

The Measure of a Man:

Young Male, Interpersonal Violence and Construction of Masculinities

An Ethnographic Study from Lima, Peru

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I, Ana Maria Buller, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

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Abstract

Men are the main perpetrators and victims of violence worldwide. Previous studies show that violent behaviour is related to ideas of masculinity. However, research on “gender-based violence” typically focuses on violence between men and women, paying less attention to acts of violence between men. To address this research gap I conducted a cross-sectional, ethnographic study in an urban-deprived area of Lima, Peru. The study aims to understand the interrelationships between interpersonal violence and the construction of masculinities among young men living in a context of structural and symbolic violence, stigma and exclusion. I examine the interaction of structural and individual-level factors in the reproduction of violence by placing the “construction of masculinities” approach at the centre of the analysis.

In this thesis I propose that violence between men is a form of gender-based violence that offers young men a short cut to achieving masculinity mandates prevalent in their milieu, in a context that limits their potential to “become men” in non-violent ways. The relationship between men’s violence and masculinity is not a direct one. Violence does not equal masculinity, instead it allows these young men to gain status within the community, to earn a living, to protect their alliances and women, to demonstrate power and exert control over others: all characteristics associated with masculinity. Men in this setting choose violence, and violence is one of the strategies that they use to perpetuate masculine hegemony. This study highlights the importance of the social setting in which masculinities are performed, the homosocial nature of these performances and the relevance of the male body in the enactment of the social practices through which masculinities are constructed.

In the final part of the thesis, I provide recommendations for interventions in the field of young men’s violence, and make suggestions for future research.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

1. Statement of the problem

In the area of violence in the community ... youth have become the site for our adult 'moral panics' (Harris 2002 cited in, Daiute and Fine 2003, p.2)

Young men are the main perpetrators and the main victims of many forms of violence (Burton 1997; Phyllis L. and Saner 1998; Spierenburg 1998; Barker 2000; Briceno-Leon and Zubillaga 2002; Reilly, Muldoon et al. 2004; DeKeseredy and Schwartz 2005; Barker 2005a; Pringle 2007), with the notable exception of domestic violence and sexual assault (Hollander 2001) where women are the main victims. Studies from a "gender-based violence" perspective tend to focus upon men as perpetrators and women as victims. This thesis aims to address this research gap by examining violence between men.

Traditional individual oriented public health approaches to the study of young people and risk behaviours tend to consider individual characteristics such as age and ethnicity as risk factors, which can inadvertently generate a blaming discourse in which young people with certain characteristics have been widely stigmatised as "youth-at-risk" (Kelly 2000; Sharland 2006). The "at risk" label can reinforce the already marginalised and powerless status of certain individuals and groups (Lupton 1999). This has led to what Furlong and Cartmel (1997) have named the "epistemological fallacy of late modernity", according to which although we live in a highly individualistic society, traditional sources of inequalities have not changed, and chains of interdependency are still in place. For example, social class and gender still determine much of a young person's future, but societal discourses hold the individual responsible when this future is not the expected, desired or "normal" one.

These individual-oriented approaches based on a “rationality” discourse have an impact at the intervention and policy level, resulting in the design of programmes and interventions aiming to modify individuals’ behaviour. This is particularly noticeable in the public health domain, where the Health Belief Model (HBM) has been widely used in health promotion programmes (Murray and Turner 2004). These models operate primarily through educational interventions, providing the individual with information, in the belief that this will generate an attitude change and ultimately modify their behaviour towards “healthier” options (Crossley 2000). However, studies have shown that increased knowledge about risks do not necessarily imply a reduction in health-risk behaviours (Campbell 2003; Jones and Haynes 2006) and that even young people having technical knowledge of risk, operate under alternative rationales based on contextual and cultural aspects to engage in these practices (Wood 2003). This simplistic approach tends to overlook other important social influences such as for instance, the role of gender in young men and women’s behaviour (Marston and King 2006).

The World Health Organization’s (WHO) Report on Violence and Health (2002) reports that: “the rates of non-fatal violent injuries tend to increase dramatically during mid-adolescence and young adulthood” (Mercy, Butchart et al. 2002, p.28). Within these statistics a gender bias becomes clear; young men account for three-quarters of all victims of homicide and have higher rates of suicide than young women (Krug, Mercy et al. 2002). Within such a context it is vital to explore the complex contextual, structural and gender factors surrounding young men’s violent behaviour instead of focusing solely upon individuals and “rationality”.

2. Theoretical rationale

Adherence to patriarchal notions of masculinity places men in a dominant position to women, and at the same time poses a threat to them at different levels;

A growing number of researchers, program staff...and government officials are coming to see boys and men as complex gendered subjects, who are part of constructing and reconstructing both rigid and changing views about manhood. These accounts confirm that men and boys are simultaneously made vulnerable by rigid social norms of masculinity, while also making women and girls vulnerable. (Barker and Ricardo 2005b, p.2)

Studies and scholars exploring the relationship between masculinities and health, for example, suggest that men engage in more health-risk behaviours and use health services less (Courtenay 2000; White 2002; Sabo 2005; de Visser and Smith 2006; Gough and Robertson 2010). Studies of violence and men have shown that violent behaviour is also related to the construction of masculinities (Spierenburg 1998; Hatty 2000; DeKeseredy and Schwartz 2005; Messerschmidt 2005; Barker 2005a; Barker and Ricardo 2005b). Characteristics such as ethnicity and socioeconomic status seem to play an important role as well (Moser 2004), with identified or reported physical violence frequently enacted and inflicted upon marginalised young men from ethnic minorities (Barker 2000; Hall 2002; Totten 2003).

When looking into the contexts of youth and violence we find that generally speaking, young people living in highly deprived urban settings—frequently correlated with high levels of crime—are more likely to engage in violent behaviours (Hall 2002; Beale Spencer, Dupree et al. 2003; Bolland 2003; Barker 2005a; Andres-Hyman, Forrester et al. 2007). The WHO World Report on Violence and Health asserts that being a young man is “a strong demographic risk factor” (World Health Organization and Krug 2002, p.25) and that this is particularly the case in countries with developing economies. Most countries with youth homicide rates above 10 per hundred-thousand are either low or middle income countries

involved in rapid changes such as countries belonging to the ex-Eastern European Bloc or Latin American countries, and it is possible that the levels of violence are related to this rapid change (Mercy, Butchart et al. 2002). For instance, in Latin America, higher rates of violence among young people than in other parts of the world can be found (Mercy, Butchart et al. 2002). Along these lines Briceño-León (cited in Moser 2004) points out that “cities such as Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Mexico City, Lima and Caracas account for more than half the total of their national homicides” (p.6). However, these statistics refer to a small percentage of the population of young men living in these conditions, reflecting “a set of marginal behaviours” (Mullins 2006, p.3) not a generalised set of attitudes in poor communities.

As noted above, studies from a “gender-based violence” perspective tend to focus upon men as perpetrators and women as victims. Given the gender inequalities and hierarchical power relationships between men and women around the world, efforts to address domestic and other violence against women are crucial. However, this should not mean that violence by and against other men should be ignored. Understanding violence amongst men could help to shed light on violence against women, but it is also important to address violent acts between men in their own right, acknowledging that power relationships can also operate at the base of this type of violence.

In line with the above discussion Mullins suggests, “empirical research must specify whether, when and how gender matters in the enactment of violence” (Mullins 2006, p.19). Gender alone cannot explain such a complex phenomenon as violence, and therefore as I suggest in the previous section, the impact of geographical, structural, social, demographic and individual characteristics should also be considered. Following these ideas, the present ethnographic study focuses on the exploration of violence among young men living in El

Agustino—an urban-deprived district of Lima, Peru. This study aims to distance itself from traditional approaches that concentrate primarily on the epidemiological and individualistic aspects of violence, by exploring the connection between interpersonal street violence and the construction of masculinities, based primarily on in-depth interviews and observations in the field. Women’s perspectives on masculinities and violence have been incorporated into the study, since I understand masculinity as a relational concept that is forged within a web of interactions between men but also with women (Brod, Kaufman et al. 1994; Edley and Wetherell 1997; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005).

3. Personal rationale, locale and sample of men to be investigated

In 2006 I came across the convocatory for the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine GTA (graduate teaching assistant) scheme. I contacted Dr. Cicely Marston because I had an interest in young people’s engagement in health risk behaviours—having written my MSc dissertation on the topic—and Dr. Marston’s proposed project required to include an ethnographic approach involving young people. I applied for the scheme and won one of the scholarships. Reading the literature I decided that I needed to concentrate on one aspect of risk behaviours that had not been explored that much in the past and that is how I came across the concept of “youth violence”—which despite having been recognised by the WHO as a public health issue had been usually studied from the criminology point of view. When reading more about violence and young people, an obvious link to gender became clear to me and that is how I decided to explore the link between masculinities and violence. Another issue that became obvious to me is that literature looking at the link between violence and men had mainly focused on the analysis of violence against women and many of the scholars looking at these issues used feminist theories to explain the imbalance of power at the base of

inter-gender abusive relations. I also noticed that some researchers and some of the literature took a political stand and advocated against violence against women. Regarding my own positioning as a researcher on this topic, I used concepts and ideas from feminist theoretical developments to understand and interpret my results, however I did not subscribe to a feminist approach as a political stand and I decided that my focus of interest would be the less investigated issue of intra-gender violence, i.e. violence from men against men.

Once I decided on the topic to investigate I went through the process of deciding where in Lima to conduct the study. I had in mind some criteria that were paramount for my study, it had to be an urban-deprived area from Lima, that was a long-established borough in the city (rather than a new one formed upon recent internal migration from the highlands) and that offered the possibility to work in conjunction with other organisations in the area. After a preliminary visit to Lima in 2007 (see section 3.1 in Chapter 3) I chose el Agustino over other neighbourhoods with similar characteristics in Lima as my site for the study. I found that not only were different organisations operating in El Agustino that could offer me a good first entry point but also grassroots organisations were strong and varied in the area. Since its origin the district has been characterized by its strong grassroots organisations, with women's groups being the most active and influential in community development strategies (Caceres, Salazar et al. 2002). Another reason for choosing el Agustino was the history of political violence and the impact left by the era of terrorism in the area.

Initially I decided to work with a youth organisation call Martin Luther King (MLK) as my main source of recruitment, but after the upgrading seminar and some deliberation with my examiners and supervisor whether my focus should be on the intervention aspect of MLK or not, I decided that MLK would only be another source of recruitment and I would look for other contacts to recruit my sample purposively such as NGO's, projects in the area working

with young population and the research assistant's contacts (for a detailed table on male participants and source of recruitment see Table 2, p.91, Chapter 3).

4. Research aims and question

4.1 Main research question

What are the interrelationships between interpersonal street violence and the process of constructing masculinities among young men in El Agustino?

4.2 Specific objectives

1. To examine the role of manifestations of structural violence such as racism, social and economic inequalities, and “area stigma” in the constructions of social and gender identities in El Agustino.
2. To explore young men's definitions of and the meanings they ascribe to “violence”.
3. To explore young men's personal experiences and negotiation of violence.
4. To describe the constructions of masculinity among young men of El Agustino.

5. Organisation of the thesis

In Chapter 2 I review the theoretical literature on violence and masculinities. I then present the conceptual framework used for the study. I finish the chapter by summarising results from previous empirical research conducted in the Euro-American and Latin-American contexts.

Chapter 3 presents factual information about socio-economic, political and historical aspects regarding Peru, Lima, El Agustino and its inhabitants. In this chapter I also describe the research design, the methods used, as well as reliability and transferability issues. Ethical considerations and limitations arising from the study design are also included. Finally, I reflect on fieldwork dynamics and the impact that my own origins, gender and biography might have had on my research.

