

**Walking Through Change:
Narratives of Difference, Identity and Power
in La Mar**

By Denise Claux

Goldsmiths, University of London

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I declare that the work presented in this thesis is my own.

Denise Claux

ABSTRACT

Following studies in anthropology, cultural studies, geography and sociology this thesis offers an ethnographic walk across the value, meaning and boundaries of difference as negotiated in the gentrifying and post-colonial context of the avenue of La Mar (Lima, Peru.) The focus of study is on the narrativisation of difference as an everyday journey to be and become valuable in this space, where individuals face distinct opportunities to be recognized as mobile, responsible, safe and reliable subjects. Methodologically, difference is explored through aural and visual methods, comprising of 50 informal conversations and open-ended, semi-structured interviews with individuals whom I also photographed. Visual methods incorporate these photographs as well as images from particular spaces and times in the avenue, mostly arranged in the form of hand-made proof-sheets and ultimately presented in the form of collage. Theoretically, difference is framed as a contextual, flexible and fluid experience of power, explored in and through multiple spatiotemporal walks across infinite places (i.e. modern buildings, *callejones*, mechanic shops, restaurants, the nation) and implied through different boundaries of knowledge and affect. Specifically, these spatiotemporal walks are discussed through the categories of nation and class, delineating the practice of difference in the form of both, commonality (i.e. the experience of nation through food) and differentiation (i.e. the experience of class through liminality). Ultimately, the practice of difference is explored as a “generative system of dispositions” linking the personal with the social, transpiring through different directions and intensities of power as individuals pursuit value and inclusion, thus, as individuals seek to *arrive in place* (Taylor, 2012, p.49)

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CHAPTER I

ON JOURNYING LA MAR: A THEORETICAL EXPLORATION

INTRODUCTION

“There is a neighbourhood between San Isidro and Miraflores. Its residents were neither San Isidrininos nor Mirafloresinos. Amongst them was a diverse community made up of descendants of black slaves, and later, of labourers and fishermen. Between these two [now] posh areas, there was a red-light district. Today, we know that place is called Santa Cruz, which belongs to Miraflores, and is expected to become the most exclusive area of Lima.”
Abusada, 2013

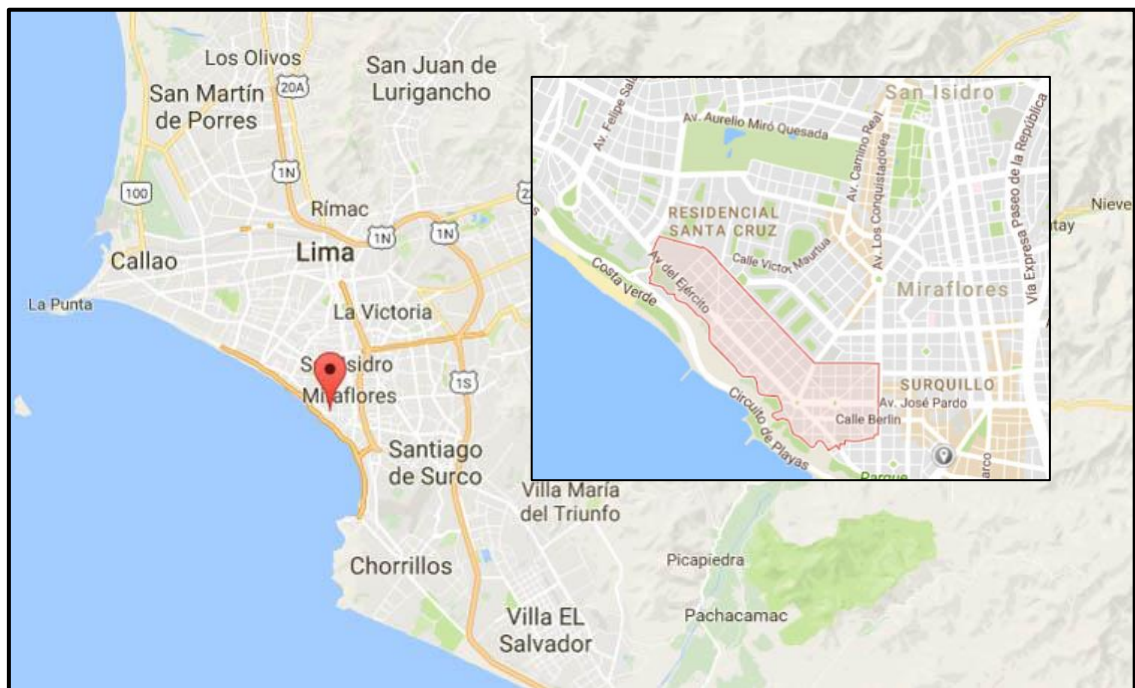


Fig.0.1. Map Lima, Santa Cruz

Mariscal la Mar, or “La Mar”, which lies within a small but clearly demarcated area in Santa Cruz, is one of the central avenues of an old neighbourhood located in the district of Miraflores, in the city of Lima, Peru. The area was donated to a Dominican religious order by Spanish conqueror Francisco Pizarro, in the XVI century. During the XIX century, Santa Cruz became a *hacienda* (an estate) owned by businessman Adrian Bielich, who died in 1913 leaving the land to his family. In the following years, his family would divide and sell the land, starting the slow process of urbanization that lasted for several decades (Abusada, 2013).

From the 1950s onwards, Santa Cruz had mainly become the home of a working-class community, a few middle-class families, and the residence of some of the most feared drug lords in the city (Abusada, 2013; Orrego, 2012). These people were considered the

first “santacrisinos”, the “gallinazos sin plumas” (vultures without feathers), famously portrayed by Peruvian storyteller Julio Ramon Ribeyro (1955) in his acclaimed book of the same name. Today, building upon both the material and symbolic foundations of its social, racial, cultural, and economic history, Santa Cruz, and, particularly the avenue of La Mar, has been shaped by a hasty wave of urban development and commercial growth, driven by the forces and intensities of the acclaimed *gastronomic revolution* that has invaded the city of Lima (Chapter VI). It is within this context that, in each of its corners, this neighbourhood’s inhabitants share a particular story of belonging, co-curated through and within the affections, imaginaries, and capacities that are built around local and national memories and legends, the excitement and concerns of the novelty of a renewed urban space, and the measured curiosity and willingness of the occasional visitor.

This thesis is built in and around La Mar as a contextualised practice of discovery and creation, and it is an attempt to explore the complexities of the practice of difference in the context of change. Hence, this thesis is built in a borderline space of intersecting sociocultural “trajectories” that have been previously set apart, coming together in recent times through the growing popularity of the area (Pratt, 1992, p. 7; De Certeau, 1984). My investigation in La Mar begins and ends with a walk around the blocks of the avenue, journeying across each of its corners and delving into the sociocultural maps that emerge and shape it in turn. This journey goes well beyond a discussion of La Mar as a gentrified and post-colonial place per se. Yet, this journey is rooted upon the oral and visual stories that are *offered* within this –nonetheless– gentrifying and post-colonial space, providing the contextual margins for experiences of commonality and differentiation. Ultimately, my investigation is about these experiences, instantiated through written and photographic narratives, which highlight the ways individuals move along a “series of lived spaces” (Watson and Bridge, 2002, p.508) or “spatial scales” (Fincher and Jacobs, 1998, p.21; i.e. the local, the city, the nation) that emerge in and through the avenue, reflecting practices of identification that reveal multiple requirements, interests, needs, desires, promises, demands, and risks individuals face to find their place.

For the purposes of this thesis, practices of identification are explored as “place-based”

imaginary constructions that are relative to La Mar but not limited by it, articulating boundaries and connections as individuals negotiate the limits of who they are, can or would like to be (Watson, 2006, p. 129,132). In this context, identification is conceived as a process of mediation that defines the “lines of difference” (Ong, 1996, p.737) or the “regimes of difference” (Fincher and Jacob, 1998, p.2) that shape co-existing subjectivities as multi-dimensional, relational, empirical, and contextual social experiences delimiting prospects of inclusion and exclusion (Yar, 2001). Ultimately, these subjectivities are explored around the “meaning” participants “attribute to their experiences” of change in La Mar (Loveday, 2015, p.2), as they occupy specific “subject positions” in the liminal context of this space (Byrne, 2003, p.31), revealing and reproducing different dynamics of power in the process.

Specifically, experiences of change are explored in and through the “organization and discursive careers” of two categories of belonging (Brubaker et al 2006, p.11), which include the nation (Chapter VI) and class (Chapters III, IV, V). I explore the narrativisation of these categories as they rise in relation to the journeys of different subjects, taking value and gaining force, challenging yet reproducing identificatory boundaries, limits, values and meanings (Wise et al. 2009; Noble, 2009). As I will show, these categories have the potential to reveal *what matters* (i.e. things, people, places, activities, experiences), commonly (yet, not always) emerging in relation to the dominant symbolic (Skeggs, 2011; Skeggs and Loveday, 2012), highlighting who is and remains “in-place”; thus, who is “worth losing or gaining” from the changing context of the avenue (Taylor, 2012, p.2, 118). Ultimately, I am interested in the “logics of choice” that emerge within these narratives, representing and reproducing infinite “constellations of relationships (connected parts) embedded in time and space” (Somers, 1994, p.616; Brubaker, et al 2006, p.11), as individuals remember their past and invest in their “future selves”, highlighting the way change is not a practice of transformation, but a practice of continuities and breaks contained in the navigation of particular social experiences (i.e. “new choices” or re-emerging “inequalities”; Taylor, 2012, p. 118, 123, 144, 203).

Line of Research

My interest in La Mar is framed within two particular (yet interrelated) lines of inquiry

developed and incorporated across all chapters in this thesis. On one hand, these include an explicit theoretical discussion focusing on the exploration of difference, identification and power in a context of change; and, on the other, an implicit methodological discussion focusing on the role of visual (practice-based) and aural narratives in sociological research.

The theoretical discussion on difference, identification and power focuses on the practical use of collective categories and the way individuals negotiate common collective experiences as heterogeneous subjectivities in the changing context of La Mar. This discussion is built upon an understanding of identity as a formation that challenges the value of *identity* per se, but asserts the need to explore processes of identification, thus, the negotiability, permeability, and flexibility of identification as *a process* (Brubaker, 1998, 2004; Brubaker et al 2006; Edensor, 2002, 2006). In this context, I hope to contribute to the growing academic debate built around the relevance of the concept of identity and, specifically, the categories of *nation and class* as they become, as I will show throughout this thesis, valued instruments to explore social articulations in post-colonial, multicultural 21st century Lima (Savage, 2003; A. Thompson, 2001). For instance, I intend to explore: how does change allow and inform the on-going process of identity construction in La Mar? How does difference materialise in and within change, and for whose interest? How does power behave in these shifting contexts? How are identificatory limits negotiated and challenged through the use of categories and the reproduction of value? Who is worth keeping and how? Who is left behind and why? What are the strategies to secure these outcomes? What are the strategies to mediate identificatory practices in this setting?

Meanwhile, the methodological discussion on visual and aural narratives focuses on the value of stories in the potential they have to make, access, and reproduce identificatory practices in a reflexive and relational manner (Somers, 1994; Riessman, 2000, 2008; Byrne, 2003; Pink, 2008). Focusing on photographic methods, visual narratives become useful in the way they offer an alternative platform to explore identification in relation to the materiality of La Mar. The visual strategy is framed by the use of different technologies (i.e. digital and analogue photographic material) and attention to visual compositions that offer distinct opportunities to search and convey meaning in and

around the experience of identification in time and space, stressing the role of the image in social research. For instance, I am interested to explore, how do visual narratives become carriers of sociological value? How do images inform and affect research practices? How do they enhance social enquiry and reflexivity? How do images contribute to the crafting of knowledge? What is the role of the content and the process of image-making (i.e. material and technological tools) in this process? How do they relate to one another in exploring identification?

In the case of aural narratives, I found them useful in the way they reveal and reproduce the orientation of individuals as they tell particular tales; highlighting the sensibilities and capacities they have for negotiating who they want or can be in particular environments. Specifically, aural narratives become valuable as they offer a space to explore identities as they are “created and constituted in the act of being related, in this process of being told to others” (“narrative identity”; Barbero, 2011, p.44, 45), stressing the practice of identification in the making. In this context, I am interested to explore, how do stories frame identification as an intimate, subjective yet collective experience of belonging? How do stories reveal and reproduce multiple dimensions of being and becoming in the everyday? What is the relevance of the content and the strategies in telling a story? What are the links between storying and identifying, between re-storying and power? How do stories shape the boundaries, limits and values of identities? How do they allow us to negotiate experiences of difference and similarity?

Building upon these theoretical and methodological questions, Chapters III, IV and Chapter V explore difference and identification in terms of an experience of class, addressing the negotiation of differential boundaries of belonging, emerging in and through the locality of La Mar. Chapter III foregrounds the discussion, giving a brief introduction to the making of class in the context of Lima and a detailed exploration of the geography of class as emerging within the avenue. Explicitly, this chapter is built around the way individuals narrativised particular “geographical repertoires” (Taylor 2012, p.6), incorporating specific places in the negotiation of an intimate yet social practice of belonging at the scale of the *barrio* (Fincher, Jacobs, 1998). Hence, places like

corralones, *quintas*,¹ and buildings develop into critical mediating instruments, reproducing a dialogue in and among alleged experiences of class as subjects position themselves, creating and challenging distances between them, as well as highlighting the value of particular class-based experiences in this space (i.e. experiences of poverty).

Chapter IV and Chapter V continue to develop this argument. Specifically, these chapters offer a detailed discussion on the way that classed subjects move along the avenue as the avenue becomes a *liminal* space (Turner, 1969); that is, on the way they move in relation to an alleged liminal experience. Hence, as they negotiate places and values, La Mar becomes a space of transition, reflecting particular dynamics of power evident in the social capacities and resources of subjects to navigate the avenue. Within this context, liminality becomes “the condition [...] of possibility that make[s] class” (Skeggs, 2004, p.2), as they face particular restrictions, demands, or benefits of a class-based practice that goes beyond the confinements of the economic field into the cultural practices, affections, and memories shaping differential lines of belonging through multiple spatiotemporal scales negotiated in the avenue. Ultimately, it is in and through this liminal practice, that La Mar becomes a fertile space for investigation, revealing explicit opportunities to enjoy and capitalise upon change, for instance, as it becomes an ‘interesting’ space (Jonathan; Chapter IV), an exclusive space (Elloid; Chapter V), or a space for basic survival (Arturo, Chapter V).

Moving away from the exploration of practices of class, Chapter VI delves into the meaning of commonality within difference, focusing on narratives of national identification built and negotiated through the *foodscapes* of La Mar (Appadurai, 1998). Specifically, this chapter addresses the way food permeates the multiplicity of walks journeying the avenue, laying at the core of the experience of change and identification as it is shaped by the gastronomic boom invading the area. In this context, this chapter

¹ A *quinta* is a multi-family housing complex, commonly occupied by working-class families, including several small, very basic houses built in a communal space, sharing a single entrance from an avenue. It is estimated that in 1991 Santa Cruz had around 41 *quintas*, 80 *corralones* (a downgraded version of *quintas*, often lacking pavement, and even basic services, such as water, plumbing and electricity), and 20 *callejones* (a narrower and poorer version of *corralones*, offering rooms instead of apartments), housing more than 10,000 individuals (Cecilia Montenegro as cited Fernando Pinzas, 2010). By 2010, less than half of these remained in place. Looking into the future, the last remaining *quintas* are not expected to stand long within the area, as the value of land continues to grow sharply, for instance, increasing from \$50/m² in the 1980s to around \$1,200/m² in 2013 (Abusada, 2013).

highlights the way individuals bridge the experience of difference on the national field, stressing the *struggles for value* evident in the making of a national story, foregrounding the limits and “contours” of the national promise (Moran, Skeggs, 2004, p. 71; Berlant, 2010, p.142; Ahmed, 2009, p.38) as individuals find their way into the nation in and around the symbolic limits of food (Skeggs, 2004, p.19; Hage, 1998). Ultimately, individuals become not only subjects of class but subjects of nation, revealing the different roles and multiple identities of places in the making (Massey, 1991; Watson and Bridge, 2002).

Lastly, as a way of introduction, Chapter I and Chapter II offer the theoretical and methodological foundation for the aforementioned chapters (Chapter III, IV, V and VI), establishing the central concepts and presenting the space of research. On one hand, Chapter I offers an overview of the concepts of difference, identity and power in terms of a liminal experience. There is a particular concern to delineate the limits of difference as both a social fact and a social construct, shaping and shaped by infinite practices of commonality and differentiation, that become palpable in and through the experience of change. On the other hand, Chapter II offers an introduction to the space and the methods of research, exploring my first steps into the avenue and revealing the role of the walk in mediating my journey into particular narratives of change in La Mar. Specifically, I am concerned with discussing my exchange with participants, as I accessed, recorded, translated and re-storied their narratives in the form of this thesis. Ultimately, these first two chapters frame my investigation as an intimate, reflexive and situated ethnographic effort, highlighting the academic value of qualitative strategies in the exploration of difference as it emerges as an urban social practice of identification itself.

THE FACTICITY OF DIFFERENCE

Difference represents a central analytical concept in my investigation of identification as a contextual, relational and fluid practice of power, on two separate but interrelated fronts. The first one involves the recognition of difference as a fact, and, the second, the recognition of the construction of difference as a social experience. This section focuses on the former, thus, on what Pitcher (2009, p.2) describes as “the facticity of difference”, an assumption that shapes the theoretical and methodological orientation of this thesis. In this context, difference becomes a “constituent part” of societies, revealing itself as a

point of departure in my understanding and conceptualization of identity as a practice of commonalities and differentiations. Ultimately, it is in and through the facticity of difference that I frame the concept of identity in the form of infinite subjectivities that are “constituted in the imagined spaces of the city”, where they reveal and reproduce multiple “meanings and attachments” to different stories of belonging (Watson, Bridge, 2002, p. 521).

Hence, in this thesis, the facticity of difference outlines the potential for infinite practices of identification, within which, heterogeneous subjectivities negotiate multiple spatiotemporal journeys of being and becoming. In La Mar, each step of the way conceded the space to think about difference as a central condition for these journeys, exceeding the representation of losers and winners of change, but highlighting multiple trajectories (De Certeau, 1984) shaped in and around infinite memories, desires, interests, demands, capabilities and capacities to move in and around the area.

Following this line, it is in and through the *facticity of difference*, that I frame identity as a process (Brubaker, 1998, Brubaker and Cooper, 2000; Brubaker, et al, 2006); a fluid, flexible and porous social experience that involves multiple “lines” (Ong, 1996, p.737) or “regimes” (Fincher and Jacob, 1998, p.2) of difference, that clash and build onto each other through categories of identification (i.e. nation and class). Following Brubaker and Cooper (2000, p.18, 43) these categories “invite to specify the agents that do the identifying”, uncovering the “multi-dimensional classification or mapping of the human world and [... their] places in it” (Jenkins, 2008, p.5). In this context, categories have the potential to illustrate “the human capacity [...] to know ‘who’s who’”, thus, “knowing who we are, knowing who others are, them knowing who we are, us knowing who they think we are, and so on” (ibid., p.5), delineating identity as infinite forms of projections and reactions (Beech, 2008, 2011, p.2; Watson, 2009). Ultimately, as described by Brubaker (1998, p.292; 2004, p.12), categories perform as “interpretative prism[s]” that reveal infinite “way[s] of making sense of the social world”, challenging the idea of identity as a fixed and absolute unit of analysis, highlighting instead its “endless variation and sedimentation” (Sheringham, 2006, p.361) as well as the way “our cognitive maps do not always fit the landscape of others around us” (Jenkins, 2008, p. 31).

Specifically, in assuming *the facticity of difference*, my focus of investigation traces beyond the possibility or the need for an “overreaching narrative of difference” (Wise et al, 2009, p.7). Instead, *the facticity of difference* takes me into the “micro-scapes of contact” that emerge within the avenue, revealing, according to Watson (2006, p. 2,3), “complex and contradictory relations of inclusion, exclusion and agonistic negotiations across difference”. There, the present transpires as an infinite space to challenge, contest and reproduce boundaries of identification, integrating the general/collective with the particular/personal in a single journey of discovery and creation (ex. Lefebvre; Highmore, 2002, p. 4,5). Ultimately, the everyday becomes much more than a gathering space for customary activities emerging in the specificity of La Mar, but “a way of thinking about events and acts in the ‘here and now’”, always “in tension with history” (Sheringham, 2006, p.15, 360), yet never limited by it (Bhabha, 2004; Loveday, 2014)

My understanding of the everyday as a central space to acknowledge and recognize difference, builds upon a series of revisionist efforts pointing to what Jenkin (2008, p.19) describes as “the difference paradigm” or what Watson and Bridge (2002) explore as the shift from “division to differences” in urban sociological theory. Becoming an important force during the 1990s, revisions were commonly built in and around an attempt to question the homogenization of identificatory practices and recognize the multiplicity, flexibility and fluidity of our collective experiences. Frequently, these efforts challenged the need for “grand narratives” of identification (A. Thomson, 2001), revealing, to different degrees and intensities, a growing concern with detail-oriented, ethnographic, qualitative strategies of investigation. These strategies transpire across different topics, from national identity (Edensor,2002, 2006; Skey, 2009, 2011; Brubaker, 1998, 2004) and the locality and food (Duruz, 1999, 2002, 2007, 2011), to urban cultures (Wise et al. 2009), the use of public space (Watson, Bridge, 2002) and ethnic national practices (Searles, 2002). Each in its own way, these strategies showcase the need for “anti-essentialis[t]” frameworks (Jenkins, 2008, p.19), highlighting identities as “increasingly fragmented and fractured, never singular but multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic, discourses, practices and positions” (Hall, 2011, p.4). Ultimately, these strategies offer the basis to think about identities as mediating and transpiring through multiple spatiotemporal contexts, going beyond a unidirectional

journey from past to future, from bad to good, into infinite possibilities to be and become through stories of change and belonging.

In an attempt to contribute to this literature, one of the major concerns of this thesis is to address what Brubaker (1998, p.280) describes as the “chronic contestedness” of identification, highlighting the articulation of multiple subjectivities on the ground (ex. Hall, 1992; Noble, 2009). In doing so, I explore identities as revealing and reproducing the social experiences behind personal and collective journeys, negotiated in a context of infinite differences in the avenue of La Mar. The literature on national identity and the everyday has served as a fundamental compass in upholding the centrality of difference in these explorations, challenging prescribed limits for given identities and contesting the exclusive opposition between agency and structure, suggesting identification as lived experience in day-to-day living. (Wodak, de Cillia, Reisigl, 2009; Brubaker, 1998; Brown,1999; Brubaker and Cooper, 2000; A. Thompson, 2001; Edensor, 2002; N. Miller, 2006; Malesevic, 2006; Reicher and Hopkins, 2001; Abell, Condor and Stevenson,2006; Brubaker et al, 2006; Skey, 2009). Specifically, in and through the everyday, this body of work has challenged the idea of national identity as a homogenous practice, for instance, framing the nation as much more than a homogenising force, but a “subjective anchor” that shapes common sense assumptions, offering specific opportunities to root identification itself (Skey, 2009, p.7). Ultimately, it is in and through this lens that identity becomes a multidimensional process, integrated by infinite journeys that come together at one point in time and space, showcasing national identity as it turns momentarily palpable.

In this context, identity is no longer a ready-made concept, characterised by an “invisible” process of becoming (A. Thompson, 2001, p.297-298). Instead, as explored by Thompson (2001, p. 18,24), identity “remain[s] open to individual interpretation and negotiation”, extending in the form of “deliberations and interactions” shaping, for instance, the nation as a perceptible social practice. Hence, this practice does not reflect a uniform social experience across (national) subjects, but acts as a navigation tool across difference, uncovering the way individuals are positioned in relation to particular stories, “mak[ing] sense of, interpret[ing] or renegotiate[ing]” the limits of collective practices of identification (A. Thompson, 2001, p. 24-27, 298). Ultimately, identities are

never a “once and for all thing”, but the temporary manifestation of a “sense of collectivity”, negotiated around the “rehearsing and transmitting of meaning” (Edensor, 2002, p. 69).

According to Edensor (2002, p.69), this sense of collectivity is essentially built in relation to a “structure of feeling” that connects individuals to the national practice, for instance, through affective practices such as love and pride (“spatial affective aspiration”, Hage, 1998; Chapter VI). However, while connecting them in a shared moment of belonging, the national practice reveals different prospects to be and become included. For Hage (1998, p.42,43), these varying prospects reveal the way “individual existence ... dissolve[s] within a wider mode of existence”, highlighting the space where collectivities are negotiated and experienced, outlining the social processes involved in dealing with difference itself (this will be discussed in the following section). Ultimately, these varying prospects reveal the strength and intensity of power, shaping the way identities become much more than a regulating force across difference, but instead, “a gathering place of accumulative dispositions”, where collective experiences are “suddenly there and possible” (Stewart, 2010, p.340; Skeggs, 2004).

Following this line, in this thesis, dispositions are explored as the orientations or choices individuals face to move across change and become who they want, need or can be in La Mar. My understanding of choice follows on Barth (1981, p. 89) as a practice that is shaped by “circumstances” that exceed the sole control of individuals as they choose, thus, a practice that is shaped by both, agency and structure. These circumstances incorporate specific spatiotemporal variables of value, meaning and power, through which difference becomes much more than something that can be managed (Hage, 1998), but addressed as a central fact of our social existence. In this context, I am interested to explore the way difference transpires in the form of different opportunities and restrictions to navigate the avenue, challenging the reification of a single story of change, and highlighting the multiple layers behind the narrativisation of this particular experience in the city of Lima.

Exploring the literature on urban sociology and anthropology, recent years have shown an increasing interest to incorporate difference at the core of the urban experience,

showcasing the city as a fertile space to explore processes of identification (Lefebvre, 2007; Gupta, Ferguson, 1992; Massey, 1994; Stewart, 1996; Fincher, Jacobs, 1998; Duruz, 1999, 2002; Wise et al., 2009; S. Watson, 2006, 2014; A. Simone, 2008, 2010, 2011, A. Simone, Rao, 2011; Rhys-Taylor, 2010; Taylor, 2012; E. Jackson, 2012, 2014; Bennett 2014). For instance, there has been an evident concern to address the strategies and conditions of possibility, thus, the choices individuals face and negotiate to move across place, outlining the city as a multidimensional context of intersecting meanings and values. Specifically, some of these studies have placed the experience of choice in relation to different orientations in time and space, revealing the eminent need individuals have to make sense of different environments, stressing the opportunities and/or restrictions in evaluating and measuring their life stories, for instance, making them stronger, re-addressing them, erasing them or highlighting particular boundaries of identification in the process.

For instance, in the work of Taylor (2012, p.23, 49, 109), orientations become visible as individuals manage to fit (or not) into particular environments, exposing different journeys to “arrive” in place, highlighting shifting geographies and temporalities in the process. Specifically, she explores “the geographies of choice” as they shape the “continuities” and breaks of particular journeys, involving “new choice[s] for some and re-emerging material and symbolic inequalities” for others (118). Ultimately, Taylor frames the idea of choice “as a personal capacity” that combines “aspirations and possibilities” (75) as well as “dispositions and practices” in constructing a way into the specificity of the urban environment (80).

For Fincher and Jacobs (1998, p.1), Taylor’s “geographies of choice” take the form of “located politics of difference”, where “the lens of difference” outlines “the way in which persistent power structures can unevenly shape urban lives [...affecting] the ways in which such structures are, in turn, shaped by the contingent circumstances of specific people in specific settings” (2). In this context, the urban context and the personal story are entangled in the specificity of particular journeys that involve the pulling and the pushing forces of power, palpable in the form of restrictions and possibilities to move and become valuable in particular settings. Ultimately, the facticity of difference transpires in the way identities and places are built into one another, challenging and

reproducing personal experiences of becoming, where individuals “inhabit different cities even from those inhabited by [their...] most immediate neighbours”.

Meanwhile, focusing on migration and cultural practices, Jean Duruz (1999, p.305) explores individuals’ choices and orientations as they relocate within the city, revealing the “complex” and “imagined” ways individuals delineate their journeys, reifying as well as contesting dynamics of power in the everyday. Duruz (2011, p. 612) pays particular attention to the “quality of exchange” in the city, revealing different “meanings of mobility and reciprocity” that shape into “hybridized identities and spatial fluidities” challenging the tendency to “‘fix’ place and identity” in social research. Ultimately, Duruz contests the idea of a “transparent and static cartography”, highlighting the way identities are constantly “repositioned” and difference negotiated within “structuring social relations” (1999, p. 93), challenging and reproducing “everyday inscriptions of the imagination” upon different ideas of self and place (1999, p. 308)

As in the work of Duruz, the centrality of exchange becomes essential to the work of Watson (2006, 2008, 2009), placing an evident interest on spaces of contact, focusing on the way individuals “rub[...] along” with each other, negotiating the limits of self and other as they reproduce “multiple forms of sociality” in public spaces. Specifically, Watson is concerned with exploring informal social encounters as mediating differences and revealing opportunities for coexistence within the city, negotiated in and around the possibilities for social association and the creation of social capital in a shared space. Ultimately, Watson highlights the “borders and boundaries, the constraints and limits on living with, accepting, acknowledging and sometimes celebrating difference in public”, where “particular socio-spatial configurations” delineate the “specificity and contingency of difference” itself (2006, p. 2,3).

Each in its own way, the arguments presented in this literature highlight the journey of urban subjects into occupying different “social positions” as contextual, temporal and relational experiences of exchange in the context of the city (Skeggs, 2004, p.57). Building upon this body of work, I want to argue that in order to explore and understand change in La Mar, it is central to take on the facticity of difference as an essential component in the negotiation of experiences of identification and dynamics of power in

this space. Specifically, I want to argue that by bringing people together as well as breaking them apart, the facticity of difference foregrounds infinite practices of sameness and differentiation that continue to change overtime, revealing different choices, thus, orientations uncovering the way individuals position themselves and others within their stories. And, as they do, the experience of change reveals itself a fertile space to explore identities in the making, addressing the role of time and space in mediating these experiences, translated into infinite journeys that are never, ever the same. Ultimately, I want to argue that it is the facticity of difference that allows me to explore the ways individuals manage (or not) to connect with one another in and through these multiple experiences, stressing the way difference is not only an inherent characteristic of identification itself, but a social construction that is lived, challenged and reproduced everyday on the ground.

THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF DIFFERENCE

Moving from the facticity of difference into the experience of difference itself, takes me from recognizing the fluidity, flexibility and multiplicity of identification into the way identities are negotiated on the ground, becoming expedient categories of research. According to Connolly, (1991, p. XIV), “an identity is established in relation to a series of differences that have become socially recognized”. In this process of recognition, identities not only reveal the negotiations of the limits, boundaries and values of particular collective experiences (i.e. class or nation); also, they reveal the way some differences become more valuable, visible and expedient than others, articulated, for instance, as legitimate contributions to mainstream culture. It is within this process of recognition (ex. “politics of recognition”, Taylor, 1994) or “misrecognition to be denied recognition” (ex. as an unreliable, immoral and dangerous subject; Skeggs,2004, p.4), that the workings of power become a central variable in the negotiation of differences and identities, legitimizing systems of inscription of value and classification of meaning. In this context, and, in accordance to Noble (2009, p.62), recognition ultimately reflects “the beginning of something, not its end, [which...] is never a given”.

Following this line, my understanding of power takes on Watson and Bridge (2012), as a force that is latent, sometimes more present than others, yet always offering a space for the production and contestation of structures and experiences of value. Central to the

work of Watson and Bridge (2012, p. 509) is the exploration of power while “holding on to the concept of difference”, focusing on “power networks that operate at different temporal and spatial scales” (505). This framework outlines the city as much more than a space that is shaped by systems of symbolic domination, but a space that is outlined by “contrasting spatialities and temporalities that overlap one another”, challenging a unidirectional conceptualization of identification and stressing the multiple dimensions involved in the construction of identities (505). In this context, Watson and Bridge highlight the “partialities” and “mediated encounters” as they emerge in the modern city, challenging the over-celebration of difference, yet underscoring the centrality of power dynamics in “mak[ing] one experience of difference different from another” (509).

In the same line of research, Fincher and Jacobs (1998, p.2) address the way “[t]he lens of difference does not ignore the way in which persistent power structures can unevenly shape urban lives. But it does highlight the ways in which such structures are, in turn, shaped by the contingent circumstances of specific people in specific settings.” For them, focusing on difference makes it possible to acknowledge not only the negotiation of systems of power, but also, the opportunities for resistance and subversion, uncovering the possibility to “transform structures of power and privilege” (2). Thus, for them, to focus on difference “does not simply mean joyously indulging in urban diversity [, n]or does it automatically cast one into a form of depoliticized relativism”(2). Instead, it means that there is a space to acknowledge infinite practices of “empowerment, oppression and exclusion”, negotiated and reproduced in and “through regimes of difference” that are “variously constituted and contextually determined”, revealing the “contingent circumstances of specific people in specific settings” (2).

In a similar way, in this thesis, to talk about the social construction of difference is to talk about the negotiation of identification as a fluid and flexible practice, taking place not only amongst multiple subjects, but also within them, where multiple identities compete for space (“cross-cutting affiliations”, Duran, Monin, Rao, 2003, p.838). Urban sociologists have become central contributors to the understanding of these processes, where the complexities of city-life present as a challenge to “clear-cut boundaries” and “simple divisions between groups”, as subjects move around different spatiotemporal

limits, making it hard to “map” particular journeys into particular places within the city (Watson, Bridge, 2002, p.517). As explained by Watson and Bridge, it is in this context that “people often occup[y] many and various positions in the conceptualizations of structures of oppression and domination” (517), becoming much more than solely classed, gendered or national. Instead, “[p]eople inhabit multiple identities in [and constituting] multiple spaces and temporalities in the city” (517), outlining not only the porosity of identification itself, but the way particular places frame this experience. Ultimately, identification becomes a “place-based” imaginary construction that is relative to particular environments (Watson, 2006, pp. 129,132), emerging not only as a relational and collective practice of belonging, but a contextual experience of power, where the limits and values of difference are always on the move.

Exploring in further detail the role of power upon these movements and practices, I place the concept of *the other* at the centre of my theoretical framework in this investigation. In agreement with Sennett (1990) and Jenkins (2008), I frame the negotiation of identity as the potentiality of infinite *others*, highlighting participants’ “situated sociability” (Noble, 2009) in the production of “dichotomies and categories of cultural differences” (ex. poor/rich, bad/good, new/old; Burstedt, 2002, p.148). In this context, the experience of identification not only “requires difference in order to be”, but it also relies in the conversion of “difference into otherness [...] to secure its own self-certainty”, revealing and reproducing dynamics of power in the process (Connelly, 1992, p. XIV). In the end, it is in and through these dynamics at work, that *the other* becomes much more than the opposite of particular individual journeys, but a strategy that allows individuals to position themselves, negotiating limits and distances, thus, challenging a fixed condition of alterity by highlighting the “presence, absence and in-betweenness” of power itself (Watson, Bridge, 2012, p. 509).

In accordance to this, one of the main concerns of this thesis is the understanding of *othering* as a “process through which [identities] are reproduced”, rather than something that is “submitted or done to pre-existing [...] subjects” themselves (ex. Kinsbury, as cited in Cook et al., 2010, p.110) Indeed, subjects are not just poor, gentrified or post-colonial; instead, they are subjects in the making, negotiated within power-inflicted practices of becoming. The recognition of these practices allows me to

deconstruct alleged hegemonic powers and subaltern forces beyond their assumed roles, histories and embodiments, highlighting experiences that actively create them and make them creators of possible processes of identification. In the end, as explained by Roe (as cited in Cook et al., 2010, p.112), *the other* becomes a reflection of “different configurations of subjectivity”, highlighting situated articulations of difference that are continuously negotiated and imagined in the city.

In this context, and borrowing on Brubaker and Cooper (2004, p.33), the recognition of *the other* as a multiple and subjective practice of becoming challenges the risk of falling into “an uneasy amalgam of constructivist language and essentialist argumentation” in the exploration of identification. Specifically, I hope to challenge the need to recuperate, recover or reinstitute *the other* away from a “consumer cannibalism”, where the other is allegedly *eaten*, taken out of context (Hook, 1992). I want to challenge this need, which reifies the limits and contents of multiple experiences of identification into moral commodifications to deal with difference itself. Hence, I do not want to reclaim *the other* nor to assist *the other* in finding a space; instead, I want to explore the processes through which different subjects become *the other* in particular spatiotemporal contexts. Ultimately, I want to explore identification as a reflection of the “agency of [various] ‘Others’”, going beyond a common dichotomy that is built between a white/European/mainstream culture and its non-white/indigenous/marginal counterpart (Narayan, 1997).

I have found that recent literature on identity, nation and food offers a fertile space to address these issues, challenging common assumptions in the exploration of difference itself (i.e. Searles, 2002; Penfold, 2002, 2008; Duruz, 2004, Wilk, 2008). The work of Searles (2002) on Inuit and non-Inuit identities in Canada represents one of the most successful attempts, focusing on the ideas, beliefs, imaginations as well as historical constructions behind the production and reproduction of relations of power within the consumption of national culture and identities. Specifically, Searles goes beyond the Inuit/non-Inuit paradigm, to find a multi-dimensional web of meaning, negotiations and interchanges that surpassed a binary world of value, highlighting the multiple ways different people position themselves and construct cultural categories, meditating with alleged national counterparts and apparent local equals. Ultimately, Searles’ framework

moves past describing, understanding and classifying Inuit and non-Inuit foods and identities, into the ways difference is translated, negotiated, ignored or emphasized within experiences of identification through food, challenging a given 'us' as a point of departure to explore practices of nation.

Taking this framework to the context of Lima, and more specifically to La Mar, offers me the possibility to challenge the post-colonial paradigm that has been commonly used to explore the changing context of the city. While recent theories of hybridity have generally been successful in challenging post-colonial stories of conflict between dominant cultures and weak cultures, by recognizing spaces for reconciliation through the exploration of rural immigrants' experiences of economic and cultural success in Lima (Henderon, 2004, i.e.), frequently, these studies have limited themselves to translating the post-colonial "binary split" of white/indigenous, poor/rich, coastal/Andean, included/excluded, educated/uneducated, and cultured/uncultured, into hybrid or non-hybrid subjects of investigation (Watkins, 2010, p.273; ex: Quijano, 1980; Matos Mar, 2004; Degregori, 1986; Vela 2007; cited in Montoya Uriarte, 2002: 100)². This way, *lo popular*, *lo cholo* and *lo chicha*, all of them concepts that rose as alternative pathways to challenge traditional urban settings, imaginaries and their theorization in terms of power dynamics in Lima, were transformed into an homogenous entity conceptualised as the new model for a coherent body of national unity. Ultimately, Lima's urban transformation has commonly moved from providing a resourceful platform to explore infinite possibilities of identification, to representing the arrival of a single reified hybrid cultural group (Montoya Uriarte, 2002).

On the contrary, this thesis builds upon and hopes to contribute to the work of Cecilia Mendez (1996), Cecilia Salgado (1999), Marisol de la Cadena (2001, 2003), Urpi Montoya Uriarte (2002), Javier Protzel (2006), Victor Vich (2006) and Maria Eugenia Ulfe (2011), all of whom, in some way or another, have managed to place a substantial emphasis upon issues of heterogeneity, subjectivity and performativity in order to deconstruct the understanding of the city as a social and cultural heterogeneous place (497). La Mar

offers me the space for this contribution, deconstructing the limits of the city as a socially and culturally homogeneous place of post-colonial identification, stressing the way subjects come and go, enter and leave, following and creating footprints in the shifting context of this setting. In the end, La Mar offers me the space to explore difference and identification in a way that power is not limited by the dominant symbolic, but instead, is explored in relation to it.

Along these lines, I found that challenging the tendency for *othering* becomes an essential step in offering a space to explore the production of value beyond the performance of personhood or institutionalized self within the dominant symbolic, highlighting the way different individuals engage in alternative ways of negotiating value for themselves (Skeggs, 2011, p.496). In this context, this thesis focuses not only on challenging the reification of difference and identity per se, but in contesting commonly held assumptions on the concept of value and the role of power dynamics in negotiating access to it. In accordance to Skeggs, this allows investigators to expand their “theoretical imaginary” beyond “the dominant symbolic” where “proper personhood [becomes] an exclusive resource predicated on constitution by exclusion” (496). Ultimately, this strategy redefines the idea of value itself, “as the importance people attribute to action”, highlighting not only the workings of power but “the workings of personhood”, by stressing “a different sociality” (496), a sociality that, in accordance to Watson and Bridge (2002, p.522), has to be explored in and through “an active view of urban space, difference and power”.

In La Mar, this active view is framed by the experience of change, thus by the variables of time and space as individuals navigate this setting. These variables become evident in the way individuals locate themselves and others, ordering people, things and experiences, negotiating distances, positions and values that reinforce as well as challenge the order of things. Change allows me to go beyond the “crystallization” of particular groups in particular contexts, commonly “freezing the historical process in order to legitimate a particular boundary” (MacInnes, 2006, p.685). By focusing on change, I am able to explore in detail the complexities behind the articulation and reconfiguration of identity, because, in the midst of change, things happen and possibilities become visible. Indeed, in the midst of change restrictions and possibilities

are seen at their best, heightened by the fleeting space that change carries at its core, allowing and almost demanding individuals to interpret their past and take a stand into the future, revealing their social coordinates in the making. Ultimately, it is in change that it becomes possible to challenge the popular tales of dominant and dominated that have plagued the understanding of Lima's urban transformations, highlighting the opening of spaces, the "rubbing of the other" (Watson, 2009) and the flexibility and fluidity of our social experiences.

Specifically, in this thesis, I explore change as affecting people and places in infinite ways, delineating "feelings of belonging, in benefiting or being 'left behind', as desires, hopes and resentments intersect with material (im)possibilities." (Taylor, 2012, po.252, 253). As explained by Fincher and Jacobs (1998, p.14), to focus on change, is to focus on the construction of difference transpiring in the form of "uneven outcomes", "mark[ed]" sometimes by "a joyous inclusiveness" and at others by "a destabilizing contact with otherness", or even, "the unavoidable materiality of [...] marginalisation". Change highlights the "resourcing dilemmas" (Skeggs, 2005, p.973) or the "struggle for value" (Skeggs, B., Loveday, V., 2012) that become a central force in experiences of identification. Ultimately, change highlights the forces of power, transpired in the way some journeys become momentarily "fixed" as "the constitutive limit for [the] recognition" of others on the move, revealing processes "of inscription, perspective, value and exchange" (Skeggs, 2004, p.4, 13) that frame the possibilities to gain or to lose in change.

On Liminality

In this thesis, the possibilities of change are framed in terms of the concept of liminality (Sveningsson and Alvesson, 2003; Abrams, et al, 2004; Szakolczai, 2009; Beech, 2011; Daskalki, et al. 2015; Ybema, et al, 2011; Shortt, 2015; Lim, et al, 2016; Swan, et al, 2016; Greco, Stenne, 2017). Specifically, I follow on Turner's (1969) definition of the liminal as an ambiguous practice at its core, an "antistructural" exercise emerging in relation to an experience of change, offering a valuable lens into the links between change, identity and power. In this context, I address La Mar as a liminal space, a space that mostly "remains undefined and changeable", sometimes modern, sometimes old, sometimes dangerous and other times interesting too (Mitchell, Kelly, 2011, p. 318), offering distinct

opportunities to move in and through the in-betweeness that it holds, alluding, in accordance to Bhabba (2004, p.5), to “the connective tissue that constructs [...] difference”, for instance, in the space between gentrifiers and gentrified, locals and newcomers, rich and poor, good and bad. In this context, difference lies at the centre of the liminal experience, highlighting infinite possibilities to remember the past, interpret the present and move into the future (Thomassen, 2009, p.19; 2014, p.7), stressing different choices to be and become in the “re-constitution of difference’ itself (Daskalaki, et al 2015, p.11) disrupting the world as we seemingly know it (Beech, 2010, p.287, Noble, Walker, 1997, p. 31).

This way, liminality reveals and reproduces multiple spatiotemporal experiences, revealing much more than a “linear and uncontested” identity, place or experience, but a “polycentric, multidimensional and ambiguous site [...] of un/becoming” (Daskalaki et al, 2015, p.10). Hence, to focus on liminality is to focus on uncovering “the intersection of structure and agency” (Beech, 2011, p. 286; Ybema et al., 2009, Thomassen, 2009, 2014; Daskalaki et al. 2015), highlighting the cracks at the core of the sociality of particular settings, framing the gap and the possibility of something new coming into existence (Taylor, 2012, p.123). In La Mar, a liminal framework offers the possibility to “display and displace the binary logic through which identities of difference are often constructed” (Bhabba, 2004, p.5), outlining change as the negotiation of the *before*s and *after*s of this avenue; thus, as the negotiation of what used to be, what is and what is expected to remain valuable in this setting. Ultimately, in La Mar, liminality offers a conceptual framework to explore what is important to people, as well as the strategies they engage with to make sense of the world as they cope with a changing environment, stressing the latent contradictions that reside in the midst of humanness itself, revealing the infinite journeys involved in becoming a social subject, a valuable self, a recognized member (or not) of a collective imagining.

