. Whereas gender mainstreaming policies are taking place in the country, intersectionality has been not sufficiently applied as a tool of analysis to develop a diversity approach, where violence is translated to deeper levels of discrimination framed by marginalization, racism, and classism. Public programs from the Ministry of Women still have a long path on allocating efforts in the most remote territories, leaving the question of how gender-sensitive strategies are applied in the poorest and precarious settings, where several women-led grassroots organizations have had a leading role solving networks of care and survival.

This thesis uncovers the several networks of care, bottom-up women initiatives, and actors in the hillside areas of the district of Carabayllo and brings the role of women during informal inhabitance and community-building processes. It quests to illustrate the different expressions on the acts of city-making from a gender-sensitive perspective, unraveling ways on how the right to the city is being depicted in precarious communities with highly diverse ethnicities and migration backgrounds. Furthermore, it shows the diverse social actors that are engaged in the community of Lomas de Carabayllo, an area that comprises the greatest number of informal settlements on the hills of the district. Despite the

large presence of International and local NGOs in the area, they are challenged to create alliances and build trust within the community to encourage women's participation in decision-making processes and contestation on women's rights. However, this research intends to build an understanding of the ways they create these networks and what is being overseen with an intersectional approach.

It starts by describing Lima Metropolitan Area's informal urbanization process to show exclusionary spatial and social trends during its spatial development. This section also describes the struggles of community making and inhabitance struggles from the poor, highlighting the structural violence through the Peruvian history of rural migration exiles to the peripheries. It also lists and describes the relationships between the different actors at a metropolitan level. Secondly, it describes the spatial and sociocultural development of the district of Carabayllo and its various struggles for a right to land, illustrating community-making, citizenship, and survival strategies of the poor. Further, this section brings the reader to engage with the precarious conditions in the hills of Carabayllo, illustrating a group of informal settlements in Lomas de Carabayllo to analyze it at a community level, and how these communities relate with the strong presence of NGOs in the area. In a third section, local actors are also presented to describe strategies and approaches with a gender-sensitive perspective including the case of the program *Safe Cities for Girls* from the NGO Plan International at a neighborhood level. Finally, it opens the discussion on how to include an integrated gender-sensitive perspective within the analysis of precarious communities. It brings the reflection on how a -gendered- discourse on the right to the city can be incorporated into the agendas and strategies of engaged NGOs in an aim to reframe governance in Lima's shantytowns.

Problem Statement

Lima Metropolitan Area (LMA) is an example of a Global South city with socially and spatially exclusionary trends during its urban growth. The city has grown reproducing structural violence through its urban history, resulting in a city of anonymity and social fragmentation. By 2016, 30,2% of its population lived in slums, shantytowns, informal settlements, or substandard housing (MINAM, 2016), configuring a city landscape of occupied hills and an uncontrolled expansion of its peripheries. From a gender perspective, we may see that inequalities are portrayed through gender discrimination, being poor women and girls the ones who experience violence the most. Nevertheless, women and girls from shantytowns live in hostile urban environments, but are active members of their communities, showing leadership skills through solidary movements and strategies in a self-governing process.

Feminist NGOs in the city have worked in a multilevel approach, establishing international, national, and local dialogues to incorporate gender-sensitive agendas and strategies. They aim to generate political pressure on local governments by acting as facilitators and mediators of women-led grassroots organizations, to assist in bringing their demands and proposals within urban policies- and planning. Moreover, international NGOs advocate working with global frameworks within precarious neighborhoods of Lima, bringing the question of to what extent their influence radicalizes or diminishes the community's contestation on the right to the city.

Although the fact agendas are built on the frame of the right to a city free of violence and active participation, there is still a need to unpack how self-built communities and women's livelihoods are integrated and how the different ways neoliberalist dynamics have an impact on them. Accordingly, there is a need to build a new framing on the right to the city seen from female bottom-up initiatives and survival networks, and what types of discriminations social groups experience. Beyond spatial urban planning agendas, this research calls for a holistic understanding of everyday life within the hillsides of the city.

Chapter 1: Theoretical Framework

The following chapter will bring concepts and discussions on the right to the city with an emphasis on gender mainly in the Latin American context. A review on the scholarship of gender-sensitive urbanism will contribute to build a conceptual framework for this research. Accordingly, this research aims to contribute on the gaps on how to explore the everyday life of squatters and low-income communities with a gender perspective.

1.1 Contested views to the Right to the City

Lefebvre's discourse on the right to the city as a theoretical framework has been used by numerous organizations, institutions, planners, and urban practitioners. Under a human rights framework, its definition has been reformulated and adapted to claim rights to urban citizenship and the right of participation in decision-making processes. However, its meaning has been discussed by several authors to bring a reflection on how the right to the city's definition is truly incorporated into today's institutions and community-based organizations in an effort for gender equality and mainstreaming policies.

In light of understanding the real meaning of Lefebvre's right to the city, Purcell (2013) examines its definition within the contemporary initiatives, highlighting that most of them currently do not consider the radical meaning of its framework. In that sense, he recalls Lefebvre's right to the city evoking its meaning of the political struggle for revolution in a cry and demand in the production of space, beyond the State and capitalist industrialization structures that alienate urban space from inhabitants. Accordingly, a true right to the city framework calls a holistic understanding of social life and networks that would unravel the ways people practice citizenship through the study of everyday life and how inhabitants experience livelihoods in different ways according to their class status,

gender, race, income, etc. This view would unravel how marginalized groups and the ones who 'suffer most from the misery of habitat and segregation' are the ones with the struggle of city transformation towards urban society, key groups that truly promote change in the city (Belda-Miquel, et. al 2016). It is a collective civil society commitment, leadership, and control from below in bottom-up efforts through the idea of self-management and self-governance initiatives from different groups of society to decentralize State power, capitalism, and the industrial city (Purcell, 2013).

The right to the city has been widely discussed and reframed into a contemporary adaptation to a human rights discourse and a seemingly liberal perspective with a 'bureaucratized socialism' (Belda-Miquel, et. al 2016). However, several scholars agree that Lefebvre's right to the city must be understood in a broader framework. For example, Skrabut (2021) argues that the discourse on the right to the city has been globally appropriated by numerous social movements to claim a stronger voice but not necessarily truly understanding the Lefebvrian meaning. Institutions such as the United Nations at the international level and some Latin American governments have adopted the right to the city framework through policy agendas and laws. Transnational networks of activists also situate global experiences to local urban settings from New York to Johannesburg to Porto Alegre (Skrabut, 2021). On the other hand, Belda-Miquel (et. al 2016) also agree that social movements have adopted the Lefebvrian concept but rather in a de-radicalized discourse, giving it a sense of an institutionalized meaning with 'liberal-democracy' horizon and it is limited to legal strategies. The author's study on a social movement in Brazil, (MSTB, or Homeless Movement of Bahia) reveals that SMOs along with partnerships with NGOs create the space of participation in political spaces, but the presence of the NGOs and professionals have gained more distinction over grassroots mobilization, leading, therefore a declination of their influence. Similarly, the 'global agreements' on the right to the city might influence grassroots organizations on the way they inhabit and their meaning of social transformation.

The right to the city movement in Latin America, has been 'at the vanguard' in national and municipal governments such in Mexico, Ecuador, Bolivia, and Brazil within their constitutions, motivating social groups to claim these rights and a common language even in marginalized urban settings (Skrabut, 2021). The implementation of the right to the city as a framework has been also incorporated

through global initiatives. This is the case of Mexico City, who in 2010 signed in into the United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG) initiative to include this human-rights framework for local governments to commit in elaborating action plans that can bridge polarized cities and the rights of the urban poor (Khosla, et. al., 2012). However, scholars such as Purcell (2003) argue that the original concept of the right to the city contains rather a radical social movement that enables people to claim a right to self-governance and management, beyond the state dependency in a sense of 'political awakening' to go beyond the existing city (Fig.1.1).

In that sense, Belda-Miquel (et. al., 2016) agree that the right to the city's meaning of transformation of everyday life 'cannot be fulfilled through the recognition of legal rights or policy reform', nor can it be entrusted to civil servants, experts, or specialists. However, their study in social movements in Brazil reveals that it is common to find contradictions on the dependency of other actors or even the State to escalate their bottom-up processes. Therefore, an amplified notion on Lefebvre's right to the city discourse is required to see how the contemporary radical processes from social movements in marginalized settings and their social transformation efforts might be managed with the State and other controlled processes to achieve authentic participation.

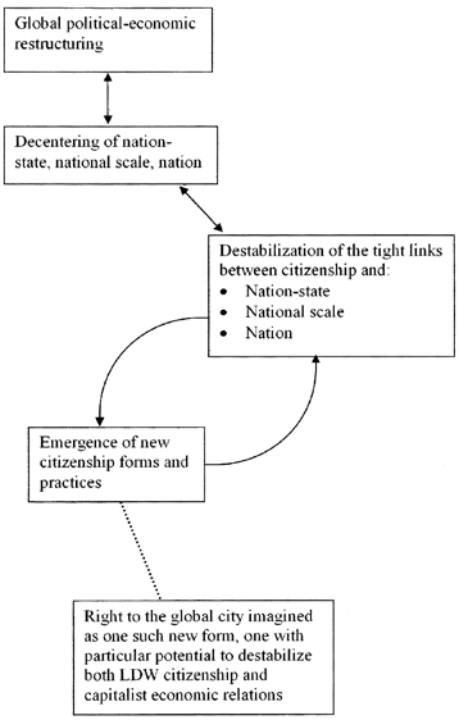


Fig. 1.1 Citizen restructuring and the right to the global city
Source: Purcell, 2003

Even though these international frameworks are implemented in local governments, positive changes in low-income urban women's daily lives are often difficult to distinguish. Therefore, it may be said that the recognition of everyday life and how it is negotiated in space from the right to the city's framework, has been the focus of attention of feminist frameworks in the urban practice, being hence a contribution to the gendered analysis of urban spaces. This approach of understanding everyday life within urban planning and management was explored in Sweden in 1979, evolving into what Khosla (2012) describes as, *a decade of New Everyday Life'*. Khosla cites scholars who explored the concept of everyday life, referring to it as 'a web of social relations through which we accomplish human existence in daily, weekly, yearly, life-span and intergenerational time'.

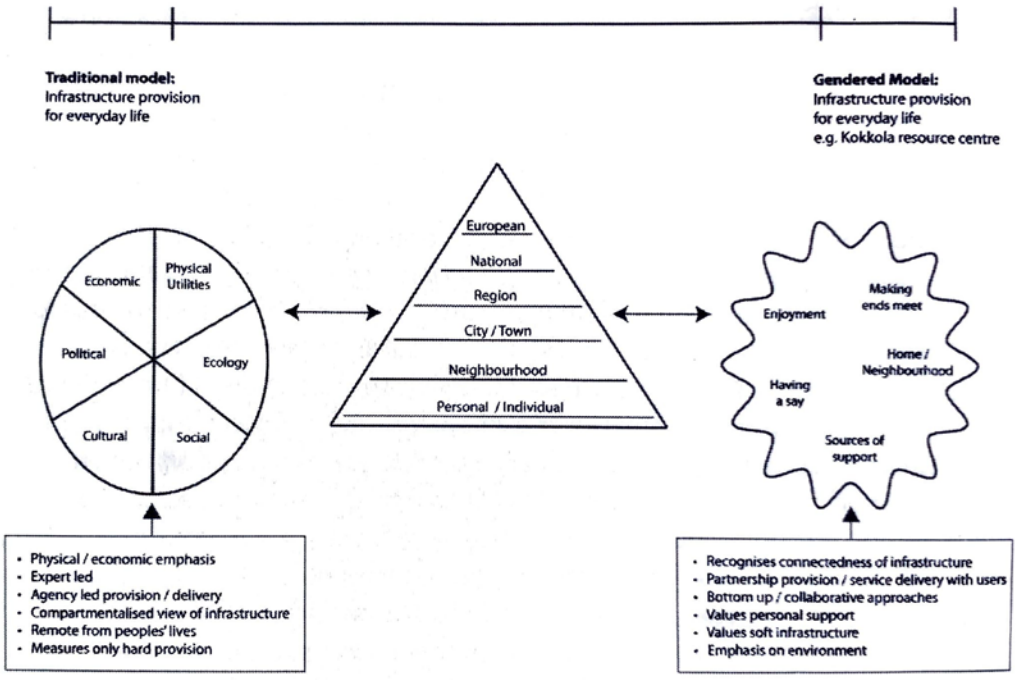


Fig. 1.2 Conceptual modes of infrastructure for everyday life
Source: P. Khosla and S. Dhar, 2012, p. 120

In that sense, Beebeeraun (2017) emphasizes the value of the everyday life experience in terms of how it reveals the multiplicity of spatial practices to illustrate gender livelihoods. A gender theorization into the study of public space claim-making and appropriation dynamics reveals how several identities and groups are marginalized and excluded. It is therefore a tool to foresee how groups

of women are demanding their right to be seen and unravel their social struggles. In that sense, the introduction of the "right of everyday life" might be incorporated to understand the real engagement of social groups and inhabitance, where the neighborhood and home are the urban scales to understand women's identities (Beebeeraun, 2017). The emphasis on everyday life may tell how spaces are claimed and asserted in the urban space and how social constructions and relations of power are depicted. The analysis of everyday life has been widely explored and discussed as a methodology within a gender perspective urban analysis, placing women as experts of their communities, allowing to make visible their strategies of mutual support (Valdivia, 2018), such as social care, emotional support and moral developments (Khosla, 2012). This might be especially relevant as a powerful tool of social study in the most complex and precarious settings, unraveling social gendered structures and networks within their process of inhabitance and right to the city claims.

1.2 From The Right to the City to a Gendered Right to the City

Following a gendered view on the right to the city, feminist scholars have called a reformulation and addition of an even deeper lens on diversity and the everyday life experience of marginalized groups in terms of race, class, and gender. The concept of gender is understood as an analytic category on the relationship between men, women, and social groups and it aims to make visible social variability, not excluding biological particularities of each sex (Pintos, 2020). In other words, gender is transversal to all aspects of social life. It is a concept that began to be used by feminists during the 1970s to uncover inequalities and make visible the discriminations and dominations towards women.

In the discussion on how to include a gender perspective to the concept, Fenster (2005) brings Purcell's framework on radical reconstructions of citizens with the reescalation, reterritorialization, and reorientation of citizenship to be able to re-imagine the scales of governance and shifting the scales of discussion from the State to the City. Reflecting on inhabitance, she builds her research under two components. As a first component, 'The right to appropriate urban space in the sense of full use of urban spaces in their everyday lives', and secondly, 'The right to participation, as rights of inhabitants to take a leading role in the decision-making of the urban space at all scales'. However, she questions how citizen reconstructions are being individually and collectively differentiated, critiquing that the original concept of the right to the city does not challenge any type of

power relations such as ethnic, national, or cultural to see how these rights are affecting the possibilities to the right to appropriate and the right to the participants. She argues that the Lefebvrian framework does not include a gender perspective as it does not include other identity-related issues. She claims that Lefebvre's concept is 'blind to the effects of gendered power relations on the fulfillment of women's right to the city'. Fenster's contribution, along with several scholars, urbanists, and urban planners have led to be engaged with several regional organizations and institutions to build knowledge and evidence on the existing gender gaps through gender indexes and disaggregated data to provide gender indicators and gaps in terms of poverty, economic inequalities, health, sexual division of labor and more.

1.3 The right to appropriation

Fenster's (2006) reflection on the right to appropriate and the right to participate in the city challenges the Lefebvrian framework as it is mainly referred to as the public domain, ignoring the livelihoods of women that struggle both in the public and private spaces, a discussion that is widely known within the feminist framework. This notion is known as a 'violence continuum' that affects all women from all classes, races, and ethnic groups both in the public and private realm, but in many different ways accordingly. Fenster shows how women from different ethnical groups have different perceptions and access to the public domain and gendered exclusions might be caused by fear of safety that impacts women's agency and gender identity. In her research she exposes that those decision-making narratives from men and women are directly linked to power relations, adding that 'othering' affects their sense of belonging to space. Therefore, she challenges Lefebvre's right to the city with a feminist view, as it does not consider the patriarchal relations of power, intersect with other identities, ethnicities, and culture, and how these relations affect women's right to the city in many complex ways than those of men.

Research in the Global South widely explores how the right to appropriate or use the city for women is restricted in numerous ways through gender inequalities. Based on the work of Jane Jacobs, Saskia Sassen, Doreen Massay, among others, feminist Latin American literature has uncovered and given evidence on the inequalities that men and women face in highly urbanized cities. It is often found in research that the patriarchal and the neoliberal orders have shaped the urban form and its territorial planning, and these relations of power are expressed

through gender-based violence both in the public and private spaces.
Patriarchy may be defined as 'a system that structures masculine society as a superior group to the female group and gives the former authority over the other' and 'one of the historical spaces of masculine power that finds its seat in the most diverse social formations and is made up of several axes of social relations and cultural contents' (Soto, 2014). In addition, Valdivia (2018) argues that cities under the neoliberalist regime, have been thought to satisfy the productive sphere and reproducing postcolonial and Eurocentric models, which assigns public space to be mainly managed by men. Studies show that urban design features such as vacant lots, poor street lightning, desolated streets, poor public transport connectivity, and more, are directly linked to perceptions of unsafety in women, thus, complete and full use of urban space is limited by the sense of fear, avoiding places that are considered or perceived as unsafe. Scholars argue that throughout history, crime prevention lacks a gender perspective analysis, leading to local governments to focus on violence from a policing approach, with strategies that are mainly related to incrementing police bodies and control on the access to public spaces through the installation of CCTV cameras as a surveillance mechanism (Valdivia, 2018).

In an aim to have a shared understanding of violence, Morey (2007) classifies it into three categories. The physical, as the most 'evident', attempts to the corporal integrity; psychological, as a form of violence that degrades the victim through humiliation, manipulation, or threat; and sexual violence, understood as the type of violence that obligates a person to maintain sexual contact against their will, it includes harassment and abuse through physical force or other mechanisms. Some of the consequences that women experience when undergoing any of these types of violence in public space are that they may change their mobility routes, stop going to work or study and avoid going out (Centro de la Mujer Peruana Flora Tristan, 2009). Among the definitions of gender-based violence, Ortiz (2016) brings the meaning of gender-based violence from the United Nations as "an act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life". She explains that violence must be seen in two ways: as the restriction of their liberty and autonomy.

However, a more nuanced definition is what Morey adds to Moser's amplified view of violence that attempts against women's agency in cities. She adds that 'violence is also related to exclusion, exploitation, injustice, a lack of satisfaction to basic needs, and all situations that lead to unequal opportunities for development. This means that people experience violence by not being able to access resources and who experience a lack of autonomy as an individual within society (Morey, 2007). In that sense, violence must be seen in a multidimensional way, without falling into a partial or biased view on its implications. Therefore, Morey argues that violence must be visualized in macrostructural and microstructural dimensions, which are implicated and codependent, meaning that violence itself must be understood from personal factors and social groups to regional and macrostructural forces. These factors of violence will depend entirely on the context where it is studied and its experiences will be different societal groups, meaning that, for example, highly educated women in a middle to high class will experience violence differently than poor women who have limited resources and prioritizes her subsistence over power manifestations (Morey, 2007). Thus, explanations over how sociocultural structural violence and social norms are embedded in the context where it is manifested.

1.4 The right to participation

Following Lefebvre's a -gendered- holistic understanding of everyday life, self-managed low-income communities demonstrate how their collective social struggle is recognized in their daily negotiation in the urban space claim. Fenster (2005), contextualizes Purcell's definition of the right to participation which "includes the right to take an important role in decisions regarding the production of urban spaces at any relevant scale: the state national, provincial or local; corporations; and local governance". Nevertheless, she argues that women, black or the poor are less likely to participate, reproducing existing groups of oppression through a 'paradox of democracy', where some groups of people are more powerful than others. She argues that these processes become more complex within the design of urban spaces, incorporating the notion of a sense of belonging as a factor to be involved within decision-making processes. In this regard, we might look at the reality of the production of space and negotiation dynamics within informal urbanization, dynamics that may challenge Fenster's framework.

On the one hand, we find as a common discourse that both patriarchal and neoliberal systems, undermine and give less relevance to women in the domestic

and reproductive spheres. In Latin America, Falu (2014) adds that women have been active participants and contributors in the construction processes of the city. Women from human settlements have committed to improving their living conditions and their habitat, particularly in social movements demanding land, housing, basic services, and have contributed to build, improve and manage them (Falu, 2014). This concept enlightens the true radical democratic project that Lefebvre referred to in the right to the city. Self-managed communities in Latin America have been invisible to the dominant oppressive capital systems but have been earning their right to the city through active participation within their communities. The presence of women-led movements and their contribution to the urban habitat has gained a political space.

Falú (2014) also reflects and questions the role of the State in a frame of a right to a city free of violence for women. In that sense, she adds that local governments must have the responsibility of promoting sociocultural changes and gender relations through social awareness to be able to provide a stronger political agency. However, she adds that the main limitations may be that local governments or municipalities are not familiar or do not feel engaged with women's rights and their implications in local plans and strategies. Falú recalls Susana Chiarotti by stating that the majority of Municipalities in Latin America do not feel obligated to follow international agreements on human rights, and she suggests that there must be a political will to initiate these processes with trained and sensitized staff to work in articulation with women-led movements and communities. On the other hand, she affirms that many municipalities lack resources and institutional capacities to be able to take responsibility for gender policies, especially after State reforms and political instabilities during the decade of the 1980s. Finally, her discourse highlights women as social protagonists within social organizations and movements as negotiators with authorities by bringing agendas and seeking to participate in decision-making within political concertation. Nevertheless, this discourse once again contradicts the right to the city framework from Lefebvre. Therefore, we can recall what Belda-Miquel, (et., al 2016) argues and challenges in the role of the State as an actor that mediates and creates space for participation for community-making, stating that this mainly falls into dominant technocratic discourses.

Latin-American cities have grown under a consuming society, with highly complex political movements and male dictatorships especially during the 1980s, not

bringing enough attention to survival movements within the most precarious settings, bringing a differential impact on poor and women in vulnerability (Morey, 2007). In that sense, Sanchís (2020) brings that the major consequences of neoliberalism and capitalist forces throughout decades, are the discrimination towards women in their maternalistic activities, creating a lack of visibility on activities of care, and the self-managed mechanisms of mutual help within poor and precarious communities. The weight of activities of care in these settings is mainly visible through the sexual division of labor and time that women spend on taking care of their families, being active in their communities, and working in the informal sector. Therefore, both Falú and Sanchís propose that governmental policies towards activities of care should create a collective responsibility to offload this exclusive responsibility to women. Moreover, Falú (2014) argues that to be able to conceive more democratic and inclusive cities, the encouragement for women to participate should consider their relationship with different scales of territory, starting from home scale, the neighborhood, communities, and cities. This aligns with the gendered right to participate that Fenster (2005) proposes, which should start from the home scale.

However, these principles and strategies would be an alternative proposal on what Belda-Miquel (et. al., 2016) who addresses Lefebvre's 'utopian' transformation on the city implies that most of the society should progressively and spontaneously assume control of processes built from below, without the need of guidance. This questions once more the Lefebvrian original framework on the right to the city, which although seems to be inclusionary with regards to marginal groups and *citadins* from the "working classes", the right to the city might be not always be fulfilled due to other systems of oppression and dominance. Belda-Miquel (et. al., 2016) study emphasizes the contradictions and tensions within specific urban scopes. Thus, a look at the social movements and inhabitance within squatters might unravel complex and new understandings on the right to the city and the relations of power within communities themselves. The Lefebvrian right to the city is then portrayed in these social movements, in their different expressions on autonomous survival and inhabitance.

1.5 The right to appropriate and to participate within precarious settlements

While the definition and theorization of the right to the city were being developed in France during the mid-twentieth century, Latin American cities were being

re-shaped but a radical remaking by rural migrants, building homes on their own in the peripheries (Skrabut, 2021). According to Gustavo Riofrio (2003), poverty and inequalities in Latin American cities had a peak during the 1980s. With several successive crises, it is said that a "syndrome of the empty box or a lost decade" was depicted at an individual, household, and territorial level. A focus on violence and criminality was also considered to be the center of attention in metropolitan Latin, associating it with a negative image of the poor. Riofrio brings two disputed understandings of poverty. On the one hand, under an economic view of poverty, it is understood as "the failure of capacities to reach human capacities due to the lack of resources before the possibility to satisfy their necessities or to perceive an income" (Riofrio, 2003, p. 9). On the other hand, he contrasts this concept by bringing a social perspective on it, understanding poverty as "a structural problem and a massive process of exclusion of population sectors that are outside the socioeconomic system in force" (ibid.). The latter concept has been conceived challenging material and resource access but incorporating a personal development dimension in terms of social inclusion, political participation, and sense of belonging.

Gustavo Riofrio (2003) argues that the analysis of urban poverty in Latin America has failed on associating it to the city's geographies, space, and social relations due to the oppressing economic systems, assigning the middle-class as the predominant group of citizens. Finally, his research critiques the entangled ways in which the State has dealt with tackling poverty, inequalities, and exclusions. In the first place, social policies have had short-term and unsustainable approaches. Secondly, the State permits that the "demand-driven approach" overtakes development strategies, without creating synergies and transversal agreements with different actors (governmental and non-governmental). Thirdly, a dependency on external resources to tackle poverty while incrementing an external debt. Fourthly, weak consensus with the civil society in terms of participation, falling into political clientelism. Finally, women's participation has not been secured (Riofrio, 2003).

Informality has been progressively established in a legal-illegal dichotomy. Informalization may be understood as an umbrella concept related both to the labor-market and human-settlements dynamics, and it is mostly associated at the periphery of large cities in low- and medium-income countries (Klodawsky, 2012). In this regard, scholars from the Global South, have argued that informal

occupation processes may be seen on the one hand, creative grassroots remaking of the city, and the other, a result of capitalist inequalities, evidencing the hegemony of colonial, clientelist, and neoliberal systems (Skrabut, 2021). Skrabut brings Castell's view on illegal squatting as a process on different levels of dependencies (dependent city, state, and economy), transforming inhabitants as guests' citizens of the Latin American Metropolises. On the contrary, Klodawsky (2012) cites Roy on her understanding against the unsuccessful efforts of State planning to deal with informal occupation in the peripheries of big cities. She argues that informality cannot be considered as a separate sector, but is in fact:

> *"a series of transactions that connect different economies and spaces, and is a complex continuum of legality and illegality, where squatter settlements formed through land invasion and self-housing can exist alongside upscale informal subdivisions formed through legal ownership and market transaction but in violation of land use regulations."*

Skrabut's (2021) research builds on the argument upon the processes of city-making that Lefebvre proposed on the right to the city, challenging the measures that for example, in the Peruvian context, the State has established to provide entitlements and housing to illegal squatters. Her study in Peru provides an example of how a Lefebvrian sensibility might be portrayed within informal occupations in their fight for urban land and basic services. Skrabut relies on looking at inhabitance within the peripheries of the cities and their struggles on use-value (appropriation) over the exchange value (property) in commodity senses. However, she argues that the right to appropriate is diminished by the right to property and housing, as it "distracts citizens from the class politics required to disrupt capitalist spatial relations" (Skrabut, 2021). Skrabut contributes to see a gender perspective in the inhabitation processes within peripheral urbanization, addressing the multiple tensions within livelihood strategies. For example, she describes how morality within communities is questioned between community leaders, as possible figures of power that abuse the rights of use and exchange, building contradictions on the right to the city's framework. Her study also shows that women have been key actors within strategies of living, representing the ideal inhabitants on the right to the city by residing full time and organizing community development activities out of necessity (ibid.).