Chapter 4 presents results concerning El Agustino and its people as perceived in the broader social context of Lima. In this chapter I explore perceptions about El Agustino and Agustinians, as well as the impact of these perceptions at the social and individual levels.

Chapter 5 explores the different manifestations of violence in El Agustino. Accounts of structural and institutional violence are included as well as a description of the impact they had on the day- to-day life of residents of El Agustino.

Chapter 6 examines subjective experiences of violence. In this chapter I explore the emic perspective on violence, as well as the particular characteristics of violence found in this setting and the way young men from El Agustino negotiate it.

Chapter 7 describes characteristics of the constructions of masculinities found in El Agustino in terms of the expectations of men in this context and the way men fulfil these expectations. The chapter also explores the relationship between violence and the social construction of masculinities. Finally, I provide case studies exemplifying the shifting nature and alternative versions of masculinities in this context.

Chapter 8 discusses the results, drawing on the conceptual framework proposed in Chapter 2.

Chapter 9 concludes with a summary of the main study findings. I discuss the implications of the results for interventions as well as ideas for further research.

6. Some conceptual considerations and terms used in the thesis

For the purposes of this study, I included young men aged 16 to 25 years old. In this thesis I use the expressions “young people and violence” or “violence among young people” instead of the widely used “youth violence”, following discourse analysis principles which suggest that the selection of words used in discourses should be made carefully, as they have an impact on reality and therefore have practical implications such as shaping practices and interventions. In this case the label “youth violence” seems to position young men and women at the perpetrator level, ignoring the fact that young people, particularly men, are the main victims of violence. Third, interpersonal street violence will be defined for the purposes of this study as manifestations of violence by individuals or groups, enacted in public spaces outside the private domain of the household.

Chapter 2. Problematising Violence and Masculinities: A Theoretical Perspective

In this chapter I present an overview of the theoretical approaches that have informed the study, as well as findings from previous studies exploring the gendered aspects of violence in men. The first section of the chapter is structured as follows. First, I review different theories that have aimed to explain violence. These theories range from individual approaches to more structural developments that conceptualise violence as a complex and multi-dimensional phenomenon. Following the idea of violence as a structural phenomenon I include a revision of theories on stigma and its consequences for the individual both at the psychological and the social level.

Second, I discuss masculinities and different complementary approaches to its study. I begin this section by situating the study of masculinities within the broader picture of gender studies, offering a brief review on the relationship between feminism and men's studies. Departing from a critical discussion of the foundational work of R.W. Connell (1987) and the associated structured action theory by J.W. Messerschmidt (Messerschmidt 2000; Messerschmidt 2004; Messerschmidt 2005) I discuss complementary theories that reinforce the idea of socially constructed gender identities such as the performance and performativity concepts of Goffman (1990) and Butler (1999). I then focus on the located and socially embedded condition of masculinities by discussing the idea of homosociality and the social space in which these masculinities are enacted. Additionally I discuss the relevance of the male body as a key element in the subjective experience of gender. Third, I proceed to delineate the interdisciplinary conceptual framework used in the study and the interpretation of the results. In the second and final section of the chapter I summarise results from previous

empirical work in relation to constructions of masculinities and the gendered aspects of violence.

I. Theoretical approaches

1. Violence

1.1 Individual approaches to violence

1.1.1 Essentialist theories

Within this group of theories the focus is on identifying the source or origin of aggression and violence inside the individual. These theories range from more biological and genetic accounts to physiological and psychological ones. One of the traditional explanations for the phenomenon of human violence is that human violent behaviour can be completely explained by its “innate” nature. This idea has its origin in two different schools of thought. On the one hand, ethologists propose that the violent instinct is a fixed action pattern displayed upon the presence of stimuli in the environment (Lorenz 1981). On the other hand, Freud (1922) posited the idea of an internal struggle between the instincts of eros (life instinct) and thanatos (death instinct) as the source for individual’s personalities and behaviour, including violent acts (Muro-Ruiz 2002).

These theories might be useful to understand some of the aspects of individual’s displays of aggression, however they have some flaws. First, they seem to lack explanatory power when trying to account for the variation of the levels of violence exhibited among different individuals, groups within societies, and cultures. Secondly, they assume the existence of a

physiological/psychological drive mechanism operating in humans but have not been able to define its origin, or how it works.

Biological explanations have been developed by studying the impact of genes and hormones within the genesis of violence. Genetic studies with identical and non-identical twin brothers for example, have tried to illuminate the impact of genetics and the environment on aggressive behaviour (Hatty 2000). Other research conducted with humans and primates has tried to determine the impact of hormones on violence, with a particular focus on testosterone (Connell 2000; Hatty 2000). Both streams of research have presented conflicting results and have had methodological flaws, such as a lack of clarity surrounding the definition of aggression or violence and problems with the measurement of the different variables. Hence no conclusive results have been reached. Even when the influence of biological factors on human behaviour is acknowledged, there is a consensus when affirming that “aggression or violence cannot be accounted for by genetic or hormonal factors alone” (Hatty 2000, p.54). Additionally, it has been argued that levels of testosterone in the body might not be the precursors of social situations, but the result of them (Connell 2000).

Other researchers have pointed out that the origin of aggression can be found in the physiology of the brain. According to this line of thought there is a positive association between head injuries and aggressive behaviour, because brain damage can generate a lower impulse control in the individual, leading to aggressive behaviour (Hatty 2000; Renzetti and Bergen 2005). This theory is clearly limited in its explanatory power as it does not account for violence in individuals without head injuries. Finally, evolutionary theory suggests that violence can be explained from a natural selection perspective (Renzetti and Bergen 2005). In this tradition, violence is explained based on the male competition for access to reproductive

women, given their natural drive to pass on their genetic inheritance to the following generations. This theory implies that violence performs the function of protecting the self and eradicating reproductive competitors (Hatty 2000). All the above theories try to some extent to account for the mechanism at the base of aggression; however, they overlook important aspects such as the context in which violence occurs, structural conditions such as the power relations in society, and the individual's position in this structure.

1.1.2 Situational theories

One theory that focuses on the situational aspect of violence is the frustration-aggression theory developed in the 1940's (Dollard 1939) and later reviewed by Berkowitz 1978 (Hatty 2000). According to this theory, every act of violence can be explained in terms of frustrated drives. Thus, levels of aggression increase if a person feels that he or she is being impeded from achieving an objective and the greater the frustration, the greater the aggression (Gunn 1993; Muro-Ruiz 2002). This theory has been regarded as too simplistic. Frustration might be one of the reasons that account for aggression but it seems unlikely that it can account for all of the manifestations of violence. On the other hand, the theory assumes that frustration generates the same outcome in every situation, which implies a very mechanical idea of the individual and does not allow for the individual's own agency in the decision of how to behave. This theory fails to explain, for example, why some football fans might go on to smash car windows when their team loses a game, whereas others might return home quietly. Finally, this theory again overlooks the role played by the individual's position within social structures; in terms of age, ethnicity, socio-economic status, etc.

Albert Bandura (1973) attempted to account for the environment, highlighting the importance of context, with his social learning theory. According to this author violent tendencies are not

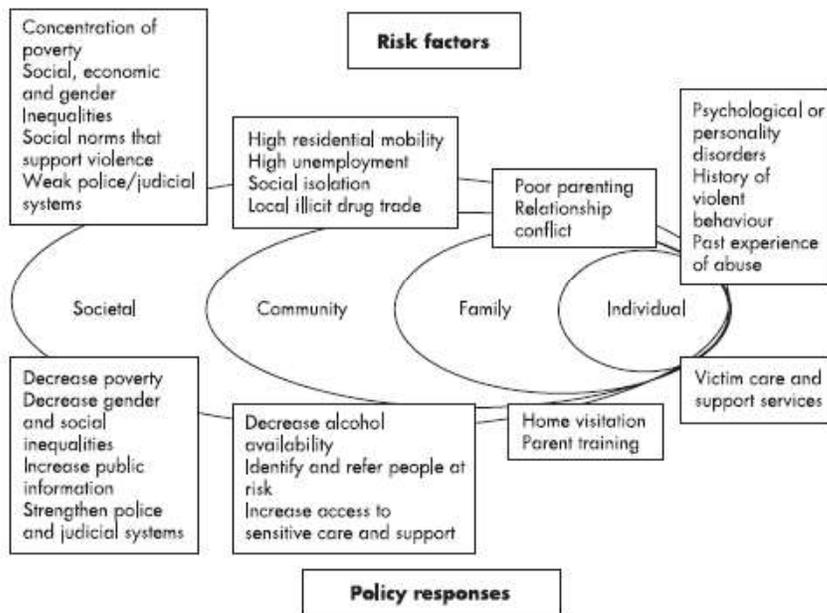
inherited, violence is a learned response. The process of learning proposed by this theory is based on the principle of “modelling”. Bandura suggests that human beings learn through the observation of other’s behaviour, and the consequences these behaviours have to them (imitation). According to this theory, the environment determines the behaviour, and at the same time the behaviour influences the social setting in a continuous interaction that Bandura called “reciprocal determinism” (Bandura 1973). Later, the psychological characteristics of the individual, such as the cognitive processes of evoking images and language, were added to the theory, as important aspects in the reproduction of behaviour. This would explain how the child was able to reproduce a behaviour he/she had observed hours or days ago. The social learning theory posits a more flexible view on violence, which takes into account the reciprocal interaction between the behaviour, the context and the internal psychological characteristics of the individual. However, it still carries some of the flaws of the above mentioned theories. This theory still does not account for the social situatedness of violence. As Gunn (1993) has pointed out, the individual in Bandura’s theory seems to be “...only casually connected with other people. In reality men [sic] live in a complex, intense, functional social system” (p.18).

Currently one of the most frequently used approaches in explaining violence is the Ecological Model. Originally developed within the realm of child developmental psychology by Urie Bronfenbrenner (1979), this multilevel model was adapted to the study of violence. The original model suggests that a child’s development should be understood as taking place through increasingly complex interactions between the child and the persons, objects and symbols in his or her environment. The model also incorporates spaces where the child does not spend time but nevertheless have an impact on the child’s life, such as the parent’s workplace or the law system of the country where the child lives. Bronfenbrenner’s original

conception of the model is a nested one, in which each level is contained in the next one and the number and quality of connections between the different levels is important for the child's development. The levels proposed are: the microsystem (the family, classroom, neighbourhood, etc), the mesosystem (composed of the quality of the relationship and number of interactions between the microsystems), the exosystem (consisting of the school system, medical institutions, mass media and the community), the macrosystem (which includes social values, economic systems, national customs and cultural values), and finally the chronosystem (which accounts for the changes in persons or environments over the lifespan of the individual) (Bronfenbrenner 1979). The model has contributed to understanding violence as a complex concept that is influenced by varied factors at different levels of an individual's life.

Included in the model are four different levels: the individual, the relationship, the community and the societal (see Figure 1). Risk and protective factors identified by different studies are then related to these different levels and interventions developed accordingly. However, the use of the model seems to be limited to a classificatory tool, with almost no attention paid to the connections between the different levels in the production of violence, as the original Bronfenbrenner's model does to explain child development. A classificatory approach can resonate within an epidemiological approach, which may not be concerned with the roots and mechanisms of violence per se, but concentrates on the factors, risk and protective; associated with the occurrence or absence of violence (Tong and Aragon 2006).

Figure 1. Ecological model for violence



Source: Rutherford et al. (2007, p.766).

