



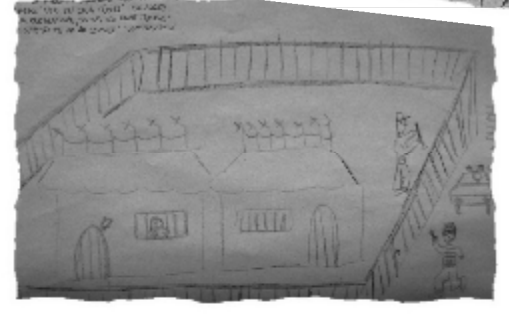
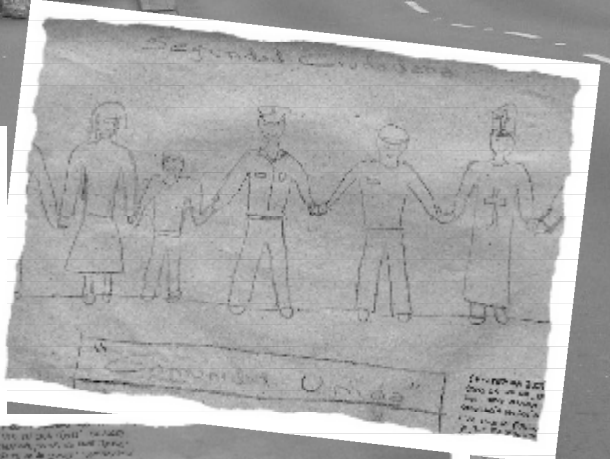
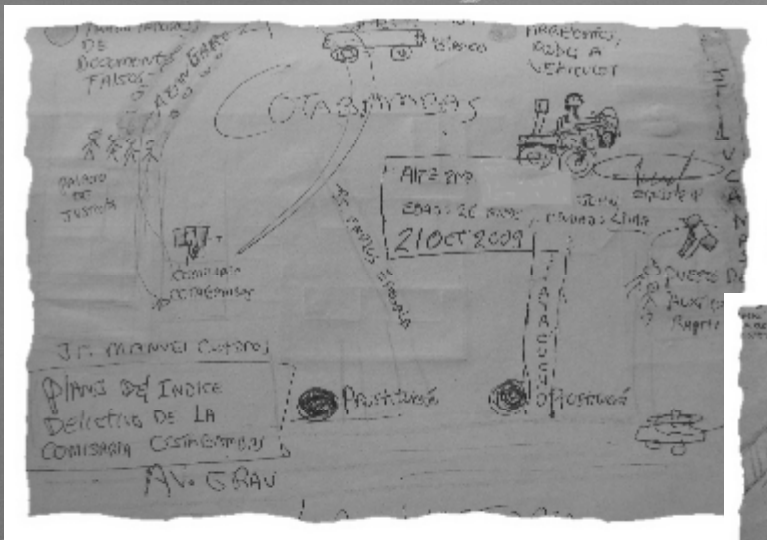
La Cuidad de los Reyes and los Amigos Policias

An Anthropological Approach to Everyday Practices of Security and Urban Space in Lima

By
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*This is for you,
the citizens of
la ciudad nublada.*

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Muchisimas gracias.

Introduction

It is not easy to know what to make out of practices and narratives of security in Lima in Peru which are so firmly shaped by talk of *la inseguridad* and *la delincuencia*, insecurity and crime. I open this master thesis by a chapter which presents events centred in spaces surrounding *Lima Cercado*. The so called Centre of Lima is rather *el Centro Histórico de Lima* and not necessarily the heart of the metropolitan which is so diverse and arguably consist of many dispersed centres. There is no doubt that this city, located at the shore clip with a panorama view of the Pacific Ocean, and its urban space, has a ghostly viceroyalty omnipresent reflected in its historical and magnificent architecture from its past and foundation. Lima is the space and place for power such as the *Palacio de Justicia*, the Palace of Justice, commissioned in the 1920s by President Augusto Leguía, who dedicated much of his years modernizing the city by making it look like a European capital. Perhaps it is a mimetic reflection or is a small scale replica of *Palais de Justice in Brussel* (Gandolfo 2009).

The *criollo* bourgeoisies appropriated the space surrounding Lima Cercado under its golden age, before the massive in-migration to Lima. The colonial foundation of the city was shaped

by power of inequality, and generated a sense of belonging in the city through *criollo*, descendants of Europe born in America, a mix of Peruvian and Spanish ancestry, traits and behaviour. In fact, the colonial encounter partake present talk about crime in relation to specific behaviours such as reflected in talk about *el Limeño criollo*.

Justice is a keyword and in the profundity of this thesis, where I look into the grey zone of order and disorder. I discuss security in relation to insecurity as an aspect of inequality and source of social unease. With great respect for my informants, I have security at heart and thus use pseudonyms throughout this master thesis. The discussions are based on the fieldwork I conducted in Lima from August 2009 till January 2010. The following months I have worked on aspects of my field material where I have continuously learned the value of time, patience, and reflection in order to better discuss and understand aspects of security in Lima. This master thesis was written within a rather short timeframe which limits its discussions and maturity, nevertheless, important aspect of security in Lima and the urban context are brought into prominence.

BACKSTAGE THE PALACE OF JUSTICE

I have spent some time in the city space of Lima in the blurred zone of justice. Parts of my fieldwork were conducted backstage the Palace of Justice in two ways. On one hand, backstage is perceived in the Goffmanian (1992) sense with respect to impression management. I went back stage by working in the gray zone of law and order. On the other hand, backstage is seen in the common sense, referring to the backyard of the palace. Literally, I conducted parts of my fieldwork in spaces behind the Palace of Justice, and I find it rather ironic that the building which represents justice so firmly is located in proximity of injustice and insecurity. If the front stage the Palace of Justice stands for lawfulness and justice, the back stage exemplify ambiguous relations and complex processes in urban life.

The drawing *el Plan del Indice Delictivo de la Comisaría Cotabambas* by John (drawing 4.4) exemplify my case in point. This mental and social map of the places in the surrounding area of Cotabambas demonstrates an everyday engagement with prostitution, robbery, falsification of documents, and police patrol just behind the Palace of Justice. The sphere of justice seems to reflect a certain *intimacy between the legal and*

illegal. In this master thesis I discuss aspect of this from police point of view. The Palace of Justice exemplifies similar spatial intimacy and poses question of ambiguity and fragility of state monopoly of violence and justice. In such spaces, through peoples' particularization and individual experience of everyday life in different places in Lima, I achieved much knowledge of the blurred boundary of the legal and illegal. Through engagement with people in different places of Lima, I gained knowledge of the complexity of police practices in the turmoil of crime, violence, and corruption in urban space of Lima.

It was especially when I met Antonio, an informant I present in chapter three, I learned about the thin lines between the legal and illegal, the law-abiding citizen and the law breaker, which are terms at the heart of security. Antonio is *un policía suboficial técnico Ira*¹ who never wear his uniform, except on special occasions. He is a rather slender man, who always appears in a classy style of shirt, a brown leather jacket-in-suit-style, with matching brown leather shoes, and his

¹ There are different police officers such as the distinction of *policía oficial* and *policía suboficial*. These have different categories and grades which form a hierarchy within the National Police.

black leather briefcase. His enthusiasm shines through in everything he does and his presence is to be found at events, at places, and with people which are considered important and prominent. Antonio introduced me to the world of police officers coming of age and agents during an epoch of national unease.

He ran into me at the main office for citizen participation in *la Séptima Region*², for Lima and Callao located at Av. España in Lima Cercado. This was under an interview with *el Mayor* who at the time was in charge at the office together with *el Comandante*, the chief in charge of citizen participation at *la Séptima*. It was an encounter of importance and it was an encounter which exemplifies so eloquently specific characterizations of Antonio. His curiosity was provoked when I chatted along about my research topic, experiences and knowledge gained, and my desire to know more about *seguridad ciudadana*, the security approach to citizen participation. He was in a hurry to get some paperwork signed but stood speechless for a few seconds which I only could interpret as an reaction of surprise of his encounter with a young women and foreigner engaged in his field of expertise.

In the months that followed, I became *una amiguita policía* and spent

much of my time with Antonio who jokingly was ordered by *el Mayor* to *cuida esa señorita*. Antonio and I discovered we had a lot to learn from each other and we found mutual benefits of exploring the issue of security. He admitted repeatedly to see me as a marketing strategy which was a typical thing for Antonio to say and do. Nevertheless, he learned that I was engaged in many aspects of my research topic. After some time, this engaged police officer I knew introduced me to less flattering experiences in the field as a police officer. Antonio opened up about personal and complex experiences which I title “At the Limit”. Thus, I discuss social unease also from within the system itself.

URBAN ANTHROPOLOGY

In my discussion of security, I am inspired by writings on *urban anthropology* and *urban sociology*. *The Practice of Everyday Life* by Michel de Certeau (1984) and studies of crime and violence in *City of Walls* by Terese P.R Caldeira (2000) provide valuable perspectives on matters presented in this master thesis. Sharon Zukin (1995]2003) propose an excellent question in the context of urban studies and social relations which touches upon *Whose culture? Whose city?*

Urban anthropology was born in a tradition of complex societies of coping in

² Hereafter I use *la Séptima* as a shortening term.

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a world of processes of globalization. Anthropologists are latecomers to the urban field. However, significant changes generated anthropological interest and concern for the mass exodus to the city and consequences of these processes (Foster and Kemper 2002). The urban setting poses questions of how to conduct anthropological fieldwork, considering the classical methods established mostly in non-urban context, in cities without narrowing it down to neighbourhood studies and without reaching superficial understanding of mundane practices (Basham 1978). With regard to this, the terms place and space are of importance in my case, where particular places are seen in relation to individualized experiences in urban space.

Conducting anthropological fieldwork in urban context provokes curiosity and fascination, amongst others because of the great diversity in the city. Nevertheless, it is a challenge for anthropological methods and practices of participant observation and representation. It is possible to identify two main practices in anthropological practices of ethnography. Generally speaking there are the practice in the *field* and the ethnographic practice in *textual representation*. Paul Stoller (1994) in an interesting ethnography compares the anthropologist with the *Griots* in the

Sahelian West Africa whom are considered masters of words. Anthropologists write and represents, and are, in a way, masters of words. In a Goffmanian terminology, the anthropologist as fieldworker intends to get behind the mask and enter the backstage to access knowledge which is not usually explicit in everyday life. My backstage is the police. However, the backstage shifts as my presence in the city is an opportunity to experience the front stage of the police and experience the police interact with people in everyday life. Though the police approach, ordinary people in everyday life are an important approach to aspects of security and police work.

Anthropologist represents in various forms, and though representations are increasingly done through other mediums such as film and photography, anthropological ethnographic representations remain mostly about words. This master thesis is no exception. However, photography and drawings are representations which were included in the field and in this (re)presentation. *Dibujos*, (drawings) and illustrations through photography became an important communicative way for me to achieve insight and represent aspects of security in Lima. In fact, I gave four of my main informants a disposable camera and the task to take pictures of security related

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situations. A diversity of photos were taken and, ironically, the camera to one of the vigilantes was stolen. I could only imagine the photos he explained he had taken such as the photo of his dog, *Ocito*, guarding the house. Though I represent through various methods, this does not go without the notification of subjectivity in which I wish to quote the eloquent sentence of Caldeira - "I came to realize that as my English has an accent, so does my anthropology; it persists no matter from what perspective I look at it or in which language I write it." (2000:6)

The method for my research was the ever so familiar practice associated to Bronislaw Malinowski, participant observation. I was engaged in the world of policing with additionally conduct of interviews and conversations with actors of security. In everyday rhythms and experiences, I was able to use multiple senses to experience the great variety when it comes to security. Movement from district to another became journeys of conducting *participant sensation*³ where change in city space could be heard, smelled, observed, and felt. De Certeau

³ It is common for anthropologist to conduct participant observation. In this matter, I am her referring to *anthropology of sense* which is of interest in this matter, and the present of the anthropologist in the field where multiple senses contribute to understandings.

(1984), *walking in the city*, touches upon aspects of this. Seeing Lima from *Cerro San Cristoból*, the hill close to the river Rímac, 500 meters above the ocean, which bore witness of the Spanish-indigenous encounter in the 16th century, reminds me off de Certeau seeing Manhattan from the 110th floor of the World Trade Center. It is a way of seeing the whole, where looking in the direction of *la Plaza de Toros de Acho*, the eyes meet a spot of landscape of tall buildings in *Lima Cercado*, *San Isidro*, and *Miraflores*, the centres of business and tourism. The surrounding brownish desert landscape stretches way further then the eyes can grasp, though it is easy to observe the great diversity of urban space and inequality. The *Wandersmänner* (de Certeau 1984), the walkers, practice space in everyday life through footsteps, or in Lima's case, through journeys for instance in *combis*⁴. Seeing Lima as whole is indeed to witness the city's diversity and inequality. However, walking in the city is a particular and near experience where walking in the fortified *Causerinas de Santiago de Surco* is different from walking in the shantytown of *Pamplona* which, at distance, are two proximate districts.

I conducted my fieldwork with a badge of anthropology, armed with pencils,

⁴ *Combis* are the vehicles in the private-public transportation system.

crayons, and blank papers. I used the urban context for my fieldwork to gather information about practices and narratives of security in Lima through conversations with people in different city spaces and through following public media in order to achieve knowledge about contemporary aspects of security. I found talk, amongst police as well as people in general, of *seguridad ciudadana* to be of special interest and slowly I started to narrow my research interest towards *agentes del orden*, or people practicing *policing* which I use as a general term. Generally speaking, though I discuss security amongst others by looking at aspects of police work and the system of security, it is *insecurity* which appropriates much space in this case study. People talk about an omnipresent insecurity, lack of security, and a desire for justice.

I achieved much experience and knowledge of aspect of security through engagement with *la Policía Montada del Potao (PMP)*⁵, the Horseback Riding Police from Potao. As the matter of fact, the first chapter departs with police practice represented by PMP. Pizarro and his men founded the capital on horseback which he gave the name *la Ciudad de los Reyes*, the City of Kings, in honour of the Three Kings whom Catholics celebrate 6th

of January. My informant and PMP officer was one of the three riders who January 6th 1988 dressed up as *Reyes Magos* and rode to the *la Plaza de Armas* in Historic Centre of Lima with the message of peace and to celebrate the Day of the Three Kings, which then became a tradition ever after. First chapter discusses aspects of police practice through patrol and intervention through events where PMP were present. I was introduced to many aspects of security and police practice in Lima in the environment of beautiful horses, with a team of devoted riders, and a leader with great respect for horses.

PROMINENT CONCEPTS

As a student of *anthropology of development* I find the urban environment to be an interesting field to explore issues of inequality and social unease. It is claimed that the urban setting is an arena for escalation of inequality and where ideas of modernity and development are contested. It is also claimed that in cities, security is fragile, such as in the case of Lima and in many Latin American cities in general. In this master thesis, I introduce aspects of security which I discuss in relation to concepts and ways of understanding processes with regard to security in Lima. All concepts are presented in particular context in each

⁵ Hereafter I refer to them as PMP.

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chapter. Nevertheless, in this introduction I want to present aspects of *power*, *trust* and *distrust*. These concepts are significant for discussions of police practice and contemporary challenges to security.

Throughout this master thesis different aspect of power is discussed. The classical definition of power is presented by Max Weber as *power over* and the ability or capacity to influence others. Michel Foucault, however, presents power in relation to a less explicit sense where power is even more important when it is not necessarily registered as power. Power is perceived as a necessity of order in society. The police as institution and their practices in everyday life reflect both these aspects of power with regard to concerns for security.

Foucault's interest in spatiality, surveillance, and governmentality are of special interest. In these practices, power appears as a necessity and a part of order. Foucault pays attention to concrete and practical aspects of power (Engelstad 1999). Bentham's *panopticon* provides a model of mechanism of controlling others conduct such as represented through "the asymmetrical structure of visibility which is the key to the architectural design maps on the fixed asymmetrical distribution of power which defines every system of domination" (Patton in Moss 1998:68).

Practices of policing demonstrate aspects of power in the foucaultian sense where urban space of Lima is an arena for practices of power. The institutional order of system of security and architectural particularities of urban space within and between different parts of Lima, demonstrates the naturalization effect of power. In the first chapter, however, I present police practices in relation to representation and effectuation of power. I follow up on the distinction of practices of patrol and intervention, a distinction expressed by a police informant, where intervention touches upon the explicit practice of power in the weberian sense. Power is no doubt a complex matter, yet of great importance in understandings of security in Lima. In fact, these perspectives on power are reflected in practices and narratives of security and insecurity in physical and social space of Lima. At the one hand, the police, or agents of order, seem to conduct power in specific ways through a system of security to create and maintain order. At the other hand, there are criminals who appropriate city space in ways which produce disorder. Meanwhile, it is possible to encounter certain expectancies of when and where there is order and disorder.

Harald Grimen (2009), in his book *hva er tillit*, writes that his interest for fences arouse in 1980 when he studied

with Michel Foucault in Paris, who looks at the significance of architecture in relations to human beings. My interest for walls began with my first encounter with Lima in 2007 in which the architectural design for security struck me as a contrast to the open-garden-neighbourhood in the neighbourhood where I grew up. Walls, as an architectural characteristic in certain areas of Lima, do have significance for social relations between citizens. In Lima, even with precautions through security measurements such as locked doors and vigilant, many Limeños fear potential crime. Grimen writes that *forhåndsregler*, precautions, costs. He is right, maintaining walls are expensive and not everybody affords such high-tech security measurements. In Lima, these walls are obstacles in emergencies in which doctors or firemen are unable get over the wall when assistance is needed.

Benjamin Franklin (in Grimen 2009:29) said that distrust and carefulness are parents of security. In the chapter “Policing”, I present aspects of the system of security in Lima, and I propose the question of how the system of security affects ordinary citizens. It is made clear that policing and surveillance have become companions to everyday life. Confucius once said (in Grimen 2009:11) that weapon, food, and trust are necessary in order to govern a state. I look at dispersed

practices of security where trust and distrust have a complex coexistence.

It is useful to distinguish between trust towards persons and trust towards abstract systems (Giddens in Grimen 2009). In similarity, distrust is an issue of and between persons and institutions. Trust towards institutions is a prerequisite for democracy. It is possible to say that Lima is affected by a generalized distrust. These are reflected in fear of crime and a critique of inefficiency and corruption in the police institution. In chapter two there is a modest comparison between aspects of Norwegian police and that of Peru. The latter case reflects rather individual distrust in comparison to anonymous distrust in the Norwegian police. Meanwhile, distrust is an important aspect of the system of security in Lima which engages people evermore in strategies for security.

NOTHING SENSATIONAL

This master thesis expresses and puts into words aspects of familiar practices of and narratives about security which circulate in the city space of Lima. My main approach to security is the police perspective. Naturally, this has consequences for what is included and excluded as aspects of security. For instance, because of my *police bias*, I approach security from the “right side of the law”, though I discuss

ambiguities of and within law and order. When I approach security, I wear police binoculars which view precisely these actors as security and order in society. I am well aware that, for many people, security is matters of family, friends, religion, and a dog such as Ocito to mention a few. Being *una amiga de la policía* does, in its own way, allure my attention to institutions and political matters such as the police, though amidst this I do approach security in and everyday context and draw attention to individual actors of policing.

There exists a system of security which is shaped by and shape insecurity. Practices of security, responds to the insecurity in ways that generates particular social and material consequence. Ordinary people are silently and sometimes obviously dragged into the system where there are fine limits between the legal and illegal. Insecurity leaves marks and traces on ordinary people, on the system of security and on city space. These consequences are personified through Antonio in whom the great complexity of security is given a human face. Urban space is an arena in which security is expressed materially. Who is the law-abiding-citizen and who is the criminal? How is security materialised and where and what is insecurity? How does this shape practices and narratives about security? These are ambiguous questions in

everyday life I wish to discuss. There is nothing sensational about these aspects of security. This master thesis does present some significant aspects of security, and dispersed practises of it, pose questions about organized and anonymous distrust, which are perceived as parents to security. This case of security in urban space articulates with other underlying discourses of democracy and modernity. Democracy and modernity is bound up with processes of individualization and institutionalization. The case of Lima exemplifies the emancipation of urbanization as a challenge with regard to security. Formally, Limeños are free to move around and about in urban space, however, the freedom is reduced by concerns for security threatened by crime, violence, and corruption. The discourses of fear delimit movement in everyday life and shrink their universe of interaction.

The four chapters can be modelled through four circles with the trust and distrust at the core of security. The centre circle is police practice of security which I present in chapter one. The surrounding three circles represent the respectively three following chapters which shape and reshape police practices. The system of security, social space, and urban space can be perceived as spaces for practices of security in Lima though they are not clear-cut arenas for police practice.

1 *White Horses and Barras Bravas: Always Ready to Serve*

Police, the protagonist of security, practice security through assigned sectors and jurisdictions in coordination within and off the city, and they are assigned specific task of security on certain occasions. However, the police also work in social spaces which undergo changes depending on the situation. Latin America is the world most urbanized continent (Stølen and Archetti 1994). Social space in Lima, in resemblance to many other Latin American cities, is characterized by urban marginalization and economic polarization. These were amongst others caused by the restructuring politics which has caused a decrease of 20-25% in the standard of living for many Latin American countries (Stølen and Archetti 1994). Informal activities and crime are some of the consequences which have been observed with an intensifying character – in this social space I find the police role to be of importance. It can be argued that policing is practiced in specific social space and subscribe to the production of social space in each event. Of special interest is Henri Lefebvre (1991) who writes about *the production of space* where social space is produced and reproduced.

I introduce aspects of police work and practice in urban space through police presence at a parade and a football game which demonstrates aspects of police practice. I relate the two events to specific kinds of police practices, which accounts for the variety of security in Lima. I look at how the police produce social space in light of two events. The first event, the parade, is a classical event ceremonial and ritual wise. The football game, the second event discussed here, reflects tensions in social relations. They are two different kinds where one is more pragmatic, a job to be done, and the other is a performance. These are events perceived in relation to its spectators, and are indeed events as against its audience.

El Comandante Marrojo, who taught me much about police practice on horseback, distinguished between police practice in relation to *patrullaje* and *intervención*, patrol and intervention. It can be argued that the police understand themselves through these two police practices. With this distinction in mind, the discussion of these events is related to particular characterizations of each event which exemplify specific aspects of police practice. At the one hand, there is the *representational* side of policing, a symbolic practice where the police present and represent their forces through a public event. At the other hand, the police

effectuate power through police practice. I discuss the parade as a typical event, characterized by symbolic aspects and meaning, whereas I look at police practices at football game as rather pragmatic and action oriented. Events, from a parade to a football game in everyday life, through their particularities reflect important practices of security in the ordinary in Lima. The police parade can be discussed in relation to the orderly situation it presents, compared to everyday life experiences with ambivalence, contrasts, and dilemmas. At the football game, social tensions are clearly articulated. These discussions of public events make use of Don Handelman's (1990) perspectives on *logic* and *design*, and ideas of ritual of inversions and interactions of everyday life, such as the Brazilian case study by Roberto DaMatta (1991 in Hess and DaMatta 1995).

The relation of these events and everyday life is of importance, and though the two events are located in specific time and space, it is argued that these events are not exclusive. The police are represented in various parades, in fact, throughout the period I conducted fieldwork numerous parades were held such as the Day of the National Police. Football games, in similarity, are held quite frequently in Lima such as the following Sunday which the PMP served once again as security with

a disposition of a hundred horses, though it was coincidentally the day I use in this analysis, that they did have a double obligation.

Before presenting the two events, I present aspects of urban space in Lima and spaces of insecurity which generate a necessity for practices of security. I argue that insecurity is a point of departure in understanding security in Lima, in which the qualities of urban space are of importance. The police, with prime monopoly of violence, have a significant role in city space as the city is the arena in which they present and perform security. The police relate to space in particular ways when security is practiced. That will be discussed further in following chapters. In this chapter, I make some general remarks on the spaces in which the two events unfolds. Rímac, Lima Cercado and La Victoria, the geographical framework for these events - in what kind of social space do these events unfold?