1.6 Women- and community-based organizations within informal inhabitation

Within these dynamics, we find ourselves immersed in complex social dynamics of inhabitation within informal communities. Newcomers and squatters organize themselves in social networks and survival strategies in a true radical fight to the right to the city, a radical practice of participation, where inhabitants are involved in the decision-making processes in the production of space (Purcell, 2003). Studies in *barriadas* of Lima show that process of auto construction of housing and community management has a high level of time and resource investment, efforts that have not been considered in the city's planning processes. In that sense, women's contribution to these processes are seen in the management of Community Kitchens or the organization of Breakfast programs, home safekeeping in the first stages of occupations, management, and house improvement, demand of water and basic services (Cabrera, et. al., 2007), aligning with Skrabut's input.

Studies on social relationships within human settlements in the Peruvian context show that gender roles are expressed in the production of space through the activities and functions that are performed. On the one hand, men are associated with the management of cities, space habitation, and urban infrastructure, depicting a public presence through negotiation, confrontation, and dialogue with public authorities. While women, partake in these activities with less frequency, nevertheless, their negotiation roles are associated with the organization of reproductive and livelihood activities. Furthermore, Cabrera (et. al., 2007) adds that women take an important role in the community and family organization, questioning the extent to how democratic practices on the production of space and habitat may give a bigger weight on their contribution.

Lola G. Luna (1996) refers to women organizations as survival movements that exemplify how political gender is in different aspects. She sustains that on the one hand, they respond to an ideological invocation as women and mothers, and on the other hand, throughout the historical process, they transform their dependent relationship with the State in a form of confrontation and negotiation as real independent actors. Thus, maternalistic movements respond to the unequal relations of power of patriarchy.

Other views on the intersection of gender and livelihoods within formalization argue that an understanding of social reproduction through the contested levels of state, household, economy, and community may unravel distinctive interactions between men and women. Klodawvsky states that adding a socio-spatial lens to these relations might unravel interactions with the built environment and gendered challenges that support building policies of safer and more inclusive cities. She adds that "...adding such a lens helps to highlight how space-time feasibility may have differential impacts on women's and men's lives, at both the urban and the neighborhood scale" (Klodawvsky, 2012 p.23). She explains the concept of space-time feasibility as the study of the full diversity of trips and mobility patterns on women. By associating this analysis in the spatial dimension, it provides insights into urban land use and settlements patterns. In-depth studies in slum communities reveal the cultural motivations of rural migrants to engage and participate in livelihood activities and how they involve in the informal economy. Klodawvsky brings Kantor's study on the use of focus groups discussions to bring insights on the community's strategies to overcome poverty.

The right to the city for women has been contextualized globally in a right free of violence and fear in more equitable, democratic, and inclusive cities (Falu, 2010). Programs such as Safe Cities and Safe Public Spaces from the United Nations along with technical assistance to international agencies such as Women in Cities International (WICI) have developed methodologies and tools such as audit walks to uncover perceptions of women throughout diverse urban settings by identifying the factors that make them feel safe and unsafe in the public domain. However, other scholars argue that a deeper lens is essential to be incorporated further than the socio-spatial analysis to get insights on socio-structural violence.

1.7 On gender mainstreaming and intersectionality

From the literature, we learn that a gender-sensitive perspective to the right to the city must be seen with the different aspects of life and with an exploration on inequalities and relations of power against the marginalized within their process of inhabitance through different types of violence and aggressions. However, it may be relevant to highlight that those inequalities between men and women have been largely addressed as a single axis in gender, in a way to understand how women are oppressed or excluded from public spaces, ending in violence against women and women's safety debate. This discussion has been internationally addressed to create strategies, tools, and policies to implement safer cit-

ies for women, resulting in the formulation of gender mainstreaming as a policy approach to place women at the center of the agenda to achieve gender equality (Lacey et. al., 2012). After United Nations adopted the approach of gender mainstreaming in 1997, several governments and non-governmental organizations included it as a tool to integrate gender concerns. However, its limitations may be recognized by falling into a dualistic perspective and it may question to what extent it has a wider and transformative understanding of women's diverse experiences. Therefore, global and local approaches might end in technocratic and institutional discourses, treating and assuming communities as a whole. Lacey (et al., 2012), argues that the gender mainstreaming approach must be reconceptualized to consider age, class, race, ethnicity, and sexual orientations.

The author challenges the concept of gender mainstreaming as an approach developed to address women's concerns; however, it brings the interrogation on to what extent gender is used as a single axis of oppression to uncover the diverse experiences of exclusions. Therefore, intersectionality as a framework tool has facilitated a wider understanding of why cities exclude women -and men-. For example, a poor migrant woman experiences the city in different ways than a white wealthy woman. Exploring it as a framework for safe and inclusive cities for women provides a complex and nuanced understanding of women's diverse needs, recognizing that women experience city life in multiple capacities, not solely contra to men (ibid.). The concept of intersectionality was first introduced by Verna Kirkness with the phrase "discrimination-within-discrimination" to open the discussion on ways in which Indigenous Canadian women have been relegated not just by the fact of being women, but by being targets of racism and colonialism (Kaur, 2011). Both Kaur (2011) and Lacey (et. al., 2012) agree that intersectionality must be encouraged to develop a diversity approach, utilizing compound and flexible context-specific frameworks.

Kaur (2011), recognizes that the focus on identities through case studies and narratives of nonwhite women, both as individuals and various groups is a significant contribution to the feminist analysis for several reasons. On the first hand, she adds, "it has emphasized and celebrated the voices, experiences, situated knowledge, and perspectives of those traditionally marginalized and erased in political science and other conventional disciplines" (Kaur, 2011, p.233). She argues that the location must be intersected on single and multiple dimensions and categories. In the second place, she argues that "experiences located in a

particular identity provide a way to belong to a social group and thus open collective relationships, shared spaces for living, and a way for marginalized peoples occupying multiple locations to advance their agency and own agendas of justice" (Kaur, 2011, p.233). Thirdly, she makes the argument that an analysis of identities provides knowledge about Others, and finally, "the focus on individual or group identity has situated the uniqueness of specific individual or group experiences and knowledge, and this embodied knowledge serves to contextualize oppression, discrimination, subject formation, and forms of resistance" (Kaur, 2011, p.233).

Intersectionality, therefore, recognizes the difference among women and the multiple identities that shape their experiences, and it is used to understand social dynamics in different dimensions of analysis within a particular urban space and time (Lacey, et. al., 2012). Nevertheless, amongst the contested understandings on intersectionality and some risks addressed by Kaur (2011), may be seen in the reductive accounts of identity through essentialism. This means that, even though intersectionality is intended to be applied during analysis, there is still the possibility to interpret identities in a singular dimension as there is no one ideal way of living an identity.

Furthermore, it is also noted that the intersectional framework must make a stand on the systems of domination that needs each other to function. Kaur (2011) brings Fellows and Razacks' statement in which the systems of oppression, meaning capitalism, imperialism, and patriarchy, are "interlocking" one another, meaning that these complex relationships go beyond a unidimensional analysis. She also contributes to this concept by bringing a framework on the analysis in three main aspects of complexity "(1) The relationship between interactive processes and systems, (2) the different levels at which interactions occur, and (3) the differing degrees and forms of penalty and privilege" (Kaur, 2011, p.236). In this regard, we must add that an authentic intersectionality approach of analysis provides a more nuanced epistemological view to uncovering whose and what kind of knowledge is given or normalized (Kaur, 2011). Therefore, this framework provides an important contribution to address and recognize whenever relations and dynamics are underexamined, shifting to unpack ways on how and why cities are interpreted under privilege and oppression forms.

Within highly polarized cities with marginalized populations, diverse identities, classes, and races, this tool facilitates deconstructing power and decolonize views. Even though intersectionality as a tool has been repeatedly addressed within qualitative analyses within international frameworks and global programs, it must be questioned to what extent this approach addresses diversity and how it deconstructs diverse groups of women. Lacey states (et. al. 2012), "rather than seeking to understand why cities and their public spaces are unsafe for particular women, liberal gender approaches, such as gender mainstreaming and women's safety audits, assume that is women's relation with space that contributes to insecurity".

Under these reflections, a lens on diversity and social justice must go beyond binary contestations. In the Peruvian context, similarly to most of the South American Countries, classism and racism are predominant systems that oppress women in precarious settings. With intersectionality as a tool of analysis, poor and migrant diverse experiences are uncovered in the way they build their right to the city.

1.8 On governance and partnerships

Many strategies to build safer and more inclusive cities explore how the spatial and basic infrastructure analysis within slums and informal urbanization can be revitalized to incorporate more diverse cultural and recreational activities in the public space. Across the Global South programs and strategies to create awareness within impoverished and precarious communities.

One of the most notorious references internationally is what *The Gender Inclusive Cities Programme* (GICP) has done to elaborate tools on how to study women's experiences and find indicators that affect their safety. Lead by WICI, International NGOs joined together in an alliance to create cross-regional research and the development of interventions. Safety walks and focus groups were included as data collection tools to involve the voice of marginalized groups and it was found that safety has deep-rooted motivations that must be addressed further than the improvement of urban design, public transport, or policing as concrete physical interventions. Thus, among the most relevant learnings from the program is that the creation of partnerships is central to build sustainability at institutional levels. In that sense, they argue it is key to involve a range of stakeholders such as the police, municipal governments, private institutions, commu-

nity groups, youth groups, educational institutions, and more (Viswanath, 2013) through awareness-raising and capacity development through seminars, workshops, and events in the local, national and international levels. Local NGOs and initiators of the GICP had a range of approaches in their partnerships focusing on local, community-women-led interventions.

To name some of the outcomes and good practices of the program in Rosario, strategies focused on the communities themselves and the local governments leading to encourage women's mobilization in public spaces to create a sense to restore its accessibility. In Dar es Salaam, policing enhancement was the focus of intervention, integrating community policing initiatives, police reform, and awareness-raising campaigns. In Delhi, stronger relationships with public transport through gender sensibilization and training to drivers and conductors. Finally, the most challenging approach was made in Petrozavodsk, identifying that the visibility of the problem within the local authorities and police was the most complex one as it involved large processes of dialogue. Further, it was recognized that the low 'critical mass' of women and communities did not lead to adding pressure on authorities (Viswanath, 2013). Viswanath (2013) affirms that strategies to include women's right to build safer cities and expand agendas towards it must incorporate women's concerns and a gendered analysis throughout the processes in the city, going beyond the realm of urban planning and management.

Nevertheless, challenges and limitations on these international approaches have been acknowledged in different aspects. On the one hand, approaches from the global north tend to oversimplify women and girls' social groups, leading to ignoring ethnicity, age, or income. It is also accredited by GICP, that the scope on women's safety should consider macro-level power structures such as neoliberalism. Finally, the effectiveness in terms of sustainability of the tools and interventions are questioned according to their specific political contexts, as many other organizations take them for granted.

1.9 On governance and gender-sensitive planning

Urban governance is a concept that has been rearranging governmental processes in urban planning (Wotha, 2013). In the European context, the author defines governance as "a form of political guidance and decision-making processes that combines public and private spheres, hierarchical and networks structures of collaboration" (Wotha, 2013 p.91). She also brings a second definition with

"a wider set of institutions and inter-relationships steering economic and social processes beyond the formal structure of local, regional or even cross-national government" (Wotha, 2013 p.91).

STRATEGIC PLANNING	PLANNING WITH A GENDER APPROACH
It takes into account a multiplicity of actors who operate in the territory with different interests and positions.	Identifies the specific needs of women within each social group.
Works based on the multisectoral reality of the local territory.	It is incorporated in each sectoral area with an integrating vision of local development.
Analyzes the potential and weak aspects of the territory in relation to its own development.	Detects which aspects tend to maintain or diminish gender inequalities.
It incorporates events and changes that take place outside the local (regional, national, international).	It makes it possible to take advantage of advances in international and national policies on equal opportunities.
Identifies actions, policies and investments with the greatest positive impact on the community.	Gives the possibility of valuing the contribution of women in local development in local development and incorporate it into opportunities.
Promotes the creation of mechanisms for cooperation between the public and private public and private sectors.	It is conducive to establishing networks, strengthening them where they do not exist, and promoting coordination.

Fig. 1.3 Strategic planning and planning with a gender approach
Elaborated by Author, 2021. Source: Falu, et. al. (2017)

In Latin America, planners and scholars, such as Ana Falu, have developed guidelines and tools to develop urban strategic planning with a gender-sensitive perspective. Within these guidelines, we can see that there is still much more to develop in the context of urban informality, where social actors are protagonists of their community-making. Nevertheless, it is emphasized, that the involvement of several actors such as leaders and influential stakeholders within the governmental bodies must be integrated. As a departure point, it is mentioned that the

constellation of actors within the territories must be addressed along with the promotion of relationships amongst them. Furthermore, strategies to have permanent communication are essential for its sustainability. It is highlighted those autonomous efforts in terms of ideologies and politics from NGOs and CBOs can lead to overlap actions and lose efforts.

It is important to note that once we recall Belda-Miquel (et. al., 2016) in his discussion of external actors to mediate or facilitate bottom-up processes it challenges or diminishes the power and "radicalization" of communities during their 'cry and demand' processes. Nevertheless, for gender- and poverty-sensitive urban planning, the question is still open on the partnerships and alliances that women movements and CBOs establish with other groups with more institutionalized power for decision-making processes.

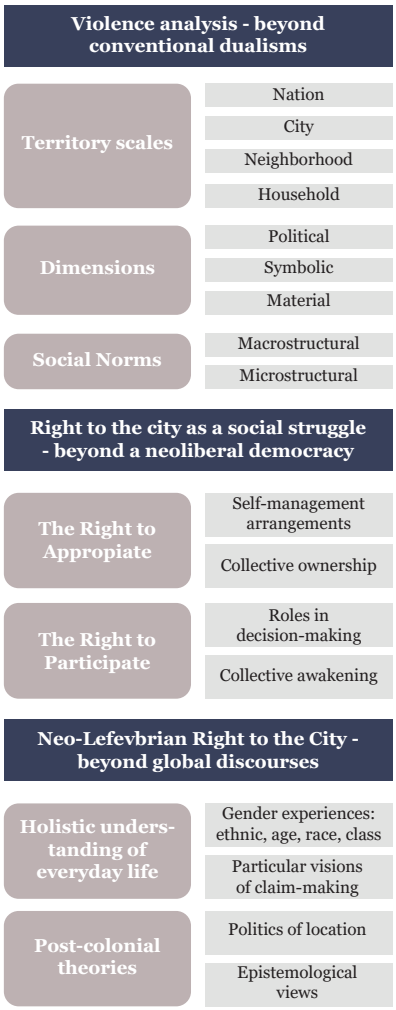


Fig. 1.4 Theoretical Framework for Analysis
Elaborated by Author, 2021

1.10 Conceptual Framework

For this research, the right to the city is reformulated into a gendered right to the city to be able to have a lens on the discourse on the different actors within livelihoods in informal settlements. A view within community-building will be analyzed considering the influence of different actors engaged in building safer and inclusive programs.

The right to appropriate and the right to participate are the pillar concepts that will frame and unpack the everyday life experiences of precarious women within human settlements in Lima. A multiscale scope of analysis, as the literature suggests, goes from the metropolitan level to the district and neighborhood level. The view on violence is analyzed both in a macro and micro levels, going beyond a single-dimension. In a highly diverse community with rural migration backgrounds and ethnicities, intersectionality as a tool of analysis is applied to uncover power relations among the different social groups and actors within the community. Aspects of governance will be considered to study the influence of external actors such as NGOs with international and national discourses in informal communities and community-led initiatives.

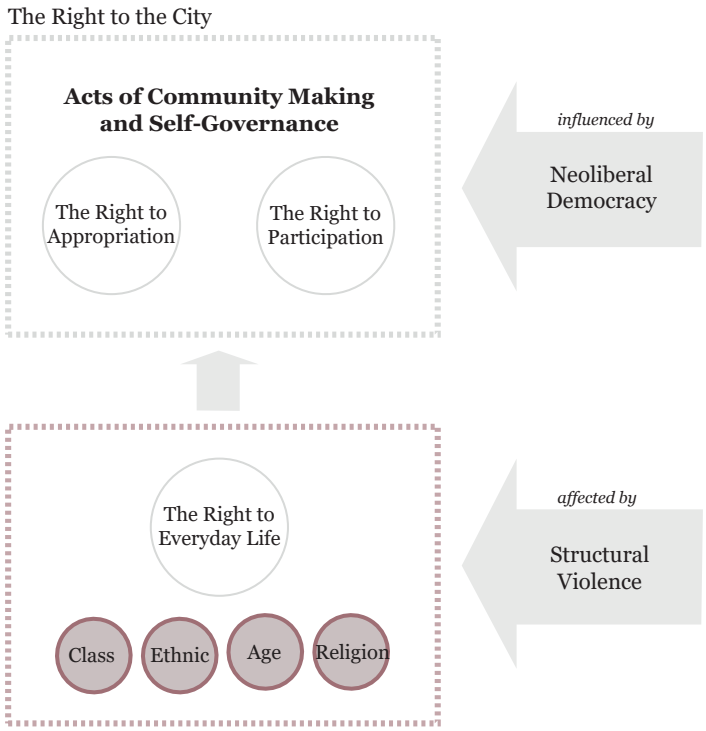


Fig. 1.5 Conceptual Framework
Elaborated by Author, 2021

Chapter 2: Methodological Framework

2.1 Research Objectives

This research has the objective to provide a wider understanding of women-led networks and strategies of survival within precarious communities with a lens on diversity. Beyond a dualistic approach to gender-based violence, it aims to explore how do other types of discriminations affect their level of self-governance.

As secondary objectives this thesis aims to:

- Examine ways in which the 'right to the city' framework is engaged within Lima's complex urban transformations in the district of Carabayllo, by illustrating sociocultural and discrimination patterns towards precarious populations with a gender-sensitive approach.
- Explore governance in metropolitan, district, and neighborhood scopes.
- Understanding the role of women in community building and the engagement of the various NGOs initiatives in the district.
- Contributing to Lima's urban literature by analyzing contemporary urban planning approaches in precarious neighborhoods in the hillsides of the city.
- Exploring the views of liberal approaches on gender equality in precarious populations, illustrating their relationships with external actors and stakeholders working with local and international tools.

2.2 Research Questions

The leading question of this research on *how do neoliberal forces affect the self-governance processes from women-led organizations in their process to build a right to the city and how do partnerships influence their survival mechanisms*, is aimed to be explored.

Secondary Questions

- How is gender discrimination portrayed in precarious neighborhoods?
- How is the socio-spatial development of precarious settlements shaped by the leadership of women in community building?
- How do the vision and agendas of NGOs working in the area draw upon the multicultural background of informal communities?
- What are the relationships between the NGOs working towards women's participation and safe urban spaces with the community?
- How do women-led networks of care and gender violence operate within their communities as experts of their neighborhoods? How do they speak to each other during the self-management of their neighborhoods?

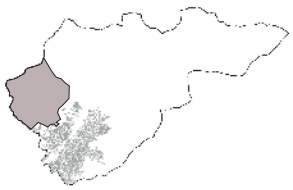
2.3 Methodological approach

An exploratory-descriptive approach was conducted through a case study analysis. As an exploration and wider understanding of how women's poor and precarious communities interact and engage with non-governmental organizations, this research has a qualitative nature. It collects the insights of female community leaders, members of the communities, specialists, and non-governmental actors through semi-structured and open-ended interviews in an online format.
Due to the global pandemic and travel restrictions as external forces, on-site observations and ethnographical approaches through field research were not feasible. Thus, the spatial analysis was limited to secondary sources and analysis, bringing its focus of attention on the community's social infrastructure to unravel complex relationships with other actors and stakeholders. Following the circumstances of the global pandemic, this research had the assistance of the NGO Plan International (Peru) to bring insights into the current policies and frameworks on safety in the district of Carabayllo and its neighborhoods. Furthermore, they facilitated documentation and contacts concerning their Safe Cities of Girls global program, enabling the organization of a focus group with the beneficiaries of the program.

2.4 Case study selection criteria

This research brings the case study of women-led CBOs and their relationships with their communities, and local and international NGOs in the district of Carabayllo in Lima, Peru.
Firstly, as the research explores the variety of use and exchange values and community networks established within low-income and precarious neighborhoods

Lima Metropolitan Area



Carabayllo district

Lomas de Carabayllo Community

Fig. 2.1 Case Study Location Maps
Elaborated by Author, 2021

located in hillside settlements in Lima, the case study of Carabayllo district exemplifies informal land acquisition in its human settlements. Secondly, within the right to participation framework, it illustrates the extent to how women and girls within informal settlements participate and are active in their communities as survival and care networks within community-making. In that sense, the case study portrays the engagement and presence of different women-led social movements with this social phenomenon. Finally, the case study represents diverse approaches from a variety of NGOs in the area that work with poor women and girls to introduce global and local gender-sensitive tools and strategies to encourage women's participation in political platforms and their advocacy against gender-based violence. It is relevant to note, that the selection of NGOs to be illustrated in this research, responds to the relationships that they have with the communities of Carabayllo. Although there are many more with gender-sensitive approaches, a focus on the impact on relevant CBOs and social actors in the area was considered.

2.5 Methods of data collection

This research started in February 2021 with the coordination of research facilitation with Plan International and mapping of actors in the neighborhoods of Lomas de Carabayllo (LDC). As a qualitative study, primary data collection was based on structured, semi-structured, and unstructured online interviews. Without field-research possibility, the review of secondary sources was key in this study. It included a grey literature analysis from online reports from governmental institutions and NGOs that are present in the area and non-published studies already conducted by the NGO Plan International and other institutions. Municipality's development plans and district reports were also included in the review.

Interviews

Online interviews via Zoom and Microsoft teams were conducted starting in March 2021. The openness from NGOs such as *Ocupa to Calle* and *Lima Como Vamos* facilitated contacts from UN-Women and the Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Populations (MIMP) representatives. These interviews had a structured approach and gave context to gender mainstreaming policies.

Interviews were primarily semi-structured and unstructured due to the omitted site observation in the area. The sample group criteria were based on giving insights from women-led CBOs and community representatives to uncover opinions, perceptions, and processes within their initiatives. On the other hand, interviews with NGO representatives aimed to uncover relationships between the institutions in the district and if efforts and agendas are being overlapped. Likewise, these interviews intended to get in-depth knowledge on strategies, tools, and procedures on their programs within the neighborhood.
It is worth mentioning that a snowball approach to the selection of community representatives was key without a physical presence from the researcher.

Focus Group

Considering that this study strongly encourages to consider intersectionality as a tool of analysis, the consideration of age groups and their socioeconomic status was taken into account. Therefore, a focus group was conducted to uncover perceptions from teenagers in the neighborhood and their understanding of gender-based violence as beneficiaries of Plan International's Safe Cities for Girls program. Plan International facilitated the organization of the focus group, which was conducted in June 2021 via zoom, using themes of discussion The sample group consisted of three teenage girls and one boy in a range age between 15 and 17 years old.

Scales of Analysis	Sub Questions	Objective	Variable/Themes	Required Data	Data Collection Techniques and Sources
National and city level	How is gender discrimination portrayed sociospatially in Lima and its peripheries?	To give background on macrostructural sociocultural patterns of violence beyond binary approaches.	Exclusions in urbanization process of Lima Metropolitan Area	Drivers of urban expansion and migration waves Inequality indexes Gender mainstreaming policies Metropolitan Master Plans	* Literature Review: reports, articles and papers. * Structure interviews: *Lima Como Vamos* Urban Observatory (NGO), representative of UN Women, and representative of the Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Populations
	For whom is the city a coherent concept? Who is able to see the city as a unified whole?*	To illustrate dominant and institutional discourses on the right to the city.	Global and local discourses on the right to the city with a gender-sensitive perspective	NGOs agendas with a right to the city and gender-sensitive strategies and tools	* Mapping of actors and stakeholders * Structured interviews to NGO: DESCO, Ocupa tu Calle, Plan International Peru
District level	How are neoliberal forces affecting community-making in precarious neighborhoods?	To uncover relations of power and how capitalist practices are portrayed within informal communities' habitation.	Right to appropiate urban space: negotiation of space in a district level and community (use and exchange values)	Urbanization process of Carabayllo and access to land titling.	* Analysis of literature review on secondary sources: reports, theses, municipality's urban development documents
Community Level	Whose urban experience is negotiated at spatial scales that implode the city and how do they articulate?	To expand knowledge on the ways communities practice democracy during inhabitance and explore sociospatial exclusions. Explore microstructural patterns of discrimination.	Right to participate: actors who participate in decision-making and women's leadership	Social structures and sociospatial patterns. Ways in which women exercise citizenship	* Analysis on secondary sources: Report from *Ocupa tu Calle* sociospatial study within Plan International's program; Report from Plan International; Study on the Women of Lomas de Carabayllo * Semi-structured interviews to members of communities in Carabayllo as residents of the area (Leader of The Women's Network of Carabayllo) and member of *Ocupa tu Calle*
	How do women-led CBOs operate within their communities and how do they speak to each other during self-governing?	To explore how poor women practice a community-making with self-organized mechanisms.	Right to everyday life: Mechanisms of community-making and women-led survival networks	Activities and goals of women-led CBOs	*Semi-structured interviews to CBO leaders: leader of The Women's Network of Carabayllo, leader of Las Carahuayanas, leader of Mother's Club and Community Diners *Open-ended interview to female community leader and worker of Soup Kitchen *Semi-structured interview to NGOs working with CBOs in the community: DESCO, DEMUS, Plan International
	How do liberal NGO agendas working in the community-level draw upon the multicultural background of informal communities? Why do they come to the neighborhood?	To explore the ways NGOs consider foreground complex relations or not in the human settlements of Lomas de Carabayllo .	Liberal right to the city discourses within informal communities	Relationships between the CBOs and NGOs in the community level	
			Influence of international programs in the neighborhood level (Plan International and its beneficiaries)	Plan International's methodologies and engagement with the community. Concepts of safety and gender equality from beneficiaries of Safe Cities for Girls	* Analysis on secondary sources: Plan International reports * Focus group on girls from Jardines de la Quebrada (members of CEBIG)

Table 1. Matrix of methodology
Elaborated by Author, 2021

2.6 Limitations of the thesis

Since the research was conducted during the COVID-19 pandemic, research was forced to be done through long-distance data collection in Stuttgart, Germany. Without field research and site observation, documentation of social interactions and patterns in the territory through ethnography was not possible. A socio-spatial analysis and photography documentation relies mainly on secondary sources such as relatively recent studies in the district, and the interviewees' views and insights.

Connections with actors in the area largely relied on third parties. However, due to delays in formal procedures, the study was obliged to be restructured as it originally intended to include the main actors of the program *Safe Cities for Girls* in *Lomas de Carabayllo* community. Change of district's authorities in between the program's implementation (2019) and the current administration, and loss of trust amongst the stakeholders led the communication with public bodies to be difficult, excluding insights from the governmental side. In addition, the municipality's reports and long-term strategies from the district are not up to date, questioning if policies and programs are still being implemented. Nevertheless, coordination with Plan International members and openness from the different participants of this research largely contributed to the research in later stages.
Although this study was conducted in Germany, online communication through social media platforms like Whatsapp facilitated snowballing and networking with actors even in remote areas such as Lomas de Carabayllo. Yet, low-income residents who do not have internet access limited the inclusion of residents in precarious conditions and their perceptions.

Chapter 3: Lima Metropolitan Area and Spatial Urban Development Trends

Similar to other cities in the Global South, Lima presents a complex, chaotic, and unplanned urban growth, with historical migration waves that have shaped a megalopolis of 10,8 million inhabitants (INEI, 2021), placing it as the fifth-largest city in Latin America. The Metropolitan area of Lima is home to almost one-third of the country's population, presenting territorial inequalities, with high levels of poverty and precariousness in the peripheries of the city. Although the norms and construction regulations regarding urban spaces respond to a "flat and smooth" Lima, the real morphology of the capital is sloping (Ludeña, 2010), presenting real challenges for those who seek to inhabit it -informally-. Lima's urban expansion is observed in between and on its hill slopes, with a high population density in conditions of social and spatial exclusions and displacement. Historical rural-urban migration waves are seen in an extortionate urban growth of approximately 5,5% during the second half of the twentieth century (Lima Population, 2020) when levels of poverty and the quest of improving their quality of life pulled migrants to the capital city. A violent exile during the 1980s and 1990s shaped the hills of Lima with a self-organized collective initiative of illegal land occupation along with social movements in their struggle for their right to the city.