1.2 Structural approaches to violence

According to Zizek (2008) there are three clear manifestations of violence: subjective, symbolic and systemic. Public attention is usually drawn to the individual's displays of violence, despite the fact that this is not the most pervasive of the three. Zizek (2008) argues that sensationalist news and announcements about individual manifestations of violence—violence among ethnic minority young men being a good example of this—constitute an effective strategy for veiling the other manifestations of violence, and therefore allowing its perpetuation; "...to chastise violence outright, to condemn it as 'bad', is an ideological operation par excellence, a mystification which collaborates in rendering invisible the fundamental forms of social violence" (p.174). The author further asserts that the very institutions that fight subjective violence are "the very agents of the structural violence which create the conditions for the explosions of subjective violence" (p.31). This section therefore explores structural approaches that focus upon these more pervasive, yet less obvious, forms

of violence, which as Žižek suggests, are potentially more damaging to the social fabric as a whole than individual, subjective expressions of violence. If we accept Žižek's theory, that structural forms of violence facilitate some of the conditions for subjective violence to flourish, it seems pertinent to try to understand how this structural violence operates. In what follows I explore ideas stemming from the fields of sociology and anthropology relating to this issue.

For medical anthropologist Paul Farmer, structural violence is the result of the macro-forces of oppression and discrimination; he defines it as:

Violence exerted systematically—that is, indirectly—by everyone who belongs to a certain social order: hence the discomfort these ideas provoke in a moral economy still geared to pinning praise or blame on individual actors. In short the concept of structural violence is intended to inform the study of the social machinery of oppression (Farmer 2004a, p.307)

Alcalde (2006) complements this definition by bringing to the fore the historical character of structural violence, regarding it as a result of historical systems that fuel social oppression causing suffering and violence among the least privileged groups of a society. Other authors are more explicit in their definitions, by naming the institutions that exert structural violence. Das et al. (2000) for example claim that “social actors such as the state, international organizations and the global media, as well as transnational flows in finances and people, are all implicated in the actualization of the violence that transforms the everyday life of local communities” (p.2).

Bourgois (2002a) contributes to the understanding of structural violence by highlighting the idea of “everyday violence”, originally coined by Nancy Sheper-Hughes (1996). For these authors, it is in the everyday practices and interactions of individuals where structural violence is actualised. Furthermore Kleinman (2000) and Hatty (2000) point out that we

should refer to “violences”, denoting that structural violence is not an homogenous, unitary phenomenon and that it occurs in a variety of ways: public, domestic, ordinary and extreme political violence, among others; affecting people throughout the social order. Hence, in the anthropological tradition social dynamics of everyday practices become the preferred site to study social violence. The above mentioned authors agree that in order to understand how and why structural violence shapes people’s interactions there is a need to study the local manifestations of it (Green 2004) and that these manifestations in turn should be located in “life experiences within ethnography in order to understand its representativeness” (Farmer 2004a, p.286).

These theories still leave us with questions. For example, how exactly are structural violence and everyday violences connected? What are the ways in which these interactions occur? This brings us back to an old sociological conundrum: what is the interplay between social structures and individual agency in general, and in this particular case in (re)producing violence? (Kleinman 2000). To try to shed some light on this issue I now turn to Bourdieu’s theory of practice, and the impact of his ideas on the solution of the structure/agency problem, as well as on the study of violence.

1.2.1 Theory of practice, symbolic violence and violence as a continuum

Bourdieu’s (1977) theory of practice is an attempt to overcome the agency/structure dichotomy. He proposes a dialectical relationship between these two dimensions whereby “micro and macro, voluntarist and determinist dimensions of human activity are integrated into a single conceptual movement rather than isolated as mutually exclusive forms of explanation” (Swartz 1997, p.9). This structural theory of practice proposes that objective

structures have subjective consequences, but at the same time individual actors have an impact upon the construction of their social worlds.

The key concepts used within this theory are *field*, *disposition* and *habitus*. The agent is said to be socialised from early childhood in a field—i.e. which is a particular social setting. In this process the agent internalises the relationships and expectations for operating in, his or her given field, given his or her role in it, developing attitudes and dispositions accordingly. These internalised relationships, the social structure, and his or her attitudes and dispositions, all form the individual's habitus. Thus habitus is defined as:

A system of lasting, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is as principles which generate and organise practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them. (Bourdieu 1990, cited in Swartz 1997, p.101)

The semi-conscious status of the habitus, suggested in the above quote should be highlighted. Bourdieu defines habitus as a set of internalised dispositions that in turn generate and organise the individual's practices, in a kind of reflex act instead of a conscious decision. This does not mean that the habitus does not allow for innovation, because “these values and dispositions allow us to respond to cultural rules and contexts in a variety of ways” (Webb, Schirato et al. 2002, p.36). Hence, Bourdieu introduces the idea of agency, in which actors are not seen as robots but as “strategic improvisers who respond dispositionally to the opportunities and constraints offered by various situations” (Swartz 1997, p.100).

Further into his theory, Bourdieu developed the idea of *symbolic violence* (Bourdieu 2004a). This can be seen as a complementary way of understanding structural violence that focuses more on the way the violence operates upon individuals. Symbolic violence for Bourdieu is the violence “which is exercised upon a social agent with his or her complicity” (Bourdieu

and Wacquant 2004b, p.272); it may take the form of agents being denied resources, treated as inferior, or being limited in terms of realistic aspirations (Webb, Schirato et al. 2002, p.36). Symbolic violence occurs when the dominated ascribe to the views of the dominant position and in this way the dominant position is perpetuated. Building on his ideas of the theory of practice, Bourdieu asserts that “the effect and conditions of symbolic violence efficacy are durably and deeply embedded in the body in the form of dispositions and dispositions (habitus) are the product of structures” (Bourdieu 2007, p.40). Bourdieu points out that with the word “symbolic” he does not mean not real or not concrete, he means the condition of something that is overseen, that is not recognised (Bourdieu 2007), which leads us to the main mechanism through which symbolic violence operates: *misrecognition*.

According to Bourdieu the dominated “misrecognise” the structural violence they are immersed in and blame themselves for their structural subordination in society’s hierarchies and injustices (Bourdieu and Wacquant 2004b). Moreover, social agents based on their acquired dispositions, assume that the situation they are immersed in is part of the natural order of things, perpetuating the relation of domination. This has implications for practical interventions aiming to rectify these situations, as change cannot occur unless there is a “radical transformation of the social conditions of production of dispositions that led the dominated to take the point of view of the dominant on the dominant and on themselves” (Bourdieu 2007, pp.41-42). One example of how the mechanism of misrecognition disguises oppressive social relations is given by Bourgois (2004a) in the case of drug dealers, addicts and street criminals who fall into accepting a logic of self-denigration. According to Bourgois these men blame themselves for the failure to achieve the “American dream”, and fail to recognise the structural violence that affects them such as racism, exploitation and a lack of appropriate public policies to help tackle their problems.

Drawing on the different takes on violence discussed above, Bourgois (Bourgois 2002b; 2004c) suggests that we should conceptualise the relationship between structural, symbolic and everyday violences as a continuum from macro manifestations of violence to the individual everyday acts of violence or from the political to the institutional to the economic to the social, as conceptualised by McIlwaine and Moser (2001) in a study of urban violence in Colombia and Guatemala. It is important to mention that regardless of their position along this continuum, manifestations of violence should never be understood solely in terms of their physicality; hence assaults on the personhood, dignity, sense of worth or value of a person, should be incorporated into the violence continuum (Bourgois and Scheper-Hughes 2004c).

For Bourgois (2002b) treating violence as a continuum is a good way of moving away from a unidirectional conceptualisation of causation and process in the relationship between the different forms of violence, and avoids the danger of associating a particular form of violence with a particular social process. An empirical example of the way “symbolic violence and everyday violence mediate experience on a phenomenological level and thereby shape the understanding of social processes” (Bourgois 2002b, p.233) is offered by Bourgois in a study conducted with drug addicts in San Francisco (Bourgois, Prince et al. 2004b). In the analysis, Bourgois suggests that pervasive everyday violent practices in their lives exacerbate their misrecognition (symbolic violence) of the structural violence that generates their subjective expressions of violence (abusive behaviour directed to themselves and beloved ones). By the same token Wood (2003) found in her ethnographic study about sexual health and violence in South Africa that violence has a logic behind it and constitutes, in her words, a “form of communication”;

Violence is rarely if ever meaningless. While violence is often experienced and witnessed chaotically at its moment of enactment, even that committed casually and without intermediate apparent logic is embedded in a network of meanings and practices which, more often than not, make sense of the protagonists. An

over-riding theme in this thesis is that violence is a dimension of everyday living, a form of communication that configures lives and subjectivities and that is productive of relationships. (Wood 2003, p.242)

The concept of “structural violence” however is not without criticisms. Wacquant (2004) argues that it conflates different types of forms of violence that need to be differentiated. I consider this a valid point, however I propose that once this is acknowledged, the term can be used as a compound term that helps to address the group of conditions of exclusion characterising poverty and inequalities in less privileged settings. Wacquant (2004) further warns us that by conflating different types of violence we might lose sight of the particular mechanisms in which they operate. Bearing this in mind, I present a theory on social stigma as a form of violence and exclusion, which operates at the base of other mechanisms such as racism and social exclusion, and has a deep impact on individuals’ lives.

1.2.2 Stigma and social identities

An important aspect within structural violence is the violence related to the exclusion resulting from stigma and the impact this has in the formation of individuals’ social identities. Within the sociology tradition this has been highlighted by scholars such as Erving Goffman who wrote about stigma in 1968. According to Goffman, stigma should be understood as “an attribute that is deeply discrediting and that denotes a relationship between attribute and stereotype” (Goffman 1968, p.13). For Goffman, stigma and stereotype are both norms that operate in all social encounters, through which social actors construct an ideology to explain inferiority and account for the potential danger these particular traits represent (Goffman 1968). He classifies stigma in three general categories: abomination of the body, blemishes of the individual character and tribal stigma of race, nation and religion (Goffman 1968, p.14).

Goffman's definition of stigma has been criticised for being too vague, lacking in empirical evidence of every day experiences, and as being too individualistic (Link and Phelan 2001). Link and Phelan (2001) propose a conceptualisation of stigma that does not place the locus of the problem on the stigmatised individual, but on the "other", what Goffman calls "the normal". Link and Phelan's (2001) definition also incorporates the consequences of stigma into the definition, such as discrimination, loss of status and ultimately unequal access to life-chances. According to these authors, stigma's components are: labelling (moving the focus away from the stigmatised individual to the external process of assigning a label upon which to discriminate against), stereotyping (by associating the label with a negative stereotype), separation (stereotyping becomes the rationale for separating the stigmatised from the "normal"), status loss and discrimination (the separation materialises in loss of status and consequent discrimination/exclusion) (Link and Phelan 2001). Stigma happens when these components co-occur; each component builds upon the previous one and each is interconnected. Link and Phelan further argue that for stigma to occur, power relations (social, economic and/or political) must be at the base, acknowledging that "it takes power to stigmatise" (Link and Phelan 2001, p.375). This does not mean that relatively powerless people do not stigmatise, however these authors highlight that what matters is whose cognitions have the power to lead to negative consequences for the stigmatised group.

Another important aspect of this theory is the identification of the different mechanisms by which stigma occurs. They mention three basic sources: structural discrimination, individual discrimination (i.e. individuals towards other individuals) and discrimination that originates within the stigmatised person based upon acquired beliefs and behaviours. Structural discrimination refers to accumulated institutional practices that lead to the disadvantage of the stigmatised group; stigma affects the structures surrounding these groups, resulting in

particular groups being exposed to detrimental circumstances. Link and Phelan (2001) exemplify structural discrimination by describing the case of employers that rely upon personal recommendations of colleagues or personal friends when hiring new staff. They suggest that employers, often white and usually from a similar particular social stratum, receive recommendations from their peers about potential candidates and often end up hiring people similar to them, rather than from other social milieus or ethnicities. Discrimination originating in the stigmatised person, follows a different path in which “the discrimination lies anterior to the immediate situation and rests instead on the formation and sustenance of stereotypes and lay theories” (Link and Phelan 2001, p.374).