URBAN DECAY

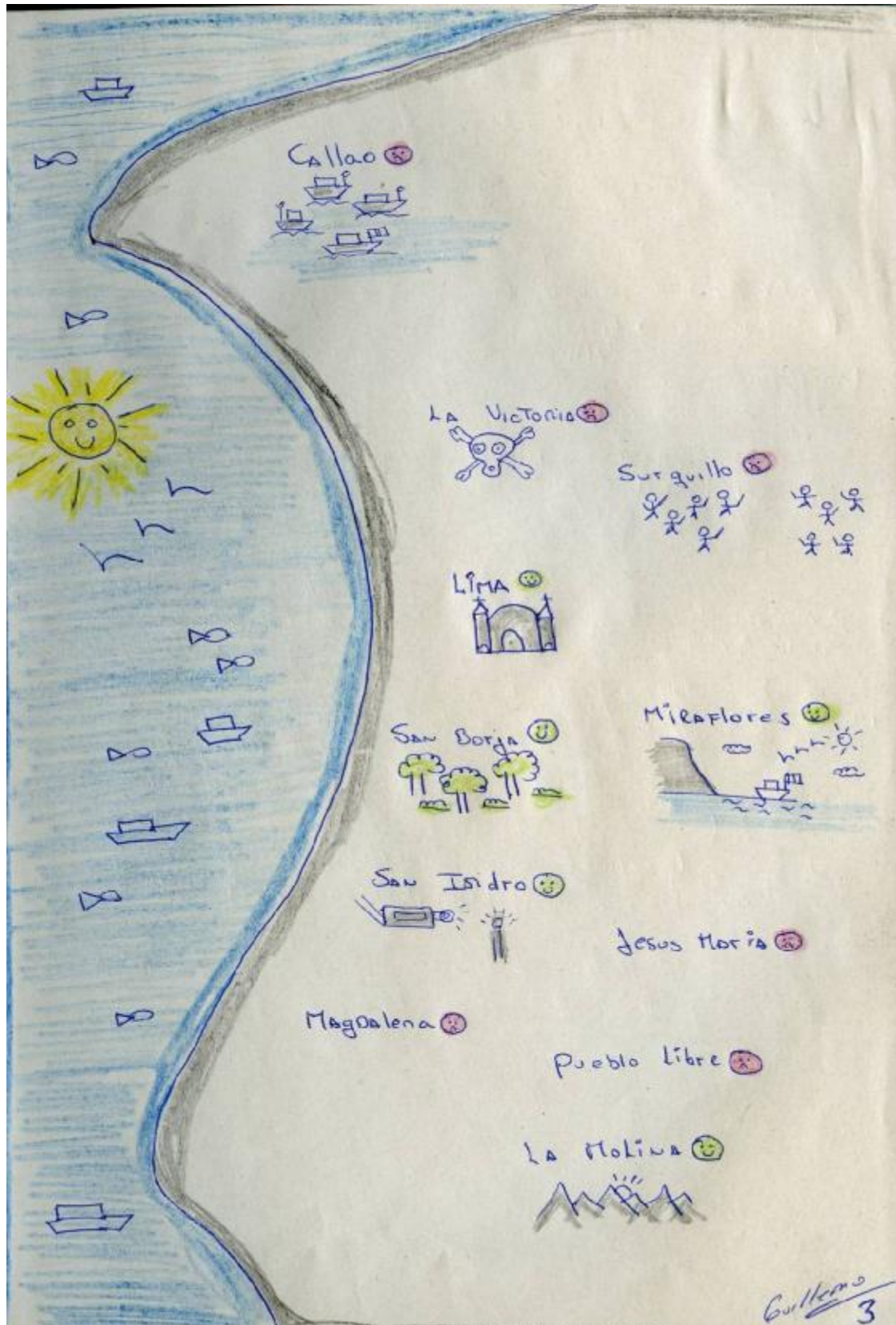
When the Spanish conquerors founded Lima it was founded in the Rímac Valley fulfilled with expectations for *la Ciudad de los Reyes*, the City of Kings. Lima became the capital of viceroyalty. The capital was founded by Pizarro and his men on

horseback, such as reflected in the motto of the PMP – *siempre a caballo, porque la patria se hizo a caballo* – always on horseback, because the country was made on horseback (el Comandante Marrojo April 8th 2010). During the colonial period Lima grew with satellite settlement of Rimac, developed across the river, and at the end of the nineteenth century the city expanded further with the creation of suburbs of Barrios Altos and La Victoria for the poorer sections of the population (Lloyd 1980). This marked a rupture of the enclosed fortified walls, built to protect what is today known as *El Centro Histórico de Lima*, the Historic Centre of Lima, which was becoming ever more densely populated, with the immigration of the nineteenth century (di Tolla 2009). The historic centre represents, and is a visible testimony of, historical periods starting off with the Spaniards particular emphasis on the city and its spaces of power.

In 1931 over half of the population in Lima lived in the central district, and Miraflores, Barranco and Magdalena del Mar were the seaside resorts for the wealthier city residents, though, in spite of its affluence, Miraflores had its slum areas (Lloyd 1980). Surrounding the historic centre, visited by thousands of tourist everyday, much of the historic city space has fallen into decay. In 1996, the mayor

of Metropolitan Lima, Alberto Andrade, launched a campaign of urban renewal of the city centre with aesthetic visions of recuperation of Lima's lost splendour, *Lima, como era antes*, Lima, the way it once was (Gandolfo 2009). *La Cachina* which had been a vibrant market for stolen goods was removed as well as beggars, prostitutes, and *pirañitas*, street children. *El Centro* changed when Andrade put out his ideas - nevertheless, the surrounding spaces are rather vibrant today. The historic suburbs of Rímac, Barrios Altos, and La Victoria are crowded and with narrow passages, and today much of these spaces are considered urban decays. December 8th, however, they were spaces for specific policing.

Rímac, Lima Cercado, and La Victoria, are spaces generally considered *medio movidos*, with reference to the street crime perceived as characterizing city space there. *Medio movido* is a term used to express that a place is *peligroso*, dangerous, with reference to much movement and the probability of delinquents, a rather *lively* place in terms of crime such as reflected in Limeño remarks such as expressed by a hairdresser in San Borja “La Victoria is not organized - on the street corners they attack you” (August 7th 2009:11).



Drawing 1.1 "Lima". *This map reflects subjective ideas of the city and its spaces in terms of ideas of security. The map was drawn by Guillermo, a Limeño and a friend in his twenties. He drew this in the beginning of my fieldwork in which he drew associations and faces marked on the map, which expresses something about the districts and security. The port of Callao is perceived as insecure, the bandilleros in Surquillo generating insecurity, the green San Borja promoting security, and the cameras in San Isidro. These are perceptions and associations shared by many other Limeños who I worked with during my fieldwork.*



Photo 1.2 "Barras bravas". *These jovenes are supporters of 'la U' and entered the stadium at the North entrance (photo: Therese Landås).*



Drawing 1.3 "Bandilleros on street corners". *This drawing represents an idea of groups of youth who gathers in streets and on streets corners whom are perceived as a threat to security for people, such as this 16 year old young teenage mother in José Galvez.*

Guillermo express similar association of places such as in the case of Surquillo which he marked as insecure and where he drew *bandilleros* as characterization of its social space. The reference to crime as lively has connection to perceptions of criminals as vivid such as understood with the idea of *el Limeño criollo*. *Criollo traits* are behavioural traits found on the coast, especially in the cities and indicate an adaptation to urban life (Lloyd 1980). I was introduced to the idea *Limeño criollo* behaviour in relation talk of crime as an aspect of crime as creativity.

The Historic Centre of Lima is an attraction for masses of people in terms of commerce and its architecture attract many amongst others tourists. This part of Lima has a central position as home for many spaces of power such as *Plaza de Armas*, the Main Square, and *el Palacio de Gobierno*, the Government Palace. Generally speaking, it is a space with much movement and traffic. Rímac and La Victoria are nevertheless considered residential areas, surrounding the central commercial district, with traces of overcrowded living conditions of the poorest in 1920-1955 (di Tolla 2009). Though the historic centre of Lima gained its UNESCO World Heritage status in 1991, it has not yet been fully regenerated such as reflected in degradation in certain parts of Rímac and Barrios Altos.

The everyday rhythm in time and space, the constant flow of day and night, with the city as its arena, are important security practices in city space in which people relate to the familiar through these rhythms. Perhaps these rhythms resembles Jane Jacobs' (1961) *street ballet*, "an intricate ballet in which the individual dancers and ensembles all have distinctive parts which miraculously reinforce each other and compose an orderly whole" (:117). People organize their lives in accordance to familiar activities and the socially constructed clock-time with vivid days and deserted nights, or at least the city acceleration is slowed down at night. The veil of darkness generate discourses of changing urban space, such as Henri Lefebvre's (1996) fatal hour of ten o'clock at night in which space changes. There circulates similar perceptions of time and space in Lima where for instance criminals have their own schedule. Johnny, a police officer in San Borja, made a comment on police practice and everyday rhythms where he expressed that "the delinquent has his schedule as well – at dawn and in the evening" (August 24th 2009). Urban life is ascribed a certain order amongst others because of practices of security *and* components to insecurity. In Lima, security is contested in city space, a contestation manifested in urban space through tensions in social relations which generate spaces of

insecurity in the city. Familiarity in everyday life and an established city order are not guarantees for security. Rather, the everyday rhythm is frequently interrupted by changes in social and spatial order of the city such as when Limeños perceive their spaces to be threatened by certain people at certain times. Security is threatened by disorder in time and space. In fact, city space is an arena for urban life in which the constant present of strangers in concentrated spaces forces people every so often to interact and cope with unfamiliarities.

BARRAS BRAVAS

In Lima, there are groups of youths which are identified as for instance *pirañas*, *pandillos*, *bandilleros*, and *bandas*. Throughout my fieldwork I had sporadic visits to an institution for young teenage mothers in the *pueblo joven* Villa María del Triunfo. In conversations with these girls and the director of this institution, I learned about preoccupations for youths, especially male youths. One of the concerns is reflected in experiences with group of youth who gathers on street corners (drawing 1.3). The director herself talked about a general situation for many youths who experience a lack of attention and support especially with regard to

domestic relations and thus gathers with youths with shared experiences (Fiona September 10th 2009). Fiona told an anecdote from Villa María del Triunfo in the area of *el Paradero 8*, in which she exemplified her concern for and created by youths.

“Los Galves came to bother (...) making noises, banging with the chains so that they [people] would fear. There were 70-80 at two at night. Yes, the police came, but imagine, they were so many that in the end they could not do anything” (Fiona September 10th 2009)

This happened around the area of the institution for young teenage mothers, which nevertheless remained physically unharmed that night. Allegedly, the centre has gained respect because in some cases the *bandilleros* have children in this institution. In Lima, insecurity is related to youths and groups of youths whose presence in streets and public life causes other people to perceive them as threat. The book *Somos pandilla, somos chamba: escuchennos* (Munar, Verhoeven and Bernales 2004) discusses social experiences of youth in Lima in which the writers present two groups of youths; *chicos chamba*, working boys, and *pandilleros*, gangsters. The former are perceived as teenage students and workers, whereas the latter are presented as youths or gangs who for instance present

themselves as protectors of their barrio though the neighbour rather perceive them as disturbance. Interestingly enough, in this case, the neighbours organized neighbourhood rounds to implement order as they do not appreciate the behaviour and the ways the gangs appropriated the barrio. The behaviour of these youths is criminalized and people express fear of violence caused by them.

In similarity, discourse of insecurity in Lima is shaped by perceptions the *barras bravas*, the supporter fans, mainly characterized as younger boys who dedicate their time to *bandallismo*. The murder of the 24 year old María Paola Vargas 24th of October 2009 created headlines in the news when the micro with the license plate UO-7197, passing Javier Prado moving towards La Molina, was filled up with members from the *barras El Agente* and *La Brigada* (*el Comercio* November 1st 2009). The police version states that the chauffeur was robbed 60 soles and the radio. *El cobrador*, the person collecting the buss fee, was forced to get of the micro. María Paola intended to get away from the unit of *barras*. While intending to get of the micro, a *barra brava* wanted to take her purse, which resulted in a struggle. The journey ended in death. The prime suspect of for the crime was a *barrista* from *La 'U'*.

The aftermath of this episode resulted in talk about youth and violence. “They are not *barras bravas*, they are bands of delinquents” stated the mayor of Lima (*el Comercio* November 1st 2009). The *barras bravas*, which are identified as the main challenge at football games, are also the same group of people who are perceived as a general cause for insecurity in daily life. Their behaviour is perceived conflictual and people perceive their actions before, under, and after games to generate fear. When there is a game, people fear that the *barras bravas* will vandalize urban space, perhaps with the same intention such as in the anecdote of the *bandilleros* Los Galves who allegedly caused disturbance in order to produce fear. “Sometimes they pass here. I’m worried for this part [the newly painted and reconstructed white wall] because they like to paint. I can’t do anything, they’ve got arms, stones and things, they could kill me” said Maycol, a private vigilant in San Borja, a week before the football game which I present in this chapter (December 2nd 2009). The *barras bravas*, even though they first and foremost gather around football games, are perceived to cause fear and insecurity in ordinary life.



Illustration 1.4 “A entire day on horseback”. This photo article about the horseback riding police was published in El Comercio December 27th 2009, and the main photo demonstrates PMP crossing the bridge from Rimac to Lima Cercado at the day of the parade.

1 White Horses and Barras Bravas: Always Ready to Serve



Photo 1.5 "The White horse". *The horse in the front allegedly impressed the president (photo: Therese Landås).*



Photo 1.6 "El Cuadro Blanco". *This photo was taken a few days before the parade at Potao where El Cuadro Blanco demonstrated acrobatic skills in front of national television at the morning show of the channel Panamericana. Though this specific team was not present at the parade the idea of el Cuadro Blanco is here compared to some aspects of the parade in terms of presentation of order (photo: Therese Landäs).*



Photo 1.7 "Approaching the PMP before the parade". *PMP lined up while waiting for the parade to get started. Such as exemplified by this photo, people approached the PMP in order to get their photo taken with them (photo: Therese Landås).*



Photo 1.8 "Approaching the PMP at *el Estadio Nacional*". "Now we have 5 minutes to eat" said *el Comandante Marrojo*. In-between the two events, there was time for a little break with refreshments for both rider and horse, such as the horse and officer in this photo, before preparing for the football game (photo: *Therese Landås*).

RECUPERATION OF A LOST IMAGE

“The moral of the police, internal, it is bad to the ground. The police feels unprotected, badly paid and is asking ‘who will I protect?’ He has lost this moral. It is necessary to recuperate the moral which we have lost since the 80s” (el Comandante Marrojo November 23rd 2009:194)

El Gran Parada y el Desfile Militar, the grand parade and military procession, is a public representation of state forces where power, control and order are characteristics for the social space of this event. Approximately 100 horses, an equal number of serving officers, together with a team of veterinarians and helpers were mobilized from Potao to participate in the parade in el Centro de Lima. Preparations for the event started of early morning by decoration of the horses with colours of red and white, the colours of the national flag of Peru. The officers were dressed in their green and gold uniform with beige horseback riding pants and black boots. The sword hung down from the back of the saddle with the maroon, gold and white shabrak and the PMP logo. The journey started off in Rimac, passing *Jirón Cajamarca, el Centro de Lima la Prefectura, la Plaza Bolognesi, la Avenida Brasil*, and the parade was realized in *Avenida la Peruanidad*. The crowded streets by the bridge of Rimac became

appropriated by hundred police horses and riders forming a little pre-parade parade passing historic spaces such as *la Quinta Presa* which was home of *la Perricholi*, the famous theatre actress. The everyday traffic was directed to alternative routes by the help of the traffic police. City space was clearly transformed. The busy streets just across the bridge to Rímac are usually recognized for its chaos of crowd and heavy traffic. The presence of the hundred riders with their horses changed character of this city space, at least for a little while. In Lima Cercado, PMP lined up with the horses placed side by side. In this particular moment interesting observations were made notice of. People approached the police and their horses in what could seem as a gesture of curiosity and fascination of the horses. Curiosity was stated through the questions asked, and the fascination was demonstrated through people’s interest in getting their photo taken posing next to the police and their horse. Obviously, it is not uncommon for people to take interest in parades and to want to have their picture taken. In fact, it is one of the main intentions for a parade to show off in front of the public. The chief of PMP similarly stated that “the parade is to show to society that we are always ready to serve” (December 8th 2009:210).

In everyday life, it is acknowledged that the police are confronting challenges

in terms of image of the institution. Many people express that they rather avoid the police. People talk about lack of confidence between police and citizens. The chief of the PMP stated that “the police have lost a bit of the authority. The police pull back from the streets. What is necessary is a strategy, an order” (December 2nd 2009). There are ideas circulating about lack of control, order, and honesty within the police. Interestingly enough, the parade has the objective to present the forces in front of the state and the public in well presented and well organized manners. Under the parade, which was realized at *Avenida la Peruanidad*, the president, as head of the state, was present as well as ordinary people. Order and correctness are central features of parades. It can be argued that parades open up the possibility for the people to see the forces in civilized⁶ and peaceful arena. Clearly this is a matter of perspectives - such a parade might evoke negative associations of the forces based on historical social and political instability. For instance, those coming of age in 1980 experienced shift away from twelve years of military rule in the year of democratic elections, meanwhile were experiencing

⁶ The adjective civilized simply refers to the tranquil presence of the forces in which the forces are not in position of defence or with intentions to confront citizen in questions of power and violence.

Sendero’s first attack in Ayacucho (Gandolfo 2009). This conflict intensified and additionally moved into the capital, and *la Calle Tarata* in Miraflores is for many a space with a ghostly appearance of history in remembrance of *el coche bomba*, the car bomb, in 1992.

People have experienced much violence and the state forces have had significant role in this violence. El Comandante Marrojo is a well respected man with years of experience working as a horseback riding police officer. His point of view, a rather romantic view on horses with perceptions of psychological effects on people, is valuable for the sake of an analytic discussion. With regard to this, he made a distinction between *intervención* and *patrullaje*, intervention and patrol. He believes in *el impacto psicológico*, the psychological impact of representing security on the horseback and states that people approach the horse while the police serve by patrolling, whilst in intervention there is a latent confrontation with people. Of course this does not go without the more obvious reason for using horses which are strong, large, a fast animal which have been used throughout history. In order to approach the citizen, el Comandante Marrojo explains that “in Colombia they order 3000 horses from Argentina last year. [It is] the form to recover and to approach themselves, the

community and the horseback riding police”. He says that “the civil population is terrorized” and that “in Colombia they fear the Guerrero” (November 30th 2009). The horseback riding police believed that it was possible to recover and bring closer the relation between the community and the police through amplifying the presence of them patrolling with horses. In the Peruvian case he believes that it is similarly of importance to recuperate the moral which the institution lost in the 80s, with the internal national conflicts, and he has a vision of the horses as a communicative and respectful way to meet people. In a way, this resembles the idea presented in 1996 by the mayor Alberto Andrade and his urban renewal of the city centre with aesthetic visions of recuperation of Lima’s lost splendour. The alleged desire for recuperation of police moral, in similarity recuperation of Lima spatial royalty, can be argued to be ideal glorifications of a past. In the case of Andrade’s slogan “Lima, the way it once was” it is important to question whether or not his visions of urban renewal reflect the historic Lima (Gandolfo 2009). Perhaps Lima was not that marvellous with its fortifications. Similarly, the police moral, which the police allegedly find a need to recuperate, might not have been much better before.

WHITE HORSES

Image is a keyword for police presentation of security and representation in the parade. Image is a condition for identity and it can be argued that the police focus on image is about building identity. The classical argument about identity states that it only makes sense in relation to other identities and they are never firmly established for individuals and groups (Jenkins 2004). Image, like identity, is relational and touches upon processes of *impression management*. Erving Goffman (1992) uses impression management in relation to systematic conducts which give the impression one hopes to convey through playing on *frontstage* and *backstage* in interaction in everyday life. The frontstage of the police is order and control. Through their institution they establish a common frontstage where the parade communicates police authority⁷. It can be argued that the police preoccupation for image partake processes of impression management to produce a better image or reputation of the police which indicate ambiguous relations surrounding images of the police.

⁷ It is noticeable the police effort with regard to promoting a common frontstage. The backstage, however, is not necessarily shared. I look at rather ambiguous backstage which is influenced by an individualization of the role of the police which is discussed further in the following chapters.

The image of urban space in the Historic Centre of Lima was up until Andrade's campaign perceived in relation to urban decay, however, with his campaign he communicated a recuperation of cleanliness order, and beauty (Gandolfo 2009). It was said in 1996, when Andrade took office, the city centre was on the verge of collapse because it was so dirty. Andrade set out a process of cleaning, by brooms in hand and *serenazgo* patrol, in order to sweep out garbage and unwanted people such as *pirañitas*, petty drug dealers, and prostitutes. Certainly, the mayors' campaign did show results, though the image of the historic centre in terms of security depends on time and space as certain part its space is rather lively at night. The police at the parade, similarly, represents impression management in the sense that it aim at presenting forces of security in an orderly and correct manner which, perhaps, can restore an alleged lost order and moral since the 80s. Urban space was transformed into a stage for the parade, the same urban space which underwent changes in 1996.

There is something persuasive about hundreds of people, forces, and horses suddenly appropriating city space

with their orderly presence. Allegedly⁸, the president remained impressed by the enormous white horse ridden by Mario, an official which usually fly helicopters in *VRAE (el Valle del Río Apurímac y Ene)* who nevertheless came that day in order to serve with PMP who lacked *policías oficiales* to lead the sub officials (Photo 1.7). It is worthy of notice that the president was awestruck by the one immense and white horse. The idea and presence of white horses in the parade can be extracted and discussed in relation to ideas of power and *masculinity* which represent symbolic displays of values communicated by forces that monopolize violence. In Latin American ethnography, *macho* is a familiar and well-discussed term which amongst others relate power and masculinity to specific image and behaviour. *Machismo* is perceived as important component to power, as an ultimate value, something not to be questioned.

Matthew Gutmann (1996) writes that particular associations of male qualities in writings on Latin American masculinity and machismo, has been an important topic ever since what Mary Louise Pratt make notice of as the

⁸ It was commented by el Comandante in charge of the PMP that they got a call from one of the assistance of the president regarding his notification of that particular horse (December 8th 2009).

androcentrism of modern national imaginings in Latin America. During the Mexican Revolution the phrase *muy hombre*, very man, described courageous man and women, though it was first and foremost men who were perceived as protective of their mother country. Macho is often associated with attitudes and behaviours such as toughness and power. In comparison to contemporary multiple understandings in the urban context, macho might have become a modern fashionable characterization of especially male behaviour such as toughness and power. To a certain degree, looking at the behavioural aspect of ideas of macho, without necessarily arguing that they are macho, this urban understanding of power is reflected in many images of *pandilleros* or *bandilleros*, mainly boys and protectors of their barrio (described under the subtitle *Barras Bravas*).

Though there are many discussions of the term macho, I find it to be of special interest to look at the idea of macho and machismo with ideas of protection. Mexican masculinity under the Mexican Revolution was shaped by ideas of protection of their country and their women. Gutmann writes that the heroic figure of proletarian male militant has been promoted to cause national progress, yet, he writes “cultural processes are driven today by global ethnoscapas as never

before” (Appadurai 1990 in Gutmann 1996:241). This heroic figure is of special interest in which there could be drawn a vague comparison to the role of the police as security, as protectors. Generally speaking, I agree with Gutmann that macho and machismo are complex matters and that they have multiple and shifting meanings, though I focus on the idea of macho with connotations to masculinity and power.

It can be argued that horses are perceived as powerful and an attribute of masculinity. The festival of *the Palio of Siena* (Handelman 1990) is an interesting case in point. The festival appears as an inversion of male-female relationship in everyday public life as in the major political and economic arenas are male dominated *commune*, whereas women are outsiders to a certain extent. The race, which is central for the festival, however, is regarded as a female event and the horses are feminized in honour of the Madonna. Nevertheless, it can be argued even in a feminized event where the male-female relationship appears inverted, masculinity is perhaps reinforced through the ascription of masculinity to the feminized. Similarly, during the Mexican Revolution, women as well as men, were considered macho, a term which I have already argued carries a male connotation. The point is, and generally speaking here,

horses are perceived in relation to masculinity, a male potent symbol of power. Even in the case where the horse feminized it is considered and articulated through masculinity. It is noteworthy then, the male bias of the riders in the parade, in fact, there is a general male bias of police work. It is easy to observe that the majority of police officers, *serenos*, and watchmen are in fact *men*. What is the relation of power and masculinity in relation to security?

There is a relation between masculinity and power, a relation which is naturalized and often perceived as an ultimate value. In similarity to this specific characterization of masculinity, I find the colour white to be of specific interest as symbolic representation of the parade. The adjective *white* is not reinforced by a coincidence. Historically, the colour has been a marker of distinction, discrimination, and unequal power relations such as violence in the 19th century in the United States against African American in which lynching as an extrajudicial punishment was carried out by whites towards blacks, and politics of segregation which is probably most known in relation to the system of Apartheid in South Africa. Nevertheless, here I reinforced white because of its symbolic significance with reference to *el Cuadro Blanco*. This is the team of horses and

riders within the PMP, dressed in white, who demonstrate their artistic and acrobatic knowledge and capabilities in order to give a positive image of the institution from an collective cooperation and with a message of peace (Photo 1.6). In comparison to *el Cuadro Blanco*, the day of the parade was also perceived as opportunities for the ordinary⁹ PMP to promote a positive image of the PMP. Similarly, the parade in general demonstrates correct and honest forces with the simple intention of presenting and representing security in front of the people. In many conversations with and about police officers the adjective *recto*, meaning honest and correct, is mentioned in order to point out that the problem in many cases is the lack of honest police officers. It can be argued that the parade communicate juxtaposed values of power and peace. The exceptionally large white horse, which awestruck the president, perhaps communicate obscured tensions in everyday life consisting of power and legitimization of power between citizens and state. Rightly, an exceptionally large horse would impress any other person without further profound ideas of power.