The processes of informal urban habitat in the outskirts of Lima were generated by groups of families by organically occupying territories that were never imagined to be urbanized such as hills and deserts, due to its steep and risky conditions (Garcia, et. al 2015). Amongst historical Peruvian rural-urban migra-

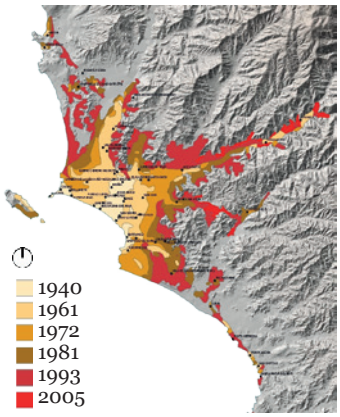


Fig. 3.1 Lima Metropolitan Area's urban growth
Modified by author. Source: DESCO, 2010

tion waves, a colossal urban growth of 5,1% (during the 1960s resulted in the constitution of *barriadas* (squatter movements) under the Law on Marginal Settlements as an important measure taken by the State to formalize informal occupation in the peripheries of the city. The State was not able to provide housing for the poor but was capable of responding in a "double-sided policy", to satisfy newcomers by giving them land without value, but investing in the preexistent upper-middle- and high-class Lima. Examples of entire districts such as *Villa el Salvador* are today portrayed as a result of land seizure that was collectively organized with the tacit or explicit backing of the state (Garcia, et. al 2015). In dependence on capitalism and labor forces, urbanization dynamics were irresponsibly favoring the formal Lima through the real estate markets without long-term urban planning, rendering squatters in their struggle to access adequate housing and social integration.

Fig. 3.2 Lima Metropolitan Area's administrative territories
Elaborated by author. Source: MML 2014

By the beginning of the twenty-first century, the territorial organization of Lima and its development plans had exclusionary territorial and political boundaries reproducing urban imaginaries and social fragmentations. Urban 'cones' were identified as the migrant and poor Lima by the middle and high classes, associating them as informal territories. These conflicting ideological boundaries were then later officially replaced to a more compacted Lima, geographically recognizing four zones: Northern Metropolitan Zone; Eastern Metropolitan Zone; Southern Metropolitan Zone, and Central Metropolitan Zone (Ludeña, 2010) (Fig. 3.2).

Metropolitan Lima's urban master plans have failed to consider precarious and poor populations during their planning despite a sustained national economic

improvement in the 2000s. National economic trends led to power concentrations in the capital, where private investments in infrastructure, services, and housing were shaping a global city. Nevertheless, welfare and housing systems attempt to assist low-income populations.

Throughout Lima's urban development, poor and informal occupiers have claimed their 'right to the city' through an authentic 'cry and demand' process. Men and women have gone to the streets to claim a greater voice on preserving the use-value of the city and greater governance (Skrabut, 2021). It is also said that Peruvian's social demonstrations and habitation processes evidence a Lefebvrian "sensibility" through an own grounded version of the author's theory against neoliberal capitalism (Skrabut, 2021). Through a true right to the city's lens, the radical struggle beyond State and capitalism is seen through the demands of squatters, acting through a collective power of self-community making on the slopes of Lima. Although long-term plans from LMA stress that participation processes are a key component to be considered, it is hardly critiqued to what extent urban plans truly include diverse groups of citizens or to what extent they consider demands that are claimed within their self-management efforts in the peripheries of the city. It is thus worth asking as a permanent reflection throughout this research, who are the true citizens and real actors of city-making, and which voices are in permanent tension within neoliberal relations of power.

3.1 Macrostructural violence background: An exile to the peripheries of Lima

In the realm of uncovering sociocultural structural violence on a macro scale, a trace through the Peruvian fifteen-year Civil Conflict is relevant to deconstruct, attempting to explain the high levels of racism and classism in the capital. The decade of 1980s and early 1990s embodied a massive displacement and collective exile from different parts of the country where the conflict was taking place. Indigenous and ethnic groups from the Andes and the Amazon began to settle in the peripheries of Lima, a migration wave filled with terror and collective trauma. Montoya (1997) argues that this migration exile is part of the fifth historical Peruvian displacement wave, where rural newcomers were escaping not only from violence, but also from their conditions of poverty.

The political crisis from the radical left movements of *Sendero Luminoso* (Shining Path) (fig. 3.3) and *Movimiento Revolucionario Túpac Amaru* (Túpac Amaru

Revolutionary Movement - MRTA) confronted the State's military forces in several areas in the Andes and the Amazon. The concentration of power in the capital, on the one hand, and poverty in rural areas on the other motivated a communist ideology that began to spread amongst rural peasants in an "either you are with us, or you are against us", causing social fragmentations within communities and pushing several populations groups to the capital. Montoya (1997) argues that the significant number of displaced populations escaped to the capital for several reasons, amongst them, they were directly or indirectly threatened by the forces in conflict, obliging them to join the land rights movement; or they experienced the loss of one or more immediate family members in hands of the social radical movements or from the State's military bodies. It is also known that power abuse from the military was evidenced in the murder of thousands of innocents, sexual abuse, and forced sterilizations of women. Today, NGOs such as Centro de la Mujer Peruana Flora Tristán (CMPFT) and DEMUS, advocate supporting women in bringing legal proceedings to victims.

These displacement events meant a chain of support and assistance networks. For example, family and relatives living in conditions of poverty in the capital welcomed the displaced despite their precarious settings. Likewise, the new arrival to the big city after crossing geographical conditions, meant to face an undocumented situation without physical proof about their citizenship to avoid being considered terrorist members running away from justice.

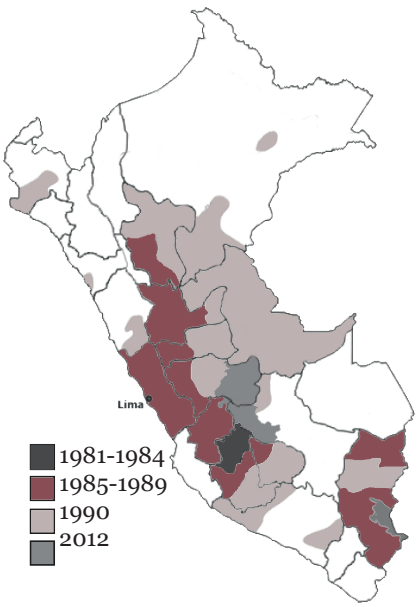


Fig. 3.3 Shining Path development map
Elaborated by author. Source: Wikipedia, 2012

Fig. 3.4 Commercial Center of Gamarra at the end of 1980s.
Source: El Comercio, 2019

Therefore, ten years of political violence are described as a back and forth of hope to get government assistance, when only the lucky ones got assistance from some NGO's or the Church. Due to the political dictatorship of President Alberto Fujimori, State's assistance was unstable. In that sense, Montoya (1997) withstands that Lima had attraction and repulsion dynamics that made a group of migrants wishing to return to their places of origin and other groups desiring to stay in the capital. Lima was seen as the center of power and charm that made it attractive to migrants, producing conflicts of feelings of rage and grief. Between 1940 and 1993, Lima's population was represented by 75% of migrants and indigenous populations, where many preferred to occupy a plot of land in human settlements with precarious quality of life, rather than coming back to their places of origins and remain in poverty and social struggles.

Moreover, a not sufficiently explored and invisible social dynamic within this period of political violence was the change in gender roles. While men hid to avoid being found undocumented and being accused of being terrorists, women went out in search of sustaining the household through informal street commerce in the streets of Lima in search of a necessity. At that time, a high percentage of women were widows or single mothers, seeking to overcome poverty while being essential for community-making within their shantytowns, occupying downtown's public spaces and new centers of informal commerce in their search of livelihoods (fig. 3.4).

Furthermore, the armed civil conflict created an atmosphere of terror and political instability. While indigenous communities within the country were socially fractured, the capital experienced a climate of discrimination, racism, and social inequalities. It was a decade of distrust with a sense of "othering" from the middle and high classes of Lima, who associated the displaced as allies from the militarized countryside, causing nowadays structural discrimination remnants towards the indigenous and rural peasants along with the radical movements that fight against capitalism. Thus, terrorism during the 1980s and the end of the 1990s represented a peak of hostility and discrimination through political violence that had a direct impact on social, domestic, and racial violence.

After a decade of social conflicts, the global economic models of neoliberalism during the 1990s radically changed the image of the city and its social relations in public spaces. Ludeña (1998) describes that the city is characterized by its "changes of skin" through the transformation towards a transnational and corporative global image. However, this transformation has not coped in providing public spaces of good quality, integrated and efficient public transport, places for community and neighborhood networks to heal historical social tensions. Lima's apparent "prosperity" ignored and left migrants and the poor in a marginal status in the peripheries of the city. Community-making strategies and the self-production of habitat under the remnants of collective trauma led community life and solidary networks to be essential to overcome socioeconomic inequalities. In that sense, on the one hand, women from shantytowns have been essential members of their communities through the management of solidarity networks, exercising inhabitance through self-building processes, and were responsible for their home management as mothers and caregivers. But on the other hand, have been invisible in urban planning processes and history's tracing of discrimination and violence.

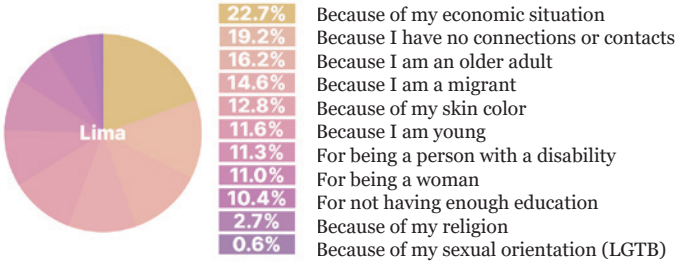


Fig. 3.5 Reasons why Lima's citizens have felt discriminated.
Source: Lima Como Vamos 2019.
Based on a metropolitan survey conducted in 2019. Sample group: 1920 persons.

This brief overview on Peruvian structural violence as a macroscale lens, allows us to see how sociocultural patterns from this era of conflict may reproduce discrimination towards the poor and migrants in LMA's peripheries today (fig. 3.5). While squatters attempt to exercise their citizenship through inhabitance in response to capitalist socio-economic and socio-cultural inequalities through grassroots remaking, upper and middle-class Lima associates them as invaders of the city where urban crime is reproduced. Nevertheless, it is acts and strategies of city-making and relations of power within precarious communities are reproduced, placing women and girls in conditions of survival livelihoods.

3.2 Acts of right to use and exchange within informal settlements in Lima: land titling and community-driven habitation

The strategies and measures to control Lima's informality have been internationally recognized as models of community-driven urbanization that inspired housing policies such as sites and services upgrading in the 1970s, and market enabling strategies of property formalization in the 1990s (Skrabut, 2021). The Law on Marginal Settlements in 1961, aimed to officially recognize these informal occupation dynamics through physical and legal cleansing (Saneamiento físico-legal) bringing dwellers the opportunity to access dignified urbanizations and property rights. However, with the policy adjustment of this law to the Commission to Formalize Informal Property (COFOPRI), squatters found the opportunity to organize themselves as social groups to collectively request basic infrastructures and land titling to their local governments. For this reason, property rights and the formal-informal dichotomy is seen as a highly political controversy amongst the middle and high class, seeing squatters as the invaders of the city, a place where they do not belong in.

In Lima, the process of housing and urban habitation could be classified in two ways: real estate agencies that produce a "popular" housing model; and the process of self-construction by the city's newcomers. However, a common phenomenon within the informal inhabiting of the city is the presence of black land market land traffickers, persons who manage and sell land or plots that belong to the state. The "*hacer vivencia*" (making of living) is a common demand from these individuals in a way to expect the new owners to have permanent residency and prove acts of inhabitance within the community in ways of earning ownership. Skrabut (2021) raises the question on these dynamics of protection of the land

follows the principles of the right to the city within community-making. This phenomenon represents perverse market-oriented behaviors of use and exchange that alienate communities, reproducing social tensions in the management of space.

Skrabut's study in the shantytown of Pachacutec in the north of LMA, illustrating the typical "*hacer vivencia*" phenomena. From her work, it is worth highlighting how women's permanent presence in Lima's shantytowns has led them to partake an important role during the full-time residency from the early stages of habitation to protect their property, be active members of their communities, and work in the informal sector to overcome poverty. Thus, during habitation processes women act as housing safeguards and agents of its subsequent maintenance through the administration of water, small-scale trading, and caregiving work to improve life quality conditions, a characteristic of "*la Ciudad popular*" (popular city) (Cabrera, et. al. 2007).

Social structures within these communities may be listed with the presence of *dirigentes* (or community leaders), neighborhood committees; and survival movement networks led by women as managers of feeding strategies and mutual care work. On the one hand, *dirigentes* can be self-nominated or selected by the community partaking in a role as negotiators and figures of power, with the responsibility of managing land titling and basic infrastructures services (water and electricity) of their community. They organize settlers into Neighborhood Committees and negotiate with authorities by presenting their neighborhood's technical plans with the plots in question to be formalized. Even though this role has been mainly assigned to men, it can be seen during the last decade that women are also *dirigentes*, a political role that has been acquired in a fight of questioning gender roles and discrimination, along with more awareness of their rights.

Yet, the aforementioned role of women as political figures is portrayed as leaders of collective organization of mutual help and initiatives of survival in the everyday life, being agents of city transformation. LMA's shantytowns contain women-led movements that throughout history have raised their demands to the State through demonstrations and protests, showing true acts of radical claim on the right to appropriate and participate. Thus, the next section will name some of the most common women-led CBOs found in LMA's peripheries.

3.3 Survival strategies and women-led movements: Acts of claiming the right to appropriate and participate

Considering collective self-management networks within shantytowns, survival strategies will be addressed to explore women's role as active social agents of their communities, creating a space for them to overcome the community's poverty. Historically, during habitation and economic crisis, women have organized through mutual-aid networks to provide food and care support to their communities. Soup Kitchens, Mother's Clubs, Community Kitchens, Breakfast Committees (*Vasos de Leche*), and *Wawa Wasis* (daycares) have been self-organized initiatives that began to be established during the first migration waves in the 1960s and were later supported by the state with welfare policies (Luna, 1996). NGOs and the church have also supported them by providing resources and infrastructure; however, these organizations are self-managed by women from the community as volunteer work.

Fig. 3.6 Women from Mother's Club and Community Diners demonstrating
Source: CODECI, 2012

Fig. 3.7 Women from Soup Kitchen asking for resources to the government during Pandemic 2021
Source: La Republica, 2020

Each of these organizations has its attributes, being perhaps Soup Kitchens the most invisible to the eyes of the state and are disadvantaged in resources due to its organic emergence in the highest and most unreachable urban settings in the hills of Lima. Through decades, women who lead these organizations, have strengthened their political participation and capacities, creating tensions with the State in their limited resource allocation and almost absent poverty supporting strategies. Women's self-management strategies and initiatives in shantytowns unravel their leading skills and active neighborhood participation in every sphere, from the reproductive and productive scopes.

On the other hand, some communities in LMA have a strong presence of feminist activism and self-organized groups of women that today also play a role in promoting gender equality through the establishment of networks against gender-based violence in alliance with NGOs. Their activism is seen both in public and private spaces within their communities, with and without public resources and it is common to find a human right and right to-the-city-free-of-violence-discourse during their campaigns. In that sense, throughout the case study of this research, relationships with NGOs will be drawn to explain the extent of their influence to gain political strength and ways in which demands are escalated to the city level.

3.4 Participation discourse and gender-sensitive approaches in Lima's metropolitan master plans

Metropolitan master plans of Lima are characterized by developing regulations that lack an integrative vision of the city and supports short-term physical-functional aspects and discontinuous local government plans. During the administration of the female major Susana Villaran, the Institute of Metropolitan Planning (IMP) developed Lima's Metropolitan Plan (PLAM) 2035 which included participation processes with citizens from all areas of Lima (North, South, East, and Center). PLAM was considered an urban planning milestone as it included human rights focus for the first time and aligned with the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and it brought a strong social approach that considered a gender-sensitive approach.

However, government changes hindered long-term strategies to develop and execute the results of PLAM 2035, resulting in blocked efforts and failure. Nevertheless, in August 2019, the newly elected city mayor announced the design

of the new PLANMET 2040, bringing different actors into the city to mediate and facilitate the participation of neglected groups of the city. Nevertheless, it is still questionable how the vision of the city is built under a social discourse as it follows a capitalist logic. Its vision underlines a boost on economy and exchange value with a technocratic social discourse as it states:

> *"The City Vision and the Strategic Guidelines for the urban development of Metropolitan Lima over the next 20 years should consider the role of the city on a global and regional scale, that is, its capacity for economic, social and political influence on other metropolises in Latin America and the world, as well as its dependence on other regions of Peru... It should also consider urban dynamics, the large areas of the metropolis and the effects of proposals at the local scale, i.e., the daily life of the city."*
>
> Translated from IMP,2021

With concern on PLANMET's technocratic discourse, several non-governmental organizations such as the Urban Observatory Lima Como Vamos, have sought to bring citizens' perceptions and concerns through surveys as quantitative evidence to decision-makers and planners. On the other hand, gender-sensitive approaches have been pursued to be included in PLANMET through NGOs like DESCO, within the frame of political agendas co-elaborated with female leaders from low-income communities and the peripheries.

The following section addresses the efforts of NGOs in bringing the voice, concerns, and demands of citizens from various socio-economic sectors of LMA. Considering explicit and non-explicit discourses on a right to the city, some organizations work on the one hand, in producing quantitative and qualitative studies and data to unpack perceptions and citizen experiences; while other organizations advocate gender-sensitive approaches on the right of women and girls to participate, working along and being facilitators of women grassroots women's organizations and female community leaders.

3.5 NGOs with gender-sensitive and participatory discourses

Following a mapping on actors and stakeholders that pursue feminist agendas at a transnational, national, and city level, this section presents NGOs that work in political and spatial scopes, giving pressure to decision- and policymakers to include women and citizen's participation within urban agendas. These organ-

izations are drawn upon the relationships that they have with programs in the district of Carabayllo as the case study of this thesis and have some level of influence within LMA's Master Plans. Likewise, this section seeks to present these organizations to give an impression and background on liberal discourses on right to the city and the ways they build trust with CBOs and female leaders from low-income communities.

Centro de la Mujer Peruana Flora Tristán (CMPFT). Transcending borders on gender-based violence agendas

The *Centro de la Mujer Peruana Flora Tristán* (CMPFT) and its engagement with women's rights and political incidence, has been a pioneer feminist NGO in the Latin-American context in the formulations of regional and national agendas against violence. Founded in 1979, their mission is to fight against structural causes that restrict women's citizenship. CMPFT belongs to *La Red Mujer y Hábitat de América Latina* (The Women and Habitat Latin America Network), an alliance of institutions and organizations in Latin America that work in the promotion of women's rights. CMPFT had a contribution to the program *Regional Cities without Violence for Women - Safe Cities for All* in 2004, allowing to give evidence on how women experience violence in public spaces. The program developed and formulated tools and strategies that were later included as part of UN's methodology for the global program *Safe Cities and Safe Public Spaces*. Consequently, CMPFT is considered by UN Women and Latin-American organizations as one of the feminist pioneers to produce studies, activism, and urban policies.

Along with NGOs from the Red Mujer y Hábitat Network, CMPFT has co-produced studies and agendas to strengthen institutions and grassroots organizations with a gender-sensitive perspective. In 2019, The Women's Agenda for the City in Latin America, along with other cities like Bogotá, Guatemala City, Córdoba, San Salvador, and Santiago, have jointly developed tools with a 'Right to the City' framework to establish territorial strategies with different actors and stakeholders in the civil and public levels in each of the cities. The agenda incorporates a series of demands and proposals in the themes of safety, mobility, urban infrastructure, financial autonomy, housing, political participation, social integration for migrants, displaced and refugee women, and the environment. The outline aims to be a guide to be adapted to each city, where each of the partnered organizations would be in charge of opening the debate with public, private, and

civic institutions to formulate local instruments and strategies accordingly. With international funding and support from UN-Habitat, the agenda intends to be grounded in each of the cities.

Moreover, their work in the political sphere has contributed to creating national laws against gender-based violence in urban spaces. Due to their studies and trajectory in the frame of gender-based violence, CMPFT is often a consultant with other NGOs that work at a metropolitan level, working for example in partnership with DESCO (to be addressed in the next section) in the formulation of agendas with grassroots organizations. In that sense, it is noticeable that concerns within the different scales of territorial management and gender variables are intertwined and complementary.

The Urban Program of DESCO. Establishing participatory agendas in a city level: *Ciudad Mujer* and Women's Political Agenda for the City of Lima

The Urban Program of DESCO, alike CMPFT, is an NGO with a long path in urban studies. Some of the research that they have carried out in shantytowns in the southern LMA had a focus on men and women's perceptions towards public spaces and the differentiated ways on how they use and move within them. DESCO has fifty years of advocacy working with several CBOs, public and private institutions in the different levels of governance with the mission of encouraging participatory urban planning processes in low-income communities. They consider that their interdisciplinary work unravels the everyday neighborhood experience within shantytowns, highlighting inhabitants' struggles and women's roles, building a grounded knowledge and strategic alliances with female leaders and grassroots organizations. For the effects of this study, relationships with women-led CBOs in the district of Carabayllo will be explored in the next sections of this document to examine ways in which dominant discourses and institutionalization of participatory methodologies are addressed within communities.

After working for several years in shantytowns in the South of Lima, DESCO's advocacy on bringing the community's demands to a metropolitan level resulted in a joined work with grassroots women organizations from sixteen districts from of all areas of LMA (North, East, Center, and South). With their aim to promote women's participation and fostering their leadership, the project *Ciudad Mujer* got established in 2019. Dealing with themes on agency, women's rights, and

gender equality, they have formulated four main pillars on urban intervention, communication, and political incidence, being the latter a matter of discussion in line with the objectives of this study. In that sense, the elaboration of political agendas to bring women's prioritized demands to public authorities is articulated through the *Women's Political Agenda for the City of Lima* (WPACL), being a finished product in early 2021. It is formulated as an instrument to reach diverse national departments such as the Ministry of Women, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Housing, etc., and LMA's urban planning department.

> *It is important to look at the progress of PLANMET 2040 and we are trying to look for the opportunity to bring in other technical voices as other NGOs are doing because if it is not done in a participatory way, it is very likely to be another mistake. The District Concerted Development Plan is a good opportunity to take the issues and priorities from the bottom up.*
>
> Silvia, Ciudad Mujer Project Coordinator

The agenda is supported, among many international organizations, by the Global Platform on the Right to the City and Habitat International Coalition (HIC-AL). Under the outline of the agenda, DESCO states that they recognize women's leadership within community-making, presenting as protagonists and main authors of the agenda. In the early stages, DESCO mapped CBOs and female leaders within different neighborhoods and districts and invited them to discuss these scopes of territory. Work groups have been established to later build one-to-one dialogue with local governments and stakeholders at the district and city levels.

Fig. 3.8 Women's Political Agenda for the City of Lima group works
Source: DESCO, 2020

In that regard, DESCO works as mediators and facilitators between women's grassroots organizations and the City Council. Likewise, DESCO works in articulation and integration to other NGOs' expertise according to the different prioritized demands. For example, workshops under the theme of gender-based violence are addressed by CMPFT's expertise. DESCO believes in synergies among the local NGOs, following regional experiences through international dialogues.

Through the frame of *Ciudad Mujer*, DESCO organizes citizen leadership workshops and intergenerational discussions, encouraging other age groups to participate in politics. They also establish participatory budget courses and training for women belonging to CBOs to access technical knowledge on how to proceed with projects for their communities with limited budgets. DESCO states that knowledge of CBOs on participatory budgeting and formal procedures with the local government may provide them with an improved technical formulation and pressure to local authorities to prioritize their demands.

DESCO states that transferring concepts and knowledge on women's rights is essential for a common understanding among the different communities and extent these discourses in their territories. Thus, they found it challenging and complex to approach notions on rights to women with a diversity of backgrounds. In that sense, they point out that one of the main challenges has been to create an integrated effort among the organizations in each district with a territorial view, from the neighborhood to the city, and to generate a sense of belonging to their urban geography. It is also pointed out that political harassment of women is aimed to be overcome, as discrimination towards ethnicity discourages political participation.

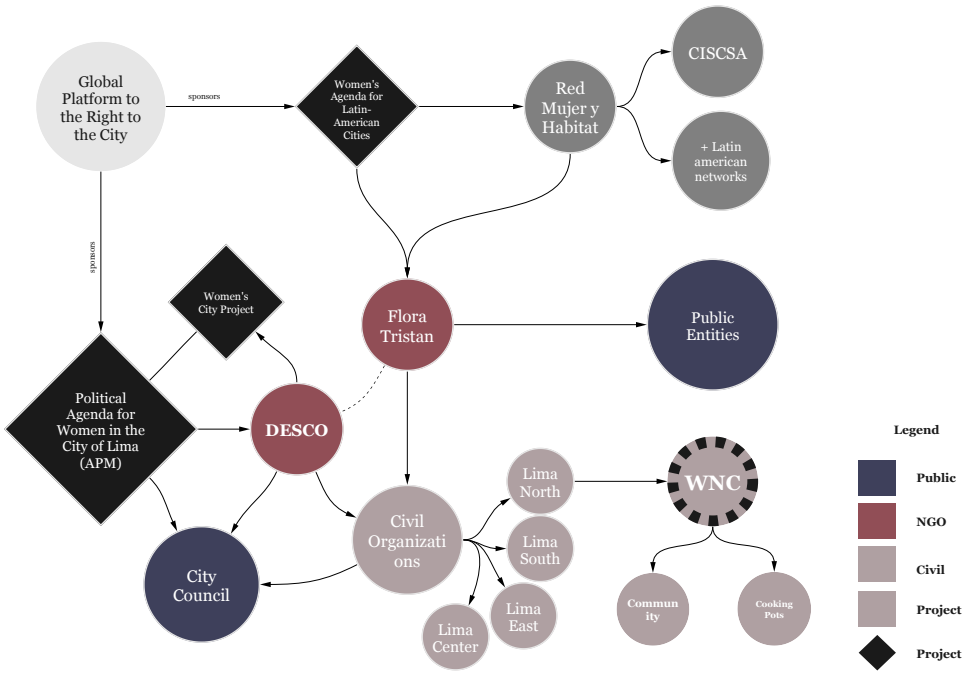


Fig. 3.9 DESCO and relationship with other actors in the city level
Elaborated by author

Ocupa tu Calle (OTC). Spatial and holistic approaches on the right to occupy and participate

Ocupa tu Calle is a citizen initiative funded in 2014 and promoted by Lima Como Vamos Urban Observatory, and it is mainly composed by architects and volunteers from academic institutions. With an interdisciplinary approach, they claim on promoting public space upgrading with the aim of tackling urban inequalities (OTC, 2021). Their efforts on activating streets are done through participatory processes with citizens and alliances with other NGOs and local authorities. Their work is based on creating awareness within municipalities on the relevance of including citizens in decision-making processes about the transformation of their districts and neighborhoods.

It is seen that they perform as mediators with the community and local authorities to encourage them to improve and re-think public spaces away from a capitalist view, promoting spaces for interaction and encounter. They state that the key is to show authorities that public space interventions can be done with low-cost budgets with the inclusion of citizen's concerns as a bottom-up approach. To promote and motivate authorities to execute small-scale interventions in public spaces with small budgets, OTC offers financial aids that are applied through

what they call *"Fondos Semillas"* (Sead funds). These funds are obtained through partnered institutions such as GiZ and UN-Habitat and it aims to encourage municipalities to use these resources to facilitate logistic processes.