A good empirical example of how stigma impacts on day to day subjective experiences and the agency displayed by individuals in negotiating it is offered by Caroline Howarth’s (2002) study of the identity construction of youth from Brixton (a socially deprived area in London). In this study, she highlights the germane role that the other’s views, evidenced in social encounters, play in the (re)construction of individual’s identities. She found that racist representations of Brixton had an important impact on the way that these young men and women perceived themselves. This in turn had an impact on their self-image and self-esteem. Howarth also accounts for the different strategies that young people in Brixton use in negotiating their stigmatised condition, thus highlighting their individual agency. She found that some of her interviewees psychologically distanced themselves from Brixton in order to avoid the “damage of stigmatising representations” (Howarth 2002, p.249), but in doing so Howarth reflects they “devalue their association with Brixton and so, too, devalue their own identities”. Others, however, were able to develop proud community identities, resulting in strong, positive self-identities. This study is an important contribution to the study of stigma, as it presents individuals as agentic actors in the process of stigmatisation and avoids falling

into the risk of “portraying members of the stigmatised group as helpless victims” (Fine and Asch 1988, cited in Link and Phelan 2001) thus further contributing to their disempowerment.

2. (De)constructing masculinities

In this section I now turn to the theoretical approaches regarding masculinities. I start this section with a review of the influence of feminist theories on the development of the concept of masculinities, to then move to a critical review of current theories on masculinities. During the 60s and 70s, the second wave of feminism¹ incorporated critiques from within the movement that highlighted the fact that a monolithic identity of “women”, and a monolithic idea of all men as oppressors, overlooked racial and class divisions within societies (Ruiz Bravo 2001). As well as focusing upon the idea of power underlying gender inequalities, and encouraging women to understand aspects of their personal lives as products of a sexist and unfair structure of power, feminist analyses began to see the consideration of social and cultural differences as also fundamental. Understandings of gender moved away from sex-role theories, and essentialist accounts of gender that justified the differences between men and women’s roles in society, and the idea of gender as a social construction was brought to the fore.

There has been a variety of reactions towards analyses based upon politicised feminist principles. There have been some deeply anti-feminist stands (Bly 1990) as well as some “pro-feminist” reactions from some male activists and scholars, deconstructing gender norms in an attempt to attain equality (Gardiner 2002b). In the late 1970s, a group of male academics turned the feminist lens upon themselves, and examined their own socially

¹ After a first wave in the 19th and early 20th century that concentrated on the attainment of civil rights as well as equal opportunities in the work and education sectors, Murphy, P. F. (2004). *Feminism & Masculinities*. Oxford ; New York, Oxford University Press.

constructed roles and experiences as men (Murphy 2004, p.9). This gave origin to what was named *men's studies*. In the late 80s however there was a move from *men's studies* to *masculinities studies* reflecting political will and the influence of postmodern theories and post-structuralist theory in seeing gender as fluid, negotiable and created through repeated performances (Butler 1999) rather than as fixed or innate. According to Kimmel (2004), “the replacement of the unitary concept of masculinity with the pluralized concept of masculinities occurred because it was recognized that there are hierarchies among men, as well as between women and men, and that the power relations of gender are complex and multifaceted” (p.183). Hence the use of masculinities in plural allowed for the inclusion of the varied ways in which men live out masculine identities and the intersecting variables that shape these identities such as sexuality, disability, ethnicity and social class (Lohan 2010).

As with the variety of responses towards feminism from male scholars, feminist perspectives towards the development of masculinities studies have been varied. Some feminists have seen men's studies as defeating feminism's main aim, which is highlighting the unequal balance in power relations between men and women, “masculinities studies and the ‘turn to gender’ are ... charged with perpetuating rather than interrogating the reproduction of male dominance” (Thomas 2002, p.61). Other sections of feminism have welcomed masculinities' studies as a complementary arena where feminist theories can and should be applied. Current developments seem to point in the direction of mutual enhancement rather than being mutually antagonistic. It would seem that as in the construction of gender, the construction of both streams of gender theory is also relational and one cannot be defined and constituted without reference to the other. In Gardiner's (2002b) words “masculinity studies can help feminist theories break free from theoretical impasses and ... feminist attention to the

institutionalisations of power can ensure masculinity studies against superficial celebrations of the mobility of gender” (p.1).

In the past twenty years, scholars have focused on masculinities (Newton 2002; Reilly, Muldoon et al. 2004; Andersson 2008), with an increasing focus on the interactions between men, and the way these interactions are regulated by regimes of masculinity, as well as their intersection with racial, class and sexual differences among others (Gardiner 2002b, p.14). Key to the understanding of these relationships is the concept of *hegemonic masculinity*, developed by R.W. Connell and considered one of the most important and widespread theoretical developments within the study of masculinities (Hearn 2004; Schippers 2007; Beasley 2008; Coles 2009).

2.1 Hegemonic masculinities and social theory of gender

Following his interest in the study of masculinities, in 1987 Connell forged his concept of *hegemonic masculinity* within his social theory of gender. The theory has been modified on numerous occasions and it is still under revision by the author and collaborators (Hearn 2004). In line with feminist developments, this theory emphasises the dynamics of power operating at the base of relationships between men and women but also between men and men. According to Connell, the idea of “hegemonic masculinity” is crucial to the understanding of the construction of masculinities. The author describes hegemonic masculinity as “the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees ... the dominant position of men and the subordination of women” (Connell 1995, p.77).

Masculinities are seen in this perspective as a product of the way men negotiate this prevailing configuration of practices, resulting in complacent or resistant masculinities that are conceived as socially constructed and historically shifting, as hegemonic masculinities vary across cultures and are modified in time. In this process some masculinities—the ones that adopt more of the practices encompassed by the hegemonic ideal—result into the dominant versions of masculinities in that context and other masculinities end up being subordinated or marginalised. Hence this concept allows us to understand men as oppressors and oppressed (Holland, Ramazanoglu et al. 1998) depending on the type of masculinity they construct, which usually corresponds to their position in society, but also according to the practices they choose to adhere to as men.

Connell's theory has not been without criticism and even when it is probably the most cited theory for the analysis of masculinities (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005), it remains a contested concept. Critiques of the theory can be organized into three overarching themes: those related to the definition of hegemonic masculinities, those related to the lack of inclusion of other variables such as socio-economic status and race in the study of masculinities, and those related to the implications the theory has for the empirical study of masculinities.

2.1.1 What is hegemonic masculinity?

It is obvious from the literature that there is still no consensus on how to use the term *hegemonic masculinity*, as Hearn (2004) and Gough (2010) point out, the term is used in different ways by different authors. Among the meanings Gough identifies are “configurations of practice” (Lohan 2010), “gender ideals” (Gough 2010), “sets of

characteristics” (Lee 2010). Whereas Hearn wonders if hegemonic masculinities refer to cultural representations, everyday practices or institutional structures (Hearn 2004, p.58).

In this vein, Beasley (2008) argues that the problem with the use of the term *hegemonic masculinity* is the slippage between its reading as:

1. a political strategic mechanism at the base of cultural/moral leadership that preserves consent to particular forms of rule,
2. a descriptive word that is used to address the dominant versions of manhood found in a particular setting,
3. actual groups of men that exhibit certain characteristics.

Beasley (2008) suggests that there should be a differentiation between hegemonic masculinity and the dominant forms of masculinity in a determined setting. She argues that not all men that have power embody hegemonic masculinity and, by the same token, not all men with less power are non-hegemonic; hence hegemonic masculinity should not be conflated with a position of power or a particular kind of men in society. Following this author, the concept of hegemonic masculinity should be reconsidered as a discursive political ideal “involving the bonding together of different masculinities in a hierarchical order, and to differentiate this meaning from a usage dealing with the authority of socially dominant men” (Beasley 2008, p.99). With this proposal, Beasley returns to the original meaning Connell intended when choosing the word *hegemony* in the formulation of his gender theory. Connell borrowed the concept from the theory of hegemony coined by Gramsci (Gramsci, Hoare et al. 1971). This accounts for the mechanism by which the dominant group finds a way of perpetuating the social class divisions with the active consent of the dominated group, usually

through the use of cultural production artefacts (hegemonic ideologies) rather than through violence (Wetherell and Edley 1999; Hall 2002; Hearn 2004).

Another criticism related to the definition of hegemonic masculinities is that of the lack of focus on the relational aspect of it and the absence of discussion of a *hegemonic femininity*. An effort in this direction is offered by Schippers (2007) from a feminist perspective. The author proposes a re-definition of hegemonic masculinities that allows for an affiliated definition of hegemonic femininities. She writes:

Hegemonic masculinity is the qualities defined as manly that establish and legitimate a hierarchical and complementary relationship to femininity and that, by doing so, guarantee the dominant position of men and the subordination of women.

(...)

Hegemonic femininity consists of the characteristics defined as womanly that establish and legitimate a hierarchical and complementary relationship to hegemonic masculinity and that, by doing so, guarantee the dominant position of men and the subordination of women. (Schippers 2007, p.94)

Schippers suggests that “masculinity and femininity are configurations of meaning and not practice” (Schippers 2007, p.100) moving the definition of hegemony to the symbolic realm. Schippers argues that it is in the idealised quality content of the relationship between masculinity and femininity as complementary and hierarchical (e.g. men are strong, women are weak, men are attracted to women, and women are attracted to men) that hegemony is defined. Hence those characteristics that perpetuate the power and dominance of men are the ones that should be considered hegemonic. Accordingly, hegemonic femininities are those that preserve the order of subordination to men and at the same time subordinate femininities that challenge men’s hegemony. Schippers’ emphasis on the symbolic meaning of gender does not mean that she does not incorporate practices in the study of masculinities, on the contrary she considers practices to be crucial to the understanding of gender hegemony by asserting that “masculinity and femininity are configurations of meaning and not practice, but

it is only by identifying how putting these ideals into practice results in unequal power relations and distribution of resources that we can truly know if they constitute hegemonic femininity or hegemonic masculinity” (Schippers 2007, p.100). Finally, the author acknowledges that hegemonic masculinities and femininities intersect with class and race, but argues that these should not be considered as different hegemonic masculinities or femininities. Instead they should be understood as hegemonic masculinities or femininities refracted through these variables. It is around the idea of masculinities intersecting with other variables, such as race and social class, that the following critique is organised.

2.1.2 Lack of intersectionality

Some authors have pointed out that it is not enough to describe the kinds of masculinities that are forged from the hegemonic masculinity as conformant or alternative. It is also necessary to explore how these different masculinities interact in the local contexts. As Morgan and Hearn (1990) point out: “men too within a society that may be characterised as ‘patriarchal’, may experience subordinations, stigmatisations or marginalisations as a consequence of their sexuality, ethnic identity, class position, religion or marital status” (p.11). Thus intersectionality rises as a critical feature of masculinity studies, recognizing that the complex dimensions of class, race, sexuality, disability, culture and age transform any simple notion of masculinity and shape the way masculinities are performed in particular settings (Hall 2002; Fine and Kuriloff 2006).

2.1.3 Empirical study of lived experiences of masculinities

Critiques have suggested that Connell’s theory does not account for the way men negotiate their masculinities in their everyday lives (Wetherell and Edley 1999). They claim that the

theory only works at the structural level without clarifying the connection with the subjective level (Coles 2009; Lusher and Robins 2009).