⁹ By the term ordinary I am here referring to the comparison to *el Cuadro Blanco*.



Photo 1.9 "Armored rider". *The rider and its horse are well protected and prepared for intervention at the football game. The red and white decorations in many of the horses' mane remained, which reflect the tight schedule between the parade and the game (photo: Therese Landås).*

1 White Horses and Barras Bravas: Always Ready to Serve



Photo 1.10 "Police officers as walls". *At proximity of the north entrance the wall of police officers thickened and people where forced to use the sidewalks while walking towards the stadium (photo: Therese Landås).*



Photo 1.11 "Hustling and ordering the crowd". *On horseback, this police officer intended to maintain order through a demand of orderly line of people and a hustled rhythm to the stadium (photo: Therese Landås).*

ARMORED¹⁰ RIDERS

The football game between the two local rivals *Alianza* and *la 'U'*, is a rather different public event in which the mass of people and its social space is characterized by force and disorder. After the parade, PMP set course towards *el Estado Nacional*, the national stadium located by *Paseo de la Republica* across the district of La Victoria. The situation changed in the moment they arrived the stadium, the post for reorganizing their team. The horses were prepared for service amongst others with a team of horses well equipped with defence accessories such as plastic see-through blinders covering their eyes. The police officers changed into protective vests, helmets, and music instruments were put away. The image of the PMP changed corresponding to the changes in the situation. Police officers expressed an awareness of the possibilities for direct confrontations and interventions which could be demanded by the following situation such as stated by el Comandante Marrojo “change of situation and the people change their attitude” (December 8th 2009). Nevertheless, the change was not

necessarily caused by a change in the attitude of the police. Rather, the change was more noticeable in aesthetics, and perhaps even the mass of people and their presence in urban space. The aesthetics is here referring to physical appearance such as the armored clothes and the physical surroundings of shifting urban landscape to which the PMP changed expectation.

In comparison to the traffic of micros and vehicles in Lima Cercado, the crowd in La Victoria was characterized by people, walking and coming from all directions. It was inevitable to notice the change compared to the aesthetics and appearance in parade. Characteristics in urban space shifted at the border of La Victoria - once again the hundred horses with their riders appropriated city space. They left the National Stadium, crossed *Paseo de la Republica*, and continued upwards *28 de Julio*. At the border of La Victoria the changes escalated and it was noticeable the changes of the crowd. Order and formation of PMP were maintained though it was inevitable to notice that the mass of people already challenged this picture. PMP divided themselves into three groups covering the three entrances. It is of interest to look at the perceptions of the three entrances where the entrances are associated with certain behaviours which again is perceived in relation to class. There are three entrances to the stadium,

¹⁰ A term used by Linke and Taana Smith (2009:57) which describe amongst others the privatization of security which is discussed further in the following chapters.

respectively *el ingreso norte*, *el ingreso sur*, and *el ingreso occidente*. Accordingly there are three perceptions of these entrances which express ideas of social class as basis for social behaviour, or in two of the cases, perceived lack of behaviour. The cheaper tickets are sold for the north and south entrances.

Generally speaking the supporters of each team, the *barras bravas*, enter the stadium either through the north or south entrance, depending on which team the person supports. The more expensive tickets are sold to the occident entrance. People supporting either one of the teams enter there. It is the north and south entrances which are perceived challenging. These two entrances are perceived challenging because of the greater risk of conflict and the behaviour of people accordingly tend to be less easy to control. By the occident entrance people allegedly enter calmly and often they arrive in cars. People perceive the space of the cheap-ticket-entrances to be more conflictual because people are perceived as lower class and complicated behaviour. People who have tickets for these two entrances walk to the stadium. Allegedly, the *barras bravas* from both team enter their respectively entrance and their behaviour are perceived as a threat by the police and by Limeños in general. In many cases, drugs are involved which escalate the

tensions and shape peoples conducts such as the young boy was caught with drugs at the north entrance. At the occident entrance, the tickets are more expensive and allegedly the police expect fewer conflicts there. In this event, security was enforced where conflict was perceived as a latent potential, such as at the north and south entrances where most of the *barras bravas* enters.

At the north entrance, police officer lined up as fences to the sidewalks while the PMP mobilized around whereabouts of the masses. The explicit role of the PMP is to control masses of people at events which attract larger masses of people such as the football game. People were controlled by the strategy of having everybody use the sidewalk and walk in line in a hustled rhythm (photo 1.10). The majority of the mass of people were teenagers and men. The street of *Abtao*, which lead to the north entrance, was dominated by the police. The sidewalks of *Abtao* were appropriated by people. Troops of security flooded inn by foot, on motorbikes, and in cars. These troops were further delegated to cover the various zones surrounding the stadium. Urban space surrounding the stadium could easily be associated with a conflictual space of confrontations of the police and people based on these security measurements which were strongly represented. Generally speaking however,

responses and interactions of the police and people were rather tranquil as if they were routines for both parties. After all, these are ordinary practices of security at these football games. Confrontations are perceived as omnipresent possibility in urban space at the event of the football game.

In this particular situation, practices of security can be perceived as practices of defence in which allegedly confrontations are the rule rather than the exception. In comparison to the representation of security under the parade, in which the forces present themselves to the public to be at their disposal, the practices of security during the football game generate a change in social relations and position. Though the police in this case are there to protect citizens and to maintain order with the motive of acting with best intentions for the citizens, there are latent manifestations of defensive practices of security. Simultaneously, it could also be argued that these defensive practices are preventive practices of security which aim at avoiding certain conflicts. However, it is physically manifested in the domination of space by the police that tranquillity and order is not taken for granted. Though the football game is located at a particular place and time, the importance of the event can not be understood isolated to the stadium and its surroundings. Stories

circulate and people talk about *barras bravas* vandalizing urban space and property on their journey to the stadium. There exist genuine fears for private properties as the *barras bravas* supposedly paint and toss rocks. As a consequence, the PMP, in the aftermath of the game, are divided into groups in order to follow the masses, accompanying the masses of people which become further dispersed the further away from the stadium they get.

PUBLIC EVENTS AND PRACTICES OF THE ORDINARY

The police subscribe to the production of space in two different ways. Patrol and intervention, these two police practices which produces social space, were public events realized within a timeframe of 12 hours. Events have designs with their own logic and it can be argued that events mirror the world. Handleman (1990) argues that it is important to point out the great variety of public events which “vary from the explicitly ontological to the insistently pragmatic, from the unreflective to the exegetical, from the constitutive to the expressive” (1990:62). Continually, he looks at *logic of design of events* where he presents an argument of the design of events, that experiences of events are tied to the logics of design of events, that is, the

model of the event shape how the events unfold.

The events presented in this chapter exemplify relations between lived world, which I perceive as the everyday life, and that which is expressed at events¹¹. The events demonstrate ways police operate in public space and functions of police. The parade is a classical public event where the police mainly present themselves *modelizing* police in everyday life and police power. The police practice at football game is rather pragmatic where the police intend to maintain order with the aim at avoiding conflict and violence at specific space such as the north entrance of the stadium¹².

Handleman distinguishes between events as *presentation* and *representation* which reflect on the relations between events, design of events, and the lived-in-world, when presentation is more like statements, reflections or mirror-images. As a *presentation* the event is stated in *one* particular way. *Representation*, on the other hand, is more about propositions and counterpropositions where there are possible multiple experiences of the same

¹¹ According to Handleman, events are mirrors of the lived world or *lived in world*, and events, to different degree and in different ways, are *modelling the lived in world*.

¹² Though the latter practice is not a classical event, I look at it as a public event in Handleman sense.

public event. Handleman argues that for instance symbolic anthropology would insist that any public occasion is necessarily a re-presentation of some reality. He continuously writes that his concern of public events is with the logic of design of events in themselves, which he accounts for as presentation. Following Handlemans discussions, it can be argued that the framework and layout of the detailed planned and organized parade is rather different from the design of the police job at the football game where the police role is dependant on how the situation emerges.

At the parade the police present themselves, under a statement of how things should be, of uniformity, orderliness. It is a modelling of police power in synchronized choreography such as riding in straight lines, side by side. The parade could first and foremost be related to that which Handleman characterize as presentation, such as for instance reflected in the historical always-on-horseback motto of PMP, and the movement of the parade through historic spaces. However, this characterization of the parade does not totally exclude what Fernandez (in Handleman 1990:49) calls *arguments of images* which touch upon re-presentation as well. There are multiple and subjective ways, through spectators and participants, to understand the event. It is of importance

to acknowledge the contested potential at the parade. For instance, the police present themselves in orderly manners though many might perceive the police differently based on historical experiences with violence and contemporaneous experiences and challenges of “the honour in times of bribery¹³”.

The police event at the football game is a rather different event compared to the parade. It is a police task which has practical and pragmatic challenges such as reflected in the way they practiced security through controlling the masses. Nevertheless, and in similarity to the parade, police practice at the football event touches upon image and presentation of police as well. At one hand, there are the equipments, for instance, in the armoured uniform which demonstrates police ready for conflict and intervention. It can be argued that people such as the *barras bravas* conditions the situation and the requirement of police presence. Nevertheless, the police shape the conditions through their armored

appearance and control of the situation by demanding people to use sidewalks, in which they demonstrate authority. At the other hand, the social order is mirrored to a certain degree at this event. The social order is produced, a presentation of how the world is in terms of ontology which partake an internal logic of the event, at the stadium such as the reflected in perceptions of the three entrances where the entrances are associated with class and certain behaviour. It can be asked if there is a process of re-presentation, if there is an *argument of images*, at the event of the football game. Though the police at the football game primarily effectuate power I argue that there are communicative and symbolic aspects of police presence where power and authority is represented simply through police presence.

Despite the particular characterisations of the events, there are pragmatic aspects of the parade, and ontological aspects of the football game. The police practices of patrol and intervention are both performances which produce and represent aspects of the lived in world. These are practices that produce social space. Patrol, as an ordinary practice of security in everyday life, resembles some aspects of the parade in the sense it is present police presence. Intervention is shaped by the effectuation of power where authority and monopoly of violence is

¹³ August 30th 2009 an article appeared the national newspaper *el Comercio* under this title, “el honor en los tiempos de la coima” (el Comercio August 30th 2009). It exemplifies a challenge within and towards the police in which they have lost trust amongst others because of corruption and in this case *coimas*, bribery. This is discussed further in the chapter “at the Limit”.

manifested. Police practices thus touches upon presentation and representation, and are in fact significant practices in production of social space intended towards security.

INSUFFICIENT POLICE

The irony here is that police presence is made so visible in this chapter, meanwhile the allegation is that in Lima people perceive police and security as inefficient and absent to a certain degree. In fact, Lima is the city in Latin America which has the smallest amount of police per inhabitants with approximately 1696 inhabitants per police officer compared to the 215 inhabitants per police officer in Buenos Aires (GDA in *El Comercio* September 6th 2009). In Lima, where many people distrust and feel insecure when taking a taxi, there circulate over 330 thousand taxis in which 50 percent are informal and in relation to which there circulate stories of crime and violence which the police seem to be unable to control. It is estimated that there are eight thousand *guachimanes* who work informally in Lima, they work 12 hours per day, *pasan la voz para las intervenciones*, inform of necessary interventions. Yet, people do not think they are capacitated in giving security.

The distribution and numerous representation of the police encountered in these events can not be equalized to police presence in everyday life, though police presence in certain parts of the city is quite visible. At the football game, for instance, the distribution of security responded to a request which considered expected or potential conflict during this event. In everyday life, I question whether this is always the case, that the distribution corresponds to necessity of security. Nevertheless, the parade and the football game are considered small examples of representations and practices of security which say something about larger issues regarding practices and narratives of security in Lima. Though events such as the football game are just once-every-so-often, it can be argued that such events shape general discourse of fear and that such events reflect on relations of order and disorder which are central themes with regard to security. In the following chapter, I present aspects of the system of security, which relates police practices to practices of everyday life. Are there many police officers on white horses – honest, peaceful, and powerful representations of security - present in everyday life, and how do people, through the system of security, encounter components to insecurity, such as the *barras bravas*?

2 Policing: The System of Citizen Security

“You do not survive her; the society will eat you” I was told under an interview with a woman who I knew before conducting my fieldwork in Lima. At first, I did not understand what she meant by this statement, neither could I fully grasp her reasoning nor the meaning of its content, until I reread my own field notes months later. Rereading these words, with so many other interviews, conversations, and gained experiences in my mind, I found myself in a better position to understand what significance it has, especially in this chapter where I discuss the *system*, indicating structures in society, of security. My research on security grew to become a representation from the point of view of the police where policing is a point of departure for understanding practices and narratives of security in Lima. Police and policing are, nevertheless, perceived in their widest definition considering the many agents, from the *huachimán*, the Spanish word for watchman, to a neighbour, policing in Lima.

The sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spaniards were bound up with what they referred to as *policía* in which the conversion to Catholicism and attainment of order and justice were central

practices (Gandolfo 2009). *Policía* referred to a broad range of attributes of civilized life such as rationality and social order. On one hand, it is related to the Greek *politeia* which implied life in a community and subordination of individual desires and interests to those of the group by ordinances and laws. On the other hand, it carries the Latin *politia* which are aspects of personal behaviour and private life such as morality and good manners. The Spanish notion of *policía* referred to virtues associated with urban life, a mode of living conducive to a properly human way of being.

“It referred to life in the city understood both as urbs – as an architectural entity, expressed in the design, appearance, and quality of its buildings – and as civitas - as a human community – juxtaposing these two historically opposing views of the city into a single notion of urban life, in which the city’s physical reality and social and moral bond of its residents engendered one another” (Gandolfo 2009:77).

In similarity, the system of security is bounded to law and order, a sort of subordination of the individual to these, and a mode of personal comportment in which the individual is expected to behave in certain ways.

The system of security and the function of policing are presented in this chapter and their foundation has been, and

is part of, a continued process of strategies of order and control which have roots in colonial practices. *Serenazgo*, for instance, whom I observed and was observed by in *la Calle Vesalio* where I lived during my fieldwork, is the district-run neighbourhood vigilance system inspired by a colonial practice of night-time watch practiced 150 years ago (Gandolfo 2009). These agents became a way of approaching and achieving an understanding of security in Lima to such degree that I would frequently be stopped by a *sereno* on a bicycle giving me the status quo of order and tranquillity in the area, or at times I would be offered a lift home in the *sereno* vehicle accompanying a *sereno* and a police officer who patrolled my neighbourhood area. The watchman in my street, would often make remark of situations of the ordinary, of worries for crime when the neighbours parked their cars outside the carceral house or observations of the absent or slowed down frequency of *serenazgo* patrol at night. “From 12 o’clock *serenazgo* does not come any more. They are resting because they have other jobs and they are tired at night” criticized the vigilant one day (August 14th 2009). Every so often the promoter of the *juntas vecinales* where I participated, invited me to various activities with the neighbourhood representatives, my friend and informant

Antonio frequently called about events and activities related to citizen participation. My journeys to Rímac taught me about everyday rhythms in Lima’s urban space in the Historic Centre of the capital and even more about the role of the police through many conversations on beautiful recently-in-the process-of-being-trained police horses with el comandante Marrojo. Security is a matter of the system, of policing, and of the social relations and what it means to be an agent of security. I look into these topics which frames citizen security in Lima.

It is of importance to mention that the all-including system of security, which I discuss as a characteristic of the citizen security in Lima, makes it rather difficult to delimit the policing function which by law and practice is considered an all-inclusive responsibility. Additionally, the policing agent whom certainly have the strongest voice here, are themselves citizens engaged in everyday life which places them in a position of the ordinary. Carlos, the first promoter I worked with, believes that the state benefits from having weak laws (September 11th 2009) and the twenty year old *sereno* in *Domingo Orue* in Surquillo believes that the police does not patrol in Surquillo and that it is necessary to have a police friend in order to feel secure or to be able to fulfil the job ascription as security (September 2nd

2009). Also they practice everyday life coping with limitation to their assigned responsibility.

Narration, *the art of speaking* (de Certeau in Caldeira 2000), are considered of great importance in this approach as talk of security is expressive and productive through the ways narrative shape social relations and practices. According to Caldeira, “talk and fear organize everyday strategies of protection and reaction that restrict people’s movements and shrink their universe of interaction” (2000:19-20). I find narratives of security to be of importance as they reflect specific knowledge about the system of security and narratives connect personal experiences with the system of security. Everyday strategies of security is shaped by peoples fear, and it can be argued, in mutual understanding of the shrinking universe of interaction, that Limeños dwell in city space within particular social and geographical boundaries shaped by talk of fear and the security system. This chapter of the system of citizen security focuses on aspects of security in relation to the law of citizen security and its focus on the relation of the national police, *serenazgo*, and the neighbourhood juntas. The representation and discussion on this chapter is shaped by this approach to security which constitute a part of that which can be called the system

of security. My approach to security is thus *seguridad ciudadana*.

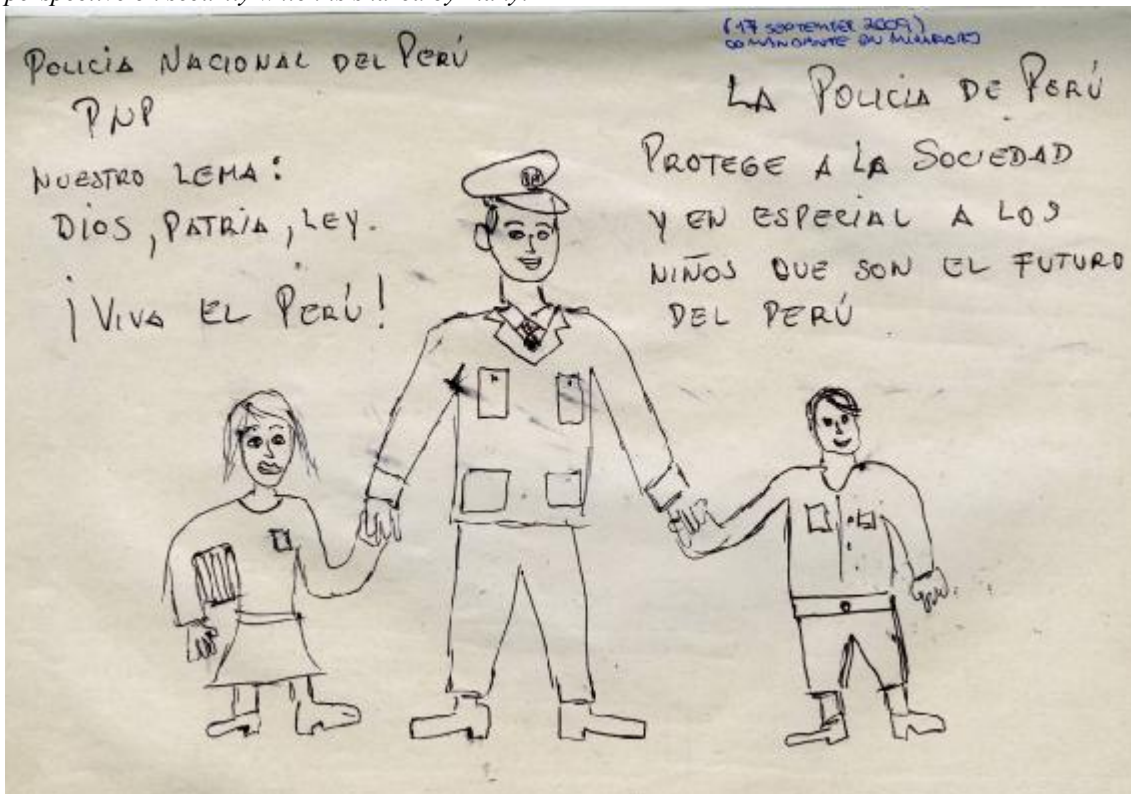
SEGURIDAD CIUDADANA

Seguridad ciudadana, directly translated, means citizen security. In Lima, when people talk about security, it is mostly seen in relation to citizen security and the system of security which surrounds *the law of citizen security*. Though citizenship is a contested term it is perceived as an umbrella term where citizen security aims at individual rights to tranquillity and peace. Nevertheless, it is acknowledge that this must be seen in relation to collective responsibility to guarantee security such as reflected in the system of security which appeal to collective strategies and practices of security. The concept of citizen security assumes citizenship as an indirect requirement to security. It has been suggested to use the term *seguridad de los habitantes*, which aim at security for all persons without exceptions (Rico and Chinchilla 2002:88). Another case in point, which was brought up at a police training seminar (*Seminario de Capitación: Identidad e Identificación*, September 30th 2009), are challenges of lack of identity which is amongst other a result of political instability and migration as a voluntarily relocation.

2 Policing: The System of Citizen Security



Drawing 2.1 "Citizen security, united community, secure city". This drawing represents the idea of citizen security which is perceived as a responsibility for all by this alferes police officer in San Isidro and is a perspective on security which is shared by many.



Drawing 2.2 "The national police protect the society, especially the children". El Comandante who drew this enforced the importance of working with children as they are the future of Peru. In general, people talk about security related to children and education, an aspect of security in which many express concerns for lack of education or rather, people express concern for "the education of the streets".

2 Policing: The System of Citizen Security

There are various public and private strategies for security which shape practice of security in everyday life. Generally perceived, in Lima, the state and institutions are considered to have major responsibility for security. Politically Lima has 42 district governments which have a certain degree of autonomy. They are responsible for public cleaning, maintenance of roads, sidewalks, parks and gardens, regulation of local urban development, as well as citizen security (Costa, Briceño, and Romero 2008). *El gobierno central*, the central government, through *el ministerio del interior*, the domestic ministry, and *la Policía Nacional del Perú*¹⁴, the national police, are directly in charge of security. The PNP are responsible for maintenance of the public order, the criminal investigation, and the prevention of crime (Costa, Briceño, and Romero 2008). Nevertheless, citizen security is also a local public service with municipal competence such as an attribution of the mayor the disposition of *serenazgo* which is a disposition of the state.

Apart from, or in addition to, the distribution of police officers by the state and *serenazos* by the municipalities, *la municipalidad provincial*, the provincial municipality, additionally coordinates a

system of citizen security. The provincial municipality work with participation of the civil society and the police, shape the establishment of district *serenazgo* and *juntas vecinales*, neighbourhood juntas, and coordinate the district municipality, police, and the inter district service¹⁵. The district municipalities organize their *serenazgo* service within their district. The division of municipality is a function of *el gobierno regional*, the regional government. The local authority is *la municipalidad metropolitana de Lima*, the metropolitan municipality of Lima, nevertheless, within each district there are municipalities with local authority represented by *los alcaldes*, the mayors. Each district is obliged to promote security and coordinate security with the metropolitan municipality.

Nevertheless, behind these divisions of security, there exist a national law for citizen security, *la ley del Sistema Nacional de Seguridad Ciudadana N° 27933* (DIRPASEC 2009). The national law coordinates practises of security at various levels of district, provincial, and national institutions. The law N° 27933 aims at *un trabajo conjunto*, a joint work, between the national police, the

¹⁴ I use PNP as a shortening term hereafter.

¹⁵ In conversations with police officers and *serenos*, the issue of *serenazgo sin fronteras* was brought up as an idea of a *serenazgo* in Lima as a totality.

2 Policing: The System of Citizen Security

municipality, and the citizens. The issue of security has recently received much attention from both citizens and the state. Security is considered and practiced as joint responsibility between people and state, between citizens and institutions. The law generates a specific system of citizen security which relates the citizens and the system with the objective of equal rights to security. The mutual relation and responsibility is recognized and all parties are seen as responsible for providing security. Consequently, citizen security depends on the different actors of security and is thus a part of what is considered *participación ciudadana*, citizen participation.

LA POLICÍA NACIONAL

“We had an internal war. What happened? The national police had to combat and struggle. They abandoned Lima, we did not have police [in Lima] (...) It was looked outwards, how it could be fought. There was sent various teams with the purpose to learn. They learnt this with communitarian police, to work hand in hand, side by side with the neighbour, work from hand - a police who is interested, listens. The teams came back and thought, ‘it is possible to apply to Peru’. In May 1977 it was founded the Office for Citizen Participation, la Séptima Region, the organism which controls Lima, Callao, and the near districts. Every police station had OPC, first in Lima, the OPC from la Séptima Region from 1977. There were selected people. In little time it showed

results, a police with confidence, a police friend. May, June, July, and August - the 20th of August 1977 they created the Direccion for Citizen Participation, DIRPASEC. It is the normative organism for citizen participation. Now the OPC is national” (el Mayor de la Séptima de la Oficina de Participación Ciudadana, October 2nd 2009:138)

The national police is an institutions which represents the state and is charged with the responsibility of citizen security. *La ley orgánica de la Policía Nacional*, the organic law of the National Police, promulgated in December 1999, has the guarantee of citizen security as objective and to establish trust between the police and the population by means of neighborhood juntas (María Rico and Chinchilla 2002). In Lima, *la OFIPACIU VII DIRTEPOL* work directly with citizen security through the program of citizen participation. This program is represented at *la Séptima* and the program of OPC, *la Oficina para Participación Ciudadana*, is represented at every police station in Lima and nation wide. It is made clear by el Mayor that social situations shaped the formation of the institution of PNP. Many narratives about the national police and the recent formation of the system of security are related to the decades of 1970s and 1980s in which this system emerges through an appeal to citizen participation and confrontation first with terrorism and thereafter with crime. *El Comandante* in

Miraflores (September 17th 2009) similarly says “look, in the 80s we had an internal war, the terrorism and Sendero Luminoso, in its manner of fear, force, and not democratic”. Accordingly, the police proceeded with intelligence work in order to get to know the criminals. During these decades, there were nationwide instabilities, conflicts, and violence mostly in the provinces which allegedly left Lima abandoned.