Although OTC is project initiators, it may be relevant to observe the ways they promote citizenship and how they build trust in the middle- and low-income communities. OTC starts with open-call processes through social media campaigns, municipality platforms, or strategic alliances with grassroots organizations, NGOs, schools, or other private institutions. Once they get citizen's engagement, OTC organizes workshops to discuss what neighbors find problematic in their communities to later co-design the project and engage them in the spatial intervention. Despite the efforts to bring bottom-up initiatives, OTC finds challenging to overcome bureaucratic procedures with the municipality. Given this issue, beginning in 2019 OTC has elaborated 'The Pact of Public Spaces' as a formal commitment for administrations to follow indicators and guidelines elaborated by the NGO in the improvement of the district's neighborhoods through financial incentives such as the aforementioned *"Fondos Semillas"*. Accordingly, they also encourage citizens to be the experts of their communities using self-monitoring and evaluation tools. Furthermore, in a 'sense of citizenship awakening', whenever interventions are being carried out, OTC publicly informs what project the project is about to by-passers.

Fig. 3.10 Mural art intervention
Source: Ocupa tu Calle, 2020

For seed fund projects, the neighbors, and institutions themselves make their diagnosis using our measurement methodology. The diagnoses are to be able to see the problem and its current state, and that is how we start working. After the intervention, the neighbors are the ones who report how it is being managed, and we have a platform where they share their experience.

Interview with OTC Project Manager, 2021

Due to OTC's advocacy and expertise in working with citizens and public authorities to execute public space interventions, OTC has gained the attention of other NGOs and public bodies such as the Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Populations (MIMP) to work in participatory projects with a gender-sensitive perspective. Some of the projects include mural art interventions in formal and informal areas of the city to create awareness of gender equality and gender-based violence. OTC has been invited by MIMP to cooperate in the "Pilot Project of Gender-based violence prevention in Public Spaces of Rimac" during 2020, with low-budget interventions in a low-income and historical neighborhood in the center of LMA. The project follows an analysis of the everyday life of women in the district and looks at the challenges of their mobility. The intervention consisted of a mural art with the message of women's role, followed by workshops with actors and stakeholders in the area.

We thought it was important to do it on the stadium wall, we thought it was important to do it there because there was a parking lot for motorcycle taxi drivers... We developed it and the neighbors became very empowered and they were the ones who inaugurated this space. They asked the municipality for permission. This was important because it means that we have reached them.

Ibid.

On the other hand, the NGO Plan International has also invited OTC to collaborate in the recovery of public spaces in the district of Carabayllo for the program Safe Cities for Girls. Further analysis on this will be discussed in chapter number 6.

Plan International NGO. From global to local frameworks on gender equality in low-income communities: Safe Cities for Girls

Plan International (PI) represents a transnational NGO established in Peru since 1994 which has been working with global methodologies and strategies in different parts of the country with children and young populations in situations of poverty and vulnerability. With human rights and gender equality discourse, in 2014 'Safe Cities for Girls' as part of 'I am a Girl' global program was established to build safer urban spaces. The program was developed in collaboration with Women in Cities International (WICI) and UN-Habitat, approaching the SDGs number 5 (achieve gender quality), and number 11 (achieve sustainable cities with inclusive, safe, and resilient human settlements) (Plan International, 2020).

As a global approach, PI started with the participatory online mapping 'Free to Be' in 2018, as a metropolitan level survey in Lima with the main goal of identifying safe and unsafe spots perceived by girls and young women. It also intended to find out which elements cause these feelings of unsafety. PI highlights that street harassment and urban features such as poor quality of public spaces and lack of access to the basic infrastructure were the main reasons for the participant's perceptions of unsafety. Accordingly, PI showed these results to the City's administration to later create an alliance with the district of Carabayllo (Lima North) and Barrios Altos (Lima Center) to run the program of Safe Cities for Girls. The NGO later conducts a Rapid Situational Assessment (RSA) as a data collection process to review and find gaps in policies, by-laws, and programs at a national, metropolitan, and district-level addressing children's rights and safe urban spaces.

PI asserts that the first step is to create alliances with local governments to achieve political influence through training and sensibilization programs about gender equality and human rights. Thus, they state that alliances with public institutions such as the Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Populations are key to join PI's program to national gender mainstreaming strategies. Once trust and a common understanding are established with local authorities, they work with communities and a range of stakeholders. Through interviews with PI, we find out that one of the major challenges they face with public bodies, is their constant rotation and change of administrations, leading to restart training efforts to the new public officials.

Work with girls and teenagers in the districts has consisted of engaging them in a series of training to build knowledge about their rights and gender equality. Workshops have been also conducted with activities to build their leadership skills and encourage them to participate in political platforms in city councils. These workshops, under the name "Club of Champions for change", have been possible through the establishment of alliances with private and public schools to use their facilities and to gain trust with parents and beneficiaries of the program. Under the Safe Cities for Girls project in Carabayllo, the most active teenagers from the Club in the district were invited to participate in the project. They state that the program creates spaces for the community to learn about sexual harassment and gender-based violence in public spaces. Moreover, through the global approach of 'The theory of change', PI has advocated encouraging teenage girls and boys from precarious neighborhoods to establish their CBOs. With an emphasis on activism, the district of Carabayllo already counts with the teenage CBOs "LUJUXI" and "CEBIG", comprised of girls and boys that work jointly to organize campaigns against sexual harassment and messages on gender equality. The NGO acts as facilitators and they guide and mediate the teenagers' social media campaigns.

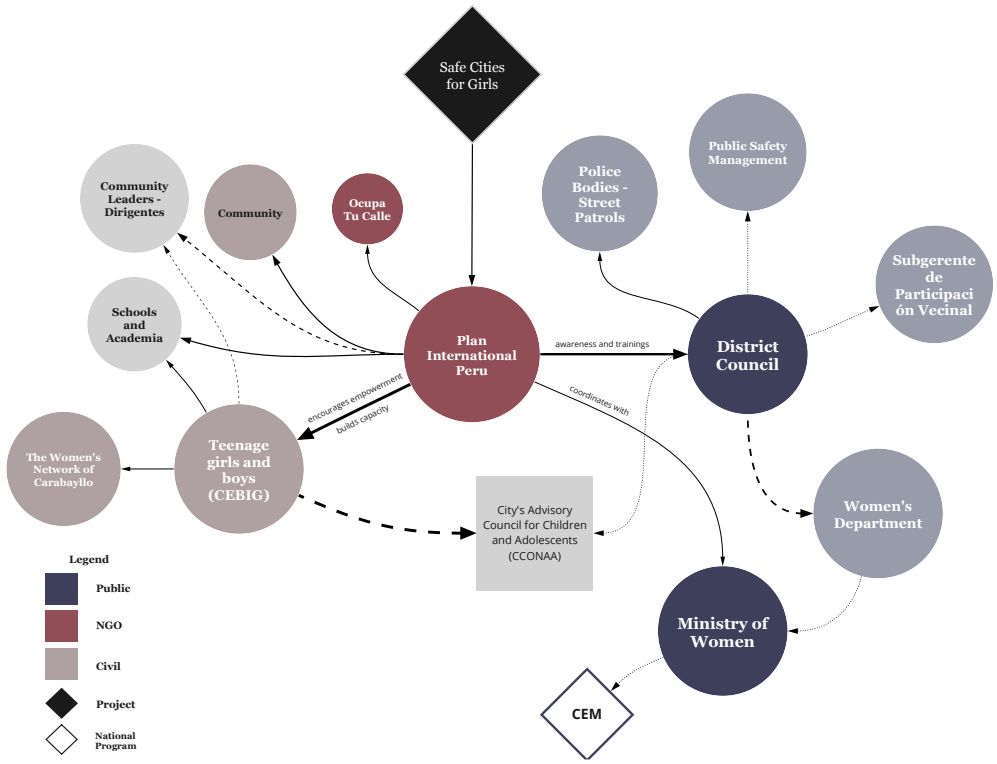


Fig. 3.11 Plan International actor diagram
Elaborated by author, 2021

Matrix of NGO samples with gender-sensitive and participatory approaches				
	Centro de la Mujer Peruana Flora Tristán	**DESCO**	**Plan International**	**Ocupa tu Calle**
Project	The Women's Agenda for the City in Latin America	Ciudad Mujer and Women's Political Agenda for the City of Lima	Safe Cities for Girls	Pact for Public Spaces
Year	2019	2020	2018-2020	2019
Scope of influence	Regional Level (Colombia, Argentina, El Salvador, Peru, Guatemala and Chile)	Metropolitan Level (16 districts from Lima North, South, East and Center)	International, National, and District Level (Carabayllo and Barrios Altos)	District and Neighborhood Level
Description	Public tool that systematizes and makes visible citizen's demands.	Tool for political advocacy and open-discussion with public, private and civil groups. Systematization of women's demands.	Political and spatial approach to promote safer public spaces for teenage girls. Long-term program to create awareness on social norms on gender relations of power.	Holistic approach to encourage municipal authorities and decision-makers to engage with their citizens. A tool for citizens to transform their neighborhood's public spaces.
Agenda	Recognition of women's rights and to implement a gender-sensitive perspective into urban planning agendas.	Promotion of women's participation and fostering their leadership. Uncovering women's demands and encouraging them to propose solutions.	Promotion of autonomy and participation of teenage girls in urban spaces	Promotion of participation through collaborative workshops and notions on self-monitoring interventions.
Key relationships with other stakeholders	Regional level: Partnership with Red Mujer y Hábitat de América Latina. Metropolitan level: Consultants in the Women's Political Agenda for the City of Lima (DESCO).	Invitation of other NGOs for technical orientation. For example CMPDT in the theme of gender-based violence. Constant communication with political figures. CBOs from different areas of Lima	International level: UN Women and WICI (Women in Cities International) Metropolitan and district level: Mainly working with public stakeholders such as national (Ministry of Women) and municipal authorities. Trust building with schools and social actors.	Grassroots organizations Citizens Municipal authorities in the district and metropolitan level. Consultants for Ministry of Women NGOs: Lima Como Vamos, Plan International
Arenas	- Gender-based violence - Gender-sensitive policies for safety and mobility - Social integration of migrants and displaced women - Environmental vulnerabilities	- Gender based violence & citizen security - Citizen participation and policies - Environment - Right to Health - Education and Culture - Ratial-Ethnic discrimination	- Safe urban spaces addressing gender-based violence and harrassment. - Participation - Mobility - Political influence	- Social inclusion - Environment - Sustainable Mobility - Infrastructure - Culture and citizenship
Discourse on the right to the city	Framed on Lefebvre's Right to the City. Interpreted as right to urban life as fundamental human rights and its citizenship. Allignment with SDGs Agenda 2030	Framed by the Global Platform on the Right to the City's concept. Emphasis on: * guaranteeing women's participation. * eliminating discrimination and violence	Framed by UN-Habitat's SDGs Agenda 2030	Tacit: Right to occupy public spaces with a governance approach.
Methods and tools	Studies on quantitative and qualitative data. Establishing platforms of dialogue and international committees with social and political actors. Participatory workshops with groups of women, CBOs and political spheres.	*District level:* Analysis and problem diagnosis of territories with the women and groups of discussion by themes. *Metropolitan level:* Workshops by themes with participants and NGOs with expertise on the topics. City councils with authorities to bring demands and proposals. International level: Dialogues and shared experience to set benchmarks.	Capacity-building workshops to public stakeholders on gender-sensitive approaches. Capacity-building workshops with girls and boys to share concepts about gender equality and encourage their leadership. Global methodologies: social mappings, safety walks, site visits and workshops with the community.	Workshops with national and international experts. Training to public stakeholders Workshops with participatory diagnosis, design and intervention

Table 3.1 Matrix of NGOs samples with gender-sensitive and participatory approaches
Elaborated by author, 2021

Chapter 4: The case of the district of Carabayllo

The following chapter illustrates the district of Carabayllo and its diverse territories and neighborhoods. It is a district with a variety of social structures embedded in complex urbanization processes. Carabayllo will be shown as an example of a district with a variety of actors who build their right to the city, an area that has seen a growth of shantytowns in the most remote and precarious environments, being violence and crime one of the main concerns in the district's urban development plans. The municipality and ministries have given an effort to center their attention on women and children through safety policies and programs, considering them as the most vulnerable populations, but showing a lack of a wider perspective on the different dimensions of violence and community-making.

Fig. 4.1 Map of Lima Metropolitan Area and location of the district
Elaborated by author, 2021

To understand Carabayllo's sociocultural patterns, this chapter will first describe the urbanization process of the district in ways that neoliberal practices are reproduced within community-making. It will show the highly diverse backgrounds of the district and how women have organized with self-managed and creative strategies to overcome poverty. Moreover, it will describe how they relate with other CBOs

and the ways NGOs safe and inclusive urban discourses engage with the communities in the district.

On the other hand, the analysis goes further to a community level in the area of Lomas de Carabayllo, an area with the highest number of human settlements in the district. To understand its social actors and networks with NGOs in the area, the selection of the human settlement Jardines de la Quebrada will be analyzed within the frame of Plan International's program Safe Cities for Girls.

4.1 Background

The North of Lima is composed of eight districts, considering Carabayllo as the first and oldest one. Even though it does not have a legal norm that declares an exact date of its foundation, its Municipality contemplates a reference date of 1571 (Municipalidad de Carabayllo, 2011), considering *San Pedro de Carabayllo* as the historic center. Due to its lack of documentation, district boundaries are a matter of conflict with its neighbor districts such as *Comas* and *Puente Piedra*. Located in the lower basil of Chillón River, its climate conditions and ecological categorization as sub-tropical desert provide optimal conditions for intensive agriculture (fig. 4.2). Even though nowadays Carabayllo still has a large extension of agricultural territory and coastal hills with rich seasonal ecosystems, after the Agrarian Reform[2] during the 1960s, illegal occupations started to settle particularly in brownfields until the end of the 1990s.

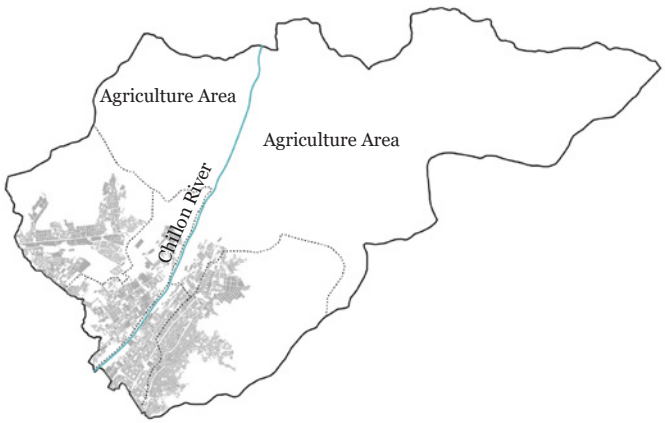


Fig. 4.2 Map of Carabayllo district
Elaborated by author, 2021

2 Declared by the Ministry of Housing and Construction.A law where the ownership of agricultural land agricultural land passed into the hands of the peasants who worked on the haciendas.

Fig. 4.3 View of Carabayllo
Source: Reddit

By 2002, the Metropolitan Area of Lima had at least 46,8% of its population-based in informal settlements and the North of Lima was considered to have the largest population growth living under these conditions. By the beginning of the twenty-first century, Carabayllo was no longer considered a dormitory city to be an urbanized district with its services and diverse micro-economic activities, connected to metropolitan roads.

4.2 Socio economics

Carabayllo has a population of 333 045 inhabitants (INEI, 2019), where 50,8% are women and 49,18% are men, whereas 31% of this population are girls, boys, and teenagers. According to 2014 data, 58% of this population was below 30 years old, placing Carabayllo as the fifth district with the largest amount of youth population (Plan International, 2014). Carabayllo holds 57,15% of the population with an immigrant background. Most of the population are primarily Andean-mestizo, showing a large diversity and culture mixture because of the immigrational waves that occurred more strongly during the 1960s and 1990s. Statistics from 1996 (INEI), show that the composition of Andean migrants came mainly from Ancash (14.7%), Ayacucho (8.97%), and Junín (8.03%).

According to national statistics (IPSOS, 2020), the North of Lima has the socioeconomic levels of C (40,4%) and D (37,3%) predominantly, where the district of Carabayllo shows a 23,1% of the totality of the Metropolitan Area of Lima in terms of economic poverty. It can be said that within Carabayllo there are diverse socio-economic classes, where more consolidated areas such as in Santa Isabel have bigger economic activities such as the district's market, and the historic center of San Pedro. Whereas the hillsides are occupied by the poorest and most precarious populations, some of which are still in the process of land titling and the installation of basic infrastructures such as light and water. Some statements through qualitative interviews reveal that within the various neighborhoods of Carabayllo, there are classist views and racism towards economic status and racial backgrounds, producing social conflicts among the diverse areas of the districts.

According to more statistics, the district of Carabayllo has a school population in Regular Basic Education (EBR) of approximately 20.8% of the total, and 97% of the population lives in urban areas. The age segment between 0 and 18 years old is 37.69%, with 22% concentrated in between 5 and 14 years old age range. Eight percent of the population cannot read or write, and 76% of households have between one and three children (Plan Concertado del Distrito de Carabayllo, 2007). Moreover, according to municipal's data from 2007, Carabayllo is considered one of the districts with the highest presence of gangs, drug addiction, alcoholism, child pregnancy, and violence against children and adolescents.

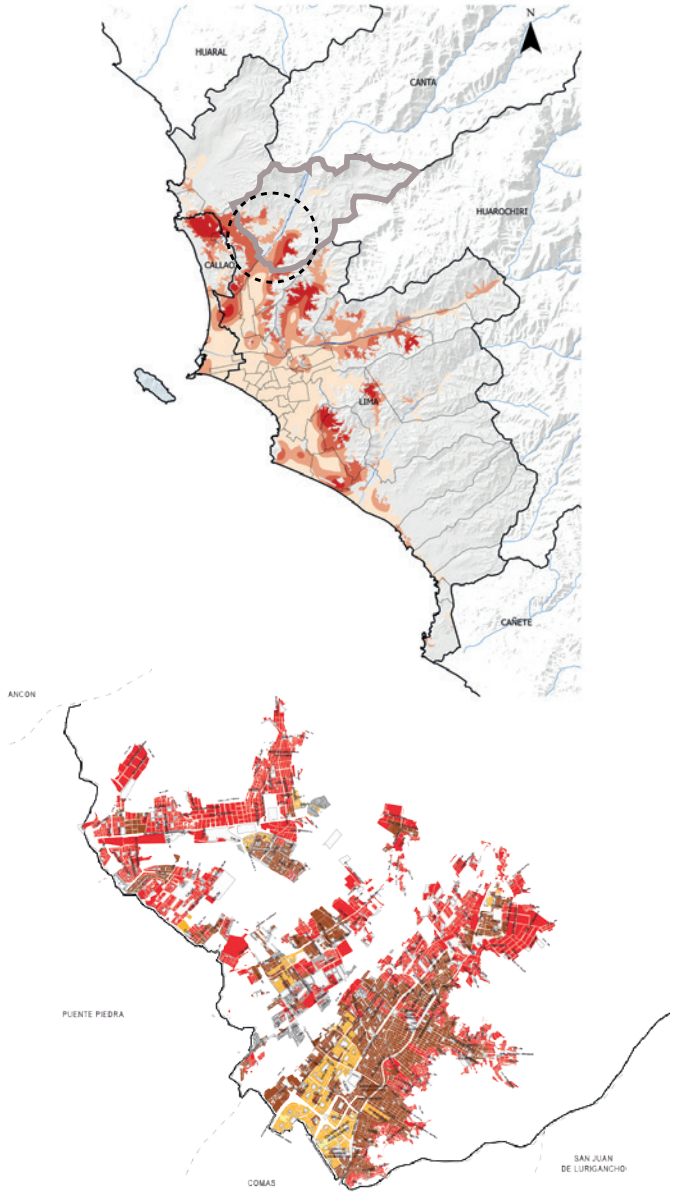


Fig. 4.4 Poverty Index Map of Carabayllo
Source: INEI, 2013

Population and blocks (units)

Strata	Per capita household income (soles)*	Persons	House-holds	Blocks
High	2 192,20 a más	0	0	0
Medium-high	1 330,10 - 2 192,19	1 519	432	12
Medium	899,00 - 1 330,09	33 941	9 107	381
Low-medium	575,70 - 898,99	99 838	26 072	1 688
Low	Menor de 575,69	89 256	24 697	2 989
Total		224 554	60 308	5 070

4.3 Spatial Urban Development

The Peruvian Agrarian Reform marked a milestone in the urban development of the district. It was a law where the ownership of agricultural land passed into the hands of the peasants who worked on the haciendas, to dissolve groups of power and solve rural poverty. Within only a decade of its implementation in Carabayllo in 1974, several agricultural cooperatives were formed that were dedicated to farming and livestock raising. However, their status as agricultural cooperatives were changing due to the interest in selling part of these lands to real estate companies located near or within the urban expansion area promoted by the government, consequently leading to the disintegration of the cooperatives. This disintegration, motivated by the interest in profiting from these lands, was adapted to the subsequent capitalist model in favor of the urban development companies, making it impossible for peasants as primary producers to keep pace with the new global economic order. Consequently, it was the urban development companies that oversaw planning a city without territorial continuity. Thus, although the Agrarian Reform opted to empower and transfer property rights to agricultural producers, the State failed to control the sale of the real estate market, favoring urbanizing power forces as part of the profitable model of land and city production in Carabayllo.

Thus, it was during the 1980s that squatters and newcomers gathered continuously to project a strong presence to the State through taking the streets, blocking roads, and organizing strikes, to be able to request basic services and their fight to a right to the city. According to this, Carabayllo's development resulted in three defined urban development dynamics. On one hand, real estate companies' presence and National housing programs urbanized Carabayllo providing infrastructure with clearly defined boundaries and services to low and medium density residential areas occupied by professionals, public and private employees; On the other hand, illegal human settlements and squatters are organized in dwelling cooperatives in an evident "biographical nomadism", as victims of a geographic and social expulsion (Ramirez, 2007), occupying brownfields and uncultivated areas; and finally, a rural sector coexisted without basic services, where peasants own agricultural land.

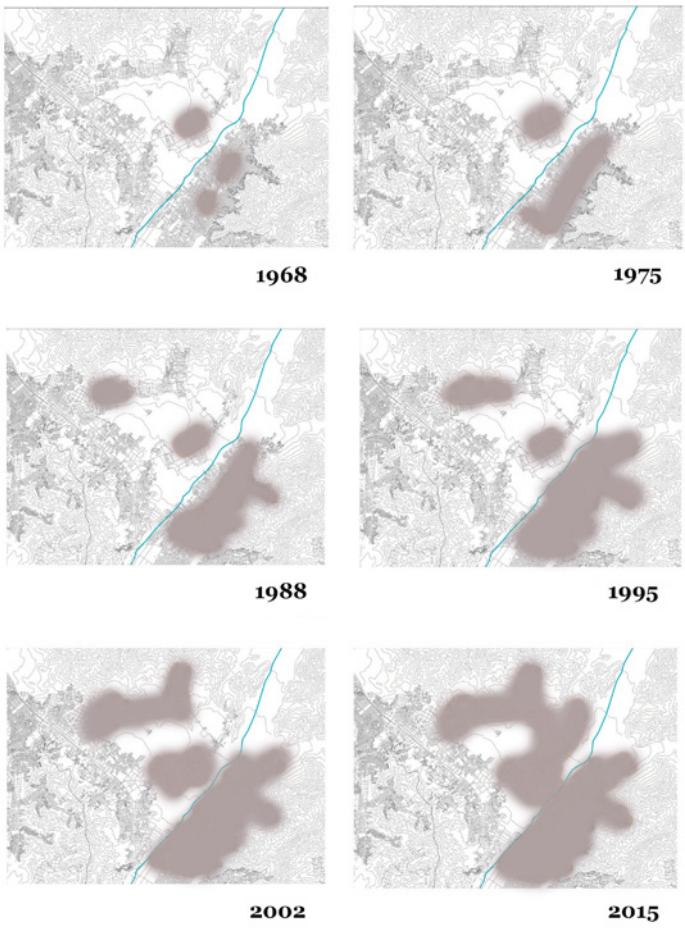


Fig. 4.5 Spatial Development of Carabayllo
Modified by author, 2021.
Source: Ocupa tu Calle, 2018. Carabayllo Municipality, 2011

I have seen my town develop. I have seen how human settlements have grown and how the cultivated areas have been depredated. Practically in front of my house, I had large plots of land where cotton, potatoes, and beans were planted in times of hardship when we had no money. The solution was to go to these farms when there were haciendas. We have known the pure air of the Chillon Valley that has been lost.... The precarious houses are now only on the hills. At the beginning, the plots where I live were 250m2, now we are building a second or third floor for our brothers or our family.

Resident of Carabayllo, 2021

Today, many of Carabayllo's shantytowns that had their origins in the 1980s are already consolidated (fig. 4,5). However, precarious urbanization processes are still taking place in the hills and remote areas of the district with complex topographies and poor connectivity. Over time, public stairs have been installed

in the different human settlements to access the low parts of the district, where they can access metropolitan roads and use public transportation to take them to other parts of the city. On the other hand, agricultural land is being reduced progressively due to the pressure of land markets and informal occupations. Some of these statements may reveal prominent classism that has been established because of the spatial settings. The most consolidated areas with services and investment in commercial activity are building discrimination towards the dwellers from informal settlements

4.4 Use and exchange values in Carabayllo's Shantytowns: Social Tensions within access to land titling and housing

The following section will describe how the right to housing affects the creative acts of inhabiting and the ways space is a site of social struggle. Therefore, it will unravel how its capitalist nature delineates community-led strategies and how it reproduces gender inequalities and social tensions.

As described in the last section, Carabayllo's urbanization has a long history of the quest for land ownership and official tenancy, as well as for a large community effort to access water, drainage, and electricity, representing the 'cry and demand' that Lefebre was trying to illustrate by the working class. In this respect, the 1980s was characterized as a decade of a fight for medical centers, roads, transportation systems, etc. But it was only after the establishment of the Commission to Formalize Informal Property (COFOPRI) from the State when squatters had the opportunity to access land titling and later request basic services from their local governments.

But as in many other human settlements in Lima, the forms of the social organization during the process of land formalization following the creation of COFOPRI are also reproduced in Carabayllo. Communities organize themselves and frequently elect a representative or leader (*dirigentes*) of neighborhood councils, as figures who deal with the process of land titling and infrastructure for their communities. Thus, leaders play an important role as mediators between the population and local authorities, which is the reason why they are also seen as political figures. But even though the figure of community leaders may be elected by the community, they may also be self-nominated leading to concentrations of power. Some of them have been part of a black market and are well-known as "land traffickers", figures recognized by inhabitants of Carabayllo, involved in vi-

olent land disputes, spreading fear and social fragmentation within communities and throughout the district. A land trafficker is a person who has the vision to profit from a plot of land and organizes with other committees to promote its sale with the promise that the plot will be registered and provided with services in the future. These individuals buy free spaces to peasants that in reality belong to the State, offering a very small fee and then reselling them to poor and low-income populations without any legal documentation.

> *[...] They would get together with 3-4 people and buy these spaces and resell them to the people who needed them, but that is not legal at all. All they did was buying the land, but the ones who do the legalization are the district municipalities, and if they did not recognize the land, they could not build anything because there are no plans, no purchase and sale documents [...] The people who acquired this land built their huts and then went to live with a relative or rented something temporarily, and when they returned, the leaders (traffickers) had already burned their huts, since these lands have no legal registration or document to prove it, and they sold the land again as if it did not have an owner. This is how these people operate. There have even been fights and bullets have been fired.*
>
> Female president of Communal Dinners in Carabayllo, 2021

This process of acquiring land brings the question of how unstable tenancy can be and who are the actors that produce habitation and adequate housing during auto construction. In other shanty towns of Lima, "*hacer vivencia*" (making of living), or the process of permanent residency to keep the newly acquired piece of land, is controlled by community leaders and committees, generating conflicts, social tensions, and fear. Thus, the dynamics of informal occupation occur in two ways: through the purchase and sale of land from peasant communities with formal records; or through the invasion of plots of land-by-land traffickers who constantly defraud their buyers through the constant resale of these spaces.