In this vein, Wetherell and Edley argue that there is a lack of explanation in the theory of how hegemonic masculinities “become effective in men’s psyches” (Wetherell and Edley 1999, p.337). The authors are interested in the details of how complicity and resistance—to hegemonic masculinities—play out in practice and how these different masculinities shape men’s lives. Based upon their own studies, involving interviews with men from different ages and social backgrounds, Wetherell and Edley (1998; 1999) have found that shifting positions within masculinities are possible. Thus, men can “switch” from complacent to resistant masculinities according to the situation, sometimes in a contradictory manner. They also propose the idea of a variety of hegemonic masculinities co-existing in a specific milieu. In order to study these fluid, multiple, relational, locally and historically situated masculinities, Wetherell and Edley (1999) propose an alternative critical discursive psychology of masculinity. Combining traditions stemming from Foucault’s ideas on discourse and conversational analysis, they propose a method that allows them “to embrace the fact that people are, at the same time, both the products and the producers of language” (Billig 1991, cited in Wetherell and Edley 1999, p.338). They found three different ways in which men talk about their positions as men: heroic positions, ordinary positions and rebellious positions (Wetherell and Edley 1999; Hearn 2004) and suggest that “what is most hegemonic is to be non-hegemonic” (Wetherell and Edley 1999, p.351).

Wetherell and Edley’s critique has many advantages. First, it brings our attention to the fact that masculinities are experienced as complex and contested identities by men and that a binary model of complacent/resistant masculinities does not hold when tested empirically.

Second, it brings the idea of agency to the fore insofar as men's ability to negotiate masculinities and choose according to the situation they are in, is recognized. Third, it offers a methodological approach strongly anchored in theory that allows for the study of these complex and fluid masculinities. However, I do not agree with the idea of multiple hegemonic masculinities. In my view, and in line with Beasley (2008), this is an example of the use of the idea of *hegemony* in a descriptive way as conflated with dominant masculinities, leaving aside the power dimension of the concept of hegemony. Hence, what I think Wetherell and Edley identify as multiple hegemonic masculinities, should be labelled as multiple *dominant* masculinities.

In a recent development in this direction, Tony Coles (2009) proposes to combine Connell's theory with Bourdieu's ideas of habitus; field and capital (see section 1.2.1 in this chapter). He suggests that within the macrofield of masculinities there are subfields that have their own dominant and subordinated masculinities and have their own orthodoxy and heterodoxy struggles. Hence, there might be some dominant masculinities within a subfield that might not conform with the hegemonic masculinity of the macrofield but are dominant within that subfield. He exemplifies this by saying that in the business world a "yuppie" might be the dominant masculinity, and in a working class pub a middle age man that drinks several beers may be the dominant masculinity. Within society and the macrofield, in this example the business world, the "working class man" is subordinated to the "yuppie"; but in the subfield of the pub in this example, he is not. This conceptualization of masculinities allows for a variety of dominant masculinities to exist without undermining the idea of hegemonic masculinity. By using the concept of habitus, Coles' theory also helps to understand the lived experience of masculinities and the way men negotiate masculinities across subfields

depending on their position in the field and the access they have to capital (e.g. symbolic, cultural and economic capital).

In order to answer many of these critiques, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) made an attempt to redefine the concept of hegemonic masculinity and argued that some original ideas of the theory should be kept whilst some others should be rejected, reformulated or added. Thus, they argue that the idea of plurality of masculinities is still valid, and that within that plurality some masculinities are more socially central and subordinate other masculinities. They also argue that the historical aspect of hegemonic masculinities should be maintained as it has been widely confirmed by research. Regarding the areas that should be rejected, Connell and Messerschmidt fully adhere to the notion that the conceptualization of hegemonic masculinities should move away from a trait approach that identifies hegemonic masculinity as a “fixed character type” (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005, p.847). Hence, hegemonic masculinity should not be seen as a concrete, real form of masculinity, but as an ideal against which men construct and reconstruct their own manhood.

Finally and in relation to areas that need to be reformulated, Connell and Messerschmidt suggest that the theory needs to reconsider the impact of subordinated masculinities and femininities in hegemonic masculinities, to incorporate the two-way impact and bring back the idea of agency into the model. They also suggest the adoption of an analytical framework that accounts for local, regional and global masculinities. Additionally, Connell and Messerschmidt mention that the importance of masculine embodiment and behaviour needs to be highlighted, claiming that “to understand embodiment and hegemony, we need to understand that bodies are both objects of social practice and agents in social practice” (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005, p.851). As a last area of reformulation, Connell and

Messerschmidt incorporate the idea that masculinities are not static and they are subject to contestation and change, and recognise that the internal contradictions within the practices that construct masculinities alongside the life cycle should be acknowledged.

2.2 Masculinities and violence

Building on Connell's ideas and based on studies rooted in the criminology tradition, J.W. Messerschmidt (2000) developed the theory of *structured action*. This focuses on the social construction of masculinities and their situated nature, suggesting that context and resources are determinants of the versions of masculinities that emerge from a specific milieu.

Structured Action Theory (Messerschmidt 2004; Messerschmidt 2005) applies a combination of Connell's ideas on hegemonic masculinity, West and Zimmerman's (1987) *doing gender* concept, and Giddens' ideas on individual agency (Giddens 1984) to the study of the relationship between gender and crime. The expression *doing gender*, originated in the foundational work of West and Zimmerman published in the first issue of *Gender and Society* in 1987. The principal contribution of this concept was to highlight the importance of social interactions in the mediation of the effect that structures have in the creation of difference and inequalities (Deutsch 2007). The concept of *doing gender* focused on the capacity of individuals to resist these structures and subvert the gender system. Thus as men and women do gender, they are being influenced by the structure but at the same time they are able to change this structure. This also resonates with Giddens (1984) idea that social structure is both the medium and the outcome of social action. Doing gender also emphasises the dynamic nature of gender and the idea of gender as something "under construction", instead of seeing it as completely determined by socialisation of family and peers in their early years.

Messerschmidt's theory's main tenet is that "structure is realised only through social action, and social action requires structure as its condition" (Messerschmidt 2005, p.197). Messerschmidt (2004) emphasises the construction of gender as a "situated social, interactional and embodied accomplishment" (p.36), alluding to the idea that individuals display particular gendered behaviours depending on the social situation and the restrictions imposed by their own corporality; "bodies in their materiality have both limits and capacities which are always in play in social processes" (Messerschmidt 2005, p.208). Messerschmidt backs up his theory with the observation that men use different versions of crime and violence (depending on the resources available and their bodies' possibilities) in order to do gender.

2.3 Performativity or performance?

All of the above theories assume a construction of gender stemming from the social realm instead of originating in a biological or psychological distinction, but this was not always the case. Early conceptualisations of gender understood it as a direct product of biological traits, which in turn was translated into defined sex-roles held by individuals in society. Later developments in gender studies moved towards a social constructionist position in which gender was seen as socially constructed. In a dialogue with this tradition and applying a poststructuralist perspective on gender² we find the performativity theory of Judith Butler (1999). Her theory on gender holds an antiessentialist position that rejects notions of an inherent gendered essence, arguing that distinctions between male and female, homosexuality and heterosexuality are shaped through pre-existing discourses instead of stemming from natural traits of individuals. Butler revolutionised the idea of gender by proposing that sexual practices police gender and not the other way around, as was traditionally understood. For

² Although she does not like to be considered an poststructuralist and says that her theory is rooted in 'French Theory', feminist theory, and psychoanalysis and feminism among others (Butler, J. (1999). *Gender trouble feminism and the subversion of identity*. New York, Routledge: xxxiii, 221 p.

Butler, *performativity* is the process by which gender is brought into being as a reiterated social performance that involves repetition and a ritual. This repetition happens under conditions of cultural constraint that reward certain manifestations of masculinity and femininity and discourages others (Brickell 2005). Butler (1999) further adds that performativity “achieves its effects through its naturalisation in the context of a body understood in part as a culturally sustained temporal duration” (p.xv)³.

Performativity theory has helped to move beyond essentialist explanations of masculinities, highlighting the way in which masculinities emerge from society “as effects of norms and power relations rather than presocial biological essences” (Brickell 2005, p.29). However, there are some critiques of the theory. Edwards (2006, cited in Bridges 2009), suggests that “performativity is often ill-defined, failing to successfully negotiate corporality” (p.377). I will come back to the idea of the body and its role in the constructions of masculinities later in this chapter, but here I will focus my analysis on a critique of performativity, and problematise the ideas, or lack of them, around the social actor, agency and social interaction. Brickell (2005) argues that the idea of performativity poses problems in terms of agency and social interaction because it does not have a clear position regarding the subject upon who the effects of performativity are imposed. Brickell proposes that the concept of performativity can be (re)thought in order to render itself more useful for masculinities studies framed within a sociological approach. According to Brickell, whereas performativity does not acknowledge a clear social actor, *performance* theory by Goffman offers a complementary view on the matter. He suggests that Goffman’s (1959) work on self-presentation and performance and Butler’s insights into performativity can be combined in order to offer “a

³ This idea of the naturalisation of practice in the body resonates with Bourdieu’s concept of habitus as Butler herself acknowledges in her preface of the 1999 print of *Gender Trouble* Ibid.. I include a discussion of the concept of habitus in the section pertaining to Bourdieu’s theory.

more sociologically coherent perspective for considering the performance of masculinities” (Brickell 2005, p.25).

Goffman’s theory on self-presentation includes a clear idea of the subject that emerges from social interaction, hence putting agency back into the analysis without falling back into essentialist discourses. Goffman utilises the idea of “the self” which he sees as not located “inside” the individual, but is forged and placed somewhere in between the individual’s psyche and society;

This self itself does not derive from its possessor but from the whole scene of his action, being generated by that attribute of local events which renders them interpretable by witnesses ... A correctly staged and performed scene leads the audience to impute a self to a performed character, but this imputation— this self— is a product of a scene that comes off, and is not a cause of it. The self, then, as a performed character, is not an organic thing that has a specific location, whose fundamental fate is to be born, to mature, and to die; it is a dramatic effect arising diffusely from a scene that is presented, and the characteristics issue, the crucial concern, is whether it will be credited or discredited. (Goffman 1959, pp. 244-245)

In order to explain his ideas on self-presentation, Goffman uses the metaphor of the theatre to analyse social interactions. He defines a social interaction as the “reciprocal influence of individuals upon one another’s actions when in one another’s immediate physical presence” (Goffman 1959, p.26). As in a theatrical performance, Goffman highlights the importance of the setting as well as the audience to which this performance is directed. The relationship between performer and audience is fundamental in understanding issues around agency as are the scenarios or settings where these interactions occur. According to Goffman (1959):

Audiences tend to accept the self projected by the individual performer during any current performance as a responsible representative of his colleague-grouping, of his team, and of his social establishment. Audiences also accept the individual’s particular performance as evidence of his capacity to perform any routine. In a sense these larger social units – teams, establishments, etc – become committed every time the individual performs his routine; with each performance the legitimacy of these units will tend to be tested anew and their permanent reputation put at stake. (p.235)

He also defines a setting with a *front* and a *back* region. The front is an “expressive equipment of a standard kind intentionally or unwittingly employed by the individual during his performance” (Goffman 1959, p.32). Here he situates the performer’s characteristics such as age, clothing, sex, racial characteristics, etc. Some of these “props” are fixed and some are transitory. The back region is where the performance of a routine is prepared and includes tools for shaping the body. Thus, in the back region Goffman situates all the aspects that are not shown to the audience (Goffman 1959). From this theory I want to highlight some aspects that I consider key in the sociological study of masculinities in local contexts, i.e. external props of the front region, particularly clothes and language used, as well as the social space or setting in which performances take place and the audience to which the performance is directed. In the following sections I present some ideas around these components of social interactions and their relation with constructions of masculinities.