In the end, to focus on a liminal experience is to focus on infinite trajectories that shape spatialized processes of identification as they manifest in and out of existence. Hence, to focus on a liminal experience is to “open [...] the door to a world of contingency where events and meanings –indeed ‘reality’ itself- can be moulded and carried in different directions”; a world where “liminality explains nothing [; where l]iminality is what

happens[; where i]t takes place” (Thomassen, 2014, p.7). In this world, “human beings react to liminal experiences in different ways”, offering an advantageous viewpoint to “analyze[d] and compare[d]” the way they become momentarily different and or the same in the navigation of new symbolic and material limits of inclusion and exclusion (7). In this context, some may engage with a liminal experience (ex. “liminoid moment”, Turner 1987, p.29), while others may become liminal subjects themselves (Ahmed, 2010, Thomassen, 2009, p.17), revealing liminality’s multidimensionality in relation to the context, duration and intensity of particular experiences (ex. “transitional liminality”, “perpetual liminality”, Ybema et al, 2011; “institutionalized liminality”, Johnsen and Sorensen, 2014; Turner, 1969) as well as separating, for instance, the ones who “dwell” in liminal experiences or spaces (Sturdy et al., 2006) and the ones who move on from them. Ultimately, in and through the liminal framework, La Mar becomes a “site of contestation, competing powers and challenging differences” (Daskalki et al., 2015, p. 4), stressing the way “multiple places [are negotiated] in the same space” (Jackson, Jones, 2014, p.5), thus, revealing itself as a condition of possibility to recognize and negotiate difference in the making.

CONCLUSION

Choosing to move beyond a discussion of La Mar as a gentrifying and post-colonial place into the negotiations of difference that are nonetheless offered in this gentrifying and postcolonial space follows an attempt to challenge a common dance of *othering* that has frequently bred a dualistic understanding of the post-colonial experience in Peru (Montoya, 2002). This is not to say that colonialism has not had an important influence on practices of class and nation in present day Peru; instead, it is to say that these are not social practices done by post-colonial subjects, but practices where subjects negotiate, interpret, and reproduce post-colonial legacies in day-to-day living.

Indeed, the way class and nation are lived, experienced, and understood in the present in Lima (and more generally Peru), is undeniably linked to the historical negotiations of identification, power, and difference that ensued during the times of Spanish colonisation, where people were segregated by a system of castes and fiscal categories based on territory and phenotypes, dividing the population between the ‘new world’ (*republica de indios*) and European conquerors (*republica de espanholes*; Olivia, 1995, p.

354). With time and the prospects of *mixing* among the population, lines of differentiation became an important site for the contestation of power in Peru, where *race* and gender emerged as common categories of early forms of socialization and *the* “struggle for value” in the colony (Skeggs, B., Loveday, V., 2012). For instance, *indigenous* women were faced with the “social choice” to create “a new mestizo society”, manipulating “bastardy” in the form of “a social weapon”, in hiding the fathers’ real identity and registering their babies as *mestizos* (half indigenous and half white), which afforded them social, cultural, economic, and political privileges in society (Bouysse-Cassagne, Therese, 1996, p. 99, 110). Ultimately, different categorical negotiations provided different opportunities for social mobility, where the mixing of blood revealed a socialised version of status, pointing to the growing imbrications of race, gender, and class in the making of social identities in the national space.

Amid the termination of the systems of castes with independence (1821), the use of – old and emerging– categories and the relationship between these categories continues to adjust to new spaces and times. The market gained increasing protagonism, highlighting the growing connections between “ethnic categorizations” (i.e. indigenous) and “economic activity” (i.e. peasant; Harris, 1995, p. 364). These connections were forged as the powerful segments of society fulfilled their growing need for a labour force through renewed dynamics of authority, establishing the foundation for “modern forms of social inequality” through socioeconomic divisions of classes (Brook, 2004, p. 247). In this context, the *Indian concept* stretched from an ethnic categorization into reflecting punctual cultural traits of a socio-economic sector, revealing a new dimension in the role of cultural practices within the construction of class and national identities. In this context, to embody an *Indian identity* implied, according to De la Cadena (2001, p.22), “a social condition entailing absolute denial of civil rights”, whose marginality was deeply regionalised, contributing to a strong national imaginary of spatial segregation and inequality, where indigenous people were inferior because they had an inferior culture (Larson, 2004), becoming a national *problem* that needed to be fixed (Paulo Drinot, 2006; De la Cadena, 2001, 2003).

Accordingly, the *Indian concept* was located at the centre of the post-colonial experience, commonly expressed and reproduced as the basis for multiple identificatory

boundaries and limits (Larson, 2004). Indeed, the *Indian concept*, found its way to the corners of particular places, phenotypes, cultural practices, educational systems, political views, and economic capabilities, reified through practice (i.e. political reforms) and theoretical discussions, shaping a strong national imaginary that stressed linear projects of development in the search for Peru's real essence, negotiated, for instance, through the de-Indianization of the Indian (i.e. Hispanismo, 1900-1950s), the vindication of the *Indian* (i.e. Indigenismo, 1900-1950s) and the whitening of the Indian (i.e. Mestizaje, 1920-80s; Quijano, 1980). While in recent years, as discussed in the last section of this chapter, theories of urban cultural hybridity have readdressed the centrality of traditional categories (i.e. white and indigenous) and their representations within the literature (i.e. educated/rich/cultured/uneducated/poor/ignorant), there is still a need to challenge the hybrid/non-hybrid paradigm in Lima and recognise the way multiple subjectivities are negotiated and reproduced, revealing, for instance, the way some people may find pleasure/interest/entertainment/success and others fear/exclusion/discrimination/failure in the same context of change in the city.

It is in this context that this thesis emerges, aiming to explore the post-colonial environment while challenging the "radicaliz[ed] ... condition of alterity" it has commonly bred (Moore, 2002, p. 49), contesting the "ideological (re)production of proper citizens" (Yudice, 2003, p.10) or what Hage (1998) highlights as a process of "manag[ement] and contain[ment of] difference" itself (as cited and interpreted in Wise et al., 2009, p.3). It is in this context that this thesis is framed, focusing on the contradictions of the personal walk in building a collective experience, negotiating differences, reproducing values and revealing dynamics of power in the process, highlighting the intersections of infinite "relational determinations" shaping a multiplicity of journeys in the making (de Certeau 1984, p. xi). It is in this context that I choose to focus on La Mar, as it offers "a rich array of interpretive possibility for understating how it is we live with difference and how the mundane is experienced and is mediated by commercial, aesthetic discursive and ideational threads big and small" (Wise et al., 2009, p. 2). Ultimately, it is in and through the locality of this avenue, that I hope to engage with participants' journeys in and out of change, as they face and make sense of this process and become through it, reflecting the way "imagined communities (Anderson, 1983) come to be attached to imagined places" (Gupta, Ferguson, 1992).

At the end, La Mar becomes a fertile space for the negotiation of belonging, where the visibility of change alludes to the visibility of moving subjects as they walk, as they “choose” and “invest” in who they want to be (Taylor, 2012, p.118), highlighting the possibilities to differentiate, connect, and become. Indeed, it is by focusing on these possibilities that I hope to contribute to the understanding of identification as a process that reflects the journey of multiple walks, transitorily settled upon collective identities that emerge from each of the gaps of change, in the form of memories, anticipations and affects, lingering around the limits of time and space. As I will discuss in Chapter II, these identities are explored through and within the stories participants tell, “re-embed[ding]” overall differences within their walks (Taylor, 2012, p.123) and highlighting (and generating) an apparent emptiness that grows around the possibility and the need for identification, suggesting much more than the complexity of life, but the subtleness of living. Thus, in the delicacy of this process, this thesis aims to deconstruct pre-constructed categories (i.e. *that man is poor, that woman is Peruvian*), exploring their “competing reifications” (i.e. *there is a man who considers himself as poor in La Mar*) and yet stressing the expedience of identification as it is lived (Brubaker, 2000, p.5-7; Brubaker, 2012, p.1,5). Ultimately, I choose to recognize the fluctuating nature of identity formation as it varies from person to person, from moment to moment, rising in the midst of opportunity and risk, as individuals walk their way into a social experience in the avenue and socialise into the walking of this place (Ingold, Vergunst, 2008).

CHAPTER II ON WALKING LA MAR: A SPATIAL AND METHODOLOGICAL EXPLORATION



Fig.0.2. Collage La Mar

La Mar is far from a quiet traditional place. It contains busses of all sizes; car shops nestled between little grocery stores; hidden, but crowded, old residences sharing water pipes and electricity bills; new office buildings, design firms, and some of the most popular and fancy restaurants in Lima. The opulent, the curious, the blend of the old with the new and the in-between, the opportunistic business owner, the hipster, the long-lived friends from *the barrio*, and the growing number of foodie tourists joining the

gastronomic tour of this cosmopolitan-aspiring city are a few of the characters you will encounter here. You can see plenty; from the old man buying his newspaper from the same stand that he bought from 50 years ago, to the BMW dropping a fancy crowd at the doorstep of Gaston Acurio's acclaimed restaurant *La Mar*. It is an eclectic space in between two of the most exclusive areas of the city (Miraflores and San Isidro), where *difference* becomes the norm, where *change* becomes the basis for understanding the past and the present, where social and cultural codes constantly mutate with the growing numbers of visitors, with the changing faces of *locals* and business owners, and with the conversion of personal biographies into stories of both millionaires and exiles.

As a way of a walk, this chapter offers an introduction to La Mar and the methodology of research in the area. Framed by the centrality of movement in this thesis, the first section explores the context of the avenue, introducing specific places and characters as I journey along the space. Section two evaluates the walk as a central methodological strategy, outlining my steps around La Mar, as well as the strategies to access and interpret aural and visual narratives in this setting. Section three focuses on the process of re-storying, outlining this thesis as a *narrative of narratives*, exploring the way stories are handled and reproduced, framing a reflexive account of change in this space. Finally, section four offers the concluding remarks of this chapter, closing the theoretical and methodological introduction to the thesis, leading the way to the body of this investigation.

ON WALKING LA MAR

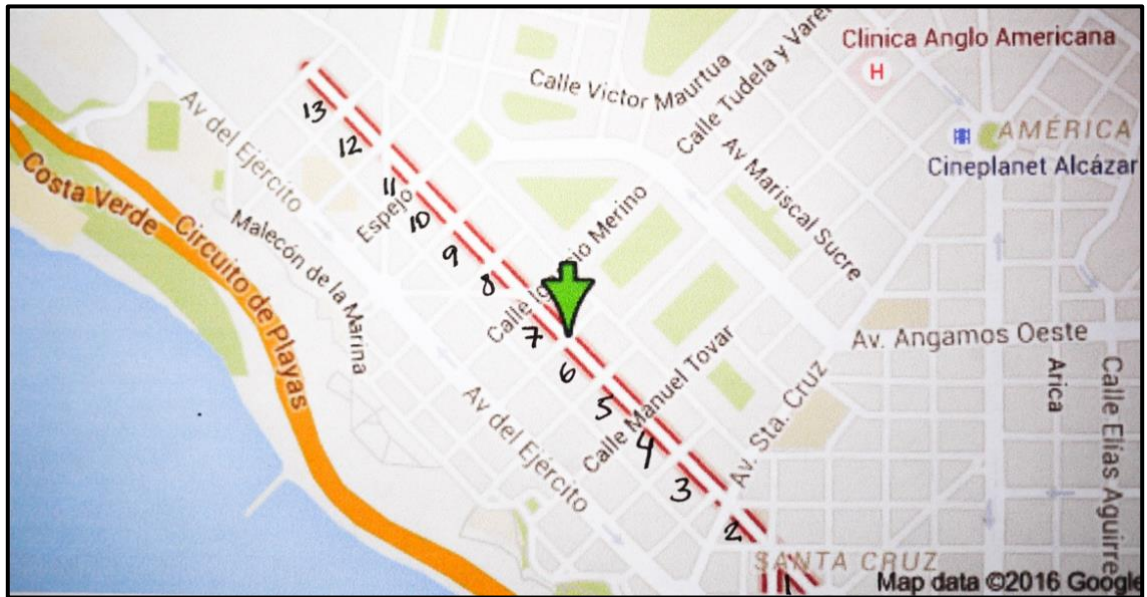


Fig.0.3. Map La Mar

Starting my walk at the north end of the avenue, in the midst of the last block of La Mar (13th block), there stands what many believe is the first restaurant to kick off the culinary development of the area. A symbol of hope and success, change and bravery for many, *Pescados Capitales* remains one of the best (and fanciest) options for eating seafood in the capital city of Lima. In 2001, Victor Chang-Say and his sister Sue Chang-Say perceived the need for an alternative and contemporized concept of the *cevichería*³, and, in December of that year, taking advantage of their family-owned property, they opened *Pescados Capitales* in La Mar. With the opening of this restaurant, Victor and Sue redefined the culinary role of *cevicherías* within the social experience of the city, challenging their aesthetic performance, for instance, by exchanging the common use of beer-sponsored plastic chairs for wooden furniture and paper menus for reusable ones.⁴ Meanwhile, in La Mar, Victor and Sue contested the negative perception of the area of Santa Cruz, which had accumulated a bad reputation through years of being seen as valueless and dangerous. Ultimately, Victor and Sue not only offered an opportunity

³ A *cevichería* is a seafood restaurant mainly serving ceviche, a dish prepared with raw fish cooked in lemon with chili.

⁴ In Peru, it has been a common practice for beer companies to sponsor *cevicherías* in low income neighbourhoods by providing free chairs, tables and glasses, which are inscribed with the logo of a particular brand of beer. In turn, this practice has shaped the popular link between the consumption of beer and ceviche together.

for a renewed and exclusive experience of the consumption of seafood in the avenue, but also offered the space to challenge dominant boundaries of political, economic, and social exclusion, manifesting in the ultimate growth of municipal involvement in the area, the expansion of private investment, and the soaring number of people willing to visit this part of the city.

A block down from *Pescados Capitales*, endures a *menu*, which is a small restaurant commonly serving home-made food for blue-collar workers. Arturo is the owner of this venue, opened two decades ago by his mother. He has lived and worked on La Mar his entire life, bearing the most difficult years while inhabiting the most challenging section of the avenue. This section is known as 'La Siberia' and incorporates the last two blocks of La Mar, getting its name from an allusion to the 'roughness' of oriental Russia (Abusada, 2013). According to Arturo, this area holds the most dramatic stories of drugs, robberies, and fights. Within these stories, Arturo authors himself as the 'survivor' of years of institutional neglect, when civil security seemed a distant reality; when La Mar felt as if it was an 'abandoned' space, a space with no life, a space of 'death'. Today, as police and *Serenasgos* (municipal security) increasingly navigate this area, Arturo continues the struggle for survival, as the toll for security takes the form of a uniform tax rate for him and, for instance, *Pescados Capitales*, in addition to new and expensive regulatory requirements (i.e. implementation of security cameras, electrical grounding, and the availability of parking space for clients). At the moment, Arturo is doing his best and, as his neighbouring restaurant, has met every single request.

Continuing my walk, right in between blocks 11 and 12 of La Mar, on a small side street is one of the oldest mechanics in Santa Cruz. Mr. Gamarra is often called a legend, moving up the economic ladder of *success*. Indeed, he owns two *factorias* (auto repair shops) comprising 1200 m² of space (combined) and two other properties (he neither specifies what kind of properties nor their square footage) allegedly valued at US\$ 4,000/m², a similar value to the most expensive areas in the capital (i.e. neighbouring district of San Isidro). Willing and pleased to share his tale of success, Mr. Gamarra shows me an article featuring his story in a local newspaper, which he has carefully framed. He asks me if I would like to take a picture of him holding it in his hands. He smiles for me and I proceed to do as he wishes.



Fig.0.4. Mr. Gamarra Portrait

Mr. Gamarra tells me he is considering selling his property to benefit from an increasing demand within this area. He is waiting for the right time to do it; yet, he does not feel the pressure. For now, Jimena, a new business owner in Santa Cruz, rents one of his properties located at the end of the 11th block of the avenue, where she has an organic food store with her two sisters (*Punto Organico*).

When I meet Jimena, she tells me she had been searching for a cheap rental, as compared to the ones offered by agents in San Isidro and Miraflores, when she came across Mr Gamarra. She recalls: 'He reminded us of this character... like my grandfather, like this working man from the fields, right? A man achieving his own things, a wonder.' Feeling an 'instant chemistry' they sealed the rental deal in 2010. Since then, while Jimena has benefitted from the growing popularity of healthy eating in the city, rent has become a mounting issue for her, as real estate prices continue to grow radically on La Mar. 'Now we pay gourmet prices', she says. 'And, the truth is that when renting in La Mar you do not have the advantages of renting in a posh area, but you have

to face the same prices. So, it is a shame.’⁵

Indeed, as expressed by Jimena, real estate prices have soared across the area due to its rising popularity and the mounting demand from individuals with new projects to find a space. For instance, just a couple of blocks down from *Punto Organico*, in the 9th block of the avenue, I find some of the trendiest spots in La Mar. Design stores such as *Contemporaneo* and global *Bo Concept*, as well as culinary options such as the coffee shop *Claribel* and one of the most popular bakeries in the city, *El Pan de la Chola*, all occupy their space on the area. Jonathan, an entrepreneur and aspiring actor in his mid-30s who had returned to Peru from London, opened this bakery in 2011. I ask him about the avenue, which he responds to enthusiastically, trying to put in words what he perceives in La Mar. ‘I am sorry to tell you a word in English, you will find it *huachafo*⁶, but I really like this word: edgy, edgy’. Jonathan defines La Mar as an *edgy* space, where beauty and danger meet in an on-going dialogue. He is fascinated by it, an ‘interesting’ avenue where he can afford to be creative. Indeed, for Jonathan, La Mar becomes a space where he defies the norm, challenging the sociocultural conventions of Lima (Chapter IV). Hence, for Jonathan, the bakery becomes an alternative form of expression, surfacing as a personal interpretation of the avenue as well as a reflection of his apparent role within it and the capital city.

However, not everyone feels the same way as Jonathan does about change in La Mar. Indeed, just a couple of blocks from *El Pan de la Chola*, sitting on a bench, 72-year-old Esteban offers me an alternative way of expressing and interpreting this process. A mechanic all his life, Esteban used to work on a repair shop located on the 6th block of the avenue. In 2012, this repair shop had to close, giving way to new projects and costing Esteban his job.⁷ Today, while no longer working in La Mar, Esteban continues to visit

⁵ After our initial talk in 2014, in 2015 I returned to La Mar and found that *Punto Organico* had relocated to a larger space in the 7th block of the avenue. Hence, despite the economic pressure and competition (or because of it) *Punto Organico* managed to grow (slowly but steadily), building upon the growing base of customers that became increasingly available in La Mar. Today, in the same location that *Punto Organico* used to be, there is a small vegan restaurant called *Armonica*.

⁶ *Huachafo* is a colloquial expression alluding to someone or something that is out of place, fake, extravagant, *tacky*.

⁷ As explained by Mr. Gamarra, in the past, Santa Cruz was the main designated legal zone for mechanic shops in Miraflores, boosting their proliferation in the area. However, in recent years, their numbers had dropped as a direct consequence of stricter regulations on the granting of businesses licenses, effective not only for mechanic shops, who faced an overall halt to the issuance of permits in this section of the

regularly, hoping to get occasional employment. In fact, as many others in the same situation as him, he hangs out on the same corner every time he goes, patiently waiting for someone to notice, wondering about the life he once had and the hardships he now faces. Ultimately, whilst Esteban is a witness of the movements and directions of change in Santa Cruz, he cannot keep up with this process, fading into the background of the newest and the tallest buildings in La Mar, losing the place he used to have in the avenue.

SoHo I, is the first office building built in la Mar, occupying the same space where Esteban's workplace used to be. Michelle, the architect of this project, is always exploring the prospects for business expansion in the area.



Fig.0.5. Michelle's Portrait

In our exchange, Michelle tells me about SoHo II, recently offered on the market,

city, but to businesses that were popular in the *barrio* environment (for example, small shops, hardware stores, independent businesses, such as pharmacies and stationary shops). This situation brought a growing concern, in particular to long-time owners with temporary licenses in need of periodical renewal (who were the vast majority of mechanic shop owners). It is important to clarify that not everyone was affected the same way. Indeed, in comparison to the vast majority in the area, Mr. Gamarra enjoyed a *perpetual license*, which allowed him to stay indefinitely in the avenue without the need to renovate his license to work in this area.

competing with five other real estate developments racing to provide working space throughout the avenue. Michelle describes the way she is professionally and personally invested in the area of Santa Cruz; however, she reflects upon the lack of contact she has with La Mar, feeling as if she is standing ‘on a little island’, staring from the window of her building down to this familiar yet unfamiliar space, where she, as well as Esteban, spends most of her days.

Despite the growth of new projects such as Soho, it is still possible to find residential housing in La Mar. While almost invisible to the common eye, in the middle of the 5th block of the avenue, there is one of the few surviving *quintas*⁸ and a tiny, little residential house next to it. In the summer of 2012, Manuela opens its door, inviting me into her home.



Fig.0.6. Manuela's Portrait

⁸ A *quinta* is a multi-family housing complex, commonly occupied by working-class families, including several very basic houses built in a communal space, sharing a single entrance. It is estimated that in 1991 Santa Cruz had around 41 *quintas*, 80 *corralones* (a downgraded version of *quintas*, often lacking pavement, and even basic services, such as water, plumbing and electricity), and 20 *callejones* (a narrower and poorer version of *corralones*, offering rooms instead of apartments), housing more than 10,000 individuals (Cecilia Montenegro as cited Fernando Pinzas, 2010). Today, less than half of these remain in place. Looking into the future, the last remaining *quintas* are not expected to stand long within the area, as the value of land continues to grow, increasing from \$50/m² in the 1980s to \$1,200/m² in 2013 (Abusada, 2013).

She is the first person I have the opportunity to interview. That is why I remember her so well. In particular, I recall the way she raises concerns about the affordability of her rent, which, in the same way as Jimena, she feels is rising at an exponential rate at that time. Her son Marcos, whom I met later on that summer, voices the same concerns as his mother as he rapidly moves on to talk about politics, a common topic among old residents in Santa Cruz. Today, Manuela no longer lives in that tiny house. In fact, the house has been remodelled, becoming the workspace for an Asian-Peruvian psychic woman, whom I also want to partake in this investigation. I knock on her door, but she refuses to speak to me.

Rejection is not common during my walk in La Mar, where almost everyone I approach agrees to give me some time of their own. Indeed, a couple of doors from Manuela, Elloid, a 50-year-old resident born and raised in La Mar, offers me an extended account of his life in the avenue, sharing childhood memories and myths surrounding the area. The owner of one of the oldest hardware stores in La Mar, Elloid inherited his business from his late father and it continues to serve as a popular pit stop for construction workers and plumbers looking for tools or tips on how to drain some of the avenue's old and rusted pipes. He tells me how he became the happy owner of this property, sharing a couple of interesting incidents, one of them involving a process of eviction. He reveals a strong sense of attachment to this area, his 'dear Santa Cruz', 'the mole of Miraflores', a –coloured– spot in the midst of an upper/middle class –commonly white– district, 'always stared at' by *others*. While he does not mind about some of the changes taking place in La Mar, he does not agree with the removal of repair shops, which provide him with clients and seemingly offer a high-quality service for 'people with money' living nearby neighborhoods.

As Elloid, 70-year-old hairdresser Genito, does not have a problem allowing me into her business. Located on the same block as Elloid's hardware store, on the second floor of a small apartment block, which she owns, her salon is the oldest one in the area. Indeed, she has managed her business for more than 50 years, witnessing the way the area has changed over time. However, despite the time spent in La Mar, Genito reminds me of Michelle, reflecting upon her lack of contact with the everyday life in the avenue.

Nevertheless, Genito does not fail to complain about the numerous repair shops prevailing on her block. Indeed, she criticizes the lack of aesthetic improvements in comparison to other sections in the avenue. 'Repair shops do not favour the avenue, and there are five shops in this block. This is the block that has changed the least in La Mar', she claims (2014). Today, despite her age and concerns about the area, she continues to run her business on her own. She does not do it for the money, but to continue serving old customers in the area; even though, her salon is often empty.



Fig.0.7. Genito Portrait

Also struggling for clients, located in between the 4th block and the 5th block of La Mar, Doris sells newspapers and candies behind a key kiosk. As with Elloid, Doris was born on La Mar and she has lived the largest portion of her life there. While she does not live on the avenue anymore, she continues to work in the area; an area that holds some of her fondest memories of the *barrio* life she used to have. Indeed, Doris remembers selling street food with her mother, who died a couple of decades ago, evoking a sense of nostalgia for the past of La Mar. Despite the mounting changes she has witnessed and experienced, some things remain unchanged for her. As in the past, Doris continues to face significant economic hardships. Today she makes an average of 35 new Peruvian

soles (7.5 GBP) a day, having to work every day of the week. She hopes that sales will pick up in the future; however, she is concerned about the growing exigencies to sale in the area, where the need to comply with new guidelines and acquire new permits demand a great effort for little compensation.

At the end, it is precisely these growing exigencies in the changing context of La Mar, that attracts people like Victor, a banker in his 40s, who occasionally visits the avenue looking for good food or well-designed furniture for his newly refurbished flat located in San Isidro. Victor tells me he cannot wait for the area to continue *developing* and for new buildings to replace every single repair shop in Santa Cruz. He wants the area to upgrade its aesthetic and safety standards. He believes it is the only way that his son will ever be able to walk across the area without the fear of being robbed. 'This is what I call progress', he says, 'and I think that any parent living around this area would tell you the exact same thing'.

As sure as he sounds, Victor's voice reminds me of the other voices I encounter in La Mar, steady voices that are raised from the north to the south of the avenue, and the in-between along the two. In and through these voices, I am able to walk and re-tread the space, realizing about the force within each of the them, narrating a particular version of the avenue itself. And as they do, they highlight multiple inscriptions, interpretations and orientations, coming together in the making of "multiple places in the same space" (Jackson Jones, 2014, p.5). I am compelled by each of them, stories that voice a particular concern, wanting change or fearing transformation, yet always becoming affected by the process itself: meeting, blending, and contradicting each other, revealing the centre and the limits of difference, identification and power in the process, rising and sinking through the rhythms of the pace of each journey.

Ultimately, from the first to the last block of La Mar, these stories press me beyond "the need for veracity [and] for showing things as they 'seemingly' are" (Portocarrero, 2011, p. 1)⁹, demanding me to feel comfort with the shifting sense of the journeying self, as well

⁹ "Realism sets the artistic restlessness in a peculiar way. It takes it, ideally, into a detailed description of the world, which is also, unavoidably, a denouncement of everything that is wrong."

as the strategies and possibilities found in the *crafting* of knowledge (Seale, 1999). These stories express and reiterate the validity of the personal and the authority of the intimate, important in and through the complexities of multiple voices and their postures, puzzling but always insightful, profound and substantial— a montage of different expressions, instantiated upon people while negotiated on the ground. There, the polysemic voice of the avenue gains meaning, situating itself and expanding through the micro-analytical framework of this ethnographic effort, bearing analytical weight in the specificity of this practice of research, making the walk, thus, the journey itself, the methodological strategy and the content of this thesis.

ON METHODOLOGY AND WALKING



Fig.0.8. Walking

Usually, the practice of walking begins well before one starts to walk. We gather information about particular places through our past experiences, and the experiences of other people, as we learn to navigate new waters. We manage emotions, feelings, ideas; we create and recreate imaginary pictures about what is to come: discovering and generating social practices in the process. We expect particular smells, forms, events, and encounters; deliberately or unintentionally, we prepare ourselves by approximating what can, may, or is likely to happen. It is an intimate experience, a situated social exercise. Preconceptions cannot be erased; they can only be acknowledged as we walk. Yet, despite the forestalling and acknowledgement of the journey, we often get surprised as we witness and partake, as we translate and create, each of our steps.

My choice to walk La Mar as a site of research begun as an arbitrary, subjective, and

affective process, almost like a calling from the space itself, an instinctive step fuelled by curiosity, interest, and adaptability. My initial research question was linked to the growing number of restaurants in the area, which I thought would offer the possibility to zoom into the macro-narratives of nation and food echoed throughout the city of Lima. Framed by this query, I officially started my fieldwork in January 2012; however, my walk in La Mar had begun way before that summer. As a child, I visited the area with my mother, to leave our broken car at the repair shop. This experience came into the present in the form of memories about the roughness of the area, for instance, about the need to secure the windows and lock the doors when driving through this space. These memories were heightened by the multiple comments I received from family and friends, highlighting the importance of walking with caution and taking care of myself in this part of the city. Ultimately, both, the memories I had and the comments I received, contributed to the mounting pressure I felt when starting fieldwork in La Mar, specially, as I was carrying an expensive piece of borrowed equipment, and the possibility of being mugged frequently haunted my mind.

Though, with time, the benefits of walking allowed me to bridge the discomfort and unfamiliarity I felt at the beginning. From one end to the other, I managed to make connections, relationships, and networks, slowly reshaping the way I related to the space and the way I built myself into it. By the end of that summer, the space was the same; it had the same amount of police officers patrolling around, almost the same number of businesses offering goods and services, even the same faces hanging around each of its corners. The walls remained dirty, the traffic persisted horrifically, and, probably, the possibility of being mugged remained unchanged. Nonetheless, the avenue and I seemed closer, we shared a code, we had domesticated each other, and we were no longer the same. I had become familiar with the unfamiliar, experiencing the hidden secrets of this particular space; secrets that took the form of stories of identification, personal narratives that rose up as I delved down into the infinite sociocultural layers of the avenue: renewed, changed, and adjusting.

In this context, walking emerged as a way of connecting to the avenue, as a form of “spacing” my investigation (Thrift, 1997, Dewsbury, 2000, Crang, 2001; Crouch, 2003), where each step of the way set the tone for next, delineating a long (longer than

expected) but fruitful journey into completing this thesis. Through time, my pace changed from rapid strolls to longer journeys involving much more than the struggle to figure out La Mar, but the opportunities to get involved with the social rhythms of the area. It was in and through these rhythms that I found my way across the avenue, reaching the experiential edges of La Mar as it became real, rising in and through the constant flow of moves, words, and shapes built into this space (Ingold, Vergunst, 2008). Ultimately, walking offered a methodological compass around La Mar, shaping my experience on the field and beyond, becoming the central strategy in gathering and interpreting data, delineating my framework for research and analysis.

My first walk around La Mar took around two hours and offered a first glimpse of the avenue. I spend the following week visiting the area, photographing the space, and interviewing people randomly, asking about new restaurants, Peruvian food and national pride. During this time, I tested different strategies to connect to people and associate the theory I have read on national identity and cultural difference with my experience on the ground. It was a hard process (indeed, much harder than expected); however, it allowed me get a sense of the space and make some choices in regards to my methods of research.

For instance, in walking, I noticed the need to go beyond the sidewalk, taking a step into the inner worlds of the avenue. In this process, and very early in my fieldwork, I met Juan, the manager of La Red, a family owned restaurant located on the 3rd block of La Mar. Quickly, I built a strong connection with Juan. This connection took me not only to explore the avenue in a “walk along” with him (Kusenbach, 2003, Jones, et al, 2008, Moles, 2008, Buscher, Urry, 2009), but also to get a temporary job in La Red as a hostess, where I spent around six weeks.



Fig.0.9. La Red

On average, I worked 15 hours per week in La Red, doing participant observation and conducting several interviews too. My experience working in La Red gave me structure, as well as a platform to organize my walks around La Mar. Commonly, I would spend time walking before and/or after my working hours. Meanwhile, in La Red, I would take advantage of the time before the restaurant opened, and engage in conversations with fellow employees. In both contexts, data collection focused on narratives. Aural narratives were built in and through informal conversations and open-ended, semi-structured interviews with a total of 29 people, most of which I had met in La Red (21 people), and, all of whom I also photographed in portraits. In addition to these portraits, visual narratives incorporated images from the avenue itself; for instance, images of places or particular fragments of places or even objects that, on one way or another, spatialized my walk.

In and outside of La Red, aural narratives were mostly recorded. However, in the case

of informal conversations, I would take notes as soon as it was possible to do so, sometimes when the conversation was over, and others, when I had completed my shift in La Red or my walk through La Mar. Specifically, these narratives emerged within conversations or “extended accounts” of various durations, from 30 minutes to multiple sessions spanning several days (Riessman, 2000, p.6). Generally, they progressed like a sequence of stories that were structured through and within a process of communication, a “dialogic exchange” (ibid.6). Sometimes, these narratives resulted in detailed accounts, as individuals traced the routes of personal journeys in and out of the avenue. Other times, individuals were quiet, relying upon alternative ways to communicate (or not), taking the form of silence, long gaps, repetitive words, or gazing at the clock. Nevertheless, as with walks and steps, in these stories, the space in between actions (i.e. the utterance of words), remained highly revealing, as voices stayed “on the move”, creating and recreating experiences, reflecting positions even as they paused (Ingold, Vergunst, 2008, p.3; Byrne, 2003, 2007, 2012).

In the case of visual narratives, images were taken inside as well as outside of La Red, where I always took the camera with me. Explicitly, image-making incorporated a multi-method explorative practice built around different processes (shooting, cutting and pasting photographs), materials (analogue and digital film), compositions (portraits and sequences of images), framings (enclosed and opened) and colours (blanc & white, colour images), delineating (and recording) a very active process of discovery from the beginning to the end of my fieldwork experience. Specifically, visual narratives emerged in and through different attempts to connect and experience the avenue as I went along through it, revealing a moving journey, gazing inwards and outwards from La Mar, highlighting its multiple parts, perspectives, and tones, coming together in the form of a contact sheet itself. Ultimately, this contact sheet, framed these images as a bricolage of different spaces and times, coming together through particular themes in the form of narratives themselves (this will be further discussed in the third section of this chapter).

In both cases, aural and visual narratives, my choice of methods responded to the need for flexibility in accordance with each emerging story and the gradual realization of the social threads emerging in particular conversations and experiences in the avenue (Wengraf, 2006; Stewart, 1996). In this sense, there was a clear advantage in spending

time in La Red, as it offered multiple opportunities to engage in conversations with employees and, sometimes, with clients, giving me the space to build connections of trust with different people. In contrast, interviews outside the restaurant required a greater effort. Frequently, it was hard to find the time for longer exchanges, as people were commonly on the move or in a context of work. Nevertheless, individuals were generally helpful, willing to invest time and effort in talking to me, making the experience a pleasant one.

By the end of the summer of 2012, I returned to London to work on my data. While I thought my fieldwork was completed, I slowly noticed that the narrative of food and national belonging did not limit the information I had gathered during the summer. In fact, I could see the way the stories in La Mar reflected upon an underlying force that moved beyond food and the experience of nation itself. Indeed, the more I thought about it, I could see an encompassing flow shaping social formations and articulations in change, highlighting the way value and meaning were negotiated in and through different spatiotemporal experiences. In this sense, my walk along with Juan had offered me a critical viewpoint on these processes, highlighting the complexities and contradictions involved in the stories of change that emerged within the avenue, involving, in his case, the grief for the loss of the *barrio* and the thrill for the possibility of success. Ultimately, this realisation redirected my gaze into the multiple ways individuals interpreted change and found their place in a new environment, highlighting the role of the intimate, the personal and subjective in the multi-dimensional practice of being and becoming.

With this in mind, after two years away from the field, I felt the urgency to go back to the avenue. During my second round of fieldwork, data collection strategies remained the same, focusing on informal conversations, semi-structure open ended interviews and photographs. This time, I interviewed and photographed 22 individuals, focusing on their experience of change in La Mar. In this context, walking continued to guide me from door to door, allowing me to choose and be chosen by participants, becoming sensitive to the possibility for a conversation (i.e. opportunity sampling). Participants included residents and former residents, employees and former employees, visitors and investors, all of whom were momentarily bounded by (but not limited to) La Mar.

During this time, I began to read about urban change and the spatiality of identification (Lefebvre, 2007; Gupta, Ferguson, 1992; Massey, 1994; Stewart, 1996; Duruz, 1999, 2002; Wise and Velayutham, 2009; S. Watson, 2006, 2014; A. Simone, 2008, 2010, 2011, A. Simone, Rao, 2011; Rhys-Taylor, 2010; E. Jackson, 2012, 2014; Bennett 2014). I became increasingly interested in the spatiotemporal movement and location of individuals, delineating boundaries in the form of people (i.e. the powerful, the weak, the rich, the poor, the locals, the newcomers, the good, the bad, the criminals, the creators, the interesting, the interested, the national, the foreign) and places (i.e. old *quintas*, *callejones de mala muerte*, modern buildings, dirty repair shops, expensive restaurants, renewed markets, the avenue, the city, the nation), denoting opportunities and restrictions in the process. Using my data, I started tracing the way individuals moved in and out of collective experiences, reflecting the strength of particular shifts in the practice of becoming part of *something* in La Mar Hence, my work was becoming less about national identity and the symbolic quality of food; and more about change and the shaping forces of identification. Ultimately, my focus of research centred on the negotiation of inclusion and exclusion, on the borders of social categories as individuals went along navigating the avenue, on the “processes and relations” behind the formation of social and cultural groups, understood in the form of degrees of involvement with one another (Brubaker et al, 2006, p.7; 2004, p.12).¹⁰

In this context, the role of walking became increasingly clearer in my research, taking the form of an experiential process of discovery and creation, a moving and constituent experience of searching, making and interpreting particular contexts on the *move* (i.e. mobile methods; De Certeau, 1984; Ingold, 2000, 2004; Lee, Ingold, 2006; Pink, 2009). I realised that, in contrast to the popular ethnographic figure of the *flâneur* and the central experience of detached observation and deep concern with aesthetics (Gluck

¹⁰ One particular way Brubaker accomplishes this is by noting how periods of particular social and cultural identificatory configurations (e.g.: “extraordinary cohesion”, “collective solidarity”) can be explored as moments that are not necessarily constant, linear, completed, “enduring or definitionally present”, but instead as situated experiences with particular levels of “groupism” and degrees of closeness that are constantly changing (12).

There is an evident invitation within this strategy “...to specify the agents that do the identifying...”, highlighting, this way, the inherent range of performers and processes of identification in the construction of particular collectivities (Brubaker, Cooper, 2000:18,43).

2008, Barker et al. 2013; Lavolette 2014; Martínez 2015), my experience of walking in La Mar offered an embodied and multi-dimensional experience of space; thus, a sensorial involvement (Ingold, 2004; Pink, 2008, 2009; Ghislotti Lared, Torres de Oliveira, 2018). Indeed, walking highlighted not only “the visual qualities of walking” itself, but the “sense of ‘being there’” (Ingold and Vergunst 2008, as cited in Coates, 2017, p. 32), revealing itself as a practice that left little space for disengagement. Hence, while a simple strategy, walking served as a mediating tool offering a resourceful platform to listen, observe, and become part of a particular moment; an ethnographic opportunity to witness and partake in the social movements that were offered and co-created in this particular setting.

This way, in La Mar, walking became a “social activity” (Ingold and Vergunst, 2008, p. 1). On one hand, it pointed to particular contexts of investigation, uncovering “taken for granted correspondences between peoples, places and cultures” (Salazar 2017, p. 5), highlighting the specificity of each social experience. On the other hand, walking pointed to my role as an active participant in the process of investigation, revealing itself as a reflexive practice of research. In this sense, and following de Certeau (1984), walking transpired as a *process of appropriation*, involving orientations in time and space, as well as particular locations and dynamics of power, where the discourse of the walk became as important as the act itself (Ledinek Lozej et al 2017, p. 9,12; Ghislotti Lared, et al, 2018, p. 5).

In this process, I did not become “free of subjectivity”, but aware of it (Kuntz, Presnall, 2012, p. 737). Indeed, walking stressed my “own sensory experiences as researcher to apprehend and comprehend the experiences, the ways of knowing and perceiving and giving meaning of other people” (Pink 2009, as interpreted in Ghislotti Lared, Torres de Oliveira, 2018, p. 5) and the social workings of particular environments. In this context, I challenged the traditional roles of the research encounter, which, according to Kuntz, Presnall (2012, p. 743), incorporate the “knowing subjects” (“insiders who experience”; i.e. interviewees), and the “more objective observers” (“outsiders who interpret”; i.e. interviewers). Ultimately, each experience on the field revealed itself as a form of social “encounter” (ibid. 737,740), delineating a shared moment of negotiation and exchange.

Looking back into the initial stages of fieldwork, I see how walking materialised as a form of social practice shaping my research experience since the beginning of my journey in the avenue. For instance, I remember how just days after I started walking in 2012, I had an encounter that shaped the way I experienced my walk in La Mar from then on. I was taking photographs around the avenue, when a security guy approached me, telling me that ‘they’ (I am not sure who he was referring to) had seen me through the ‘security cameras’ and that I was not allowed to photograph the area anymore. Disconcerted, I questioned his request, asking about the reasons for this, wanting to know who had stipulated that norm. Little I knew that it would only take a few minutes of conversation and a bit of insistence from my part, for the security guy not only to let me photograph the avenue, but also, to pose for my lens.



Fig.1.0. Owning the Walk

This encounter showed me the importance of the informal circuits of navigation and interaction in La Mar, where, as I walked, I was able to “subvert strategies of control” and negotiate my journey (De Certeau 1984, p.83 as cited in Mitchell, Kelly, 2010, p.8). In this context, the avenue became much more than a changing environment that I could witness, characterized by old buildings and new structures, framed by particular guidelines and institutions I could explore. Instead, the avenue revealed itself as lived environment, a composition of infinite possibilities to move across time and space, reflecting different processes, relationships, mediations and meanings as fluid and flexible strategies of interacting and positioning oneself and others. Ultimately, following Ledinek Lozej et al (2017, p.12), I realised that, in waking, I was able to “link different levels of reality embedded in the landscape into a coherent whole, allowing [me...] to understand each layer through reference to another”, stressing the interconnectedness of different experiences (including my own), as they shaped one another, challenging and reproducing different perceptions and orientations emerging in this setting.

At the end, it was in and through these multiple layers of experiences and connections, that I recognised myself in the field. I was an insider in the urban context of Lima, born and raised in this city, aware of the post-colonial baggage weighting upon the social structures of the space as well as the pace of my own walk in La Mar. I became an insider, as I talked about food and nation to others, and the possibilities to succeed and to fail in this city. Yet, I was also an outsider, new to the walk of the avenue, getting to know, step by step, the stories of the *barrio* and the projects for the future in the area. I became an outsider, reproduced in Genitos’ assumptions about my association with her clients from San Isidro and Elloid’s decision to group me with those ‘high people’, people with fancy cars, people with money looking for high quality service in La Mar. And, as I did, I became different, I became classed, valued in reference to the changing context of the avenue, accommodated in and through the narratives that emerged with and in relation to my presence in this setting. And, there was nothing I could do to stop becoming one or the other; there was nothing I could do to remove the preconceptions that each of these brought with them in my walk. I was unable to erase my past, to forget my memories, to change the colour of my skin, to conceal my gender and delete my location

in this city. I could only address it, as a contextual experience of power in walking, always negotiated, and always on the verge of reification and contestation, always a possibility that brought both risks and advantages in my research experience. There was nothing I could, but, as explained by Hart (2005,2013), to “understand the limits of [my...] own knowledge, be more conscious of the multiple layers of reality and be critical with regard to [my...] own investigation, in order to challenge [myself....] to think outside the traditional definitions and familiar spaces” in my journey through the avenue (as cited in Ghislotti Lared, et al, 2018, p. 2).

ON WALKING, NARRATIVES AND RE-STORYING

As discussed in the former section, walking framed my encounter with the avenue of La Mar, outlining my strategies in gathering information, letting me to particular narratives on the field. However, beyond the field, walking continued to frame my analytical practice, outlining the way I interpreted and reproduced these stories, revealing multiple ways of navigating through change. In this context, narratives were explored and reproduced as spatiotemporal journeys “imagined as complex ways of ‘walking’” in the comfort of the distance (i.e. in the leaving room of home; de Certeau, 1984, p. 93 as cited in Duruz, 1999, p. 305), uncovering “everyday inscriptions of the imagination” (Duruz, 1999, 308), negotiated in relation to “multiple places” emerging in the avenue (Jackson Jones, 2014, p.5).

The narratives I explore in La Mar are as far from simple, clear, or one-dimensional journeys. They surpass the tempting post-colonial anecdote about the rich and the poor, the bad and the good, the conquered and the conqueror (Montoya, 2002). They lack a clear beginning and, I assume, a clear end too; reflecting the need for suspicion of sanitised tales of identification and wariness of undemanding versions of collective experiences. These journeys reflect multiple walks contained within the 13 blocks of the avenue. Yet, they commonly step away from the edge of this space, borrowing upon distant times and contexts, unravelling connections and possible gaps, intensities and strengths, conveying unique and very personal practices of identification bringing La Mar to life. Nevertheless, as stories, these journeys are not a comprehensive reflection of the avenue itself, but a reflection of my walk within it; thus, a reflection of the opportunities I have had to approach individuals and engage in a relevant exchange. In

fact, these journeys are neither permanent nor a linear progression emerging across the chapters of this thesis. Instead, they represent a moving experience, as characters appear and disappear from the pages, fluid and unexpected, offering a glimpse of what was and what could be, reflecting their presence as they become available, recognisable, and perceptible to me, thus, as they manage to be seen.