The situation generated structural adjustments and changes within the institution with the objective to work side by side with citizens. Throughout the 1980s the insecurity remained and Lima reached the top of the homicide curve in 1992 mainly caused by Tarata and terrorism. 16th of July 1992 the street of Tarata en Miraflores became a symbol of terrorism in Lima (McCarthy 2009). The explosion of the street has a remarkable location in the history of violence in Peru which some say manifested that the conflict had reached the capital. Simultaneously, further adjustments were made within the institution of PNP when the current president, Alan García, unified the three police forces under the law N° 24949 on December 6th 1988 (Costa, Briceño, and Romero 2008). Formerly, the three institutions were considered through the division of *policía general*, *policía técnica*, and *policía de seguridad*, general,

technical, and security police. Today, however, the national police is one force united who work together with citizens and other institutions in guaranteeing security in everyday life. The unification of the police institutions is perceived ambiguous as some police officers believe that it enforced the institution to operate as one institution under one *general*¹⁶, while others perceive it to be a problem rather than a contributing factor to inefficiency (Nacho November 18th 2009; Checa November 20th 2009; Guillermo December 14th 2009).

El Comandante in Miraflores talks about a sensation of insecurity in 2000 and how “they discovered something more which was a little bit abandoned. Petty thieves and criminals began to take advantage” (September 17th 2009). Many police officers point out how Lima was a little bit abandoned during the epoch of internal conflict. In comparison, about contemporary Lima they talk about the general obligation to citizen security. Nevertheless, the complaint about an absent security continues. The institution of the PNP is struggling, it is to say, people, general Limeños as well as police officers, is of the perception that PNP encounter a situation in which the quality

¹⁶ Thus, there is today only *one* chief or leader of the PNP.

and capacity to maintain security and order are contested. Many see it as a political problem. “An institution such as ours [PNP] cannot be political” said a police officer in Cotabambas (November 20th 2009:189). These challenges are amongst others related to situational circumstances such as contemporary crime in which the many PNP express lack of logistics or even lack of laws. The promoter, who actually was the first police officer I started working with and who introduced me to his *juntas vecinales*, described to me that “all around, they are smoking, outside the police station as well. The drug is everywhere, San Isidro, San Juan de Lurigancho, and also in a higher level in the system there are drugs”. He then added “give me the laws [of drugs] and the delinquency would drop 50 percent” (promoter Carlos September 11th 2009:101-102).

SERENAZGO

Under an interview with the chief manager of *tránsito y seguridad ciudadana en San Borja*, he stated that the problem of security emerged in the period of terrorism where the districts looked for how they could give protection which resulted in “a body of security which they gave the name *serenazgo*. It comes from a body of

serenos which passed the streets, switching of the lights” (October 13th 2009). When the police allegedly abandoned Lima the municipalities saw the necessity to act and react upon challenges to security which they encountered. The establishment of *serenazgo* at the end of the 1980s responded to a tendency of absence of the PNP. The most prosperous districts, through their municipalities, created this system as a support for the national police in order to meet the necessity for security strategies in the capital which increasingly experienced an intensified violence. In December 1998 there were *serenazgo* represented in 25 of the 45 existing districts, as well as *serenazgo* from the metropolis (María Rico and Chinchilla 2002). Contemporarily, *serenazgo* is represented in 38 of the 43 existing districts. Two of the districts presently without the service of *serenazgo* formerly had this system. In the case of Villa el Salvador the service was allegedly pulled back because of the expenses.

Under the course seminar *la seguridad ciudadana en Lima – problemas y desafíos*, Carlos Romero (December 14th 2009) had a presentation of the local government of citizen security in Lima in which the case of Villa el Salvador was mentioned very generally. Nevertheless, this withdrawal of the system of *serenazgo* in the two cases brought forth interesting

questions with regard to the role of *serenazgo* and the differences in between the various districts. A police officer from the Argentinean delegation, whom expressed interest in the system of *serenazgo*, rhetorically questioned the presence of the system of *serenazgo* which allegedly exist because of incapacity of the police to cover their responsibility. The police officer proposed the question of how society allows monopoly of security to become dispersed such as represented through the system of *serenazgo*.

This may be discussed in relation to state monopoly of violence and privatization of security. This is not necessarily to argue that *serenazgo* is a privatization of power, because it is a district strategy which makes it a public matter. Nevertheless, it brings forth questions of indirect privatization of security such as reflected in the allegation that the system of *serenazgo* depends on the inhabitants of the districts and their taxes. Statistics demonstrate that *serenazgo* is perceived as more efficient than police¹⁷. Interestingly enough, *serenezgo* is perceived more efficient by higher socioeconomic levels whereas the difference between *serenazgo* and police

diminish with lower socioeconomic levels. Is this a natural consequence of the fact that *serenazgo* is better represented and equipped in the most prosperous districts?

Serenazgo are perceived as well equipped and sometimes with many resources. In this matter, many Limeños express an ironic relation of the police and *serenazgo*. The former is perceived to have what *serenazgo* lacks, the authority, the police seem to lack what the latter seem to have, the resources. These ideas circulate in city space with a certain degree of material and spatial representation. In districts such as San Isidro, Miraflores, Surco, and San Borja *serenazgo* operates with call centers, local observatories, and video surveillance, however these logistics are not found in all districts operating with *serenazgo*. In fact, there are great differences in personal and logistics of the *serenazgo* in various districts such as the 441 *serenazgos* present in the district of San Isidro with 58 056 inhabitants, and the 88 *serenazgos* in San Juan de Miraflores which have 362 643 inhabitants¹⁸. Interestingly enough, similar unequal distributions in terms of districts and its habitants are encountered in the distribution of police officers in police stations and *serenos*. In Villa María del

¹⁷ Universidad de Lima, Grupo de Opinión Pública: VI Encuesta Anual sobre Seguridad Ciudadana, November 2009

¹⁸ Ciudad Nuestra/Encuesta a jefes de serenazgos, Lima 2009

Triunfo, with its 378 470 inhabitants there is a total of 300 police and *serenos*, while in La Molina where there are 132 498 inhabitants, there are 419 police and *serenos*¹⁹. Of further interest, the former district is categorized with the socioeconomic level E, where as the latter district is categorized as socioeconomic level A.

Presumably, there is a relation between socioeconomic level and distribution of security such as seen in these examples and such as narrated by el Comandante from Miraflores who explains “so the problem is the money, the inhabitants contributes much more in La Molina for instance than in Villa María [del Triunfo]”. In the case of *serenezago* people perceive it as an issue of taxes, a priority of the mayor and a political matter. Thus, it is worth asking, how come the police is unequally distributed? Is it a matter of whose insecurity, as security measurements are seen in relation and response to insecurity, is taken seriously? These are matters of politics of security and city order which are discussed further in the chapters “At the Limit” and “The Carceral House” where I amongst others look at migration processes and the rapid growth of the city and.

JOINT WORK IN SECTOR 5.4

Serenazgo is an additional system of security which grew out of the absence of police. *Los serenazgos* constitute a system of patrol which is unarmed and without police ascription. Oscar, who work directly with the *capaticación* or training of *sereneos*, is of the impression the “functions of citizen security is the police to combat and *serenazgo* to give security and prevent” (Oscar November 9th 2009). His allegation, in similarity to el Comandante Marrojo, touches upon the distinction of intervention and patrol. Does this mean that *serenazgo* is most important as a representational image of security, like a sign of a warning in urban space? The sign of warning is a representation of the video surveillance in which the sign itself is just a representation of the camera. It can be argued that *serenazgo* first and foremost patrol and function as a preventive strategy of security, whereas the police do the pragmatic work of police intervention.

There seem to be tensions reflected in the limitation of intervention where *serenazgo* officers can not intervene in same ways as the police. What complicates the picture is that *serenazgo* is in a way in a betwixed and between position where they are under certain obligations and rights as citizens and as representations of security. PNP officers and *serenos* actively

¹⁹ *Policía/Ciudad Nuestra*, Lima 2009

utilize strategies of policing, nevertheless, under two different conditions and requisitions, and the joint work is perceived ambiguous. Shoi (September 4th 2009), a student of law who in addition works as *serenazgo* in San Isidro, the joint work with the police is a challenge for *serenazgo*. She argues that “the work or joint relation [of police and *serenazgo*] is good and bad.” She explains that a colleague of hers experienced an armed attack. “The police have arms. The criminal knows that. The police bring insecurity, they have arms”. It can be argued that there is a juxtaposition of police and *serenazgo* in perceptions and expectations of both of them charged with the responsibility of security. In many cases, when in need of assistance, citizens contact *serenazgo* rather than the police. The bottom of the matter is that *serenazgo* does not have police authority neither are they police though they proceed with the practice of policing.

Nonetheless, *serenazgo* represents security strategies on behalf of the municipality and is another institution perceived with major responsible for citizen security. It is easy to observe that both *serenazgo* and police practice security through preventive strategies such as patrol, and both intervene in different situations of confrontations. *Serenazgo* is not reduced to a poster of warning in urban

space, a symbolic practice of security. Through the practice of patrol they are frequently confronted with situations of intervention. Police practice is neither reduced to intervention as the police also do patrol and work directly with preventive strategies of security with community such as represented through the law of citizen security. It is required by law that these institutions work together and through their presence by patrolling (by foot, bicycle, motorcycle, and car) they intend to prevent crime and preserve tranquility, order, and security. To some degree the existence of *serenazgo* cast light on some contradictions within the law of citizen security which require and expect practices of security meanwhile the police is the only actor with monopoly of violence.

It is a known practice that police patrol in vehicles of *serenazgo*, partly because police lack of vehicles and partly because of the law of joint work. In *sector 5.4 in San Isidro*, I patrolled in a *serenazgo* vehicle with a *serenazgo* driver supervisor and a police officer, and while patrolling they talked about their practice of security and perceptions by reference to own experiences and with reference to the urban space in their sector (August 26th 2009). This sector limits to San Borja, La Victoria, and Surquillo, in which they perceive the two latter as rather challenging limits to insecurity. “In this

district there are people with money, intellectual people” stated the supervisor, and added that the limiting districts of La Victoria and Surquillo are faces challenges “because of the government”. “If there were more work there would be less crime” (*serenazgo* supervisor August 26th 2009:61). *Calle 32* is the street which marks this distinction between the two districts and they perceive the other side of the limit to be appropriated by people of other customs and criminals. By the traffic light at the limit with San Borja, they point out that there is much crime in cars which are paralysed at red light. It is not uncommon that red lights are perceived as challenging in urban space as the traffic is heavy and people are immobilized for long enough time for criminals to open doors and grab what they can get.

In the district in which they patrol, people have money which they explain is the reason for why there are 138 cameras. Even though they acknowledge the solid system of security in the district of San Isidro, it is acknowledged that insecurity is in close proximity, and meanwhile they perceive their presence as important to keep out criminals, they express that the system is rather challenging and problematic. The police officer expresses his frustration over laws which practically let the criminal free after he brings him to the police station. “It is the system, they

have to change everything. We catch the criminal, I bring him to the police station, he gets out, and yet again he is out in the streets” (police officer august 26th 2009:62).

This allegation is reflected in the expression, *hecha la ley hecha la trampa*, having made the laws the trap is also made. I have heard many Limeños claiming that the law which gives them the right to intervene is met with counter laws which protect the criminal. Continuously, people talk of how much it takes to get arrested and that the criminals well aware of the amount. A *cartersita*, a wallet robber, has to rob for more than 1100 soles, if the value robbed passes this requirement the person goes to jail. El Comandante in Miraflores explains “but what happens is that there are also other requirements, they have to be more than two persons, a *bandillero*, have weapons and such requirements” (September 17th 2009:114).

The police officer in sector 5.4, in addition to his complaints about weak laws, complains that where as his partner have nice uniform and logistics, he himself had to buy his uniform and states that he is using his private weapon as armed police officer. The *serenazgo* supervisor and the police officer both acknowledged the many challenges within both of their institution, and the supervisor pointed out an allegation that “if you call the police, they

do not come or they come late. We come right away”. The police officer himself stated that “if *serenazgo* did not exist...uuuu”. In other words, they both acknowledge the importance of *serenazgo*.

OJOS Y OIDOS - EYES AND EARS OF THE POLICE

There are many agents policing in Lima, people who are eyes and ears of and for the police. Policing is not necessarily deduced to practices of police officers or *serenazos*, rather, policing is considered an activity of people in everyday life who participate in practices of security through actively presence and attentively observe the surroundings. The system of security is shaped by concern for insecurity which generates strategies for security and ways of coping with the experienced threat to everyday tranquillity and peace. In Lima, crime and violence are perceived as components to everyday life. It can be argued, and it is reflected in the system of security, that the state is confronted for its failure to manage the situation and lack of fulfilment of its part of the *social contract* (Hobbes in Déloye 2004) in guarantying security for its citizens. In the introduction of this chapter, the concept of *policía* was introduced with reference to attributes to civilized life and that the concept of *politeia* referred to the subordination of

individual to groups by law and order. The social contract seems to be fragile in terms of security and the relations between individuals and state seems to be contested. There are tensions within the system and citizen security has become a shared responsibility in which the police not only cooperate with *serenazgo*, however also with general citizens. The term policing thus refers to this tendency of dispersed practice of security in which ordinary citizens become agents in everyday life. Agents of security are also mothers who drop of children at school everyday 8 am, and stay a little longer observing and looking for any suspiciousness. These mothers work with the police as part of their program of *brigadas de autoprotección*, brigades of auto protection, under the OPC. El Mayor at *la Séptima* explains how his colleague discovered this particularity of mothers dropping of children, “one should take advantage of these women who watch out for their children, to be eyes and ears” (October 2nd 2009).

In the case of the system of security, ordinary people are first and foremost policing under the formation of neighbourhood juntas which have resemblances to elsewhere in Peru. Orin Starn (1999) writes about *ronda campesina*, the system of patrol and nightwatch against rustlers and thieves in

the Andean foothills of northern Peru. *Ronda campesina* means peasant round and was an initiative born of desperation. The flooding connected to *el Niño* which destroyed crops and increased crime. However, people also joined the system of patrol because they perceived the police force in the nearby village to be understaffed and indifferent.

In similarity, security in Lima is practiced through vigilantism and patrol by private means such as exemplified by the extensive use of *vigilantes particulares*. There is a significant difference between the peasant round and the *huachimán* in urban Lima where the *huachimán* work on salary and in most cases does not live in the neighbourhood where he works. In addition, the vigilant mostly observes from his street corner or vigilant hut, such as Maycol who only *cuida* the ten houses which pays him to guard the intersection of two streets. Perhaps *juntas vecinales* better resembles some aspect of the *ronda campesina* in the Peruvian Andes, and the system of patrol where neighbours watch out for their own neighbourhood. In Barranco, for instance, the neighbour voluntaries keep eyes and ears open in their street and assigned area.

However, these *juntas vecinales* are coordinated through and with the police. These are neighbours who voluntarily engage in activities which promote

security. The neighbours are agents of security who have regular contact with the local police station and are capacitated in security. These neighbours are the main protagonist as eyes and ears of the police. In the manual for neighbourhood juntas, citizen security is defined as an integrated actions developed by the state in collaboration with the citizens, destined to guarantee peaceful coexistence (DIRPASEC 2009). Though these are strategies to guarantee security, it can be argued that policing is ambiguous in terms of tranquillity and trust. Policing is a matter of personal attentiveness, suspiciousness and surveillance which is a companion to everyday life in Lima.

A simple and ordinary taxi ride, a form of transportation which is used quite frequently in Lima where there circulates a remarkable number of informal taxies, become a matter of routine security checks where to take a taxi means to choose *the* taxi which is perceived less risky to take. It is common to evaluate the car and the person before negotiations of price. One observes the shape of the car, its condition, and one observes the person behind the steering wheel. It is not uncommon for Limeños to have a couple of drivers whom they call and perceive as *taxi de confianza* or *taxi seguro*. Amongst my friends, we have a couple of numbers to drivers we share. However, it is not uncommon to

take an informal taxi in the street. The risk is evaluated, in my case, well aware of the time in 2007 one of my friend was victim of a taxicab assault or abduction, the one day she did take a taxi in the street rather than calling one of our regular taxi drivers. Once she had sat down in the back, the accomplice jumped up from underneath a carpet in the back and put a knife on her throat. They drove around for hours and got hold of all her money by taking her to an ATM before and after midnight. She was lucky, they let her go.

Daniella Gandolfo (2009) writes about similar situation in Lima and how she learnt how to jump out of a moving taxi and to always sit in the backseat close to the door in order to jump out rapidly. One time, a friend of her friend threatened to jump out when a taxi driver diverted from the main avenue near a descent into the Circuito de Playas. “She grabbed the door handle and told the man she was ready to jump out if he didn’t turn back. The guy got scared, begged her not to jump, and did as she said” (Gandolfo 2009:118).

My own friends have ordered taxi drivers to put away their phones in fear of the taxi driver communicating himself with accomplices, and I have myself had my phone ready to dial police informants while indirectly letting the taxi driver know that I was doing research on security

hoping to convey a subtle message that would reduce the risk of potentially becoming a victim. Perhaps constant suspiciousness and risk calculations cause this fear within us, regardless of the degree on insecurity in the situation. It could be questioned then, based on similar everyday practices of always-have-eyes-and-ears-open-for-any-suspiciousness, if ordinary people experience their role in policing in everyday life as peaceful and tranquil. This leads to questions of the system of security and if it really generates peaceful coexistence such as stated in the manual for *juntas vecinales*.

Malene, whose exhalation of despair expresses sentiments of frustration shared by many Limeños who perceive the topic of security to be complicated and incomprehensible at times, says that “we live in prisons. I feel like I am living in a prison with barriers, fences, cameras. When I leave the house I have to leave fast so that nobody enters”. Continually she says that “we fear. I do not go out calm, always hoping that nobody is behind” (September 7th 2009). Limeños in general, consider the possibility for situations where personal security is challenged, and the insecurity shape people’s conducts in ways that people choose to walk a detour if in the distance a group of teenage boys are observed.



Illustration 2.3 "I always guide myself by the face of the driver to enter a taxi, but from what I see, his face does not tell me anything". This rather humoristic representation of the problematic of distrust towards informal taxis in the national newspaper *el Comercio* (August 4th 2009), represent a general strategy of security or precautions people take before taking a taxi.



Photo 2.4 "Policías escolares". This photo was given to me by el Mayor at la Séptima Region under our conversation about OPC. This, and the other photos I was given, represents police work with society. *Policía escolar* is a program which is offered at some police stations where the "PNP work with children and teenagers whom they convert to leaders in their schools in order to help their professors and to inform the police of any suspicious activities" (el Mayor de la Séptima Region).



Photo 2.5 "Neighbourhood vigilant". *The photo was taken by one of my main informant, Antonio, who got a disposable camera and an assignment to take photos of situations, people, places, and spaces which to him said something about security. He says that this "caseta vacía", empty hut, represent the question of what security is there when there is no vigilant and the door is locked.*

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Photo 2.6 "Una lustra bota con chaleco de DIRTEPOL". This is another photo taken by Antonio with the disposable camera where he made notice of this señor with a police vest. Perhaps it exemplifies aspects of dispersed representations of security.



Photo 2.7 "Amigo policía". This photo was given to me by el Mayor from la Séptima and exemplifies police engagement with the community. El Mayor presented this photo in relation to the idea working on the image of a police as a friend, *amigo policía*.

Meanwhile, I have heard talk of downplaying situations of crime and violence by people acknowledging the potential risk in cases where they have experienced crime and violence in expected places and situations. If you fall asleep in a taxi, for instances, and wake up with a gun in your face and find yourself having been robbed, it is allegedly your own fault. Perhaps it is about risk taking. An informant, working outside a police station, earning his living by washing and watching cars told me how he got robbed because of his own fault for falling asleep.

“I remember a taxi three years ago, at three in the morning. I fell asleep in the car. The taxi had stopped at the Panamericana Sur, the same taxi driver woke me up and said the motor is broken. I stood up, I was in another zone and he had robbed me and I didn't know it in the moment, he asked me to get out, I got out and he drove off” (Ernestbaile September 18th 2009:117)

Dean MacCannell and Juliet Flower MacCannell (in Ramazanoglu 1993) writes about a young woman in New York who caught the wrong bus which took her to the wrong side of Central Park which resulted in that she decided to walk through the park. She was raped by a gang of boys. But she was not traumatised. The MacCannells suggest that the socio-geographical location of the violent act places the brutalisation under expected

circumstances. Though I find difficult to understand the girls' not-traumatised reaction, I see similarities to the situation in Lima where some people allegedly expect crime and violence at certain times and places in Lima.

POLICING IN PERU AND NORWAY COMPARED

I extract and draw attention to the police bias in order to reveal a position of representation which obviously shape and frame the discussion of security in Lima. I will here compare the situation of security from police point of view in Peru and Norway. I am not oblivious of the two very different realities where it can be argued that the former case represents a situation of insecurity as point of departure, whereas the latter departs with a situation of security. Perhaps, in the limeño case, as stated by Washington Luís in 1920, governor of the state of São Paulo and future president, “the social question is a question of the police” (in Holston 2008:283). The comparison I present and discuss obviously includes both similarities and differences. At one hand, there are similarities in how the police perceive security in relation to insecurity caused by crime and violence. At the other hand, these are two very different situations in which the foundation and ideas of the

welfare state and democratic situation in Norway mark a significant difference compared to the situation encountered in Peru. Nevertheless, the comparison is made possible because of the basis in a common police point-of-view approach to discussions of security.

Many see the welfare state Norway, in which security is expected in its widest sense, in stark contrast to other places, such as Lima, where ideas of the insecurity dominates and states are perceived as corrupt and inefficient. It is true that there is something ubiquitous about insecurity in Lima and the lack of trust demonstrated by its citizens. In Bergen it is acknowledged that, as Norwegian citizens, people expect security as a right and as natural part of daily life. Nevertheless, in Bergen, security is also contested in many similar ways to the case of Lima. A conversation with an *overbetjent* and *sekjonsleder* at the police station of Hordaland Politi Distrikt in Bergen (February 3rd 2010) generated many comparative notes and questions. Having lived most of my life in Norway also makes it possible to make some general comparison remarks. That which evokes the most interest in this comparison here is the relation of *trust* and *distrust*.

In modern societies distrust is to a large extent taken care of by institutions such as the police. Institutionalization of distrust means that distrust is anonymous.

Grimen (2009) exemplifies such distrust as represented in systems such as security checks at airports where distrust is routinely performed in or by institutions. “Det dreier seg om upersonlig mistillit, som ikke bygger på negative erfaringer med, eller rettes mot, bestemte andre” (Grimen 2009:101). However, in this chapter, I have illustrated aspects of insecurity which reflect individual and personified aspects of distrust such as exemplified in situations with taxis and such as exemplified by Malenes’ constant suspiciousness. It can be argued that distrust in the Peruvian case is practiced in personal ways. In Norway, police are generally perceived as successful representation of anonymous distrust, a point in case in which I find ideas of the welfare state important.

How does the welfare state in the Norwegian case affect people’s expectation and perceptions of security? Perhaps people have a taken-for-granted attitude with regard to security, and attitude which generate conducts characterized by lack of carefulness. For instance, according to the *overbetjent* the increase of robberies in cars can be explained by the fact that many people have DVD players in their cars and there is just a thin see-through glass which separates it from a generalized stranger and potential criminal in public space. In fact,

most Norwegians have insurance and reclaim their loss rather easily through this. Allegedly, it is easy for multi-criminals in Norway. There are eastern European *bander* (gangs) whom accordingly see Norway as a candy store, that is, they see opportunities and take advantage of the generalized lack of carefulness in which they can make a fortune rather easy. Perhaps this resembles the easiness to seize opportunities found such as Malene expresses “it is the creativity” and “it is the *facilismo*”. It can be argued that lack of carefulness, as a generally perceived attitude, amplifies potential crime. In Lima, it seems that lack of carefulness opens up a space for partly taking the blame for experienced crime and violence through potential risk identified such as the risk of assault when taking an informal taxi.

A generalized argument, encountered in the two cases of Lima and Bergen, is that the police face a situation in which people expect security to be a police task, or at least when people experience crime and violence the police are perceived responsible in some way or another. In both cases, it is demonstrated how police perceive it additionally as a citizen responsibility and not merely a police task, but to different degrees in the two cases. Perhaps, in the case of Lima, there are certain inconsistencies in expectations of

the police. It has already been pointed out that Limeños in many cases perceive Peruvian police to be inefficient and lack of honesty, however, and as narrated by many police officers, people expect the police to provide them with protection though this is further challenged by people calling *serenazgo* before contacting the police. Further, the privatization of security also challenges this picture of perceptions as an expected police task. In the Norwegian case, the allegation of police responsibility to provide security is perhaps more valid such as reflected in the less extensive privatization and alternative security measurements and practices.