2.4 Looks, homosociality and social spaces

As mentioned above, clothing is one of the transitory props in the self-presentation of individuals in social interactions. Particularly among young people, clothes are a symbol of status and conformity to the current and fashionable trends. They confer a sense of belonging to their age group and in many cases convey their affiliation to a particular group (Qureshi 2004). Additionally, it has been noted that mass marketing also plays a role in shaping young men’s expectations about masculinity (Fine and Kuriloff 2006, p.258) by linking desirable brands with certain masculinity traits. In this regard the impact of globalisation in the form of market forces targeting young audiences should be considered. Along these lines a paper, exploring the symbolic meaning of brands by Elliot and Leonard (2004) in the UK shows that international mass marketing positions Nike and other similar brands as leaders of “brand communities” comprised of international members that cross class and country boundaries. In

their study with children from poor homes in the UK, Elliot and Leonard found that branded trainers were used as symbolic self-completion, “in an attempt to disguise the children’s poverty” (Elliott and Leonard 2004, p.349). Children associated certain brands with popularity, being fashionable and having money; owning a certain pair of trainers therefore meant also having such characteristics themselves. In this regard, Barker (2000) points out that young people in a context of social exclusion targeted by mass markets are bound to feel frustrated, and that “it is clear that young men experienced pressure and stress when they were not able to be part of this international consumer oriented youth culture” (p.55).

Next, I turn my analysis towards the audience for which people perform their masculinities, the associated concept of homosociality, and the social spaces where these performances take place. Diverse authors have highlighted the key role played by other men in the construction of masculinities (Viveros 2001a; Guttmann 2003; Kimmel 2004; Qureshi 2004; Flood 2008). Hence masculinities have been defined as a “homosocial enactment” (Kimmel 2004) in which masculinities are validated by other men, and manhood is displayed primarily for other men’s approval (Barker 2005a; Bourdieu 2007). Homosociality refers then to “the social bonds between men that are found in a variety of social spaces” (Gutmann 2003b, p.5). In this vein Kimmel (2004) recognises that “we test ourselves, perform heroic feats, take enormous risks all because we want other men to grant us our manhood” (p.187). Homosociality also seems to provide a sense of belonging and a space in which common agreements are arrived at surrounding the valid version of masculinities within a determined setting; as Jardim (1995, cited in Gutmann and Vigoya 2005) highlights, it is very important for men “to share moments with other men in which they can reflect on ideal masculine behaviour” (p.117-118).

According to Flood (2008) there are powerful links between homosociality and masculinity, insofar as men's lives are heavily influenced by relations with other men. During a study conducted with military forces, Flood found that homosociality shaped men's sociosexual relations in a variety of ways, particularly as other men seemed to be the main audience of their heterosexual activities. Male-male friendships also seemed to take priority over male-female bonds according to Flood's findings. Generalisation of these results to other male communities might be difficult as this study was conducted among armed forces. However, what these results show is how the relationship between men might work to shape other gender relationships and the strong influence it has in men's lives.

Finally, another important aspect of masculinities and homosociality is its expression in public spaces, with authors such as Fine and Kuriloff highlighting the importance of situating these social interactions in a particular space;

Material, psychological and virtual spaces ... urban streets of poverty and vitality-affect performances and embodiments of masculinity, individually and collectively. We have come to appreciate the complex nesting of masculinities within every specific places with histories, supports, threats, possibilities, dreams and dangers. (Fine and Kuriloff 2006, p.259)

Along these lines, in a study conducted in Brazil, Jardim (1995, cited in Gutmann and Vigoya 2005) shows that the *butecos* (working class bars in Porto Alegre, Brazil) constitute a space in which men socialise and discuss work, politics and business and ultimately where discourse about the ideas of being a man are produced, confirmed, redefined and reproduced. These spaces are informally restricted to men, with women not having much access to them, following the logic that these are male-based territories where the interaction with other men is the principal aim.

2.5 Habitus and the importance of the body: The gender-habituated body

One often under-researched topic is that of the importance and role of the body in the development of theory surrounding the concept of masculinities. The body plays a key role and constitutes the loci where gender is constructed and produced (Ruiz Bravo 2001, p.26). The way we dress, move our body and our appearance are key elements in the construction of our gender identities. However, the body has not gained as much relevance as might be expected within the theorisation of gender. In this regard, Morgan and Hearn (1990) point out that “we need to direct the study of gender and masculinities away from the ideological and the cultural, narrowly conceived, and towards the bodily without failing into biological reductionism” (Morgan and Hearn 1990, p.10). According to Connell (2000) we should understand the body not as determining masculinity but as the site where masculinities are expressed and contested. Masculinity involves bodily experience and bodily pleasures, and at the same time the body sets physical limitations to the display of masculinities. Along these lines Messerschmidt shows in his Structured Action Theory (see section 2.2 in this chapter) how the body constrains or facilitates social action, therefore mediating and influencing social practices (2005).

A theory that includes the idea of the body as the site for the naturalisation of gender is Bourdieu's *Masculine Domination* (Bourdieu 2007). Bourdieu's contribution to the field of gender social theories has been controversial with not much attention paid to it until recently (Krais 2006). It has suffered criticism from feminist theorists who argue that Bourdieu has not been able to reflect upon his own position as a man within his account of gender (Witz 2004, cited in Krais 2006) even when he usually advocates for reflexivity. There have also been complaints that he does not account for, or reflect upon, previous work on gender from a feminist perspective (Krais 2006). However, Bourdieu's theory of male domination is one of

the few theories that account for the actual reproduction of the gender system, proposing an explanation of the mechanisms underlying the gender hierarchies.

Bourdieu proposes that masculine domination occurs through symbolic violence (see section 1.2.1 in this chapter). For Bourdieu, men and women are differentiated by their sexual organs, upon which characteristics are attributed, which in turn justify a particular division of labour. Men and women therefore are associated with antagonistic and complementary features such as warm/cold, wet/dry, curved/straight and these differences are inscribed in the body, where the habitus operates and at the same time the body becomes part of the habitus (Krais 2006). In this way, human beings end up with gender habituated bodies, in which men and women move, dress and behave in particular ways approved by society and identified as “feminine” or “masculine”. For Bourdieu it is the social constructions of masculinities and femininities based upon these classifications that shape the body and not the other way around. These ways of being a man or a woman then become part of our repertoire as the “natural” way to behave and the gender order is perpetuated through the logic of symbolic violence where the relations of domination from one gender to the other are normalised, taken for granted and often not recognised.

According to Bourdieu (2007) the explanation of gender hierarchies lies in the idea of the economy of symbolic capital for men. In this view, the role of women in society is ultimately that of symbolic goods, “women are assets which must be protected from offence and suspicion and which, when invested in exchanges, can produce alliances, in other words social capital, and prestigious allies, in other words symbolic capital” (Bourdieu 2007, p.45). Criticism of this theory is that it was based on an ethnography of the Kabyle group which should not be extrapolated to a modern society where women lead different lives and have

different practices (Krais 2006). However, the theory is still useful in understanding the ways in which gender is forged in the dialectics of these relationships.

3. Conceptual framework of the study: An interdisciplinary approach

Gender and violence being complex concepts, there is the need to construct a conceptual framework that allows for the analysis at different levels: macro, meso and micro interactions, as well as inter and intra-gender relations. Following other authors that have proposed combining different approaches (Mullins 2006; Coles 2009) to the study of violence and masculinities, in this thesis I will use an interdisciplinary approach borrowing from theories and concepts from sociology, anthropology and social psychology that have been previously reviewed in this chapter. In this framework I situate the concept of masculinities and its construction at the centre of the analysis, as one of the key elements that articulates and filters the individual experience of structural violence and shapes and encourages the (re)production of everyday violence.

The idea of using local constructions of masculinities as the process that connects the structural level with individual agency at an empirical level is taken from Walter et al. (2004). These authors analysed the role that cultural constructions of masculinity play among undocumented Latinos working in the USA who have been injured. In this study the authors found that patriarchal ideas of masculinity shaped the way Latino men embedded in a structurally violent context of discrimination and racism experience their injuries, and what they interpreted as a letdown to their families. By making gender the central focus of their analysis of work-injuries and their consequences, Walter et al. (2004) offer a way to articulate

both the macro forces of the undocumented migrant context in the US with the embodied experience of suffering.

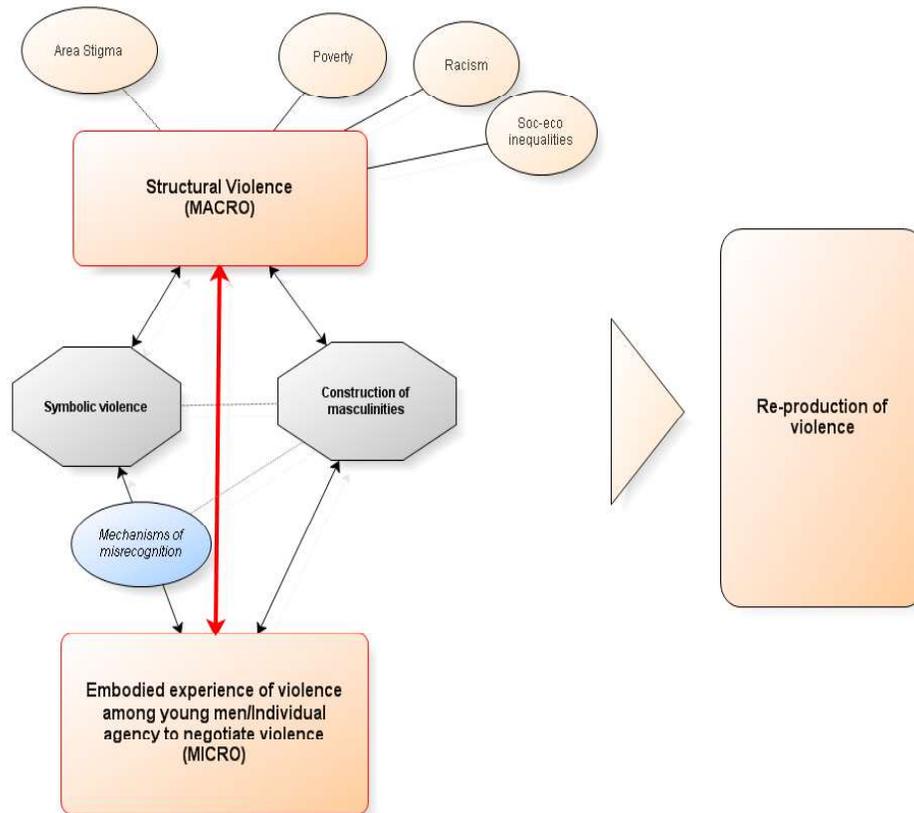
In conceptualizing violence for this study I will focus on its structural aspects instead of understanding it as an essential, socio-biological or psychological entity. As I suggested in previous sections, violence is a complex concept that is difficult to define because of its very subjective, contextual, and historical nature and it has been defined in myriad ways by different authors depending on their discipline and political stance. Henceforth, instead of talking about violence as a unitary concept I will use the idea of “violences”. By introducing structural and symbolic violence and its associated concept of stigma, which incorporates the idea of discrimination and power imbalances, as the theoretical background to understand violences, I aim to shift the focus from the individual to the contextual conditions of poverty, racism and exclusion that limit and shape the way individuals in socially excluded settings construct their gender identities and relate to other men and women.

I will approach the construction of masculinities as a fluid, historically determined and culturally embedded process, following writers that have demonstrated that norms of masculinities and their embodiment are historically contingent, constantly in flux and open to contestation (Petersen 2003, p.64). Following the call for intersectionality in masculinities studies (Fine and Kuriloff 2006) and drawing on Connell and Messerschmidt (2005), as well as later developments in the field and Bourdiean contributions to understand gendered dispositions and interactions, I conceptualise gender as a process that is forged in the interplay between historical and social (i.e. hegemonic/dominant) constructions of masculinity existing in broader society and the individual’s agentic negotiation of these

constructions in the local context, depending on the resources available to them—mainly dependent on social class, age and race.