In this context, the narratives of change and belonging presented in this thesis are explored as a “constitutive event” (Pink, 2009, p.85 as cited by Kuntz, Presnall, 2012, p.742), transpired in the form of words (aural narratives) and images (visual narratives), revealing and reproducing practices of identification in the avenue. Each in its own way, these narratives become a gathering space for “multiple forces in momentary alignment”, uncovering multiple possibilities, restrictions and interpretations in walking La Mar (p.740), involving different degrees and intensities of power, shaping the way individuals’ move (Ingold, Vergunst, 2008, p.2) and my interpretations of these movements in turn. Ultimately, this thesis emerges as a *narrative of narratives* (Miller, Deutsch, 2009; Pink, 2008; Counihan, 2004; Mauad, Rouverol, 2004; Byrne, 2003; Counihan, 2001; Riessman, 2000, 2008; Mishler, 1995; Sommers, 1994), an intervention that communicates and generates data (Riessman, 1993; Mishler, 1995; Mauad and Rouverol, 2004; Counihan, 2004; Becker, 2007; Daly, 2007; Gubrium and Holstein, 2008; Miller and Deutsch, 2009), as a form of re-storying the experience of change in the avenue.

Aural Narratives

As walks, the aural stories I explore in La Mar start somewhere and sometime in or in relation to the avenue (De Certeau 1984, Ingold, Vergunst 2008), involving notions of place and time in the form of memories and expectations, explanations, justifications and descriptions. While mostly “enacted in situ”, these stories are “paced along the ground” (Ingold, Vergunst, 2008 p.1), where “meaning emerge[s] from movement” negotiated in and between multiple distances and locations (Ghisloti, Lared et al, 2018, p.3). In this process, as they gaze around the avenue to take the next step, participants “harness the power of the[ir] voice[s] and lungs to deliver a performance no less visceral and muscular than that of walking” itself (Ingold, Vergunst, 2008, p. 10), involving infinite capacities, dispositions, desires, resources, values, and affections (Parkhurst

Ferguson, 1998; Skeggs, 2004; Seigworth and Gregg, 2010; Ahmed, 2010).

In this context, narratives reveal the “complex”, “imagined” and forceful strategies individuals use to “reposition identities”, stressing their efforts to locate things, people, and places while constructing, challenging and reproducing meaning and value (Duruz, 1999, p.305). Hence, in narrating their walks across La Mar, these stories uncover “the way people relate to, move in, dwell in and become part of the environment”, framing their journey as a “way of knowing”, uncovering infinite “acts of inhabitation” (Vergunst, 2017, p. 3, 13, 18) where access to knowledge matches the possibility for “tak[ing] action” (Ingold, Vergunst, 2008, p.5). Ultimately, these stories are explored as much more than a linear plot going from the past into the future, but multiple spatiotemporal trails that involve infinite sensitivities and orientations (Ingold, Vergunst, 2008, p.17), shaping the “cognitive maps” (Lynch, 1976), the “imaginative geographies” (Said, 1979), the geographical repertoires (Rhys-Taylor, 2014), or the “secret geographies” (Duruz, 1999) negotiated in this space.

In this thesis, these maps or geographies are recognised as much more than a particular “inscription” in time and space, but multiple forms of “impression” mediating experiences between “the body and the ground [i.e. context]”, where the “sequence” of marks or “footprints” allow the “narrative thread [to] unfold” (Ingold, Vergunst, 2008, p.6). And, as they do, identities are “created and constituted in the act of being related, in this process of being told to others” (Barbero, 2011, p.44-45), becoming “powerful imaginings” that are central to the recognition of the multiple socialities negotiated within this space (Jenkins. 2014, p. 24,23). Ultimately, the act of “walking [or telling] does not merely express or enunciate spatial relations, but actively creates the possibility of new ones” (Vergunst, 2017, p.13), placing the *act* of narration as a central analytical focus in this investigation.

This way, my interest in narratives of change and belonging goes beyond a particular concern on “what is said” and the veracity of these statements, but instead, on what “constrains and enables what can be said”, highlighting the role of “power and agency” in the act of telling (Barad, 2008, p.137, as cited in Kuntz, Presnall, 2012, p. 736). In this context, experiences of difference and identification are not explored as something that

has to be found in these stories, but instead, as something that is negotiated within their lines. As explained by Margaret Somers (1994, p.618), in narrating experiences, individuals “adjust stories to fit their own ‘identities’ and, conversely, [...] tailor ‘reality’ to fit their stories”, reflecting much more than a linear experience of becoming, but a relational practice that “sustain[s] and transform[s] narratives over time”. Ultimately, narratives become important in revealing a process of discovery and creation that, while forever changing, remains grounded in the social entanglements of particular environments, thus, in the *atmosphere* that surrounds not only the physical articulations of particular settings, but their symbolic, affective and imaginary dimensions.

In this context, one of the central analytical benefits in exploring narratives in La Mar, rests in the way they allow me to “de –universalise ‘the pedestrian as a figure’ and ‘the city ‘as a singular category’”, offering a great potential to reveal the qualities of the social encounter in this setting (Vergunst, 2017, p. 21), what Cortazzi (2001, p. 384-385) describes as the “human involvement in reporting and evaluating experience”. The literature on narratives, food and identity has proved undeniably valuable in revealing the usefulness of the strategy of *telling*, uncovering its potential to explore the “positionality and subjectivity” of individuals (Riessman 2000, p.2; Chase, 2005, p.657), transpired through very personal “‘techniques’ or ‘practices’ of the self” (Byrne, 2003, p.31; Skeggs, 2004). For instance, in her work on food voice, Hauck-Lawson (1992, p.6; 2004) reveals the way that food stories echo individuals’ unique “perspectives about community, economics, gender, nutrition, ethnic identity, and traditions”, underscoring their role in displaying and reproducing “meanings and roles in people’s lives” (Chapters IV and V). Likewise, as explained by Harris-Shapiro in her study on food, religion, and ethnicity (2006, p.72, 86), stories mirror the way individuals “reorder [their] multiple identities, roles and loyalties as in an ever-turning kaleidoscope (Ezzy 1998: 247)”, emphasising the “most obvious” and “overlooked” yet fertile negotiations of identification and collectivisation. Following a similar line, in her exploration of *laksa* (a Peranakan spicy noodle soup) and experiences of belonging to the area of Katong in Singapore, Jean Duruz (2011, p. 18,24,27) illustrates the way narratives work as situated communicative tools meditating collective experiences yet highlighting individuals’ personal “interpretation and negotiation” of who they are and would like to be in relation and in concert with others. Ultimately, her work reflects the progression from

trying to seek a definite answer in the content of stories (i.e. the ownership of *laksa*, its traditional roots, its contested recipe, or its ultimate commoditisation) into the movements amassing identificatory experiences around them, as individuals emerge and withdraw, staying strong but always vulnerable, revealing and reconciling differences as they tell their tales.

At the end, the role of aural narratives in this thesis surpasses the need to recover a particular voice or impression of the avenue, for instance, of under-represented groups, as commonly explored in studies on gender, citizenship, migration, labour, and food (i.e. “food voice” in Hauk-Lawson, 1992, 2004; Harris-Shapiro, 2006; Jessica B Harris, 2009; “charlas culinarias” in Abarca, 2004, 2006; “testimonies” in Counihan, 2009). Instead, the importance of narratives rests upon the problematizing of the absence of the personal voice itself, thus, on the lack of reflection of the multiplicity of voices in the act of telling a story and the making of collective practices. Ultimately, in this thesis, narratives are explored as a form of a “polyphonic testimonio” (Beverly, 2004), thus, a montage of different voices arising within and among different stories that come together through their similarities, differences and contradictions.

Visual narratives



Fig.1.1. Visual Narratives

As a PhD in visual sociology, the visual element plays a central role in my investigation (Harper, 1998; Chaplin, 1994; Howells, 2003; Prosser, 1998; Ros, 2001; Van Leeuwen et al, 2001; Pauwells, 2010), where narratives are not only explored through the power of the voice, but the power of the image as a way of communication. As aural narratives, visual narratives are explored as snapshots of particular moments in time and space, incorporating different layers of experiences, interpretations and expectations behind and in front of the lens, involving relational, contextual and flexible negotiations of meaning. Specifically, the image works as a way of *thickening* the ethnographic narrative, not only in the access and collection of data, but also, in the analysis itself (Harper, 1998; Grady, 2001; Banks, 2001, 2007; Knowles and Sweetman, 2004; Pink 2007; Knowles and Harpe, 2009; Rose, 2012). Ultimately, images stress a particular way of “doing and thinking” about research (Pauwells, 2010; p. 559), highlighting the “interdependence of explanation and interpretation” throughout this process (True, Blanc, Camber, 2018, p. 9).

Incorporating a visual component demanded a profound understanding of the photographic language, techniques and debates within and beyond the arts. While I had always been interested in photography, lacking professional training, required a great deal of effort to find the place of the image within this thesis. However, despite the difficulties to familiarise myself with the technicalities and theoretical discussions of the photographic world, it was a necessary step in appreciating and recognising the potential of the visual in my investigation. Ultimately, the use of photographs offered not only an alternative medium to explore and communicate information, but a very distinctive way of seeing in and across this place.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the visual component in this thesis incorporates a multi-method explorative practice built upon different processes, resources and compositions, engaging with “conceptual arguments” (ex. difference, identity, place and power) as well as “social ontologies” (ex. the negotiation of knowledge, meaning and value), emerging in relation to different “materialities, practices and visibilities” of the experience of change in La Mar (True, Blanc, Camber, 2018, p.9, 4). Following True, Blanc and Camber (2018), I am concerned to explore “visualizing technologies [i.e.

photographs] and forms of domination and resistance with and through the image”, incorporating both, the productive and interpretative side of the visual product. In this context, I associate “observation with intervention” (Anzoise, 2017, p.187), locating the image as an “important source of knowledge construction” (True, Blanc, Camber, 2018, p. 1). Ultimately, in this thesis, images are not framed as a reflection of reality per se, but as a way of reproducing and understanding particular experiences, intersecting different imaginaries, affections and perspectives.

In this context, as explained by Rose (2012, p.2), “...images are never transparent windows into the world. They interpret the world; they display it in very particular ways; they represent it.” Indeed, in this investigation, the image goes beyond a “purely illustrative” role, into a multi-layered space for “analytical” practice (Emmison, Smith, 2000, p. IX, 110; Horton et al 2014), central to my exploration of change in La Mar. Hence, the image contributes with much more than a side-note to the written word, offering a unique insight into the content as well as the context of research (Mitchell, Kelly, 2011, p.309; Emmison, Smith, 2000, p.12). Thus, the image becomes important not only as “a social product”, but a reflection of particular “acts” of production, highlighting how “image and sense and context are deployed reflexively in social areas within their own specific microphysics of power” (True, Blanc, Camber, 2018, p. 4). Ultimately, the camera becomes a “hermeneutic instrument”, mediating the power dynamics involved in offering and restricting particular views of particular experiences of change in the avenue of La Mar (Anzoise et al, 2017 p. 183).

Specifically, the visual component incorporates two different types of images; portraits and street photography. I use portraits as a way of documenting participants, where the proximity of the lens alludes to an intimate and personal exchange that is shaped by multiple processes of being and becoming, recognising and reifying, foretelling and interpreting, allowing and restricting. These processes highlight the specificity of each journey, yet address the multiple layers in projecting oneself to others, revealing an “intersubjective ‘vital space’” of negotiation (Anzoise et al 2017, p. 184). For instance, this space becomes evident in the way I choose to photograph Mr. Gamarra and the way he directs me around the space, delineating who he wants to be in front of my lens. This process becomes evident in the way he poses for my camera, taking over the reception

desk of his shop, picking up the phone and faking a call. While I follow his lead, and point my lens wherever he wants it to be, I choose the angle, the focus, and the frame, and we jointly create a moment. This moment offers evidence of the gap between his memories and the staging of his present; the gap between the crafting of the self and the opportunity for research. In this context, Mr. Gamarra's portraits demand, offer and materialize a visual exchange that goes beyond the limits of recorded reality (Bell, 2011; Rose, 2012, p.2), into a complex manifestation of multiple social experiences that are transitorily captured by my camera. Ultimately, these moments reveal the provisional role of the photograph, yet exposes its "talismanic quality" as it becomes "capable of immortalizing and creating myth [... of] confer[ing] acknowledgment and bestow[ing] dignity [... of] stereotyp[ing], debas[ing] and dehumaniz[ing]" too. (Badger, 2007, p.169)

In the case of street photography, I follow on a recent trend in urban studies to use "experimental visual practices alongside more traditional research tools" in the exploration of the city (Anzoise et al. 2017, p.177). As discussed earlier on this chapter, images focus on particular places (i.e. buildings), fragments of these places (i.e. windows), or even views or objects that are found within them. Most of the images do not include people; however, the ones that do (i.e. Chapter VI), frame them as part of the spatial context of the city. These images work as a way of grounding my research in the spatial and temporal specificity of the avenue, highlighting the avenue as much more than a "stage" for human interaction (Seliger, Tuomola, 2011, p.5), but "the most complex form of human interdependence, as well as being an environment with specific structuring processes" (Anzoise et al, 2017, 1p. 77). Ultimately, street photography reveals the "production and reproduction of ways of seeing" in La Mar, where the image is considered as much more than a two-dimensional source of information, but a "'lived' visual data' in as far as [...] lives are inevitably conducted in and around..." depicted spaces (Emmison, Smith, 2000, p. 152, 158, 166).

In this context, street photography allows me to explore the changing context of La Mar in relation to the visibility of particular subjects, objects and actions (Smith, 2017, p.167), addressing different restriction and possibilities to move in and through change. Indeed, these photographs address not only the prospects of inclusion and exclusion in La Mar

(and my own visual work too), but also the negotiation of value through and in-between the materiality of the avenue itself. Hence, different places are explored as the physical “traces” of the past and the possible futures of La Mar (Emmison, Smith, 2000), revealing the “architecture”, thus, the “visual urban identity” of the avenue as a composition of “embedded stories and functions” shaping and “showing multiple points of view to the city” (Seliger, Tuomola, 2011, p.1). There is a particular concern about the “kinds of gaze that are promoted” within this space, negotiated in relation to the “social meanings” and constitutions (Emmison, Smith, 2000, p.183) that highlight the “underlying [social] dynamics” emerging within the “visuals scapes” of the area (Anzoise et al, 2017, p. 181). Ultimately, these scapes offer an opportunity “to rethink [...]the social, with the image”, refocusing attention “from the visual to visibilities” themselves, thus, to the conditions “‘of becoming visible’ (Shields, 2004) or the diverse visual processes by which the relationship between the visible and the invisible [are] situated within operations of power and governance...”(True et al. 2018, p. 5).

Following this line, visibility is “not just [...] a representation of the social, but [...]an aspect and element of social and cultural orders and actions sui generis” (Seliger et al. 2011, p. 1), where images “unfold”, “constitute and transform” (True et al. 2018, p. 9). And, as they do, images reflect “localized, contextual and [...] subjective” experiences as well as “structural, historical, societal and technological” practices, stressing the “intersections” of the visual “with other structures of the social” itself (ibid.9). Thus, far from offering a more accurate account of reality than words, visual narratives give an alternative manifestation of contextualised experiences of value, of the negotiation of meaning and the creation of knowledge, of the forces and intensities of power. Ultimately, images become immeasurably forceful, as a manifestation of a place that no longer exists, a time that is already gone, a context that has already changed and continues to do so, revealing how things were allowed to be in the past, recontextualised in a moment within the present. (Jones, 2006, p.46).

On re-storying La Mar

Focusing on “re-storying”, I recognize not only the orientation of subjects through their stories, but my own narrativisation of these stories, challenging, reproducing and reifying the boundaries of La Mar as a post-colonial and gentrifying setting. It is in and

through re-storying that this thesis offers “interpretations that try to make sense of the ways in which actors in turn try to make sense of their actions” and environments (Melucci, 1998, p.23 as cited in Anzoise, et al. 2017, p. 186), suggesting much more than a transparent copy of reality per se, but a situated reflection of the multiple walks in La Mar, adding yet another layer of meaning to each of these journeys.

Aural and visual narratives offered very distinct ways of handling this process. In the case of aural narratives, re-storying incorporated different stages of action, from transcription to translation, interpretation and the final editing of data (Counihan, 2004, p.3-4). Specifically, transcription followed the recording of data, focusing on listening to stories in detail, noting specific words, verbal utterances, silent gaps and the intonation of the voice. Some recordings were more difficult to transcribe than others, sometimes because of the volume of the voice and others because of the use of slang or colloquial terms I was not familiar with. Some stories were clear, others repetitive and others ultimately vague, yet all of them offered a unique entry into the experience of change in La Mar. At the end, from voice to paper, transcriptions added an important layer of interpretation to my data, demanding a lot of care and attention, revealing as a very demanding and time-consuming process, yet a critical and necessary step in understanding and handling this information.

Once interviews were transcribed from audio to paper, I began to interpret my data. I framed this process as an inductive practice aimed at much more than developing a particular theory from experience, but highlighting the specificity of the experience of change in La Mar. Specifically, I focused on particular themes, coming across stories in the form of names or phrases describing specific situations, people or places in La Mar. These names or phrases (i.e. *personas del mal vivir*, *callejones de mala muerte*; Chapter III), allowed me to think about difference, identity and power, guiding me into multiple experiences of change, stressing an evident link between language and “local realities” in the avenue (Simon, 1996, p. 137-138 as cited in Krzywoszynska 2015, p. 314). In this context, conveying meaning had “less to do with finding the cultural inscription of a term than in reconstructing its value” in the context of La Mar (ibid. 314). Ultimately, this process of interpretation allowed me to connect personal experiences with collective practices of identification highlighting “local relationships between experience and

expression” (Krzywoszynska 2015, p. 313), for instance, framing the *quinta* and the *callejon* as spatiotemporal practices of value, meaning and power in the specificity of La Mar (Chapter III).

Once data was interpreted and divided into particular themes of research, I started the writing up process. This process uncovered as a delicate practice that involved the construction of a coherent academic argument while staying true to the context of investigation. In essence, this was achieved by locating the personal, the intimate and specific as a central concern; challenging the need for theoretical generalizations, for finding the alleged truth and delimiting the social world in order to understand it better. Ultimately, this was achieved, by making peace with the unexpected and the *out of the norm*, by recognizing and accepting the rough edges and ambiguity of our social worlds, which allowed me to go deeper into the uniqueness of the worlds that were gathered and reproduced in La Mar.

Practically, I decided to incorporate as many quotes as possible, trying to show the way participants choose to communicate with me. However, the need to translate these quotes from Spanish to English added yet another layer of interpretation, incorporating a strong cultural element to the process of re-storying. In this process, it was not uncommon to find a word or a phrase that it was difficult to translate. In many cases, I chose to leave the word or the phrase in Spanish, adding, in parenthesis, the closest translation I could find in English or a description of the concept itself. This strategy offered me the opportunity to recognize not only the gap between Spanish and English as languages, but also as “form[s] of life”, incorporating both “practical as well as linguistic aspects” (Krzywoszynska 2015, p. 311). On one hand, this gap revealed the space between different cultural contexts within the city of Lima, for instance, separating me from others in La Mar. And, on the other hand, this gap revealed the space between different cultural contexts involved in the process of investigation itself, for instance, separating my fieldwork experience in Peru and my academic practice in the UK. Ultimately, in all of its forms, this gap in translation enhanced my analytical view of La Mar, forcing me to consider every detail as important, specially, in relation to the things I did not understand, making me aware of the humanness within me (Tremlett, 2009) and the positionality of my own journey (Temple and Young, 2004), heightening

this way, my reflexive approach to re-storying these journeys.

Meanwhile, in the case of the visual component of this thesis, the materiality of visual narratives offered an alternative strategy to engage with re-storying change in La Mar. Specifically, visual narratives made the process of narrating narratives a palpable practice of intervention, traceable and self-evident in and through the image itself, highlighting the complicity and complexity between spaces, stories and actors. Once images were taken, both analogue and digital photographs were developed into a series of proof sheets. These proof sheets were cut into single images and re-arranged into new, hand-made proof-sheets themselves, focusing on particular themes, commonly framed by different views, gazes or experiences in the avenue. The physical manipulation of these photographs, suggested an active process of engagement in the creation of the visual component of this thesis, where the cutting and pasting (and sometimes writing on) images offered a recurrent reminder of the way that “all that is observed is observed by *someone*” on the field (Anzoise, et al. 2017, p. 18).

Proof sheets had a central role in this hand-on strategy. They were used and defined as a form of *bricolage* or a *photomontage*, a moving journey gazing inward and outward from La Mar, highlighting its multiple parts, perspectives, and tones. Following de Certeau (1980, p.69) “the artisan-like inventiveness” of the proof sheet presented as a possibility to highlight the role of the image as content and form, contributing “in conceptualizing a phenomenon by fleshing out different facets in order to get a nuanced understanding of it” (Butler-Kisber et al, 2010, p.4, as quoted in Gerstenblatt, 2013, p.296; Anzoise et al, 2017,p.177). Hence, the proof sheet operated not only as a reflexive methodological strategy that showcased intervention, but also “as a way of conceptualizing ideas”, allowing to “create a reality and find meaning” (Gerstenblatt, 2013, p.296), disclosing, explicitly and implicitly, the ongoing interactions between social actors and particular contexts in the avenue (Anzoise, et al, 201y, p. 179, 2017).

I find that photographer Tom Halfhill’s (1991) definition of the contact sheet offers not only a useful analogy between visual production and traditional ethnographic methodology, but also, an interesting insight into the role of the contact sheet within this investigation. For Halfhill, the contact sheet is much more than a “stepping stone

for something bigger to come” (i.e. its provisional use), but significant in its own right. As he explains, “many photographers [like ethnographers] are so anxious to start making enlargements [i.e. conclusions] that they hurry through this step and sacrifice a lot of information. Some photographers don't even bother with proof sheets at all, trying instead to judge their negatives by peering at them with a loupe”, lacking a real engagement with them, thus, losing the possibility to “sharpen the artistic quality”, or, in the case of ethnographies, the sociological depth of an investigation. Ultimately, Halfhill makes a strong case for the relevance of the *process* of creation that lies behind a finished piece of work, a process that becomes so evident in the proof sheet itself, as it develops into a valuable source to convey and explore meaning.

In a similar line, Gersenblatt (2013, p. 305) explores the similarities of collage work with qualitative analysis as it “involves connecting various data points” into a final product, offering the opportunity to engage in a multi-layered reflection on the negotiation of knowledge through research. In the case of this thesis, the proof sheet highlights the journey of creation beyond the restriction of expression, but as a form of acknowledging the uniqueness of the process, where intervention becomes more direct, where the cutting and pasting of images allows to make a statement, overcoming the urgency for big moments and closure, thus, acknowledging and stressing the role of the endless, unbounded and always unfinished process of making sense. Hence, borrowing on Banks (2001, p. 52), the proof-sheet highlights the “materiality of the visual image and the materiality of its context [where and how it comes to be], [...] illuminat[ing] the distinctive texture of social relations in which it is performing its work”. Ultimately, it is the porosity, textured unevenness and somewhat patchy result of my visual work that reminds me that these images are ultimately constructed through techniques and strategies that become in themselves carriers of meaning (Bank, 2001, p.3).

For instance, Pink’s (2008, p.10-11) work on film highlights the usefulness of combining images in the production of visual narratives of particular places. However, while Pink applies the cutting/pasting strategy to a process of comparison of images and places through time -for instance, combining recent photographs within historical ones-, I used this strategy to problematize over simplified experiences of change, highlighting the negotiation and construction of multiple experiences in time and space. While criticism

on the intervention of images (i.e. cutting, pasting, or writing on them) has also emerged within the literature (Chaplin, 1994), I consider it has an enormous potential to communicate and generate information, adding to the ethnographic value of this thesis (Pink, 2009). This is true, not only in relation to the methodology, but also, to the theoretical discussion about identification, where intervention goes beyond the idea of *capturing* into the notion of *creating*. Ultimately, in this context, edition ceases to be the strategy to hide the alleged imperfections of the practice of investigation (or the content itself), but the means to acknowledge the process of image making *on either side of the lens*, reflecting, quoting Pink (2007, p.17), the “subjectivity”, “creativity” and “self-consciousness” of the ethnographic practice, thus, highlighting the “location of power in the various stages of the research process” (Cornwall et al., 1995, p. 167-168 as cited in Anzoise et al, 2017,p. 181).

CONCLUSION

As a spatial and methodological walk, chapter two frames my investigation in La Mar, delineating my strategy in gathering and interpreting data, both, in the form of aural and visual narratives of change and belonging. In this context, narratives contextualize my analysis and interpretation of change in the avenue, shaping this thesis as a narrative of narratives, where the research encounter is taken as a point of departure to explore the possibilities, contradictions and momentary manifestations of difference itself. This strategy underlines each experience as an encompassing event, where people, places and experiences come together in a particular moment in time and space, highlighting the way different subjects engage in a process of giving and taking, inspiring and getting inspired, remembering, challenging and reproducing ideas, feeling, affections, limits and possibilities.

Understood as personal, intimate and subjective, these narratives are explored as much more than unconnected events, but as a point of conversion for different factors, variables and dimensions, making the experience of identification flexible, fluid and constantly fluctuating. Specifically, these narratives are explored as walks, involving the traces of the past and possibilities for the future, reflecting what Stewart (1996, p.3, 20) calls a “nervous system” that waits to be experienced, created, and recounted through

the “fabulation” of everyday stories.¹¹ In this context, these narratives open up new, interesting, and reflexive spaces to re-address “the gap in the order of things” (ibid.3,20), highlighting the “unsettling detail” of the everyday, framing the *banal* as a “space [...] to make things differently”, thus as a space for action (Duruz, 2002, p. 374)¹². Ultimately, they highlight the polyphonic voice of La Mar, reflecting, articulating and actively constructing imagined experiences of exclusion and inclusion, where stories “do[...] not assume objectivity but, instead , privilege positionality and subjectivity” (Riessman, 2000, p. 2).

At the end, these narratives are explored in and through what Cortazzi (2001) notes as the “human involvement in reporting and evaluating experience” (384-385), making them “intrinsically fictional” (Paley and Eva, 2005, p.84) in that they do not reflect reality per se, but instead, a particular perspective or dimension of reality that is built around a unique event. Ultimately, built in and around these perspectives and multiple dimensions, this thesis highlights “the interplay between experience, storying practices, descriptive resources, purposes at hand, audiences, and the environments that condition storytelling” (Gubrium and Holstein, 2008, p.250), stressing much more than the categorization and final understanding of difference in the changing context of La Mar, but the freedom to explore it beyond the need to solve, but acknowledge the multiple journeys of class and nation that become available in and through this particular setting.

¹¹ Kathleen Stewart’s “A Space on the Side of the Road” (1996) provides a critical ethnographic study to discuss ideas and experiences of culture, modernity, economic and political systems in south-western West Virginia (USA), highlighting an effective sociological exploration of processes of identification within the context of the micro-world.

¹² It is important to state that this opportunity for action and the multiplicity of outcomes supersedes the over-glorification of agency or cultural diversity within the social and cultural articulations emerging within the avenue. In this sense, bodies are not immune to macro-institutional and power structures, but are instead intrinsically linked to an organic and contextualised process of navigating the social dimensions of particular settings.

CHAPTER III

ON DIFFERENCE AND THE GEOGRAPHY OF CLASS

This chapter explores the concept of class as a place-based and socio-affective practice through an empirical walk across difference in La Mar. Specifically, this chapter focuses on the way places offer an opportunity to negotiate class, creating and challenging boundaries of inclusion/exclusion in the avenue. There, participants are explored in their journey to fulfil (or not) a desire and a need to become part of *something*, reflecting and reinforcing the apparent permanence of class as it implicitly floods stories of change and belonging, malleable and fluid. Hence, my concern with class goes beyond the explicit reiteration of particular locations (*I am poor*), into the way they become embedded (sometimes directly and others not) in each of the stories that are told in La Mar, revealing not only the negotiation of meaning in the process of investigation within the field, but the multiple ways class is “done with and without clear consent” in and through the geography of the avenue (Taylor, 2012, p.5). Ultimately, this chapter explores the “‘changes’ and ‘continuations’” of power-inflicted journeys as they shape new ways of being classed in this setting (ibid. 278), emerging as a malleable, fluid yet always inflicting experience of becoming.

I situate this chapter within the on-going debate of the relevance and the conceptualisation of class in social research (I will be discussing the category of nation as well in Chapter VI). Following a Bourdieusian perspective (Skeggs, 2004, 2015; Moran and Skeggs, 2004; Loveday, 2015a, 2015b; Bertoncello 2015), this exploration of class is outlined as a social analysis of the struggle (and reproduction) of value in the avenue. According to Skeggs (2011, pp.497, 508), value reflects “the importance people attribute to action”, articulated through particular “circuits” of time, space, and power that allow and demand contextualized “expressions” of worth. In La Mar, these expressions highlight the orientation of stories in and through particular sites and temporal experiences, delineating journeys of identification that are always in the making, explored as intimate processes of communication (personal narratives), which allude to the formation of collective experiences of belonging in this place (i.e. us, poor people, them; Somers and Gibson, 1994; Guidry, 1997; Loveday, 2014, 2015a, 2015b). These

experiences are delineated by economic conditions, yet “experienced affectively” in the way individuals remember, replicate and interpret them (Skeggs and Loveday, 2012, p.12; Sayer,2005), revealing a journey of *choice* that becomes the main focus of this investigation. Ultimately, my exploration of class becomes this exploration of *choice*, as rooted within “(re)structuring social and economic geographies” linking the personal with the social in the form of a “generative system of dispositions” to navigate the avenue, where, as following Taylor, “certain people are not meant to ‘become’ or arrive in place” (Taylor, 2012, p.49).

Section one explores the geography of class, outlining class as a spatiotemporal negotiation of value that involves multiple strategies, characteristics, and dimensions of the experience of belonging of a man (Mr Gamarra), who recognises his place in the changing context of the avenue. Section two highlights the role of place as a dialogical tool of identification in Esteban’s story, a former employee in La Mar, whose experience of class becomes an experience of movements, thus of restrictions, limitations, freedoms, visibilities, and choices to navigate this space. Using a bricolage of words and images, this section challenges the aesthetic and functional character of places, highlighting the multiple dimensions of its symbolic potential in class-making.

Expanding this practice-based strategy, section three explores class as a relational and contextual *struggle for value* delineated through the stories of Luis, a long-time resident in his middle twenties, narrating the growing presence of buildings in his block. Specifically, this section explores the distance of class, as it infuses the lived experience of the walks connecting different locations in the avenue, revealing different positions of power in this space. Section four continues exploring the distance of class, highlighting the spatiotemporal gap between *corralones*, *quintas* and buildings as they become proximate and/or distanced from each other. Hand in hand with the words of Jose Antonio, a long-time resident who continues to live in La Mar, this section highlights the strategies built around the negotiation of the limits of these places, revealing different needs and demands to protect particular boundaries of value in this setting.

Ultimately, the fourth and last section offers the concluding remarks for this chapter, highlighting the way place becomes a central tool in the making of difference through

the practice of class, expressed as a spatiotemporal experience of choice, where locations give way to positions and distances inform much more than quantitative space, but relative and multidimensional movements in and through the symbolic limits of the avenue.

CLASS AS A SPATIOTEMPORAL JOURNEY

This section explores class as a spatiotemporal narrative of value challenging and/or reinforcing dynamics of power in La Mar, where time and space become important platforms to negotiate difference and practices of belonging. Specifically, this section highlights the role of memories (Bonnett, 2010; Loveday, 2014), the imaginary limits of culture (as cultural practices and costumes), and the “human” experience of affect in Mr. Gamarra’s experience of class-making (Wetherell, 2013), where value excels the exchange of capitals, embracing in turn the everyday use of resources to navigate the avenue (i.e. the negotiation of “person value”; Skeggs, 2010). Ultimately, this section highlights the way space and time become instruments to find a position in the area, revealing not only the malleability of class, but the multiple ways of accommodating to the changing context of the avenue; surrendering, challenging, ignoring or reproducing change.

Walking with Mr. Gamarra

People have changed [...] because the ones that come to live in buildings, I think they store themselves inside and they do not come out! On the contrary, us, *poor people*, we barbeque, we make our football leagues. However, that is no longer happening. People have moved away. I had friends; but now there are only buildings. All the people I know have already died, they have gone away and the ones in buildings, I do not know.

Mr. Gamarra, 2014

I met Mr. Gamarra one afternoon during the winter of 2014 (Chapter I). After a few minutes wait, he stepped down from his flat, situated on the second floor of his mechanic shop’s office.



Fig.1.2. Office Mr. Gamarra

From the first moment, our talk developed with ease, as he is an enthusiastic talker. However, Mr. Gamarra's age have put on some weight across his voice, accentuating his rhythm of communication, for instance, as he skipped some words and abbreviated others, taking turns in between a loud statement and a mumble, making it hard to understand from time to time. I was forced to listen, cautiously, to the quality of his voice and the volume of his words, required to note the gestures of his face and his body. His way around the space took me into the present, as I grasped what I thought he wanted to communicate, taking notes, shooting images, recording sounds, memorising the feelings and sensations he offered me that day, setting the tone for my future encounters in the avenue.

Indeed, that day, Mr. Gamarra showed me the power of narratives, gathered beyond the fact that a *poor man* lived and worked in La Mar, but instead, upon the fact that a man considered himself as poor within the area. Hence, despite the economic capital gathered through years of work and the success of his auto-mechanic shop (Chapter I), Mr Gamarra proudly defined himself within the lines of *poverty*. These lines were summoned beyond the edges of the dominant symbolic, accumulated through particular places that included the sidewalk, the buildings, and the roads of La Mar.

There, his words were forceful, supported by a feeling of longing for a way of living and the memories of the past offering not only an alternative pathway for value-making but also an opportunity for resistance, as he faced the new and emerging boundaries of value in the avenue (Bonnett, 2010). Ultimately, in the making of these lines of poverty, Mr. Gamarra revealed not only the historical symbolic restrictions he perceived between the poor and the middle and upper classes in the city, instantiated, for instance, through the colour of his skin (race), the location of his home and, very importantly, his occupation as a manual labourer (i.e. mechanic; Parker, 1995); but also, a genuine and strategic preference to preserve himself within the working-class margins of his past.

In this context poverty figured strongly, articulated as a spatiotemporal experience that involved social and affective practices of class, revealing what Skeggs and Loveday (2002, p.5) called a “circulation of feelings” negotiated around this setting. These practices became an essential feature in the making of value in Mr. Gamarra’s tale. There, value went beyond an exchange of -economic, social, cultural, symbolic- capital, into the “person-value” he nurtured through the “investment[s] and connections”, the proximities and exchanges, he had with former neighbours, co-workers and friends from the *barrio* (ibid. pp.5,18; Alicia del Aguila, 1997, p.93). These practices allowed him to restructure the growing *limitations* he perceived for an affirmative working-class practice in the present context of the avenue, where he was surrounded by tall and impersonal buildings, where new neighbours increasingly became people he did not know. Ultimately, these practices provided an “alternative” stage, where, as a poor subject, he also became an abounding subject; a subject that was, in the end, in-place (Loveday, 2014, pp.728, 731).

Within this context, Mr. Gamarra’s narrative revealed not only the centrality of the spatiotemporal dimension of class (how time and space were negotiated in and negotiating class-based experiences), but also, the ontological struggle behind the underpinnings of time and space in the access of value through this process. Hence, Mr. Gamarra’s narrative became important not only because it stressed whether he had become valuable, when and where; but, most importantly so, because it stressed the way time and space had allowed him to negotiate value in his tale. Indeed, for him, the past and particular sites in La Mar had become important instruments to position

himself, reflecting the way power dynamics had impelled him into the past and the past had allowed him to go beyond them in the present. In the present, Mr. Gamarra found value beyond the dominant symbolic of progress and gentrification, transpired through different forms of *being in the world* (Skeggs, 2011; Skeggs and Loveday, 2012; Taylor, 2012). These forms assumed and reproduced “a way of knowing” that revealed the orientations, dispositions, and capacities he recognized, thus, the choices he identified to navigate the avenue (Ingold, Vergunst, 2008, pp.17,5; i.e. ‘habitus’; Bourdieu, 1977, p.83). There, Mr. Gamarra knew the road he wanted to take and understood the road he needed to conquer, revealing the possibilities he perceived to “fit in” (Taylor, 2012, p.83), negotiating and articulating an experience of poverty in relation to someone that he used to be; someone he continued to create as he recalled his past (Rhys-Taylor, 2010).

This way, Mr. Gamarra relied upon his past to establish value in his present, interrupting the force of the modernizing project of the avenue in his tale (Loveday, 2014; Bonnett, 2010; Skeggs and Loveday 2012). He became a *poor subject* in association to the sports he used to play, to the barbeques he enjoyed, and the work he performed as a mechanic, revealing the cultural practices and occupations shaping his gendered, working-class past in La Mar.¹³ This performance was affectively shaped and affectively shaping (Sayer, 2005), taking the form of a homage to his lost friends, to his dead wife, and the lost energy of the working youth striving to survive and succeed. Within this context, La Mar became a place in transition, a liminal place where his experience of class excelled the progressive move from one stage or level to another (i.e. from the old to the new, from the traditional to the modern, from the bad to the good; Loveday, 2014). Indeed, his experience of poverty moved around a non-linear axis, responding to the interplay

¹³ It has been noteworthy to witness the way gender transpired experiences of place and class in La Mar, where particular activities (for example, economic activities and leisure activities), spaces (for example, private and public spaces) and times have been shaped by the meaning, boundaries and values of different gender roles in the avenue. However, because of time and space restrictions, it has not been possible to address, in further detail, a discussion on the way gender has shaped particular narratives of class in the area, where different characters (i.e. men, women, old ladies, mechanics, mothers, footballers) are negotiated through different opportunities to walk across the avenue, involving different intensities, directions and strengths in engaging with and in this space, for instance, through the practice of sports (i.e. football), the experience of food (i.e. barbequing, Emgeldhardt, 2009, p.120) or the socialisation characteristics of the barrio itself (i.e. ‘[...]ladies’ would ‘take out their chairs at the step door of the house and stay outside talking’ Juan, 2012).

between time, space and change; outlined by the economic capabilities and restrictions he once faced in La Mar (i.e. the place he lived, the type of work he performed, the leisure activities he could afford to experience), yet experienced through the limits of the cultural practices he imagined, remembered, and affectively negotiated in the present time of the avenue.

This is how, in his narrative, Mr. Gamarra revealed a particular journey of class, emerging in relation to the softness of the surface he touched, to the weight he gathered upon his steps, thus, to the force he held to fulfil his walk. In this process, he left footprints on the surface of my notebook and the air that we both shared, highlighting an “impression” that guided the movements of his feet, yet feasibly allowed him to ignore it too (Ingold, Vergunst, 2008, pp.7,8). Mr. Gamarra’s narrative reflected the paradox of *becoming*, accommodating to change while anchoring himself, challenging and reifying the *lines of difference* and class as they influenced in the specificities of his experience within the avenue. Ultimately, Mr. Gamarra’s search for value became a spatiotemporal journey, reproducing class as a practice or an opportunity to travel around time and space, hence, a practice of movement itself.

THE FORCE BEHIND PLACE AND THE MOVEMENT OF CLASS



Fig.1.3. On Place and Movements

Extending on discussions from section I about the role of time and space in negotiating positions of value in La Mar (for example, Mr. Gamarra's position as a poor man), this section explores the force of place as the symbolic potential of "(social) space" (i.e. where we live, interact, and reproduce collective experiences) to become a historical, relative and contextualised "(social) product" (Lefebvre, 2007, p.26). In this context, place is framed in terms of situated social interactions and movements, that become "disruptive and cementing of material and moral hierarchies" of difference associated to particular sites and interpretations of the past, present and future of different tales (Watson, 2006, p.6). Ultimately, these hierarchies point to the social entanglements and assemblies of power in the avenue, where some are expected to navigate more effortlessly and visibly than others, articulating place, denoting class and revealing the multiple movements and orientations to fit within this setting.

Walking with Esteban

Right now, here, there are very few poor people. Before, before this was like *corralones*, a lot of *corralones*, where people with lower means use to live. Why? Because, the land was very cheap here, very, very cheap [...] There is nothing for poor people now. Everyone, everyone has sold. This one has sold, that one too. These ones here are selling now. The thing is that poor people are not wanted to be seen here, they do not want to see them (...)

You need to be roaming around like a beggar to find where to live. Sometimes you can find something, right? At the hills, have you seen the houses at the hills? Those are invasions [shanty-towns]. That is why poor people, we are like this now. [And why is this happening?] Look, the thing here, what is going on now is that the mayor and the government do not want *corralones*, they want them to be luxury houses, chalets; that is what they want; with no poor people. [...] Poor people are living in the hills. And, in the hills there is no water, you need to take water with buckets and carry them upon your shoulders. Light, there is not light. What do you do? There you can find people with candles, lamps and torches (...)

It has changed. Before, this was... it was not like this. There were a lot of holes on the avenue, it was a disaster [...] And, also, how do you say this, since there are buildings, it has changed because the mayor does not want the avenue to look ugly. They have had to put gardens and plants.
Esteban, 2014

I met Esteban during a routine walk while completing my fieldwork in 2014 (Chapter I). He was sitting on a bench alone, almost inviting me for a conversation. I approached him with questions about the avenue and, fast enough, we engaged in a meaningful exchange. Esteban took me through the multiple routes he had taken to accommodate to the changing context of La Mar. From the very tangible economic effects of

gentrification (i.e. the growing presence of expensive accommodation and the dropping possibilities of securing a job in the avenue) to the symbolic construction of sociocultural boundaries, his narrative stressed the way class had taken a strong geographical tone. This tone transpired in the form of places that became central in the negotiation of the *lines of difference* within his tale, giving value and purpose to particular subjects and revealing the “mutually constitutive phenomenon” of self and place (Watson, 2006, p.6; Bennett, 2014, p.658).

Explicitly, these *lines of difference* were negotiated through the presence of buildings, *corralones*, fancy houses, and chalets. These places allowed Esteban to narrativise an experience of lack of value, taking the form of people who were forced to move out of La Mar; *poor people* who could not afford (aesthetically, culturally, and financially) to remain *in-place*. Hence, Esteban delineated what was welcomed (or not), as the past and the *corralon* became a stepping stone for the future and the building itself, revealing the hierarchisation of time and space in his tale. In this process, he outlined change as a unidirectional practice of value, lying at the core of the forces of gentrification, that had pushed him aside on La Mar, where the old became synonymous with the ugly, the undesirable, and the chaotic. Thus, Esteban had a restricted view into his future in the avenue, where he did not have a place, where he was “unable to grasp, feel or embody new selective future orientations” (Taylor, 2012, p.49). Esteban was poor, and as poor he was invisible, unwanted, and incompatible with the new boundaries of the area, having no more choice than to walk through the edge of La Mar and stand on the verge of existence itself (Loveday, 2014).

As we continued to talk, Esteban walked me through the limits he negotiated in La Mar, stepping upon places that revealed the forces of change in his life. Specifically, he took me around the fifth and the sixth blocks, where he showed me the former locations of the two mechanic shops where he used to work.

I am an auto mechanic, and now I am unemployed. Because the workshop I used to work at has been sold and will be replaced by a restaurant. That one! There! The orange one, right there! That place was a huge mechanic shop. And, now that has been sold, all people, we are scattered now. We are waiting for clients to call us.

One of these shops had become *Soho I*, the first office building project in the avenue (Chapter I). The second of the two was divided between a construction site and the new premises for *Punto Organico*, an organic food market (Chapter I). Showing me around these places, Esteban revealed a sense of restriction to move freely around the area facing multiple obstacles to find his way (Allen and Hollingworth, 2013). He seemed constrained in the access of choice and disoriented by the process of transformation. He was stuck; unable to move but certainly moved, becoming disposable, dependent, ‘a beggar’ forced to the outskirts of the city. He was contained in the “contours” of what used to be and could not be anymore; contours that he voiced and reproduced in his tale, shaping the “conditions of possibility” he had to engage with a practice of class in the present La Mar (Lefebvre, 1999; as cited in Watson, 2006, p.8).

Within this context, Esteban became a “miss-fit”, circumscribed by the material impasses of losing his home and his job, yet ultimately storied in the affective processes of articulating loss and marginalization (Taylor 2012, p.456; Skeggs and Loveday, 2012). In contrast to Mr. Gamarra’s narrative, Esteban’s practice of class was neither addressed by the recuperation of his past nor imagined through the times he once lived in La Mar. Indeed, his practice of class was markedly sustained by a sense of invisibility that cut across his past and his present, becoming a sort of permanent state of neglect. Hence, while Mr. Gamarra storied the cultural practices he remembered from the *barrio life* he once had, for Esteban, his memories did not perform as a resource for value. They were neither a “source of aspiration” nor a “possibility” for the creation of worth and restitution (Keightley, Pickering 2006, pp.21). Indeed, he was limited by the historical deficits of La Mar; deficits that lingered around his walk, revealing the way the past dwelled upon his present as a heavy constraint. Ultimately, Esteban seemed to be always “behind”, reflecting a “disconnect[ion] between [his] past-present-future” perceptions, orientations and possibilities, making him unable to conceal opportunities with demands, experiences with exigencies, in order to move freely in the changing context of this setting (Taylor 2012, pp.57, 49).

Specifically, for Esteban, the limits of La Mar took the form of workers and residents who became spatially and temporally bounded by a story of lack; a story that was built upon his memories of ugliness, disasters, and holes in the road. These memories revealed a

reiteration of a practice of poverty, a dialogue of and among classes through the past and the present of the avenue, through particular sites that become much more than mere constructions. These memories highlighted what Taylor describes as the “retention of identities and enduring inequalities”, transpired in and through Esteban’s inability to “embrace and capitalise upon change” (2012, p.2). This inability emerged not only as he faced the economic pressures to stay in La Mar, but also, as he negotiated the symbolic limits of this setting, informed by a marked vulnerability and resignation to be excluded.