Amid these dynamics, the urban spaces of Carabayllo have been occupied through the primary concern of having a lot for housing, and intermediate spaces such as streets and roads come in a later stage. Neighborhood committees and district leaders plan roads and sidewalks for mobility within the neighborhood and the district, producing plans to later negotiate their habilitation with the municipality. According to interviews, the development of this infrastructure can take years,

leading their inhabitants to walk and mobilize themselves in precarious environments, without lightning and unsafe roads, without sidewalks to access the rest of the district.

Under these circumstances, women from early-stage shantytowns in Carabayllo, besides taking care of their family and their piece of land through the full-time residency or *"hacer vivencia",* struggle to find a financial income through informal activity like street vendors in the most consolidated areas of the district of the city. It may be said that full-time residency to keep their land has been overseen under the shadows of capitalism and planning processes. Thus, it is important to highlight the real struggle that both women and children face supporting other relatives and neighbors in these processes. Through time, women have been also leaders of their communities and have taken steps in land titling and basic infrastructure. Single mothers are the head of their households and landowners, organizing with other families to manage the habilitation of their neighborhoods. They are the ones who go to the municipality to have their land formalized and are elected as leaders of their communities.

> *[...] now we are assuming leadership positions because some time ago in the human settlements where we lived, it was said that women did not assume leadership positions, but they would go to school and attend meetings, while men only went in special cases when it was a question of forming boards of directors and then they did not have time because they dedicated themselves to work. But we won these spaces in the end, today we are leaders, we are authorities, many professionals have achieved active participation of women at the government level and in politics and so on, and among the women of the Mothers' Clubs and Soup Kitchens there have been comrades who have assumed positions, in politics, they have become councilwomen, in several districts most of the women of our organizations have already participated in politics. [...]*
>
> Ibid.

The role that women have partaking in self-governing processes as an open-ended process, illuminates their representativity as key actors in the everyday life. Although many already lead CBOs in different parts of the district, it may be relevant to explore how these initiatives are built from below, following the real transformation processes for the right to appropriate as a use-value where relations of power within these groups may alienate these important networks.

4.5 Gendered acts of participation in the district of Carabayllo

Community-making within Carabayllo's neighborhoods represents a complex constellation of actors that takes various roles to negotiate space and to build social infrastructure to cope with precariousness and poverty. Before introducing an analysis of shantytowns and communities within Carabayllo, this section will introduce networks and social organizations that play a role in the transformation of the city.

As discussed in chapter 2, we find women-led CBOs as collective survival strategies during habitation processes in response to the absence of the State within the most remote communities. Likewise, their emergence has a long history beginning from the rural migration exiles to the district's hills during the civil conflict at the end of the 1980s and throughout the 1990s. Rural migrant women and new generations self-organize to assist other precarious women as acts of solidarity and a sense of belonging to their communities. Today, female leaders remain in a constant dispute with the government and the metropolitan departments.

Women-led survival networks as solidarity initiatives

Community networks lead by women in the district have been essential as solidarity strategies within precarious environments. Although these grassroots organizations have emerged within periods of crisis in the country, their institutionalization as Community Based Organizations (CBOs) has led them to constantly demand attention from the different governmental institutions. Starting from the 1990s, acts of authoritarianism in Fujimori's government led CBOs to constantly created networks of mobilization. Despite the creation of law 27972[3] as a way to reduce pressure on the State through the creation of participation platforms within municipalities, the role of women as powerful figures in community building and their active participation has not drawn sufficient attention. Although interviews reveal that Carabayllo's eight-year administration under the major Rafael Álvarez[4] has given efforts to improve women's participation in development plans of the district, it is constantly addressed that the current administration lacks support to CBOs and women's role as caregivers. Hence, integrated efforts of collective care are mainly on women's and girls' weight.

3 Organic Law of Municipalities, established in 2003.

4 2010-2014, 2014-2018. Later accused of corruption and sentenced to six years of prison

While women-led organizations have a large history of State dependency confrontation by standing as real independent actors, their 'radical' mobilization might be seemingly decreased in intensity due to the presence of NGOs in the district. Nevertheless, it is seen in Carabayllo, that these CBOs are not only organized within the scope of their neighborhoods, but also, they overpass spatial dimensions through social networks on a district scale with the facilitation of NGOs to potentiate their demands.

As a general overview, these survival networks could be classified into three categories. On the one hand, feeding collective strategies have been established as networks to assist in providing food and infrastructure around it. As a second category, we can find networks for mutual caregiving. Finally, in recent years, networks to assist victims of domestic violence have been gaining influence in the district. Since feeding systems are intertwined with caregiving strategies, this section will categorize them into two groups combining the first two categories (fig. 4.6).

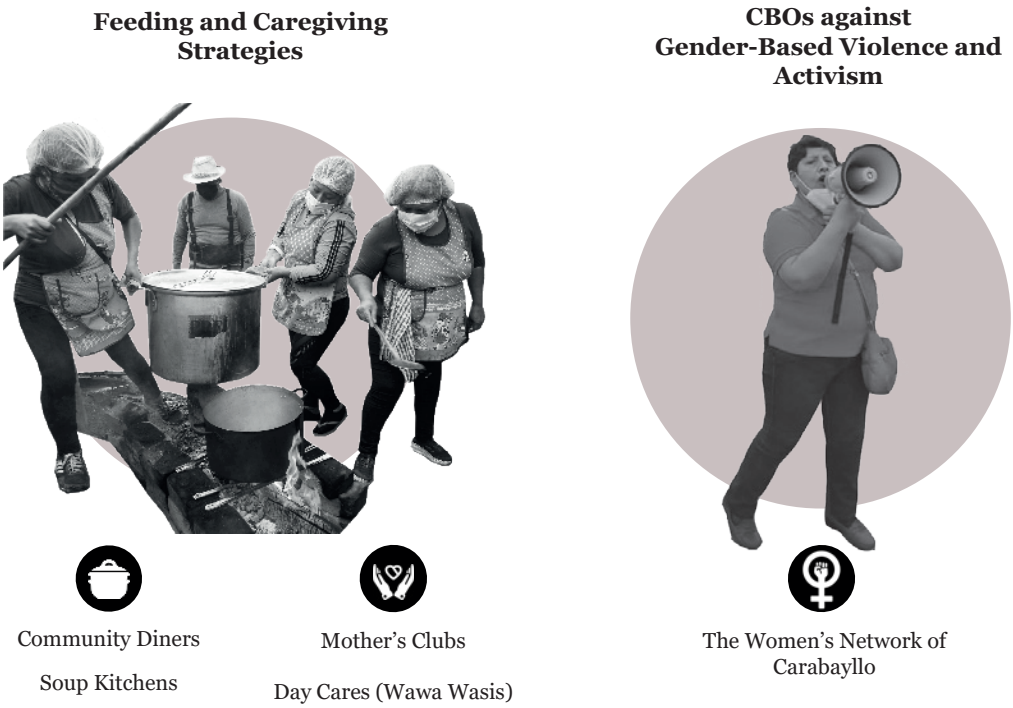


Fig. 4.6 Classification of women-led CBOs in Carabayllo
Elaborated by author, 2021

Women-led CBOs with mutual caregiving- and feeding strategies: Mother's Club, Community Diners and Soup Kitchens

Community feeding networks in Carabayllo are the most abundant and are partially dependent on national programs as ways to receive public resources and infrastructure. Community Diners work in integration with other national programs such as committees from *Vaso de Leche*[5] and *Wawa Wasis*[6], but are managed by volunteer women from the different neighborhoods of the district.

Since the 1980s, Mother's Clubs and Community Diners were established in the district with the support of donations from NGOs and the Church in a long process of instability of resources. According to legal procedures[7], CBOs have achieved legal recognition to obtain a sustained budget, which; however, members claim has remained the same over time. Women and leaders who manage resources take care of the quality of the food they receive.

> *[...] we are vigilant about the quality of the food that comes to us. Many times, there were abuses because the quality was not fair, many of the products were of poor quality and not because we are poor, we are not going to receive whatever [...] in this we have also gained space, we have proposed our own rules to be vigilant before the authorities, so we also formed a management committee where we are vigilant of what is bought.*
>
> Nelly, female president of Communal Dinners in Carabayllo, 2021

Amongst their activities, it is found that, aside from providing meals for a low price (between around 0,51 or 0,90 dollars), they also offer spaces for women to participate in capacity-building workshops where they can learn to elaborate crafts, weave, haircut, decorate, elaborate products to be exported, etc. At the same time, they provide spaces for daycare activities for children. They generally do not have a defined infrastructure exclusively for daycare, but some of these organizations have managed to build infrastructure with additional funding and support from NGOs.

5 Breakfast program established in 1982 the Municipality of Lima Metropolitan Area

6 Day cares launched in 1993 by Central Government

7 Supreme Decree No. 041-2002-PCM — Law 25307 established in 2002, states that: "declares of national interest the work carried out by various social organizations regarding the food support they provide to low-income families."

Moreover, they work with the support of The Ministry of Development and Social Inclusion (MIDIS) for capacity and productive training; The Ministry of Women (MIMP), for gender-based violence training; Public schools (UGELES) for the provision of staff for capacity workshops, and kindergarten teachers; and Public and Private Universities, for food security training.

While Community Diners are established in the flatter areas of the district, the emergence of Soup Kitchens in the hills of Carabayllo is common to find. Women from human settlements commit to organizing temporary collective kitchens, especially during economic crises. To get more resources and attention from the government, women who work in Soup Kitchens have organized committees with the support of other social networks to be established at the metropolitan level. The establishment of 'Lima's Network of Soup Kitchens' represented by a female leader from Carabayllo, have emerged during the pandemic in a way to create collective management and support of the creation of new Soup Kitchens in several parts of the district's human settlements during the 'sanitary emergency'[8] in 2020.

Fig. 4.7 Community Diners in Carabayllo and visits from MIDIS
Source: MIDIS, 2021

8 During 2020, Peru declared a sanitary emergency due to the spread of the pandemic in the country. Strict lockdown measures of lockdown increased social and economic inequalities in the peripheries of the city.

Among their tasks as a network, they support registering Soup Kitchens within the legislation N° 31126[9], to receive resources from national programs such as *Qali Warma* from MIDIS. The creation of Soup Kitchens means access to food for the population in extreme poverty, offering meals for around 0,6 dollars.
It is also relevant to highlight that Community Diners are the organizations with more resource and infrastructure allocation probably due to their more accessible location and institutionalized tools. Self-management and immense hours of unpaid work along with precarious conditions may allocate Soup Kitchens as the organizations with more marginalized conditions.

Nevertheless, all feeding, and caregiving networks may be seen as actors of negotiation, providing real virtue to women's leadership and management skills.
Finally, it is also found that female leaders and committee members from both Community Diners and Soup Kitchens partake as members of other CBO networks, participate in neighborhood committees, and explore ways to create synergies between them.

Fig. 4.8 Soup Kitchens
Source: MUNILIMA, 2021

9 Organic Law of Municipalities, and of the Ministry of Development and Social Inclusion, to expand temporary food support or attention in the event of natural disasters or health emergencies and to optimize the work of soup kitchens.

Women-led CBOs against gender-based violence: *La Red de Mujeres de Carabayllo* (The Women's Network of Carabayllo - WNC)

The Women's Network of Carabayllo (WNC) was established in 2017 as partnered grassroots women organizations all over the district against gender-based violence. It is composed by women living in several parts of the district, including the ones living in human settlements, sharing their grounded knowledge of their neighborhood's everyday life conditions. The initiative came from the members of Las Carahuayanas, a group of local women from the community of Las Lomas de Carabayllo (to be described in the next chapter). They were part of *La Casa Amiga*, a former Municipality's program that supported women and children who experienced domestic violence. Some of them claim they have experienced domestic violence themselves and their exile background from the country's civil conflict motivates them to gain empowerment and leadership through this network.

Within a neighborhood scope, they organize activities namely, workshops, human rights awareness campaigns, follow-ups, and emotional support after a post-traumatic experience. It is mentioned that their technical knowledge has been gained through trainings organized by NGOs, such as DEMUS and DESCO, allowing WNC to know about women's rights and their right to the city. Thus, WNC believes firmly in capacity building processes for women to be independent and empowered.

On the other hand, synergies between WNC and Soup Kitchens have been progressively established during the pandemic in 2020 due to the crises. It has been acknowledged that WNC has supported Soup Kitchens within their communities to apply to public resources through their formal registration in the city. Lack of support of neighborhood committees is also stated, given that they are mostly masculine figures.

> *[...] Neighborhood councils or housing associations and their leaders are often unaware of this issue because perhaps at the beginning some of them were supportive, but now they are not because most of them are men, they go out to work, or they discriminate, so we are the ones who have to go out to map and register the soup kitchens. We have made a WhatsApp group so that we can communicate and organize ourselves as well [...] There is no proper infrastructure or equipment. They cook on the*

streets. They are in the highest points of the city, right on the hills, and managing resources is highly complex.

Fortunata - Head of The Women's Network and President of Communal Cooking Pots of Lima.

On a district level, WNC works in partnership with several feminist NGOs working against gender violence in a district and city level. On the one hand, it is referred to DEMUS[10] as a key NGO partner with a long-standing experience working in Human Rights. The NGO works in specific parts of the district, identifying WNC as a grounded local-women network. DEMUS states that working with local women can provide an opportunity to create a sustainable effort in time. Thus, after establishing trust with members of the network, DEMUS have advocated to empower them and orientate them to organize territorial awareness campaigns against gender-based violence. Under DEMUS' campaign "Living without fear is our right", they argue that they aim to sociocultural patterns and discrimination with the strategies of political incidence, capacity building, and change of imaginaries. Their work in Carabayllo has been established since 2017 supporting the WNC to organize group awareness campaigns and trainings with a gender-sensitive approach as an instrument.

Fig. 4.9 The Women's Network of Carabayllo during territorial campaing
Source: DEMUS, 2020

10 DEMUS or Study for the Defense of Women's Rights, is a peruvian feminist NGO established in 1987.

On the other hand, WNC works beyond a district level by participating in city level platforms of dialogue within *Ciudad Mujer* from the NGO DESCO, as described in chapter 2. Members of the WNC interact with other CBOs in several districts of Lima through the NGO's facilitation. DESCO has established a strong relationship with WNC by inviting them to participate in the Political Agenda of Women for the City of Lima, allowing the WNC's member to share their demands to public authorities. As a political tool, the Agenda brings issues from Carabayllo's neighborhoods, and their own proposals to Metropolitan authorities with the aim of creating guidelines and policies for the urban development of the district. Amongst their demands, they argue that even though the Ministry of Women offers shelters for children up to 18 years old, after this age, it is difficult to follow up on their situation and there are no other shelters for them for example for sex trafficking cases. Therefore, amongst their demands, they claim to have spaces of shelter houses where psychologists, teachers and staff can assist women and young girls to reinsert them in their normal lives.

Conclusions

Carabayllo's history depicts the different ways space is being negotiated. Land rights and the privatization of space through market-oriented policies have created an atmosphere of classism as soon as they allocate themselves in the more developed areas of the district. Despite a middle-class is bein established in its center, low-income and extremely poor communities rely on survival networks lead by women. Networks at a district level illustrate that their ways to build social infrastructure and physical are mainly established through formal procedures. Despite networks are established at a metropolitan level, the articulation of gender-based violence networks with caregiving and feeding strategies in Carabayllo's territory is still unclear. While Community diners and Mother's Club association seem to work independently with the support of national programs and resource donations from NGOs, The Women's Network of Carabayllo in their fight against gender-based violence builds capacity with the assistance of NGOs and partakes on territorial campaigns organized by the entities. Thus, articulation between both types of survival organizations is still a matter to build.

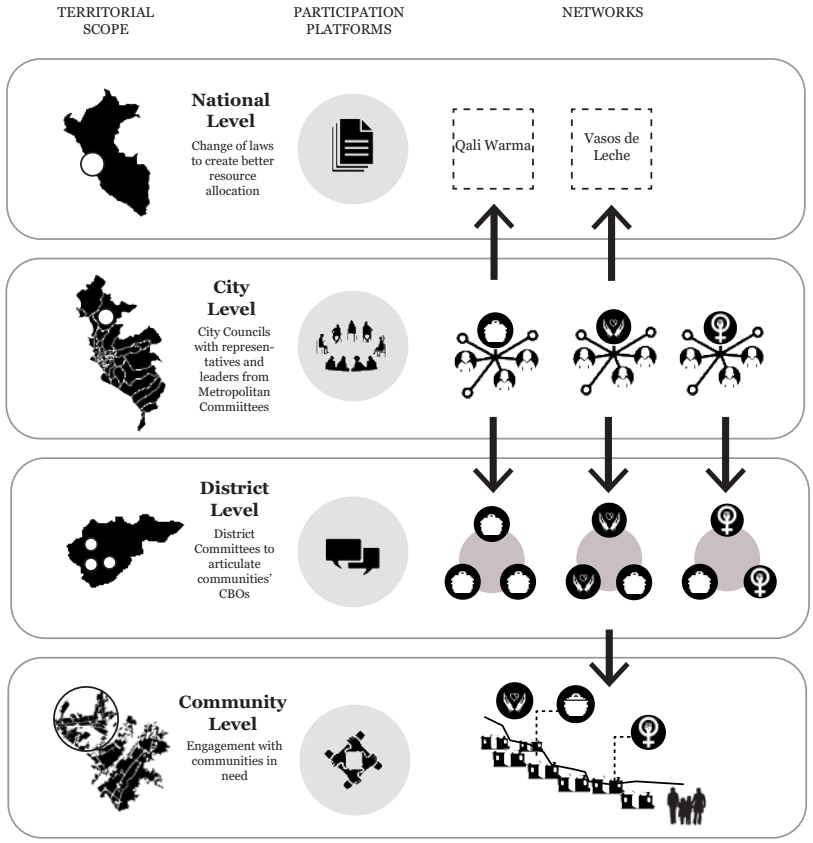


Fig. 4.10 Multilevel arrangements of women-led CBOs
Elaborated by author, 2021.

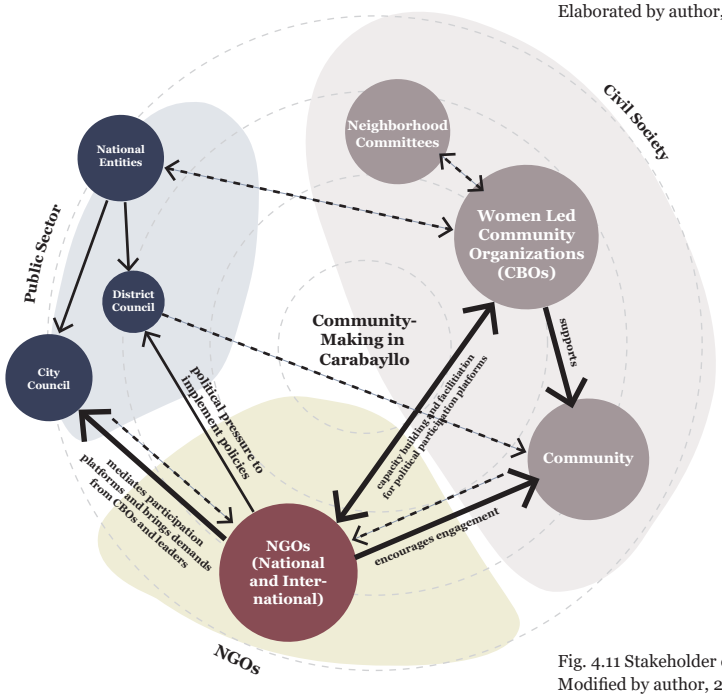


Fig. 4.11 Stakeholder costellation
Modified by author, 2021.

Chapter 5: The Area of Lomas de Carabayllo. Community-making in the hills of Carabayllo

Lomas de Carabayllo (LDC) is one of the zones of north-west Carabayllo composed mostly of human settlements of the district. It embodies 71 human settlements and most of them are in the highest parts of the hills (Lomas) of the district. This area hast been considered to have stational and endemic ecosystems that represent an important vegetation coverage during the months of winter although the city has desertic conditions. Its human settlements are characterized by its steepness of its location; consequently, it is in a process of "macrourbanization" due to its different forms of urbanizing it through different stages or independent neighborhood associations. The area has a poor connectivity to the rest of the district, having Las Lomas Avenue as their main road of access, yet roads and sidewalks are slowly being implemented.

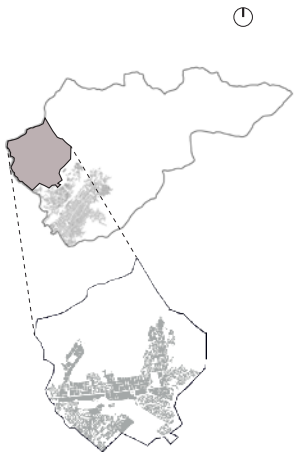
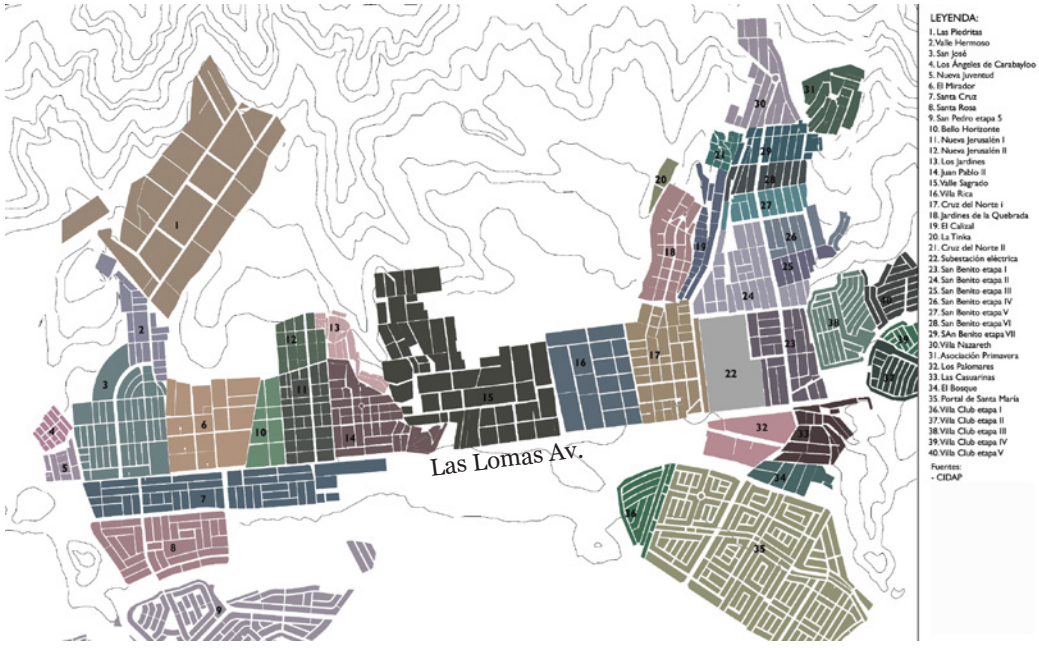


Fig. 5.1 Lomas de Carabayllo location map
Elaborated by author, 2021.

The area has had agriculture and mining activities as major local economic activities. However, mining has been reported as the main source of contamination, where heavy metal and toxic residues have been found in LDC's soil. Similarly, the presence of *El Zapallal*, a metropolitan landfill in the area, has led to the ap-

pearance of informal trash dumps in its surroundings where waste incineration occurs. These activities compromise inhabitant's health, due to their exposure to toxic gases from dioxins, furans, and lead residues. According to interviews, it is mentioned that children are prone to suffer from health conditions because of the exposure to these toxic residues, which is why neighborhood councils are in the process of managing to remove trash dumps from the area. Moreover, the construction industry is also known to have mining of non-metallic materials in the area, where they can extract material for the brick industry due to the presence of clay in the soil. This is particularly seen as a potential source of employment and economic income to dwellers in the area, who are also dedicated to crush stones by burning tires to facilitate this task, although it compromises the health of their own neighborhoods.

Fig. 5.2 Lomas de Carabayllo Human Settlement Map
Source: Ocupa tu Calle - PUCP, 2018



Lomas de Carabayllo has been catalogued as a red zone, let's say it this way because of the environmental contamination due to the excess of mining that we have here. There are mines and there are clays. We are in this dilemma because we need the sanitary landfill to be taken to another place, but we cannot do it at the moment because it also belongs to Metropolitan Lima. this is a problem that has been going on for years. They have even found lead in the blood of the children, when they have come to verify the Minsa, they found lead in the blood and arsenic.

Milka, Resident from Lomas de Carabayllo

5.1 Space as a critical site of struggle: Urbanization and access to land titling

The first occupations are reported to be in the agricultural areas during the 1970s. During the 1980s, the ravine areas of the hills started to be illegally occupied in a process of land appropriation and trafficking. In 1982, a landfill site started to appear in major proportions and was officially installed with the name of *El Zapallal*, being a source for inhabitants of the area to dedicate to recycling activities and waste segregation. In 1986, LDC was established as an urban expansion area, therefore soil studies, electricity and water services started to be implemented during the next decade. Similarly, the main road (Las Lomas Avenue) began to be constructed and it was finished in the year 2011, bringing the opportunity for population to be more spatially integrated to the rest of the district network.

In 1999, COFOPRI granted land titles to a few human settlements in the area and today some are still striving to formalize their parcels due to the following reasons: they are settled on archeological remains, they have boundary conflicts with their neighboring districts, or they are in a high-risk terrain due to its topography. Nevertheless, most of its human settlements are formalized and it must be pointed out that there were no distinctions when talking about access to land titling; however, during the process of land trafficking, abuse and social tensions have been constantly a matter of violent conflicts. Some dwellers had the chance to access to national housing programs such as *Techo Propio*, a program that provides grands to people with limited resources to build their own house.

When I came to live in Valle Hermoso in 2002. There was nothing. It was desolate. There were no houses. It was an agricultural association, the water didn't come up, we didn't have water and electricity. We fought to have all that. I remember that I had to be with my white bucket, my white handkerchief so that the cistern would rise. They would yell at me from below, "How many cylinders of water do you want? Sometimes 2-3 days without water. We would get light by splicing it from below on the track. Sometimes the cable was stolen because it was copper and sometimes, we had to get up early in the morning to take care of the cable. I paid 100-120 soles a month because I would wake up with the light bulb outside because it was very dark, there was nothing. There was darkness. I have lived and suffered the windstorms. In my little adobe house, the roof was lifted by a windstorm; we were eating, and the earth fell on our food and that day we starved. […] Two years ago, I was able to get into the Techo Propio program, I have a voucher from them.

Yvon resident and leader of *Las Carahuayanas*

Although housing programs and State's subsidies are offered to squatters in the area, the quest on water services and drainage has been a long-breath effort to its population. Studies show that 93% of LDC's population is supplied by water tankers. The purchase of water is a considerable expense for families and also a risk to their health, since in many cases there are no rigorous controls on the potability and salubrity of the water for sale (CIDAP, 2012).