As mentioned before, I propose that ‘masculinities’ provides a theoretical basis that allows the establishment of connections between the structural level and the embodied experience of violence (see Figure 2 for a schematic summary). In order to understand the nature of this interaction and the way structures influence the individual, and vice versa, I draw on the Bourdisean concepts of field, habitus, symbolic violence, and misrecognition (Bourdieu 2004a; Bourdieu and Wacquant 2004b). I will also rely on the ideas of performativity and performance stemming from Butler’s and Goffman’s work in order to understand how it is in everyday acts that gender dynamics are perpetuated but also challenged, changed and subverted.

Figure 2. Conceptual framework



II. Gender and violence: A review of the literature on previous studies in the Euro-American, Latin American and Peruvian context

This section is divided into a first part in which I summarise the main findings of masculinities' studies relevant for this thesis originating within the Euro-American context and a second part that offers a brief overview of the empirical study of men and masculinities in Latin America. I discuss some of the main topics emerging from this research such as *machismo*, fatherhood and work and I finish with a summary of the main findings from studies about masculinities, conducted specifically in Peru.

1. Studies from the Euro-American context

In a secondary analysis of in-depth interviews conducted with men involved in criminal activities, Mullins (2006) explores how gender structures within social networks of the criminal underworld in St Louis, US shape the expectations and practices of violence. According to Mullins, in this setting many men see violence as an “essential and central component of their selves and of the image they project to others” (p.2). He aims to understand why, how and when they use violence. The author organises his results around four thematic axes, drawing on a theoretical framework that combines theories on masculinities, crime, and streetlife codes.

In the first theme, “doing gender”, Mullins explores emic definitions of masculinities finding that they coincide with mainstream definitions. He found that men in this area were highly concerned with projecting images of toughness, independence, self-sufficiency and potential violence. He also found that work was considered the key element of adult masculinities. However, men in this sample were aware of their lack of resources to fulfil legal work requirements and found it hard to find “proper jobs”. Hence, many of them responded by rejecting the validity of work, or by arguing that the jobs they could get were not worth their time. Men prioritised their independence, a key factor in their constructions of masculinities, over the traditional breadwinning role. The second theme around which Mullins discusses his results is that of the “accumulation of gender capital”. Mullins explains that “doing gender” required drawing upon a set of social and cultural capital and men in the sample used a conspicuous consumption of financial resources as a way to project and proclaim their masculinity. “Flossing” (indiscriminate use of cash); expensive clothing and being seen with beautiful women were all strategies to obtain “masculine capital”. The third theme is that of

the “negotiation of gender structures and violence” by the participants. The analysis here explores whether, when and how men’s violence and narratives of violence are framed within the gender discourse. Mullins found that due to lack of other capital, educational, financial or gendered, they only had one source of empowerment and prestige on the street: their reputation. The way to earn and maintain this reputation was to prove that they were more violent and ruthless than other men on the streets. Hence, Mullins asserts that “failures within the street hierarchies were failures of masculinity; successful violent retaliation enhanced one’s manhood” (Mullins 2006, p.102). He concludes his analysis by pointing out that in this milieu of limited educational and occupational resources, violence as a strategy of dominance does not decrease with age and is perpetuated as the main way to maintain their reputation on the streets.

As the last topic of discussion Mullins analyses the “inter-gender interactions”. In this regard the author found that men interacted with female relatives as their protectors but with women from the street milieu as objects. In this latter context, women were held as unimportant and insignificant and men focused their interaction with them on sexual or criminal terms. Mullins highlights how “these contradictory definitions of women and the contradictory demands that surrounded appropriate treatment of them framed most inter-gender interactions and motivated many examples of intra-gender violence” (Mullins 2006, p.124). The author therefore concludes his analysis by saying that,

While violence can be stimulated and structured by gender, these demands are not monolithic. Contrary demands of masculinity or other, more distinctly practical, considerations (e.g. survival) can moderate broader pushes toward violence. Gender is clearly one of the many structural and situational elements that bound the rationality at work here. (Mullins 2006, p.158)

However, even when Mullins mentions the structural and contextual conditions of post-industrialisation and poverty he does not clearly incorporate them into the analysis. Hence the

link between this macro conditions and the local experiences of the participants remains obscure.

Another example of the study of situated masculinities and their relationship with violence is that offered by Reilly et al. (2004) in Northern Ireland. Reilly et al. conducted a series of focus groups with young men to explore their experiences of violence, as victims and perpetrators, in the context of the Troubles, the post-conflict years and within communities with high levels of unemployment. Consensus was found among the participants that in Northern Ireland violence is a major factor in young people's lives, with all of them acknowledging having to negotiate it either as victims or perpetrators. Reilly et al. also found that violence was contextually determined. Hence, most young men in the discussions would justify their violent acts in terms of the situation and the presence of other young men. Violence was often used as a strategy to "maintain face" in front of peers. When asked about masculinities, Reilly and collaborators report that most interviewees described it in relational and negative terms, i.e. as diametrically opposite from women's traits and homosexual masculinity. Exploring the role of violence in maintaining masculine identity, it was found that these young men felt that it was expected of them, from society in general and from females in particular, to behave violently. Another general trait found was the alienation from the mechanisms of social control such as the police and the paramilitaries. Young men did not recognise the legitimacy of these bodies, fearing their aggression and not trusting them as protectors, hence resorting to their own violence as a self-protection mechanism.

Finally, results also indicated that young men understood the costs (future victimhood) and benefits (reputation) of a masculine identity that incorporates a capacity for violence. In their discussion the authors highlighted the fact that the way in which young men discussed

masculinities and their attitudes towards violence did not differ according to their religious affiliation. They concluded by affirming that within these marginalised contexts with “limited access to ways of achieving alternative forms of masculinity such as educational, occupational or economic success” (Reilly, Muldoon et al. 2004, p.486), violence constituted a resource in achieving masculinity.

Regarding violence against women, Totten (2003) found in Canada that girlfriend abuse among marginal male youth was key in their masculinity construction. Totten suggested that violence acts as a compensatory behaviour when masculinity identities are threatened. He found five assumptions around family and gender in their discourses: sexual division of labour is natural, rigid gender roles (women have to be obedient and dependent on men), sexual objectification and homophobia, law and order (abusive behaviour is justifiable as a means of conflict resolution and maintenance of traditional gender roles), and “balls and fists” (in the absence of a good job and material possessions, men should demonstrate their manhood by having sex and fighting).

Following these assumptions, Totten reported that the majority of young men did not see their aggression towards girlfriends as something out of the normal order of things, justifying it within a rigid, patriarchal ideology according to which they were teaching their girlfriends “their place in society” or punishing them for behaving badly. As found in other studies (Fuller 1997; Barker 2005a), the breadwinner role was key to their masculinities and most interviewees recognised that because they did not have jobs, their role was difficult to fulfil. Hence, Totten found that “in the absence of a good job, breadwinner status could still be attained through sex, physical toughness, and the protection of families from harm” (Totten 2003, p.82). Regarding homophobic attitudes, Totten found that many men of the sample

abused gay men. From the five men that reported homosexual tendencies in the study, all of them repressed this tendency either by having sex with prostitutes (usually performing violent sex) and/or beating gay men on the streets; nonetheless they used less severe physical and sexual abuse against girlfriends. Totten explains this from the dynamic of *reaction formation* by which the individual tries to convince her/himself and others that they are exactly the opposite to the object of abuse. The author concludes that “the construction of masculinity was an ongoing process for these boys, and abusive behaviour was an aspect of their identity construction, expression, and reaffirmation. Violence was one of the few resources over which they had control” (Totten 2003, p.85). Along the same lines Wood (2003) in South Africa found that violence against female partners is a tactic to achieve a position as a ‘manly man’. Hence, she argues that the link between masculinities and violence is not a direct one, but an indirect one mediated by ideas of respect and control that are directly related to masculinity (Wood 2003, p.243).

The above mentioned studies report mostly on compliant versions of masculinities, in relation to mainstream or dominant masculinities. There are however some authors that have recognised the importance of highlighting alternative cases as a way to contribute to the better understanding of masculinities. An example of such an author is de Visser (2009), who reports that as part of a larger qualitative project on masculinities and health behaviours in London a couple of men spontaneously referred to themselves as not being a “manly man” or a “man’s man”. When looking at their narratives de Visser found that these two men positioned themselves in different ways. One of them did not identify at all with the hegemonic masculinity and described himself as having many feminine traits; he still considered himself a man, but not a “manly” one. The other identified himself with versions of hegemonic masculinity but argued that that because of his small physique and superior

intelligence he could not be called a “man’s man”, however he compensated for this with being good at football, drinking heavily and having an attractive girlfriend.

2. Masculinities studies in the Latin American context

In Latin America it was not until the 90’s that men and masculinities were incorporated as study objects (Gutmann 2001; Beattie 2002). Since then there has been a growing interest in this topic, nonetheless the amount of research conducted is still not as high as in the Euro-American world and as Kimmel et al. point out “research on men and masculinities is still mainly a first world enterprise” (2005). Traditionally, scholars involved in the study of masculinities in these countries have come from a feminist theoretical/political background (Valdes and Olavarria 1998b; Gutman 2003) and have prioritised the analysis of masculinities in the contexts of age, race, class, regional differences and religious beliefs (Viveros, Olavarria et al. 2001). It is important to highlight that these studies have taken place within the context of profound changes in the region at the economic, political and social level, which in turn have had an impact on the greater inclusion of women in the labour market and the gender dynamics (Viveros 2001a).

Topics that emerge as fundamental in Latin American studies around masculinities are the importance of peer group and homosociality (Shepard 2001; Viveros 2001a), the centrality of work (Valdes and Olavarria 1998b; Fuller 2001), homophobic attitudes (Caceres, Salazar et al. 2002; Carrillo 2003; Parker 2003) the configuration and role of fatherhood (Fuller 1997; Gutmann 2001; Olavarria 2003; Chirinos and Bardales 2005; Barker 2005a) and the debates about the origin, accuracy and relevance of the constructs of *machismo* and *marianismo* (Fuller 1998; Guttman 1998; Ruiz Bravo 2001). It is around the two latter aspects—

fatherhood and *machismo*—that most stereotypes surrounding Latin men have been built. Hence a widespread stereotype associated with Latin American masculinities is that of the “latin macho” and *machismo* as the pervasive model of being a man (Guttman 1999; Fuller 2004b).

Machismo is associated with the indiscriminate use of violence by men (Guttman 1998; Caceres, Salazar et al. 2002), exaggerated use of sexual double standards⁴—extreme control of women’s sexuality and men’s sexual permissiveness—(Fuller 1998; Marston 2001; Chirinos and Bardales 2005) and a submissive femininity. Another key component of *machismo* is territoriality, which is extended to women. An example of this is the widely spread use of the idiomatic expression “I made her mine” as indicative of having had sexual intercourse with a woman (Ruiz Bravo 2001). Closely intertwined with the paradigm of *machismo* is that of *marianismo*⁵ which is linked with the notion that spiritually and morally women are superior to men; sexually they are “purer” because they do not enjoy sex and remain loyal to one man. In this paradigm women’s main function in society is motherhood (Ruiz Bravo 2001) and they are expected to dedicate their lives and efforts to care for their children.

But where did these ideas originate from? Two lines of thought about the genesis of *machismo* can be identified among Latin American scholars (Ruiz Bravo 2001). On the one hand some authors see it as a direct inheritance of the model established by the trauma of the conquest in which violence against women, absent fathers and bastard children constituted the main way in which Spanish men behaved in relation to native women and children

⁴ The idea of double standards is taken from the analysis of masculinities in the Mediterranean tradition. Many of the authors consulted refer to the ‘anthropology of honour’ of Pitt Rivers (Fuller, N. (1998). Reflexiones sobre el machismo en america latina Masculinidades y equidad de genero en america latina. T. Valdes and J. Olavarria. Santiago de Chile, Flacso: pp.258-267, Santos A., M. C. (2002). La verguenza de los pandilleros. Masculinidad, emociones y conflictos en esquineros del cercado de lima. Lima, Ceapaz.