“That is life. What can we do if we are poor? [...] This is the reality that we face now”

Hence, in his narrative, Esteban revealed a feeling of exposure, of weakness, of defencelessness. He recognized the lack of opportunities he had in La Mar, accepting his condition and revealing, this way, the *sticky* way of destitution, of deprivation and hardship upon his journey (Ahmed, 2010). For him, that was the way it was, that was what was meant to happen to him, and there was nothing he could do to change it. That was *reality* for him, the truth of his walk, a truth that “interrupted” his “narrative of choice” in the present (Taylor, 2012, p.22). For him, this narrative did not reflect a class-based story about the losers and winners of La Mar, but a complex interplay between the expectations, orientations, and perspectives shaping his possibilities for different degrees of movement around the avenue. Ultimately, these possibilities were insignificant, leaving him out on the margins of La Mar, absent from any way he could possibly imagine the boundaries and the social practices contained within this place: invisible.

This way, Esteban was relegated to a bench on the side of the road, reminding me of the various *quintas* and the few remaining *callejones* (or *corralones*) I had managed to locate within La Mar.



Fig.1.4. Zooming in

Like him, most of them were silently concealed behind their tiny little doors, hiding from a world that was almost imperceptible to the outer walk, fading into the mounting sound of the construction machinery and the signs of upcoming real estate projects in the area. While *quintas* remained more visible in quantity and the aesthetic of their fronts, both persisted as a site of exclusion, alluding, in some way or another, to the *hidden* and *expired* social, cultural, and economic dimensions of the *barrio*.



Fig.1.5. Invisibility and restriction

Meanwhile, in contrast to *quintas* and *corralones*' hidden and expired social, cultural and economic dimensions in La Mar, new places "raised" strongly, sometimes in their size (buildings) and others in the transparency of their fronts (i.e. businesses).



Fig.1.6. Visibility and possibility

For instance, through broad and transparent windows, many of these places revealed a particular aesthetic, a moral and economic performance of *being* in the avenue. There, windows provided an opportunity to socialize, to consume and display a particular way of walking that was central to the seemingly development of the area. Certainly, in and through the potential visibility that these windows provided, people not only displayed but enforced the boundaries of inclusion, as they become observed and observing of

the movements that surrounded their location, enjoying a critical opportunity to negotiate power as it leaked through the sheerness of the screen, alluding to the historical role of the *gaze*, thus, the role of distance and visibility separating the valuable from the valueless in the urban context of the city.¹⁴

Thus, windows offered the possibility to legitimize a way of walking that became available for everyone to see, yet concealed for a few to experience, signalling, as explained by Emmison and Smith (2000, p. 167, 168) the welcoming of “the respectable citizen”. This reinforced the “symbolic identity” of La Mar, as a safe and attractive place, reproducing the message that only a certain type of individuals could “legitimately use the space” (ibid). Ultimately, these windows became undeniably powerful not only in and through the content of each scene (i.e. specific actions, behaviours, preferences, expectations, contexts), but most importantly so, through the opportunity to make this content available.

For Esteban, it was precisely this opportunity (or lack of it) that suggested the boundaries of the avenue as a place that no longer provided a space for poverty, a place where poverty became an a-spatial practice of class. Groundless, Esteban was unable to comply with new expectations and boundaries, walking away (literally and symbolically) from La Mar, becoming poorer with the distance that grew between him and the avenue. Hence, the changing context of La Mar had required, yet also restricted, him to access and accumulate value, reinforcing the historical order of power, as it pushed him into the past and pulled him into the present, creating a spatiotemporal void that challenged and reinforced the context of lack he so strongly narrativised in his tale (Skeggs, 1997, 2004, 2015; Bennett, 2014; Loveday 2014) Ultimately, it was the changing context of La Mar that informed the “economics of feeling[s]” that emerged and highlighted the expediency of place within his tale, uncovering the way Esteban became seemingly un-rooted, invisible and forced outside the limits of the avenue (Taylor, 2012, p.1; Gupta Ferguson, 1992, p.15)

¹⁴ For instance, this separation was evident in the role of balconies in the turn from the “city of touch” to “the city of visibility” in 19th century Britain and the rising presence of skyscrapers from the late 19th century onwards in Chicago, USA. (John Urry, 2003, p.351).

¹⁵ In February 2016, I returned to La Mar hoping to find Esteban and gather more information. However, I could not find him. Sadly, I learned that he had passed away the previous summer. Esteban died while waiting for the opportunity to work, spending numerous hours sitting on a bench on the sidewalk of La

THE DISTANCE OF CLASS

This section explores the distance of class as it offers a compass to navigate La Mar and measure the stories of people in and about the avenue. There, distance emerges as a relational variable pointing and reproducing class-based footprints, going beyond a matter of physical locations (i.e. address Number 175 or Number 1360) into positions that are affectively storied around particular places. In this context, distance involves the texture of social experiences, connecting different aesthetic, moral, and cultural boundaries that become fundamental in narrating La Mar (Jackson, Benson, 2014), transporting the expression of distance from locations to positions and highlighting its central role in the *struggles for value* emerging in this setting.

Mar, debilitated by his battle with diabetes, which, according to numerous accounts, got extremely worse due to the stress caused by his financial instability.

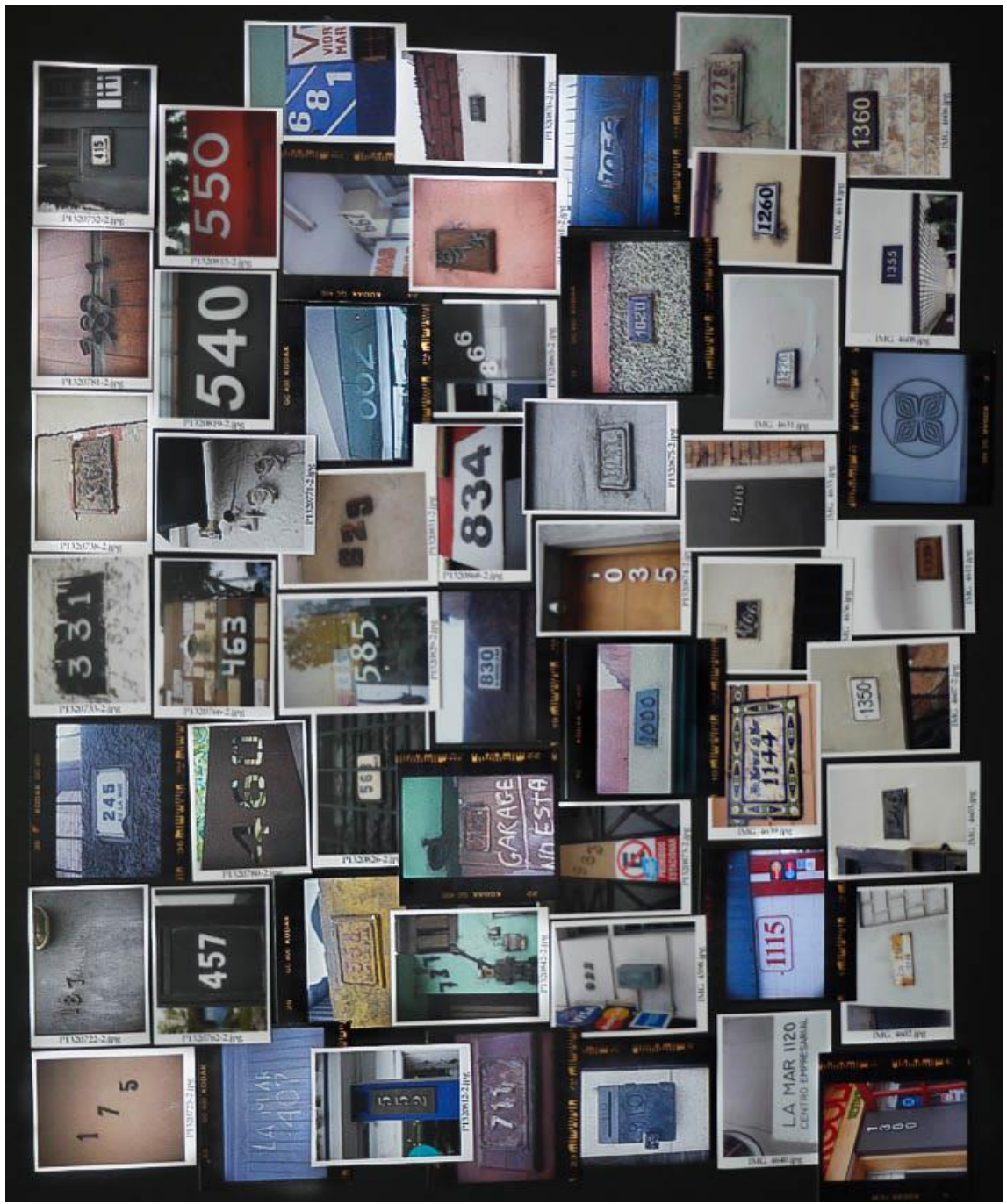


Fig.1.7. On Distance, location and position

From Locations to Positions

New buildings are pretty, but I live in the middle of two buildings and they cover the light of the sun. Before, I could get sunlight from 9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. because of its angle. Now, I can only get sunlight from 12:00 pm to 12:15 p.m. So, I only have 15 minutes of light, just when the sun is right on top of me. [...] If you notice, where there used to be an average family [house] including the father, mother and two or three kids, now you find buildings in the same place, holding a minimum of 12 apartments, right? So, buildings are new and everything, but they generate a lot of infrastructural deficiencies in Miraflores, because this is an old urbanization. The electrical posts, they look over-loaded with wires, because people that come here are from the A and B

socioeconomic sectors¹⁶, right? And they have the purchasing power to buy internet and cable from different companies, and buy lots of things [...].
Luis, 2014

Luis is a long-time resident of La Mar, in his late twenties, the son of the owners of a successful hardware store on the avenue, where he works as the manager. I met him in 2014, as I stopped by his store looking to find new stories for this investigation. In our exchange, Luis always seemed careful and measured his words, he was protective of his story and his space within La Mar. In fact, Luis was the only person who requested to remain anonymous in this investigation, and he even rejected my invitation to photograph him at his store (he asked an employee to take his place in the picture).



Fig.1.8. Portrait Luis

¹⁶ The A and B sectors that Esteban refers to are included within a socioeconomic structure commonly used to explain socioeconomic divisions in the city of Lima. This structure goes from the A sector, which includes the privileged groups of the city, to the E sector, which includes the marginal groups of the city. This structure takes into account salary, profession, consumption patterns (expenses' distribution and access to certain services such as cable, internet and telephone lines) as well as access to health services, housing and public services, such as water, drainage systems and electricity. (APEIM, 2005).

Nevertheless, his narrative was particularly long and detailed. He seemed knowledgeable and interested about the political, economic, and social shifts taking place in the avenue. This interest seemed to expand into different places and different times, intersecting with multiple pathways, revealing many stories and distances with infinite purposes. Ultimately, as with all of the others, his story became increasingly complex and dynamic, responding to different fields of negotiation, where class became part of many experiences he experienced in the avenue, highlighting the fullness and conflicting nature of the personal walk (Bettis, 1996)

Hence, in the fullness and conflicting nature of his journey, the avenue offered him a fluid and malleable spatiotemporal experience of power, where time and space allowed (not determined) an opportunity to negotiate value, engaging with both the compliance and defiance of the process of change. Indeed, the narrativisation of good (i.e. buildings are pretty and new) and bad (i.e. buildings interrupt his place-based experience in the avenue) prompted a mutually exclusive phenomenon, creating independent yet interrelated narratives delineating his walk. These narratives did not reveal the unpolluted journey of a subject of class in La Mar, but complex forms of understanding the past, present, and future of the avenue, materialized in a class-based experience that reified the dominant symbolic of change (i.e. the limits of beauty and novelty) as well as challenged its apparent virtues (i.e. the limits of progress and the practicalities of everyday living). Ultimately, these narratives responded to particular positions that were mobile and constantly changing, revealing not only what remain important for Luis, but most importantly so, what he was able to recognize through his particular stance, making the journey behind his view, the foundation for his experience of class in the avenue.

For instance, Luis' position became rather evident in the way he narrativised the growing presence of buildings in Santa Cruz, where he continued to live in the same house that he had lived in for many years, a house situated on a side-street of the 4th block of the avenue. However, despite the permanence of the location of his house, his position in the area had substantially changed. In fact, his house was now walled by two buildings that constricted his right to enjoy the sun and its light. Hence, while his location remained the same, it was experienced in a different way, informed by a different

context that spread beyond buildings, expanding into the limits of his personal space in the form of moving shadows upon the ground. For him, these shadows became an extension of the new geography of the avenue, a composition of shapes, timings, and rhythms interpreted not only in the implication of particular locations (i.e. the location of his house and the location of these buildings), but most importantly so, in the implication of particular distances (i.e. the position of his house in relation to the position of these buildings in the context of La Mar). Ultimately, these shadows interrupted his journey, mediating his walk and affecting the quality of his steps, affecting the way class was experienced, and life was lived in his story.

Within this context, Luis' house became a *site of intersections* informed by different social, cultural and economic forces, directions and intensities, leading him not only into the shadows of the building, but into the stories he built around the steps he took in calculating his loss. Hence, Luis revealed his concerns, sensitivities, and interests, taking the form of a past that had fewer restrictions than the present, gathered upon a simple but orderly life, a life without shadows, without congestion, without unnecessary wires and excess. For Luis, this life of excess came hand in hand with people from the 'A-B sectors of the city', rich people who could 'pay US\$200,000 for a new flat', people who enjoyed a high purchasing power he perceived not only in the acquisition of property but, most importantly so, in the practices they gathered around it. In his narrative, these practices were mainly addressed through the mounting selection of consumption opportunities, a growing technological access and the massification of upscale housing projects. Ultimately, for Luis, new people were '*pudientes*', people with particular 'lifestyles and specific costumes' that were 'generally homogenous', practices 'mark[ing]' and "show[ing]" the distance between 'the old Miraflores from the new one'.

And, it was somewhere in the middle between them, that Luis positioned himself, distanced from *pudientes* and their tall buildings, but also, distanced from 'drug addicts' and 'sick people' who, as he storied, used to live in the *quintas* of La Mar. Luis was neither of those, he was a long-time resident from Miraflores, a decent man from the growing middle-classes of the city (commonly considered as the B-C socioeconomic

sectors¹⁷; Portocarrero, 1998; Fuller, 2002; Matos Mar, 2004; Cotler, 2005; Toche, 2009). Luis was an entrepreneur, politically engaged, enjoying the benefits of a growing economy. He did not live in a fancy building or a risky *quinta*; he was a hard-working man that lived in a house on side of the avenue, negotiating the distance between him and the new, between him and part of the old he did not like. Indeed, he occupied no less and no more space, but the perfect middle, a controlled location distanced from the radical and unnecessary, suggesting an experience of class that, while never explicit, was constantly sketched around the limits of excess. Ultimately, Luis walked around those limits, making them important, agreeing and reproducing what Taylor (2012, p.136) describes as the “right space to inhabit correctly and productively”, negotiating the limits and boundaries of difference, of inclusion and exclusion in La Mar, revealing the gap between locations and positions in this space, thus, the gap between the valuable and valueless in this setting.

ON DISTANCES AND THE STRUGGLE FOR VALUE

This section continues to explore the distance of class, going beyond the physical separation between journeys (which, nonetheless, affects the prospects and dynamics of negotiating distance itself) and highlighting the strategies, investments, and efforts involved in positioning people in La Mar. Specifically, this section highlights distance as an anchor for value that allows to negotiate maps and reproduce a geography of power, revealing the needs and exigencies of different walks to remain in place. Ultimately, I explore the risks and opportunities of different positions, within which particular places become temporary limits in claiming the space between the valuable and the valueless in the avenue.

¹⁷ According to Toche (2009, p.151), these middle-class sectors in Lima include a traditional sector, shaped by colonial boundaries of value, the early influence of positivism and particular attempts of modernization; the consolidated sector, shaped processes of urbanization; and, the emerging sector, shaped by rural-urban waves of migration and the growing importance of the informal economy in the country).

On callejones and quintas



Fig.1.9. On callejones

This used to be a *corralon*, this was not... a *quinta*, like you see now. It was a *corralon de mala muerte*. There was a bathroom outside and... little by little we have remodeled. Then they sold the *quinta* and we bought it. It is upon oneself to improve

and live better, right? [...] A *quinta* is one thing, and a *callejon* is another thing; it is a *callejon de mala muerte*
Jose Antonio, 2014

Located in the 5th block of the avenue and living in the same location where he was born (today a *quinta* and formerly a *callejon*), Jose Antonio, an unemployed nurse in his early fifties, made sure to locate himself far away from the *callejon*. He referred to the *callejon* as a place of *mala muerte* (bad death), a place where death became a trivial event. For him, the *callejon* was a place where the experience of dying represented a meaningless affair. Thus, in the *callejon* death resulted from insignificant actions; therefore, it alluded to insignificant lives. Indeed, the *callejon* held people who could easily kill, but it also held people who could easily die too. In this way, the *callejon* differed from the *quinta*, a *quinta* that offered Jose Antonio an opportunity for living, a *quinta* that fulfilled the modernizing prospects of change within the avenue, a *quinta* that presented an alternative path to becoming classed in this setting. Thus, in La Mar, for Jose Antonio, the *quinta* became a place associated to valuable people; people whose lives became meaningful, who mattered; respectable and decent people who, in their willingness and capability to succeed and ‘improve’, defied the possibility of death.

Jose Antonio’s reflections about *callejones* underscored the role of distance in his need to demarcate and protect the space between who he wanted to be and who he did not want to become. The stories he shared about the avenue uncovered the making of this need, outlined by the proximity of his walk to the history of La Mar. This proximity offered him a knowingness that was storied as an insightful perspective of the *quinta* and the *callejon*, shaping the “recollection” of his past (‘this used to be...’) and delineating his “performative capacity” in the present (‘It is upon oneself to improve and live better’; Loveday 2015a, p.6). However, this knowingness not only presented him with information about different historical journeys in the area. Instead, it implicated him deeply with the dangers of *what used to be*, latent in every word he said and dormant in every step he took around the space. Indeed, this knowingness revealed his connections to the past, a past that was more difficult to grasp to the newer stares in the avenue, a past where they commonly amassed different places and experiences together overlooking the *lines of difference* Jose Antonio so eagerly tried to maintain,

revealing the risk he faced to get lost in the former times of La Mar, in the “massification” of the old against the new (Skeggs, 1997, p.6).

Hence, securing a distance between him and the *callejon*, allowed him to clarify the limits of his walk, challenging the stickiness of danger upon the walks from the past. This stickiness was risky as it was easily transferred from places to people, from *callejones de mala muerte* to *personas de mala muerte* (Andrea, Doris, Jose Antonio and Patricia, 2014) or even *familias del mal vivir* (Iris, 2014), who reflected the wrong way of living in La Mar. This stickiness was risky because it held a lasting experience of differentiation fed upon the limits of the *callejon*, yet always lasting beyond these limits, an inherent quality of lack negotiated in and through the avenue, where the greater the links to the past, the greater the need to challenge this past in the present.

In this context, Jose Antonio displayed a growing concern to clarify and prove the position of particular people, places, and experiences in relation to his own. He was compelled to “defend against misrecognition and devaluation” (Skeggs, 2011, p.503), yet, he misrecognized and devaluated others, revealing and reproducing the forces of power, reinforcing the *lines of difference* between his live and the lives from *callejones*. For him, the proximity he had to the *callejon* became his “greatest threat”, but also offered him the greatest promise to “assert” and reproduce the space between him and the undesirable in La Mar (Bourdieu, 1984, p.481), where the *quinta* displayed itself as an improvement over the *callejon*, becoming *better* “at the expense of”, thus, in relation to it (Bourdieu 1984; Loveday, 2015a, p.2). Ultimately, the *callejon* offered Jose Antonio a spatiotemporal limit between people who suggested “deficit” and people who did not, reproducing the “terms” of compliance with the dominant symbolic of change, becoming classed and reproducing class in turn (Skeggs and Loveday, 2012)

In the context of Lima, the narrativisation of *callejones de mala muerte* and *personas* or *familias del mal vivir* allude to a historical dialogue around the idea of decency and links it has to the use of place in the making of class in the city. According to Parker, even in the early 1900s, residency in Lima “contributed to preserve or improved placing in society”, where “the selection of housing, which, in a certain way, was not more and not less about a matter of consumption, had strong social connotations” (Parker, 1995,

p.164). For Parker, housing selection became a central concern for the lower segments of the middle classes of the city, where they engaged in an obstinate struggle to maintain a distance to the *callejon* and secure a position as “gente decente” (decent people). Indeed, the need was such that people were willing to endure terrible conditions of alternative housing options in the city. These options included humid, dark, small rooms within “casas de inquilanato” or “casas de familia”, big houses owned by families who would rent to apparently respectable people. As explained by Parker, and in accordance to a 1907 municipal housing report cited in his work, these lower middle classes faced the worst struggles for survival in the city, revealing an extreme “disadvantage” in the form “of unfounded concerns about pretending social respectability” (161). Ultimately, Parker underscores not only the undeniable link between the negotiation of self and place in the making of class in Lima, but also, the way class lingers around the urban imaginary of people through generations.

In the case of Jose Antonio, his desire for social respectability transpired the gap between the moves he pursued and the requirements he faced in the process, revealing not only the role of time and space in class-making (how he used to negotiate the limits of value), but the different forces, needs and demands involved in the walks from one place to another (i.e. the stickiness of particular positions in the avenue). It was precisely this gap, that stood between Jose Antonio’s fear of exclusion and investments in walking away from the *callejon*, and Luis’ (former section) lack of recognition of the boundaries between *callejones* and *quintas* in La Mar. Indeed, this gap stood strong between the way Luis overlooked the details Jose Antonio so desperately stressed within his story, as places became malleable and fluid, important in the way Jose Antonio and Luis engaged (or not) in mediating “worth, value, loss, and gain” through them (Taylor, 2012, pp.137-138). Ultimately, as these places, the experience of class became a fluid and malleable practice of becoming in the changing context of La Mar, within which the greater the need and the effort to secure a particular position, the greater the threat or the risk to lose it too.

CONCLUSION

It would only be fair to admit that I stubbornly tried to avoid discussing class in this thesis. Indeed, it took me various drafts to evaluate the usefulness of the category of

class as an instrument to explore social articulations in Lima, as well as a tool to understand the making of difference itself. For instance, it took particular research encounters to disassociate myself from the exploration of class as a denouncement of social injustice and a reaction to years of witnessing and partaking in the legacies of colonialism in my country. Hence, it took a conscious attempt to de-link class from the academic struggle to 'solve' difference, thus reify it through stories of heroes and victims, the powerful and powerless, the good and the bad (Montoya, 2002). In this sense, I had to repeatedly review the overreaching relevance of class to understand it, not only as a "category of practice" (i.e. how the category of class worked as Mr Gamarra *identified* himself –and others– as a poor subject in his narrative of poverty in the avenue), but also as a "category of analysis" (i.e. how class worked as an heterogeneous category of research), "analysing [its...] competing reifications" and delving into the traces of class-based experiences that, while inflicted by power relations, went far beyond a simple and causal bond (Brubaker, 2000, pp.5-7). Ultimately, the explorations in this chapter offered me a journey that pushed me to unlearn class in order to justly consider it within this text, in this case, through the making of place

In this context, Chapter III explored class as it was lived, reproduced, and challenged through place, offering a contextual, relational, and ontological practice of difference in La Mar. There, the *callejon*, the building, and the *quinta* became "interpretative prism[s]" of identification, reflecting the multiple ways participants represented and reproduced what they wanted, needed, and were allowed or expected to become (Brubaker *et al*, 2006, p.15). In this way, places contributed to the formation of the "cognitive map[s]" of La Mar (Lynch, 1976), stressing the geography of class as it was imagined in the historical context of this place, where individuals remembered the past, observed the present, and recognized the future and themselves within it. Ultimately, it was in and through these places that individuals revealed what Skeggs (2004) calls "dispositions", as they were linked to the multiple versions of the context of change in La Mar, where class became a seemingly natural and permanent practice.

This way, narratives of place became powerful analytical instruments, compounding the fluidity and malleability of the boundaries of class in La Mar. There, change allowed and demanded an extensive variety of stories to emerge, clash, and contradict, offering a

glimpse of “the nervous system” of the avenue (Stewart, 1996, p.3). This system was concealed in the narrativisation of space and time, in the storying of movements and distances, in the voicing of choice and restriction, as well as the unfolding forces of memories, cultural practices, and affects reformulated in the present. Thus, the expediency of class raised in its intricate use, and the way it was imagined as well as expressed in day-to-day living, pointed to the details of the walking life itself. Ultimately, class became an expression that challenged a uniform practice of value, yet contributed to the standardization of its limits, highlighting *a way of knowing*, thus a way of being marked and marking in the avenue (Ingold, Verginist, 2008; Taylor, 2012).

In the context of Lima, this exploration of class revealed a powerful practice that informed the margins of inclusion and exclusion, stressing the efforts and constraints to behave and interpret behaviour in the setting of the avenue. There, this investigation joined and contributed to a series of efforts to explore identity as it is lived, power as it is made, and class as it is done in Peru. This study adds to these efforts which, following the work of Bertonecelo in Brazil (2015, p.451), overcome “schemas based on theoretically informed *objective* criteria (defined *a priori*) and on the assessment of class effects on several aspects of individual lives”. Hence, this study contributes to the exploration of class in the form of “social collectivities constituted both within the *material* and the *cultural* domains of social life” as well as “the social and symbolic boundaries [that] emerge through the classificatory practices of (and struggles between) social agents” (ibid. 451; Alex Huerta, 2004; Montoya, 2002) as the city becomes a maze of colours, forms, names, movements, and journeys.

CHAPTER IV ON LIMINALITY AND CLASS: OPPORTUNITIES

Chapter III explored the concept of *place* as a tool to navigate different journeys of class in the specificity of La Mar, where *place* was shaped by the opportunities participants determined to amass value in their walks. As discussed, these opportunities grew and varied in relation to different experiences of time and space (i.e. memories), highlighting different shades and intensities of being *in* or *out of place*, addressing, in turn, the restrictions and capabilities of people to recognise, to choose and to move freely (or not) through this changing environment. Indeed, in La Mar, change instantiated in the spatiotemporal assemblage of the avenue, uncovering a state of *transition* that was found not only in Mr Gamarra's memories and Jose Antonio's efforts to belong (Chapter III), but also in the smoke of the construction machinery, the background noise of the mounting traffic, and the beautiful smell of the fresh, ground coffee served by Jonathan from *El Pan de la Chola* in block 10. In each of its forms, this state of transition stressed a *liminal* experience that was witnessed, pushed around, created, and resisted; yet liminality was always reproduced in the narratives of change and belonging in La Mar, highlighting an experience of class that was built upon the risk as well as the opportunity for change.

Chapter IV and Chapter V follow on discussions from Chapter III, exploring the way people and places are involved in the making of difference through the practice of class in a gentrifying context of transition. In these chapters, I choose to explore the liminal experience (Turner, 1969) that the process of change entails and supports, as well as the multiple ways it is practiced, interpreted, and inflicted by participants on their stories. Specifically, I discuss the liminal practice as it involves participants' personal journeys and the journeys they narrativise about others, stressing the links between difference, identity, and power in the lives of the city (Watson and Bridge, 2002). In Chapter IV I take on the routes of newcomers, of people who have, in their majority, lived or worked in La Mar for less than 10 years (the amount of years is only a reference). Meanwhile, in Chapter V I take on the routes of long-time residents, people who have *commonly* lived or worked (or used to live or work) in La Mar for a long period of time, but, most

importantly so, people whom, in one way or another, have made of the avenue their *barrio*. In both chapters, discussions are focused on the opportunities and restrictions in securing (or not) a position of value in La Mar, where the liminal practice becomes a condition for class to take place, revealing different forms of knowledge and affect, offering not only “the historical basis for different relationships between groups” but, most importantly, the conditions for groups to be continuously negotiated in the making of this place in the future (Skeggs, 2004, p.2).

Section one of this chapter offers a brief discussion on the concept of liminality as applied to the process of change in relation to practices of identification and difference in La Mar. Specifically, it highlights the negotiation of “regimes of difference” (Fincher and Jacob, 1998:2), where “contrasting spatialities and temporalities [...] overlap one another” allowing to construct contextualized experiences of identification in the locality of the avenue (Watson and Bridge, 2002, p.505). Section two and three explore the way liminality becomes a source of opportunity in La Mar, delimited by the forces and intensities of previous -cultural, social and economic- experiences (for example, cosmopolitan *knowledge*), as well as boundaries of value in the present of the avenue. Walking along with Jonathan (owner of Café Pan de la Chola), these sections highlight the orientation of his walk across change, allowing him to negotiate the limits of the avenue as an interesting space, where he becomes an independent, adventurous and creative subject of value in relation to others who perform as the “constitutive limit” of his story (Skeggs, 2004, p.23)

Section four moves beyond Jonathan’s walk and explores the journeys of Jimena and Ramon, two business owners new to the area, addressing the liminal practice through the making of power and resistance, where different subjectivities are produced, challenged, and reinvented. This section highlights “border-making processes between [emerging] groups”, stressing the intersections of multiple “social space[s]” (i.e. gentrifying and gentrified spaces), revealing the elasticity and temporality of value in the avenue, where knowledge uncovers as a spatiotemporal practice of power itself (Soytemel, 2015, pp.64,65). Lastly, section five offers the concluding remarks of this chapter, highlighting the bearing of the liminal practice in La Mar, as it becomes a central

framework to explore processes of identification in power-inflected contexts that allow, demand, and reproduce experiences of difference in the city.

LIMINALITY IN LA MAR



Fig. 2.0. On Liminality

In La Mar, liminal experiences grew hand in hand with the legitimisation and popularisation of the avenue, which was linked to the process of gentrification in this part of Lima. I understand gentrification as a “multi-faceted” (Slatter, 2006, p.747), contextual (Leys, 1996, 2011; Butler, 1997; Lees, 2000), spatiotemporal (Bridge, 2003) and “cyclical process driven largely, but not completely, by investments flows” (Lees,

2000, p.398). In this context gentrification involves economic and cultural dimensions that shape practices of urban transformation and class restructuring (Hamnett, 1991; Bridge, 1995; Smith, 1996; Slatter, 2006), reflecting the “mediations between global processes and flows” and “the construction of identities in particular localities” (Butler, 2007, p.162). In the case of La Mar, its central location, yet affordable prices (which are changing), offered attractive real state opportunities for new developments, such as housing projects, offices, restaurants, and retail services. Meanwhile, its geographical location, at the heart of the district Miraflores, offered an accessible opening to the urban *barrio* for a non-working-class crowd that was seeking to explore the city and find alternative experiences in familiar environments. Hence, both the affordability and novelty of the area fed an important influx of people into this space, introducing not only a new geography but novel social, cultural, and economic practices in this setting. Ultimately, these changes framed a multiplicity of outcomes, structures, and intensities of walks, shaped not only by the steps of “different social groups” in the making (for example, gentrifiers, gentrifying, working, middle and upper classes, cosmopolitans, nationals and locals), but the “overlap between social space and physical location” involved in the negotiation of boundaries between them (Soytemel, 2015, p.65).

Hence, each in their own way, these walks emerged in relation to different strategies of negotiation around the *befores* and *afters* of La Mar, pointing not only to what used to be and remained valuable, but also to the potential of change to “fix some groups and enable others to be mobile” in this setting (Skeggs 2004, p.2; Soytemel, 2015, p.65). In this context, change allowed the articulation of new (symbolic and material) limits in La Mar, well expressed by the risks and opportunities individuals faced to be recognized in this liminal location. In this context, liminality became a central variable in the hierarchisation of value by disclosing, transpiring, and shaping the orientation of particular journeys, allowing subjects to be and become in this particular space. There, not all subjects were capable to amass the necessary -cultural, social, economic, political- capital and susceptibility to become a “reflexive self” in this environment (Skeggs, 2004, p.20). Indeed, while engaged in the process of change, residents encountered a range of prospects and outcomes while navigating La Mar, all of which contributed to a multidimensional tale of domination and resistance, highlighting the nuances of the making of power in day-to-day living. Ultimately, these tones and

gradations revealed what Jacobs and Fincher (1998, p.1) describe as a “variety of experiences and processes” representing and reproducing the lives in the city, as infinite ways of “inhabit[ing]” one particular space.

Within this context, as discussed in Chapter I, liminality revealed an “ambiguous” practice at its core, what Turner (1969, p.vii) would suggest as an “antistructural” exercise emerging in relation to the specificities of La Mar. There, the liminal practice uncovered itself as a spatiotemporal mediation of power, overcoming the socioeconomic structures of life (i.e. the real estate sector) and the structural relationships of living (i.e. relationships between real estate investors and long-time residents; 94), involving instead, day-to-day journeys of discovery and creation. Hence, the liminal practice emerged as a form of *interruption*, suspending the structures that lingered in the wake of subjects’ own existence, allowing, but, most importantly, demanding them to continue walking through the experience of change and respond to the need and the space it offered to assert particular stories, connections, and values. Therefore, more than a *pause in the order of things*, the liminal practice disclosed itself as the “gap of the order of things” (Stewart, 1996), displaying the crafting of the seemingly powerful and apparently powerless, as well as exposing the subtle space where everything comes together; thus, where meaning is made, reinforced, and challenged.

This way, liminality informed the making of difference in La Mar, and it revealed an exercise of power and a living practice that became evident in the most discrete movements and choices magnified by change. These movements and choices shaped the articulation of difference beyond the fragmentation of personal stories into particular practices of class, highlighting instead the experience of class-making in the fullness and conflicting nature of the personal story (Bettis, 1996). There, class was entangled in a complex narrative of living, where liminality offered the time and the space to create new “prescriptions, prohibitions and conditions” *to be classed*, thus becoming an essential element in discussions of power and value in this thesis (Turner, 1969, p.109). Ultimately, liminality revealed the multiple ways participants “embrace[d] and capitalise[d] upon change” in La Mar; thus, the “possibility, mobility and futurity” they had in becoming briefly or permanently, voluntarily or forcefully, truthfully or

allegedly immersed in the liminal practice of this gentrifying space (Taylor, 2012, pp. 93, 281).

ON LIMINALITY AND OPPORTUNITY



Fig.2.1. El Pan de la Chola I

Jonathan lives close to La Mar, he always has. However, for years, the avenue seemed to be miles away from him; until recently, when his need to find a central and affordable location for his business (*El Pan de la Chola*) persuaded him to explore new options in the area. Hence, similar to others (i.e. Soho architect Michelle, coffee shop owner Claribel), Jonathan payed his way into the changing context of the avenue by exploring what he felt had been the 'poor area' of Miraflores. Within this context, this area became an interesting space, built upon a particular version of the *barrio life* Jonathan remembered and reproduced through his bakery, allowing him to become an independent, adventurous and creative subject.

This section explores this opportunity, as it makes meaning between the inside and the outside of *El Pan de la Chola*, addressing an implicit practice of class in the making. I discuss the orientation and force of Jonathan's walk; thus, the practices habituating

particular qualities shaping his journey in the avenue (Noble, 2009). Here, I am interested in the values and limits he negotiates around the process of change, as he searches for and recognises an experience of interest, pleasure and *desire*, allowing him to resist or to cope with the predictability of his walk within the city (Leys, 1996, 2011; Lees, 2000; Skeggs and Binnie, 2004).

On Interesting places



Fig.2.2. Pan de la Chola II

I was starting my baking business and looking for a place, when someone told me about a small site of 80m2 that was available in La Mar. I came to take a look and thought it was genius! I thought it was a space that combined two, two diverging worlds: one world with a lot of purchasing power from Miraflores and San Isidro, and another world that also preserved the urban spirit, the spirit of the street with the people that, I mean, I am sorry to tell you a word in English, because it will sound '*huachafo*', but I like this word a lot: 'edgy', 'edgy'. It is like being at the border of dangerous and pretty, right? In this sense, La Mar is a very *interesting* developing area that I have already seen in other countries, right? In areas with a lot of immigrants, in poor areas that, that suddenly start to be invaded by people who want to find creative spaces and start to change the face of the space, right? I think that is happening in La Mar. And, I love La Mar. I love La Mar because it allows you to be daring and throw yourself into something new, into things that may not fit in the heart of touristy Miraflores [...]

[...] I think that there are a lot of people who want to do different things, bored of traditional streets and looking for spaces to do creative and

entertaining things. There is a lot of demand from architects, young artists and producers for spaces in La Mar, right? And, and that is what happens, like I was telling you before, in other cities in the world, where abandoned spaces, dangerous places, start to be taken by people that want to change the face of the space and do independent things. So, I think in La Mar there is a possibility to do independent things. There are not pre-established formats. The opposite of coming to La Mar would be to go to a mall in San Isidro or Miraflores, where everything is complete, where everything is perfect, where there is no major risk.

In the context of change and exploration, La Mar called upon Jonathan and invited him to reinvent himself within the city, reformulating his walk in the specificity of the avenue. Jonathan took from and contributed to the drastic changes that called upon him in the first place, transforming La Mar into a valuable resource for his journey. In the process, Jonathan became 'daring', renovating the avenue from a dangerous to an attractive area in the capital. Indeed, the avenue no longer posed a problem for him, but presented an alluring challenge, offering the space and the time to become who he wanted to become, and the freedom to defy the sociocultural expectations he perceived in other areas of the city. Because, in La Mar, Jonathan fulfilled his search for pleasure, satisfying an apparent curiosity for the new and the unexpected; thus, he seemingly discovered the chance to embrace the incomplete and imperfect, as well as the space for improvement and creation that both entailed. Ultimately, Jonathan found an opportunity to defy the 'pre-established formats' he experienced in Lima, seeking to engage with 'independent' projects that reflected and provided a sense of freedom and mobility within his walk.



Fig.2.3. Zooming into El Pan de la Chola

Hence, as he had done in other places, Jonathan explored La Mar, which revealed a sense of familiarity that had less to do with the connections he had with the avenue, than with the (social and symbolic) configurations he recognised from other places *in transition*, revealing a sense of entitlement negotiated through the global fields (Bridge, 2007). This awareness was echoed, for instance, by Soho Architect Michelle, when she compared ‘the grace’ of La Mar to the area of Soho in New York (USA) and Puerto Madero in Buenos Aires (Argentina); or, by coffee shop owner Claribel, when she described La Mar as a unique and diverse space with ‘everything for everyone’; a space that reminded her of strolling the avenues of Europe. Like those examples, Jonathan’s memories from particular areas in London (UK) emerged as a fundamental reference in his journey, offering a compass for his steps into the avenue, revealing the force and direction of his walk within this space (Butler, 2007). There, Jonathan trusted his knowledge on how to be and become in a changing environment, an ability that emerged in the midst of his past experiences and present expectations, incorporating what Glick (2011, p.179) refers to as “the synergies and tensions of the mutual construction of the local, national and global” (i.e. transnationality) or what Delanty (2006, pp.36,41) describes as an “interplay of self, other and world”. In Jonathan’s story, this interplay rendered a “cosmopolitan imagination” (ibid. p.32), narrativised in and around Lima and London, yet ultimately displayed and experienced in the specificity of La Mar, “enable[ing] navigation of the space and the negotiation of difference” in this environment (Skeggs and Binnie, 2004, p.40).

Therefore, while shaped by global dynamics of power, Jonathan’s process of identification was embedded in the local narrativisation of change and the everyday expression of value in La Mar. These narrativisations and expressions revealed not only the “principle of world openness”, thus, Jonathan’s economic and cultural capacities or “competence[s]” to move physically and socially between Lima and London (Hannerz, 1996, p.103; Delanty, 2006, p.27), but, as importantly, the “quotidian practices that reproduce this open-ness” itself (Noble, 2009, p.49). Indeed, it was in and through these practices that Jonathan negotiated his experience of value, revealing the class-based privilege that shaped his position in the avenue, delineating who needed to follow or

lead, who was allowed to move or required to stay, and who had more or less to lose in the liminal environment he storied in La Mar (Skeggs and Binnie 2004).

Specifically, for Jonathan, these quotidian practices were involved in the development and the management of his business, where “class and place” came together to form new “horizons for spatial and social mobility” (Allen, Wollingworth, 2013, p.2). In fact, it was in relation to his business, that different subjects enjoyed different claims and entries to locations and views in this space, stressing the connections between the making of place, the practice of class, and the forces of power in his tale (ibid., 2). Ultimately, these connections alluded to a cosmopolitan journey that highlighted much more than Jonathan’s access to a cosmopolitan identity per se, but an orientation evident in the “discursive possibilities to hold together and disrupt different categorizations” in his walk through La Mar (Skeggs, Binnie, 2004, p.41), where he became valuable beyond his apparent qualities as a flexible, independent, adventurous, creative and brave subject, but through the experiences habituating these categorizations in his liminal practice (Noble, 2009).

In La Mar, this process of habituation involved Jonathan’s “spatial and social location” in the area, implicating, on one hand, the access he had to a physical space (i.e. El Pan de la Chola), and, on the other, to the quality of his journey, highlighting the way he was able to occupy this space (Allen, Wollingworth, 2013, p.6). Following Allen and Wollingworth, this “spatial and social location” shaped Jonathan’s perception of the feasibility of his walk, in relation to both what became possible for people in La Mar, and, what became possible for people who were like him (i.e. with similar social backgrounds, cultural experiences and economic capital) anywhere in the city, stressing his negotiation of a “place-specific habitus” (4,8). This habitus allowed Jonathan to “toy safely with possibilities” and alternative “ways of being” he deemed as welcome in this space (Turner, 1969); a space where he became free to “test risky or conflicting identities”, overlooking the tentative conflicts and contradictions these might bring in other areas of the capital (Ibarra, 2005, pp.24-25). Hence, in the same way as the night provides a changing context in relation to the day (for instance, in work-related performances in global cities), La Mar offered a changing performing context from the

rest of Miraflores, where the common boundaries of the city were ultimately “shaken” (Sophie, Body-Gendrot, 2011, p.612).

This way, Jonathan’s spatial and social location facilitated his access to resources and discourses flowing in the gentrifying context of La Mar, disclosing a “cluster of promises” to become the subject he recognised from previous walks (Berlant, 2010, p.142; Ahmed, 2009, p.38). This recognition emerged as an affective trace of identification, where fear, love, and excitement shaped the limits of the liminal practice he sought in the avenue, linking particular beliefs (i.e. La Mar is edgy), values (i.e. edgy is interesting) and boundaries (i.e. La Mar is edgy, thus interesting) in the orientation of his walk (Ahmed, 2009; Watson and Bridge, 2011; Thrift, 2004, Thien, 2005). In this sense, the avenue took the form of a sort of “emancipatory” setting (Caulfield, Minnery, 1994; Leys, 1996, 2011), alluding to the seeming “celebration of social diversity and [the] freedom of personal expression” that Jonathan sought in his liminal journey, yet reproducing the “privileges [of] particular subjects’ positions, cultural practices and class fractions” in the process (Lees, 2000, p.393). Ultimately, Jonathan’s journey revealed what Goodstein (2005, p.1) calls a “quotidian crisis of meaning”; a crisis which not only stressed the limits of value he perceived in his everyday walk in Lima, but most importantly so, the possibilities he had to move beyond these limits in the avenue, exposing “the cause and effect” of his practice of class in and around La Mar, revealing the restrictions he seemingly faced as well as the opportunities he enjoyed to pass through them.

For the most part, Jonathan interpreted these restrictions in the growing role of consumption, predictability and standardisation in traditional Lima, storied as an expanding sense of boredom that supported the force, purpose and *desire* of his walk within the avenue (Caulfield, 1989). There, the liminal environment presented as an interesting option to ventilate his journey, to reduce the “stale air” of the social confinements he found in his walk within the capital (Dalle Pezze, Sanzani, 2009, p.24), underlying the way *difference* was “re-embedded” instead of “dismantled” in the area of Santa Cruz (Taylor 2012, p.123). Hence, this option revealed not only Jonathan’s *orientation* against standardization; but most importantly so, his *competence* to move and to choose within this space (Hannerz, 1996, p.103), allowing him to challenge the idea that his journey had already been concluded. Indeed, Jonathan’s journey extended

as an infinite door of possibilities, pointing to the opportunity for movement and choice that allowed him to foster “new skills and self-images” in the specificity of this place (Dalle *et al*, 2009, p.25). Jonathan’s memories of London were central to this process, offering diagnosis and direction in his walk, revealing themselves in the strength and confidence of his steps, reflected, for instance, in his desire and apparent ability to make things *better* in La Mar.

It is important to highlight that, more than alluding to the emergence of a “global gentrifier class” between London and Lima, Jonathan’s reference to London pointed to a set of strategies (Bridge, 2007, p.32) “link[ing] global processes and flows to the construction of identities in particular localities” (Butler, 2005, p.1). For Jonathan, these strategies revealed as particular “attitude[s] towards difference” (Skeggs and Binnie, 2004, p.42; Hannerz; 1996), implicating the reification of the urban experience, allowing him to ‘take on’ La Mar, gathering meaning at the edge of what was and could be, offering him, in the midst of both, a tasty bite of the *barrio life* he sought and negotiated in his present. And, as he bit on this life, La Mar was expected to continue changing (and gentrifying), yet to remain the same (and unique in the city); prescribing the limits of particular subjects, places, and practices; thus, creating restrictions for some and possibilities for others as power found new outlets to reveal itself in this setting (Johnsen, 2011; Walkowitz, 2011). Ultimately, Jonathan highlighted new ascriptions of value that disclosed contemporary “relationships of entitlement to the cultures and affects of others” in this space (Skeggs, 2004, p.186), where he delved into the new and the unexpected, getting away with it: renewed and inspired.