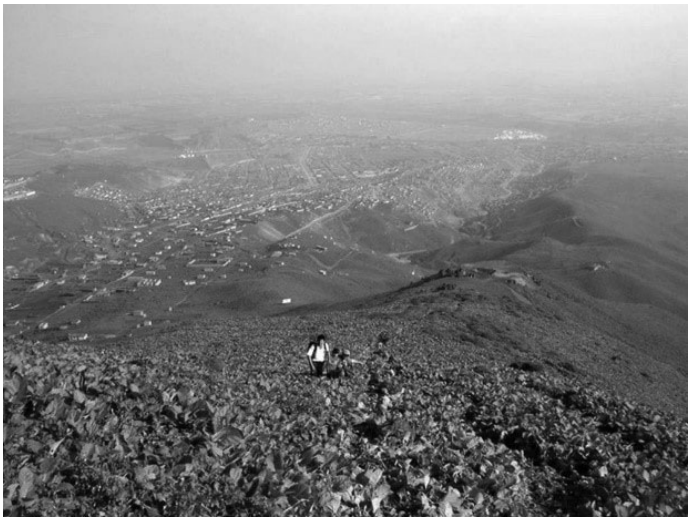


Fig. 5.3 Lomas de Carabayllo during winter
Source: Rumbos del Peru

Although land titling to convert squatters into property holders within the shades of capitalism, trying to cover dwellers as "guest citizens" of Lima, human settlements from LDC with its respective neighborhood committees and leaders, have organized to establish efforts of articulation in the quest of a formulation on their demands. With an effort to create an integrated vision and demands of LDC, the establishment of AGIDELCA as a neighborhood council compound by neighbors, CBOs, neighborhood committees and community leaders, have seek to formulate instruments through development plans. Although they still go out on the streets to fight for their demand, the use of technical tools such as the 'Concerted Development Plan for Lomas de Carabayllo 2004-2015' has been referred as integrated effort to include different public, private and civil actors such as NGOs for their technical assistance. Although governance efforts are illustrated through this instrument, its legal and bureaucratic nature led these plans to have a limited impact. Nevertheless, self-governance from AGIDELCA is still ongoing in a quest on collective demands such as the removal of *El Zapallal* landfill.

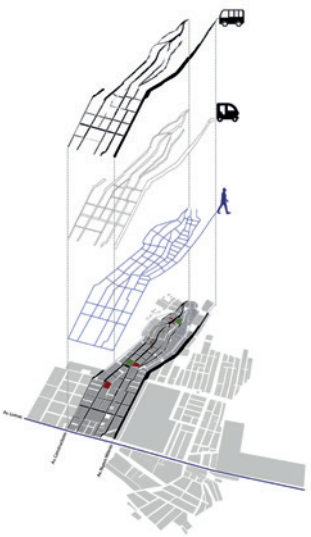


Fig. 5.4 Mobility layers
Source: Ocupa tu Calle, PUCP, 2018

5.2 Mobility and accessibility

According to the analysis made by *Ocupa tu Calle* in their collaboration to Plan International for the Safe Cities for Girls Program, it has been identified that the main mobility mode to reach central locations inside and outside the area is walking. Dwellers go frequently to the district's market, schools, medical facilities, their work centers, etc. or they walk to the nearest neighborhood district because of the discontinuous access to the district's facilities.

Additionally, informal transport such as "minivans" and *mototaxis* are also common to be found as main

transportation modes within the area. *Mototaxis* drivers are mainly residents of the area and mainly move within and around the neighborhoods and human settlements.

On the other hand, few metropolitan formal transportation lines can be reached in the main avenue of *Las Lomas* with official bus stops. Residents use these buses to reach their working places in the city, spending 1 to 2 hours for a one-way trip in average. Nevertheless, according to qualitative interviews, due to the level of economic poverty of this population, fares are too high and inaccessible to them, especially when they need to use several transportation modes to reach to their destination. Moreover, road infrastructure within the street networks for motorized transportation is mainly unpaved and residents use these paths as pedestrian paths, due to the lack of sidewalks. Residents also claim that maintenance of the main avenue is also an issue, as its pavement has chuckholes, does not count with street and traffic lights, making it a hostile and unsafe environment to walk through.
Moreover, due to the topography of the area, residents seem to appreciate stairs as elements that have helped them to feel more integrated to the street networks between the different human settlements. These are also transitional spaces of social interaction and places to stay, giving them a notable relevance for social activities in the community.

5.3 Women from Lomas de Carabayllo

The occupation of Lomas de Carabayllo had an intense population growth in the period between 1980s and 1990s in an exile from violence, which displaced a large sector of poor Andean-mestizo women, especially in the northern, central, and southern highlands (Ancash, Junín, Huancavelica, and Ayacucho) (Fig 5.5). This generation brings an emotional state of trauma from the experienced violence and their migration exile to the city, seeking opportunities and better quality of life. In the present, Lomas de Carabayllo represents a population with diverse cultural backgrounds, fact that seemingly creates community bonding according to the mixture of ethnic background.

> *Carabayllo, especially Lomas is a very rich district in all races, all customs, all Peru is here. We have people from different regions and departments. One can relate and learn from the cultures of each one of them. The customs are very different, you have to learn from them. The great*

majority of us are migrants, for example, I am from Piura. I live in Valle Hermoso. Here there are people from Ancash, Ayacucho, Apurimac, from the jungle [...] You learn to live with all this diversity. They sell their typical food and there you learn many things that are not the same as your reality. Each region is very different.

Yvon, resident and member of Las Carahuayanas

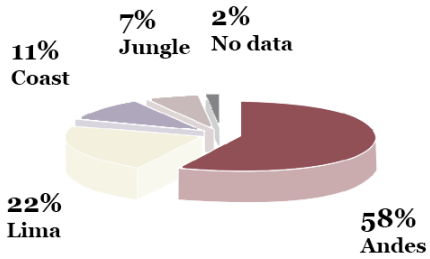


Fig. 5.5 Region of origin percentage
Source: CIDAP 2012

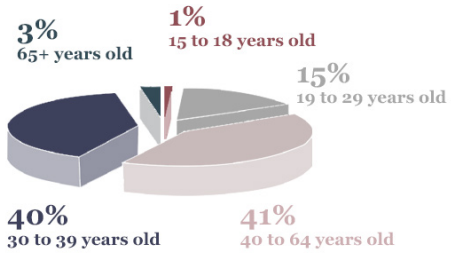


Fig. 5.6 Female age groups
Source: CIDAP 2012

However, in their process of adaption to the big city -and their neighborhoods-, migrants face bigger challenges when communicating their needs and demands. They acknowledge in a way, that discrimination towards migrants and newcomers who do not speak Spanish portrays in their limited spaces for participation.

There are constant social discriminations because they do not know how to speak well. Also, some women themselves are the ones who discriminate, they also encourage violence. For example, if a man leaves home, it is considered normal if he abandons his children or his family. However, if a woman leaves home for reasons of violence because there is no solution to her situation, suddenly she is seen as if she does not take care of her children, or she is a bad woman, and she does not know how to be a mother. [...] So, all of this is a problem that we have to work deeply because if we talk about equality, it is because men and women have the same rights.

Fortunata, Head of the Women's Network of Carabayllo

In their endeavor to cope with economic poverty, women that manage to work in the city are mostly domestic workers or mostly work in informal commerce. Women that work within the district level, generally work in the market selling breakfast, fruits, and vegetables, or clothes. However, it is considered a challenge to keep a market stand as it requires hiring security guards, and without eco-

nomic resources to access one, women themselves or members of their families must take care of it, bringing an additional challenge as they expose themselves to robberies and crime during nighttime. Finally, some families with more resources can own a local business as grocery shops in their own houses, bringing a local commercial network that serves the neighborhood. Studies in the area also reveal that women constantly aim to be economically independent, wishing to access training to gain capacities and work in jobs like their husband's or partner's; however due to their domestic and caregiving work, it is challenging for them to be independent.

Moreover, as described in chapter 4, due to the almost permanent presence of women within their neighborhood scopes, they express high levels of engagement and motivation to work for the management of their neighborhoods, participating in neighborhood councils, being members of neighborhood committees, community leaders and working in CBOs.

5.4 Girls and teenagers from Lomas de Carabayllo

To be able to have a wider understanding of how teenage girls experience their neighborhoods, a focus group and review on Plan International's Safe Cities for Girls reports was conducted. The focus group was conducted on four teenagers who participated in the program of Plan International to discuss their concepts of safety and their level of agency in their neighborhoods.

To begin with, a brainstorming of their neighborhood issues was discussed, uncovering the following problems: sexual harassment, teenage pregnancy, poor public street management, contamination, and crime. It was stated that street harassment is experienced around their schools, coming mainly from *mototaxi* drivers. Similarly, they avoid male-dominated spaces such as internet booths and walking through inactivated public spaces. These experiences affected their mobility, spending more time due to the election of alternative routes to walk back home. Regarding crime, they address robberies, confrontation of gangs and criminals become common to happen, being poor street lightning a contribution to experience fear to be exposed to these dangers. They also express that land invasions and land trafficking leads children and teenagers to be exposed to violent confrontations, growing up with a permanent sense of alert in their communities.

I live in the first human settlement of Lomas de Carabayllo (Tierra Prometida). We have been here for more than twenty years, but we still do not possess land titles and there are always invasions. There is always the danger of shootings, gunshots. They steal a large part of the land that was destined to be a park. A month and a half ago, they wanted to steal the water, they came with tractors. They are criminals. We, teenagers and very young children experience the danger. We are on alert that something could happen to us.

Female teenager, 15 years old

Additionally, they describe that they avoid walking in secondary to local streets as they are more desolated, referring to winter as the season where they avoid walking the most after four in the afternoon, experiencing fear due to the street emptiness. At the city level, discrimination was also addressed by other girls coming from another economic status. Economic dependency was also described stating that domestic care activities limit -young- mothers to work and be independent.
When asked to refer to their knowledge on safety, participants describe that their concept of safety has widened up to a gender-sensitive perspective during the program of Safe Cities for Girls. Before the program, they related the aforementioned issues as the only factors to experience violence, where safety means being free of crime. They address that including a gender perspective to urban unsafety means to include street harassment and experience of sexual abuse. Additionally, they express that media contributes to see crime as the only way to experience violence and not a violation of human rights.

We lived in harassment from a very young age, but I didn't know what to call it, I didn't know how to express it.

Female teenager, 15 years old

During this focus group, discussions on what they wish to have in their neighborhoods were oriented to the improvement of public spaces through the inclusion of more urban infrastructure such as lightning, seats, and urban greenery.
On the other hand, when asked to describe what they like the most about their neighborhood, they addressed their appreciation of sports pitches as places where they could practice folkloric dances rehearsals, a typical activity organized by their schools two to three times per week. Furthermore, they express their appreciation of neighborhood councils' gatherings and the social networks from

their communities, especially whenever activities are composed of different generations. Similarly, they give value to cultural activities such as folkloric dancing performances, as ways to connect and socialize.

Finally, a discussion on how they envision their neighborhood reveals the importance that teenage girls and boys give to communal spaces. In that sense, they envision places where they can participate and be active in decision-making on community projects. More physical spaces for workshops were constantly referred as a basic infrastructure they wish to have to gather and continue their activities as teenage groups. Similarly, they wish to have space free of urban crime where they can freely walk and move in their neighborhood.

> *I imagine my neighborhood without fear of being killed. A neighborhood with spaces where everyone can enjoy, tranquility when walking in the space.*
>
> Male teenager, 17 years old

5.5 Female participation schemes and leadership

The following section will illustrate they ways women and teenagers engage with their communities with leadership skills. It will describe the different ways they perform in different groups and their negotiation capacities to gain their right to participate in decision-making.

Female dirigentes

Each human settlement in Lomas de Carabayllo have their own Neighborhood Committee that is elected through a voting process every two years and lead by a *dirigente* or community leader. Amongst the *dirigentes* tasks, we find that they have a representative figure of their neighborhoods by regularizing land properties and requesting basic services and infrastructure with neighborhood plans. As a self-management strategy, they seek to work articulately by frequently meeting with other community's neighborhood committees, such as whenever a road is planning to be constructed.

The results of these board meetings bring stronger arguments and pressure to the local government, as an absent stakeholder in these areas.

We have a board meeting to show the plans because we are managing the main road, which is the Lomas Road. We are already in the project to make this metropolitan road and we hope it goes well, just at 2 o'clock in the afternoon is our board meeting. Each board is presenting the plans and the other thing is that also within our human settlement, the engineers of 'Cálida' are there to make the designs of the natural gas networks to the houses.

Milka, female dirigente from Lomas de Carabayllo, 2021

Although male community leaders are predominant in the area, female *dirigentes* have had a powerful role in recent years (fig. 5.8). Settlers rely on their leadership skills and advocacy to manage their communities as their presence in their neighborhoods is highly noticeable through their everyday activities. On the other hand, during interviews, it is also stated that some female *dirigentes* overlook gender-based violence programs, local networks, and the presence of NGOs in the area, showing a lack of integration of these programs in their self-managed planning processes. For instance, tensions may be also recognized with caregiving networks as acquired participatory budgets are mainly destined to physical infrastructure rather than to social and intangible projects.

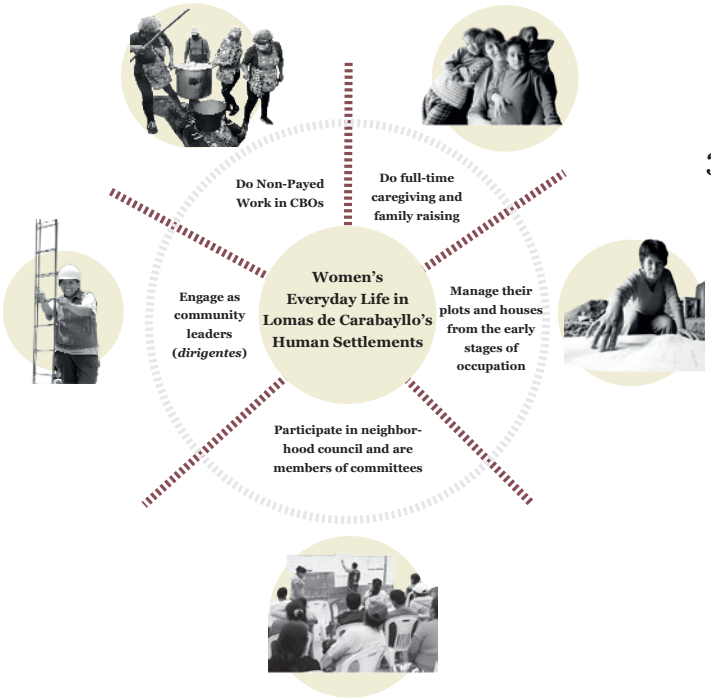


Fig. 5.8 Women's Everyday Life
Elaborated by author, 2021

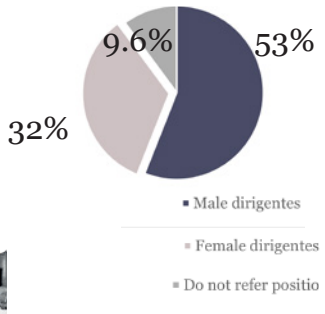


Fig. 5.7 Percentage of women and men who engage as dirigentes
Source: CIDAP 2012

The priority task of *dirigentes* is mainly associated with the neighborhood's consolidation and infrastructure through the negotiation with public authorities. Nevertheless, statements on conflicting relationships with the municipal bodies are constantly addressed as a problem, generating real struggles on the engagement for women to participate in this role. Accessibility to the flatter part of the district to reach the municipal facilities represents additional challenges for them to reach their demands, spending added time to their duties. Spatial settings in terms of accessibility to the district as a route to reach the municipality is then an additional challenge to overcome, especially to women.

> *I would love for the municipality to be a little bit committed with us, instead of us towards them. We walk a lot and it is very tedious to be always behind them waiting in long lines. Waiting, waiting, and waiting, when they are the ones who should also come to our site, to our area to see in what situation we are in and how they can help us.*
>
> Milka, female *dirigente* from Lomas de Carabayllo, 2021

Today, single mothers are leaders and have political participation and negotiation figure over the quality of their streets and with a large level of engagement to improve their neighborhoods, dealing with municipal and city-level authorities. On the other hand, *dirigentes* are also known to lead a commission of any type of CBO organization. Through the case of Catalina Rodriguez, we may see that they may be heads of their households, coping with their precarious conditions and contributing to their survival family networks. Their role is also intertwined with other functions such as social workers or prosecutors. Nowadays, during the health and economic crisis of the 2021 pandemic, Catalina Rodriguez advocates working in the Soup Kitchens, serving 180 meals per day. Her high levels and commitment are just an example of how poor women leaders play a key role in the management of survival community networks.

> *I have been living in the Jardines de la Quebrada human settlement for twenty years. I am a single mother and my position as a leader was to work also as a social worker and as a prosecutor [...] People chose me because I like to work to improve my community and that is why I was a leader for eight years. I learned a little bit of everything.*
>
> Catalina. Former *dirigente* from Jardines de la Quebrada human settlement

Soup Kitchens: A survival women-led strategy against hunger on the hills

Communal cooking pots are community-driven initiatives that arise as survival strategies in extreme poverty settings, and it is particularly common to find them in human settlements located on the hills. In Lomas de Carabayllo, they are more common than Community Dinners, which normally require more infrastructure and maintenance, and serve around 50 meal portions; in contrast to over 100 meals that Cooking Pots offer. They are made of groups of women that live in the neighborhood and organize themselves to provide food for families in extreme poverty. Most of the women leading these initiatives are themselves migrants with a large will to support families facing unemployment. Communal cooking pots are generally operating on the streets, exposed to dust and poor hygienic conditions, creating, ironically, a potential source of health vulnerabilities due to food insecurity, however, fulfilling the neighborhood's food necessities is considered a priority.

> *Most of these women are unemployed women, without resources. Women who on top of all this have a family burden of housework, raising children, and eating from a common pot, which also generates welfare and dependency. Many of them, in a small socioeconomic profile than we did, told us that they would die if they did not have the common pot. So, there you realize that you are helping common pots for survival, but what is the point, the limit, the thin line that leads to dependency and welfarism?*
>
> Romy, coordinator of DEMUS (NGO)

Fig. 5.9 Women working in Soup Kitchens
Source: International Institute for Environment and Development 2021

Many locate their pots and cooking utensils in front of the house of the cooking volunteers, serving 180 to 250 families per day, using firewood, as gas is unaffordable. Due to the lack of resources and limited budgets that the local and national government provides, they organize themselves to collect food supplies from different institutions such as small local entrepreneurs, the Catholic and Evangelic Church, feminist NGOs, and district Markets. Leaders and organizers of these initiatives have therefore a political figures, working in the improvement of policies and managing the creation of by-laws to strengthen supporting networks and the neighborhood's demands.

One of the shared challenges in qualitative interviews is that there is a lack of support from *dirigentes* to the management of Soup Kitchens. Members of other supporting networks such as The Women Network of Carabayllo also state that discrimination against women is also a general problem, coming from male *dirigentes*, who do not consider these issues as a priority during the planning of their neighborhoods. Structural association to gender roles is the main problem, encouraging women to remain in domestic-related activities such as cooking, or dealing with grocery shopping in markets. The recognition of the WNC must be addressed as key support. In that sense, their contribution on registering Cooking Pots in the City Council has allowed them to access budgets and resources, yet, through their networks of support and campaigns, they encourage women who depend on the cooking ports, to build capacity to be economically independent and overcome poverty. The WNC had also worked with the activist teenage group of CEBIG to assist women from the Soup Kitchens to allocate donations and resources, showing an intergenerational collaboration.

> *It was shocking for us to see them. We saw that the ladies' eyes were very red because they were cooking from far away. They made 90 menus a day for only 1 sol for people in need when in the communal dinners the daily menu normally costs 3 soles. They have no income, but they cannot deny food to other people in need.*
>
> Female teenager, 17 years old

Las Carahuayanas: A survival women-led strategy against gender-based violence

This group of women is the initiators of a collective effort to support women in precarious conditions who suffer from domestic violence. The organization is made up of ten to twelve women that bring their experience and learnings from *La Casa Amiga* program.

La Casa Amiga had its pilot project in LDC and aimed to assist around 50 women in the first year, but due to its high demand, it later opened in different parts of the district. The project also offered psychological service to children and teenagers, specifically in topics of bullying and learning issues. *La Casa Amiga* had the objective of bringing psychosocial attention to the ones who suffered from gender-based violence and did a follow-up on them throughout their process of recovery. They had a similar approach to the Women's Emergency Centers (CEM), a program from the Ministry of Women, with the focus on attending individuals and families on cases of domestic violence with a multidisciplinary approach, but these centers do not reach remote areas like LDC and do not include community networking as part of their strategies. It may be noted that aside from having social workers and psychologists as part of their staff, *La Casa Amiga* was also integrated by volunteer local women. Some of them came from domestic violence cases; despite having suffered these experiences, due to their leadership skills and solidarity, they were encouraged to join training programs to provide emotional support for other affected women and families.

Although *La Casa Amiga* had a great demand and appreciation, the new Municipal administration shut the program down due to the elimination of the Women's Department, blocking efforts and progress reached. Common remarks from interviewees, municipal authorities are seen as figures with a lack of sympathy and understanding on gender due to their religious beliefs or prominent sexism.

> *We saw the need to form this organization and integrate it ourselves because we were already prepared and had already experienced some cases firsthand [...] We learned to be psychologists without being psychologists. We provided emotional support thanks to what psychologists had taught us. We tried to help when a psychologist was not available. So, all that training helped us to realize that we had to activate it and keep it until today.*
>
> Yvon, leader of Las Carahuayanas

With the shutdown of *La Casa Amiga* as a public project, the role of *Las Carahuayanas* has been key to support Lomas de Carabayllo's women in precarious conditions who suffered from domestic violence. They call themselves activists, psychologists, and promoters, working with a territorial approach to creating a bigger network through the Women's Network of Carabayllo as referred in chapter 4. Their partnership with NGOs that work with human rights has been key for them to continue training themselves and building up the capacity to fight against gender-based violence.

> *The Mayor surrounds himself with people or managers who do not understand this issue of violence, are not sensitized, and see related programs as a useless expense. In fact, the program had a budget, but it was never given to us.*
>
> Ibid.

Their effort to strengthen women's local networks it may be valued as national programs facilities are located in the consolidated part of the district. Women under circumnstances of domestic violence are discouraged to report their cases due to the long routes they must take to reach the CEM national program facilities in the center of the district. For instance, when it comes to programs against gender-based violence, many cannot express their experiences due to the lack of inclusiveness to indigenous backgrounds. There are cases in which Quechua-speaking seniors are not able to explain their experiences. Considering this, community networks and the assistance of neighbors become a way for them to overcome these difficulties.

> *When we were in Casa Amiga, we came across these Quechua-related inconveniences. I turned to friends who spoke the dialect and some of them helped me translate what the old lady had said so that I could have a clear understanding of what was wrong with her. The state neglects the fact that the mother tongue of some of the dwellers is not Spanish but other dialects. We were in the process of taking a course in Quechua to be able to provide this support, but we found ourselves with this big problem.*
>
> Ibid.

On the other hand, members of Las Carahuayanas, as part of the Women's Network of Carabayllo are constantly in communication with DESCO as an NGO that offers them training and capacity building. Statements from the leader show that the group has a high appreciation for the NGO as they help them to scale their demands and has provided them with tools to empower them. The representative values to be part of city-level platforms and to partake in courses on participatory budgets to gain capacities on overcoming bureaucratic procedures.

Teenage feminist activism: CEBIG

Through Plan International's workshops in Carabayllo with *Campeonas y Campeones por el Cambio* (Champions for Change), teenage girls and boys from several parts of the district were trained to develop communicational and governance skills. Plan International's advocacy workshops encouraged groups of girls and boys from different communities to become activists of their rights and gender equality and the most committed groups were invited to be part of the Safe Cities for Girls project. In light of promoting their participation at a political level, PI encouraged teenage representatives of their communities to participate in the establishment of metropolitan and national agendas through the Advisory Councils for Children and Adolescents. According to some of the participants, *"Entre Pares"* was a platform on which teenage group networks were able to discuss issues and proposals to change their communities and later share them with the municipal authorities through the advisory councils. Girls express that there is a high appreciation for the communicational skills that they acquired through PI's advocacy workshops, allowing them to build self-confidence and elaborate arguments for authorities and hierarchical figures.

> *One key thing that Plan International has done is that they always encouraged us to be able to share projects in front of authorities [...] We did not know how to speak in public; we were not outspoken. They gave us spaces for youth participation. We started to talk to older people and communicate our issues within our environment, within our community, and at home, communication that had a lot of value. They helped by training us from the age of 13 [...] We learned to present the projects that we were doing with Plan International; they encouraged us to overcome our fear of speaking in public.*
>
> Female teenager, 17 years old

The establishment of the teenage group as a feminist activism organization may be recognized as one of Plan International's goals of "Increased active and meaningful participation of girls in urban development and governance". Throughout the project, Plan International accompanied them to establish and register their organization independently, guiding their meetings that initially took place in schools and then in the local community hall.

It was possible to develop a high level of motivation and engagement to establish and be part of the organization due to the acquired capacity to be facilitators and organizers of workshops, forums, and dialogue spaces with other teenage groups with the support of PI as facilitators. They state that PI has had a large impact on their self-confidence and capacity to communicate their concerns to adults and authorities. Within their activities, they state that this is a way for them to share their knowledge about sexuality, their rights as teenagers, create learning exchange, and a way to network with other social groups and feminist activists. They manage these activities independently, after learning from examples of activism from PI's advocacy workshops.

> *We manage the activities independently. We send out the mailings and invitations ourselves. We do activities with other feminist collectives, and we participate in networks through statements, forums, webinars [...] These spaces are opportunities for exchanging personal knowledge and collective growth.*
>
> Female teenager, 17 years old

CEBIG has established partnerships with other community-based organizations such as la WNC to assist the organization of Soup kitchens.

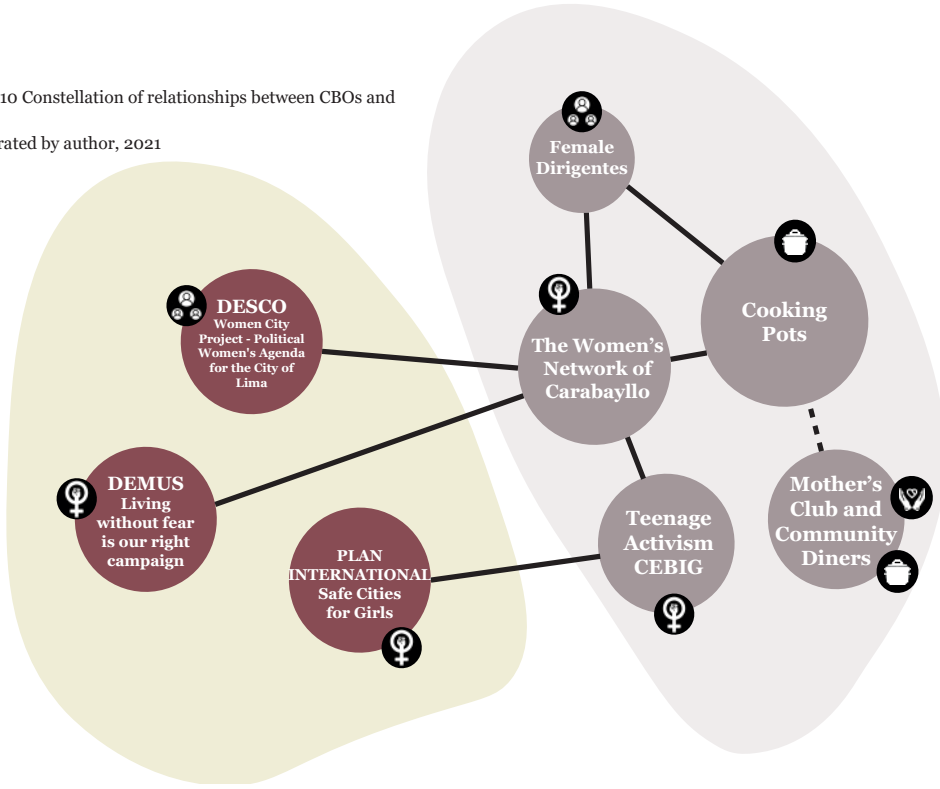
> *There should be planning. We are playing with people's lives; sometimes the ladies don't have gloves or hats for their hair. Maybe there should be networks of soup kitchens because there is only one in another community, where not many people go because it is not widespread.*
>
> Female teenager, 17 years old

Their awareness and female leadership in the areas may be highlighted once more as a self-management and reinforcement of their networks of care and assistance to other poor women.