Nevertheless, visibility and patrolling are generally perceived as central strategies of security in Lima such as represented through the dispersed practices policing. In Bergen, the police share this post with amongst others with *Securitas*. *Helgefylla*, the getting-wasted-in-the-weekend, is a challenge to security in Bergen, and there are latent potential for outbreaks of conflicts amongst others because of the affect of alcohol. *Natteravnene* are people voluntarily policing through patrolling the streets at night, and resembles some of the voluntarily policing encountered in the system of security in Lima such as the neighbourhood *juntas*. However, *Natteravnene* do first and foremost patrol

in the city centre during weekends at night, where as the neighbourhood juntas are eyes and ears in the sphere of everyday life and private spaces. Continuously, in Bergen during weekends, there is a necessity to empty the downtown in order to prevent outbreaks of violence. Interestingly enough, pirate taxis allegedly contributes in this task as it is a acknowledge problem that people stand in taxi cues for relatively long time as people go home more or less at the same time. According to the *overbetjent*, the circulation of pirate taxis can actually release the pressure in one way by getting people out of the concentrated masses of people in city space at night-time.

It is interesting then, to consider the well known informalities in the Peruvian society which can be referred to as the *culture of informalities*, values, norms of conduct, and lifestyles across the boundaries of law and order. Matos Mar describes it in relation to forms of economic behaviour that blur the line between illegal and that which is furtive. This is said to have a unique kind of modernization process in which the *desborde popular* went beyond a spatial overflow to bring unique processes such as encountered in the idea of a culture of informalities (Gandolfo 2009; Mar 2004[1984]).

Securitas and *Natteravnene*, these actors whom contribute in policing in the Norwegian case are, nevertheless, very different from the policing agent encountered in Lima. For instance, though *Securitas* might resemble *serenazgo* in terms of representing security without police authority, *Securitas* is not equalized to *serenazgo* first and foremost because *serenazgo* is public and it is an integrated system of patrol and policing in everyday spaces in Lima, in the generalized city space such neighbourhood streets. Arguably, and perhaps the ultimatum here, rarely one encounter guards of any kind in neighbourhoods in Bergen, or even in Norway in general.

TRUST AND DISTRUST

The Norwegian and Peruvian cases exemplify the relation of attitudes and conducts in relation to security, and the importance of the practice of policing. Though, in the cases of Lima and Bergen security can be discussed in relation to insecurity generated by crime and violence, there are nevertheless very different groundings for security in these two cases. Insecurity affect everyday life in profound ways in Lima and it can be argued that ordinary citizens in some way or another relate to the system of security

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in ways that individuals themselves are responsible for its guarantee. Meanwhile, in Norway, policing remains less extensive amongst ordinary citizens. Perhaps the most important difference between Norwegian and Peruvian police is the ability to remove distrust from individual relation.

The institutionalization of distrust is perceived an important strategy of security in modern society, and in Lima it is seen as rather ambivalent. It can be argued that the system of security and policing are dispersed practices of distrust in Lima. Through the comparison and discussion of aspects of the system of security, institutionalization of distrust is brought in to prominence, where distrust is perceived as anonymous or personal. Does, for instances, the system of *seguridad ciudadana* generate distrust in personal ways? Perhaps the amplified practices of security, both personal practice as well as institutional, produce even more insecurity as a component of distrust. In fact, it can be argued that the institutionalization of distrust makes it possible for spectators or citizens to trust in everyday life, and to trust each and every police officer. In Lima, it can be argued that this is challenged by practices which depend on individuals. When Limeños take a taxi in the street, they can do the security

practices of reading the person and situation, a practice of personal distrust. Many Limeños do hire a *vigilante informal*, another private means of security and practice of personal distrust.

However, the most striking situation which can be discussed in this matter is the seemingly *individualization of police mission*, that is, how the quality of police practice to a larger extent in Lima depend on each and every police officer. One aspect of the system of security is the relationship between police and community where the police encounter a need to work gaining peoples' trust. Image, such as mentioned in the previous chapter, is part of the police practice where the police work with citizens not only in order to guarantee security, however also in order to work on the quality of the relationship between police and citizens. The program of OPC and the practices of security which this program promotes is one aspect where one encounters a sort of individualization of police missions. In the following chapter, I present a police officer who engages in citizen security as a practice of everyday life. This case, exemplify ambiguous consequences of such disperse practices of distrust where I look into close relations of the legal and illegal.

3 *At the Limit:* Corruption and Entrepreneurship

Antonio engages in the field of citizen security as a *promoter* of it. According to Antonio a promoter, broadly defined, is a police man or woman who work with and for the program of citizen participation at the police station with the overall objective to engage citizens and enforce social relations between citizens, community, and police. Ideally, the promoter is assigned this responsibility in coordination with personal capabilities and interest. Antonio refers to them as *promotores integrales*, comprehensive promoters, promoters who exceed their work responsibility as police officers and work in the field for and with the community. Accordingly, the promoter is seen as a person with *mucha voluntad*, lots of will. Thus working as a promoter is, in many cases, considered a social work in which they engage in various activities and events in their community. I have heard many police officers talk about their multitask responsibilities as lawyers and friends, *un amigo policía* (photo 2.7), such as el Mayor at *la Séptima* says.

Antonio and the role of the promoter exemplify aspects of this individualization of the police role. In this

chapter I discuss aspects of corruption amongst others by looking at some experiences of Antonio as a police officer working at the limit of corruption and entrepreneurship. Corruption comes from Latin *corruptus* which touches upon *corrumpere*, meaning utterly broken. A general aspect of corruption is the abuse of power for illegitimate personal gains, to use a position of trust for dishonest gains. There is a variety of corruptions though in this thesis I focus on the political and economic corruption. Bribery and criminal enterprise are forms of corruption which pose serious challenges to democracy and legitimate state power. Here I understand corruption as the abuse of trust, whereas entrepreneurship means violating moral rules nevertheless in innovative ways. What characterizes the entrepreneur is the ability to handle the ambiguous situation successfully. This touches upon a sort of unique kind of modernization process characterized “by its reliance on forms of economic behavior that blur the line between what is merely furtive and what is illegal or criminal and for its preference for transactions that are driven by family and personal, rather than institutional, relations” (Gandolfo 2009:9).

Nonetheless, corruption and entrepreneurship are at the limit and poses challenges with regard to security and justice. Perhaps aspects of challenges to

state power, democracy, and not but least the relation of trust between individuals and state, can be related to disperse distrust and dependency on individual role. The specific situations of distrust in the system of security in Lima possibly generate direct opportunities for corruption because of the individualized role of police officers. One of the consequences, which I discuss through Antonio, is nonetheless the thin lines between the legal and illegal.

Malcom Young (in Comaroff and Comaroff 2004) writes that policing relies on well directed social productions to maintain the mythic divide between good and evil. Policing, similarly maintain the divide between legal and illegal, order and disorder. These divides depend very much on the eye of the beholder though legal and illegal are consider firmer based the capacity to distinguish the two through established laws. Formal laws and the system of security, such as represented in the former chapter, shape the everyday relations and interactions between the law abiding citizens and law breakers. However, *habitus*, the system of dispositions such as ways of seeing, being and thinking, are also measurements for legal and illegal, right and wrong, which are subjectively evaluated. I discuss Antonio and the personified consequences of corruption as an aspect of ambiguity within the institution of PNP and the

system of security. By touching upon aspects of entrepreneurship in the case of Antonio perhaps the foucaultian approach to power as not necessarily visible power, are brought into prominence.

In Lima, insecurity has become the main protagonist in security, that is, many Limeños talk about insecurities caused by crime and violence rather than security, when they talk about practices of security. The discourse of insecurity circulates through this talk of crime and violence. The legal and illegal are considered ideal fundamentals in relation to crime and violence, and are challenged in disorganized ways. People talk about crime and violence at various levels where petty thieves are described in specific ways. In immediate description of a criminal people talk about men in worn down cloths or youth with sports caps and baggy pants such as represented in drawing 3.1. Nevertheless, people identify a rather different type of criminal, the criminal with tie and tuxedo who is involved in large scale crime and not that much the everyday crime of the criminal who robs you in the street.

Promoter Carlos expresses that “the people are ignorant. They know nothing. This way, the government manipulates the people, a manipulation coming from the congress” (September 11th 2009:101).

3 At the Limit: Corruption and Entrepreneurship



Drawing 3.1 "La inseguridad". I asked two young boys to draw insecurity. In their drawing there are two delinquents, one smoking and the other robbing. Their representation of the criminals exemplify generalized description presented in the chapter Barras Braves, and it seems that the details the two boys drew in the space such as graffiti represent less order space in comparison to their drawing of security (which they also were asked to draw) in which they drew serenazgo patrolling the streets in a rather organized space.



Drawing 3.2 "Un robo saliendo de un banco". The vigilant Maycol was also asked to draw insecurity related situation in which he came up with this drawing. This drawing exemplifies another type of robbery, where he presents an organized space and delinquents rather nicely dressed. His point, as he explains, is that robbery can happen anywhere in Lima, in his district Villa María (where the drawing 3.1 was situated and where Maycol himself lives) as well as in San Borja.

Though I do not agree in his statement that people are ignorant, rather, I find his point of manipulation to be of specific interest in this chapter about the blurred boundaries of law and order. Everyday experiences with disorder generate concern for insecurity and state capacity to guarantee and restore order. In Lima, such as in many other metropolitans of the world, people are becoming armored. People live behind walls, hire guards, and call for security strategies in ways that shape social life in particular ways. Perhaps this proposes a question of how disorder exceeds capacity of state to discipline and punish. Is it really so? Do crime, violence, and corruption exceed the capacity of the state to control it? Or is it possible to see the state as a part of the disorder? Could disorder, such as crime and violence, be part of power domain in which fear is a discourse generating a necessity which legitimate and require more monopoly of violence of the state?

EL LIMEÑO CRIOLLO

Contemporary preoccupations with fear and political groundings for insecurity are not *new* strategies to legitimate power. It is possible to argue that violence has been used and abused in relations of power throughout history, especially in colonial encounters. Post colonial countries, such as

Peru, have experienced years of domination by colonial elites. In fact, the capital Lima was founded under colonial rule. Arguably, history has left its traces in the present, that is, the Spanish-Peruvian encounter was structured by unequal relations created in spaces of dominance and inequality. In contemporary Lima, crime and violence is profound and it has achieved its own expression and explanation model in which people explain these activities in relation to ways of being and cultural habits such as *el Limeño criollo*. These are ways of going about social relationship and identity today which can be related to the colonial encounter.

El criollo is generally defined as a European descendant born in America, and the new cultural traits and behavior associated with this. The term can be used with reference to individuals' native to Lima who claim Spanish ancestry and with deep cultural roots and belonging to the city (Gandolfo 2009). Contemporarily, it is associated culturally and ethnically with the urban, fair-skinned and *mestizo* middle class of Lima. However, there are negative connotations which follow the identification of *criollo*. Historically, *el criollo* was perceived as the bourgeois with clearer skin tone and it can emphatically mean not-indigenous (Gandolfo 2009). In the book *Desborde popular y crisis del*

estado, popular overflow and crisis of the state, Matos Mar (2004[1984]) writes about the necessity for Peru to construct a national unit which exceeds the failures of the *criolla* Republic and opens the doors into the year 2000. The colonial encounter generated disorder, and it could be argued that the *criolla* Republic failed. Sever inequalities were generated especially towards the indigenous population.

In conversations with people, *el Limeño criollo* characteristic is mentioned at various occasions with relation to crime and criminals as opportunistic. It is of great interest to look at this contemporary reference to *el Limeño criollo* which perceives it as a person who takes advantage of opportunities. It has received a body gesture consisting of finger and hand movements which signalize the action of a thief by rolling the fingers, starting with the pinkie finger, followed by the other fingers as if grabbing something. It can be argued that the negative connotation of *el Limeño criollo* represents general criticism within the society itself in which many Limeños explain crime and violence as social and cultural challenges. The *criollo* has become part of the characteristics and explanation of criminals. The *criollo* of the colonial epoch, in one aspect, took advantage of their situation and superiority. Likewise the criminal is said to *aprovecha*, take

advantage of opportunities. Interestingly enough, because of the European descent the *criollo* of the colonial time was superior to the indigenous, that is, they were perceived superior because of their Spanish roots.

The perception of “the other”²⁰ as inferior has been issued in various context such as in relation to the expansion and intervention from the west such as during the colonial epoch. In addition, criminalization of “the other” and perceptions of them as poor has also been issued as explanations of crime as a *necessity*. Ideas of criminals touch upon similar perceptions of the mobile criminal coming from elsewhere. Oscar Lewis’ (1959) well-discussed idea of *culture of poverty* – as a way of life passed down from generation to generation along family lines – presents behavioral traits in the context of poverty. Poverty imageries are images of poor people which are often juxtaposed with images of criminals. William Both’s poverty map (in O’Conner 2001) or colonial imaginaries, where the image of nomadic people was perceived as aggressive, laid historical grounding for these ideas which came to juxtapose the image of poor at home and abroad as heathens (Thorn 1997). The 1900th

²⁰ The term “the other” is discussed further in the chapter “the Carceral House”.

century's perception of nomadic life and fluidity was put in contrast to civilized way of life such as reflected in the colonial idiom of gardening and controlling colonized people. The world are in many cases defined by development in which Europe is perceived as the birthplace and the discourse of underdeveloped is perceived as immature (Ludden 1992). These perspectives also reflect changes within the discipline itself based on the colonial influence and view of looking at and approaching the world (Gardner and Lewis 1996). From the 1920s to the 1950s, colonial and developmentalist regimes overlapped (Escobar 1995). In Lima, the poor are often spoken about with reference to *provincianos*²¹ who have migrated to the city and settled in the outskirts of the capital. A typical attitude of the *criollo* middle classes of Lima has been the desire for distance and re-creating boundaries where those below were perceived vulgar and those above were considered disdainful (Portocarrero 1998 in Gandolfo 2009).

However, the *criollo* approach considers crime not only to be acts

²¹ The term *provinciano* is here used as a generalized term which refers to people from outside Lima. There other understandings of the term for example the distinction between *provincianos* and *costeños* in which the latter refers to people from the coast.

responding to a necessity but also acts which responds to *opportunities found*. It is not uncommon that the so called poor people and *provincianos* are seen as inferior for having lower cultural level. Gloria, daughter of a police officer, expresses that “people here [Rímac] have a lower cultural level, they rob what they can rob if it is a necklace to 5 soles, it doesn't matter” (November 27th 2009). Perhaps it reflects conduct appropriated in the urban context. These explanations might aim at distinguishing various causes to crime in which the *criollo* theory is more than anything about a sort of corruption and crime at other levels. Crime is not necessarily explained by a necessity in relation to poor and poverty, though *el Limeño criollo* is used in various occasions with reference to characterization of petty thieves.

Crime and violence are considered productive and structure social relations. Crime and violence also generate questions of belonging, of citizenship, and the question of who is a Limeño. Perhaps these are remaining traces and marks of the colonial epoch, an expression of discontent with the colonial power and its heritage. Michael Taussig (1987 in Caldeira 2000) argues that the colonial encounter was an encounter shaped in space of misunderstanding where violence structured social interaction. This created a

culture of terror based on imagining and reproducing fear. Is this fear reproduced in the colonial image of *el Limeño criollo*? Talk of *el Limeño criollo* unquestionably generates the necessity to consider contemporary preoccupations with crime and violence in consideration to fear and political groundings for insecurity in the colonial encounter. Similarly, to consideration of colonial intervention as deceitful and fraudulent, crime and violence is often considered coming from elsewhere carrying with it social ills.

A HISTORY OF CORRUPTION

The colonial encounter structured social interaction in a vain of injustice and power inequality. It can be argued that during the colonial epoch the term corruption was not used so frequently (Quiróz in Huber 2008:66). However, it should not be assumed that corruption was nonexistent during that era as surely corruption is considered an ancient activity of personal gains. Though it is interesting to notice how corruption has become a mark of disgrace and a brander of the South American hemisphere, in which countries such as Peru are labeled for dishonest government and political instability. Today corruption is an umbrella term which includes all types of injustice and

arbitration (Huber 2008). This wide horizon of corruption is important to consider in discussions of crime and violence.

Contemporary crime, violence, and corruption generate social processes which are often taken for granted, sometimes with the citizens aware of it and sometimes not. From the criticism I have heard from many Limeños, I get the impression that people are very much aware processes of injustice, and that people are not ignorant such as stated by the police officer Carlos who is of the impression that the state benefits from having weak laws and that it manipulates people. It should be mentioned that the officer later in the same conversation talked about governments' *palabras técnicas*, technical words, which are difficult for general people to grasp. Thus, when corruption is defined as the abuse of trust I also find it to be practiced under a certain clandestine. The interesting point here is that citizens are aware of these processes and it seems to be expected to a certain degree, despite the clandestineness of corruption which only is explicitly known when it is uncovered.

In the previous chapter, I discussed how distrust is institutionalized as part of the system of security. However, distrust is practiced in disorganized ways where it is not an anonymous distrust. Part of this disorder is produced by weak institutions

and corruption which exist within the system. It becomes difficult to identify lawbreakers and to distinguish the lawbreaker from the law-abiding citizens. Who are criminals, and what does it take to be considered criminal? These are contextual ways of practicing security. It can be argued that the individual distrust is an expression and reaction to experiences of omnipresent corruption and crime. Nevertheless, and in resemblance to the argument that distrust is encountered at personal and institutional level, corruption and crime is experienced between persons in the context of everyday life as well as within institutions.

Ludwig Huber (2008) presents perspectives on corruption in the context of everyday life in the book *Romper la mano*. In Peru, the saying *romper la mano*, break the hand, expresses everyday acts of corruption. Corruption is easily associated with politicians acting in favor of personal gains whether it is economically or in terms of gaining relations and supports. Nowadays, the corruption is considered a challenge internationally and it is a symbol of popular dissatisfaction in society. Governability, the capacity and quality by which society is governed, was one of the launched initiatives by the international society in the 90s directed towards fighting corruption and promote good government in underdeveloped countries in the south.

Contemporarily speaking, the word *poverty*, which often becomes issued in discussions of the concept of development, has become a keyword of our time and a way of constructing two thirds of the world (Escobar 1995). Within anthropology of development ideas of development and modernity have been discussed and there is much criticism about failure to acknowledge the *emic* perspective, *the art of the locality* (Scott 1998). In fact, many cases in which projects of development and modernity have been imposed on local societies it has proved to cause unintended consequences, *global disconnect* and *abjection*, a process of being thrown aside (Ferguson 2002). The blueprint has led to crisis in certain cases such as exemplified in Bolivian neoliberal developmentalism (McNeish 2005).

In contemporary Peru, general ideas of governability, the ability to govern and the quality by which it is governed, of the Peruvian state is perceived in relation past experiences of corruption. Unquestionably the history of Peru contains many examples of corruption which have reached international reaction and headlines worldwide such as the presidency of Fujimori and the corruption scandal of Montesino. Montesino was the head of the intelligence service of Peru under the presidency of Fujimori. Fujimori led the country under two presidencies

which started in the 1990 and ended in 2000. His first government decided to confront the subversion by utilizing the military intelligence which was started in the decade of 1980 (Matos Mar 2004[1984]). They appealed to communities and organizations with a civil basis which gave national hope of justified and good government. However, it turned out to be one of the most deplorable governments in the history of Peru. *La revolución de los videos* (Matos Mar 2004[1984]), the revolution of the videos, in 2000 revealed Montesino for having bribed an elected congressman as a political strategy of gaining support. The secret videos which revealed this case of corruption is familiar to many people however the act revealed in 2000 were just one of many acts of corruptions. In fact, when Montesino between 1980 and 1983 revealed sensitive information to a newspaper, the investigation was held closed in order to protect the institutional image.

Government, a term which has a central position in contemporary understandings of insecurity, is interesting touching upon Foucaultian discussions of *the art of government*. Foucault's notion of *governmentality*, the conduct of conduct, and his concern for power exercised in social relationship which shape and regulate conduct of individuals, is an

influential mode of political analysis. Institutions and dispositions lay socio-cultural guidance in society, a power which is more subtle and not necessarily registered as power. The term *governmentality* is interesting in itself as it can be divided into *govern mentality*. Meanwhile, the discussion of Machiavelli's *the Prince* is of interest in relation to government. Though the Foucaultian art of government is discussed as different from the Machiavellian *the Prince*, it is the general point which is interesting here. The idea of *principality* touches upon how the prince is able to keep his principality which is part of the historical power of the title of principality. The police perform and maintain structures of power amongst others through policing. The police authority resembles aspects of the principality, and is represented through an awareness of it such as represented in the intended reproduction of police authority at the parade.

In similarity, contemporary experiences with and perspectives on corruption is related to the history of the organizations or institutions. It can be argued that cultural prerequisites and previous experiences such as the case of Montesino affect relations to corruption. Ordinary people can easily identify the abuse of power to illegitimate gains when they are brought into the eyes of the public.

In fact, these cases of corruption shape the perception of Peru by the international society and receive a discursive dimension. Peru suffered decades of violence and internal war in which both the militarist strategies of the state and the extensive use of violence by the terrorist generated great disorder and further debilitates trust. Within society the corruption has changed the quality of the social contract in which trust is contested. Confucius (in Grimen 2009), such as mentioned, in the introduction chapter, said that trust is necessary to govern. Is it possible to govern when the bond of trust is ruptured? Benjamin Franklin (in Grimen 2009) said that distrust is one of the parents of security. How does security then affect ability to govern, especially if there is demonstrated distrust towards those who govern?

In Lima, it is easily said that corruption and the corrupted are those responsible in the system that abuse their power and aim at personal gains. However, it is of importance to give attention to everyday acts at the limit of the legal and illegal, and the small acts with the objective of personal gains. How much does it really take to be called corrupt? Corruption is also *acts of ordinary people*. *Coimas*, bribery, is part of everyday life. Ordinary people in Lima are familiar with the significance and practice of bribery, the

act of money giving to alter the behavior or decision of the recipient. It is simple. In a given situation the police confront you on fair or unfair grounds, regardless, charges are made and the price is claimed. Legally, *la multa*, the fine, is given in accordance to the law. However, in practice options are given silently. Not in all cases, not every time, not with everybody, but in a significant amount of cases for it to have become part of everyday practices and narratives. The silent option is to give a smaller amount of money directly to the recipient, such as the police, to avoid further consequences and expenses.

Is it really that simple? Clearly, it is not that simple. The practice of bribery can be analyzed as part of complex social processes of small acts of corruption. It can be argued that contemporaneous experiences of such acts reflect aspects challenges of police and police honor in times of bribery. In Brazilian, the *do you know who you are talking to* (Hess and DaMatta 1995) is a phrase used in the context of everyday life. For instance, in a given situation of a car parked illegally and is stopped by a police officer who asks the person to move the car, the person respond by referring to social position. In this the *jeitinho* touches upon ideas of bending rules (Hess and DaMatta 1995). In anthropological perspectives, the small acts of corruption are considered of great

significance. Small acts of corruptions affect millions of people in everyday life. Small acts of corruption are perhaps more easily accepted in and by society. Nevertheless, these small acts reinforce a whole system which arguably is significant factor in the insecurity. People talk about concerns for crime and violence. Nevertheless, there are similar concerns for honesty, transparency and trust, both with regard to fellow citizens and state.

SOCIAL UNEASE

“The world is corrupted. It is the kingdom of Satan. Why do these things happen? Why does there exist poverty? Why does it kill? It is the kingdom of Satan not of God. It is a deceived world. But one has to have faith and hope (...) The human being is imperfect. Careful, it [the corruption] exists in the entire world, the same imperfection. The corruption is one of the worst obstacles. It is the attitude which corrupt persons who wishes to do good” (Antonio November 23rd 2009:192-193)

Antonio tells me that the world is corrupted and that social ills exist because we live in the kingdom of Satan. For him it is no surprise or of any wonderment that the corruption exists because the human is imperfect and even people who aspire to do good encounter obstacles in the reign of Satan and attitudes of corruption. Acts of corruption are, in his perspective, perceived omnipresent, ubiquitous. This

indicates a certain expectation of people to corrupt or to be corrupted. One day, Antonio, the *alferez*²² John, and I were sitting at a café, waiting for the *Comité de Damas*, led by the wife of the general of the police. While waiting for these delayed ladies, who had immobilized a great number of officers waiting for their presence, we took the opportunity to have a little chat. Antonio expressed his concerns for his young friend and newly educated *alferez* who he describes as a young, good, and innocent person. Nevertheless, he questions how long and how far his goodness and innocent will reach in encounters with the corrupted world and the established system where there are spaces of corruption. This way, his concern resembles Malene’s society-eat-you narrative presented in the chapter “Policing”. At times it leaves individuals with feeling of despair, an out-of-our-capacity-to-do-anything-about sentiment.