So, in the end, and without engaging in an explicit story of class, Jonathan’s journey became an implicit journey of class-making, where, as the city became boring and the avenue liminal, the liminal became interesting for him. This *interest* produced a modest impulse, but revealed an intricate story that involved an affective experience of attraction, opportunity, and predisposition, exposing and reinforcing Jonathan’s *trajectories* of life in and out of the avenue. In this process, Jonathan disclosed the complexities and contradictions at the heart of his journey, highlighting the construction, negotiation, and implication of value and difference through particular dynamics of power in each of his steps. Ultimately, he managed to redefine the meaning

of risk and danger, of beauty and ugliness, of power and powerlessness within his walk; a walk that reflected the freedom to move and to choose, a walk that revealed a lack of concern to comply with expectations, but an interest to explore the avenue itself, a walk that revealed who he wanted to be and whom others needed to become in the process.

ON DREAMING OF THE BARRIO



Fig.2.4. Moving journeys: El Pan de la Chola

In this section I extend the analysis of Jonathan's journey as a contextual, dynamic, and relational process of becoming in La Mar, addressing the negotiation of a multiplicity of *others* narrativised from the specificity of his bakery and placed as a boundary for his *barrio* practice in the avenue. There, I explore the *barrio* as a resource that ascribes, removes and transfers value through different subjects (Skeggs, 2004), revealing the formation of "contemporary economies of selfhood and relations of power" in this setting (Allen, Hollingworth, 2013, pp.500, 502). Ultimately, these economies reflect not only different ways of colonizing this space and carrying different capitals across it, but also the capitalisation of change itself, emerging across the practice of difference within the area (Skeggs, 2004, Allen, Hollingworth, 2013).

On liminality and the barrio experience



Fig.2.5. The Barrio Experience I

There are still broken lights, there is not good illumination, traffic is a mess, there are a lot of busses passing through, and there is a lot of noise. So, whatever you want to do has to be, in one way or another, connected to that, right? I cannot pretend to set up a place that is very exclusive, very clean, in quotation marks; but instead, my business has to assume the fact that it is inserted in this avenue, which has a very urban personality, which is very noisy. We have used metal profiles in our place, old windows, exposed bulb lighting. We have put a window screen to be connected to the avenue, which is not a nice avenue, but it has to be made part of our place because it is appropriate [...].



Fig.2.6. The Barrio Experience II

[...] I feel part of this avenue, I feel communicated with this avenue, because since the beginning I have been concerned with communicating with my surroundings, to benefit my bakery and at the same time to benefit the avenue. For example, the little store from the corner is also part of my business, because the seller takes me out of trouble; the upholsterer from the corner too, right? He has helped me with some things inside the bakery. There are carpenters, metal workers, the market of Santa Cruz [...]. I have my providers there; I always visit them. I do think that there is a very urban language here, and that is another *interesting* thing about this avenue, that it still maintains this thing about the 'caserito', the little corner grocery store, the carpenter, the metal workers, the market, and that makes the space much more rich and diverse. I do not feel threatened eh... or with fear when I walk through La Mar. I feel I know the people and that, in some way, I identify with them [...]

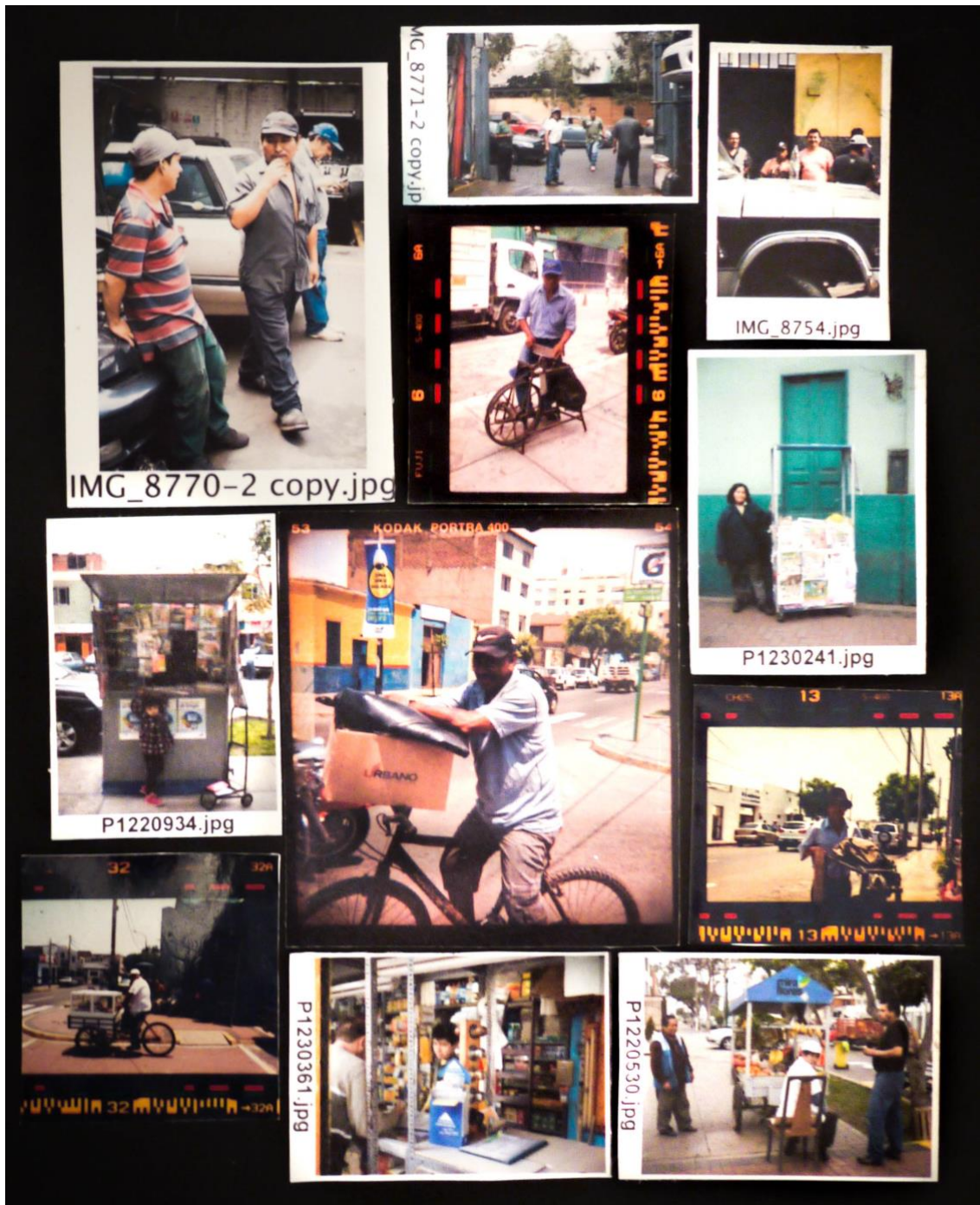


Fig.2.7. Authentic Barrio Characters

[...] I would like the avenue of La Mar not to lose the spirit of the street, of the city, which in one way or another integrates different people in a great theatrical play where there is a great variety of actors. I would not like for these actors to disappear because I think that, it would take away what makes La Mar so special. I would not like for the little grocery stores to disappear, the carpenter, the upholsterer, the metal worker to disappear, because I think these make the avenue special. They should not be ruined but improved, helping people that have been here for many years by making their businesses organized and cool, allowing them to continue contributing to the character of the avenue. [...]

Jonathan, 2014

Despite the time and the space that Jonathan described between him and La Mar, he did not feel like a stranger in the avenue anymore. He felt he was 'part' of this space, 'communicated' with it, seemingly 'concerned' to engage in a reciprocal interchange with local people and customs. Indeed, in his story, Jonathan commonly interacted with local businesses and particular characters, suggesting he thought of a mutual exchange of value, shaped not only by the services he used (i.e. upholstery), but also, by the 'urban language' they offered him to delimit his liminal tale. Hence, he did not feel like a stranger in this space, which was narrated in-between the past and the present of the *barrio* he sought and remembered; a *place* that was fixed at a distance in time, yet positioned to abide his present desires and hopes.

Within this context, Jonathan clung to the 'spirit of the street', which he grounded upon 'a great variety of actors' essential to his liminal story and the "aesthetization of the self" within it (Skeggs, 2004, pp. 136-137). This story delineated the avenue as an inclusive and diverse environment, characterised by the unfinished touch of the mechanic shop, the broken lights, the traffic and informal markets of the area. There, the 'caserito', the mechanic, 'the little corner grocery store' owner, the carpenter, the metal worker and the upholsterer, emerged as the "constitutive limit" in Jonathan's narrative (Skeggs, 2004, pp. 8,9). Indeed, they offered him "the ground of fixity" that allowed him to move around the verge of beauty and ugliness, of silence and noise, of safety and danger that emerged between them and his bakery (ibid., 8,9), highlighting what Skeggs (2005, p.973) calls the "resourcing dilemmas" of becoming (see discussion on visibility on Chapter III). Hence, it was there, in the in-betweenness of this imaginary space, where Jonathan shaped the liminal practice and the discourse of progress, feeling as he knew the locals and could identify with them, affectively shaping the duties and demands of the *barrio* he conveyed within his story. Ultimately, he marked and restricted the journey of these characters as interesting, but liminal; characters who were defined by the *barrio* they enjoyed and endured for several decades; a *barrio* that was nonetheless bounded by Jonathan's personal walk in the present of the avenue.

Hence, from his standpoint in La Mar, Jonathan delineated the *barrio* practice and took it apart, separating the social condition from the cultural practice of class within his tale.

Indeed, Jonathan split the historical hardships associated with Santa Cruz from the sociability, endurance, and ingenuity he linked to the *barrio* practice in the context of the city, revealing the multiple ways resources were possibly used and/or exchanged in this setting. This way, through his story, Jonathan “re-convert[ed]” the *barrio* practice “into temporary cultural dispositions”, allowing him to negotiate an expedient version of the *barrio* in the present of the avenue (Skeggs, 2004, p.31). There, cultural dispositions revealed the “reinscription” of the *barrio* culture from experiences of danger, destitution, and survival, into particular qualities, such as bravery, independence, and creativity, stressing the *barrio* as a source of value exchange (ibid., 31). In La Mar, the value of these qualities remained restricted to the realness and authenticity of the *barrio* practice he managed to convey in his story; a realness and authenticity Jonathan secured, for instance, in the prospect of helping businesses become ‘organized and cool’, while protecting them from major changes that could ‘ruin’ their *true* and *genuine* charm.

In this context, Jonathan re-inscribed the qualities of the *barrio* in and around particular sites, practices, and people, which translated into the *coolness* of his bakery. In El Pan de La Chola, Jonathan spatialized the *barrio* in the metal profiles of the walls, the old windows where he wrote the prices and described the foods, as well as the light bulbs he chose to decorate the space. In and through his business, he stressed the overall value of a space in transition, describing his bakery as an organic part of La Mar, a suitable space for the changing context of the avenue. There, the exclusivity of his walk framed his narrative of diversity and inclusion, accepting yet affecting the seeming rawness of this space, presupposing a way of being as an urban and alternative self within the city. Ultimately, Jonathan incorporated the *barrio* at the core of his bakery, moving apparently closer to La Mar, while reifying the boundaries between the two, reflecting the paradox of proximity and differentiation, as distance seemed to fade but borders appeared to become stronger.

Looking for a little bit, you have a table with foreigners there, then you have a Marcelo Wong there, the artist; more foreigners there, a couple that also looks foreign over here, a lady who looks older too. Then, there is a formal lady asking for something at the bar. The truth is that it is super diverse. And, that is food for me, because it makes my workspace fun. Variety makes this place special. It is not that expensive, I mean the bread is expensive, but the deal is not. You come here and with 30 soles you are full and happy. So,

maybe this place can also attract a profile of people that come from other areas that are not as exclusive as Miraflores.

Central to the paradox of proximity and differentiation was the way Jonathan positioned particular characters in *El Pan de la Chola*, where the artist, the foreigners, and people of age were selected and carefully listed, becoming a fundamental piece of his liminal practice in La Mar. They join the characters of the *barrio*, pointing to Jonathan's multiple forms of differentiation (or, "regimes of difference", Fincher and Jacob, 1998, p.2), where value became unevenly spread between the inside and outside of his bakery. In this process, Jonathan revealed important variations in the meaning, value, and limits of the liminal practice in the avenue, pointing to whom were allowed to become different and where.

For instance, in his bakery, Jonathan reproduced an exclusive discourse of identification, where only some could afford to be part of this apparent 'diverse environment', an environment where food was expensive' but 'the deal' was not. Hence, for Jonathan, the deal transcended the bread and the coffee, becoming much more than the economic transaction of consumption that, nevertheless, extended the means to become part of the bakery itself, offering social, cultural, and aesthetic resources to navigate La Mar. Indeed, for him, the deal that he had to offer was an experience of interest and pleasure, an affective experience linked to a particular way of living, shaped by particular expectations for the future in the city. This way, Jonathan's discourse of identification involved not only the naturalisation of particular positions of power in La Mar (i.e. some people fitted with the deal of *El Pan de la Chola*, while others did not), but the negotiation of particular *lines of difference*, highlighting "the act of distinguishing and making meaning; however temporary" (Watson and Bridge, 2002, pp.508-509).

This way, the boundaries of difference narrativised in Jonathan's tale went beyond the celebration of different people sharing the same space and the condemnation of social divisions in a gentrifying context. Instead, these boundaries reflected the spatiotemporal articulations of power that revealed "the complexities of city life" and "the formation of heterogeneous subjectivities and identities in the spaces of the city" (Watson and Bridge, 2002, p.505). Hence, in La Mar, difference was neither good or bad, but always in the making, revealing particular journeys with distinct opportunities,

restrictions, efforts, and needs in the way people could move and become in this space, ensuing in areas of contact as well as “zones of exclusion and fragmentation” (ibid., 508). Indeed, Jonathan’s bakery became one of these zones, containing exclusionary practices resulting not only from/into material impasses of the process of change (i.e. the impossibility to pay for coffee and bread in Jonathan’s bakery), but also, from/into the symbolic limits of value itself, where certain types of attributes, experiences, and perspectives were more valued -and more expedient- than others. Ultimately, these exclusionary practices revealed a process of discursive marginalization, incorporating not only the “representation, definition and use” of La Mar as an interesting, liminal, and diverse space, but also his “self-perception” within this space as an interesting, cosmopolitan character (Watson, 2006, p.9).

In the end, it was in and through Jonathan’s liminal discourse of the *barrio* that power became silently engrained in day-to-day living, for instance, in the new meanings and limits of exclusivity, accessibility, and affordability that he delineated within his tale. These meanings and limits were built upon a “particular form of [cosmopolitan] knowledge” that “generate[d] authority” and highlighted not only Jonathan’s “movement through culture with knowledge but [...] an embodied subjectivity” of knowledgeability (Skeggs and Binnie, 2004, p.42), feeding back into “the discursive formation” of his interests, liminalities, and possible futures in the avenue (Watson and Bridge, 2002, p.519). Ultimately, Jonathan engaged in what Turner (1987, p.29), describes as a “liminoid moment”, a moment that is characterised by a “break from normality, a playful as-if experience [that, nonetheless ...] loses the key feature of liminality” itself: which is the experience of “transition” (Thomassen, 2009, p.15).

ON KNOWLEDGE, CHANGE, AND VALUE



Fig.2.8. Punto Organico



Fig.2.9. Santo Pez

Moving away from Jonathan's walk, this section continues to explore the negotiation of liminal boundaries in La Mar, underscoring the fluidity and flexibility of the value and limits of practices of difference and power in this setting. Specifically, I follow upon the stories of Jimena (Punto Organico) and Ramon (Santo Pez), exploring the temporality of knowledge in allowing people (or not) to navigate in and through change. In this context, I am interested to address the liminal practice beyond real and tangible limits for real and tangible identities (Cook, 2010), but into what Narayan (1997, pp.185,187) describes as the "agency of [various] 'Others'", revealing infinite subjective experiences as they emerge and fade away in the liminality of the avenue. Ultimately, I discuss the liminal practice as exceeding the boundaries of particular subjects and groups (i.e. newcomers and old residents, gentrifiers, gentrified, working, middle and upper social classes), focusing instead on the attributions of value that emerged in asymmetrical contexts of power in time and space.

On the making of knowledge

I know the *Chinese guy* who takes care of the cars, the one passing information around, the one who knows everything that goes on in the avenue, and the same one disappearing if something bad happens. But, I pay him his *week of work*, and he checks out my car and nothing bad happens to it. So, there. This is how you start to accommodate to certain things and start to become part of your surroundings; and start to lose fear, right?

Jimena, 2014



Fig.3.0. The Barrio Codes

People from the *barrio* have aligned to the growth of the avenue, because it generates within the new culinary development new businesses for them too. For instance, the guy living next to my restaurant was able to become a valet parking, right there at the door, right? Or the security guys, who had to be people who knew the area. So, we gave them work, and because of them, other people from the *barrio* did not mess with new businesses. So, I think we co-lived, definitively, in harmony.

Ramon, 2014

Jimena and Ramon are both middle-aged entrepreneurs, and owners of new businesses in La Mar. Six years ago, Jimena and her sisters opened *Punto Organico*, located on 11th block of the avenue (Chapter I), leading the growth of the organic food sector in Lima. A year later, Ramon opened the second branch of his *cevicheria* Santo Pez in the 10th block of La Mar, hoping to ‘consolidate’ his brand within the city. Each in their own way, Jimena and Ramon embarked on a journey into the unknown, daring to succeed in an area in transition; an area that revealed, in each of their stories, the complexities behind the experience of change and the forces of power in the making.

While engaging in very different narratives, both Jimena and Ramon offered a story on the elasticity (i.e. the situated meaning) and temporality (i.e. the changing limits and forms of meaning) of value in La Mar, where long-time residents performed not only as the constitutive limit of novel and adventurous journeys (i.e. Jonathan), but also, as key references in the experience of change, highlighting the multiple dimensions and layers of power in this context of transition. Indeed, for Jimena and for Ramon, long-time residents moved, at least momentarily, from the edge to the core of their liminal practice, becoming an essential element in and for their experience of change in La Mar (Skeggs, 2004), revealing the porosity of power and, with it, the variability of the experience of difference itself. Ultimately, these narratives uncovered the way power “was neither fully invested or divested in [specific] people or ‘places’” in the avenue, but indeed, “somewhere in-between and in motion” throughout the entire space (Watson, Bridge, 2002, p.507), making difference a contextual practice of power.

In this context, power transpired through the limits, meanings and intensities of the type of *knowledge* negotiated by Jimena and Ramon within their stories (Hall, 2001). In the first instance, *knowledge* instantiated in relation to the past of the avenue, to the secrets and the “codes” of La Mar (Watson, Bridge, 2002, p.521). Unlike the graffiti on the walls,

some of these codes remained “hidden” from the initial forces of change, becoming only “visible to those who ‘kn[ew]’” the environment well (ibid., 521). Hence, *those who knew* understood where to go and when; they were individuals who recognised how to talk and how to move in the specificity of the avenue, becoming powerful in their walk. They were powerful because they hold the type of *knowledge* Jimena and Ramon did not hold in their walks; a *knowledge* that allowed them to cruise around the remnants of the *area roja* of Santa Cruz while still relevant, blending into the silent stares and the tacit steps, communicating with their surroundings effortlessly.



Fig.3.1. The Barrio Perspective

Indeed, in the liminal context of La Mar, these people were powerful because, in and through this knowledge, they denoted a “powerful space [...] of resistances and self-definition[s]”, where they became the experts, the connecting links, the mediators of change (Watson, Bridge, 2002, p.521). As such, they offered Jimena and Ramon a passage between the old and the new, between what was and what could be; orienting them, sharing information and gathering an alternative form of moving through change, taking meaning and force through the discourse of progress emerging in the avenue (Hall, 2001). In this context, this form of knowledge challenged the common divisions of gentrification, where poor/rich, old/new, powerful/powerless dichotomies bounded the limits and roles of people navigating La Mar. Hence, this form of knowledge exposed much more than stories about “displacement” in gentrification (Slater, 2007, p.748), but the making of power as it involved infinite subjectivities and different forms of dispositions, which, nonetheless were continuously changing, highlighting the way value is never a once and for all thing, but always adjusting and shifting.

Specifically, in Jimena’s narrative, this knowledge materialised in the form of a ‘Chinese guy’ who took care of her car. She relied on this man to find safety and secure her place while accommodating to the avenue, minimising the risk she perceived within the novelty of this space. This guy allowed her to navigate through uncertainty, providing her with an affective link to the movements and the flows he was able to perceive in his local environment, while it sustained. She needed him; indeed, she was willing to pay for his service, revealing an alternative economic pathway for profit, capital accumulation, and, most important of all, an alternative form of recognition in La Mar.¹⁸

¹⁸ It is important to highlight that, despite the economic tone of this transaction, its economic value was, in the end, minimum. On one hand, this could have been explained by multiple causes, relating, for instance, to the type of services provided and the way the market valued these activities. Meanwhile, the informality that characterized some of these activities or the way they were, some of them, linked to illegal activities, made it hard to formalize them, thus, to improve the remuneration for these people. On the other hand, this could have been explained by different expectations and the relativity of the meaning and the value of money and economic capital in La Mar, pointing to different questions, such as, ‘How much economic capital do people really need to live?’ or ‘How much is economic capital enough to be happy, to feel secure, to satisfy necessities?’ In the end, what became more important than the actual economic gain of these activities, was the protagonism of particular people in the process, the need for ‘the other’ as well as the drifting boundaries of difference, value, and power in La Mar, all of which informed new ways of interacting with one another and navigating through this liminal space.



Fig.3.2. The barrio knowledge

In a similar manner, for Ramon, this knowledge materialised in the form of ‘security guys’ working at the new restaurants in the area; people who knew the space, people who could protect him and his business; the only people who could successfully perform this job. Indeed, for Ramon, old residents were an essential instrument in allowing and sustaining change, safeguarding the course of development and, seemingly, revealing a

win-win situation for all. Ultimately, for him, in and through the exchange of this knowledge, liminality became a “working consensus” (Goffman, 1959, p.265, 190) an “agreement’ ... giv[ing] a *modus vivendi* to the interaction” between different people with different roles in La Mar (Noble, 2009, p.61), exposing the expediency and agency of the *barrio* culture in the process of change taking place in the avenue (Yudice, 2003; Simone, Rao, 2011).¹⁹

As storied by Jimena and Ramon, *barrio* cultural practices, such as the sociability between neighbours and family members, the flexibility of limits between public and private spaces and the centrality of informal circuits of exchange, allowed *long-time residents* to penetrate the discourse of progress in La Mar. Specifically, it allowed them, at least momentarily, to challenge, reproduce, and reinvent difference and its value, revealing the flexibility of power and the agency of a multiplicity of *others* in the making (Narayan, 1997). In this context, the *barrio* culture revealed itself as a benefit for them to navigate the avenue. However, this was a temporal benefit, a benefit within which knowledge transpired as an impermanent resource, a resource dependent upon the codes and the secrets of the past, a past that was, nonetheless, becoming increasingly obsolete. Hence, while powerful, this was a paradoxical form of knowledge, where the codes and the secrets of *the barrio* would become irrelevant with change, unable to transcend both, the moment of transition, as well as the physical space of the avenue itself. Ultimately, while the *barrio* culture penetrated the discourse of progress in La Mar, it did on the terms of the dominant symbolic, where the stronger the changes the weaker the value they could add.

¹⁹ In addition to the information about safety in the area, knowledge of the local environment also provided other forms of capital access and advantages in the changing context of La Mar, for instance, in the search for possibilities to rent or to buy in the avenue. Hence, while there was a growing formal real state sector in the area, there was still an alternative route to find out about opportunities available, for instance, by accessing local circuits of information and exchange between neighbours (Jimena, 2013). Another form of knowledge that worked as a local advantage was the access to information about (and accessibility to) parking space within the avenue, which allowed locals to develop a black-market renting spaces, at a time when allocated parking space was strictly required to open a business in the area. In this context, local people who owned, for instance, a house with a parking space, could rent this space to multiple businesses (up to 10 different businesses according to old-time resident Arturo, 2014; Chapter I, p.9). This situation revealed the growing informality characterising La Mar as a space in transition, where the lack of access to detailed information about the social, economic, geographic, and cultural specificities of the area allowed long-time residents and locals to momentarily benefit and manipulate particular situations in the course of change.

Within this context, the *barrio* culture became a resource of value that denoted different spatiotemporal limits for different subjectivities in La Mar, bounding the space between long-time residents and newcomers who sought new opportunities to be and become in the city. Specifically, the use and expiration of the *barrio* culture highlighted the different intensities and durations of experiences of value, shaping different capabilities to remain important in the discourse of progress negotiated within this space (Hall, 2001). There, long-time residents were knowledgeable as long as the *barrio* was contained in the process of change, as long as they recognised the *barrio* within their walk across the avenue, as long as people like Mr. Gamarra (Chapter II, pp.2-5) or Esteban (Chapter II, pp.5-11) were able to place themselves within the area. And, even if they did, these people, these *long-time residents*, would probably enjoy a limited opening to challenge the structural boundaries of value-making in La Mar (Simone, Rao, 2011), thus, a limited prospect to navigate the area in the future, where the *barrio* culture would no longer performed as a resource, but possibly, as a sticky residue of the dangers of the *barrio* of Santa Cruz, the remnants of the ‘area roja’ of Miraflores.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have explored the making of difference through the practice of class in relation to the liminal practice of newcomers in La Mar. Following Jacob and Fincher (1998, p.2), I have had a particular interest to explore the way “persistent power structures can unevenly shape urban lives” in the city, where “such structures [can be...], in turn, shaped by the contingent circumstance of specific people in specific settings”. In the context of Lima, this meant moving beyond the exploration of difference and the practice of class through stratification and possibilities for social mobility in post-coloniality, into everyday walks shaping the boundaries of value negotiated in a multicultural and cosmopolitan-aspiring city. In La Mar, this focus allowed me to explore the way class was subjectively lived, challenged, and reinforced in day-to-day life, translated into multiple ways of experiencing the liminal practice in a space of transition, thus, of engaging with dynamics of power, for instance, in the construction of knowledge itself. Ultimately, following on Watson and Bridge (2002, p.505), this exploration allowed me to “re-emphasise the concept of power while holding to the concept of difference”, redirecting the focus of investigation from social divisions to experiences of differentiation themselves.

In this sense, I have focused on exploring different narratives, as they went beyond an explicit reflection of the limits and the contents of class, into implicit ways of negotiating the boundaries of class-based practices in the avenue. There, narratives of people new to the area highlighted the articulation of class in the form of infinite journeys, where they accommodated themselves and others in time and space, stressing the liminal practice as both –simultaneously and interchangeably– a source of celebration and grief, opportunity and demand, inclusion and exclusion. Hence, these narratives revealed the negotiation of infinite “regimes of difference” (Fincher and Jacob, 1998, p.2) affecting and affected by change (Hall, 2001), challenging the idea of the narrativisation of a liminal practice in a class-based setting, but emphasising instead, a class-based practice in a liminal context. Ultimately, these narratives served to uncover the “plausibility structures” of choice and value in the avenue, where the fewer connections to the past of the *barrio*, the greater the opportunities to move into the future of this space (Skeggs, 2004, p.139)

Within this context, Chapter IV centred on the exploration of class, disclosed through the “lens of difference” and framed by contextual practices of power (Fincher and Jacobs; 1998, p.2), exposing the way “every subjectivity” moved around the avenue “with a different set of images and imaginations, constituted in personal conscious and unconscious histories” (Watson, 2006, p.2). Each in their own way, these histories penetrated what Gandy (2011, p.59) calls “the emotional space of the city”, where La Mar became an interesting, dangerous, feared and loved space, revealing multiple and contradicting ways of practicing difference and experiencing change. Hence, these practices and experiences shaped and were shaped by the liminal context of the avenue, as it emerged as an exercise of growth and deterioration, of loss and gain, of entertainment and concern (Yang, 2000; Ibarra, 2005; L. Simich et al, 2009); an exercise where liminality became a condition to experience class, and where class became a reflection of the different strategies to move across the avenue, where some emerged as the constitutive limits for others to navigate through this environment.

This way, I have evidenced the exploration of difference, identity, and power through the liminal practice in La Mar, and have offered a key opportunity to understand how

subjects in this thesis made meaning and accessed value in the avenue. Indeed, it was the in-betweenness I found through the liminal practice in this space, which, in a way, guided me and almost forced me into the “gap of the order of things” (Stewart, 1996), into listening and noticing the steps of subjects as they walked through the area, into savouring the journeying, the strategies and practices of being and becoming valuable in this changing space. That is why liminality became important to this thesis, because it allowed and will allow me (in the following chapter) to delve into dynamics of power and experiences of class, without limiting these practices to particular forms of moving through La Mar, stressing the forces and tensions, resistances and reifications, openings and closings of possibilities that different subjects faced to become who they wanted or were expected to be in this setting.

CHAPTER V ON LIMINALITY AND CLASS: THE RISKS

Focusing on the stories of *newcomers*, Chapter IV explored the liminal practice as a way of negotiating class in La Mar. However, liminality was not only about the opportunities to be and become in this new and interesting setting. Instead, liminality was also about a series of risky movements and choices involved in the possibilities to contribute or to challenge the discourse of progress in the avenue. In this context, liminality served as a fundamental (and infinite) form of recognizing and conferring meaning across the changing context of the area, ultimately revealing multiple experiences of value that emerged within this setting (Watson and Bridge, 2002).

Building on discussions of the liminal practice in Chapter IV (Turner, 1969), this chapter continues to explore journeys of difference, power, and identification, highlighting the capacities and resources narrativised by *old residents* while navigating through change. My interest is to explore the multiple ways *old residents* experience, interpret, and accommodate to this liminal setting, exploring the struggles they face to capitalize upon change in their search for value and recognition. Ultimately, I explore this search as an opportunity to discuss different forms of articulating power, highlighting specific conditions for the making of class in the avenue.

Section one offers a walk alongside Arturo D. (Chapter I), a long-time resident and owner of a menu restaurant located in the 10th block of La Mar. This section explores the way liminality becomes an experience of risk, and risk an experience that characterises long-time residents in La Mar, conferred through the movements, difficulties, and affections they face to control their journey in the avenue (Skeggs, 2004). Section two incorporates the stories of Luis and Arturo C., presenting different perceptions, boundaries, and experiences in the liminality and the management of risk. Specifically, I focus on the role of surveillance and control in affectively shaping different practices and restrictions in the making of class, for instance, through the use and understanding of sound. Section three focuses on the reproduction and the contestation of value in the liminal context

of La Mar, involving multiple strategies to engage with the discourse of progress, highlighting the way power always involved a degree of conflict in the making. Finally, section four offers the concluding remarks of this chapter, stressing the role of liminality in the exploration of difference, power, and identification in the changing context of the avenue.

THE LIMINAL RISK

Sitting in the emptiness of his premises after a day of work, Arturo D., the owner of the small menu restaurant in block 11 (Chapter I), told me of his life growing up in La Mar. He took his time to convey the details of his days as a kid in the avenue, where the need for survival shaped the way he learnt to navigate the area. He knew well about feelings of rejection and exclusion; he understood his position in the city and learnt to handle and accept it too. And, as he did, Arturo adapted to the limits and restrictions of the *barrio* life he was living, managing to take advantage of it, formulating a walk that he enjoyed, a walk that was, nonetheless changing in the present. This section explores these changes, as Arturo D. navigates the liminal context of La Mar, revealing the orientation and the force of his walk in and through the limits and restrictions of the *barrio* practice in the present of the avenue. I discuss Arturo's need to redirect his walk, facing no choice but to adjust to the new environment, risking his life as he knew it in the past, reframing his experience of class from a practice of geographical exclusion to coexistence.

On Liminality and change



Fig.3.3. Arturo's Menu Restaurant

Before, I felt we were more united. I do not know the owners of the restaurants now, and if I knew them I think we would not have that sociability between us. Because they are people that have different restaurants, chains of restaurants. They come and go, I see them go inside and then get out and rummmm... They are carrying their folders and they have their personnel behind them. They come and go [...] Before, when there were smaller businesses, we were united as neighbours. I mean, I would go out and share with my next-door neighbour, I would talk about things that had happened to me [...] We even formed a football team of retailers to play against the ones from the other block. We had 'pichanguitas' every weekend. For instance, we also play against the mechanics from the avenue or the people who had a stand in the market. So, we had intimacy among us. But, since a lot of neighbours have sold and are gone from the avenue [...], the few 'antiguos' that are left, we are all concerned about when is going to be our turn to leave. Arturo D., 2014

Narrating the past and the present of La Mar, Arturo talked about the changes he perceived in the avenue. Specifically, Arturo spoke of the way the sociability of the *barrio* had been lost to newcomers in the area, people he did not know; people whom, even though he knew, he assumed he could not relate to. He described an environment where newcomers became faceless to him, coming and going, as well as entering and leaving the avenue at a fast pace. He described their movements, walking in and around La Mar, fulfilling the duties of their multiple investments around the city. Apparently, he

recognized them well, diagnosing their steps as business people; people who seemed far away from him, people who were busy and important.



Fig.3.4. On Newcomers

In contrast to them, Arturo D. did not own different restaurants, he did not connect with different subjects and places beyond the avenue very often. Indeed, Arturo D. had spent many years *surviving* La Mar, sustaining his business through the most difficult years of the area. These years were shaped by deprived civil security, deficient municipal investments, and very few opportunities to move into legitimate spaces in the capital.

However, Arturo D. had learnt to reframe his journey, shifting from an “economic necessity” to stay in an affordable space, to a form of “preference” that involved a precise way of walking, implicating specific socio-affective investments in the avenue (Jensen, 2013, p.446-447). These investments were characterized by the particular “length” of time he had lived and worked in the avenue and the “localized” forms of connections he had forged with his neighbours, who were also his friends, his family, and clients (ibid. 100, 93-94). Ultimately, these investments shaped his walk, delineating the limits and possibilities of his journey as a long-time resident in La Mar, responding and, somehow, reproducing his practice of class in the avenue, growing in and through the cracks of the formal networks of power in the city (Sophie Body-Gendrot, 2011; Skeggs, 2010).

Hence, as the avenue gentrified, for Arturo, change presented much more than a challenge to several years of geographical segregation in Lima. Indeed, as newcomers moved into the space, change displayed as an extension of the power-inflicted forces of his past, renewing the forms of restriction Arturo had faced and learnt to address in the avenue. In this new situation, power dynamics were not built around the spatial exclusion of a population in a particular area of the city. Instead, power dynamics were built around the encounters in sharing the same space and the practices of differentiation negotiated between multiple forms of walking through it, as individuals “rub along” with one another (Watson, 2002, p.2). Specifically, these forms of walking articulated *new regimes of difference* in the chancing context of La Mar, for instance, taking the form of socio-affective and sociocultural lines of identification that emerged between the margins of old and new residents, revealing different spatiotemporal limits, meanings and values as well as degrees and intensities of movements around this space.

For instance, these *regimes of difference* were disclosed through a series of implicit and explicit demands upon local people to adapt to a context of transition (i.e. to become independent, faster, modern, clean, safe and formal), generating both, experiences of pleasure (i.e. Jonathan, Chapter III) as well as concern, as in the case of Arturo (Skeggs, 2004). Indeed, for Arturo, demands were increasingly challenging his walk as he knew it in the avenue, forcing him, once again, to *reframe* his journey as an old resident and a

business owner in this part of the city, adapting to a new environment and seeking to secure value and recognition.

[...] if we do not adapt to the area, to the businesses that are coming here, for example, to the businesses that are required to be at least three-fork restaurants; if we do not adequate, if we do not change everything radically [...] we will practically go. The city gave us a document that said that we have to change. As old establishments change to new ones, the street changes too. [...] Of course that includes tax payments that are going up at the same rate as those taxes for big businesses; so, we will pay the same taxes as them.

Hence, as in his past, Arturo D. faced what seemed to be a lack of “control” on his own future, affecting his “mobility [in] and connectivity [to]” the changing context of La Mar (Skeggs, 2004, p.50). This lack of control revealed the impossibility he confronted to “keep undesirable [situations,] persons and things at a distance” from his walk (Bourdieu 1999, p. 127), exposing not only the way he had “to put up with that from which others c[ould] move”, such as danger and boredom (Skeggs, 2004, p.50; Chapter IV), but also, to the way he had to let go of that which others wanted, such as freedom and the right to remain in-place in the avenue. In this context, his journey was characterized by a fundamental absence of “voluntary mobility” (ibid., 50), which had affected not only the possibilities he had to leave the avenue years ago, but his possibilities to stay in La Mar in the present; possibilities that were decreasing with the apparent development of the area. Ultimately, Arturo was falling behind change, facing how life became better but also worse; confronting how options for movement seemed greater, yet more difficult to reach.

Indeed, this was the way the avenue became liminal for Arturo D. It was there, in the midst of change and apparent progress, where Arturo became stuck, turning into a liminal subject, thus, into a subject at risk. He was invited, yet unable to enjoy the profits of this process, facing a paradoxical journey, between the benefits and exigencies of change. Because, undeniably, Arturo D. benefitted from the growing attention people were giving to the avenue, from the rising security measures and resources invested in reducing crime, from the growing popularity of La Mar among foodies and tourists who, sometimes, visited his restaurant in search of a typical Peruvian dish. Indeed, he had benefited from these encounters, allowing him to engage in multiple economic and cultural exchanges, where he was able to share knowledge, making him proud and enthusiastic about his work, his food, and his culture. However, the growing popularity

of La Mar had also coerced him into a race he had no choice but to run, competing economically, legally, affectively, and culturally with others in this space; others who required him to validate his walk on unfamiliar and inaccessible conditions.

Specifically, in La Mar, some of the most popular conditions for validation were shaped in economic terms, within which profit, exclusivity, and comfort lay at the centre of transition. For instance, narratives about escalating prices for land presented as a frequent example, as the costs for buying and renting in the avenue were rapidly catching up with some of the most exclusive areas in neighbouring San Isidro and the rest of Miraflores. While this situation offered greater profits for residents who were owners in the area (i.e. Mr. Gamarra), rising prices also conveyed greater fees for residents who rented in this space. Ultimately, the majority of long-time residents were tenants in La Mar, people like Arturo D. and Manuela, whom, until recently, had been living in a tiny house located in the 5th block of the avenue (Chapter II).

My house is rented, and we are looking into moving too, but we would not like to go far, right? I mean, my husband was born here in the *barrio*, he was born around this corner and he is 62 years of age now. He is sad to leave his *barrio*. My daughters were also born here.
Manuela, 2012

In her story, Manuela raised concerns about the likelihood of moving outside of the avenue. For her, this movement reflected much more than a relocation in geographic space within the capital, but a force of power pushing her through the social confinements of the city. Hence, Manuela was not simply concerned about walking outside La Mar, but outside her space of “comfort” (Jensen, 2015, pp.440, 442), a space delimiting who she was in the urban setting of the capital, for instance, bounding the memories, leisure activities, and safety-nets of human capital characteristic of the *barrio* life she used to have. Ultimately, in the midst of uncertainty, Manuela displayed a sense of vulnerability that was echoed across different stories in La Mar (i.e. Esteban; Chapter III), emerging in the shape of the growing fear of losing the continuity of her journey in face of the future.²⁰

²⁰ In 2014, I returned to speak with Manuela, but, sadly enough, I could not find her. She had moved already. No one could assist me to find her.

In contrast to Manuela, Arturo D. was lucky enough that his landlord did not plan to raise his rent or to sell the property he rented for his restaurant. However, and despite this advantage, the substantial demographic changes taking place around his location in the avenue had a considerable effect upon his journey in La Mar. On the one hand, these changes were an ongoing reminder of what could happen to him, placing him constantly on the verge of possible loss (i.e. potential eviction). On the other hand, while he was not the one leaving the avenue, demographic changes had a direct impact on the way Arturo D. navigated the area. For instance, these changes affected the possibilities to maintain the social connections he had built in this space, as well as the leisure activities he was able to perform in the past (i.e. *pichanguitas*). In this context, Arturo's liminal experience reflected the loss of resources and values he had gathered across the years; resources and values that were intrinsically linked to the chronic restrictions he had faced in the economic and political marginalization of the avenue in the first place. Ultimately, while eviction did not affect Arturo in a direct way, it remained as a powerful force affecting the life that he knew in this setting, revealing not only the spreading of power across space, bodies, and practices, but also the links between the making of place and the possibilities for the making of self in a context of transition.

ON THE MANAGEMENT OF RISK

As discussed, the liminal practice not only offered an opportunity for pleasure in La Mar (Jonathan, Chapter IV), but a possibility for risk, shaped by the limits, meanings, and values of particular places, people, and practices, connected, in one way or another, to the changing context of the avenue. Hence, contrary to the journey of *creative, brave and independent* subjects navigating through an interesting and liminal setting, risky subjects (or subjects at risk), commonly faced an uncertain and liminal walk, restricting their "access" to resources and "discourses" available in the gentrifying context of La Mar (Allen, Wollingworth, 2013, p.6), delineating the meanings of danger and safety, authority and powerlessness, excess and moderation upon their steps. This section explores the steps of these subjects as they walk through transition, facing the growing restrictions of change upon their journeys, revealing the negotiation of particular limits and controls, as well as specific forms of surveillance emerging in relation to sensorial (i.e. sound) and affective experiences of class.

On limits and excess

[Serenasgos] are taking note at what time you enter your house, at what time you leave; how you go, if you walk or have a car, if someone stays at your house or not. They ask about your personal information every time you make a complaint with them to know your movements [...] These people can share your information with anyone [...] This is getting out of hand. [...] Despite the *serenos*, I don't feel that safe anymore. Indeed, I feel uneasy for the fact that people that are not from the *barrio*, because these are people from outside, people that are hired by people from other far away districts, know all the information about the district, right?

Luis, block 6th, 2014



Fig.3.5. On Security

The presence of *Serenasgos* (municipal security guards) represented one of the most noticeable markers of change in La Mar. While, for many, their arrival meant an improvement in security standards, for Luis (Ferreteria Daga; Chapter II) it meant an *invasion* of his personal space. Indeed, far from offering a source of relief, *Serenasgos* became a source of distress, as he noticed how ‘people from the outside’ gained access

to each of his movements, resulting in his losing intimacy and independence in and around the space he called *home*.

In this context, Luis recognized a force that cut across different spaces in the avenue, where the growing role of institutionalized order did not make him 'feel safe anymore'. Indeed, Luis felt followed and interrogated, vulnerable and exposed. These feelings challenged the limits and implications of security and danger, of improvement and deterioration, of trust and distrust. Indeed, these feelings contested the linear conceptualization of development, going from the past to the future, from the bad to the good, from the old to the modern. Hence, while his *barrio* had allegedly become safer, better and respectable, it felt dangerous, deteriorated and unreliable to him, highlighting the paradox of progress and the subjective experience built around the apparent *advancements* taking place in La Mar.

This way, while the meaning of change was ultimately vague and the future uncertain in his tale, Luis revealed the strength of particular forces shaping the direction of his walk and exposing the struggles he faced to be part of change. For him, these struggles were built upon narratives about *Serenasgos*, about his home, the public space of his *barrio* and his day-to-day walk around it. Specifically, his struggles pointed to questions about authority, security, and enforcement, revealing the boundaries of his liminal journey, leaking into the space where progress became synonymous with safety, and safety became synonymous with the present of La Mar. In the present, safety revealed itself as a "positional good" (Davis, 1990, p.224), allowing subjects such as Jonathan (Chapter IV) to shape the aesthetic, affective and physical environment of the avenue, securing a distance from a dangerous past, thus from dangerous selves such as Luis, who were in constant "need of help" to regulate their own journey (Skeggs, 2004, p.73). In this context, security "ha[d] less to with personal safety [per se] than with a degree of personal insulation" (Davis, 1990, p.224), hence with the distance between different ways of navigating the area, where *progress* fell not only out of Luis' reach, but out of his control too (i.e. 'this is getting out of hand'), uncovering the growing space separating him from the project of change.

In La Mar, the distance between progress and *barrio* residents was not limited to the growing role of *Serenasgos* and institutionalised order in the area. Indeed, the distance between progress and these subjects manifested in general forms of temporal constraints (i.e. the implementation of specific schedules), physical limitations (i.e. the incorporation of fences), and spatial controls (i.e. the introduction of designated areas for particular activities) reproduced through the most routinely journeys across the avenue.

I am bothered by the gates, because, supposedly, as a *Miraflorino* who pays taxes, I also pay for the gardens and parks. So, for me, that means that I have the right to be in those parks, right? [...] But, they close the parks, very early, sometimes around 6:00 pm. Before, they did not do that, parks were open, anyone could stroll at night if they wanted.

Elloid, 2014

Things have changed a lot in Miraflores, right? and, specially, in La Mar avenue, right? Here, there was little market, I remember, many years ago. Today, it cannot be done in the middle of the street [...] before you could play football in the avenue. We would play football when I was a child, and we stayed until very late at night; there were no *Serenasgos* kicking you out, right? [...] Obviously, now, everything has changed.