5.6 Conclusions

Lomas de Carabayllo exemplifies an umbrella of grassroots organizations that eagerly aim to transform their neighborhood. On the one hand, physical infrastructure is taken care of by neighborhood committees lead by a dirigente, and on the other, social infrastructure is taken care of by CBOs mainly lead by women. Both groups of community arrangements face constant tensions with the municipality and public bodies in their dependency on resource allocation. However, municipal resources and budgets allocated to physical infrastructure are more likely to be acquired than to social infrastructure, leading women-led CBOs to derive their claim to city-to-national institutions. On other hand, it is seen that CBOs connect to strengthening their capacities. They are seen creating bonds to overcome their arrangement difficulties and NGOs such as Plan International has contributed to building leadership in teenagers in the area. Although in the frame of sexual harassment and gender equality, teenagers live the everyday impact on the cycle of crime and violence.

Fig. 5.10 Constellation of relationships between CBOs and NGOs
Elaborated by author, 2021



Sample of Women-led Organizations in Lomas de Carabayllo			
Type of CBO	**Feeding Strategies**	**Gender Based Violence Strategies**	
CBO	**Soup Kitchens**	**Las Carahuayanas**	**CEBIG**
Social Infrastructure	Low-income women from their neighborhood	Women from neighborhoods who participated in *La Casa Amiga* Program in the past	Teenage group (15-17 years old) from neighborhoods from Former participants from PI's Safe Cities for Girls
Places of Origin	Migrants and migration background - Predominantly Andean	Migrants and migration background	From Lima, with migration background
Scopes	Neighborhood	Neighborhood, district and Metropolitan	Neighborhood, district and metropolitan
CBO Networks	Lima's Network of Soup Kitchens	Women's Network of Carabayllo	Women's Network of Carabayllo
	Soup Kitchen Network from Carabayllo	Interdistrict Women's Network of Social Organizations of North Lima and South Lima	
	Women's Network of Carabayllo	Soup Kitchens	
NGO Networks	DESCO	DESCO, DEMUS, FOVIDA, Alternativa	Plan International
Public Networks	MIDIS, MIMP, FAO	-	-
Resources and Infrastructure	Qali Warma	From NGOS	From Plan International
Appropiation Arrangenments	Organic emergence upon collective crises	Established in response to the shut down of Municipality's Women Department	Invitation and idea of establishment came by Plan International
	Infrastructure is managed by volunteer workers. Call on food provision from other actors in the district	Organized activism on gender equality with mediation of DEMUS	Self organized activities of activism but mediated by Plan International
	Organized demands to get public resources	Self-organized mechanisms to support victims of violence. But claim to be trained by NGOs to gain more knowledge on women's rights	Use of community's facilities
		Self-organized mechanisms to build capacity	
Participation Arrangements	Arrangemnet through Soup Kitchen committees in a neighborhood level	Participation in District and City Councils	Participation in teenager City Councils (CODISEC)
	Highly engaged women to support families in need.	Formally part of Women's Political Agenda for the City of Lima (DESCO)	Communication skills have been developed through capacity building workshops by Plan International
	Overseen in planning processes from male dirigentes.	Active participation in neighborhood committees. Some engage as dirigentes.	

Table 5.1 Sample of Women-led Organizations in Lomas de Carabayllo
Elaborated by author, 2021

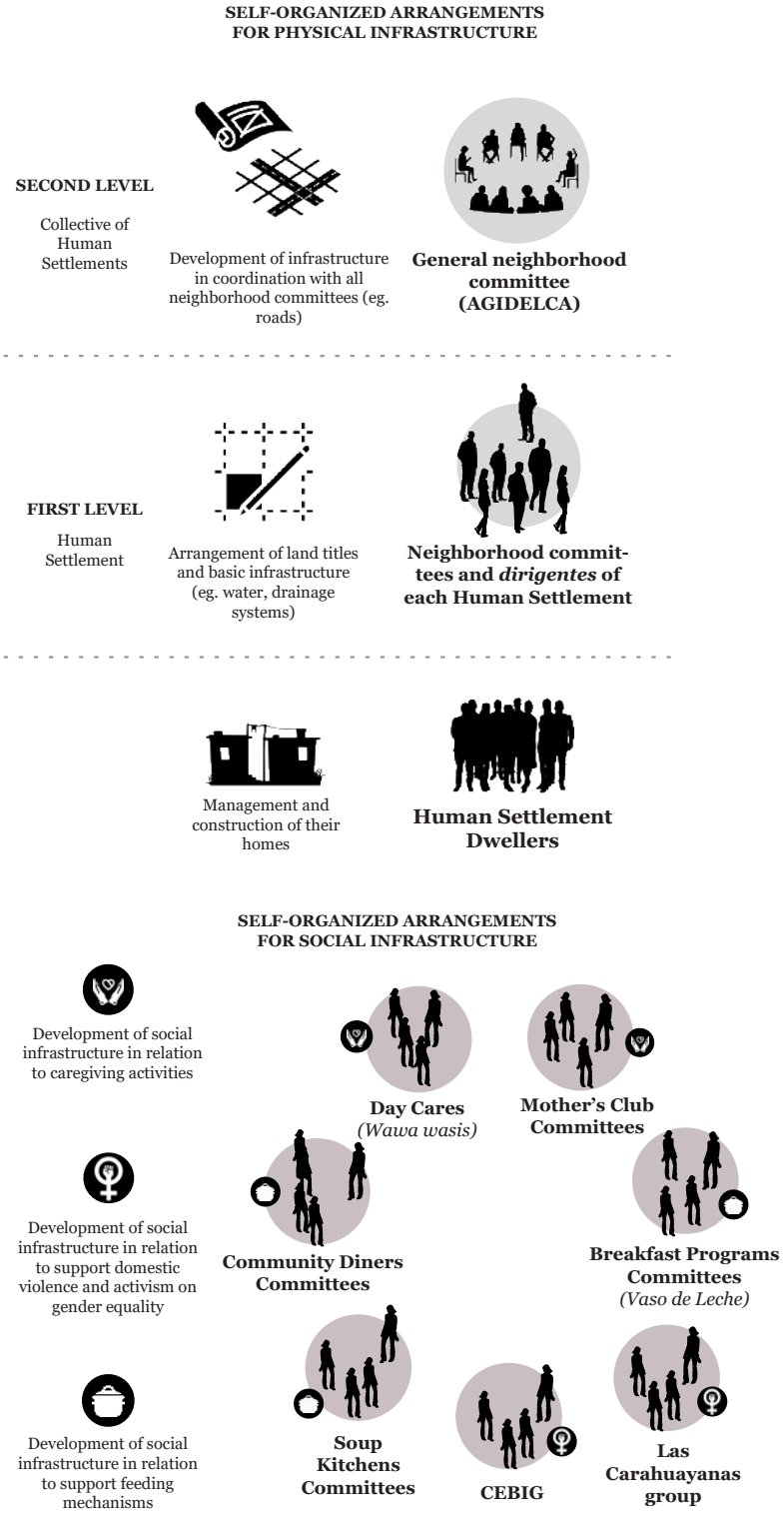


Fig. 5.11 Participation arrangements: Classification of organizations in Lomas de Carabayllo
Elaborated by author, 2021

Chapter 6: Use of International Gender-Sensitive Strategies in Human Settlements. The Case of Plan International's Safe Cities for Girls in Jardines de la Quebrada

The following section will exemplify how global strategies are addressed within the human settlement of Jardines de la Quebrada in its precarious and marginalized location settings. It illustrates the case of the application of global tools with local actors and stakeholders from the district in a spatial intervention in this human settlement. The neighborhood is characterized by its slopy topography and house occupation on the hills, conditions that create complex livelihoods to its population. Accordingly, this chapter will describe the ways in which an NGO bring worldwide recognized tools used by partnered organizations such as UN-Habitat and WICI.

6.1 Background

After district studies were conducted in 2018, Plan International (PI) advocated working in this particular neighborhood due to its unsafe conditions according to their diagnosis. PI's studies at a district level show that there is not sufficient attention to children and teenagers in part of the district's urban development plans, and particular discrimination to the age group between 13 and 17 years old. It is addressed that they are seen as a problematic and complicated group in schools, public safety, and neighborhood participation scopes. Their studies also show that the district's measures and policies of public safety have a limited gen-

der-sensitive approach due to the lack of inclusion of this age group's experience, ignoring the impact of violence in their personal development. Even though local plans of the district have established guidelines for girls, boys, and teenagers to be included in participation processes and have considered specific types of violence such as domestic violence within their programs, PI states that other types of violence such as harassment in public spaces and psychological aggression are still missing within their policies and strategies.

Fig. 6.1 Workshops with the community
Source: Plan International, 2019

Under the theme of recovery of public spaces as one of the global goals of the Safe Cities for Girls program, a key partnership was established between PI and the NGO Ocupa tu Calle (OTC), given their experience in co-transforming open public spaces with citizens and public stakeholders. Likewise, this collaborative work had a partnership with the Catholic University of Lima, initiative from the leading members of OTC, as professors of the "Architecture and Participation: Studio of Urban Public Spaces".

6.2 Methodology

The initial spatial study was conducted by OTC and students from the University. During the study in Lomas de Carabayllo, students were able to identify the social structures, spatial analysis, and challenges in Jardines de la Quebrada. The outcome was to co-design a small-scale intervention in a public space according to the analysis and conclusions of the study. OTC, along with PI's tools, applied participatory mapping tools. These tools allowed to include the perspective, concerns, and suggestions of the girls in the future public space intervention.

Members of OTC argue that this was an enriching and challenging experience, since male dirigentes were the most skeptical of the proposed intervention, leading to delays from the original schedule. Interviews show that one of the main learnings during this process was that the activities and procedures were a call for the municipality and decision-makers to be aware of the precariousness of Jardines de la Quebrada's public spaces and how these spaces shape the behavior and social structures of the community. On the other hand, gender-sensitive approaches were a challenge to dirigentes as authority figures on the management of the community's public spaces.

METHOD	Social Mappings	Safety Audits	Site Visits and Workshops
AIM	Mapping safe and unsafe spaces that could be identified by teenagers of the area	To show to different stakeholders where and why unsafe spots were mapped in the cartography	To create space of dialogue with *dirigentes,* neighbor committees, parents or family members and community were invited to carry out discussions about their urban spaces, notions on public spaces and to share the design proposal.
TOOLS	Map and drawings, which allowed them to share information about specific places, streets, and routes where they feel safe and unsafe.	Teenagers along with relevant actors from the community such as *dirigentes,* municipal authorities, police bodies, mototaxi drivers, and the community itself	Discussions and workshops with the community. Shared notions on public spaces.
PROCEDURE	Groups of boys and girls were divided to show them the differences of the use of space and perceptions.	Routes and spaces where they walked were selected by teenagers, classifying them as safe and unsafe.	Meetings and workshops were conducted by the NGOs Ocupa tu Calle and Plan International in neighbors houses and school facilities
OUTCOMES	Maps with unsafe and safe spots.	Prioritarization of spaces to intervene.	Awareness and visibility on factors that produce feelings of unsafety
	Drawings on what boys and girls appreciate in their neighborhood.	Design proposal of the space to intervene according to teenagers' perceptions and recommendations	Commitment of the community to participate in the construction and its management.
	Awareness on the differenciated use and perception of space.		

Table 6.1 Matrix of methodology applied by Plan International
Elaborated by author. Source: Plan International, 2021

The tools applied also showed the difference of experience and social relations and tensions in the urban space. Negotiation with dirigentes, community leaders, and the community was key to overcoming resistances from the adulthood perspective, uncovering the structural discriminations towards gender, and giving priority to other kinds of infrastructure that favor a specific social group. According to workshop reports from PI, it was recognizable that women and mothers supported the proposal more than men. Similarly, it was also a challenge to keep them engaged, as most of the participants have long work shifts and their attendance felt somehow forced.

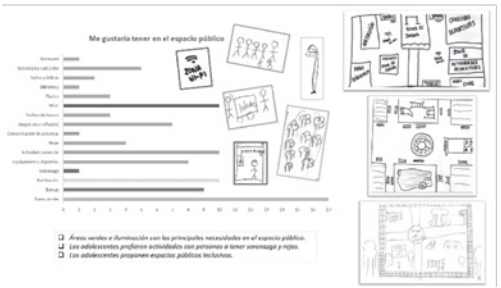


Fig. 6.2 Plan International's Safety Walks and Participatory Mappings
Image 1. Safety Walks
Image 2 and 3 Participatory cartography
Source: Plan International, 2019

6.3 Outcomes

According to *Ocupa tu Calle*, both tools allowed them to recognize how urban spaces were used by teenagers and how they perceive their neighborhood, and these contributions permitted them to incorporate girls' and teenagers' perspectives and recommendations into their initial design proposal. The discussion of these problems opened a debate and awareness about the factors that contribute to these unsafety feelings and experiences, and their understanding became visible through the community's engagement and commitment to participate in the intervention's construction and its management.

According to the teenage participants, the most appreciated outcome of this activity was the opportunity for them to share their capacities to express themselves to adults, gaining respect from neighborhoods committees and local authorities.

It was an opportunity for them to understand our experiences in our neighborhoods. They used to say, "these things happen to youths", but they started to acknowledge our experience in a different way. It was also an opportunity for community leaders and committees to realize the relevance of the project and to get involved in the public space recovery.

Teenager, 17 years old. Participant of PI's program

I remember very well when I spoke with the leader; at the beginning, he spoke to me with a lot of authority. But at some point, when they saw our capacity to achieve change and that we could tell them that we had the same rights and opportunities, he changed his language, and they had more respect for us.

Teenager, 17 years old. Participant of PI's program

Fig. 6.3 Community building the intervention
Source: Plan International, 2019

6.4 Spatial design proposal

Finally, a co-designed project was conducted. The elaboration of a master plan in the neighborhood contemplated the recommendations and inputs from the teenagers and members of the community and considered the neighborhood's sports pitch and a hillside next to the church of the community as the most problematic spaces.

The proposal considered suggestions from the teenagers, who requested a space to learn and study due to the lack of space or infrastructure at home, forcing them to gather at their friends' houses, but exposing

themselves on their way back home to the aforementioned problems. On some occasions, they used the neighborhood's community hall to study, but sometimes it was not possible because it is often utilized by adults' meetings or managed by the neighborhood's committee. Furthermore, they request spaces where they can recreate and gather with friends; however, due to the lack of public spaces in the neighborhood, they use parks and spaces that are not necessarily in the range of their community, restricting them once again to stay long hours outside to avoid any possible danger during their mobility in the evenings or late hours.

Once the design and plans were finalized, the master plan was presented to the dirigentes and neighborhood councils through a negotiation process. According to PI, this negotiation process was a way to create dialogue and discussion on the contribution of the project to their community's development and long-term plans. This process was addressed to be essential to encourage an integrated and common understanding with the local territorial planning department and encourage them to co-manage and to maintain these spaces. Nevertheless, it is important to highlight, that the outcomes in terms of sense of identity and management of the intervention are still a matter to be evaluated by the institution due to the pandemic lockdown restrictions during 2020 and 2021.

6.5 Conclusions

Although social norms are challenged to be changed through spatial interventions, it is valued that the project created a space for discussion about the factors that influence girl's perception of safety. Starting at a neighborhood scale, it is still unclear how to do IP addresses harassment in a neighborhood that strives with poverty and cycles of crime. Nevertheless values rely on the bonds and trust that have been established within the institution and the community during the process of the project.

Values on creating opportunities for girls to propose facilities for their neighborhood from below are depicted in the participatory mappings and the intergenerational interaction with dirigentes and neighborhood committees. Trust with parents is built through school facilities and the invitation to the community to participate in workshops and training about public spaces and gender norms. However, unclear networks with other women-led CBOs or NGOs in the area need to be overcome.

Chapter 7: Framework for discussion

Going beyond conventional dualisms from the formal and the informal, men and women, private, public, provides us an impression on ways of inhabitance within squatters' 'right to the city' discourse that been inscribed within major forces of oppression through Peruvian history. In that sense, postcolonial theory gives us a sense of how women and girls in Carabayllo's communities have progressively exercised their right to a city free of violence.

7.1 Dimensions of Analysis

On a city level (Lima Metropolitan Area)

A reframed right to the city in informal settlements enlightens the strategies that low-income communities and precarious women have formulated in response to their economic conditions intersected with violence and discrimination. At a metropolitan level, the spatial and social exclusion that squatters have experienced throughout Lima Metropolitan Area's urban development due to their illegal status is a result of how the capital seeks to be inserted into the global economy and a series of power oppression. Lack of integrated approaches on social housing within "the smooth" Lima, evidence of how communities occupy the hills of Lima, continuing an urban expansion even in the most challenging geographical settings. Neoliberal practices have led to the marginalization of the poor, reproducing sociocultural discriminative behavior against them from the upper-middle- and high-class Lima. The city is considered a globalized city, but with gated spaces, building barriers originated by fear to the 'other' during the 1980s and 1990s as remanent from the civil conflict. It can be stated that the poor and rural migrants, intersected with women, age, and class, are the most margin-

alized individuals in Lima's society.
NGO strategies on gender-sensitive projects and agendas at a metropolitan level show that they follow institutional tools and horizontal strategies to work with a gender-sensitive perspective. The right to the city as a global discourse has been adopted and given influence over, the ways grassroots organizations perform citizenship. With the absence of the state and poor commitment of local government with their citizens, NGOs advocate establishing synergies and dialogues with governmental authorities, leading to reduce the radicalization of social groups within human settlements.

On a district level (Carabayllo)
Carabayllo's history reveals how its peri-urban development was transformed by the real state, forcing peasants to sell their parcels under the failure of the Agrarian Reform, a measure that could not be sustained over time due to global economic forces, leaving peasants in a state of poverty. This case illustrates what was happening at a city level but at a district level: rural migrants occupying the district's hills, while the flatter side of the district was being developed by the real state and bigger economic forces. Its hills were occupied by a diverse ethnic background, organizing themselves with long-breath struggles on land titling and basic infrastructure.

On the other hand, interviews reveal that social conflicts are depicted through the political boundaries within formalization processes, intersected with racial discrimination and classism grasped throughout the interviews, despite the numerous indigenous backgrounds in the district. It has been stated that Carabayllo has different socio-economic classes, where the poorest inhabitants are in the hills and most unreachable areas of the district. However, a further ethnographic study is required to unravel socio-spatial relationships on this matter, which due to the limitations of this study, could not be addressed.

On a community level (Lomas de Carabayllo): Gendered everyday life within precariousness
It is seen that throughout Lomas de Carabayllo's consolidation, that poor men and women have self-organized through civil organizations. The creation of CBOs indicates how communities themselves aim to create networks of communication to generate stronger collective voices to public authorities, exemplifying a strong collective self-governance and a call for social transformation. On the other hand,

diverse NGO areas are established in LDC's human settlements as actors that aim to support poor communities, building trust with grassroots organizations, bringing global discourses on human rights, and gaining prominence in the community. It is apparent that they have a strong influence on CBO's constitutions and the creation of political instruments such as the Concerted Plan of Lomas de Carabayllo 2004-2015 (PCLDC), opening the reflection on the ways CBOs' 'revolution in everyday life can be considered an open-ended process and how NGOs increase social groups mobilization in a long term. The discontinuation of the PCLDC demonstrates that, even though these efforts are well structured, it embodies what Purcell (2013) calls 'horizon neoliberal democracy', where there are rights as ends: when it is secured, has come to an end, limiting their radical impact as an open-ended process of governance.

Meanwhile, Lomas de Carabayllo illustrates how active women and girls are during inhabitance. Their contribution to community-making is seen through the engagement of bottom-up strategies of mutual care and feeding mechanisms in acts of solidarity with the most marginalized dwellers. In response to the state's absence, the emergence of women-led and girl-led CBOs in these communities reveal complex social networks and relationships, acting as true Lefebvrian '*citidens*' in social movements in the urban space. Women's high level of engagement with their communities is seen in the role that they take within multiscale networks and platforms of participation: from the neighborhood to the community, to the district, and the city.

Female leaders contest male *dirigente's* vision of their human settlements, beyond a spatial and infrastructure dimension, to create social capital. Leaders are engaged not only within the scope of their human settlements or the district level but also on city level dialogues in participatory councils through the assistance and facilitation of NGOs. It is seen that NGOs act as key interlocutors (Belda-Miquel, et. al., 2016) recognizing women's leadership and inviting them to participate in bureaucratic procedures. Once more, creating contradictions in the community's radicalized movements on the true meaning of the right to the city. While DESCO is aiming to create and strengthen women-led CBOs such as The Women's Network of Carabayllo (WNC) in the formulation of political agendas and instruments to be integrated into the city's master plan strategies; Plan International is advocated to empower teenagers and girls to expand and create awareness about gender equality and safety with a gender-sensitive perspective.

NGOs create spaces for women and girls to participate in training and workshops to learn about concepts on gender mainstreaming and GBV, encouraging them to create activism and movements in their neighborhood's public spaces, work that for example DEMUS organizes along with WNC.

7.2 Manifestations of violence in the community level

When discussing violence within the district, the most common reference is to urban crime. Human settlements that are still in the process of consolidation, are exposed to disputes about land and property, generating tensions and restrictions on their mobility within the neighborhood at certain times of the day. Expressions of capital accumulation from land traffickers and the real state, proving how neoliberal dynamics alienate social structures. Nevertheless, political, and symbolic dimensions are aimed to be addressed as they express different kinds of microstructural violence in the everyday life affecting the ways Carabayllo inhabitant's right to the city.

Political Dimension

Statements on how women are excluded from decision-making and participation are referred to as 'communication barriers' due to the language they speak and the ways they express themselves to authorities. Although the high rural migration background of LDC's inhabitants, public programs ignore that other languages are spoken, and are seen as 'language barriers'. It is stated that discussion and dialogue with political public figures may be discouraged due to language barriers, producing exclusions on negotiation processes. This happens mostly with women from the first generation of rural migrants who came to the capital. Nevertheless, it is seen that bottom-up initiatives to overcome language discrimination are depicted in their willingness to learn Quechua.

On the other hand, discrimination towards survival mechanisms may be seen in the lack of integration of these strategies during community-making. It is stated that male *dirigentes* generally do not consider these efforts as a priority in comparison to land titling acquisition or basic urban infrastructure. Although women have been increasingly gaining more space as political figures and community leaders, sexism is common to be addressed as a big challenge to overcome. Female leadership and participation within community organizations are well appreciated by male figures, however, it is still seen as activities that are possible to be realized due to 'extra' time that they possess within their domestic scope

(CIDAP, 2012). Furthermore, we learn from interviews, that *dirigentes* may be also figures with concentrations of power who annulate opportunities of democracy within their communities by keeping their roles for prolonged periods, are even involved in acts of corruption, creating tensions and contradictions during community-making.

Furthermore, it is relevant to highlight, that young women and teenagers are also very active in their communities. However, it is found that young women and teenagers find challenging to express their needs and demands to *dirigentes* and political figures for the management of public spaces. This discourse, although acquired through the program Safe Cities for Girls from Plan International, may open the reflection on how discrimination towards age groups is also expressed in communities. Nevertheless, outcomes from the program in the participation scheme rely on the engagement of teenagers to partake in participation councils at the city level and raise their demands.

Moreover, studies in this community address that, women as caregivers par excellence, are highly committed to childcare and parenting, unpaid labor that leads them to remain in the scopes of their community, with a strong willingness to engage in grassroots organizations, in neighborhood committees, or to be *dirigentes*. This is depicted in the high percentage of women that participate in these initiatives. Of 225 surveyed women, 34,6% of them participate in social, territorial, or assume leadership in organizations (CIDAP, 2012). Nevertheless, women express their high expectations of economic independence, and young mothers are the ones who struggle the most. Interview statements from CIDAP's research reveal that they have high wishes on having more capacity to job access like men.

Symbolic Dimension

Efforts from the Municipality to build integrated plans for the district are not up to date, revealing discontinuous long-term strategies. The previous administration's plan (2012-2021) shows a strong focus on crime prevention and safety measures, which included programs oriented to assisting cases on GBV. Interviews reveal that the last administration contemplated a women's department and programs such *La Casa Amiga* that ran successfully in various parts of the district despite its limited resources; however, the current administration has not allocated resources to it, leading the department to dissolve. The district counts

with a Women Emergency Center (CEM), as part of the National Program against Gender-Based Violence. However, CEMs are located within the Municipality's facilities in the center of the district, making it inaccessible for women from the hills to report their cases immediately, leading the program to be inefficient and not inclusive. Due to lack of facilities or shelter programs to attend these cases or bring psychological support to victims, local women who participated in *La Casa Amiga* have responded through different mechanisms of help, calling themselves unpaid 'social workers' and 'psychologists' without being professionals.

On the other hand, beneficiaries of Plan International's program in the neighborhood of Jardines de la Quebrada, express that sexual harassment and male-dominant spaces limit their mobility in their neighborhoods, causing feelings of fear, spending more time walking in alternative routes to reach home from school. Furthermore, Plan International's study reveals that teenagers have expressed contradictions towards what they consider safe spaces. On the one hand, they feel safer at home than in their neighborhood's public spaces, but on the other, home is also considered a space where violence is reproduced through gender stereotypes. Views on protectionism are expressed in the domestic chores that they must realize, and adult-centric views limit their autonomy. The focus group conducted in this research reveals, nevertheless, that girls and teenagers in some human settlements experience the danger of being exposed to practices of land trafficking and social conflicts towards it. Thus, land market and rights of property illustrate how use and exchange consequences are seen in mobility restrictions within their neighborhoods.

Although discrimination towards their economic status and ethnicity has been also addressed within the district, questions on identity are affected, and how these social behavior impact women and girls within the community are further to be explored. Nevertheless, it is evidenced that most women who organize and work in Soup Kitchens are first- and second-generation rural migrants who work in highly precarious conditions, which in the context of the Pandemic, have highly emerged in response to the crisis. Although district networks such as WNC's support the constitution of Soup Kitchens, discriminations towards their efforts are seen through the bureaucratic and administrative procedures that they must go under. To be able to apply to public resources, they must be registered in the city council, reaffirming the state's hegemony and weak competence to respond to their necessities. Apparent act clientelism is thus seen through political cam-

paigns that claim to support these organizations.

Material Dimension

Lomas de Carabayllo's topographical setting makes it challenging for inhabitance. Men and women self-manage their community in precarious conditions, aiming to install basic infrastructures such as water, electricity, and roads. Due to its hilly settings, verticality makes water provision difficult and complex, bringing real challenges for women to manage it in the everyday life. Likewise, the presence of the city's landfill El Zapallal and mining activities produces health issues among LDC's population consequently. El Zapallal is managed by LMA's administration, depositing 80 tons per day from 48 municipalities, and has been an economic source through recycling activities, representing health vulnerabilities for the population. Nevertheless, the demand for its removal has been increasing over time, resulting in community demonstrations and acts of rights claiming. Installation of these activities represents capitalist practices, where the use of space is alienated by exchange attributes.

Moreover, neoliberalist practices are seen to be reproduced in the community by its use of space. Where housing and private property as a privilege, along with basic infrastructure go over the constitution of open public spaces for recreation and diverse use. In that sense, LDC's offer of public spaces is depicted in sports fields, who are disputed in their use. Therefore, according to Plan International's social mappings and the focus group conducted for this study, girls and boys state that they use mainly spaces outside their neighborhoods for specific purposes such as folkloric dance rehearsals during school time. However, streets and routes to get home are perceived as unsafe spaces due to the lack of lightning, littering accumulation, and street isolation.

Spatial analysis shows that attempts to connect human settlements in LDC are seen through the implementation of stairs as elements that also convey social interactions; although relevant at the community level, their connectivity to the rest of Carabayllo's urban fabric is not sufficient. Inaccessibility to economic centers in Carabayllo and the city due to distances and spatial fragmentation is considered a major limitation for women in their pursuit of job access, as they dedicate most of their time to childcare, family raising and other activities at the community.