Michael Taussig (1980) writes about the relation of capitalist and pre-capitalist culture in *the Devil and Commodity Fetishism in South America* in which he presents the case of Colombian peasants who make contract with the devil

²² When graduating from the school of *la Policía Oficial* the person is first *Alférez* and thereafter *Teniente*, *Capitán*, *Mayor*, *Comandante*, and *Coronel*

as management of their encounter of capitalism and experiences with poverty and death. Taussig reflect on colonialism in South America and the relation of pre-capitalist and capitalist cultures in which it can be argued that capitalist intervention, in similarity to that of modernist and development intervention - though in fact the capitalist intervention have been juxtaposed with the latter interventions - received unintended consequences which caused social unease. Poverty and deaths in the case of the Colombian peasants is explained as the cutters contract with the devil.

It can be argued that people manage and explain social ills in particular ways such as the *creole* or *criollo* behaviour and management with reference to the contract with the devil in the Colombian case. Antonio talks about the reign of Satan though he understands perfectly well that corruption is manmade and driven by human intentions²³. It might be vague comparison to draw parallels between devil fetishism in Colombia and crime, violence and corruption in Lima. However, they

represent explanations for experiences with social unease and people's management of these situations through reference to larger processes such as in the case of Antonio who explains corrupted behaviour and injustice in relation to the reign of Satan. In general, it can be argued that these explanations touch upon social relations of individuals and larger processes.

The corruption is profound and it has dug itself into the everyday life of many Limeños. Antonio has more than two decades in the field as a police officer and is familiar with the existence of corruption. He knows all about how easy it is to be corrupt. He has lived at the limits of the legal and illegal in many years. Simultaneously, he knows the price to pay for being corrupt, not necessarily the price paid to society through the juridical system, having been convicted, however, the more general price and subjective consequences of coping with these limits in everyday life. Twenty-three years in the field as a police officer have left marks on his body and mind, and he has achieved valuable knowledge about the real world and the complexity of crime, violence, and corruption. Fear and insecurity leaves such marks and traces on bodies and minds of ordinary people. It leaves marks and traces on the system which is shaped by and reshapes the social world. Ordinary people are often pulled into the system of

²³ Here I am touching upon Evans Pritchard's (1976[1937]) study of the Azande where he write about unfortunate events in relation to witchcraft, though he makes an argument of *rationality* where witchcraft triggers and explains why an unfortunate event happens to a particular person in particular space and time.

insecurity, the everyday life of crime, violence, and corruption. Antonio is dieting everyday with light food and pills. The gastritis or constant uneasiness in the stomach remains some of the consequences and bodily effects of having lived at the edge of the legal and for having come of age as a police officer in the turmoil of internal conflict. As an investigating police officer he had to play lies in order to get in touch with people working with terrorist groups. The infidelity and dishonesty in his past does not let go of him. The mental and bodily consequences of the injustice make him sick.

Many police officers have, in resemblance to Antonio, worked as police officers in the turmoil of internal war under a period in which they have been face to face with enemies and difficult choices. A comandante on crutches, *el Comandante Muleta* (October 20th 2009), I was introduced to under my interview with a coronel, told me about the situation when he was fighting Sendero Luminoso groups. He explains how he felt people's distrust when he and his team entered a store in a village and people would disappear because of their presence. With a low and fragile voice, yet clear with regard to what he wanted to express, he talked about *valores*, values, and *anti valores*, anti values. He admits that he has made many mistakes, but he has also been placed in

difficult situations. To him there are no doubts that trust and distrust are shaped by history such as previous experiences, and that in this case, distrust appears as the topic in question.

It can be argued that Antonio experienced the injustice from both sides as victimizer and victim. He lived his youth with one of the assessors of Montesino, an epoch of his life in which he worked as an *agente de inteligencia*, intelligence agent. Antonio did not work directly under Fujimori nor did he work directly under Montesino. However, he did work under the circle of assessors of Montesino. He was allegedly lured into working in the gray zone when he was a young boy, perhaps because of youthfulness or perhaps it was naivety. We never got into directly what kind of involvement Antonio had had that caused him penalties. But he mentioned an important point once, in the *combi* on our way to our second visit to the police station he had left in the turmoil of unclear business in 2006. "*You know two percent of my (hi)story. If I was to tell you everything it would scare you. You would get of this combi and leave running*" (December 3rd 2009). The point here is not necessarily to lay out Antonio's biography, as Antonio points out so eloquently, I only know parts of his story which makes this a partial representation. However, it is

interesting to discuss aspects of his perspectives and experiences as a police officer. Antonio's case can be understood as an *embodiment of corruption*, touching upon the Bourdieuan *body hexis*, the habituated body. The history of the institutions with regard to corruption and disorder are inscribed as embodiments and dispositions in individuals such as Antonio.

The social and political instability in the country have contributed to the difficulties in making the right choices for Antonio, such as stated by him and such as pointed out by many police officers talking about the many dilemmas they have encountered, acknowledging that they have made wrong choices both in terms of legality and in terms of moral. Nevertheless, the circumstances made it difficult to act otherwise. His most recent experience with an alleged corruption became a case throughout my fieldwork period under which it could seem that Antonio found an opportunity in me to follow up on the case. Antonio was placed in certain dilemmas in which he chose to retire from the project and confront the protagonist of the project about the failure to proceed with the project and lack of honesty.

On our way for our first visit to this police station, Antonio talked about the situation when he last was there. The

police station was founded in 2002 on the top of a sand hill in a space considered *zona roja*, right next to a park which perceived as a place for drug addicts. Contemporarily, the park is considered a rather tranquil park. At the time, Antonio was one of the first crew at this police station. They were concerned for the heavy environment of *bandilleros* in this *pueblo joven*. Antonio tells me about that day they got the idea of the project, while walking in the streets. I could only picture his well-known enthusiasm while proposing his idea for his colleague. It was just after Alan García had launched his program of *agua para todos*. This part of Lima had been one of the first places for its realizations. "Before it all was just *tierra*", comments Antonio. He and his colleague ran into a guy working with constructions, in a rather high position, who was on his way to make a complaint at the police station. Antonio had heard of a project by the interior minister, a project for youths without work, and he suggested that they should realize it at their police station. With help of the constructor they were able to propose this project to the community. Antonio talks about how the project was *un engaño*, a deception. He got in a conflict with the superintendent at the police station who had assigned him to the door instead of his position as a promoter in OPC.

3 At the Limit: Corruption and Entrepreneurship

“I go to his dormitory, to the mayor who was my friend, ‘Mayor’ I said to him, because he was Mayor in this period. ‘What is going on Antonio?’ ‘Mayor, he says that I am assigned to be at the door, what is going on boss?’ He called an alfez. ‘What is the problem? What, you are no longer a police?’ ‘Yes’ I told him, ‘but it is the way’. ‘The problem is the money’ I said to him. He got mad and responded ‘what, are you saying that I’m a thief?’ ‘I didn’t say you were a thief, you said say that’. ‘I’m leaving’ I said. ‘I have colic’. I went to the doctor, the doctor told me ‘Antonio, take 5 days’. The 5 days I spent looking for contacts. I talked to [chief of la Séptima Region], who was the boss of la Séptima Región in this period, for 10 minutes. I told him everything. He said to me ‘you were awarded. You got on the television. The public sector knows it. And now?’. He heard my presentation. He was the boss of la Séptima Region. ‘He is corrupt, he is a thief’ [Antonio said]. ‘Antonio, you denunciate and it is bad for the police. What do you want?’ he said to me. ‘The only thing I want is my job’. He called for Luis. Luis was one of the pioneers of la policía escolar. He told him ‘Luis, here, Antonio will work with you. You will work on macro level’ (...)”

Antonio’s complaint remained oral and remained silent. Antonio lost his job and felt the injustice he had both contributed in, having failed these boys, and was victim of, having been marginalized to that extent that he lost his job. Nevertheless, Antonio managed to recover through achieving a position as a promoter through the central office of *la Séptima*. Antonio and the chief of *la*

Séptima, which contemporarily has a very high position in the government, were arguably both aware of the less flattering situation they were in. Antonio makes an immediate reference to the bible after his explanation of the meeting at *la Séptima*.

“Salomon, from the bible, one of the most learned men, God was pleased, a good king. There were two women fighting over a little baby. They took the women to Salomon so he would give justice. ‘Soldier’ he said, ‘divide the baby in two’. One of the women responded ‘no, give the baby to her’. This way Salomon said ‘give the baby to this señora, it is her baby’. Now, [the chief of la Séptima] was like this. I did my report, verbal, not written. He said to me if I did it publically ‘you lose, he, and even more the police’. I grew as promoter (...) This system is already established (...) The best decision was to talk to somebody. Did I lose or not? I lost. I already had penalties. I felt the injustice till it made me sick. I got depressed - I got gastritis, a part from being destroyed because of my former work. I wanted to do good things. I felt for the young people, in this life exist the imperfection. There is unease right now because of the young people (...) I look for other projects. It is my revenge. I made a mistake to trust them (...) In our weaknesses we encounter our strengths” (Antonio November 26th 2009:196-197)

I am still unable to grasp why Antonio think of the former leader of *la Séptima* as King Salomon in the bible. One interpretation of King Salomon management of the situation, in the Old Testament, is that he looked at the most profound aspect of human being, of a

mothers love for a child. King Salomon, as judge, wanted to bring justice through this motherliness, a justice which was first considered a question of quality in which both mothers would get half of the baby each. The question of justice changed through the reaction of the mother who would give the baby to the other mother in order for the baby to live. King Salomon then considered justice to be that the baby was given to the rightful mother - the mother who demonstrated motherly love for the baby by letting the baby be given to the other mother so that it would live. King Salomon uncovered human behaviour such as a mother's love and a mother's envy, represented by the other mother who had lost her baby. King Salomon brought justice. What justice did the chief of *la Séptima* bring when he decided to let the case remain silent? Perhaps the chief found justice to be to protect the image of the institution and to protect the project which had received so much positive attention? Anyhow, he settled the case by offering Antonio a job and a position. Antonio states that his revenge, a sort of private justice, is through projects as a promoter.

A DREAMER AND A DOUBTER

In the analysis of *Economic Spheres in Darfur*, Fredrik Barth (1967) writes about

sphere barriers and different spheres in which exchange is related to specific spheres and value. In his analysis of management of these spheres, he presents the *tomatoman* who successfully manage to realize value in one sphere by converting it into another sphere. Barth introduces the idea of entrepreneurship and individual innovating management in which it is possible to successfully cross back and forth between the two spheres. In order to successfully manage these spheres in innovative ways, it is necessary for the *tomatoman* to have specific knowledge about spheres and value which are connected to them. It is possible for the *tomatoman* to gain profit because of the existence of different spheres.

Antonio, in similarity to the *tomatoman*, can be seen as an entrepreneur in the system of security. In the abovementioned narrative, it is demonstrated how Antonio, despite his past and recent involvement in claimed corrupted activities, managed to successfully use his contacts and knowledge to regain a position within the system in which he was marginalized when he questioned suspicious activities and lack of action. Another case in point is that Antonio runs various cafeterias at police stations in Lima. As a police officer he is able to see where there is need of cafeterias. Antonio works at a police

station under the program of OPC though he often visits other police stations as well. He promotes citizen security in Lima.

Antonio distinguishes between *policías frios*, cold police, and *promotores potenciales*, potential promoters. The former refers to a police who works with little will, whereas the latter is a police man or woman who gives a little extra in his/her work. In many cases, the former also indicate a more problematic and profound attitude within the PNP which is the corruption. The police are seen as corrupt and there are doubts considering their goodness. When Antonio started working at *la comisaria Cotabamba* in *Cercado Lima*. Supposedly, at this police station there was *muchas quejas*, referring amongst other to poor work with documents and existing corruption. In Lima there is talk about the honesty and efficiency of the national police which is perceived rather absent. Furthermore, the institution is questioned. The police are considered part of the problem rather than the solution. People demonstrate lack of confidence in the police and the police see their own struggle with the system in which they blame weak laws and poor working conditions for not being able to fulfill their role in society. Yet, citizens call for the police and to acknowledge the necessity of police to promote security.

Antonio seeks opportunities in his work as a promoter. “The small achievements I see, I market” (November 23rd 2009). The system of security is an arena in which he arguably encounters opportunities such as his commitment to running various cafeterias at the police station meanwhile working as a promoter. Antonio is thus perceived as an entrepreneur who seeks and seizes opportunities, though at times in the blurred zone of legal and illegal. Perhaps Antonio resembles aspects of *un Limeño criollo* who grasp opportunities found though in suspect ways in the grey zone where it is not easy to define when it has crossed the legal and when it has become corruption. In similarity to aspects of Antonio as an entrepreneur and *un Limeño criollo*, he might also be perceived as an *bricoleur*. The *bricoleur* often implies someone who continually invents own strategies for comprehending reality, such as the shamanic spontaneous creativity in Claude Lévis-Strauss’ *la pensée sauvage* (1962). The *bricoleur* operates at the boundaries in creative ways where *bricolage* is improvised and spontaneous where the *bricoleur* takes components out of their context and use it in other ways.

Antonio lives for and by engagement of citizen security. His message is that of citizen participation, of engaging people in citizen security.

Ironically, he does not believe that citizen security exist and states that it is a lie. Similarly, Antonio is of the perception that the program of OPC is not real, it is just a fraud, and it is only about *cumple-miento*. Antonio explained that it is about *cumplir*, to fulfil or fulfilment, and *mentir*, to lie. It is just part of the system (Antonio 26th of November 2009). It is not uncommon that the system is perceived as corrupt. Antonio, as part of the system, is familiar with corruption through having been corrupted and participated in corruption.

The insecurity maintains itself in the streets and public spaces of the city and it generates processes directed towards fighting crime. However, the insecurity carves itself into the private spheres of ordinary people in private spaces, and in their bodies and minds. Antonio, like many others in everyday life, is pulled into the fight and confrontation with crime in which there are thin limits between the legal and the illegal. As a police officer, he confronts the insecurity with a badge which obliges him, gives him authority, and responsibility to guarantee order and security to citizens. But with which badge does he really confront insecurity? The complexities of perceptions of police obviously reflect a badge which is fragile and contested. As a citizen, he is expected to respect the laws and to participate in citizen security through active engagement.

As a person, Antonio calls himself a dreamer yet he is a doubter (November 26th 2009). Everyday he confronts crime with a desire to promote citizen security through constant engagement in creative ways. Meetings with his neighbourhood juntas, works on a website for the police station, discussions of marketing strategies for the central office for citizen security at *la Séptima*, and police investigations are part of his way to work with security and moreover to work on the image of the police. In the last couple of years Antonio has found much inspiration as a *testigo*. Nevertheless, his aspirations are juxtaposed with doubts and despair of a security which is nonexistent and lost in the system shaped by corruption.

THIN LINES

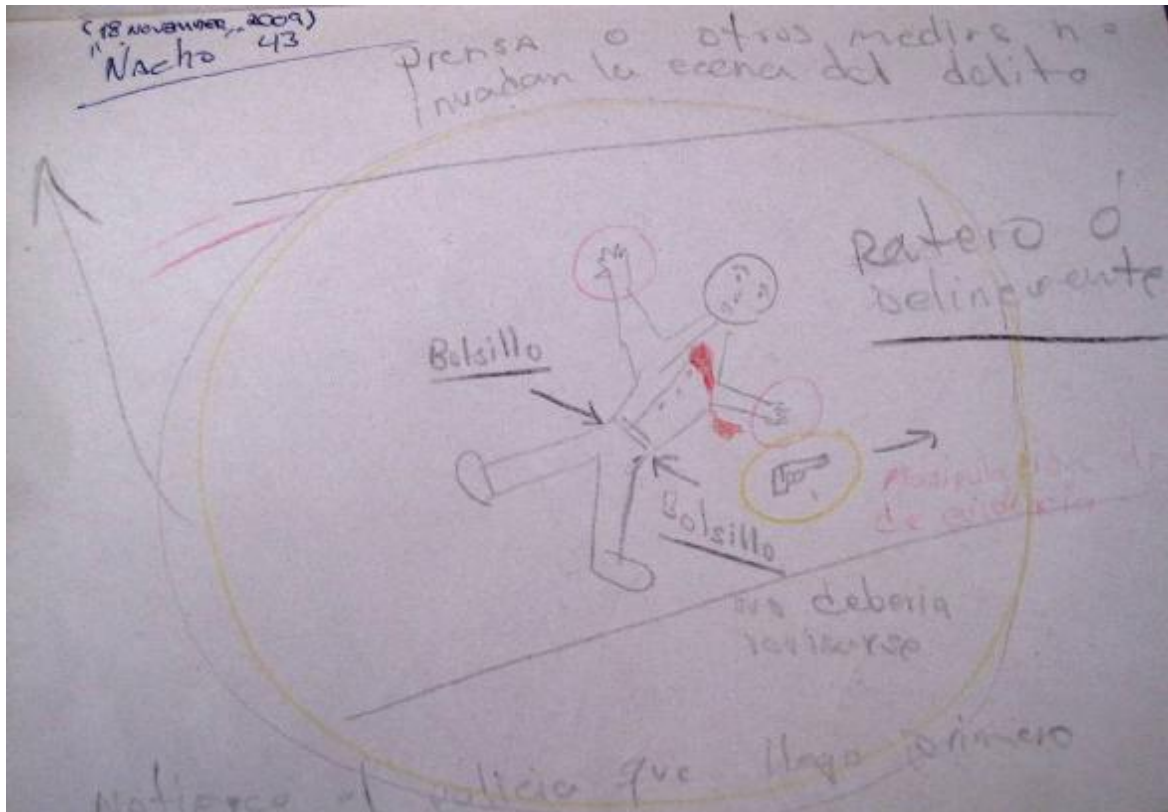
Antonio is well connected. His friend Nacho is well experienced in the field of criminal investigation (November 18th 2009). I met him one day I had spent the morning watching the children from *el club de menores* from Zapallal playing soccer games against boys from other police station while talking to their promoter who meanwhile was getting his last permission documents assigned in order to participate in an international police conference in Colombia. This

promoter, as so many other promoters, was a friend of Antonio. Though at the time, I did not know that they were acquaintance nor did they know of my acquaintance with the two of them. That day I got a phone call from Antonio, who spontaneously, asked me if I could meet up with him because he wanted to introduce me to someone who would be very interesting for my research. They picked me up outside the police *cuartel* in Rímac. I was introduced to his very elegant friend in his suspiciously new car with documents and a suit in the backseat. I could not help but to notice the classy style and the sudden impression of importance surrounding this person. I sat in the back and the two police officers in the front, while driving further away - away from what were familiar spaces for me. Antonio at some point was dropped off, “have to do some investigating research” he said, and took off with his leather suitcase. I was alone in the car with Nacho whom I would end up talking with for hours while driving, then on a restaurant in Comas and finally at his police station where I was met by three of his colleagues - very heavy armed - ready to look for car hijack with both robbers and victims inside.

Nacho works with *la Dirección para Investigación Criminal (DIRINCRI)*, the direction for criminal investigation which formerly was *la Policía de*

Investigaciones (PIP). Nacho explains that the institutional change with the unification of the police forces was a mistake, which is reflected in the inefficiency of the police contemporarily speaking and have effects for his own limitation and capacity to fulfill his job and job responsibility. He has no jurisdiction, which means that he works without geographical limitation. His everyday life consists of investigation and fighting organized crime, which is the domain appropriated by *bandas*²⁴. He is no ordinary man. Antonio perceives him as a real 007 agent who has exclusive cars, is well dressed, and lives at the edge of criminal investigation. However, he is not a fictional character living a sophisticated and elegant life. Nacho works and lives in the *real* world which has real consequences. He has to buy a new car every second year, he sleeps with his pistol, and has to constantly worry about his family. He fights crime in the street which is unknown for ordinary people, the form of crime which works under a certain clandestine in society. The organized crime is practiced in everyday life before of the eyes of ordinary people in their own spaces.

²⁴ A *banda* refers to the rather organized crime compared to *pandillas* who nevertheless, often commit small acts of crime such as verbal threats or minor violations of the law. These groups are often associated with insecurity.



Drawing 3.3 "Manipulación de pruebas". Nacho drew this murder case scenario, while we were sitting outside a restaurant in Comas, sharing a bottle of Inca Cola after having been driving around in his car for while. It was made clear throughout our conversation that there are many challenges to security coming within the system, such as exemplified in this drawing where he exemplify manipulation of evidence such as an officer taking values from the victims pocket. For Nacho, this is not only a problem in terms of the police officer taking something which is not his or hers, nevertheless, manipulation of evidence makes it difficult to resolve the case. By taking the jewellery this alleged thief had stolen right before getting murdered, the investigation would perceive the victim as victim and not as a thief-victim which would change many aspects of the criminal investigation.

Nacho tells that in Lince there is a *serenazgo* who sells drugs. At the moment when I met Nacho, he was working on this case and for him there is nothing new about this. He has a clear opinion about the source of the problem - the problem is that as long as there exist consume of drugs, drugs will circulate. In similarity, crime will exist as long as there is a market for it. There literally exists a market for crime which is called *el Mercado Negro*, the black market. Stolen goods are sold and bought there in similarity to *la Cachina* in

the historic centre of Lima which was removed under Andrade's urban renewal campaign²⁵. Does this also indicate that there exists an indirect need for crime in society? The normalization of everyday acts of crime and corruption such as discussed above might demonstrate that there exist a need for crime in society and spaces for crime. Institutional debility and manipulative laws also partakes this

²⁵ Andrade's campaign is presented in the chapter "White horses and Barras Bravas".

picture of the market for crime. Nacho has experienced crime and criminals which reach the heart of the system in which representatives of the law are lawbreakers. He says that “risk is to trust the state” and that “robbers for example, they are very organized, they have assessors in first level” (November 18th 2009). He argues that “the entire city is traumatized”. He explains further that “the citizens are victims of insecurity. There is total citizen insecurity. The system generates delinquency”.

Insecurity is reproduced in the ongoing acts of crime, violence, and corruption. The limits between the legal and the illegal becomes narrower such as for instance reflected in aspects of informalities which people in some ways accept silently into everyday life. Crime, violence, and corruption are easily juxtaposed. I repeat my question of how much does it really take to be a criminal? Perhaps it could be argued that the allowance, directly and indirectly, of activities at the limits of legal and illegal has profound consequences. Clearly, the state and representatives of the state have a major responsibility. Having failed its citizens it becomes difficult to confront insecurity and crime when the state is also perceived as the problem. The lack of anonymous distrust and the extensive personal distrust in Lima perhaps opens up

for the possibility for corruption. Antonio and aspects of his story places certain relative perspectives on power and corruption. Perhaps this, in similarity to aspects of *el Limeño criollo*, reflects aspects of opportunities found and taken advantage off. It can be argued that Antonio takes opportunities at the limit and manage to do this in innovative ways. Nevertheless, Antonio is an *embodiment of corruption*. His case exemplifies personified consequences of the ambiguous relations at the limit.

4 *The Carceral House: Always in Presence of Strangers*

January 6th 1535, Pizarro ordered three of his horsemen to seek out a site for the foundation of the city that would become the new capital of Peru. The valley Rímac, Quechua for *the talking river*, was the site they found under the expedition. Satisfied with the expedition report, Pizarro founded Lima. The expedition had started on the feast day of the Three Kings, thus on January 18th 1535 Pizarro named it City of Kings in honour of the Three Kings. The original layout of the grid-pattern city was a manifestation of a centre of conquest. Lima was the centre of power and order with central components in urban layouts such as *Plaza Mayor*, Main Square.

Ever since its foundation, urban space of the capital has been designed in specific ways and shaped by people such as the conqueror Pizarro and politicians such as Andrade²⁶. Nevertheless, urban space is also produced in unintentional ways. Urban life is understood as *urbs* and *civitas*²⁷, an architectural entity and human

community which shape life in the city. In this chapter, I look at how urban space is produced, reproduced, and contested in everyday life. In the previous chapters, security has been discussed in relation to the discourse of fear through talk of crime, violence, and corruption. Antonio exemplifies aspects of individual consequences and embodiment of corruption in ways that shape everyday life and peoples' *habitus*. The discourse of fear is not reduced to narrations. Urban space has been a manifestation of power in capitals such as Lima where the grid-patterns lay guidance for social relations. Urban space exemplifies particular material and social aspects of security. I look into how various authors take up on the legacy of Bourdieu and explore *habitus* in particular contexts such as city space (Hillier and Rooksby 2005). I find the manner in which the city appears and is taken in to be of importance where Michel de Certeau's *rhetoric of space* is of interest. This takes part of individualized processes of spatial demarcation. I will look at *crayoned spaces* drawings and *mental maps* which exemplify particular productions and reproductions of an urban space shaped by insecurity.

²⁶ Andrade's urban renewal campaign is discussed in the chapter "White Horses and Barras Bravas".

²⁷ These terms are presented in the chapter "Policing".