Jorge, 2014

For instance, these journeys involved Elloid's restricted walk across the park or the lack of possibilities for Jorge to play football with his friends. Each in its own way, these manifestations revealed the way progress precluded different practices, encounters, and behaviours, preventing the formation and the recognition of particular subjects in the shared spaces of the city (Urry, 2003; Theodor et al. 2011). Explicitly, these manifestations exposed new expectations of being and becoming valuable in La Mar, expectations that rose, hand in hand, with the legitimization of the avenue in the context of Lima. In a way, this legitimization carried as a form of "responsibility" for long-time residents and workers to uphold their newly acquired position in the capital; a responsibility that revealed the efforts of the many who "could never be fully trusted" (Skeggs, 2010, p.69). Ultimately, these manifestations disclosed the limits and excesses of the appropriate walk in the avenue, characterised by a restricted opening to the shared areas of La Mar, taking the form of temporal, spatial and affective controls over how to behave in this environment.

On surveillance and sound

In discussing issues on liminality and the management of risk, the narrativisation of affective experiences laid at the centre of power and identification in La Mar, where the senses offered a space for the practice of difference to be constantly made and the experience of class to be momentarily settled through them. In these stories, sound emerged as a fertile platform for delineating the limits of values and their meanings, alluding to the negotiation of different social categories of subjects and their journeys as they walked through this space. Indeed, it was in and through the movements of sound that La Mar emerged as an experiential journey, reflecting much more than the allusion to particular voices and noises, but to an entire way of being and becoming in this space.

What have I been fined for? For celebrating my daughter's birthday. But, when they organized their parties and rent an establishment in the avenue for a party or a birthday, and they put their DJs and their electronic music, they also inflict the regulation for decibels in the avenue. I told them, I opened my door and told them I was having a children's party for my daughter. I wanted to offer a small party, there were not many people. I mean her friends from school, people from the community; about 15 kids. And, they told me that it was not possible, that the neighbours called complaining that there was a bothersome noise. But, to this side of my place there are only businesses, and they were closed at that time, and there was nobody there. On the other side, there is a restaurant, and I do not think that the noise would filter there, because it was only a low noise for children. And, they came over and over again, telling me about the ticket. 'We told you once, we told you twice, so you get a ticket' they said. And, when I called complaining about the electronic music, when they put DJs with electronic music to a very high volume, Serenasgos never came, and those parties lasted through the night, starting at eleven, twelve, one or two in the morning.

Arturo D., 2014

In Arturo D.'s story, sound emerged as an obstacle to celebrate his daughter's birthday in the privacy of his restaurant. Hence, what Arturo D. had considered to be a rightful use of his personal space and a common cultural practice of the *barrio* emerged as an expensive legal issue for him. This issue was built around multiple voices and the vibrant music that travelled across La Mar from his business, encountering different categories of people, who engaged in different categories of walks. There, sound became meaningful and increasingly valuable, demarcating subjective experiences of place and self, where the sound of his party exceeded the limits of the changing environment of the avenue. Ultimately, it was there, outside of these limits, where certain sounds became risky and reflected risky practices, revealing the acoustic dimension of the social, cultural, and economic practices of the *barrio* journey in La Mar.

Hence, while certain sounds were excluded from the avenue, others were not, persisting (or incorporating themselves) as an integral part of the changing context of the area (Hall, 2000). For Arturo D., these sounds emerged from electronic parties taking place at Ramon's restaurant Santo Pez, parties that, despite the loud noise and the long hours, remained as legitimate social experiences. In this context, aural exclusion was not necessarily about the acoustic vibrations of sound as it travelled through different spaces and in different times. Instead, aural exclusion was about specific *regimes of difference*, indicating the absence and the presence of particular walks, articulated in and through sound itself, yet highlighting the negotiation of the social, cultural, and economic boundaries of this space. Ultimately, sounds that were built around the intimacy, domesticity, and informality of the *barrio* journey presented with an apparent need for supervision, while the modern and profitable traits of particular cultural industries were apparently welcomed.

At the beginning, the *pueblo*, the people from the *barrio*, the neighbors were a little bit... they were used to something more informal. I can even tell you how neighbors would take out the stereo and start drinking on the sidewalk. They were in their *barrio* and and... now, they have put norms that have to be followed. You cannot do this and that.
Arturo C., 2014

In the same way as Arturo D., Arturo C.'s reference to sound, built upon the links between the *barrio* journey and the apparent need for supervision in the avenue. Through memories about the way music used to fill up the air, Arturo C. remembered how neighbours would share the sidewalk and have a couple of drinks in La Mar. Indeed, he recalled the way 'the pueblo' would gather together in the open space of the pavement, taking over the avenue with their presence and the sound of their tunes (Tacchi 2003), disclosing as a modern form of "*jarana*" from the early republic. This "*jarana*" was a sort of "fiesta of extended duration, either public or private, [...] characterized by much drinking, merrymaking, dancing, and generally uninhibited behaviour" distinctive to the "lower classes" in the city (Simmons, 1955, p.11). Hence, Arturo C.'s allusion to the "pueblo" was shaped by the undeniable residues of post-coloniality, reflecting dominant forms of categorization at the core of the social representations emerging in his story, revealing different social "universes" (Fuller, 2002, p. 1). For Arturo D., these universes suggested clear divisions between newcomers

and old residents; between “decent people and people from the pueblo” (Parker, 1995, p.165), the privileged and the less privileged (example, “plebs” Grompone, 2006 p.77), the central and the “marginal sectors of the city” (Aljovin de Losada, 1999), the “literate authority and the masses immersed in their oral world”, where the *pueblo* not only became a less valuable category, but a category that was characterized by the prevalence of sound and the unconstrained behaviour negotiated in and around it (Nugent, 2005, p.220).

However, in the present, this behaviour was changing, limited by the growing constraints that emerged upon the *barrio*, preventing people from engaging in activities they used to engage with in their past. For them, La Mar was becoming an unfamiliar space, a formal and restricted space, where stereos were left inside of peoples’ homes. This was a space where certain sounds were “silenced” in order for others to be expressed (Hall, 2000, p.5); a space which, in Arturo C.’s brief yet powerful reference to music, offered a forceful statement on the making of value. Ultimately, this was a statement that revealed much more than a simple observation, but encapsulated the way the avenue was opened as well as restricted through the experience of sound, reproducing practices of class in the making.

Specifically, Arturo C.’s narrative uncovered the way sound moved across La Mar, shaping what the affective dimension of the acoustics of the avenue and delineating the familiarity and comfort that characterised Arturo’s “lived experience of locality” (Avtar Brah, 1996 as discussed in Ahmed, 2013). Thus, sound became a central component of his sensorial involvement in the avenue and the “affective rhythms” regulating his walk (Tacchi, 2003), evolving as a fundamental tool of spatial engagement, melding into his senses and influencing what he perceived, recognised, and experienced as important in this setting (Ahmed, 2000). Indeed, sound shaped the negotiation “of [his] cultural identity”, informing what was valuable for him and revealing the choices he made in walking the liminal context of this space, allowing him “to shape and to think” about himself as well as “to shape and to think” about others (Rhys-Taylor, 2010, p.46).

In this context, sound emerged as an affective experience of value and difference, revealing what Rhys-Taylor (2010, p.13) defines as the “anchor[ing]” potential of the

senses, informing the negotiation of collective experiences in Arturo C.'s story. In his work, Rhys-Taylor highlights the way sensorial experiences lay at the core of the making and remaking of localities and communities, revealing the strength of the senses as they hold on to meaning and values across time and space. While, for him, this strength is mainly concerned with "noses and taste buds" (p.14), in La Mar, this strength was equally related to the ears. Through them, subjects connected to particular sounds. These sounds rose from particular places, places that were conquered by histories that, in turn, were shaped by symbolic, social, economic, and cultural forces, narrativised through the memories and expectations of acoustic encounters. Ultimately, sound influenced Arturo's walk as a series of "emotional expression[s]", "control[s]" "display[s]" and "performance[s]", exposing specific ways of being and becoming responsible, reliable, and respectable, thus, of being and becoming classed in this space (Skeggs, 2010, p. 74).

Indeed, similar to the senses of smell and taste explored in Rhys-Taylor's work (2010, p.14), the sense of hearing allowed Arturo C. to "forge[d] solid anchors [i.e. the sense of ownership to the public space of the city] out of the most ephemeral and gaseous of materials [sound]" in La Mar. There, these anchors were shaped by the way sound travelled and retraced different physical structures, shapes, and textures that delineated the spatial configuration of this social environment ("acoustic community"; Bruce R. Smith, 1999, p.47). Specifically, these spatial configurations took the form of the different volumes, tones, and intensities of noises, voices, and tunes that revealed and reproduced the constraints and the options to navigate La Mar, for instance, by sharing music on the pavement of the road. Ultimately, these noises, voices, and tunes became an essential component of the expression, reproduction, and contestation of different affective experiences, revealing not only the material but the emotional landscapes delimiting the experiences of identification and power in this place.

In this way, the material and emotional landscapes that emerged in Arturo C.'s allusion to sound represented fundamental components of the aural landscape of La Mar, thus, of soundscapes of the avenue itself (Appadurai, 1990). On the one hand, as briefly mentioned in the previous paragraph, these soundscapes were informed by the structures of space, for instance, by the shape of the streets, the heights of residences,

the presence of doors and corridors, the availability of open spaces, as well as the accessibility of spaces to sit, to stand, or just wait (Bruce R. Smith,1999). On the other hand, soundscapes were informed by the symbolic maps that allowed individuals to navigate these structures, shaping, for instance, the boundaries between the private and the public spaces, the formal and informal experiences taking place in this setting, the familiarity of the space, the connections and gaps, the personal and communal journeys building in and through this particular environment. Hence, auditory soundscapes exposed not only the way “sound travel[ed] from one place to another within a community”, for instance, from one neighbour to the other, or from one house to the next; but, also, to the way the “matrix of sound” (i.e. the experiential walk in and through sound) was imagined, experienced, and reproduced, thus the way sound reached different physical and symbolic corners in the avenue (Smith, 1999, p.47).

Following Vannini et al (2010, p.349), the material and emotional landscapes of sound in La Mar emerged as “a tool for building and maintaining (acoustic in this case), communities”, thus, as an instrument to produce and reproduce the associations and divisions amongst different subjects in this place. In this context, Arturo C.’s narrative revealed the potential for sound to not only create boundaries among different people in the area (i.e. the sounds of the *barrio*; Rhys-Taylor, 2010), but also to create distances, exposing practices that allowed regulations/*Serenasgos* to control and supervise particular forms of collectivisation in La Mar (i.e. the working-class *barrio* experience). Ultimately, the sensorial experience of sound, and the soundscapes they conferred in Arturo C.’s story, disclosed the opportunities for particular subjects to define “what was worth hearing” or not, informing the possibilities for differentiation and valuation negotiated in and around sound itself (i.e. “aural discrimination”; Paul Carter, 2004, p.59).

Going back to the case of Arturo D., aural discrimination became evident in the gap between interpretations of sound in his daughter’s celebration and the electronic parties organized by Ramon in his restaurant. This gap linked different meanings and values of acoustic experiences (i.e. what was considered normal, pleasant, and important) with the “sense of the social” (i.e. how individuals engaged with the social world), where sound had the potential to become not only an “intimate, manageable

and aestheticized space to inhabit” (i.e. a space of familiar music for Arturo), but also an “unwanted and [seemingly] deafening” space, stressing the way “sensitivity to noise [was] often class and culturally based” (Bull, Back 2003, pp.1,9). In this context, the differentiation between the interpretations and experiences of sound in La Mar, thus, between different standpoints in the soundscape of the avenue, allowed certain categories of people to tolerate and even take pleasure in particular acoustic environments (i.e. the *barrio* subject listening to music on the pavement of the road or the *barrio* subject having a celebration, involving particular voices and tunes), while others did not, rejecting and, depending on their access to resources, even outlawing these practices (i.e. implementing new rules and regulations).

For instance, in Arturo C.’s story, his *sensitivity to noise* (or sound more generally), was exposed in the way his personal aural experience invaded the public space of La Mar, expanding his home into the shared spaces of the avenue. There, the sidewalk became an extension of his private space in the city, revealing the “transform[ative]” power of sound in converting places and the selves negotiated in them (Bull, Back 2003, pp 9). These experiences of conversion emerged through particular practices of collective belonging, where sound displayed itself as a transformative force that excelled the change from one place into another (i.e. “the public space into a private matter”), contributing to the overall negotiation of places and subjectivities through the performances, experiences, and limits involved in the making of place and self (ibid. 9). Ultimately, the transformative power of sound suggested not only the conversion of public spaces into personal, private, and communal spaces, or the conversion of private spaces into public domains, but also the flexibilities and fluidities found at the edges of the limits of these places, revealing their social construction as subjective experiences in and through the liminal context of the area.

This way, sound became a central practice in delimiting particular journeys and the symbolic maps each of them drew, producing and reproducing particular qualities in walking the avenue, involved in the understanding of the concepts of individuality and community, sociability and leisure, respectability and morality, safety and danger, failure and success. Hence, the narrativisation of the experience of sound underlined the way subjects were positioned in the avenue; some distanced themselves and others

bonded together, some walking freely and others restricted in their walk. This experience suggested the opportunities subjects faced (to different extents and intensities) to reject or support specific *regimes of difference*, affecting the understanding and the management of risk and pleasure in this space.

In this context, and following Bull and Back (2003, p.9), narratives “with strong notions of ‘private space’ as a form of entitlement [were...] more prone to complaints about [or the recognition of] noise [or what they considered as noise]”, commonly revealing a conservative, bourgeois performance.²¹ This is the case of new resident and mechanic shop owner Lilian, as she described the way she finds ‘people drinking in the avenue, people who [are...] much more noisier, complicated [...] who [do] not inspire trust’, people who do not make her ‘feel comfortable’ walking at night in La Mar. Meanwhile, narratives highlighting a more flexible and fluid notion of public/private boundaries, were more likely to tolerate and even welcome the overlapping array of sounds offered by a shared experience in the city revealing, for instance, the preference for informality, the need for strong social connections, and the inclination for a subjective and affective experience of place as exemplified by Jorge, Arturo D. and Arturo C. in their stories. Ultimately, specific *regimes of difference* as these two, revealed the interests and accessibility to experiences of sound in La Mar as well as the narratives individuals accessed to protect and regulate these interests, revealing and reproducing the power-inflicted force of sensorial experiences in this context of change.

At the end, the sense of hearing became an important form of surveillance, allowing for the management of risk through the regulation of particular ways of walking and negotiating La Mar. There, sound emerged as a form of affective link to the avenue and the liminal experience within it, shaping different journeys of class in their way to becoming (or not) part of the future of this space. In this process, sound transpired as a critical mechanism to reveal (and reproduce) the boundaries and meanings of risky and interesting walks, thus, the boundaries and meanings of risky and interesting acoustic practices in the city. Ultimately, the experience of sound uncovered the way surveillance was implemented “in an uneven way” in La Mar, where people like Arturo

faced the risks of stronger regulations without the protection they should commonly entailed, delineating the avenue as both, a secure and unsecure environment, where “the inconsistency and unevenness of the form of discipline, [...] compound[ed] the sense of liminality that pervade[d] this space” (Mitchell, Kelly, 2011, p.319)

ON REPRODUCING AND CONTESTING LIMINALITY

As explored throughout this chapter, the risks of liminality were commonly storied in and through the “blurriness of the right of access to spaces” in La Mar (Mitchell, Kelly, 2011, p.312). There, some people were “suspended in an ambivalent position, in which they [were...] perceived as partially ‘peaceful’ [safe, good, enough;] allowed [to remain in place] under certain conditions, one of which [was...] surveillance and the constant threat of being ‘moved along’” (ibid. p.312). These circumstances supported and reproduced particular versions of change and progress, which attributed the right to become included in the avenue, delimiting specific qualities upon subjects who turned inherently powerful, valuable and deserving of change, while others did not (Skeggs, 2004). Ultimately, these circumstances delineated a sense of privilege reifying specific positions of power in La Mar, where some “manage[d] to sustain particular interests” and “systems of symbolic domination” as part of the natural effect of change, as liminality felt unavoidable, materializing in a sort of command that directed people into unexpected yet seemingly deserving (ascribed) futures (Skeggs, 2004, p.4).

The right to stay in place

Well, what they say is that La Mar is more commercial now, is more centric and visited by tourists. There needs to be changes; and, changes are taking place. It has changed a lot, right? They have taken out small stores, for example, mechanic shops have been taken away too. They do not give away permits anymore, they only want fancy stores and, mostly, restaurants. There are a lot of restaurants here, and, frequently, because of that, it has become a centric area visited by tourists [...]

Iris, 2014

What happens is that in this area, they want everything to be restaurants, maybe some modern stores. Everything has to be modern, so in this area, mechanics do not fit anymore. That is why I think that the municipality do not want mechanics, because here, like I said, they only want stores, good stores, beautiful stores, stores that are well made or nothing at all [...]

Elloid, 2014

As showcased by Iris, discussions on the process of change undergoing the avenue extended from exclusive debates on permits and regulations to the quality of change itself, for instance, to the way change was construed and explained as a necessary part of life ('there needs to be changes'). For Iris, changes were *needed* in La Mar, where small stores *needed* to be replaced, in order to make the avenue 'commercial' and 'centric'; thus, to make it appealing for tourists visiting the city. In the same way as Iris, Elloid narrativised change as the time where the avenue became inherently better, filling the gap between its past and its expected future. In this gap, mechanic shops did not fit with the boundaries of La Mar anymore, boundaries that protected the modern project of the city, a project that required the inclusion of 'good stores', 'beautiful stores' or 'well-made' stores, delineating change in reference to the aesthetics (i.e. beauty), the temporality (i.e. modernity) and the morality of particular places. Ultimately, it was in and through this gap that certain walks were legitimated, storied in the way gentrification became an essential part of progress, reproducing the systems of symbolic domination that made change fundamentally good (Skeggs, 2004, p.4).

[...] through the process of change, it will be decided who needs to go and who needs to stay. Maybe, I will leave too, I do not know. Sometimes, they ask for the land, a big one [company] comes and buys here and buys there and bye bye [...]
Elloid, 2014

And in making change good, liminality was accepted as a sort of random experience of luck, where change demanded some to stay and others to leave the avenue. In the case of Elloid, he was not sure how this process was going to affect him in the future; however, he revealed a strong sense of vulnerability and uncertainty, a sense that was commonly storied by old residents in Santa Cruz. Santiago, a mechanic working at a shop located at the 5th block of La Mar, was one of these people, describing change as an unavoidable process. 'This is how it goes', he told me the day we met. 'What can we do?'. With these words, Santiago revealed not only the way change was affecting his life, but also the way power was legitimised in his walk, shaping the systems of symbolic domination (i.e. progress is good) that "impose[d] fixity" upon his journey (Skeggs, 2004, p.4), affecting his possibilities to move in and through change in the avenue.

This 'fixity' allowed the experience of change to "draw and claim moral distance" from people like Santiago, from old residents, from the *barrio* itself (Skeggs, 2004, p.4), which remained dangerous, old and poor in face of the experience of change that was safe, modern and profitable. In this context, the liminal journey was neither an inherent result of the past of the *barrio*, nor of the type of work old residents performed in this space. Instead, the liminal journey was fundamentally linked to the systems of inscription and classification delineating the *barrio* experience as an experience of lack. Ultimately, the area of Santa Cruz, an area that was culturally, economically, and socially built around a community of mechanics, was narrativised in and through an undeniable journey of *recovery* and *improvement* that moved beyond and away from the aesthetics and cultural practices of the auto-shop, revealing not only important structural variations in the area (i.e. the closure of many repair shops), but also, critical symbolic changes reproducing new boundaries of value within this setting.

It is important to say that these new boundaries were not fixed; indeed, they were fluid, flexible and changing; they were contextual negotiations of value, revealing much more than the inherent characteristics of particular places, but instead, relational boundaries of power moving around time and space. In this context, the legitimization of the discourse of progress and the liminal experience in La Mar, were important not because they made (or not) the avenue an acceptable component in the experience of change and progress in the area (sometimes it was, sometimes it was not), or whether or not the statements about La Mar were true (was La Mar safe or dangerous? were repair shops good or bad for the area?). Instead, they were important in and through the ratification of particular boundaries of values, marking the aesthetic, moral, cultural, and affective practices of class negotiated in the urban experience of change within the city.

They made a survey here. They asked me if I agree with the closure of mechanic shops [...] I said 'No, I do not agree' [...] For example, people who live on the other side, around the corner, let's say they are people with money, they have their fancy cars. So, this type of people will not go to 'La Victoria', to those ugly places, to leave their cars. They have to see where they can leave their cars, a place of trust, a peaceful place. And, what can be better than having that place in the same area? You have the option to leave your car in this avenue knowing where you are leaving your car, having your car close to your house. But, you will not leave it in 'La Victoria', you will not leave it all the way there. I do not know; maybe you go back and your car is no longer there or they have changed the pieces. That is why I say it, I mean I am

just trying to be an advocate for people like you, I mean for 'high people'. You cannot send them to the limits of Surquillo. It is not the same [...]
Elloid, 2014

For instance, this process became rather evident in Elloid's strategy to rethink the role of repair shops in La Mar, when faced with a municipal survey about it. He based his strategy on the possibilities and the need he recognised to transfer the experience of fear from the avenue to other places in the city. In this context, *Surquillo* and *La Victoria*, both working class districts characterised by a prominent role of repair shops, were central to his narrative. For Elloid, these areas not only denoted the "greatest threat" to be grouped alongside risky people from *risky* areas, but also, they offered the greatest opportunity to "assert" the *lines of difference* between them and La Mar (Bourdieu, 1984, p.481). Hence, as *La Victoria* and *Surquillo* became unreliable, unfamiliar, and inferior settings, La Mar constituted as their counterpart, becoming a reliable, familiar, and superior space; a respectable environment with respectable people who could offer what no one else offer in Lima. In the end, *La Victoria* and *Surquillo* presented Elloid with a spatiotemporal limit to distinguish valuable from invaluable subjects in the city, reifying the discourse of progress in this space, not only becoming classed, but reproducing class in the process (Skeggs and Loveday, 2012).

In this context, in the same way as the *caserito*, the mechanic and the carpenter presented Jonathan with the opportunity to *move* through his liminal and *interesting* walk through La Mar (Chapter IV), *La Victoria* and *Surquillo* emerged as "the ground of fixity" that allowed Elloid to *move*, or attempt to move, beyond risk, revealing the "resourcing dilemmas" he faced in becoming valuable in the liminal context of the avenue (Skeggs, 2005, p. 973). At the end, it was in and through his attempts to challenge the liminality of his journey, that he reproduced the dominant symbolic in the city, delineating the boundaries of respectful, moral and safe places in Santa Cruz and beyond, conquering his story and legitimizing progress as a natural ordering of social life. Hence, in contrast to Jonathan's experience, Elloid's "resourcing dilemmas" did not focus on satisfying a desire for an interesting urban experience, but instead, on accessing and displaying the right resources to become a respectable subject in this space (ibid., 973), facing the permanent risk of missing the mark (Skegs, 2004, pp. 26-27).

CONCLUSION

Chapter IV and Chapter V explored the liminal context in La Mar to address the experience of change in the making of difference, the reproduction of power, and the negotiation of class in this setting. Each in its own way, these chapters framed the liminal context as an experiential process of transition. Specifically, this process revealed itself as a “destructive/creative moment of neoliberal urbanization”; thus, a moment of gentrification where particular forms of walking were challenged, controlled, and regulated, while others were sought, reproduced, and recognised as the future of this space (Theodore, Peck and Brenner, 2011, p.22,21). In this context, change instantiated as both, a form of restriction and a form of possibility, revealing not only the multiplicity of urban experiences in the avenue (i.e. experiences of destitution, loss, gain adventure, entertainment, etc.), but the range of interpretations given to them as opportunity and risk. Ultimately, even in their multiplicity and range, in their incompleteness and ongoing negotiation, these experiences were generally narrativised by an overall “retreat” from the familiar and informal *barrio* experiences of the past, highlighting a general expansion into a discourse of progress, where the dominant symbolic was characterised by individualized and profitable interpretations of the urban practice in the avenue (ibid.,22, 21).

In this context, the exploration of the liminal context became, at the outset, the exploration of the processes of change, where power emerged as an active strategy to navigate La Mar. There, this strategy revealed much more than the specificities of the powerful and the powerless, but the multiple ways individuals engaged with change in becoming powerful or not, negotiating particular subjectivities (i.e. as old residents or newcomers) and experiences of class, characterised by different points of departure (i.e. the past or the future), forms of mobility (i.e. restricted or unrestricted), capabilities (i.e. to self-regulate or not), desires (i.e. to survive or succeed) and interpretations of the liminal environment (i.e. as an experience of risk or an experience of opportunity). Within this context the dominant symbolic of progress was not exactly a determining force, for instance, settling the multiplicity of journeys into a universal tale of dominant and dominated. Instead, the dominant symbolic represented a dynamic energy, commonly reproduced, but also challenged and occasionally dismissed, exposing, as suggested by Watson and Bridge (2011, p.388), how “subjectivities are [always] in

process and radically incomplete”. In the end, this incompleteness transpired at the core of the liminal practice and the negotiation of class in La Mar, displaying the *struggle for value* which emerged as a fundamental process contributing to participants’ “ability to operate in the world and their sense of subjectivity and self-worth” in it. (Skeggs, 2004 p.2)

Hence, as explored in these chapters, the *struggle for value* in La Mar pointed not only to infinite practices of identification transpired in different and unique stories, but, also, to multiple forces individuals faced to legitimize their walks in this liminal environment, revealing the way difference between subjects was socially constructed, bounded, and experienced, for instance, in the form of class (Loveday, 2015b). From this standpoint, class became much more than a uniform practice dividing long-time residents and newcomers, but *a way of knowing* reflecting distinct abilities to tap into the flow of power in the avenue itself. This *way of knowing* shaped the way individuals moved around the avenue, allowing them, to different degrees and intensities, to play and test different roles, negotiating different practices, revealing distinct desires, interests, and needs, as well as exposing specific memories, perspectives, and interpretations of change. Ultimately, this *way of knowing* secured meaning in particular contexts and for particular reasons, exposing the relativity of power in relation to different times and spaces that went in and beyond La Mar (i.e. London and Buenos Aires, La Victoria and Surquillo), delineating certain journeys as a source of knowledge, while others were not.

This way, value became elastic and temporal, attaching itself to certain forms of walking that emerged as particular forms of knowledge in the specificity of the avenue, revealing an impermanent source of power that shaped the cognitive maps of the journey of class in this space. Some of these walks emerged as knowledge more often than others, and, some of them, for longer periods of time. Indeed, a number of walks could not transcend particular contexts and were often overcome by change (i.e. “bridging capital” discussed in Chapter III); while others became increasingly rightful, a legitimate form of *knowing the way*, a natural experience. In this context, access to knowledge was revealed as a form of disposition, exposing appropriate ways to become a valuable self in La Mar; thus, marking the boundaries to emerge as a reliable, responsible, and respectable subject in reach of resources to navigate through change (Noble, 2009; Allen, Wollingworth, 2013).

Ultimately, different dispositions revealed different links to the liminal practice in the avenue, where some navigated a liminal environment and others (i.e. the mechanic, the street vendor, and the old resident) turned into liminal subjects, holding liminality at the core of their roots to La Mar, invading their homes, their livelihoods, their families, their social connections, and their overall future in this space.

For these subjects, the liminal practice became a sticky practice, a practice that revealed itself in the overall sensation of risk involved in the *barrio* environment, sometimes pointing to the actual risk of being excluded, and others, as explained by Jonathan (El Pan de la Chola), to the excitement of ‘initiating something different and creative’. Either way, this sensation of risk marked the *barrio* experience, shaped by multiple factors (economic, political, social, cultural), yet ultimately bounded by different “intensities of feelings” (Allen, 1999, p.53). These feelings transpired in the form of multiple affective practices (i.e. boredom, excitement, interest, desire, fear, love, sorrow, grief, trust, and aversion), that involved, for instance, particular temperatures (cold, and warm), sizes (big and small), sounds (noise and music) and aesthetics (pretty and ugly), allowing for a complex narrativisation of self and place. It is important to stress that, because of time and space constraints, a detailed exploration of other sensorial experiences beside sound, such as touch, have been left out of discussions in this thesis. Yet touch, not only the physical act of touching, but the imagined experience of feeling, sensing, or being affected by (and affecting) the surface of the skin, the temperature, or the texture of *the other*, did emerged during my walks through La Mar, offering an interesting platform to explore the links between place, power, and identification.

For instance, for Arturo C., the experience of change limited old residents to the ‘coldness’ of new looks, as new business replaced the old ones, mounting upon the avenue. In this process, Arturo extended an affective practice of place suggesting the temperature of the past and present, involving the boundaries of touch and incorporating a particular temperature emerging from the presence of particular bodies in the changing context of the avenue. This way, Arturo’s story delineated not only the indifference of change and the affective distance he negotiated with the new and the growing *other* in La Mar, but, also, the coziness and the warmth of the touch of the familiar face, of the *barrio* face, of the face of his past. In this context, cold and warm

faces emerged at the core of the limits of the *barrio* itself, of its risks, of the losses and opportunities he perceived and expected, dwelling in the midst of the past, the present, and the future of the discourse of progress inundating this space. Ultimately, in and beyond Arturo's narrative, touch revealed the negotiation of particular journeys, building upon what Berendt (1985, p.32) calls "the democracy of the senses" (as cited in Bull, Back, 2003, p.2), which, in this case, exposed not only the attempt to avoid the "touch of the unknown" (Canetti, 1973; as cited in Urry, 2003, p. 354), but also the inherent "reciprocity" of contact itself, where to touch and be touched was decisively unavoidable (Urry, 2003, p.354).

In the end, in and through multiple affective practices in La Mar, the liminal context was built upon the unescapable experience of "rub[ing] along" (Watson, 2006, p.2), revealing different forms of walking and taking meaning in and through each other as socio-affective and sociocultural lines of identification. These lines of identification were shaped by different "urban histories and voices" (Urry, 2003, 386), where Jonathan aspired to be edgy, Michelle wanted to be innovative, Claribel craved to be risky, Gamarra wished to be recognized, Elloid sought to be included, Arturo D. struggled to be lawful and Iris feared to be left alone. All of these individuals were informed by an experience of class, where "[...] difference [...] was] not simply the result of the differentiating aspect of ever present power [between the powerful and powerless]; but it [...] was] in some degree the experience of power as differentiated by its presence, absence and in-betweeness" (Bridge, Watson, 2002, p.508). Ultimately, in the avenue, liminality and the practice of class were not about the inherent values of different positions of power itself, but instead about the "working of power that ma[de] one experience of difference different from other" (ibid.508,510).

CHAPTER VI

COMMONALITY IN DIFFERENCE: FOOD AND THE NATIONAL EXPERIENCE

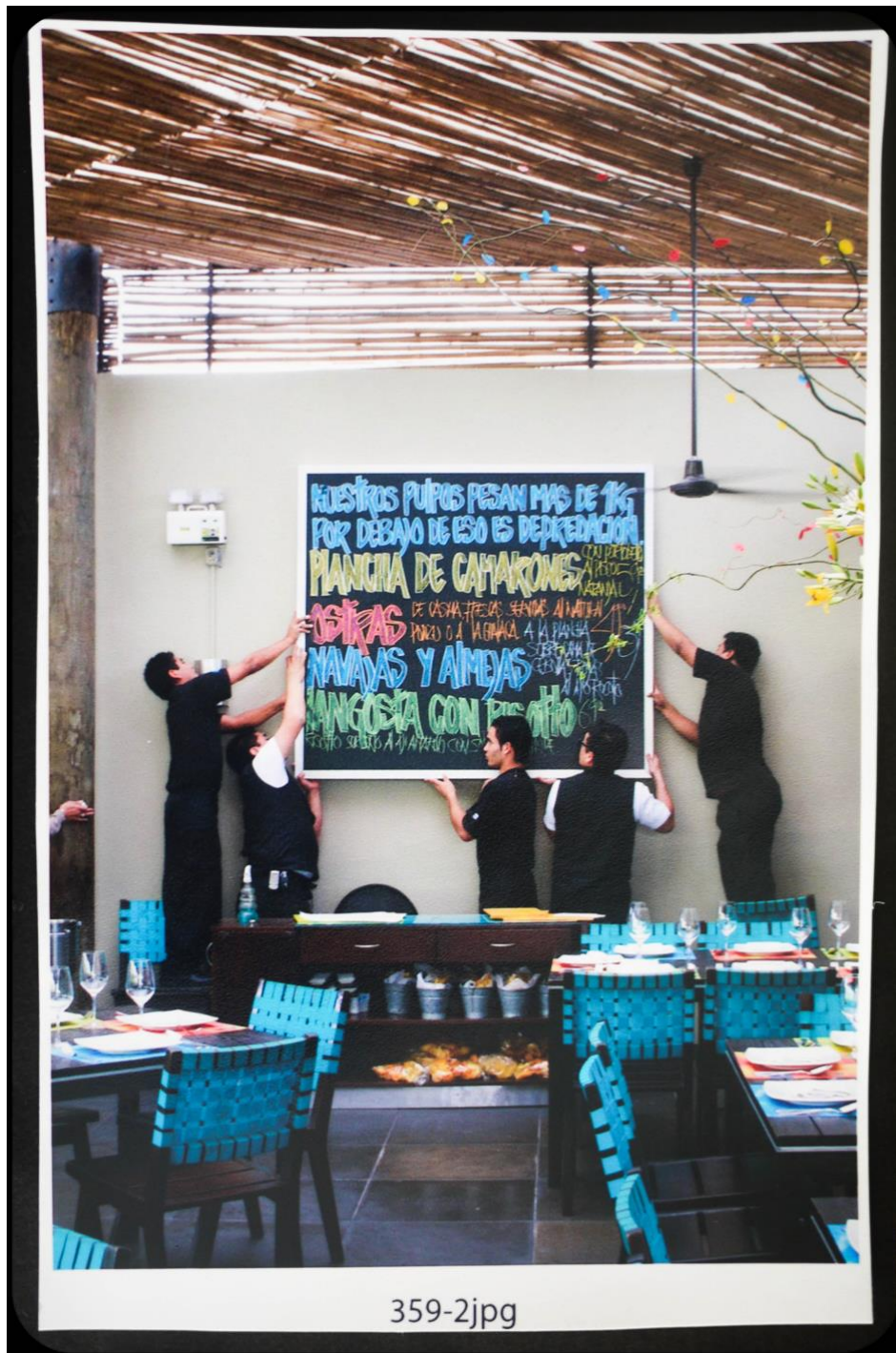


Fig.3.6. Collective Gastronomic Effort

I have always been intrigued that amid all the differences you can find within a country there is a unique fortunate space where the entire nation feels integrated in harmony [...] In the kitchen, in the pot, flavours, aromas and colours fight, confront, negotiate and make peace with one another. Each one seeks its own space and lives alongside the others.
Cabellos, *Cooking up Dreams*, 2009

As discussed in Chapter II, this thesis started as an exploration of the rising role of food in processes of national identification in La Mar. Nevertheless, after several months of fieldwork, my observations took me along a different road. On this road, instead of focusing on the central role of food, I focused on the general experience of change; and, instead of focusing on national identification, I focused on the overall negotiation of difference in this space. Hence, this thesis was no longer an investigation of food and identity per se, as became evident in the first chapters of this research; but, the study became one of difference, identification, and power, thus, it became an exploration of multiple journeys of being and becoming in a context of transition, where, nonetheless, food remained a central instrument of negotiation.

In this thesis, food remained important as it permeated a multiplicity of *trajectories* taking place in La Mar, allowing negotiation of the meaning, value, and limits of experiences of identification. Indeed, food not only informed experiences of class, as explored in the gentrifying context of the area and the liminal practice in the previous chapters (Chapter III, Chapter IV, Chapter V); but, also, food delineated practices of nation too, finding its way into the “cognitive maps” (Lynch, 1976), the “imaginative geographical” (Said, 1979), the geographical repertoires (Rhys-Taylor, 2014) or the “secret geographies” of the national space emerging in the avenue (Duruz, 1999). There, food became impossible to dismiss, laying at the core of the experience of change and belonging, offering a powerful “scape” (Appadurai, 1990) and an alternative “scale of place” emerging within yet beyond the locality of La Mar (Fincher, Jacobs, 1998, p.21), allowing to negotiate dynamics of power in the national field. In this context, food mediated infinite stories and visual narratives, challenging the sensorial (i.e. eating) character of the *gastronomic boom* and highlighting the symbolic and affective potential it offered for the making of nation. Ultimately, food became much more than a reflection of a sweet or expensive bite, but an echo of the strategies, investments, and efforts needed to be recognised as different or the same, exposing yet another dimension of the *struggles for value* emerging in the national field within this space.

Following this line, Chapter VI moves away from the exploration of difference and differentiation through class (Chapter III, Chapter IV, Chapter V), to the exploration of commonality in difference through nation in a class-inflicted setting. In this chapter, my

concern goes beyond the explicit reiteration of particular nation-based positions (for example, 'I am Peruvian'), into the strategies individuals employ in becoming national subjects themselves. Specifically, and following the exploration of class from Chapter III, this chapter explores national identification as a place-based and socio-affective collective practice emerging across experiences of difference, identification and power. These experiences highlight what Fincher and Jacob (1998, p.21) describe as "the complexity of spatial scales that flow through 'place'", for instance, revealing "the ways in which the local is always also a national or international space, or the way in which 'local' identities are always also constituted through nonlocal processes, or the way in which place-based identities are tied to the micro politics of the home or the body".

I situate this chapter within the ongoing debate on the relevance of nation and national identity as categories for social analysis, arguing for the potential value they offer in the exploration of social experiences (Billig, 1995; De Cillia, Reisigl, Wodak, 1999; Brubaker, 1998, 2004, 2006; Thompson, Fevre, 2001; Edensor, 2002; Ichijo, Uzelac, 2005; Chatterjee, 2004; Michael Skey, 2009). Specifically, these categories remain important in what Thompson and Fevre (2001, p.331) describe as a "practically oriented sociological approach", where the nation becomes a modern imaginary social construct (Anderson, 1990) that is "recurrently and routinely employed by people in making sense of their social environment", for instance, revealing the way national subjects "locate themselves in relation to others" and "giv[e] meaning to their social world" (Thompson and Fevre, 2001, pp. 311,312). Ultimately, national identity uncovers as a performative concept itself, anchored by specific time-space dimensions (e.g.: Lima, 21st century), yet offering a platform to outline the process (sometimes stronger than others) of national identification, which, following Edensor (2002, p.17,18), "is not a once and for all thing" but "continually dynamic, [and] capable of making connections through a persistent articulation".

Trailing La Mar's journey from a *barrio* to a popular gastronomic hub, section I offers a brief introduction, pointing to the multiplicity and multi-dimensionality of stories built around food through the *foodscapes* of the avenue (Appadurai, 1990). Section II expands on the idea of *foodscapes*, underscoring the imaginative and affective role of *food beyond food* in the negotiation of a national experience. Specifically, there is an interest

to explore the affective promise of food (Ahmed, 2010, Berlant, 2010) and the negotiation of the centre of the national experience (i.e. “spatial affective aspiration”, Hage, 1998, p.42) emerging in and through a collective search for recognition. The following two sections, section III and section IV, focus on the negotiation of commonality in difference through the story of food. Section III explores the construction of the national story, its limits and values, emerging as a “general goal” for a multiplicity of journeys (ibid. p. 41). Specifically, this section explores the way food provides a common ground, thus a common language, among differentiating subjects, highlighting particular qualities that allow them to become national, and as national then valuable. Meanwhile, section IV, explores the possible risks in the making of this national story, highlighting the different needs and possibilities to engage, reproduce, and secure it, suggesting multiple ways of *arriving in place*, thus of being and becoming in relation to the national field. In this context, food not only becomes “an expression of commonality”, “but the site for the [possible] experience of mutuality” (Foppa, et al., 1995, p.4), stressing *the gap* between food, nation, and identification, hence, the strategies and relationships of power that fill up this space. Ultimately, section V offers the concluding remarks of this chapter, before moving into the final conclusions of this thesis in Chapter VII.

FROM THE *BARRIO* TO A GASTRONOMIC HUB: THE FOODSCAPES OF LA MAR



Fig.3.7. La Mar's Gastronomic Hub

What can I tell you? The gastronomic boom ate our barrio [laughs]. The gastronomic boom in Miraflores absorbed us, ate us, right? That is what happened. The gastronomic boom ate our barrio. [...] Yes. And it will continue to eat it. Yes, it will continue to eat it. There is still a lot of land, a lot of places where you can do a lot of wonderful projects; wonderful for the business itself, wonderful to diffuse Peruvian food, wonderful for the gastronomic industry that continues to grow.

Juan del Castillo, La Red, 2012

Juan grew up in La Mar surrounded by family and friends. When Juan was a boy, his mother worked as a secretary and needed to provide additional income for her family, so she chose to open La Red more than 30 years ago. Today, following drastic changes, several relocations and significant remodelling projects, what started as a small menu restaurant became one of the most popular (yet affordable) *cevicherias* in the avenue. Indeed, during my time doing fieldwork, La Red was always packed with clients. Some of these clients were old, but most of them were new, yet all were drawn to the restaurant's offer of an experience of home-made Peruvian food and satisfying portions.

As explained by Juan, transition in La Red became evident in the last decade or so, as it joined what many have termed the gastronomic 'revolution' taking place in the city of Lima (APPENDIX A). This revolution was shaped by a common and explicit macro-narrative reiterating national unity and pride, where the metaphoric role of the kitchen took on a strong political tone embodied in the positive attributions allocated to traditional food. These attributions echoed the mounting belief that food provided a key national reference point of identification, highlighting its legitimization as a central cultural capital negotiated across different socioeconomic lines and practices in Lima (Rodriguez, 2008). There, these negotiations seem to reflect a collective interest, a need and/or a possibility to use food as a fertile ground for developing ideas of culture, place, and identity; ideas that were frequently invoked to connect Peruvians, to define *Peruviannes*, and to project the Peruvian experience in and outside the country itself.

Zooming into La Mar, these negotiations took the form of multiple stories rising among different characters such as residents, restaurateurs, and foodies. At their core, most of these stories went beyond the material dimension of food (i.e. Ritzer, 1993; Ward, 1997, Leitch, 2003, Xu Wu, 2004, Wilson, 2006, Zabusky, 2006), emerging and expanding through its symbolic character (i.e. Brown and Mussel, 1984; Hauck-Lawson, 1992, 2004; Appadurai, 1998; Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson, 1998; Robert Wilk, 2008, Counihan, 1999, 2010; Duruz 1999, 2002, 2011, Penfold, 2002, 2008). As in the case of Juan, in these stories, food became much more than tacitly sweet or salty, hot or cold. Indeed, while influenced by its immediate experience, for instance, as taking place in the production, distribution, and consumption of food, these stories were shaped by "imagin[ed] and affectiv[e]" practices emerging within the conception and the management of the

national walk (Skeggs, 2004:19; for example, Yasmeen, 2007). There, food emerged as creative, strong, and powerful, becoming a transitory point of convergence for infinite practices of identification, allowing individuals such as Juan to reconcile and reproduce distances and positions, revealing and recreating the social landscapes of food within this setting, thus, the *foodscapes* of the avenue itself.

In this context, *foodscapes* delineated the “culinary maps” of La Mar, “produced by everyday inscriptions of the imagination” upon the nation through food (Duruz,1999, p.308). Different social, economic, political, and cultural contexts outlined these practices (such as Juan’s work at La Red, Juan’s memories of La Mar), disclosed as a series of “building blocks” and composed by a multiplicity of “worlds” growing within (i.e. inside Juan) but also among people (i.e. between Juan and others; Appadurai, 1990, pp.196, 296). In La Mar, these worlds revealed multiple practices of power and differentiation (such as practices of class, gender, race, culture, locality), where the national field emerged as a fertile space for a collective experience of identification. In that space, Juan not only became a former resident of a *barrio* lost to food, but most importantly so, a proud national subject partaking in the process of progress being made. Hence, it was the national field where food became a conquering force in his story, *eating his barrio* with no regrets, *absorbing* his past and individuality, and offering him a *promise* to be part of the nation, thus taking him in and feeding upon his affective drive to belong (Ahmed, 2010; Berlandt 2010). Indeed, it was in and through the national field that food revealed Juan’s desires, fears, and needs, filling the gap between who he seemingly was and who he needed to be, negotiating not only the boundaries of the national experience (i.e. what, where, and how is the nation?), but the limits and extensions of the national self(i.e. who, where, and how are national subjects?), ultimately exposing his way of experiencing change and interpreting the nation.

In this way, *foodscapes* were revealed as “deeply perspectival constructs”, where national identification exceeded “objectively given relations which look the same from every angle of vision” (Appadurai, 1990, p.296). Indeed, following Hadi Curti et al. (2013, p.206) these *foodscapes* exposed “varying assemblings” that were “always entangled in and dependant on the affective natures and capacities of singular and collective bodies” gazing from and into particular directions in order to become national in the context of

this space. These assemblings were shaped by individuals' personal strides, involved in the making of "'common sense' assumptions" (i.e. 'food offers a wonderful national project'), outlining *the reason of being*, thus, the meaning and value of *lo nacional* (Skey, 2011, p. 7). In this context, "nations d[id] not just exist, [but] they [were] made real to the individual by the individual in the course of her/his deliberations and interactions", finding a way "to position [herself/ himself] in relation to national symbols or [as in this case] national narratives", allowing to "make sense of, interpret or renegotiate" the boundaries of nation (A. Thompson, 2001, pp.24,27). Ultimately, these common-sense assumptions framed the force, intensity, importance, and determination of these national experiences, exposing different objectives and degrees of investments, revealing the possibilities to "lay claim" to this national practice in the specificity of La Mar (Skey, 2011, p.6).