Chapter 8: Unpacking a -gendered- right to the city in human settlements

The following chapter is built upon the reflection on the right to the city with a gender-sensitive perspective in low-income communities. It aims to frame the meaning of the right to the city in Carabayllo's human settlements, where a range of actors and stakeholders intertwine their agendas. The analysis applies a lens on the everyday practices of women and girls in their contribution to community-making, in all their diversity and their relationships, unpacking contradictions in discourses of (self-)governance and gender equality.

8.1 Challenges on self-governance in the frame of the right to appropriate

Measurements of the State to assist the poor and newcomers with land titling and housing subsidies create a cycle of dependency as these communities continue expanding in hillsides with inexistent basic infrastructure. Access to land tenure, housing, basic services, and infrastructure is perceived as a concerted privilege in Carabayllo to become 'citizens with legal status', reproducing sociocultural norms throughout their negotiation processes.

Managing space far away from capitalist views in a way to overcome the 'industrial city' is still a challenge. It can be argued that Lomas de Carabayllo squatters practice private property and exchange value as dominant ways to organize space. Thus, efforts to build social infrastructure and caring networks as use-values over exchange-values as market-oriented dynamics are still a challenge to overcome. Soup Kitchens are an example of self-organized feeding strategies, performing

themselves in their way, creating networks of mutual support to acquire resources. Women are seen occupying hostile spaces with minimum resources and most precarious settings, yet with solidarity and caregiving motivations in their maternalistic nature. These socio-spatial dynamics reflect discriminations towards domestic and caregiving activities within these networks as full-time unpaid work, giving priority to the construction of roads that connect to the metropolis, as ways to access productive activities.

Neighborhood's urbanization dynamics replicate what 'formal' Lima does in their spatial urbanization. On the one hand, privatization logic is depicted in how the use of intermediate spaces must be used for private property over communal spaces. Squatters follow compartmentalization logic leaving these areas without a mixture of uses, impacting teenagers' mobility while they navigate through the neighborhoods of Lomas de Carabayllo. Empty plots and solitary spaces create a sense of fear that restricts them to create social linkages at all times of the day, creating a circle of protectiveness and paternalistic behaviors in the domestic scope. Women, on the other hand, through their permanent residence, pursue to undertake their economic dependency by opening neighborhood businesses in their own home, while taking care not only of their children and family but also their neighbors' and relatives'.

On the other hand, the presence of NGOs with spatial and territorial views is building a sort of 'momentum' in Lomas de Carabayllo, encouraging women and teenagers to be decision-makers in the physical environment. Safe Cities for Girls from Plan International's program has in a way expanded awareness on how urban form influences urban safety. Although these concepts are still coming from a formal and global perspective, the strategy to build open-ended governance of urban spaces is still further to be developed from below to encourage a radical collective awakening. Nevertheless, the use of participatory tools such as spatial mappings and workshops to bring awareness through long-breath discussions and dialogues with *dirigentes* and the neighborhood demonstrates that relations of power coming from patriarchal norms are complex to unravel.

8.2 Challenges on citizenship in the frame of the right to participate

As poor women and men occupy territory, they actively develop their neighborhoods autonomously and creatively through community leaders and committees, discussing collective solutions and strategies. It is seen throughout the time that *dirigentes* -either male or female- who have notions on technical and legal procedures with public institutions may lead to the concept that this knowledge is also a privilege due to communication skills. Thus, it is seen that women and teenagers strive to earn these skills to become active participants in decision-making through their engagement in training workshops that NGOs offer them. In that sense, their participation in political and spatial spheres, on the one hand, is fulfilled through the facilitation of NGOs that invite women and girls to engage in formal discourses. This training is well appreciated and valued by them as they see it as an opportunity to gain empowerment inside and outside their communities. Thus, there is a concept that citizenship is earned through their participation in city and district councils, bringing liberal rights to the city discourses into technical instruments and encouraging them for policy reform, a concept that was rejected by Lefebvre in his theoretical formulation.

Moreover, while bottom-up initiatives emerge spontaneously on the hills, some other women-led CBOs are established with the facilitation of NGOs, influencing on CBOs' self-governing process for them to become institutionalized and to gain credibility. It is seen that NGOs offer them tools to empower them within funded programs in the framework of gender equality, conducting their activism on public spaces within their neighborhoods and in the district. Based on this, we recall the original meaning of the right to the city as a collective radical awakening, beyond bureaucratized socialism, without the need for guidance from a revolutionary elite (Belda-Miquel, et. al 2016). This demonstrates that concepts of the right to the city are being reformulated in praxis in a contemporary framework as social transformation is happening through the intervention of different actors in the hills of Carabayllo.

Nevertheless, these reformulated efforts on a collective transformation of the city may be distinguished by the leadership and ways both poor women and teenagers seek visibility in their neighborhoods. On the one hand, the teenage-led CBO CEBIG have gained leadership skills within their home and neighborhood

scopes to talk openly about gender equality and girl's rights. On the other hand, in response to the lack of programs to support cases of domestic violence, the Women Network of Carabayllo acts as a supporter with the knowledge gains on former programs and new concepts acquired by NGOs training. Finally, linkages between the CBOs to assist other survival strategies at the neighborhoods level are withstanding. Arrangements to support Soup Kitchen are seen as CBOs have gained capacities on bureaucratic procedures to register them and request more resources.

However, gaps on how to reflect on their socioeconomic status intersected with racism and classism are still a matter to explore further. Rural migration background brings a map of indigenous backgrounds that have progressively faced acts of discrimination towards their participation in decision-making platforms. On the one hand, cases of displaced women from the Andes and the Amazon during the Civil Conflict, have struggled to adapt to the Spanish language due to discriminative behaviors. Although Lomas de Carabayllo's community has a high multicultural background, it is also known through interviews that there are many cases of racism. Although tacitly and explicitly addressed by NGOs working at the community level, intersectional analysis is still limited to dualistic views of men and women relations of power. Thus, further tools must be developed to include the multicultural background of poor women and men, boys and girls.

8.3 Conclusions

Carabayllo and its communities reflect that the ways they practice the right to the city have their own particular meaning. Although its population struggles to build citizenship through self-organized efforts due to the absence of the State, it can be said that its dependency on agreements and bureaucratic procedures loses its transformative nature. Exchange values convert squatters into a sort of clients as soon as they enter housing programs, offering them a piece of land and credits to occupy space in the most vulnerable conditions, while private real estates continue to develop 'formal' Lima. It thus shows the lack of integrated efforts among official entities such as the one in charge of water services.

Lomas de Carabayllo is the epitome of the leadership and active commitment that women and teenagers have to support their community's livelihoods. Their city-making acts are perceived at all levels, beginning from the management of their own home to organizing the infrastructure of their neighborhoods. Further-

more, while they self-manage their neighborhoods, they also engage to scale up their demands in different ways. Contradictions might be depicted on how their level of independence is practiced through the mediation of professionals and NGOs for their mobilization. In that sense, women acquire technical language and capacities to manage technocratic tools to follow a global understanding of the right to the city, getting away from their creative mechanisms in line with their sociocultural backgrounds. Moreover, NGOs working in low-income neighborhoods must be encouraged to integrate efforts of self-governance throughout the community, articulating poverty-sensitive policies from the public bodies with grounded knowledge on the community's survival mechanisms.

Despite the effort to break the cycle of top-down decisions, it is demonstrated that laws and policies are important for dwellers in Carabayllo. They also dedicate a considerable deal of their time to changing laws on their own and managing legal procedures with the central government; this time and effort could be employed by these women in their homes, but they gladly go beyond their daily activities in pursuit of their goals. Although gender mainstreaming National laws seek to elaborate laws and policies on gender equality and create strategies against gender-based violence, survival women-led CBOs still lack laws and policies to reduce their burden in precarious sittings from the peripheries. Although efforts for spatial transformation with low-budgets initiatives are taking place in more consolidated areas of Lima with aims to create collective awareness on gender-based violence, strategies still fail to create integrated policies for networks of care in the most marginalized locations with a lens of deeper types of discrimination.

It is thus recommended to start at a neighborhood level, by strengthening local networks and building collectiveness towards care. A right to the city with a gender perspective gives poor women and girls the opportunity to be autonomous, building social connections, and owning their space by cooperating in neighborhood networks. Although it is a challenge to overcome political willingness, it is also recommended to build laws of collective care, recognizing community linkages for self-management through community savings and budgets, and re-signifying community bonds. Rescaling citizenship, as proposed by Purcell, weakens the hegemony of the nation-state through the creation of other scales of reference.

The inclusion of ethnicity into the analysis for urban agendas in the peripheries of Lima is also to be developed. Overcoming discrimination in decision-making due to the fact of being women, poor and migrant is a dimension yet to be integrated with the analysis of participation. The recent formulation of the PLAM 2040 master plan, in its quest to reduce socio-spatial exclusions, has the task to make visible the ways female dwellers from the hills of Lima, women pulled and expelled from capitalist regimes, create true citizenship in the midsts of several dimensions of violence.

This thesis fosters further research on elaborating ethnicity studies on these neighborhoods, linked to sociospatial dimensions. With an analysis of ways, neighborhood development plans seek to spatially integrate into the district's urban fabric, including accessibilities and mobility variables. Qualitative and quantitative diagnosis, far from male-female segregation data, must include ethnic backgrounds as a country that has a wide and rich multicultural background.

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Annexes

Annex 1

Table 1.1: List of Interviewees

Objective of the Interview	Name	Type of Org.	Location	Organization	Position	Date
To know what are the challenges of localizing international strategies to local contexts and in what ways they overcome these challenges.	Lizzette Soria	NGO	International	UN-Women	UN Women Specialist in the Safe Cities and Safe Public Space for Women Advisor on gender mainstreaming	17.03.21
To have an overview of the tools, agendas, and policies developed at the local and regional level with a gender perspective.	Jimena Sanchez	Public - Governmental	National	Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Populations - General Directorate against Gender Violence	Violence Against Women Prevention Project Coordinator	20.04.21
Insights on current urban policies in the planning of the city of Lima and its public spaces and infrastructure; reflections on the progress of the Lima Metropolitan Plan 2021-2040.	Mariana Alegre	NGO	City	Lima Como Vamos	Executive Director of Lima Como Vamos	31.03.21
To know strategies and tools that the organization applies in participatory formats. To get insights on their experience with Plan International and the spatial outcomes from Safe Cities for Girls' intervention.	Ingrid Salazar	NGO	City	Ocupa tu Calle	Project Manager	09.04.21
Scopes on the Women's City and the Women's Political Agenda for the city of Lima.	Silvia Uriol	NGO	City	Urban Program of DESCO	*Ciudad Mujer* Project Coordinator	19.04.21
Insights on the participatory mappings held during the program from Plan International. A wider understanding of social dynamics at the district and community level.	Franklin Velarde	NGO	City	Former member of Ocupa tu Calle	Former Research coordinator in Ocupa tu Calle. Research Consultan at Safe Cities for Girls program	26.04.21
To get knowledge on how did the organization got established, their motivations and strategies and their linkages with DESCO. To get insights on how she acquired her plot and land title.	Yvon Alan	Civil - CBO	Community	Las Carahuayanas	Leader and co-founder	30.04.21
To know their linkage with local CBOs in the district and how they approach gender-based violence campaings.	Romy Garcia	NGO	District	DEMUS	Director	05.05.21
To get knowledge on what tasks do community leaders and neighborhood committees do. To know what are their territorial scales of negotiation and what kind of urban infrastructure they request. To get insights on what problems and challenges do the communities face in their everyday life.	Milka Perez	Civil - Neighborhood Organization	Community	Neighborhood Committee in Human Settlement Valle Hermoso del Mirador	Community leader (dirigente)	08.05.21

Elaborated by author, 2021

Table 1.2: List of Interviewees

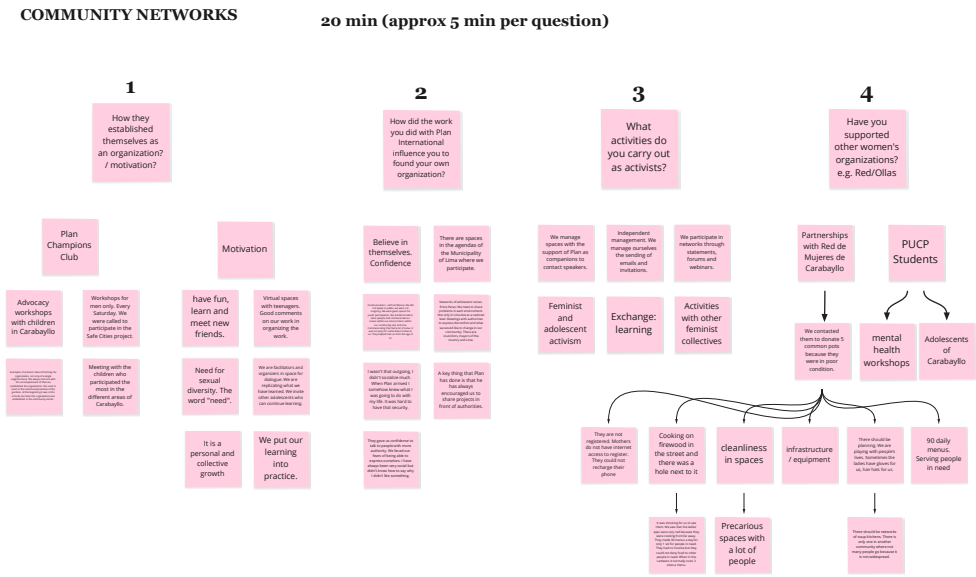
Objective of the Interview	Name	Type of Org.	Location	Organization	Position	Date
To know how to create linkages with other survival CBOs such as the Soup Kitchens. To know linkages with DESCO.	Fortunata Palomino	Civil - CBO	District	Red de Mujeres de Carabayllo (The Women's Network of Carabayllo)	Head President and President of Soup Kitchens Network in Lima	12.05.21
To expand knowledge on how do community diners operate in the district and how do they relate with other CBOs. To better understand their negotiation strategies with State's programs.	Nelly del Pilar	Civil - CBO	District / Community	Coordinating Association of Mothers' Clubs and Soup Kitchens in Carabayllo	District coordinator and President of the Club de Madres Comedor Popular "La Melchorita" in Carabayllo. District coordinator of the Coordinating Association of Mothers' Clubs and Soup Kitchens in Carabayllo	13.05.21
To know what are her challenges as a resident in the human settlement and her motivations for working in Soup Kitchen. Understand her struggles in the everyday life.	Catalina Rodriguez	Civil - CBO	Community	Soup Kitchen	Worker and former community leader of Jardines de la Quebrada Urban Settlement	20.06.21
To expand knowledge on the Ngo's global methodologies and their drivers to work in Carabayllo and the human settlement of Lomas de Carabayllo. To know the challenges they face in their negotiation with public bodies. To expand knowledge in the stages of their work strategies.	Victor Garcia	NGO	District / Community	Plan International Peru	Lima Program Unit Manager	16.06.21 and 21.06.21

Elaborated by author, 2021

Annex 3

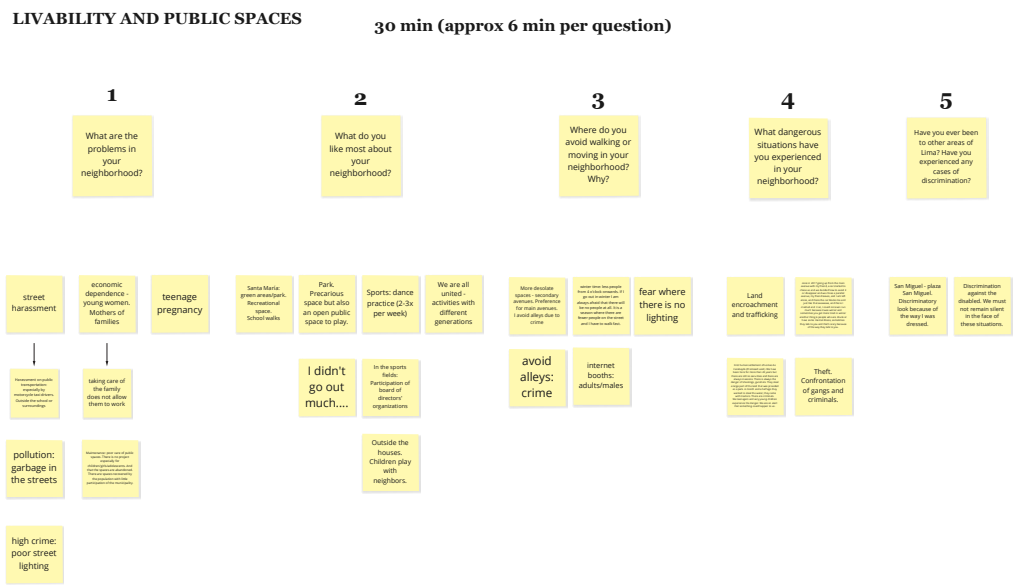
The following images are the questions and answers from the focus group conducted on the 3rd of June, 2021. Miro board was used as an online tool that helped to collect all the answers while the focus group was conducted. The meeting was help via Zoom with the assistance of the NGO Plan International.
The sample group was composed by 4 teenagers: 3 girls, 1 boy. They were recrouted by Plan International. The teenagers also belong to the CEBIG. For privacy terms, the names of the participants will not be shared.

Image 3.1: Board with the theme of community networks.



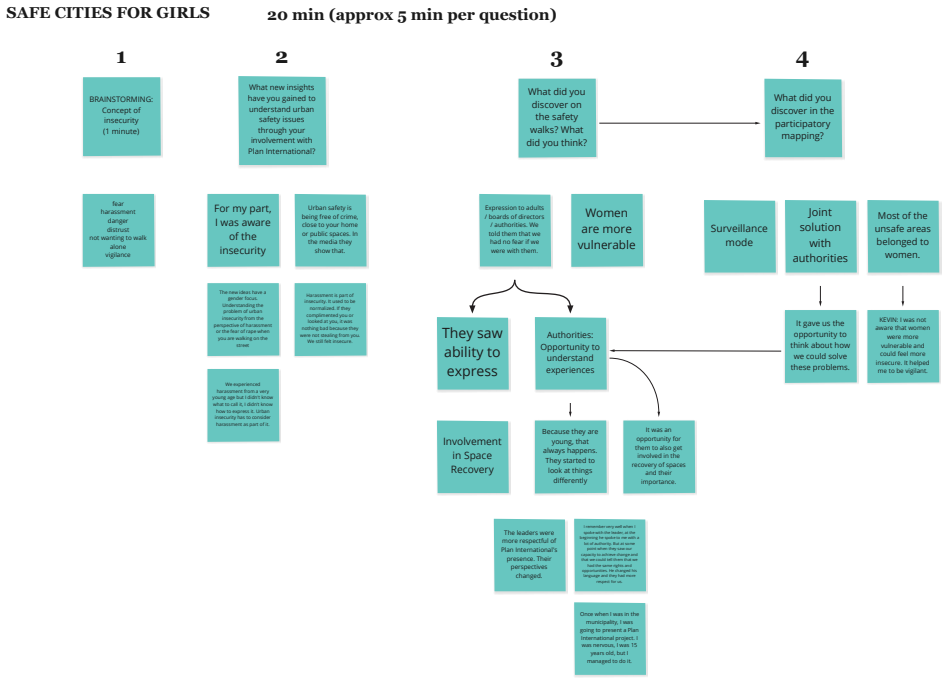
Elaborated by author, 2021

Image 3.2: Board with the theme of livability and public spaces



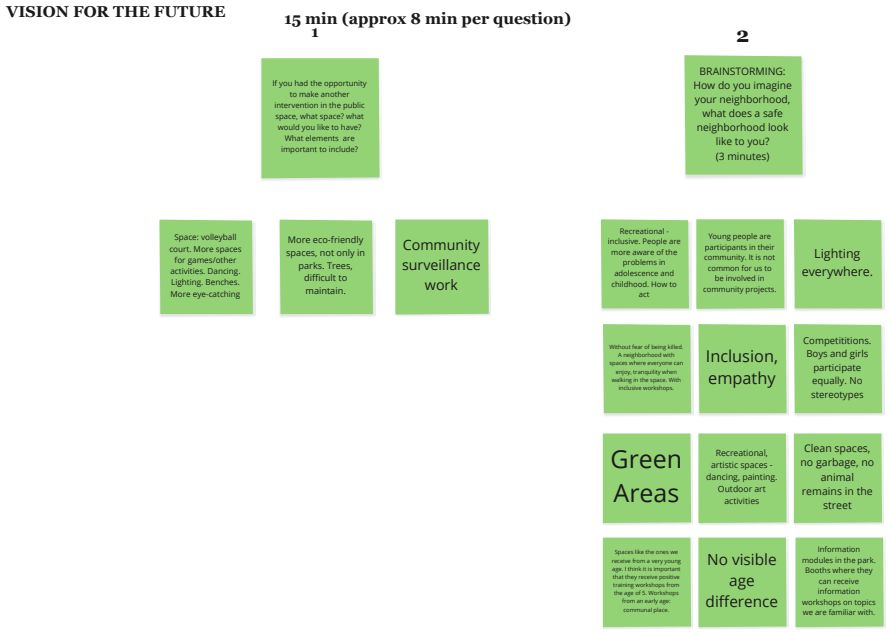
Elaborated by author, 2021

Image 3.3: Board with the theme of Safe Cities for Girls



Elaborated by author, 2021

Image 3.4: Board with the theme vision of the future



Elaborated by author, 2021

Annex 4

Table 4.1: Gender Mainstreaming National Plans

PLAN	DESCRIPTION	MAIN OBJECTIVES	INSTITUTIONS IN CHARGE
NATIONAL PLAN AGAINST GENDER VIOLENCE 2016 - 2021 (PNCVG)	• Establishes the reduction of family, sexual and other forms of gender-based violence. • Seeks the full enjoyment of fundamental rights and freedoms through the improvement in citizen security	• Changing sociocultural patterns • To guarantee to people affected by gender violence • Punishment and re-education of offenders	• Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Populations • Ministry of the Interior • Ministry of Justice and Human Rights • Ministry of Education, • Ministry of Health • Ministry of Foreign Affairs • Ministry of Labor and Employment Promotion • Ministry of Culture • Ministry of Social Inclusion
GENDER EQUALITY PLAN 2012-2017 (PLANIG)	• Governed by the approaches of gender, human rights, interculturality, results and articulation of governmental levels and/with other national plans in force. • Eliminating the gap between men and women	• Articulation of policy instruments and the joint action of all State institutions, international cooperation agencies and civil society within the framework of their mandates and responsibilities. • To guarantee gender equality and the effective protection of human rights for women and men, non-discrimination and the full development of their individual and collective potential and capabilities.	• Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Populations with three directorates: - the General Directorate for Gender Equality and Non-Discrimination (DGIGND) - the General Directorate for Gender Mainstreaming (DGTEG) - the General Directorate against Gender Violence (DGCVG)
NATIONAL PLAN FOR CITIZEN SECURITY 2013-2018 (PNSC)	• Mandatory for the three levels of government and for all entities that make up the National Citizen Security System (SINASEC). • Consideration of the plan towards intersectoral and intergovernmental approaches.	• Reduction of social risk factors that encourage criminal behavior; one of its specific objectives is the reduction of family violence and the strengthening of care for its victims.	• Ministry of the Interior (MININTER) • Institutions part of the National Council for Citizen Security (CONASEC). • public, private and civil society institutions.

Elaborated by author, 2021 Source: Centro de la Mujer Peruana Flora Tristan, DEMUS, 2019

نبذة مختصرة

شهدت ليما- بيرو- تحولات كبيرة على مدار الأربعين عامًا الماضية في أعقاب الأزمة الاقتصادية والسياسية في الثمانينيات، أدى الاستثمار في تشييد المباني والبنية التحتية وأعمال الاقتصاد الجمعي إلى مناخ من "الازدهار" يستفيد منه النخبة النيوليبرالية وينتج تفاوتات حضرية جديدة وفقر وتهميش. إنكار "الحق في المدينة" يؤثر على شرائح متنوعة من السكان ويتجلى بشكل واضح في إقصاء النساء الفقيرات من الحياة اليومية بالمدينة.

يسعي هذا البحث لدراسة الطرق التي يشارك بها إطار "الحق في المدينة" في التحولات الحضرية في منطقة العاصمة ليما وودراسة إختلاف أنماط الاجتماعية والثقافية للعنف في محيطها، مما يوضح الأنماط الاجتماعية المكانية ودور المرأة داخل المستوطنات غير المستقرة في تلال المدينة. مع التركيز على منطقة كارابايلو، وهي منطقة شبه حضرية تقع في شمال ليما وتعاني منشدة الفقر. من خلال البحث تم دراسة كيف تشارك النساء ذوات الدخل المنخفض والمعرضة للخطر كقائدات وعضوات نشطات في شبكات المجتمع المدارة ذاتيًا في نضالهن ضد الممارسات المكانية النيوليبرالية. قام البحث بتتبع تفاعلاتهن مع بعضهن البعض وتأثير المنظمات غير الحكومية على ديناميكيات الحكم الذاتي.

يعتمد هذا البحث على مقابلات مع جهات فاعلةمتعددةويكشف عن الروابط والعلاقات الاجتماعية المكانية بين المجموعات الاجتماعية على مستوى المجتمع والطرق التي تناسب المجتمعات غير المستقرة فالمشاركة في "الحق في المدينة". تساهم الدراسة في أدبيات التخطيطالعمراني في ليما والتي تفتح نقاشًا حول الحق الجنساني في المدينة من منظور محيط المدينة.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الجنس ، المرأة ، الحق في المدينة ، المستوطنات البشرية ، تكوين المجتمع ، الحكم ، العنف

إقرار

هذه الرسالة مقدمة في جامعة عين شمس وجامعة شوتجارت للحصول على درجة العمران المتكامل والتصميم المستدام. إن العمل الذي تحويه هذه الرسالة قد تم إنجازه بمعرفة الباحث سنة ...

هذا ويقر الباحث أن العمل المقدم هو خلاصة بحثه الشخصي وأنه قد اتبع الإسلوب العلمي السليم في الإشارة إلى المواد المؤخوذه من المراجع العلمية كلٌ في مكانه في مختلف أجزاء الرسالة..

وهذا إقرار مني بذلك،،،

التوقيع:

ميلاني نوجاليس

التاريخ: 31/07/2021

الحق في المدينة والتخطيط العمراني المعتبر للتمايز النوعي للجنسين

دور الشبكات المجتمعية التي تقودها النساء في مقاطعة الأحياء العشوائية في ليما، ولياباك

مقدمة للحصول على درجة الماجستير في العمران المتكامل والتصميم المستدام

ميلاني نوجاليس

الاستاذة أسترد لي
أستاذ التخطيط العمراني الدولي
جامعة شتوتغارت

الاستاذة غادة فاروق
أستاذ التخطيط العمراني
ا الاستاذة مارتينا ريكر

د .. مارتينا ريكر
مديرة معهد سينثيا نيلسون
الجامعة الأمريكية في القاهرة

لجنة الحكم
أ.د. .....الممتحن الخارجي
أستاذ.....
جامعة .....

التوقيع

أ.د.....
أستاذ.....
جامعة .....

أ.د.....
أستاذ.....
جامعة .....

تاريخ المناقشة:.....

الدراسات العليا

ختم الإجازة
موافقة مجلس الكلية .../.../...

أجيزت الرسالة بتاريخ:.....
موافقة مجلس الجامعة .../.../...

جامعة عين شـــــمس

جامعة شتوتجارت

31/07/2021

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الحق في المدينة والتخطيط العمراني المعتبر للتمايز النوعى للجنسين

دور الشبكات المجتمعية التي تقودها النساء في الأحياء العشوائية في مقاطعة كارابايلو ،ليما

رسالة مقدمة للحصول على درجة الماجستير في العمران المتكامل والتصميم المستدام

إعداد

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