THE EXPANDING CITY

Recent history of Lima is highly influenced by the city's massive growth. The expansion of the city had social and material consequences. Throughout the years the city was shaped and re-shaped by various architectural ideas of city order and control. As a result of these various epochs the city received many names based on its characteristics such as *Lima Cuadrada*, Square Lima, *la Ciudad Amurallada*, the city of walls, and *la Ciudad Irradiada*, the irradiated city. *La plaza* was considered the heart of the city which reflected the centrality of an open square around which the city was organized. In the decade 1950, Lima became the arena for new type of urban settlement named *barriada* (Matos Mar 2004[1984]). During the last decades the city expanded and grew geographically and population wise. For instance, the population of Lima grew to 3 302 523 inhabitants in 1972 and to 4 600 891 in 1981.

The peruvian anthropologist, José Matos Mar (2004[1984]), writes that “los espacios físico y social de la capital se presentan en la nueva Lima, por primera vez en la historia del país colonial y republicano, como verídicas imágenes de los espacios físico y social de la totalidad peruana” (2004[1984]:102). It certainly

can be argued that Lima is a diverse city. Meanwhile, it is an unequal capital. Contemporary, Lima has grown into a cultural disorder and the capital is rather recognized for its lack of order, heavy traffic, and a great diversity which form an unequal space. The processes of migration and the city expansion gives shape to its urban space such as the invasions of unoccupied land and *pueblos jóvenes*, shanty towns. Nevertheless, within the city there was movement such as the exodus of the *criollo* bourgeoisies under second wave of inn-migration, whom in the 1920s and 1930s appropriated Lima Cercado under its golden age (Gandolfo 2009).

Di Tolla and a team of architects (2009) present Lima and its historical development from an architectural point of view where a paragraph in the introduction expresses so eloquently aspects of contemporary diversity in the capital.

“Despite attempts at formal planning, the city succumbed to a demographic explosion and a rapid process of migration (commencing in the 1940s), characterised by spontaneity and informality (...) It needs to recognise its ethnic and cultural diversity, to embrace contemporary developments from a multiple identity that transcends the rational purity of modernity and attempts instead to consolidate its ancestral roots, where magical rituals can coexist alongside global growth, constantly underpinned by the city's unique cultural conditions.” (Di Tolla 2009:11)

Today it is estimated that approximately eight million people inhabit Lima. The explosive city growth lacked control and city planning. Profound changes nationwide during the last decades of the 20th century caused many of these demographic changes. Political processes were significant factors generating a concentration of people in the capital, a concentration of social and cultural diversity. The violence which swept the country the last half of the 20th century created a climate of instability and social tensions. *Los gobiernos militares*, the military governments of the 1970s, established the objective to confront the internal insecurity and to fight the enemies of the regime with little respect for human rights.

The democratic system as a form of generalized government returned in the 1980s. Citizen security emerged as a way to confront the public insecurity which was different from the notation of *national security* such as understood by armed forces. Many people migrated to Lima as a strategy to escape the violence in the province. However, in the 1990s acts of terrorism hit the capital and the violence intensified. The armed conflict increased the number of murders especially in the beginning of the decade. Violence and terror were strategically used through acts of manipulation of the public system of

infrastructure such as cutting the electricity. During this epoch, city space was enclosed with *rejas* and *muros*, fences and walls, in streets and around blocks of houses. These were practices of security in order to prevent car bombs from entering ones neighbourhood and to keep out unwanted strangers. Contemporarily, private strategies for security are becoming ever more frequent. City space is becoming armored through a materialisation of security such as walls for defence.

CRAYONED SPACES OF FEAR

Los Barracones del Callao

*“The danger in the street, the consume of drugs,
destroys everyday the human life.*

*In Callao the people are insane,
and walk with a bandage covering their eyes.*

*Because of this they see the darkness,
they see themselves alone,*

*because of this they think about themselves
and not about others (...)*

*The man does not consume the drug,
but the drug consumes the man”*

(Victor September 3rd 2009)

In the drawing of a man, a rather drunk man, tossing his bottle on the street, an organized street with sidewalk and a garbage container, the drawer expresses his concern for garbage in relation to preoccupations for security (drawing 4.1). The drawer states that the environment affect people and in the case of the

drawing it is demonstrated the relation of human action, which in this case is lack of moral by throwing a bottle on the sidewalk, and imagined consequences for this action, which produces polluted and disorganized spaces. In comparison, the drawing of a skeleton head with a cigarette in its mouth, the drawer represent ideas of fear which is produced by certain human behaviour, through drugs and engagements in *bandiallaje* specifically related to the district of Callao (drawing 4.2). It can be argued that these drawings represent generalized fears, connected to drugs and *bandillaje*, in generalized spaces, related to spaces of disorder and general areas such as Callao.

Entire parts of the city can carry a discourse of insecurity. Victor, from los Barracones del Callao, exemplifies aspect of this (September 3rd 2009). He work six days a week as a vigilant at the busy street of *Av. Angamos Este* in the intersection of the district of Surquillo and San Borja. He is in his thirties and is licensed to be armed. He is not a police officer; quite contrary, he does not have much faith in them and says that the police are limited by their own fear of crime and violence. The physical space which separates the two districts is literally a few meters. The mental maps, understood through the way I have heard people talk and relate to that street, indicate that socially there is a great

distance between these two proximate districts. Victor expresses his concern in a drawing and a poem. His perception of security is represented through insecurity. He expresses his concern for the danger in the streets and consume of drug. Victor spends his everyday life travelling in urban space between his home in los Barracones del Callao and work in Surquillo. It is interesting that the former is perceived an insecure part of the city, whereas the latter is nevertheless perceived as insecure in relation to its limiting district. People talk about the existing crime and violence in los Barracones del Callao. It is true that space in los Barracones del Callao is appropriated by well-known gangs such as *Castillo* and *Loreto* (*Somos in el Comercio* September 6th 2009). There is no doubt that the insecurity is real and the violence and extensive circulation of drug is of great concern.

People also talk about particular places for crime. John draws a map of his everyday patrol space in Cotabambas in *Lima Cercado* (drawing 4.4). He is a newly educated *Alferez*, charged with leader responsibility in his *puesto*, post. The jurisdiction of Cotabambas is the urban space in which he spends much of his everyday life. His map embodies a particular experiences and interpretations of insecurity which is identified in places of prostitution, robberies, and falsification

of documents. The insecurity is encountered explicitly in buildings and streets in which the law is broken through acts of crime. John is new as *policía oficial* and he gives the impression of these activities as an everyday practice of the police station, as if they were rehearsed acts repeated in everyday life in the constant confrontation of lawbreakers. It is an everyday routine to confront these *puntos críticos*, critical spots. It is a practice of everyday life.

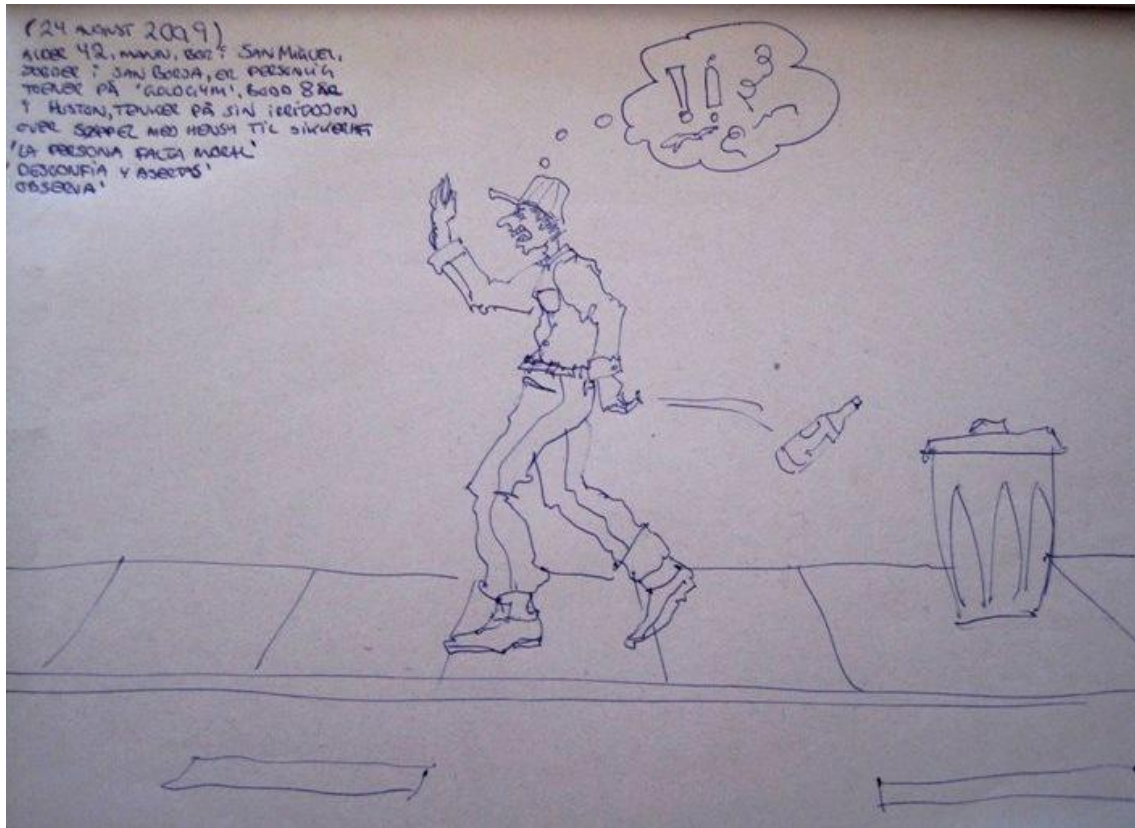
I accompanied the police in an *intervención*, a police interference or action, with John on motorbike, and three police officers and myself in the car. We passed the street known for prostitution in order to bring the girls to the police station (October 21st 2009). The day had just started. They expressed how these police practices were not new and that they could already tell that there would not be many girls there at this time of the day. The two girls, who got picked up, expressed by body language and words that they already knew the drill. The police expressed these actions were ordinary and that the girls were brought into the police station for identity checks and then let go afterwards.

Urban space in Lima can be identified as secure and insecure, though I have heard many Limeños express that there exist no secure space. Furthermore, it is recognized that one of the challenges to

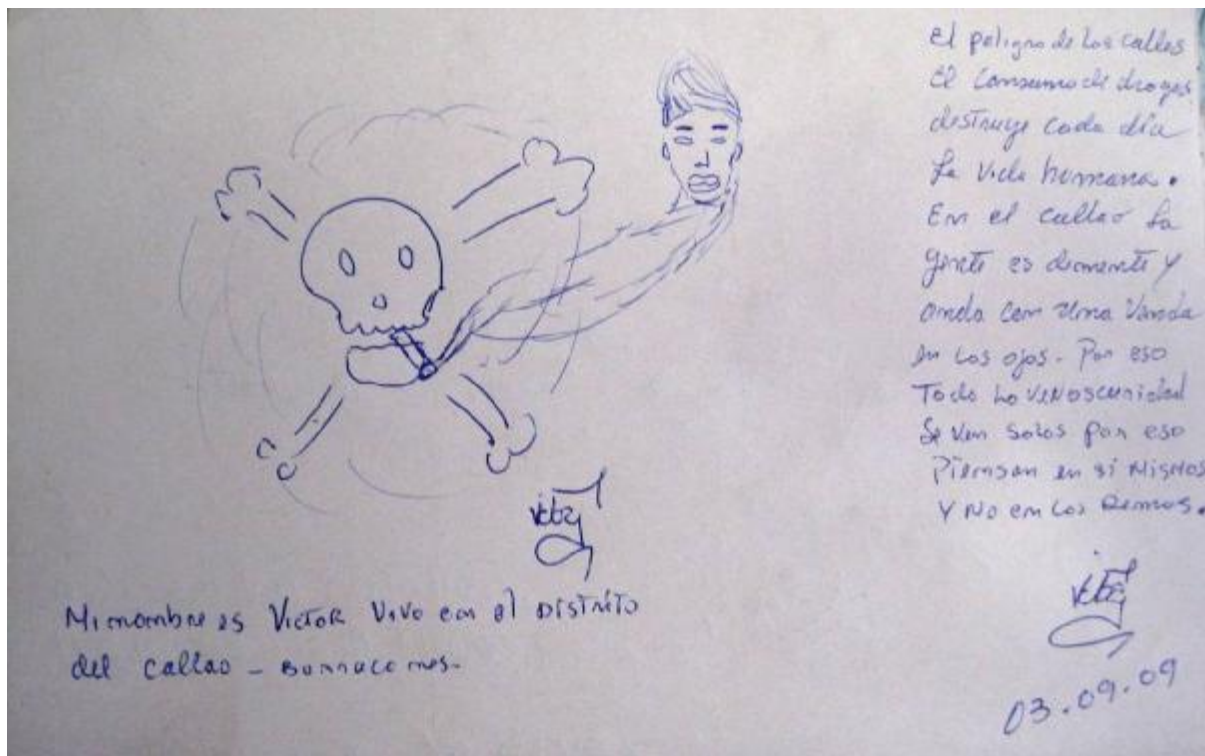
insecurity is the ubiquitous fear. Insecurity indicates a situation which is not clear. Fear also derives from not knowing when and where security is threatened, or from knowing that it could be anywhere at any time. One of Malene's neighbors was robbed inside the house, which is inside the carceraled space, inside the enclaves of the *manzana* (apple or block) (drawing 4.3). In comparison to the house of Malene, the district of *San Borja*, is considered safe and tranquil. The general perception is that in San Borja there is a good system of security and order. However, there is much movement in San Borja, a district which is geographically located in the middle of the districts of *La Victoria*, *San Luis*, *La Molina*, *Surco*, *Surquillo*, and *San Isidro* (drawing 4.8).

Under an interview with the chief of security in the municipality, aspects of security were explained in relation to the traffic and its journey through the district. Socially San Borja is located in the centre of six very diverse districts in which space is appropriated by people perceived as lower, middle, and upper class. At one end, there are the districts of *La Victoria* and *San Luis*, in the other end, *Surquillo*. These three districts are considered lower and middle class. On the other hand, there is *San Isidro* on one end, and *La Molina* and *Surco* at the other. These three are perceived middle and upper class districts.

4 The Carceral House: Always in Presence of Strangers



Drawing 4.1 "Sacando basura". The architect and personal trainer who drew this believes urban space shape peoples behaviour and the other way around. This drawing exemplifies a case in point in which the drawer connects sloppy behaviour to crime and criminals.



Drawing 4.2 "El peligro de las calles". Victor is a private guard who works outside a store in the busy Angamos Este in the intersection of Surquillo and San Borja. In his representation of security he drew me this skeleton and in addition he wrote this poem in which he expresses his concern for the danger in the streets.



Drawing 4.3 "Vivo en un cárcel". Malene drew this representation under our conversation about security in Lima. She drew the situation of her neighbour getting robbed where she drew little details such as the delinquent having a key, the police officers snoring in the car, and the guard observing it all. In general, this drawing represents the idea of carceral houses. However, this drawing also represents problematic aspects of the system of security.



Drawing 4.4 "Cotabambas". John drew me this map over the sector of Cotabambas after we had patrolled around in Barrios Altos on motorcycle. In this map, he points out prostitution, falsification of documents and robbery as some criminal activities within this space which I describe as the backstage and backyard of Palace of Justice.

4 The Carceral House: Always in Presence of Strangers



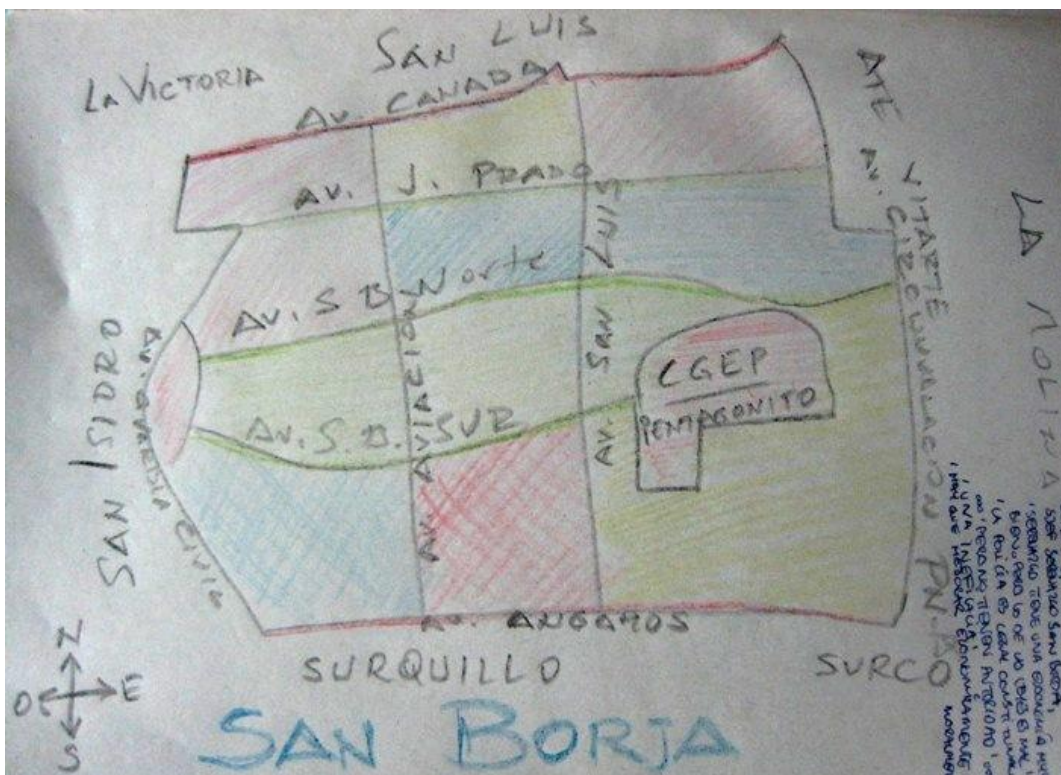
Drawing 4.5 "Pandillas en La Victoria". This doctor was asked to draw something related to insecurity. Thus, he drew pandilleros on the street corner where he lives. He passes them everyday, preferably walking across the street, on his way to work. They do not bother him because they recognize him.



Drawing 4.6 "Casa donde venden droga". A policía suboficial drew me this map of the street where his mother live. There is a house there where drug is sold, car passes to buy and everybody knows that drug is sold there. He states that people do not report it because of fear.



Drawing 4.7 "Las Causarinas". At the limit of Surco and San Juan de Miraflores there is a wall which separate the two districts – the drawer highlight these physical differences between two proximate spaces in which there are houses with swimming pool at the one side and houses barely with roofs on the other side of the wall.



Drawing 4.8 "San Borja". In this map of San Borja the chief of security in the municipality use the traffic and its journey through district space to reflect on matters of security. The different roads exemplify different situations regarding security in which he relates the different spaces to social class and behaviour.

San Borja is located at the centre of these districts in which there are four main roads running through the district causing heavy traffic and flow of people. The four roads run two and two in parallel. *Av. San Borja Sur* and *Av. San Borja Norte* are mainly characterized for its flow of people between La Molina and San Isidro. People traveling from La Victoria and San Luis through San Borja mainly use the avenues of *Av. Aviación* and *Av. San Luis*. According to the chief of *tránsito y seguridad* in San Borja, there are ideas about the traffic and flow of people in which crime and criminality is related to these circumstances where *Av. Aviación* and *Av. San Luis* are perceived as challenging.

CONTESTED SPACE

The city map of Lima does not in itself give many indications of the lived and experienced map of spaces of security and insecurity such as these mental maps. There are maps which give indications of socioeconomic levels, of people and vegetation, and even of security and insecurity. However, these maps do not necessarily give indications of how people talk about, experience and perceive urban space. Ordinary people in everyday life practice and produce particular maps of the

city, and produce discourses of feared places. In everyday life people somehow order their world in relation to social maps for example through choosing to walk one street over the other or to stay away from certain areas such as exemplified in the drawings.

There is something appealing about the significance of space in a city where insecurity is so expressive. Insecurity is manifested in particular ways in urban space. Space carries persuasive power of perceptions of it, and shape social processes. Places can be labeled in ways that affect people's conducts such as avoiding feared places or at least talk about it in ways which gives continuity to the discourse. There are geographical maps of spaces which have significant consequences for shaping and reshaping of the inhabitant's of Lima knowledge of the area. Many taxi drivers in Lima express how they thoroughly evaluate the risk by driving to certain areas of the capital. Taxi drivers, such as David Harvey writes (2006), have physical and social maps of the metropolis to orient themselves in which the maps sometimes include areas into which the driver will not venture. Feared spaces are often referred to as *zonas rojas*²⁸, red zones, which are areas of the

²⁸ The term *zona roja*, red zone, have amongst others been used by Goldstein (2004) who referred

city perceived insecure. Contemporary tendencies of transforming urban landscape into spaces constructed for security generates an urban environment which maintains and perhaps escalates inequality. In the urban environment, it is demonstrated that the city has become an arena for contestedness and there are competitions in and over space.

In the chapter “Policing”, I compare Peruvian and Norwegian police where I discussed similarities and differences in terms of police practices and narratives of security. In the Peruvian case, as well as the Norwegian, there are processes of looking at crime and criminals as coming from other places. In the latter case, crime and criminals are in a general perspective often considered from elsewhere, from Eastern Europe or those who the Norwegians call *våre nye landsmenn*, our new citizens. The arrival of eastern Europeans reflects on ideas of mobility and migrants which resembles the processes of migration the last couple of decades in Lima which has shaped the capital significantly. Perhaps these processes of mobility are part of that which is perceived as *the emancipation of*

to them as the illegal settlements which were growing in the margins of Cochabamba. Generally speaking the red zone space is perceived in relation to an assigned an image of danger, threat and insecurity.

urbanization. People migrate to the city and, formally, have great freedom. However, in the capital their freedom is delimited and exposed to a certain *loss of emancipation to urbanization*. Limeños are delimited by the order of the city which is socially and geographically shaped by discourse of fear. Urban space is enclosed and people’s movement is restricted such as exemplified in the drawings. Social order and city order is under constant exposure of changes such as encounters of civilizations linked to the colonial era or contemporary processes of migration to Lima. These encounters challenge established order through an introduction of the others, their ways and *habitus*.

In the Norwegian case, it is stated that some criminals from Eastern Europe perceive Norway as a candy store because of the lack of carefulness or taken for granted trust and thus the easiness to proceed with criminal activities. There is a certain common sense behind the reason why criminals are from elsewhere. Perhaps these situations reflect on aspects of entrepreneurship though there is a difference between criminals and entrepreneur concerning the law. The fact that criminals are talked about as people taking opportunities, *aprovecha* in the Limeño case, reflect aspect of this. Perhaps it is perceived less moral to steal from your own neighbor. Crime can be perceived as a

way of living, perhaps even a profession. Neighbors, generally speaking, do not commit crime towards one and another. In *Pamplona Baja* the family of Ernestbaile talks about criminals coming from *Pamplona Alta*. His mother is of the opinion that “they are people *sin vergüenza* [has no shame]” (September 24th 2009). His sister, however, says “for instance when they wanted to rob me over there [the street corner outside their house], one of them identified me, they know me; they identified me and therefore let me go”.

At the border of *San Juan de Miraflores* and *Santiago de Surco* there is a wall which separates *las causerinas* from the houses at the other side of the border (drawing 4.7). The drawer expresses two spaces which are separated and segregated, segregated because one space is separated from the other with the intention of establishing spatial and social distance. Perhaps it is seen as an ultimate strategy responding to insecurity which is perceived as omnipresent. Nevertheless, the wall exists. The wall protects people and the wall segregate people, a *social and spatial segregation* (Meegan in Allen and Massey 1995). The wall expresses and communicates both security and insecurity. Indeed, the wall might even invite criminals as it might give the impression that there is something valuable that is being protected. In fact, the fear factor

which has grown in cities with these gated communities are often more associated with danger than security (Bauman 2003). People are caught up in meanwhile and coexistent spaces and social worlds where it is possible to encounter geography of inclusion and exclusion in Lima’s urban space. It can be argued that people want to distance themselves from “the other” which is the insecure element whatever and whoever it is. This touches upon previous discussions of distrust which has become individualized and dispersed. Yet, it is generalized in ways the walls keep out anybody who does not have permission to the other side.

THE OTHER

I draw attention to a little story of contested spaces in 18th century London. In the chapter, *Flush and the banditti*, Philip Howell (2000) presents a case about dog-stealing in Victorian London. Pet dogs became more important in the city and important for bourgeoisie women. The spread of pet ownership among the urban bourgeoisie brought up the opportunity for a crime which attacked them directly. It was discovered that the emotional value of pets could exceed their sale value. Dog-stealing became a way of living extended to the surveillance of bourgeois homes,

“dog-stealing, then, was seen as systematic, professional, cruel, heartless and virtually beyond the reach of the law” (2000:42).