In the end, as La Mar moved from a middle-class *barrio* to a popular gastronomic hub in the city, the importance of *food went beyond food itself*, escaping the tongue and the nose, its aromas and flavours highlighting the way food involved much more than eating, but a complex experience of becoming, contained in a collective search for recognition.

ON FOOD BEYOND FOOD



Fig.3.8. Food beyond Food

If you go to a restaurant in any other part of the world the way people explain and feel about food is very different from here, in Peru. In Peru, the server, the cook, the sommelier, the barman, they sell food in a very different way; it is like they are living through food, from a place very deep inside them, right? It is like a passion they have inside.”
Landy, La Mar, 2012.

For Landy, manager of the acclaimed restaurant *La Mar* (7th block) and the right hand of renowned chef Gaston Acurio, food laid at the core of the national practice, defining the Peruvian experience in the form of a positive feeling of belonging and a strongly-felt passion. For him, *Peruvians* were all about food, delineating the way they felt and communicated, making them unique and separating them from the rest of the world. Indeed, food was something that brought them together beyond the table, allowing them to find their way into existence, laying claim to their national practice and guiding them through their national journey.

Hence, for Landy, food was not the representation of a good culinary culture that Peruvians found and shared in the national field, but the actual space where the nation became important to them. Indeed, it was “in” food and not “from” an experience of food, that they engaged in the making of national selves and practices of nation, *living*, thus, becoming alive through them (Hage, 2012, p.23). This journey highlighted not only the “representation” of commonality in difference, thus, “what each [national...] member experience[d] as having in common with other [national...] members” (ibid., 23; i.e. a successful national food; section III). But, also, the space where Peruvians “experience[d] their individual existence as dissolving within a wider mode of [national...] existence”, revealing the forces and intensities of power in the bounding of the national field (ibid., 23; section IV). Ultimately, for Landy, food outlined “a gathering place of accumulative dispositions” stressing the assertiveness “of something coming into existence” (i.e. the national experience), in the form of a feeling of *passion* that was “suddenly there and possible”, offering Peruvians a space for an affective practice of identification, within which food was “always promising and threatening to amount to something” else (Stewart, 2010, p.340).

Even though we have always eaten well here, cooked well and everything, people did not perceive that as a form of value. So, it was quickly forgotten, put to the side, right? But, now that it is perceived as a form of value, in one way or another, it fills us with pride, it makes us feel important, and the truth

is that I find this positive for the national psychology. I mean, are we right about thinking we are the best in the world? No! but that is not important, right? The important thing is that we feel we are.
Michelle, block 5th, 2014

As with Landy, for Michelle (Soho architect) the *gathering place* for food was not physically amassed in the kitchens of La Mar. Indeed, Michelle's experience of nation exceeded the actual processes and actors of cooking, distributing, and eating food, it accrued by thriving in its aural consumption in the form of stories. These stories revealed themselves as affective practices at their core that were built around *the way of food* through her culinary tale, shaping a "new regime of sensation", where food was *perceived*, thus recognized and remembered as *a form of value* (Stewart, 2010, p.340). In this context, these stories rose above what Ferguson (1998, p.625) describes in her work as "the physiological capacities of the most voracious appetite and most determined glutton", finding their way through the storytellers of the nation, as they became "the most solid foundation for the gastronomic field" in La Mar. Ultimately, through these stories, food became valuable beyond its role as a culinary product expanding into the corners of the city of Lima, but into its role as a cultural resource, allowing Michelle to become proud and important, to become *the best in the world*.

This way, Michelle's story went beyond the daily struggle of the breathing and physical body, excelling particular sensorial experiences (i.e. looking, smelling and tasting food) and socioeconomic restrictions in the gastronomic boom²², extending into the eternal, the infinite and immortal project of nation. There, according to Peruvian chef Gaston Acurio (2008), food was responsible for 'showing' people who they were, allowing them to 'recognise [themselves...] as Peruvians'. As explained by Acurio, knowing who they were was 'important'; in fact, without this knowledge they were 'nothing', they could 'not exist'. Because, 'food guarant[eed] Peruvians 'a passionate life', a feeling or

²² In La Mar, sensorial restrictions became evident in the narrativisation of different forms of presenting and consuming food, for instance, relating to the size of portions and decorations of the plates, where "people with money include[d] more arrangements to their food" (David, 2014), and, where "el pueblo serve[d] a lot" (Elloid, 2014), "a mountain of food" (David, 2014). Meanwhile, socioeconomic restrictions became evident in the narrativisation of the gap in accessibility to culinary experiences in the avenue, emerging between the "poor" (Esteban, 2014) and people with money, where the monthly salary of the former was equivalent to a single meal experience by the later (Arturo, 2014), revealing important distinctions between the walks through restaurants, menus, and markets in La Mar (i.e. Manuela, 2012, Metalero, 2012, Arturo, 2014, Elloid, 2014, Esteban, 2014).

emotion in becoming part of ‘a dream’ that ‘transcend[ed their own] existence; into the well-being of the national collective. For Acurio, this offered ‘a good option’, an ethical, honourable and ‘wonderful path’, contrasting ‘to the immediate, to the banal, to the ephemeral’ walk of the modern subject surviving the city, offering a sense of purpose that rose above a self-interested walk.

In this context, this sense of purpose presented itself as a promise expected to conquer the fear for an uncertain future in the nation. Following Abulof (2015), this sort of promise is commonly central to “*small nations*”, characterized by a sense of fragility, a perception of a constant threat, a subjective condition pulling the national journey into a constant pursuit of value and security. In La Mar, stories of food revealed this journey, challenging the historical “off-centring” of national identification, thus, the negotiation of the national practice from and within the limits of a “non-existent centre”, commonly shaped by an experience of “lack” and a mounting praise for the foreign and contempt for the local (Salazar Bondy as quoted in Tubino, 2003, p.77; APPENDIX B). There, these stories challenged this *small past*, taking form in what Hage (1998) defines as “spatial-affective aspiration”, storied upon the core, thus, the “centre” of the national practice in the avenue. Ultimately, this affective aspiration highlighted the specificities of the national experience, shaped by particular qualities and national limits, yet characterized by different “perceptions, interpretations, representations, classifications, categorizations and identifications” accessible in the national walk (Brubaker, 2004, p.79).

Hence, in La Mar, these qualities and limits revealed a broad assortment of voices available among and within particular journeys, where the promise of food offered commonality in a setting of growing differentiations. In this context, the value of this promise did not affirm an established (or uniform) group identity built around the nation, for instance, highlighting “its oneness and the otherness of whoever [ate...] differently” in the space (Fischer, 1988, p.277). Instead, this promise revealed what Brubaker (1998, p.275, 292) describes as the “potential basis for group-formation or ‘groupness’”, exposing the gap between food, nation, and identification as individuals filled it with meaning and value in their tales. As evident in Michelle’s story, this gap underlined the “vital necessity of identifying food”, allowing her its recognition as

national and important (Fischer, 1998: 282). In contrast to Fischer's indistinctive interpretation of the "literal and figurative" forms of this need (1988, p.282), Michelle's narrative stressed the centrality of its symbolic nature, supporting the idea that the "facts" of consumption remained "... less important for their relative accuracy than for their rendering of community characteristics" in the experience of nation (i.e. "inverse relationship between the [national] myth and the commodity", Penfold, 2008, p.177; Penfold, 2002, pp.54,55). This way, Michelle's "associations of nation" with Peruvian food were "not statement of literal truth", but a reflection of the reiteration of these associations, storied "enough times to help shape or express an understanding, [thus] a 'way of seeing'" her surroundings (ibid., 54,55). Ultimately, her experience of national identification had less to do with the "veracity of [her...] claim" (i.e. "we have always eaten well here, cooked well and everything"), than with the possibilities she had to conquer a story of failure (ibid., 55)

In the end, from the words of Landy to the words of Michelle, food revealed itself as a "promissory note" (Stewart, 2010, p.340). This note involved different forces and intensities of walks, yet contributed to a shared story that emerged as a central vehicle of national identification. In this process, this promise allowed subjects to navigate through the national field, mapping out their steps and baring the possibilities they faced to become national. Hence, it was in and through this story that food disclosed its "enabling effect", exposing subjects' positions and distances, displaying where they seemingly were and where they aspired to go (Watkins, 2010, p.409), making the experience of nation *real* and "visible" (Thompson et al. 2001, p.308). Ultimately, *food went beyond food*, materializing at the core of a story that reflected much more than a "thing" consigned to the world (i.e. a good national dish), but a particular "perspective [...] on the world" itself, exceeding an "ontological reality" and disclosing instead "epistemological realities" built around the avenue (Brubaker, 2004, p.79).

ON BUILDING A STORY

"Peruvians always want to eat well. That's it."
Santiago, 2014

"Peruvians are used to eating well, to serve themselves well."
Marco, 2012

“Peruvians are good-food lovers [...they] have good palates.”
Jorge, 2014

“Peruvians like to have their bellies busting. Peruvians do not eat, they gulp. [...] Peruvians are happy when they eat a delicious meal and are satisfied.”
Eduardo, 2012

“We all eat, and we all love the flavours of Peruvian food.”
Luis, La Red, 2012



Fig.3.9. Food Stories

In La Mar, the story of food provided a common ground, a shared language among subjects, central to the experience of nation regardless of differences. As discussed in the first two sections, this story revealed itself as a promise, a “cluster of desire” (Berlant, 2010, p.143) allowing food to preserve its appeal across time and diverse people in the avenue (Edensor, 2002). There, this promise or “general goal” was built around a positive feeling that emerged from the idea that Peruvians ate well, “aim[ing] to construct and to help make true the imaginary nation” (Hage, 1998, pp. 41,42). Hence, this idea was negotiated on the reiteration of a *constructive* national experience, storied through the seeming accomplishments and apparent successes of food, offering a platform to become not only *good* (i.e. eaters, connoisseurs, cooks), but better than the rest (i.e. neighbouring countries), reinforcing the association between food, nation, and identification.

In this context, the story of food connected the personal to the social, taking the form of a structure of dispositions available to navigate the national field. There, dispositions were neither revealed in the “origin” and “cultural continuity” of collective experiences through delimited culinary cultures (Zubaida and Tapper, 1994, p.7), nor in the seemingly “common [and I would say causal] history” between the nation and apparent national cuisines (Bell and Valentine, 1997, pp.168, 169). Instead, dispositions emerged through the idea of *food beyond food*, and the possibilities to partake in the story of the nation, on one hand, rooting particular journeys into “the image of the national space”

(Hage, 1998, p.42), and, on the other, negotiating the affective links between the self and the nation.

On delineating the national space and rooting the national experience

[T]hey are praising us. And, you know what Denise? I think that we have always felt little praised. I mean we had never been praised for anything. Our football team would always lose. Our basketball team would always lose. Our athletes would always come last [...]. Each of our governments was more corrupt than the other, right? We had inflation and a monetary deficit of I do not how many thousands of soles. We faced terrorism. So, we never had anything to elevate us, right? [...] Something that would make us feel that in Peru there were positive things to be recognised for. We did not have anything to be recognised for, or maybe we did, but nobody noticed. But, now, Peruvian food goes out to the world and everyone tells us 'it is good!', and everyone congratulates us for it. I think this has made Peruvian gastronomy a national patrimony. Because, it has already become a patrimony [...] one of the national symbols [...]

Juan del Castillo, 2012

For Juan, food stepped into his story by finding an available space in the national field, shaped by the historical void of national identificatory links, thus, by the historical need to fill this gap. Hence, in his story, food extended him a promise, a collective search for recognition (Yar, 2001), legitimization (Skeggs 2004), and visibility, where food became sticky with value, imagined, recalled, and reproduced in his tale as *good*. This promise offered Juan new rules and opportunities to be different and/or the same, orienting him in a collective direction, where he joined others in a movement towards change and possibility (Ahmed, 2010; Manning 2006; Chapters II, III, IV). In this context, the promise of food was a promise that emerged as a “force or forces of encounters” (Seigworth and Gregg, 2010, p.1), moving from “the singular into the collective”, and from “the material into the cultural” (Parkhurst Ferguson, 2004, p.3). This was a promise that opened different “points of alignment”, rising between various dividing “splits” (i.e. political, economic), allowing Juan and national *others* to “‘come together’ in a shared moment of enjoyment” that involved a national “us” (Ahmed, 2010, p.45; Berlant, 2010, p.142). Ultimately, it was in and within these moments that the gap between food, nation, and identification was momentarily filled, that the differences between journeys were seemingly overcome, and that Juan was finally praised, finally felt good, and finally became proud.

We have all the ingredients to have it [a good quality national cuisine], we are not missing anything. We have everything that any other country would like,

right? And more. I mean, they ask us for ingredients to export, and we have them at the reach of our hand [...] And, that is the best, having these ingredients at the reach of your hand to use and make the world know, and other people know, that we are a success in food.
Claribel, 2014

The opportunities for different *points of alignment* and the possibility for a *shared moment of enjoyment* found in the promise of food, is highlighted by the rooting of the national experience through stories emerging in La Mar, offering the opportunity to create limits, to negotiate meanings, to associate values and different characteristics to food, thus to bring it to life. These openings incorporated different ideas of time and space, involved in the negotiation of particular places of nation beyond the avenue, pointing to what, where, how, and why the nation was possible in particular stories. In this context, the rooting of the national experience was deeply involved with what Hage (1998) calls the “image of the national space”, offering the basis to think in terms of the national experience, where the idea of the land, the soil, and the geography of the nation bounded the possibility to connect to particular foods and with particular qualities negotiated in and through them, strengthening the story and the promise of food.

For Claribel, this image contextualized her walk, where the nation emerged as a place of wealth, a productive, fertile, and accessible place, a place where she did ‘not miss [...] anything’ from anywhere. Indeed, this place had ‘everything that any other country would like [...] and more’; hence, it was not only a self-sufficient space where she became a self-sufficient subject ‘at the reach of [her] hand, but a space that satisfied other nations’ needs, becoming resourceful, desirable, and essential. In satisfying others, Claribel not only negotiated the centre of her national practice, but the geographic limits of her journey too, separating the ones who gave and the ones who received, becoming the best in providing quantity and quality products for the world to have. In this context, the image of the national space was an image of abundance, an image that was reiterated in multiple stories where Peruvians ‘ha[d...] a lot’ (Arsenio, 2014), where they ‘ha[d...] everything” they needed (Ramon, restaurant owner, 2014), and where everything they had involved ‘first class quality’ value (Genito, 2014). Ultimately, these quality products created and recreated the national borders in her tale in the way they allowed her to convey particular feelings (i.e. satisfaction), expectations

(i.e. recognition), and interpretations (i.e. success) in relation to the national experience, as it became momentarily *real*.

We have good fishing, seafood, chili, panka chili, mirasol chili, yellow chili, onions, which are the mother of all, right? We have diverse types of potatoes that anyone would love to try. We have fruits, all you can imagine. You can create millions of desserts with them, like the chirimoya, the lucuma, the guanabana, the maracuya. We have blueberries, raspberries.... Everything! Everything to play with!
Claribel, 2014

Potatoes, corn, quinoa, wheat, all of that; oyuco. We have a product called mashua, and also oca, kiwicha, maca and soy. What does Peru have? It has a variety of products. [...] We are from the Sierra. Look, in my house, my wife sometimes cooks quinoa or wheat soup. There is a soup that is called lawa, it is made with corn, there is another one made with wheat, broad bean, potato and, if there is meat, with meat too, if not with cheese. Do you get it? This is our food. Of course, for the main course we have cau- cau, cooked with a variety of beans and whatever else there is, whatever our pockets can afford. If not, only soup.
Esteban, 2014

This country is a country where you can find whatever you want. For example, in the north there are good lemons to make a good ceviche. From Arequipa you get the onion, good onions. From Cusco you get the corn, good corn. And like that, from the Sierra you get the huayro potato, that potato is good. I think you can find everything here.
Mr Gamarra, 2014.

Indeed, the negotiation of a national experience through particular products was a common practice in La Mar, where individuals engaged in long and detailed descriptions of the foods available in the national space. There, the notion of “terroir” (i.e. taste of place; Gyimóthy, 2017), gained particular strength, attributing “personality” to particular products that became the essence of the national practice (Parker, 2015, p.2), where specific places became “social (product[s])” (Lefevbre, 1999, p.26), highlighting contextualized social interactions and movements, becoming “disruptive and cementing of material and moral hierarchies” in the national field (Watson, 2006, p.6) Specifically, the idea of *terroir* transpired in the way individuals narrativised particular lists; lists that behaved as inventories of the national space. For Claribel, as well as unemployed mechanic and former resident Esteban, these lists itemized the goods they found in the national setting, remembering their names and sometimes including a particular dish or recipe too. For both, it seemed important to be specific, to detail as many foods as possible, giving each product a space, accounting for their range and variability, thus, mapping different contexts in the national space. Specifically, each of these lists

revealed what Appadurai (1998, p.21,10) calls a “twin process[...]” that involves both a practice of “regional and ethnic specialization” and “the development of overarching, crosscutting national cuisines”, where “the seductiveness of variety” becomes the force behind the construction of a common experience through food. Ultimately, these lists had the potential to expand the national imaginary, reinventing distant places in the national context (ibid., 21), travelling to the memories of the past in personal stories, family histories, and places of birth, engaging in different journeys that involved, for instance, the possibility to play with food (Claribel) or to survive through it (Esteban).

This idea, to travel around the nation through specific lists, was particularly strong and evident in the story of business owner and mechanic Mr. Gamarra. Indeed, his narrativisation of lemons, onions, corn, and potatoes, allowed him to introduce specific places into the nation, giving them a location in his national imaginary, thus, making them national. In this context, the detail of Mr. Gamarra’s story, and the connection between product-and-place in his tale, contributed to the strengthening of his national journey, where *good* quality products reinforced the idea of a *good* national experience. Others in the avenue, such as newsvendor Doris (2012), security guy Arsenio (2014), shopkeeper Walter (2014), and carpentry manager Andrea (2014), also engaged in similar efforts, where the associations of product-and-place involved strong, unique, bold, nutritious, and wholesome products, serving as an *anchor* to the affective experience of nation emerging across the national field.

Ultimately, the promise of food in La Mar marked the space between the good and the bad, the experience of quality and inferiority, the context of abundance and scarcity. In this space, Peruvian *chilis* became better than those in Mexico (Rosario, 2012), Peruvian apples became tastier than those in Israel (Andrea, 2014), and Peruvian lemons became more acidic than those in the US (David Flores, 2014). Indeed, in and through this space, foreign food became bland and artificial (i.e. Raquel, 2012; Jose Antonio, 2014, Alexander, 2012), toxic (Andrea, 2014), it became ‘simple food’ (i.e. Argentina, Juan del C.; 2012), repetitive and boring (Chile, Juan D., 2014), a food lacking textures and flavours (i.e. Argentina, Shirley, La Red, 2012). In contrast to these foods, food in Peru continued to ‘surprise’, to amuse, and, most importantly, to affect (Juan D. 2014), offering an alternative way to locate people in the national space, where the culinary

maps connected the unconnected throughout the nation, allowing them to negotiate commonality in difference across a diverse population.

On sazón and the making of the national subject

Sazón, I think, is a super sensual word, because it has to do with many things; it has to do with the taste, it has to do with presentation, with the care invested in preparing things; but, above all, it has to do with the energy of the person that prepares them.

Jimena, 2014

Hand in hand with the negotiation of the image of the national space as a place of abundance and richness, the story of food entailed the negotiation of the national subject, a subject that commonly emerged “as someone with managerial capacity over th[e] national space”; someone who knew and understood the national story, someone who could navigate through it (Hage, 1998, p.42). In *La Mar*, I found this capacity to be commonly storied in and through the idea of a *sazón*, a flexible and fluid concept linking a multiplicity of affective practices to the experience of food in the national field. There, different food-related experiences (i.e. cooking, eating, sharing) revealed themselves as a “privileged mode of inhabiting” the national setting (ibid., 42), which allowed national subjects to position themselves within the nation. Hence, in these stories, this position was disclosed as a natural right, carried upon the form of invincible taste buds, impeccable flavours, and broad culinary knowledge contained in *sazón*. Ultimately, these experiences revealed the qualities linking the national subject to the idea of nation itself, where the experience of *terroir* extended from the soil to the social affectivity of the national practice (Parker, 2015), thus, to the core and the essence of Peruvians in and through their national walk.

“Sazón is what belongs to each person, right? [...] *Sazón* is what comes from your soul. If you like it, it has to be liked by the rest.”

Ramon, 2014

“I think that it has to do with everything, right? With the ingredients, with your soul, with your spirit, with your desire, your innovation, and your hands.”

Claribel, 2014

In the case of Ramon (2014), owner of *cevichería Santo Pez*, and Claribel (2014), owner of patisserie *Claribel*, *sazón* represented what came from the ‘soul’, thus, what emerged from the will of each person translated into a positive experience of food. Indeed, for Ramon, *sazón* originated in the force and desire of each subject, in their instinct and

sensitivity towards what is good, in their passion and humanity translated into the capacity to eat, prepare and appreciate food. Meanwhile, for Claribel, *sazon* was not only about ingredients, but it had to do with the spirit, with consciousness itself, in a way, with the *true* self. Hence, for both, the soul in *sazon* represented the strength of the national subject to continue existing and connecting to life, fighting against ‘death’, that is, against invisibility and lack of recognition, against extinction and void (Lee Erickson, 2008; interpretation of George Simmel’s work on religion). Ultimately, the soul in *sazon* highlighted the promise discussed earlier in this section, as it allowed subjects to conquer the fear of an uncertain future in the national field (Abulof, 2015), bearing not only as a form of “resistan[ce]” (i.e. ‘I matter’) but as a form of a connecting “miracle[...]” (i.e. ‘we matter’; Erickson, 2008, p.111). Thus, in a way, for Ramon and Claribel, *sazon* represented a higher place where miracles happened, a place rising above the materiality of the human experience of food. Because, through *sazon*, food was located at the beginning and the end of their affective experience of nation, revealing itself as an untouchable space and a flexible opening where Peruvian-ness was reproduced, “fram[ing] reality” through their “human search for fulfilment” (ibid., 111).

Sazon is what makes Peruvian food good. It is what you put into food, right? That secret you have when cooking. It has happened to me that, if I cook angry, food turns bad. But, if I really cook with patience, with dedication, and with love, and I do my best in cooking, food will taste delicious [...] I think about that, the little secret you put into your food.
Patricia, 2014.

Sazon... when you put love and care into food. If you cook food with rage, how does your food turn out? [...] I am telling you, everything depends on *sazon*, on the love that you put into food.
Jose Antonio, 2014

Sazon, is to make food with pleasure, right? Because it has happened to me, that when I am cooking angry or fed up, my food turns out salty, watery. So, I think you need to put love into food, desire. I am telling you, it has happened to me.
Manuela, 2012

“For me *sazon* is your brush-stroke, your style, your creativity.”
Michelle, architect.

In this context, as explained by Patricia, employee at design store Bo Concept, *sazon* offered the ultimate ‘secret’ for success, an implicit trait separating the Peruvian experience from the rest. This secret allowed her to negotiate an intimate connection to the exterior world, where *sazon* transpired through distinct emotions and traits,

taking the form of patience, dedication, and love, pulling her story into the affective dimension of the practice of nation through food. As for Patricia, for Jose Antonio, it was also the love and the care individuals put into food that mattered in *sazon*, bounding the space between the ones who were willing to give themselves to the national project, and the ones who did not, offering a sense of ownership and deep-rooted connections to the nation (Simmel, 1906). For Manuela, these connections were affective connections at their core, framed by the pleasure and desire not only to make good food, but to be happy, revealing different “intensities” of feeling that were “cycle back” into the making of a national experience (Massumi, 1987, p.xv). Ultimately, as explained by Michelle, this experience reflected individuals’ personal *brush-stroke*, uncovering the soul of the national practice and bounding the national subject as a resourceful, creative and innovate self.

“Every Peruvian has a chip in their head in relation to *sazon* and flavour [...] it is not enough to learn techniques, but the secrets that are passed from mouth to mouth, from generation to generation.”
Shirley, La Red, 2012

I believe that *sazon* is hereditary, and, well, I believe that Peruvians are born with it, with their taste, right? Because each one has thier own tastes and they know how to differentiate. I think that is already set in the palates of each of them, and, us, Peruvians, we have an exigent palate, right? That is why we cook so well our food [...]
Luis, La Red, 2012

“The majority of Peruvians have very good *sazon* coming from home, from the grandmothers and mothers who have taught us.”
Pablo, La Mar, 2012

In this context, the energy and soul, these secrets of *sazon*, laid at the core of the national subject, as it emerged as an inherently capable manager of the national soil, becoming not only affectively powerful but a reflection of an exclusive national privilege. For instance, for Shirley, a server in La Red (2012), these secrets became a *natural* trait of Peruvian-ness passed from generation to generation, an integral physiological feature of this group of people who had a ‘chip’ in their heads, people who had been, in a way, designed to eat, prepare, and recognise good food (Eduardo, 2012; Elloid 2014)²³. As

²³ According Eduardo (2012), owner of defunct restaurant Blu Mar, Peruvians were expected to cook, but also to share their culinary knowledge, guiding and recommending the best ways to experience food, for instance, outside the country. Meanwhile, Elloid, long-time resident and owner of a hardware store, echoed these statements, stressing the need for Peruvians to “show off” their culinary knowledge “wherever” they went in order to be “taken into account”. According to him, “if the person does not know how to cook, they most definitively can talk about and recommend dishes [...]” (2014).

explained by Luis, a server at the same restaurant as Shirley, *sazon* was in fact 'hereditary'. Peruvians were 'born with it', they were born with 'a particular taste for food', with a distinctive talent to 'differentiate' flavours, evident in the 'palate of each person' (2012). Hence, as described by Pablo (server in La Mar, 2012), while *sazon* was a personal and subjective experience, it was ultimately linked to Peruvian genealogy, connecting infinite forms, shapes and structures of families and experiences to the practice of nation, imaginatively built in and through blood and gene. In this sense, *sazon* revealed itself as a form of naturalization, validation or legitimization of the national practice, exposing not only a latent concern for its "continuous growth", but also for the "purity of the national population" (i.e. you needed to be born into *sazon* in order to have it), as a means to secure "the future of the nation", thus, the growing number of its members (Yuval-Davis, 1997, p. 29).²⁴

"As a result of Peruvian food becoming international, there is a need to reduce *sazon*, I don't know, the condiments for instance, so foreigners can eat, assimilate well Peruvian food."
Marco, 2012

When a foreigner comes you cannot offer him a heavy, seasoned dish, because it will automatically be hard to digest. The person comes on vacation and ends up... because he/she is not used to Peruvian seasonings, which are strong, right?
Alex, 2012.

In the end, this concern with *the purity of the nation* was clearly exposed in the way *sazon* became not only a source to negotiate the national core, but a source of differentiation between the national and the foreign experiences of food. In this context, *sazon* was allowed to reify the borders of the national limits, reinforcing the *lines of difference* amongst the ones who could handle *sazon*, its textures and flavours, and the ones who could not. In this context, *sazon* revealed the way national subjects were ready to take on the national experience, becoming stronger and bolder in comparison to others who required a milder version of the national practice, a version that did not require as much strength and desire. Ultimately, from the soul to the secrets, to the

²⁴ Because of time and space restrictions, the gendered aspect of the Peruvian national experience could not be further explored in this thesis. However, the theoretical discussion on difference, power, and identification developed in this work, as well as initial observations in regards to gender roles in the gastronomic revolution and processes of national identification in Lima (i.e. the role of mothers and grandmothers in passing on the knowledge of *sazon* and the role of male chefs in representing and reproducing the gastronomic boom), have provided the initial steps into future efforts to further understand commonality in difference through gender inflicted practices in the capital.

blood and the force of *sazon*, the Peruvian national self became a capable and legitimate subject navigating the national space, revealing the strength, mobility, and affectivity of his/her national experience, as he/she defied the risks of invisibility, misrecognition, and death.

THE RISK OF THE STORY OF FOOD

In *La Mar*, the *general goal* or *the promise of nation* was built around the idea that Peruvians ate well. As discussed in previous sections, this idea took the form of a *generative system of dispositions* evident in the specificity, the force, and the aim of particular stories built around the space (i.e. quality and quantity of foods in the national territory) and the subjects of the nation (i.e. *sazon*). There, this *general goal* involved different journeys exceeding the steps of delimited national subjects walking into delimited national limits. Instead, this *general goal* implicated the processes in the making of a national experience, showcasing distinct ways of entering the nation as a space that ultimately represented different things for different people.



Fig.4.0. The Space of Food I



Fig.4.1. The Space of Food II

In this context, the story of food revealed itself not only as “a representation of what each [...national] member experience[d] as having in common with other [national] members” (i.e. commonality in difference); but, also, a representation of the “space where [...national members] experience[d] their individual existence as dissolving within

a wider mode of [...national] existence” (i.e. a latent “mutuality”; Hage, 2012, p.23). In the later, not everyone was required to devote the same amount of time, effort, or affect to belong. Indeed, not everyone was expected to face the same degree of risk in missing the mark or to deal with the same amount of pressure to amount to something valuable in the national field (and maintain it), revealing what Watkins (2010, p.166) identifies as a form of “symbolic dependence” for the approval of others (Sayer, 2005). Hence, not everyone could move at the same pace in and through the national space, revealing different journeys in becoming and staying national in relation to others. In the end, not everyone was expected to arrive at the nation in the same way, or, even to arrive at all, stressing “the instantiation of an economy of power” built upon the need, accessibility, and dependability on the story of food and the promise of nation in building a collective practice of identification (Yar, 2001, p.57). Ultimately, national dispositions reflected a way of *arriving in place*, thus, as a way of being and becoming in relation to the nation, where subjects shared a “structure of feeling” (Williams, 1977; Edensor, 2006, p.529) within which not everyone was expected or destined to be included in the same way.

Because the national walk was not a homogenous walk. Indeed, it was a walk with evident breaches, divergences, and holes, where subjects handled different positions and distances between each other, facing distinct opportunities and risks to be and become national. These opportunities and risks had less to do with the “access” to differentiating resources and “discourses” (i.e. as in practices of class, Chapter IV; Allen, Wollingworth, 2013, p.6), than with the possibilities to contribute and connect to the core of the national practice, emerging in and between different feelings of pride, concern, enjoyment, resentment, and neglect. Ultimately, these feelings revealed the prospects for a collective national presence, characterized not only by a common experience, but by a potential “mutuality stress[ing] the ‘respective’ relationship between two or more people as having something in common” (Foppa et. al, 1995, p.4).

On Pinching my pride and laughing out loud

We feel proud of our food and our cuisine. And, every time someone touches it and wants to talk bad about it, everyone snaps out, right? As if it was pinching you, right? Making you think: what is happening here? And, why?
Juan, La Red 2012

For Juan, the risk of the story of food grew as a critical pinch, revealing the mounting hopes and ensuing vulnerability transpiring in his walk. Specifically, this risk underscored the purpose of his tale (i.e. to feel proud), but most importantly so, the possibilities he had of succeeding at it, shaping not only his opportunities to share a common national story (i.e. we all know how to eat), but to successfully “display” himself as a “legitimate” subject of the nation within it (Skeggs, 2004:19). In this context, Juan’s risk took the form of a condition to perform, an obligation that grew in relation to the “magnitude of [his...] need for affect”, moulding the prospects to be –positively– affected by food (Maio, 2001). Specifically, this need for affect responded to individual variations delineating the expectations, demands, and interpretations involved in his national journey, emerging as a search for recognition, visibility, and validation, where the forces and intensities of power slipped in and between each of his steps within the *foodscapes* of La Mar. These forces articulated difference through the fullness and conflicting nature of his personal walk across the avenue, delimiting his national practice among multiple other practices in this space (i.e. class), ‘making’ him ‘think’ and question the possible challenges against *his* national food in the making of his national experience, making him want to protect it from the ‘touch’ of unwanted hands.

Hence, for Juan, the practice of nation was not only about a walk through the national promise or access to “the right sort of cultural capital” to belong (i.e. ‘I am a good eater’), but the processes involved in securing these efforts (Skeggs 2004, p.29). These processes were important as they bared and reproduced distinct positions in the nation, revealing the *distance* between “those who only ha[d] to be what they [were] as opposed to those who [were] what they did [...]” (ibid., 29). In the case of Juan, he became a valuable national subject, not only because he shared the story of *el buen comer*, but most importantly so, because he became a winner and successful subject of nation through it. This way, in the face of possible threats, Juan became fearful to lose what he had gained and stop feeling what he had felt, *snapping* at the possibility of loss. Ultimately, in the face of possible threats, Juan exposed the degree to which he had invested himself in the promise of food revealing the emotional weight of his national journey (Appel, Richter, 2009).

I laugh, I laugh about that *lomo saltado* served with three potatoes and labelled with a very strange and long name... I laugh. [...]

[...] No, yes, it is good, but Chinese food is spectacular, Italian food is incredible, Spanish food is fabulous, and French food too, with its sophistication. I mean, sure, we have a good gastronomy, more varied than other neighboring countries; but, from that to say that we are *the dog's bollocks* at a global level? No.
Michelle, 2014

In contrast to Juan, SoHo architect Michele, laughed at the complicated names used to describe the classic Peruvian dish *Lomo Saltado* in some of the new restaurants in Lima, playing with the limits of the seriousness of the story of food. She seemed entertained by the elaborated ways individuals engaged with this tale and the apparent strategies they used to *elevate* Peruvian food to a higher level of sophistication. Opposing Juan's apparent need for affect, recognition, and acknowledgement, she seemed spontaneous and free. Indeed, her laugh did not show concern, but amusement of the bearing of food in the symbolic dimension of the nation, where the borders seemed to be excessive.

Hence, Michelle laughed not only about the idea of Peruvian food becoming the best cuisine in the world, but also about the unawareness or even innocence of particular subjects discounting the world beyond their walk. Indeed, for Michelle, while Peruvian food was undeniably good, it was not necessarily better than other foods in the world, where Chinese food, Italian food, Spanish food and French food also excelled. In this context, Michelle positioned herself within the national field, revealing, in the same way as Jonathan (Chapter IV), an "interplay of self, other and world" offering a "cosmopolitan imagination" (Delanty, 2006, pp.36,41,32), or "disposition" (Noble, 2009) allowing her to "deploy" specific social, economic, political and cultural resources to be and become in the national space (Allen, Wollingworth, 2013, p.2). This way, Michelle's story delineated the boundaries of the national field, not as they became impenetrable from the outside into the inside, but as they leaked into multiple fields of identification, shaping particular "horizons for spatial and social mobility" within her national imaginary (ibid., 6).

I mean, to tell you the truth, we have a very huge ego. We are super proud of our food, but, I have talked with a lot of foreigners and when I asked them if they have tried Peruvian food, a lot of them have told me "You talk more about Peruvian food than what it actually is" [...] I mean you go to USA and Peruvian food does not appear like the Vietnamese, like Thai food, like the Japanese, the Chinese, the Hindu and the Lebanese food; I mean, you can choose from at least 20 nationalities before us... for example, the Mexican, the Cuban, I don't know, there are so many, the Spanish, the French, the Italian and so on. And it continues like that, I mean Peruvians' ego is and has

been thickened by a campaign that I think has been good because we needed some type of identity [...] and I think that food unites a lot, right? And I think it was ok, but I also think that we have inflated ourselves a little more than what we actually are. I think there is so much work left to do, I think we have a good food, delicious tasty food, that we Peruvians know how to eat, but I think this is something more internal rather than something happening at the external level.
Jimena, 2014

In a similar way to Michelle, Jimena (2014), owner of organic shop *Punto Organico*, questioned the bearing of food in the symbolic dimension of the nation, challenging the 'ego' Peruvians built around it. Alluding to the *ego* of people, Jimena stressed the mediation of the experience of food and nation in the way subjects searched to secure a national image of themselves and a sense of self-importance, overlooking the role of foreign cuisines in the gastronomic field. Hence, for Jimena, this image disclosed a gap between Peruvians' perceived reality and reality itself; thus, between the internal and external processes shaping the value of Peruvian food in the national field, conquering, more than anything else, the hearts and the minds of people. This way, food became a national instrument that was needed, a construction uniting Peruvians and giving them a sense of identity; a construction that was useful for Jimena, until it was not anymore. And it was not useful anymore because it grew much bigger than she was willing to handle, taking much more space in her national journey than she was prepared to give, leaking into the limits of the national field and overflowing into a space beyond that reflected there was still *much work left to do*.

And, it was this *needed work* that separated the stories of Juan, Michelle, and Jimena, revealing different positions and distances into the practice of nation in La Mar, highlighting diverse links between them and the national experience. In the case of Juan, he became a proud national subject, while Michelle and Jimena just proudly navigated the field, keeping a distance between them and defining boundaries of nation, allowing them to move in and out of the national limit and opening alternative forms of value-making that revealed the best way to become who they wanted to be. In this process, the promise of nation became excessive for them, challenging the order of things they expected in their walks (i.e. a cosmopolitan experience of the world), making them step back from the national boundaries of identification. And they did, securing a particular "distance whilst in proximity" to *other* national subjects (Skeggs, 2004, p.102), finding not only the opportunity to negotiate commonality in difference, but the possibility to

challenge it too, contesting the qualities and limits of the national affective practice negotiated in the avenue itself (Hage, 1998).

On affective aliens

I am one of those Peruvians that hates that air bubble that people call the gastronomic boom of Peruvian food and does not consider our food as the best in Latin-America and– not to fall upon false modesties- the world [...] My favorite restaurants are Italian. I honestly think that Peruvian food indigests and is unhealthy. Almost without exception Peruvian food is about a firecracker of carbohydrates *to the third power*, an inexplicable mixture of ingredients (many of which are delicious by themselves, I have to say, because they are first class), which any qualified nutritionist should prohibit. Every time that someone talks about the fame of the Peruvian food in the world, I think about the scarcities of a country in need for foreign recognition in order to feel respect for itself.

(Ivan Thays, Vano Oficio, 2012)

In 2012 Ivan Thays, Peruvian author and blogger living in Spain, published an article that openly criticized the Peruvian gastronomic boom, becoming the centre of a heated debate in Peru. Eugenio (2012), a regular diner at La Red, dedicated a great part of his narrative to address Thays' remarks and the most common reactions he witnessed around them, going from mild interrogations to full blown offences dominating the media. Revealing as a sort of liminality, Thays' comments offered him the possibility to address *changes and continuations* in the boundaries of the national practice, shaping new ways of being in and out of place in the national field. Specifically, these comments exposed the prospects to reformulate the walk of multiple subjects in reference to their national experience, underlying the way *differences* were commonly "re-embedded rather than dismantled" (ibid. 123). Ultimately, these comments offered Eugenio the space to relocate himself in the national journey, challenging the affective links between food and the national experience, suggesting a *moderated* path into the practice of national belonging itself.

To put it simply, I consider that, as a nation that continues to be in a process of development, Peru does not understand the meaning of tolerance, as in relation to respecting others' opinion. Mr. Thays is a qualified professional, residing abroad, who, definitively, expressed an opinion in the same way as me, when I say that I like Peruvian food, as I like Mediterranean food or Thai food. [...] It is a simple matter of Latin American chauvinism, right? I mean, everything is superlativised, right? I mean, definitively, food is not a totem right? At least, I do not form part of that tribe. I am a person who, thanks to my parents and myself, I have been educated and cultured. Now, that other people try to lynch someone because of the opinion they have, I do not agree. Eugenio, 2012

For Eugenio, the common and popular reactions against Thays among the Peruvian population revealed the socio-cultural precariousities of a 'developing nation', delineated as a lack of resources to accept alternative views. In this context, Peruvians became uneducated people, people who did not have a culture, people who did not know better. Indeed, they became people who revealed a restricted view on the world, lacking the knowledgeability to navigate beyond their path, thus revealing the pressures and needs to sustain a particular walk, becoming dependent on it.

For Eugenio, these pressures and needs were directly associated to the country's 'chauvinistic Latin American tendencies', where everything was 'superlativised', exaggerated, resulting in what Maio (2001) describes as "extreme attitude[s]" in the need of affect. In and through these attitudes, food emerged as a '*totem*' protecting their national journey, securing the affective practices they built around the nation. Eugenio did not believe in this 'totem'; indeed, he did not consider himself as part of the tribe that gathered around it. Because, he had received an *education* from his parents, he had become a *cultured* man, offering him a sense of control, separating him from those who relied on pure emotions; those who became uncontrollable, immoderate, and excessive (Skeggs, 2004). Ultimately, for Eugenio, these attitudes marked the limits of the promise of nation, requiring him to distance himself from the Peruvian subject as it became increasingly heavy upon his steps, uncomfortable, and a violation of his national practice, conflicting with alternative collective practices in the city, where he walked as a tolerant, open-minded, and sophisticated self.

In this context, Eugenio moved through different fields that become available in his story, accessing a variety of resources on each of his steps, allowing him to choose where he wanted to go and who he wanted to be. Hence, as he moved, he diversified the risk of exclusion, walking across an assortment of possibilities for value-making, allowing him to step in and through the limits of the national field and to foster different qualities upon himself (i.e. cultured) and others (i.e. uncultured). In and through these movements, Eugenio assured me there was no such thing as the 'best food', but only different ways of eating. 'It is all about customs', he said, while taking a sip of his coffee and asking for the bill, revealing a sense of confidence about his position in the nation and beyond, contrasting with others who fervidly stuck to the links between food,

nation, and self, others who maintained that Peruvian food was ‘the leading one’ in the world (Doris, 2014; Alex, 2012; Jose Antonio, 2014), ‘no matter who it hurt’ (Elloid, 2014).

“What Thays said was like spiting into the national flag, right?”

Juan, La Red, 2012

It is like someone would mess with your family, right? I mean, if they talk bad about your dad or mom, you will obviously react, because you do not share the same views, because you love them. And, people are already used to loving food [...] Years back, people would ask in foreign countries “what about Peruvians?” and they would say “oh no, Peruvians, they are thieves, they are slackers” right? [...] But today no, people come more trusting, more friendly here to Peru, to enjoy, to have good time. Because now there is a lot of diffusion about it [Peruvian food], right? I think anyone would be bothered, right? If you are working towards something and not to defend it, right? Like you; you said you are studying sociology? So, what would happen if you have a theory and you have presented your thesis and all, and you have the acceptance of your supervisor and fellow university students, and there comes a crazy person and refutes you and lowers your merits, obviously, you will want to defend what you are projecting, right?

Alberto, La Red, 2012

In opposition to Eugenio’s experience, for Juan and Alberto, Thays’ remarks represented a direct attack on their journey through the nation. Indeed, Thays became a traitor, ‘*spitting into the flag*’ and ‘*messing*’ with their families, attacking two valuable representations of their affective national experience negotiated in the avenue. There, Thays embodied what Ahmed (2010, pp.38, 30, 37) describes as an “affective alien”, “disturb[ing]” the system of feelings and dispositions emerging in the foodscapes of La Mar, challenging the story and the promise of food, and falling “out of line” from the national “affective community” negotiated in this space. Ultimately, for Juan and Alberto, Thays became the cause of the possible loss of the value and trust Peruvians had built around the story and the promise of food, intensifying the risk of becoming, once again, valueless, thus, the thieves and slackers of the world.

In this context, in the same way as the tipping point of change, Thays’s comments generated a space or an emptiness, a form of interruption that required individuals to look within, to search outside, to measure bodies and steps, to evaluate practices and delimit borders, securing particular positions and distances amongst each other. In this way Thays’ comments revealed the gap between food, nation, and identity, thus the gap “between the affective value” of food and “how [Peruvians] experience[d it...]”, in this

case, within the national field (Ahmed, 2010, p.41). Following Ahmed (p.41), this gap “involve[d] a range of affects” shaped “by the modes of explanations” subjects presented “to fill this gap”, pointing, for instance, to the reasons why food became a source of national pride or not, for whom, when, and in what forms.

In the case of Juan and Alberto, proximity to the story of food made them proud. It made them proud because Peruvian food was good, because it was the best in the world, because it was untouchable. In the case of Eugenio, proximity to the story of food did not make him proud; indeed, it made him feel uneasy and concerned by the way it connected to the nation and his national practice. According to Ahmed (2010, p.50), explanations for these alienating events commonly involve either an “anxious narrative of self-doubt” or a “narrative of rage” based on feelings of disappointment towards the objects of affect, in this case, towards food as the “object” of pride. However, in the case of Eugenio, more than anxiety, self-doubt, or rage, his explanations were built upon a moral narrative, shaped by the limits of excess negotiated through practices of class, revealed, for instance, as Peruvians became uneducated and uncultured subjects. Ultimately, for Eugenio, the experience of excess exposed an inconvenient national trait, conflicting with the expectations he had on his personal journey in the city, struggling to reconcile with his social, cultural, political, and economic selves navigating this space.

This way, Thays represented a sort of “blockage[...] point” to the interactions built around the common experience of nation, hindering the possibility for a “smooth communication” between subjects, thus revealing the forces and intensities of power in the negotiation of different roles and qualities emerging around this practice (ibid., 53). Indeed, this blockage point revealed much more than food as a shared space of a national practice, but the relationships built between people in a common practice of nation, highlighting what Markov, Graumann and Foppa (1995, p.5) called an experience of “mutuality”. This experience stressed the way different subjects connected to one another in the national field, exposing not only how they related through commonality, but how they “complemented” each other within this space, thus, engaged in “assymtr[ical]” processes of national exchange (ibid., 5). In this context, while “mutuality” offered possibilities to “fuse” complementary, asymmetrical experiences with experiences of “reciprocity”, “balance”, “mutual benefit”, or “equity” (ibid., 5), at

its core, mutuality's asymmetrical basis suggested a space where the potentiality for difference and differentiation became increasingly evident in the way power was experienced and expressed, revealing the social fabric of the national practice as it pointed to whom, why, and where subjects of nation became valuable, moveable, free, restricted, different, or the same.

In this process, new national sensibilities found in and through food neither replaced nor overrode dynamics of power experienced in the avenue, nor transported power from dynamics of culture or class to the national setting. Instead, power was constantly redefined and relocated, in this case, as food accumulated value within and among diverse and sometimes contradicting ways of "imagin[ing] belonging" (Skeggs, 2004, p.19), transpiring and leaking into multiple and multi-dimensional journeys narrativised in the national field. These *imaginings* disclosed the affective paradox of identification, as both a fundamental form of connecting people (i.e. spatial affective aspiration) and challenging these connections too (i.e. the morality of excess), highlighting the outflow of different perspectives, expectations, restrictions, desires, feelings, emotions, thoughts, and behaviours in the making of commonality in difference. Ultimately, these outflows emerged in subtle and, sometimes, indirect ways, for instance, in the way Eugenio supported Thays and criticized the critiques, or the way Juan and Alberto felt surprised, betrayed, and disrespected, gazing at the infinite space where class began and the nation ended, disclosing the complexities of being and becoming in the form of shifts, tendencies, and strategies to control the possibilities for *arriving in place*.

CONCLUSION

[I]n the same way there are discussions in a *callejon*, there are also discussions in a building, but it is more... let's say, it is more modern, it is like a modern *callejon* [laughs]. He [Elloid's father] used to tell me that. I do not know if it is true! However, he passed away with that idea. He was a handyman for years, and this is what he told me: 'You see a *callejon*, you see a building: they are the same. There, with garlic and onions, and here, maybe with less garlic and onions, yet with garlic and onions anyway. There, maybe more educated; and, here not so much'. He used to tell me that.

Elloid, 2014

This chapter represented the last one in the body of this thesis, coming full circle in the exploration of difference, power, and identification in a context of change. In this case, this exploration focused on different practices of nation, revealing another dimension

of the *struggles for value* emerging through the *foodscapes* of the avenue. In La Mar, this struggle moved beyond the restaurants, the cooks, and the eaters of the nation, highlighting the affective engagements with the national story and the negotiations of a collective promise to belong, built and sustained in a common practice of nation. In and through this practice, the role of food posed a direct challenge to what Bell and Valentine (1997, p.169) define as one of the “fundamental contradictions of the food-nationalism equation”, which is the assumption of the existence of an “essential national food” and the idea that it is directly linked to the making of a national collective practice. Brubaker’s (1998, p.275) critique of the “architectonic illusion” of nation and Fevre and A. Thompson’s (2001, p.308) contestation of “grand narratives” of (nation and) identification, point to the same direction, challenging the boundaries of *the concrete*, emerging, in this case, in relation to what people were and were not, hence, to what people ate or did not eat.²⁵ Ultimately, in La Mar, the *struggle for value* took place at the core of the stories that emerged in the avenue, in the interests and investments individuals sought within them, in the possibilities and risks they recognized in each of its words, where food became abundant, superior, a road into the *soul* of the nation and the *secrets* at the core of the national experience.

This way, the *historia del buen comer* emerged as an inherent quality of the Peruvian subject, highlighting a common national practice, which, nonetheless, was experienced and interpreted in multiple ways, revealing particular dynamics of power and differentiation. In this context, the quality of *el buen comer* took different forms, engaging with different limits and revealing different intensities of feeling, highlighting a wide variety of opportunities, restrictions, limits, possibilities and risks in becoming national. In La Mar, this process of *becoming* was characterized by different ways of entering the national field and the prospects to move in, out, and through it, stressing

²⁵ Moving away from the specificity of La Mar into the context of the country, recent studies on food and identification have focused on the concept of *mestizaje*, falling undeniably short in recognizing the relevance of *food beyond food* in the exploration of nation and identification, focusing instead, on the democratization and decentralization of culinary practices. In this context, these studies have centred on the exploration of national identity in the form of dietary changes, innovative culinary transformations and the end of a “culinary apartheid” through eating activities (Isabel Alvarez, 1992:283; for example. Vega, Luciano, Rodriguez Pastor, Bonfiglio Volpe, Morimoto, Alvarez Novoa as cited in Olivas Weston, 1993), which, while highlighting innovative ways of recreating the national culinary culture and exploring the political, economic and demographic history of Lima, have fallen undeniably short in discussing processes of national identification themselves.

the common experience of nation through food and, as importantly, the relationships forged relative to this common experience. These relationships underlined a mutual experience relative not only to the national practice and the making of *other* national selves, but the edges of the national experience, transpired by multiple layers of possible forms of being and becoming, exceeding the nation and stressing the lingering value of a multiplicity of –classed, economic, cultural, political, and gendered- walks, where, as explained by Elloid, people from *callejones* and people from buildings were seemingly *the same*, yet ultimately enjoyed different accesses to resources (i.e. quantity of onions and garlics, education). Ultimately, power, the accumulation of value and the experience of difference were not a storm of forces contained into one particular field of socialisation at one particular moment, but a multilayer engagement of forces emerging as a complex process of invading and cutting back, letting go and calling back, revealing what was best for whom, when and where.

For instance, it was in one of these moments that Eugenio overcame the threat of the *national alien*, taking advantage of the opportunity to reveal who he was and validate who wanted to be. Indeed, the alien offered him a chance to edit his national experience in relation his other experiences in the city, for instance, reinforcing the margins of his practice of class and questioning unwanted limits between the two. In this context, the alien not only ceased to become an alien but became a possible hero for Eugenio, blurring the boundaries of steady categorizations and challenging the idea of sanitized systems of classification emerging in the social tissue of the national space. Ultimately, it was one of these delicate and subtle moments that highlighted not only the “gap in the order of things” (Stewart, 1996), underscoring the space where food became national and individuals became national subjects, but the tipping point of change, exposing the way Eugenio seemed freer than others, entering and leaving the nation as the promise of food took more than he was willing to give.

In the end, food became important not because it was actually good or bad, but, as explained by Mirko Lauer (2015), because Peruvians were presented with the opportunity and “decided to unite under this idea”. In this context, food became valuable not because it was somehow allowed to “redeem” Peruvians itself, going back in time and rescuing what was lost through years of failed national projects

(Montoya, 2002). Instead, food became meaningful as it allowed one to negotiate Peruvian-ness itself, offering a space to glance and a goal to strive for “real belonging” in the national field (Skeggs, 2004, p.19). In this context, the importance of food resided in its “enabling effect” disclosing subjects’ positions and distances, displaying where they seemingly were and where they aspired to go (Watkins, 2010, p.409), pulling people together but also tearing them apart, making them as much alike as the boundaries they share in the practice of identification. Ultimately, the importance of food laid in “the instantiation of meaning as difference [was...] differently inscribed by the manipulation of power at different times and places in the city” (Watson, Bridge, 2002, p.511), where some worked at becoming national and others just walked through a national experience.

CHAPTER VI CONCLUSION



Fig.4.2. La Mar

Having explored La Mar through narratives of change and belonging I am reminded of the work of AbdouMaliq Simone, particularly the way he acknowledges the heterogeneity of the urban context and of life itself. According to Simone and Rao (2011), this heterogeneity points to individuals as they go beyond “a diverse composition of readily apparent income levels, life-styles, aspirations and settlement histories” into a sea of possibilities that become concrete as they intermingle with each other, finding a way to survive, to relate and locate themselves within a particular setting. Indeed, Simone’s observations display the multidimensionality of social processes in the city, as well as the complexity of urban collective experiences,

highlighting the central role of a “togetherness in difference” (Ang, 2003, p.2), stemming from “the facticity of difference” itself (Pitcher, 2009, p.2).

In La Mar, I have investigated the facticity of difference in the way it is negotiated and manifested, stressing the centrality of social practices in the way individuals come together or fall apart in one particular moment in time and space. In this process, I have explored the idea of *difference* as much more than a state of identificatory permanence, but a reflection of multiple strategies, perspectives, expectations, orientations, and forms of value, revealing infinite forces, directions, and intensities of power. These negotiations of identification have become palpable in the form of narratives, allowing an opportunity to engage with theoretical discussions in and through themselves, stressing the possibilities individuals have to choose and invest in particular journeys of becoming. Ultimately, these negotiations have become the representation of “multiple places in the same space” (Jackson Jones, 2014, p.5), evoking identification as a place-based imaginary and socio-affective construction that is relative to the avenue of La Mar but not limited by it.

Hence, rather than limiting the investigation, La Mar has offered a particular context in which to ground theoretical dialogues about difference, power, and identification, framing them as spatiotemporal practices materialized as individuals move *in and out of place*. In chapters III, IV, and V I have explored these movements through experiences of class differentiation. Meanwhile, in chapter VI, I have explored these movements through experiences of commonality in the name of the nation. Each in its own way, these explorations have been framed by a multi-method strategy, acting as a flexible compass for navigating La Mar through participant observation, interviews, conversations, and image-making. Ultimately, these strategies have shaped this thesis as a *narrative of narratives*, mediating, translating, and editing multiple identificatory practices that revealed the “unsettling detail” of the everyday, framing the avenue as a space where individuals have the potential to “make things differently”, thus, a space for action (Duruz, 2002, p. 374).

In this context, La Mar has become a space that communicates and generates data, a space that reveals a multi-layered “play of forces” pulling people together but also

tearing them apart, making them as much alike as the boundaries they momentarily share (Ashley et al. 2004, p.3). In this thesis, these boundaries have disclosed and reproduced multiple voices, highlighting different orientations around the avenue, the city, the nation, and beyond, exposing different forms of knowledge and affective links between people, places, and actions crafted as social experiences within and in relation to La Mar. Specifically, these social experiences have highlighted individuals' strategies in *showing the way*, "harness[ing] the power of the[ir] voice[s] and lungs to deliver a performance no less visceral and muscular than that of walking" itself (Ingold, Vergunst, 2008, p. 10). Hence, each of these walks has disclosed the complex, imagined, and forceful ways that individuals move and rearrange identities, stressing their efforts to locate things, people, and places, while constructing, challenging, and reproducing meaning and value. Ultimately, these voices have transpired to mediate collective experiences while highlighting individuals' journeys, where the meaning of *in-situ* becomes a much more flexible, fluid, expandable, and porous experience of being located, and revealed as a way of being *on the move* (Ingold, Vergunst, 2008).

For instance, visual narratives have been particularly useful in exploring this moving journey, disclosing, through their content and their form, place-based experiences of identification in La Mar. Indeed, the shooting, editing, developing, and pasting of photographs has allowed me to narrativise an intimate yet critical view of the walks across this avenue, uncovering the central role of methodology in accessing as well as reproducing social experiences in sociological research. Hence, while the view from my lens might have offered a "partial" representation of the social fabric of La Mar (Becker, 2007, p.20), the specificity of this view has presented me with the perfect space to explore the multiplicity of practices of *difference* itself, emerging as a contextual articulation of value in the making. In the end, it has been in and through this contextuality that I have framed the intended contributions of this thesis, emerging as an empirical exploration of identification, understood as an intimate, fragmentary, and open-ended practice of power.

In accordance with this, I have summarized the conclusion of this thesis around two particular arguments built on the specificity of La Mar. In the first section of this chapter (On Difference, Change, and Power), the argument points to the way difference is always

about power. As power, difference is legitimised through multiple forms of knowledge and affective practices negotiated in the avenue around the experience of change. In this context, difference becomes a negotiation of value in relation to different positions, distances, and locations, revealing the movement and fixity of power in the making. Building upon this idea, in the second section of this chapter (Difference as a Spatiotemporal Practice of Value), my second argument points to the way difference always behaves as a spatiotemporal form of value, framing individuals' experiences in becoming different and/or the same, revealing not only the central role of categories (or fields) of action (for example, class and nation), but the *changes and continuations* in the power negotiated within these categories. In this context, the categories of class and nation and, as importantly, the space between the two, developed into key sociological instruments to explore the experience of difference, contributing to what Watson and Bridge (2002, p. 505) describe as a "notable shift in the urban sociology literature from discourses of division to discourses of difference", informing about the productive nature of power itself.

ON DIFFERENCE, CHANGE, AND POWER



Fig.4.3. On Change, Difference and Power

When I first came to La Mar, I could have never imagined that change would move into the core of my investigation. Over a period of five years, change went from reflecting an expanding culinary offer, to providing a fertile stage to explore the social fabric of difference in the making. Indeed, it was in and through the experience of change that I recognized different positions, distances, and journeys in La Mar as individuals filled up the gap of change, and recognized the crack or emptiness left in the moment where they realized that life was no longer what it used to be.

As discussed in chapters IV and V, these moments of realization delineated the avenue as a liminal environment, outlining a liminal experience that showcased the need and the space to assert particular stories, connections, and values. In this space, *quintas* became better than *corralones* (Jose Antonio, Chapter III), buildings became modern (Elloid, Chapter V), tall, and impersonal (Mr. Gamarra, Chapter III), mechanic shops became dangerous yet interesting (Jonathan, Chapter IV), restaurants became fancy, and food became national (Chapter VI). In this space meaning was made, reinforced, and challenged, disclosing much more than a linear process of transformation from the past into the present and towards the future, but an opportunity to explore different variables articulating the new (symbolic and material) limits of La Mar and the value negotiated within these limits.

Indeed, it was in this liminal space of change that I recognized what in other spaces could have been almost imperceptible, like the hand of the clock that marks the hours, stressing the multiple effects of change upon people as well as places. In La Mar, these effects emphasized not only the way individuals made sense of and accommodated the changing environment, but the strategies individuals' used to "embrace and capitalise" upon change, exposing power in the making (Taylor, 2012, pp. 93, 281) In this context, different stories crystalized in and out of existence, fading away and emerging in a complex interplay between multiple affective and social experiences of identification, where difference was always "re-embed[ed] rather than dismantle[d]" (Taylor, 2012, p.123). Ultimately, these experiences revealed much more than the boundaries between the losers and winners of a process of gentrification, but the *changes and continuations* in the direction and intensity of power, stressing the practices through

which individuals became different (for example, old residents/new residents, poor/rich, risky/trustworthy, liminal/interesting) and/or the same (for example, Peruvians).

For instance, as explored in Chapter VI, the experience of nation transpired as a form of commonality in difference where the nation exceeded the limits of a homogenous practice within a homogenous national group. Instead, in La Mar, the nation revealed itself as an experience of *mutuality* negotiated among heterogeneous journeys. In this context, the experience of nation transpired multiple stories not only as a form of connection between people, but as form of complementing each other, alluding not only to different positions and distances in the nation, but necessarily so, to uneven openings to value in this space. Ultimately, the experience of difference through nation did not point to the limits between national and non-national selves, but the strategies and struggles for value involved in these processes within the avenue.

In this context, the experience of difference highlighted the movements of value in the openings of power, where ambiguities faded away in an apparent order of things, delimiting, among others, the national journey. This order disclosed the potential of power to fix some people and allow others to move, revealing multiple stories as a “generative system of dispositions” to navigate the area (Taylor, 2012, p.49). In this process, some people became the “ground of fixity” from which others could move, for instance, allowing Jonathan to find pleasure in the ‘spirit of the avenue’ (Chapter IV; Skeggs, 2004) and demanding others to ground his experience within this space (for example, the ‘caserito’, the mechanic, ‘the little corner grocery store’ owner, the carpenter, the metal worker and the upholsterer). Ultimately, while some people found their way around the limits of beauty and ugliness, of silence and noise, of safety and danger, of the past and the future of this space, others were trapped within these limits.

Difference allowed the calculation of the personal and *the other*, highlighting the social coordinates of people, involving different collective dynamics, affective experiences, positions, and distances, as well as constraints and demands to be and become. These coordinates uncovered infinite subjective experiences feeding into the discursive boundaries and values that shaped the possible futures of multiple journeys in La Mar,

revealing various degrees of freedom and control. For instance, these experiences were narrativised through multiple interpretations of safety and danger, evident, among others, in the role of Serenasgos (Juan, Chapter V) or the qualities of *quintas*, *corralones* and buildings in this space (Chapter III). Ultimately, these coordinates emerged in the way individuals managed (or not) to “keep undesirable [situations,] persons and things at a distance” (Bourdieu 1999, p. 127), highlighting not only the way some people were forced “to put up with that from which others c[ould] move” (i.e. danger and poverty; Skeggs, 2004, p.50), but also, to let go of that which others wanted (i.e. the *barrio* experience).

Hence, in La Mar, the negotiation of the social coordinates of particular journeys exposed the gap between the benefits and exigencies of change, as well as the legitimization of power through these benefits and exigencies. In this gap, power rose as a form of recognition, informed not only by “the operations of the powerful” (i.e. new businesses entering the *barrio*), but most importantly so, by “the systems of inscription and classification” delineating structures of symbolic domination in the avenue, where, commonly, new businesses became synonymous with progress, and progress with something good (Skeggs, 2004, p.5). Ultimately, these systems of inscription and classification reified particular ways of navigating La Mar, ascribing some people with value, thus, acknowledging certain journeys as more valuable than others, reifying the distance between those who had a liminal and adventurous experience and those who became liminal and dangerous subjects, those who could access a national practice and those who depended on a national experience, those who were just being and those who *had to do* in order to become.

As explored in Chapters III, IV and V, the value of different journeys was commonly negotiated through the value ascribed to particular locations, positions, and distances, revealing infinite ways of knowing, thus, infinite ways of walking the avenue and beyond. These walks incorporated not only multiple perceptions about La Mar as a safe, interesting, dangerous, or modern space, but also, “an embodied subjectivity” of knowledgeability, highlighting much more than pure content, but a lived experience itself (Skeggs and Binnie, 2004, p.42). This experience incorporated different forms of interpreting the avenue and, most importantly so, different forms of carrying oneself

within it, stressing distinct abilities to access and reproduce value, hence distinct abilities to legitimize power in this setting. In the case of Jonathan (*Pan de la Chola*), past experiences had allowed him to recognize La Mar as a gentrifying space, where he could move between places (i.e. Lima and London) and times (i.e. the past and the present of La Mar), testing different roles and negotiating his walk as an adventurous, interesting and valuable self. In this context, Jonathan disclosed a sense of entitlement that grew in relation to his cosmopolitan view, inspired by what he had seen somewhere else in the world, allowing him to re-inscribe the *barrio* culture as a source of value exchange within the limits of his bakery. There, experiences of danger, destitution, and survival turned into experiences of bravery, independence, and creativity, pointing to who was allowed to become different and where, reifying the limits of value and his position of power in this setting.

However, value was not always possible or sought to be found in the *barrio*, challenging the prospects for a uniform practice of difference in La Mar (as in the experience of nation). In fact, individuals appreciated different things at different times, revealing the fluidity and malleability of value and highlighting the complexities of power dynamics in this space. For instance, while Genito (beauty salon owner) thought of repair shops as affecting the aesthetics of La Mar, Elloid (hardware store owner) regarded them as important assets to the avenue, where they offered a valuable service in relation to the ones located in other areas of the city (i.e. Surquillo and La Victoria). In this context, difference revealed much more than a fundamental link between particular forms of value and the presence of repair shops, but a relational and contextual practice of class articulated around the aesthetics and morality of these places.

In the same way as repair shops, the narrativisation of *quintas* revealed the way difference was negotiated as a contextual and fluid experience of power. For instance, while Jose Antonio (*quinta* resident) narrativised *quintas* as an improvement from *corralones/callejones*, Juan (resident at a house on a side street of the avenue) grouped them together indistinctively, revealing different connections, distances, and positions between people, places, and experiences, thus, different requirements to navigate La Mar (Chapter III). In the case of Jose Antonio, these connections, distances, and positions transpired through his need to reify the limits between his place in a *quinta*, and the

place of others in the *corralones* and *callejones* of the avenue, which he perceived as too close to his walk. Hence, in and through these limits, Jose Antonio became *different* than these people, responding and reproducing an experience of class that marked the space between those who could and those who could not *arrive in place*. Ultimately, Jose Antonio protected himself from misrecognition, yet misrecognized others in the process, revealing his story as a form of resistance which, nonetheless, reproduced the dominant symbolic and reinserted power somewhere else within this space.

In this context, difference went beyond an inherent value vested upon particular places, people, and experiences, revealing the way power was never a permanent force in navigating La Mar, but a force that was constantly negotiated and changing. For instance, for Jimena (*Punto Organico*) and for Ramon (*Santo Pez*), these changes and negotiations happened in the way newcomers depended upon 'local people' to guide them through the avenue; people who knew the cultural codes of the area, people who had the *barrio* knowledge to navigate the space. In their stories, the *barrio* knowledge worked as a form of "bridging capital" (Noble, 2009, p.55), allowing old residents to become central pieces in the process of gentrification, orienting and allegedly protecting newcomers in exchange for inclusion. However, the value of this form of capital seemed to be short-lived, contingent upon the process of transformation, yet inversely related to the perception of 'progress' itself. Indeed, this value depended upon the idea of danger that had commonly been associated to La Mar; an idea of danger that was gradually distanced from the new imaginary of the avenue as new people felt increasingly comfortable within this space. Nevertheless, as danger faded from the present of La Mar, it continued to gather upon the past of this space, accumulating in the journeys of *old residents* and sticking to their steps. Ultimately, the *barrio* knowledge that had allowed them inclusion had also become a possible source of exclusion, delimiting power not only through the content of knowledge (i.e. the codes of the avenue), but also through the strength and durability of its value across time and space.

For instance, affect was a key practice reinforcing the strength and durability of knowledge, thus, the strength and durability of power in the avenue. Fear was a central manifestation of this practice, framing stories of inclusion and exclusion, leaking, for instance, into the *lines of difference* between the past and the present of the *barrio*,

different forms of sociability, professions, and national practices. In the same way as fear, pleasure was a frequent affective practice outlining the intensity of power and the liminality of class, evident not only in Jonathan's lifestyle offer in *El Pan de la Chola* (Chapter IV), but also, in Arturo D.'s interpretations of sound within the acoustic environments of this space (Chapter V). Meanwhile, pride transpired as a powerful force in the latent mutuality of the promise of nation, negotiated in and through the foodscapes of the avenue, revealing and reifying dynamics of power in securing a common national experience across time and space. Ultimately, pride, in the same way as fear and pleasure, anchored experiences of value in La Mar, disclosing much more than a good national dish, the sociability of the working class walk, or the limits of the *barrio* environment, but the infinite "epistemological realities" and "perspective[s] on the world" (Brubaker, 2004, p.79).

In the end, these realities and perspectives became central in the conceptualization of difference within this thesis, revealing much more than the meaning of difference as an experience of power, but the power-inflicted strategies behind the boundaries of commonality and differentiation. Specifically, these strategies exposed the ambiguities at the core of our social existence, highlighting not only one experience of difference different from the other, but the chronic contestedness of identification, where the *self* and *the other* became part of the same social experience. Ultimately, the *self* and the *other* abandoned their roles as "fundamental units of social analysis" (Brubaker, 2004, p.8,9), highlighting instead the "mutual infiltration" of cultural constructs in the city (Fuller, 2002, p.1), uncovering the way individuals negotiated experiences of time, space, and value, delimiting difference as a contextual, subjective, and multi-dimensional practice of power.

DIFFERENCE AS A SPATIOTEMPORAL PRACTICE OF VALUE



Fig.4.4. Difference as Spatiotemporal Value

Exploring difference as a spatiotemporal practice of value involved a complex dialogue between multiple spatial scales (for example, the local, the urban, the national, the foreign) and interpretations of time in La Mar (for example, memories, present positions, and future expectations), where difference emerged as a contextual, subjective, and multi-dimensional experience of power. In this context, difference gained meaning in relation to particular settings (i.e. 21st century La Mar), journeys, and categories of action (i.e. class and nation), revealing not only the hierarchizing of places (i.e. the building, the *callejon*, the *quinta*, the avenue) and experiences (i.e. of modernity, of the *barrio*), but the situated practice of power itself, uncovering the way that, in particular moments, some differences were more important than other.

Hence, in this thesis, some differences emerged as more visible than others, articulated as multiple forms of privilege and appropriation, giving meaning, direction, and value to infinite subjectivities. These subjectivities exceeded the presumed limits of apparent pre-existing -cultural, social, economic, ethnic, or racial- groups, thus the possibilities for

them to be “eradicated”, “displace[d]” or “decontextualiz[ed]” (Hooks, 1992). Indeed, subjectivities challenged the boundaries of difference as reflective of *dominant* cultures taking over *weak* cultures in La Mar, contesting popular arguments about the commodification of *otherness* in this space (“consumer cannibalism”, Hook, 1992). Instead, subjectivities revealed the agency or predisposition of multiple journeys, disclosing different spatiotemporal limits to be and become, revealing, for instance, the way Jonathan (IV) found pleasure and Jose Antonio (III) found fear in the same space.

In this context, difference transpired as a situated inscription of value, palpable in the specificity of the *quinta*, the *callejon*, the building, the coffee shop, the avenue, and the nation, all of which carried multiple, yet explicit, boundaries of time and space. Hence, each of these places offered a platform for individuals to move around the experience of change, revealing infinite perspectives and stressing not only the value-exchange of (economic, social, cultural) resources, but their use-value in navigating La Mar. Therefore, the experience of difference was neither about the value of the past of the avenue against the present, nor about the value of the working class *quinta* against the modern building. Certainly, the experience of difference was not bounded by a linear experience of progress, nor by the dominant symbolic of change. Instead, difference was about the multiple ways different times and spaces “inhabit[ed]” one another (Watson, Bridge, 2002, p.511), framing a complex interplay between different experiences of value, highlighting not only who became different and where, but how differences were lived and interpreted in particular environments.

For instance, in Chapter III, Mr. Gamarra’s search for recognition revealed the way value emerged as a form of resistance to the dominant symbolic of change, challenging the understanding of difference as an established practice of value cutting across the past and the present of La Mar. Specifically, in his story, Mr. Gamarra delineated value in the sociability of his working class past, emerging as a form of person value linked to the experience of the *barrio* itself. Hence, for him, the past of La Mar did not represent a stepping stone for his future, but a space to challenge the limitations he perceived to negotiate a valuable journey in his present. Ultimately, Mr. Gamarra’s journey emerged as a counterforce to the new and impersonal life in the modern city; a space where he

storied himself as a poor, yet valuable, self, a space where he reproduced an experience of class.

In this context, power emerged as an expression of multiple strategies and objectives in being and becoming valuable in La Mar, taking the form of different spatiotemporal “networks on top of one another”, lived, experienced and narrativised “as a series of lived spaces [...] in the same physical space of the city” (Bridge, Watson, 2002, pp. 510, 508). In this thesis, these spaces disclosed the transitory fixing of particular qualities representing “the embodied person” (Roe, 2010, p.112), articulating not only different subjective alignments, but “multiple and interpenetrating axes of difference” itself (Fincher, Jacobs, 1998, pp. 7,9). Ultimately, each story revealed the way individuals engaged with multiple systems of difference at once, for instance, sometimes locating Mr. Gamarra as a valuable working-class subject, and others, as a dangerous old resident, a successful entrepreneur, or a proud Peruvian.

In the same way as in Mr. Gamarra’s story, systems of difference revealed an impermanent and situated practice of value across multiple experiences of power in La Mar. These experiences were always incomplete and contingent upon categories of action (i.e. nation and class), offering temporary meaning to multiple walks in the avenue. Thus, categories served as “interpretative prism[s]” reflecting a “way of making sense of the social world[s]” negotiated in this setting (Brubaker et al, 2006: 7; Brubaker, 1998, p.292; 2004, p. 12), disclosing different points of association that arose in-between various dividing tensions (i.e. political, economic, cultural, affective, social), allowing or barring people to “‘come together’ in a shared moment of enjoyment” (for example, as a national “us”, Ahmed, 2010, p.46; Berlant, 2010, p.142). Ultimately, categories represented critical sociological tools, framing not only specific identificatory practices (i.e. Mr. Gamarra’s working class practice), but allowing exploration of the space between them, highlighting the boundaries of value and the hierarchisation of experiences of difference in the making.

In this context, categories revealed not only the compartmentalization of identificatory practices, allowing participants to become subjects of nation and class. Categories also revealed the blurred space where the subjects of nation and the subjects of class came

together in a single journey, negotiating the boundaries and limits between them, losing and finding their strength in the process. This process exposed the way identificatory limits were in constant change in La Mar, reinforced and challenged, contaminating each another and making it difficult to determine where one ended and the other began. Indeed, this process uncovered the porosity of experiences of identification, emerging as a nervous system that cut across each walk through multiple connections and associations. For instance, in Chapter VI, Eugenio (client of *La Red*) and Jimena (owner *Punto Organico*) negotiated the limits between their national journey and their class-inflicted walk in La Mar. While both engaged enthusiastically in a food-centred practice of nation, the affective force they perceived in the story of *el buen comer* transpired as a form of excess, conflicting with the morality (in the case of Eugenio) and the cosmopolitan view (in the case of Jimena) framing their experience of class in this setting. Ultimately, their experience of class and their experience of nation leaked into one another, revealing different investments and “horizons for spatial and social mobility”, exposing what became important and when (Allen, Wollingworth, 2013, p.26).

In the end, it was in and through my exploration of categories that I was able to ground my investigation of difference in La Mar, highlighting the “spatial location” as well as the “social location” of subjects navigating the avenue (Allen, Wollingworth, 2013, p. 6). There, the practice of class did not replace the practice of nation, nor transport dynamics of power to this particular experience (or vice versa). Instead, power was constantly redefined and relocated amongst categories. In this process, it delimited difference as both an experience of commonality (i.e. spatial affective aspiration) and differentiation (i.e. the morality of excess), stressing the resourcing struggles of becoming visible/invisible, moral/immoral, interesting/boring, safe/dangerous, modern/traditional in this space. Finally, these resourcing struggles allowed me to explore difference as a journey of “uneven outcomes”, “mark[ed]” sometimes by a “a joyous inclusiveness” and at others by “a destabilizing contact with otherness”, or even, “the unavoidable materiality of [...] marginalisation” (Fincher, Jacobs, 1998, p. 14).

CONCLUSION



Fig.4.5. the Faces of La Mar

Exploring La Mar through narratives of change and belonging I sought to address the relevance of the intimate, the personal, and the subjective in sociological research, where there is no fragmentation or clear divisions within and between social experiences, but only multiple dimensions and imaginaries shaped by multiple forms and intensities of power. In doing so, the categories of nation and class became central instruments that allowed me to grasp, at least momentarily, the negotiation of these experiences, where particular times and particular spaces framed infinite ways of walking the avenue. Each of these walks emerged as a site of intersections, uncovering the distance and position of multiple journeys, reproducing meaning through the sensibilities and orientations of particular steps, challenging and reifying infinite *lines of*

difference in La Mar. Ultimately, these *lines of difference* disclosed the “productive side” of power, highlighting the way it was “neither fully invested or divested in [specific] people or ‘places [...but] somewhere in-between and [always] in motion” (Watson, Bridge, 2002, pp. 508, 510).

In this context, difference was explored as it was “told to others”, “created and constituted” through particular stories of class and nation (Barbero, 2011, pp.44,45), challenging what Brubaker (2006, p.7) describes as the “tendency to take internally homogeneous and externally bounded groups as [...] fundamental units of social analysis”. Hence, in this thesis, the unit of analysis surpassed the rich and the poor, the old residents and new residents, the gentrified and gentrifiers. Instead, the unit of analysis focused on the interactions among people, the strategies they used in becoming different and/or the same, the perspectives that framed their knowledge and affect, the orientations that revealed and reproduced their subjective experience of value in this space. Ultimately, the unit of analysis in this investigation focused on the processes involved in negotiating the limits of difference itself, offering much more than a description of this concept as a homogenous, self-determining, and a-temporal experience of power, but a close glance at the multiple journeys navigating in, around, and through it, giving it meaning.

In the case of Lima, acknowledging and exploring the facticity of difference offered an alternative framework to challenge the never-ending dance of *othering* shaping binary perceptions of the post-colonial experience of identification in Peru. This framework allowed me to contest the need to capture the essence of difference, to describe and define it, questioning the academic struggle to *solve* the complexities of social life, commonly reifying positions of power and value in the process. Specifically, in and through this framework, I challenged established class-culture-value relationships, historically evident in *Hispanistas’* discussions on the ‘Indian problem’, *Indigenistas’* focus on the re-vindication of ‘the Indian’, *mestizaje’s* interest on racial and cultural mixing, and more recent discussions about ‘hybrid’ and non-hybrid urban identities in the capital. Ultimately, in and through this framework, I explored difference as much more than a describable *thing* that could be “eradicated” or ethically solved, “submitted or done to pre-existing” collectivities and subjectivities in the avenue (Kingsbury, in Hook

et al, 2010, p.110). Instead, in and through this framework, I explored difference as the processes through which these collectivities and subjectivities were reproduced on the ground, revealing dynamic and complex ways of negotiating value, not only with alleged counterparts but also with apparent equals.

Hence, in La Mar, practices of difference excelled the crystallization of particular groups, highlighting not only the articulation and reconfiguration of value, but challenging the popular tales of dominant and dominated stories in this setting. Indeed, the practice of difference emerged as a form of “rubbing” of the other (Watson, 2006, 2009), where the *other* represented much more than a direct opposite from the self, but a reflection of the *conditions of possibility* to be different and/or the same in one particular moment in time and space (Watson, 2006, p.8). In this context, my exploration of collective representations focused upon the multiple strategies individuals use to coexist while maintaining their differences, challenging “the tragic narrative” and “dualist logic” behind the understanding of multicultural practices in the city, thus contesting what Montoya (2002, p.13) describes as “a battle between two opposing worlds”. Ultimately, in my walk through La Mar, this battle crumbled with each of my steps, deconstructing the polarization of different journeys within the city, unpredictable, and embrace the small details of the subjective and personal walk as a fundamental source to understand identity, difference, and power in the making.

APPENDIX A

Lima's gastronomic revolution was built upon a dynamic process of rural-urban migration (1950s onwards), growing possibilities for market participation (i.e. rising offer and growing demands of the middle classes in the city), mounting national and international media exposure (i.e. films, documentaries, advertising, books, articles; Lauer and Lauer 2006), as well as increasing prospects for money-making in the form of new career and business opportunities in the restaurant/hospitality industry. Just to paint an overall picture, from 2005 to 2009, in Peru, the number of restaurants expanded by 45%, with the number of employees within this sector rising at an average of 18% per year (Apega, 2010, p.23). By 2013, the number of restaurants reached 77,500, expanding by 17% per year from 2009 (Camara de Comercio de Lima, CCL, as cited in Apega, 2013, p.44). Furthermore, by 2008, the number of official culinary schools -in Lima alone- reached more than 22, transforming the city into the one with the greatest number of certified culinary schools per capita in the world (Acurio, 2010, 2012). By 2013, the number of institutions offering food-related careers extended to a total of 49, highlighting ongoing growth in this sector (Apega, 2013, p.67). Meanwhile, looking at the gastronomic print media, in 2007 alone, the sector experienced a 30% increase in the number of published coffee-table culinary books by the two leading publishing houses, El Comercio and the Universidad San Martin (USM; reaching a total of 71 different titles by 2013), many of which won important international awards (Apega, 2013, p.69).²⁶ For example, in 2009 Peruvian chef Gaston Acurio's '*500 Años de Fusión*' won best gastronomic book in the Gourmand World Cookbook Award (Apega, 2010, p.38). In 2012, this victory was followed by other Peruvian chefs/authors such as Rafael Osterling's first place in the category of chefs' books, Sandra Plevisani's first place in cookbooks from Latin America, and Sara Beatriz Guardia's third place in best gastronomic book with '*La Ruta de la Papa: De los Andes Peruanos a Europa*' ('The Route of the Potato: From the Peruvian Andes to Europe').

Concurrently, during this time, local newspapers showed an increasing interest to cover

²⁶ It is important to take into account the lowering of publishing prices in the past 15 years -there has been a 50% reduction in the price of edition of books from 1997 to 2007- which is expected to have influenced the growing number of publishing efforts in the country (Apega, 2010, p. 47).

food-related stories, with a tendency to address the growing importance of Peruvian gastronomy in and outside the country, for instance, highlighting its quality and popularity, as well as the positive social and cultural impact it allegedly had on Peruvian society (i.e. “Peruvian flavours conquer world palates”: La Republica, 2012; “[Ecuadorian president] Correa ... asserts that Peruvian food is ‘spectacular’”: Andina, 2012; “Association between peasants and gastronomy generates social inclusion”: La Republica, 2012; “Peruvian restaurant within top ten in the United States”: El Comercio, 2012; “Peru is nominated as best gastronomic destiny in South America”: El Comercio, 2012; “Peru is an ‘Empire of flavours’: highlights Mexican magazine”: El Comercio, 2012; “The OAS [Organization of American States] grants new prize to Peruvian gastronomy”, La Republica, 2011). Likewise, the national broadcast media and film industry experienced an explosion of food-related coverage and inspiration taking the form of new television programmes, documentaries, advertising, and marketing campaigns. As explained by leading publicist Armando Andrade, this trend gained momentum from the positive attributions increasingly linked to food in its seeming role in reconstructing *Peruvianess*. According to him, it was precisely because of the national gastronomic field that Peruvians recognised themselves as such, and, that “Peruvian-ness” had the possibility to “insert itself in advertising, where publicists start[ed] to understand that, within *lo peruano*, exist[ed] more virtues than mistakes.” (El Comercio, 2007).

A few examples of this trend include the ‘Peru brand’ campaigns launched in 2011 and 2012 by the government’s Commission for the Promotion of Exports and Tourism (PROMPERU), numerous campaigns by Spanish Bank BBVA (Banco Bilbao Vizcaya Argentaria), the latest campaign of Peruvian soda *Inka Kola*, working ideas on food and creativity, television programmes such as ‘Gustos y Sabores’ (‘Tastes and Flavours’, 2002-present), ‘Aventuras Culinarias’ (‘Culinary Adventures’, 2003-present), ‘20 Lucas’ (‘20 Quid’, 2008-present) and ‘Master Chef Peru’ (2011), as well as documentaries such as ‘De Ollas y Suenos’ (‘Cooking up Dreams’, 2009), ‘Mistura: El Poder de la Comida’ (‘Mistura: The power of food’, 2011) and ‘Peru Sabe: Cocina, Arma Social’ (‘Peru knows: Cuisine, A Social Weapon’, 2012). Ultimately, a key example of the popularity of food and its validation in the national imaginary is reflected within the growing political regard to food in the country, not only representing a key theme of discussion in issues of development and economic growth in the country, but a symbolic source of pride, for

instance, in the use of political discourse (i.e. former President Ollanta Humala’s reference to food in his inaugural speech²⁷, as well as his evident enthusiasm to don a chef’s hat for photo opportunities; see image below).

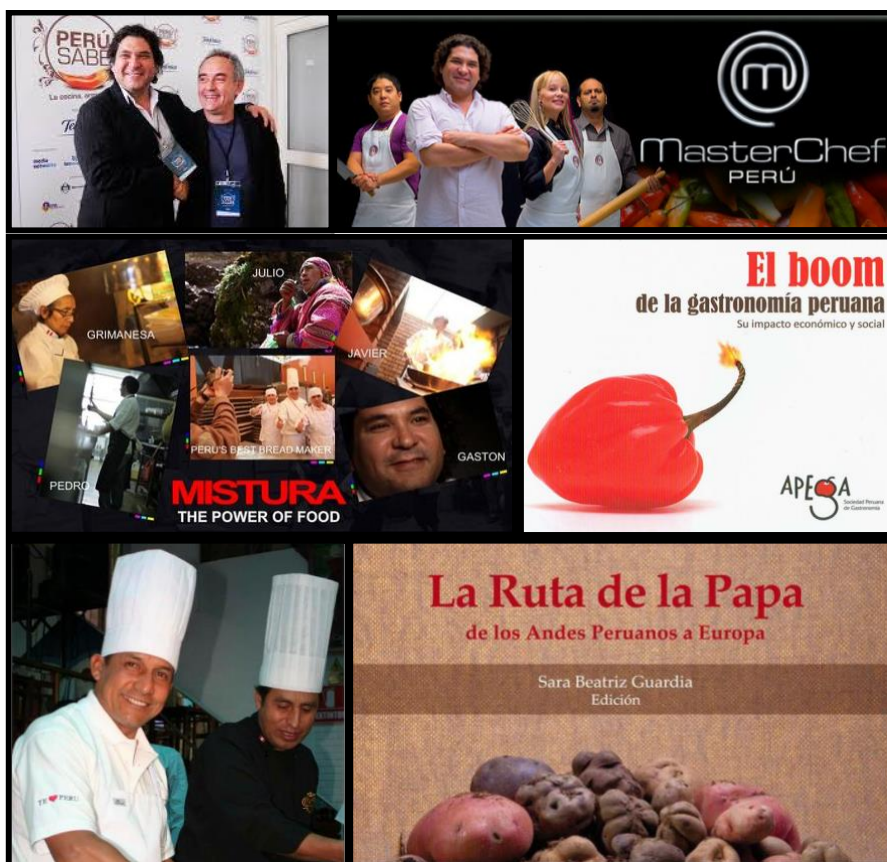


Figure 4.6. Source from left to right: Ferrand Adria, Gaston Acurio (2012), Master Chef Peru (n.d.); Perez (2011), Apega (2010); La Ruta de la Papa:de los Andes Peruanos a Europa (2012); Asociacion ARMAP (2012).

²⁷ “...this cultural diversity results from the understanding that our nation is a melting pot of races and traditions. These are the ones that support, for instance, our extraordinary gastronomy, today admired and recognized in the world. Because we are different, but ultimately the same; we build our existence in our work and day-to-day effort. We are mixture and creativity. We are imagination and work. And this diversity, the one that we want integrating and not segregating, constitutes the basis of our wealth.” (Own translation; RPP, 2011)

APPENDIX B

“A few years ago, in the house of the rich and the house of the poor, Peruvians would eat ‘lomo saltado’. When the poor had a guest, they would serve the person ‘lomo saltado’ too. However, when the rich had a guest they would give the person ‘lomo a la pimienta’. Why was this? Because they considered that ‘lomo saltado’ was not at the height of their guest. Today, however, when a foreigner visits the house of the rich, they are served ‘lomo saltado’, indicating a change of attitude. This change implicates that, finally, we recognise ourselves as Peruvians, as a ‘nacion mestiza’, where ‘mestizaje’ is a virtue, where mestizaje creates a gemstone that is food, right? And food is a product that shows us who we are, how we think, how we feel, what things are we capable of achieving [...] Today, our leaders are conscious that being Peruvian is something important and it is something that we need to fight for. I think that is the foundation for any other thing; without that we are nothing, we do not exist. Any country ashamed of its origins does not exist; individuals have nothing to fight for besides their house, their car, surviving, guaranteeing day-to day living for their children, dying and disappearing. Conversely, this new scenario guarantees us to live a passionate life where we belong to a dream, where we belong to something that will transcend our own existence. Being part of the 7th generation of Peruvians following 1984, we consolidate our independence. Following six failed generations, we belong to the seventh one that finally manages to take the country towards something important that shows how, maybe, the sacrifices that we make today, will be recognised eternally, right? So, our lives transcend time. [...] According to my judgement, this is a good option, a wonderful path compared to the other one that relates to the immediate, to the banal, to the ephemeral.”
Gaston Acurio, 2008.

APPENDIX C

Historically, experiences of national identification in Peru were commonly delineated in and through a *borrowed* discourse inspired by foreign identificatory experiences and commonly framed by classical European theories of national identification and modernization (i.e. Ernest Gellner, John Breuilly and Anthony Smith). These theories highlighted not only foreign cultural, economic, political, and social contexts, but also foreign interpretations of development and progress itself, contrasting Latin America's unique modern experience (Larrain, 2000; N. Miller 2006; Skey, 2009). Indeed, according to Larrain (2000, p.6), Latin America "has a specific way of being in modernity. Latin American modernity is not exactly the same as European modernity; it is a mixture, a hybrid, a product of a process of mediation which has its own trajectory...", a process overlooked and reified as a classical political project of nation that had undeniably failed (N. Miller, 2006, pp.203,307).

In this context, the historical gap between the aim of popular national identificatory discourses in Peru, both in the political and cultural fields, and the macro and the micro perspectives, and the actual specificity of the possibility for national identification in the national field, commonly reflected a central problem in the negotiation of the national imaginary in this space, of the center or the core of the national experience. According to Tubino (2003, p.77), this situation frequently resulted in the reproduction of an "identity of lack" (*identidad de carencia*), stemming from what individuals' perceived they "were not, but wanted to be", shaping a sense of pessimism and frustration towards the future, a lack of confidence upon the capabilities of national subjects and national leaders (i.e. politicians), and resulting in a sense of admiration for forging traditions and denial for the local environment (i.e. *Hispanismo, Indigenismo, Mestizaje*; Chapter I).

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