Howell writes about the specific geography of exclusion and inclusion, and how the dog-stealing threatened domestic security. The picture *Temptation* (1879 in Howell 2000) represents a fable of woman and pet caught between the worlds of private domestic spaces and public spaces of the streets and the criminal underworld. This existence of different spaces, which meanwhile are contested, is of special interest, as are the ways crime changed the urban geography such as through the criminal surveillance in bourgeoisies’ spaces. This criminal opportunism and the domestication or *bourgeoisification* of dogs, are also an aspect of entrepreneurship and crossing sphere barriers such as discussed in the chapter “At the Limit”. The geography of exclusion and inclusion, and criminal opportunism, touches upon aspects of space and crime which is contested in the space of everyday life in contemporary Lima where the stranger of the city, the *other*, causes unease.

Insecurity is practiced and narrated through looking at *the other from other places*. *Otherness* is a term which is often related to the classical essay of Edward Said (1979) *Orientalism*. However, the

distinction of *us* and *others*, have a long history of social relations which even can be related to the asymmetrical relation between Europe and its “other”. Tord Larsen (2009) writes about Columbus’ arrival to America and how nakedness characterized his descriptions of the people he encountered. ”Nakenheten, tomheten, råheten var temaer som klang godt sammen med tidligere beskrivelser av naturtilstanden, og den fikk nå sin empiriske, lokaliserbare og studerbare referanser” (Larsen 2009:56). Nakedness was understood as an expression of ignorance and emptiness. The encounter of Columbus and the New World exemplify aspects of the asymmetry between Indians and Europeans, premodern and modern. “Ved dette identitetspolitiske grepet blir “vi” etablert som den reflektive opplyser, ”de andre” blir til gjenstand for vår siviliserende intervensjon” (2009:188).

Ideas of development and modernity were partly created in Europe’s encounter with the New World such as indicated in Larsen’s arguments. Nevertheless, people order their world through constructed categories. Studies of classification demonstrate that people create and maintain social order through categorizing (Douglas 1966). Physically and socially distancing oneself from others who are seen as criminals, are part of ordering the world, in which boundaries

are constructed to keep the other distant. Caldeira writes that “as one who is dangerous and breaks society’s rules, a criminal is conceived of as coming from marginal spaces and as polluting and contaminating” (Caldeira 2000:78). Continually, she argues in a footnote that “the talk of crime and practices of segregation operate by constituting ‘others’ to be criminalized and kept at distance” (Caldeira 2000:381).

It is not uncommon to perceive criminals as coming from other places and that they are invaders of other spaces. The ways security in San Borja is affected by the flow through its district, exemplify the case in point. One reaction is to construct protective spaces of separation, control and distancing. Social and spatial segregation are important features of cities. The expansion of the city, its shape and characteristics, affect the quality of social relationships in particular ways. Social classes live far apart in the city. There are social and geographical divides between people. These divides are embraced and used in narratives about insecurity. Malene lives behind bars and fences. She perceives her home as a prison which ironically is the space of security for her and her family (drawing 4.1). Perhaps we can call these *voluntary ghettos* (Bauman 2003). “For the insider of the voluntary ghetto, the other ghettos are ‘we won’t go in’ spaces. For

the insiders of the involuntary ones, the area to which they are confined (by being excluded from elsewhere) is the ‘we can’t get out’ space” (Bauman 2003:29).

In the carceral house, the house of enclaves, people produce spaces of security to protect themselves from intruders. In the carceral city, the city of walls, urban space is an arena for contestation and the lack of order and control are perceived as components to insecurity. It can be argued that people fear disorder, the unfamiliar, and the stranger. The omnipresent stranger and the discourse of fear shape and is reshaped by particular social relations and production of urban space.

THE DISCOMFORTING PRESENCE OF STRANGERS

Urban space is produced by and through people and practices of everyday life. Henri Lefebvre (1991) writes about production of spaces where space is socially produced in specific ways, and space can be *appropriated* by different people²⁹. People dwell in city space in particular ways. These are matters of

²⁹ Though Lefebvre distinguishes between appropriation and domination of space, I focus on the general idea of appropriation of urban space in everyday life through production and reproduction of space.

belonging to the city. However, cities experience dramatic changes which affect quality of urban life where cities are *cohabitations of strangers* (Bauman 2003). This indicates that urban space is always under challenge by “the other”, such as migrants and newcomers to cities, however also strangers from and within the city. Sharon Zukin (1995) presents aspects of contested urban space. Her concept of *vernacular* space means an appropriation of space in relation to which she propose the questions of who belongs in specific places and whose city it is. Cities are mapping power of bureaucratic machine or the social pressures of money, and her concern is the gradual loss of meaningful public life of inclusive and democratic forces. Zukin writes that the collective identity is stamped by those who create images, “by accepting these spaces without questioning their representations of urban life, we risk succumbing to a visual seductive privatized public culture” (1995:138). The point is that urban space is contested in ways which shape the quality of social relations and the urban order, and the vernacular inhabitants loose.

The criminal who invaded the house of Malene’s neighbour, entered their domestic space of security. Similarly, the stealing of the dog Flush eloquently exemplifies how the geography of exclusion and inclusion was threatened by

the dog-stealing which placed the bourgeoisie in relation to criminals (Howell 2000). The criminals reach the private domestic spaces through the dogs, and the bourgeoisie women experienced the public spaces of the streets and the criminal underworld. As a parallel, there exist geography of exclusion and inclusion in Lima which, nevertheless, is under constant contestation because of the meanwhile coexisting worlds and the shared urban space.

Lima experience processes of migration which significantly shapes urban life in general. Zygmunt Bauman (2003) writes that newcomers are strangers to the city and that the presence of strangers inside the field of action is discomforting. Leonie Sandercock (in Hillier and Rooksby 2005) similarly reflects on the discomforting presence of the stranger. She discusses the nature of fear in contemporary cities and their policy consequences. She reflects on the potency of discourses of fear, and argues that there is a political economy of city of fears which is a matter of whose fears are legitimized and translated into policy responses and whose fears are silenced. Drawing on Mumfords (*The City in History*) view of the city as a container for disruptive internal forces, and Sennetts (1990) perspective of the urban dweller as people always in the presence of otherness,

she poses interesting questions with regard to coexistence in the shared spaces of neighbourhoods and cities. “Individual strangers are a discomfoting presence. In numbers, strangers may come to be seen as an invading mass or tide that will engulf us, provoking primitive fears of annihilation, of the dissolving of boundaries, the dissolution of identity” (Sandercock in Hillier and Rooksby 2005:222). Further, she suggests that urban transformation and reshaping of the city give rise to contestation which is reflected in the political economy. The case of structural changes in Brazil the past decades, exemplify the omnipresent fear of crime in urban space and politics of increasing investment in infrastructure and regulation of land markets in periphery neighbourhoods which pushed up land prices and pushed poor out of the periphery into the city’s favelas.

Fear and fright are active constituents in the production in and of urban space. Steve Pile (in Hillier and Rooksby 2005) presents a discussion of sense of place through exploring ghosts of city life. “And, just as surely, cities might make people feel things: all those strangers, all those dark alleyways, and all those stories of violence” (Pile in Hillier and Rooksby 2005:243). In resemblance to Pile’s spectral city, Michel de Certeau (1984) argues that places may be haunted

by fragmented and inward-turning histories and pasts accumulating time. Allen Feldman (1991) looks at *socio-historical* sites from events of conflict and violence in Northern Ireland in the years of the 1969 to the 1986. In this case-study, time is embedded in space through spatial inscription of practices and power, practices which formed a language of material signification in the present. The *rejas* which was put up during the epoch of terrorism remains in some places, and more are put up in fear of new violence caused by crime. Meanwhile, the wall between Surco and San Juan de Miraflores remains a manifestation of urban unequal divides which escalates or at least maintains it and gives continuity to its discourse, that of distance and unequal. Cities do make people feel things.

SPATIAL PRACTICES

Fears of strangers can be juxtaposed with fears of criminals. They affect aspects of urban life, such as how insecurity is mapped in the various drawings presented in “crayoned spaces of fear”. Maps, for instance, are ways of representing urban landscape. It can be understood structurally such as a physical map of *the real world out there* of buildings, roads, rivers, and hills. However, maps are also understood

as experienced landscape and subjectivized cognitive maps (Ingold 1993 in Grasseni 2004). Maps are means of representation and social products where each map embodies particular way of understanding and interpretation of places in urban space (Massey 1995). Ordinary people orient themselves in the city in subjective ways in which people create the mental maps of the city. These are ways of understanding and living in the environment. People move in different *mindscapes* though they walk in the same territory (Waldren 2007). The subjective experience of urban space generates diverse perceptions thus urban space is read and understood differently. The urban landscape can be expressive, symbolic, and imaginative which indicates that landscape is considered to be more than just something physically *out there* (Basso 1988). All the strangers of the city perhaps exemplify, more than anything, these meanwhile experiences in urban space.

Places, vaguely defined, are spatial particularities within generalized spaces. Place and space can be understood in corresponding relation to inside and outside, here and there (Hirsch 1995). The term *scape* is of importance here, looking at the meanwhile and coexistence realities in the city. The term is often related to Arjun Appadurai (1996) who looks at the diversity brought by global flow. Appadurai

looks at interconnected dimensions of *scapes* such as for instance the flow of people and ideologies, respectively *ethnoscape* and *ideoscape*. There is a diversity of *scapes* such as *landscapes* and *cityscapes*, and these *scapes* is specific positioning for instance in landscape. Edward S. Casey (1993) writes about *placescapes* as the manner in which the land appears and is taken in. He writes that for an entire epoch, place has been suppressed according to the modern discourse of time and space. This is contemporarily associated with processes of globalization and space-time compressions. “To be in the world”, Casey writes and touches upon Heidegger’s phenomenal particularization, “to be situated at all, is to be in place” (Casey 1993:xv). It is through moving bodies that people are provided with oriented and orienting *placescapes*. *Scape* is perceived as *shape* and a system. Thus, there are at least as many *placescapes* as there are kinds of place. Space is experienced by ordinary people in everyday life who dwell in the city. John dwells in Cotabambas with the intention to guarantee order. Meanwhile, criminals dwell in it looking for opportunities in *Barrios Altos*, just behind the police station. These are particular ways of being in place though they dwell in the same territory. The terms *scape* conceptualizes many positions,

persons, and districts in Lima in terms of how the city is read and understood. Lima can be seen from far or as *seeing the whole* (de Certeau 1984) such as the map of San Borja drawn by the district chief of security (drawing 4.8). The city can also be seen from the particular within such as represented in John's drawing of Cotabambas (drawing 4.4). These are various positioning of urban space, a variety of mindscapes.

Michel de Certeau (1984) writes about the practices of everyday life and presents perspectives on spatial practices seeing Manhattan from the 110th floor of the World Trade Center. De Certeau looks at individualized process of spatial demarcation in his theory of *rhetoric of space*. To walk is a spatial practice, and sense of space, which is individualized engagement with the city. There are ways of making the city ones own such as exemplified by the *pedestrian* and spatial practices. By looking at the pedestrian tour in the city, de Certeau bring into prominence practices of everyday life. Urban space is embodied in these practices where bodily *habitus* includes *habitus* in urban space. For instance, the doctor who passes the *pandillas* on the street corner everyday is used to see them there on that particular street corner. As a result of this everyday walk, he has the habit of walking

on the other side of the street to avoid that corner (drawing 4.5).

POLITICIZED SPACES

By whom and in what ways are urban space in Lima appropriated? Lima is certainly appropriated in particular ways where inclusive and democratic public life is challenged. This is reflected in the crayoned spaces of fear. Ghostly cities and urban fears bring forth interesting aspects on cities and insecurity in cities in which city space is discussed in relation to the concept of *habitus*. It can be defined as embodied dispositions, the durable, structured and structuring dispositions of individuals which serve as a generative principle (Bourdieu 1990). *Habitus*, thus, can, as we have seen, be applied to physical field as well as the emotional field. It is possible to discuss security in the response to practices and narratives which responds to the discourse of fear. Arguably, fear is both socially and spatially represented and it is affect the quality of social relations. Through perceptions of *habitus* as dispositions in social fields and spatial fields it is possible to discuss security with regard to habituating city space. The way people narrate fear of crime and the spatial practices of security such as physically

distancing oneself from others, are manners which the dead seize the living, but not necessarily determine city space and social relations.

Urban space is a manifestation of a discourse of fear which shapes and is shaped by social relations. In Lima Metropolitana, urban space is characterized by an architecture designed for security. These are social and material responses to insecurity which generate *aesthetics of security*. The aesthetics are ways of dealing with, and result of, insecurity in city life. Urban space is expressed materially and symbolically and do generate *aestheticized fear* (Zukin 1995). The walls which rise in the city might be seen as aesthetics of security and matters of choices of specific enclaves for private space. At the other hand, the very same walls can be perceived as aestheticized fear, produced by the discourse of fear. There are warnings in the streets and outside private properties, messages such as *cuidado*, careful, *cerco electrico*, electric fences, *zona vigilada*, guarded zone, and *cameras de seguridad*, security cameras. Perhaps it can be argued that the discourse of fear produces physical and mental spaces of fear, spaces where insecurity is considered omnipresent.

The discourse of fear in Lima is related to generalized and localized fears in the city. The discourse of fear is shaped by vague ideas of threats to security which is

often related to diffuse ideas of crime and violence related to stereotype criminalized people and places. These general ideas are, however, productive for micro level, which is the heart of discourse, the adeptness discourses and the power it has over individual experiences, both physically and mentally, of fear. There is a possibility for the generalized fear to become localized through bringing the fear into not-necessarily-feared-places. Thus, and strangely enough, it can be argued, in resemblance to the argument of individualized process of spatial demarcation of de Certeau, that the generalized discourse of fear in urban space becomes localized such as through mental maps and relations to urban space. For instance, the ways the existence of crime and criminals in one district, might generate insecurity in other part of the city. Nacho, for instance, the police officer in the chapter “At the Limit”, talks about a “total citizen insecurity”. Fear is normalized into everyday life in ways that feared spaces in faraway lands take local form on its home ground. “In the contemporary world order, as Chomsky points out, the spaces and places where terror is enacted and where cultures of fear take form are not disparate, self-contained political geographies” (Linke and Taana Smith 2009:6).

4 *The Carceral House: Always in Presence of Strangers*

It is of importance to highlight the great significance of space such as reflected in the historical obsession of geographical expansion by the colonial powers. It is necessary to understand these perceived insecure spaces in relation to politics of space. There emerge questions about *whose fears are silenced and whose fears are taken seriously*. There are unequal divisions, allegedly based on economic capacity, of security strategies for different districts of Lima distributed by public sector such as police officers and *serenazgo* agents of security. The moderate dog-stealing in Victorian London caused the dog-stealing bill passed into a law and a matter of security also for the police (Howell 2000). Perhaps the dog-stealing was taken seriously because dogs were domesticity and property of *bourgeoisie* women. Whose insecurity counts? City space in Lima is no doubt unequal and of significance in terms of security. Perceptions and use of city space are practices and ways of expressing security in which the geography matters in identifying insecure spaces and distinguish secure and insecure places.

How did urban space become so dispersed and unequal? At one hand, it can be argued that the unequal and dispersed space of Lima is a result of inequality generated by certain politics reflected in

relations of political power and economic capacity. However, it should not be assumed that this is an exclusive process which contributes to these characteristics in urban space and security in Lima. Historical expansion of the city clearly demonstrates an explosive growth which, despite attempts of formal planning, is characterized by its spontaneity and informality. These processes have generated particular spaces, social and urban spaces. These processes also shape and reshape the system of security and police practices such as discussed in the previous chapters. It is not assumed that the unequal distribution is intentionally produced. Nevertheless, it is debatable in terms of how social and spatial distance and inequality is maintained, reproduced, and habituated in city space. These geographical divisions and distinctions are part of the discourse of insecurity which generates social and material processes in space which expresses politics of fear.

Conclusion

Security demonstrates ambiguous relations in urban life in Lima where insecurity is expressed in human community and architectural entity. The four chapters bring into prominence particular aspects of security in relation to insecurity. The first chapter highlights the police and police practices, though the police is perceived insufficient in the capital. The second chapter presents different components of the system of security. The third chapter contributes in an understanding of some social consequences of disorder, in presenting “relations at the limit”. Further, the fourth chapter exemplify material consequences of security *and* insecurity where for instance urban space is a manifestation of fear. In general, these chapters pose questions regarding aspects of security. Does the system of security generate insecurity? Does the materialization of security in urban space reproduce insecurity? Does security communicate danger and fear rather than security?

Policing and surveillance in the case of Lima reflect tendencies for militarized strategies and fortifications to become part of everyday life. Ordinary people continue everyday life as part of a system of security which generates citizens

who are encouraged to participate in activities of policing. It can be argued that through policing and surveillance there is ubiquitous possibilities that somebody observes and sees law breaking activities, whether by police, *serenazgo*, and neighbour, through physical appearance or invisible cameras in public spaces. It can also be argued that because of these strategies, distrust has received particular significance for individual relations in everyday life. Neighbour is said to not trust each other, the passenger do not trust the taxi driver, and citizens do not trust institutions. It is said that trust is a prerequisite for democracy. Can it then be argued, that the dispersed distrust poses challenges to democracy?

Linke and Taana Smith (2009) argue that security and safety are terms which circulate as part of a global public discourse of fear which encourages proactive military action and national border fortification. They claim that the current reality of capitalist security state is “a nation form, founded on fear, in which policing, surveillance, and militarism have become companions to normal life” (Linke and Taana Smith 2009:4). It is interesting to see the formation of the system of security in relation to the capitalist security state and ideas of disciplinary society. The *Panopticon* reflects concerns for the significance of architecture for relations

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between people. Urban space in Lima, such as discussed in “the Carceral House”, exemplify materializations of security in ways that space is habituated and characterized by its inequality. Architecture certainly shape social relations and communicates aspects of power. Urban space in Lima is carcerated, armored, and a significant number of people confront crime by private means. These tendencies of responding to insecurity are valuable observations to discussions of social processes and democracy. The politics in and of space are of importance and have become explicit manifestations of insecurity, inequality and segregation in urban space. In this urban space, both social and spatial, policing is proceeded and practiced in particular ways.

Teresa P.R Caldeira (2000) writes, with reference to Foucault, that “the combination of the disciplines with the juridical apparatus of the contract society in Europe resulted in the docility of bodies and bounding of individuals” (Caldeira 2000:370). Continually, she writes that “the association of the development of the disciplines with that of individual rights and liberal democracies and with the control and enclosure of the body, as well as the progressive abandonment of violence as either pedagogical method or a form of punishment, is clear in the history of the countries that invented the liberal-

democratic model (France, England, and the United States)” (Caldeira 2000:371). Touching upon the topic of histories and contemporary popular idea of multiple *modernities*, Caldeira brings forth an important point about how different nations and people engage with various elements of modernity.

In studies of social and political processes in Latin America, there is an allegation that democracy in Latin American countries is accompanied by increasing crime and violence (Comaroff and Comaroff 2006). Democracy and democratic citizenship have generated many debates, and rethinking as many cases exemplify political movements proposing challenges to democracy. James Holston (2008) writes that the Brazilian democracy has advanced significantly in the last two decades - yet, new kinds of violence, injustice, and corruption have increased dramatically. In addition to having demonstrated the deep structure of intimacy between legal and the illegal in Brazilian society, he argues that it is necessary to rethink democratic theory based on these juxtaposed processes of democratization and violence. Accordingly, many Brazilians feel less secure under political democracy. In the everyday violence, their bodies are more threatened than by the repressions of dictatorship. The consequences of the

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everyday experience with violence, such as police abuse, segregation, and abandonment of public space, generate conditions which debilitate democracy. Both Holston and Caldeira bring into prominence important aspects of democratic processes in the Brazilian case in which Caldeira points out Brazilian democracy's disjunctive character where there civil rights problems expose the sphere of justice amongst others as problematic in Brazilian citizenship.

Historical processes and modernity have often been perceived in generalized ways. This poses questions to liberal democracy and individual self control. Globalization, migration, and lack of order require new understandings for discipline, and order which are components to security. Malene states that "it's about the left politics and the populism as well. They create insecurity". Her point of view is interesting in comparison to the two processes of political instability in the decades of 1970s and 1980s and the appeal to citizen participation which resembles aspects of social processes in the Brazilian case where democracy and violence is juxtaposed. I find it of importance to acknowledge the argument of Caldeira that "looking at these histories, we realize that what we think of as the norm – the European history of the control of violence and development of citizenship rights – is

only one version of modernity, and probably not even the most common one" (Caldeira 2000:371).

I have presented aspects of the system of security which reflect many tensions on social relations within and in relation to the system of security. The tendency of distrust conducted by individuals receives special attention. The comparison of the Norwegian and Peruvian police, exemplify significant aspects of security. As already mentioned, in the Norwegian case it can be argued that distrust is institutionalized at a non-personal level, in similarity to the security checks at airports, as a routine of systems of control. In Lima, however, distrust partake evaluations of persons, in which personal considerations are taken such as who are considered reliable or which police agent, PNP or *serenazgo*, is considered honest.

Perhaps part of the system of security resembles the effect of the mole in the short story *Hiet* (1972) by Franz Kafka. The mole lived in a tunnel with one entrance, but decided to build an escape tunnel, a *precaution*³⁰, and ended up with a complex system of tunnels. In the end, this system became a threat because of the omnipresent possibility of an enemy lurking in one of the tunnels, and the mole remains

³⁰ Translated from Grimen's (2009) *forhåndsregel*.

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terrified in the middle of his tunnel. Fortifications as strategies of security represent similarities to the mole where people fortify themselves extensively which leaves them rather nervous the more they invest in it. In Lima, people have pointed out explicit challenges of fortifications which become obstacles in case of emergencies where it becomes difficult to get across walls and electric fences. The vigilant Maycol told me once about how he in 2008 had to use the neighbours' door and jump over to the other neighbour in order to help a man who got a stroke. The man passed away and his widow recently extended her wall by increasing its height by one meter (November 2nd 2009).

Jean Franco (2004) writes about assault on formerly immune territories in her essay *Killing Priests, Nuns, Women and Children*. The women's liberation and church's loss of authority and sanctuaries exemplify consequences of emancipation. The torture of pregnant women in Uruguay and the murder of priests in Brazil are recent events which demonstrate that traditional power of the family and the church in Latin American countries, together with their associations of immunity and sacred spaces, the loss of sanctuaries, have experienced profound violence and a destruction of Utopian spaces. Franco relates these events to

recent wars in Latin America, amongst others to "the overarmed military who have become instruments of the latest stage of capitalist development" (2004:196), which have assaulted formerly immune territories.

In contemporary Lima people experience a loss of security. The house of Malene exemplifies such loss, the loss of a secure home, because of experiences with crime and violence. In a way, there is a certain irony where people construct secure spaces yet they experience the loss of it. The emancipation of urbanization generates dilemmas with regard to security. The processes of migration challenges city order and Limeños are constantly exposed to strangers and discourses of fear. It can be argued that this causes loss of security and loss of free and democratic urban space.

Linke and Taana Smith (2009) writes so eloquently that cultures of fear, indicating how fear is formed, sustained, and normalized in societies, have a political grounding "negative emotions like fear or terror are produced and sustained to govern populations within the carceral spaces of militarized societies" (2009:4-5). Insecurity, like fear, generates disorder. Disorder creates a necessity of order, a restoration of order. Insecurity, like fear, is a negative emotion which possibly has political groundings. In Lima, the

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discourse of insecurity circulates amongst people. The media presents it daily as a growing concern reflected in fear and insecurity of crime and violence or security strategies responding to this. Fear in Lima is sustained in practices of policing which requires practices of distrust. Fear is also sustained in urban space such as reflected in the habituating aspect of space.

There exist discourses of fear and practices of security in Lima which generates and legitimize strategies of security. These strategies include monopoly of violence. There is a tension of who is monopolizing violence which is the heart of authority. Privatization of security reflects aspects of this where citizen hire private (and informal) vigilantes who at times are armed. Interestingly enough, according to statistics, it is demonstrated that crime and violence is lower in Lima compared to other capitals in Latin America. Nevertheless, the discourse of insecurity through expressed fear, and talk of crime and violence, generates relatively great concerns for security amongst Limeños. The new law of citizen participation, appeals to a shared responsibility of security. Various actors challenge the monopoly of violence of the PNP, though the police recognize their monopoly of authority, the PNP actively engage citizens in practices of security. It could be argued

that through sharing the responsibility for security, the blame for failing to maintain order is likewise shared. There are questions of justification and the continued power struggle of who monopolize order, control, and security.

Peru is a post colony and its state is currently experiencing challenges in its capacity to govern. The ongoing crime establishes diffuse relations of rulers and subjects. This is nothing new. Authority is challenged by the rule of insecurity today. During the military regime government was challenged by terrorists and opponents of the state. They are still challenged such as reflected in the conflict in VRAE. However, in the capital, crime is a contemporary challenge. The colonial epoch laid fundamentals for contemporary government such as laws which are contemporarily not sufficient. There is a need to regain control through system of security. "It's the oldest trick in the book. You create the illusion of terror, then you get credit for stamping it out; you get funds, you get power. And that's exactly what's going on" (Franzen in Comaroff and Comaroff 2004:824). It might be part of the picture. However, it is important to not ignore the fact that crime, violence, and corruptions are contemporary processes generating insecurity. It is not *just* a created illusion. It is real. And have social and material consequences in urban life.

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