⁵ The name has its origin in the simile with the Virgin Mary and the virtues associated to her i.e. chastity, abnegation, suffering and devotion to her son Jesus.

(Palma 1990, Montecino 1993, cited in Ruiz Bravo 2001). On the other hand some authors argue that this is a simplistic, cross-sectional interpretation of history that does not take into account the patriarchal nature present in the indigenous populations before the Spanish arrived and the later developments in the region (Fuller 1998; Guttman 1998; Viveros 2001a), minimising the impact of the conquest.

Gutmann (1998) explains that the word *machismo* became popular in the 1940 and 50's as part of a governmental strategy to strengthen national identity, based on the Mexican revolution from the early 1900s as the main event in the history of the Republic. The hero of the revolution was the "charro", a character that personifies the characteristics of the man who won the revolution: uneducated, young, strong, aggressive and passionate. Through cultural expressions, predominantly through the media and literature, the idea of *machos* and *machismo* spread out to the rest of Latin American countries. As Fuller (1998) suggests, "*machismo*, more than a expression of the colonial past is linked to the production of national images, ethnocentric prejudices and their diffusion through literature and media" (p.265, own translation). The representations of *machismo* have changed over time, in some cases it has gained a negative connotation with young men from the middle urban classes describing it as a model used by men that are insecure about their own masculinity (Caceres, Salazar et al. 2002) and need to resort to an exaggerated and abusive version of it in order to gain reassurance (Fuller 1998).

Studies have demonstrated that the construct of *machismo* is more complex and less homogeneous than it seems, with social position, race and age playing an important role in its constitution. Latin American men do not prescribe to *machismo* in a mechanical way, they negotiate it according to their position and moment in life. Thus, Gutmann found that in

Mexico he found that the richer men are, the more macho they can be as far as household chores and child care is concerned (Guttmann 1996, cited in Beattie 2002). Fuller (1998) on the other hand, highlighted the need to understand men within the life cycle, and asserted that typical macho-associated traits are to be found in young men instead than in boys or older men.

Bearing the above in mind, it could be argued that the *machismo* framework is a blanket approach that is applied arbitrarily to Latin American men regardless of their country of origin or the society they are immersed in. Nonetheless, this tendency to conflate Latin American masculinities with *machismo* has consequences in the way Latin men are perceived by others but also on “how many Latin Americans describe their own society in relation to others” (Beattie 2002, p.303). Beattie encourages us to “go beyond *machismos*” and put more emphasis on the study of grey areas in the Latin American masculinities, allowing for the important intersections with race and class to become apparent.

In a similar way, many studies now have challenged the traditional idea that for men in Latin America having children is a key element to the construction of masculinities, mainly because it is the ultimate way of corroborating their virility and their ability to impregnate a woman rather than entailing their emotional involvement as a father (Gutmann 2003a; Viveros 2001a; Fuller 2004). Studies from Brazil, Colombia, Chile and Peru (Viveros 1998; Fuller 2001; Olavarria 2003; Barker 2005a) demonstrate that the construction of fatherhood goes beyond the idea of procreation and as Gutmann says:

For many if not for all men in Latin America being a father entails far more than providing the seed for the propagation of heirs. Whether narrowly conceived as a matter of financial responsibility, or understood in a more full-bodied sense to involve the active participation of men throughout the lives of their children in as many aspects of their lives as possible. (Guttmann 2003, p.15)

What has been found in these studies is that becoming a father represents the attainment of adult status and constitutes one of the most important experiences in men's lives (Barker 2005a). De Keijzer (1998, cited in Viveros 2001a) points out that the way of being a father, and the associated and expected practices associated to this role change historically but also by region, class and ethnicity within countries. This author also marks a difference between biological and social fathers. Hence, in a context where the absence of biological fathers is common, other men, usually from the extended family, assume their duties, highlighting the complexity of the concept of fatherhood and the array of practices associated with it (Viveros 2001a).

An issue around masculinities highlighted in the Latin American literature is that of the difference between normative ideas about being a man and actual practices (Olavarria 2001; Caceres, Salazar et al. 2002; Guttmann 2003). On one side they have a normative idea of a "proper man" as being the one responsible for providing, protecting and taking care of their family, with fatherhood being the idealised and ultimate proof of manhood. However, in reality some men act differently, and as Caceres et al. (2002) describe, through being irresponsible abandon children and neglect their families. There are contradictions in the way men are described to relate to women. As mentioned before, mothers and sisters are idealised as "semi-divine", but other women are regarded as subordinates with the correspondent imbalance of power in their relationships (Barker 2005a; Mullins 2006). This contradiction also manifests itself within male behaviour, with men behaving in many *non-macho* ways in their lives, contradicting their normative ideas of what being a man is. This distinction raises important questions surrounding how to conduct research and the necessity of empirical data to corroborate *ideas* about being a man with actual *practices* (or in Goffman terms *performances*).

One of the few authors to look into the connection between masculinities and violence from a gender social theory perspective in the Latin American context is Barker. In his book *Dying to be Men* (2005a), Barker summarises findings from his studies in the Caribbean and Brazil with young heterosexual men from deprived settings between 15 and 24 years old. As a general background of the study he describes the general social context:

For many young men in all of these settings the police and law enforcement system were seen as a threat as big or bigger than other forms of violence around them and seen as representing an indifferent middle class, or in the case of Nigeria and the Caribbean, serving the interest of corrupt politicians. (Barker 2005a, p.52)

Regarding work, parenthood and relations with women, Barker's findings resonate with what has been reported in this chapter from other studies. Work and fatherhood are key to masculine identities; however there are some contradictions, as he found that young men preferred to be unemployed instead of working in what they considered demeaning jobs. Fatherhood was seen as a complicated arena where they struggled between their lack of means to become breadwinners and their desire to get emotionally involved with their children. Regarding violence Barker (2005a) says,

Young men in these settings are frequently torn between using conventional, non-violent means to achieving their ends and acquire status, income and women; or using violent ways to achieve them, which generally involves becoming part of gangs or violent groups. (p.10)

He highlights the lack of importance that has been given to what he calls the "voices of resistance", clarifying that "masculinities in these settings are not inherently violent, callous and exploitative of women. All manhoods—whether more or less violent or more or less gender-equitable—are situationally and contextually constructed" (Barker 2005a, p.10). Among the factors that explain why some young men get involved in gangs or violence and others do not, Barker suggests that it is a complex interaction between "specific family, peer group and individual characteristics and the greater social context, particularly that of social exclusion" (Barker 2005a, p.82). He also points out the role of women in the construction of

masculinities by asserting that girls and women can play a key role in contributing to traditional, inflexible and harmful versions of manhood. The latter has implications for interventions aiming to challenge the gender system, which in the view of Barker should be directed towards both men and women, recognising the relational aspect of gender construction (Barker 2005a).

As we can see Latin American scholars have demonstrated that masculinities, as in the rest of the world, should be conceived as complex and fluid. Therefore, stereotypes of the Latin macho should be avoided and replaced by informed studies on the constructions of masculinities in the region. Also, they highlight the risk of looking at Latin American masculinities as a unitary and homogeneous entity, suggesting the contextualisation of studies within the correspondent characteristics of each country. In the following section I summarise some of the most relevant results from studies conducted in the Peruvian context.

3. Peruvian masculinities

In Peru, studies focusing solely on masculinities and its construction are scarce and have been limited mostly to studies in the urban areas and the middle and upper middle class sectors (Fuller 1997; Kogan 1992, 1996, 1998, cited in Ruiz Bravo 2001). Fuller (2001), Caceres et al. (2002), Santos Anaya (2002), Chirinos and Bardales (2005) and Ramos Padilla (2006) are exceptions in that they incorporate lower social classes into their studies, although Fuller is the only author that has masculinities as her main study object. The other studies use the analysis of masculinities to relate it to sexual health and sexuality, domestic violence or conflict among gang members.

Fuller's study was conducted as a qualitative project on the urban middle and lower social classes of Peru. The sample included men from three different cities in Peru, in the three main geographical regions: the coast, the highlands and the jungle. In general terms she found that Peruvian men:

Share the same general definitions of masculinity. Although the existing differences in regional cultures, class, social status, or stage in the life course lead to differing emphases on particular qualities or themes. (Fuller 2001, p.318)

Fuller identifies three axes around which Peruvian masculinities are constructed: the natural, the domestic and the outside (i.e. the public, the street) (Fuller 2001). The natural element is formed by physical characteristics such as genitals and physical strength and is linked to the idea of virility, which in turn is seen as the core component of masculinity and it is defined in direct opposition to femininity (Butler 1993, cited in Fuller 2001). The body becomes particularly important as the site where virility is "located". This resonates with other studies in the region, such as Viveros' (1998) study in Colombia, which compared men from two different cities with different racial characteristics (black and mestizos), and found that differences in the constructions of masculinities were located in the racialised bodies of the studied men.

Fuller, in the same vein, argues that the body is the locus where, "race and ethnic relations in Peruvian society play out against each other" (Fuller 2001, p.322). Hence she found that for men from different ages and social classes, different aspects of the body become relevant in their definition as "masculine". Young men put emphasis, for example, on the ability of their bodies to attract women, and older men saw bodies as their main working tool. Men from the lower social classes placed importance on the strength and work capacity of their bodies, whereas men from the middle upper classes attached more importance to intellect and communication abilities, as well as their looks. When revising the idea of beauty, Fuller

found that working class men, usually of indigenous descent, claimed to be more masculine than white upper middle class men. They associated beauty with Caucasian features in a man, however they also devalued this construction of beauty by characterizing it as feminine. From this Fuller (2001) concludes that:

Through the attribution of aesthetic superiority to the dominant race, racism is registered and internalized, whereas on the other hand, the subordinate position of Peruvian men is symbolically reverse by attributing subordination to femininity or to the foreigner. (p.322)

The outside or public dimension entails all the work and political related activities and is enacted in the public and the street. Fuller argues that this is the most important dimension of the three because it is the area that provides social acknowledgement and its mandates are usually opposed to the domestic axis. Within this domain, work is the key to masculine identity, and peer relationships and networking are seen as fundamental to obtaining a job. Nevertheless, the dynamics of entering work are again different for different social class members. Men working in the popular sector tended to start working earlier in life, whereas young men in the middle classes tended to access further education first, delaying their insertion into the labour market, and hence their adulthood. Work for men from working class backgrounds tended to be temporary, with many of them facing unemployment on a regular basis, which had consequences on their levels of self-esteem. These findings have been confirmed by Barker (2005a) in Brazil and the Caribbean. According to Fuller, over the last few decades major changes have occurred in this area, which she confirms in her study where most male interviewees showed openness to women entering the work market and having more education opportunities. However when talking about working relations, she found that they still assumed that women would work in a subordinate position compared to men.

Finally, the domestic dimension is formed by the roles that men fulfil within the familial context and the emotions associated to these roles. Hence for Peruvian men, becoming

husbands and fathers is part of their attainment of masculinity and adulthood. However this is also the dimension that presents the most contradictions because:

Even though the father represents public values and provides strategically important material and symbolic goods for the family, the nature of his sexuality, the possibility of abuse of power implicit in his position as an authority within the family, and his integration into the public sphere are opposed to his paternal role. (Fuller 2001, p.328)

The above quote shows how the mandates in each space can be contradictory. The way how each man experiences and negotiates these contradictions depends on the gender system, the social position of the individual as well as his age and personal characteristics.

Similar results have been found by Caceres et al. (2002) in a sexual health study in various cities of Peru⁶ that explored masculinities as a departing point for the analysis. In this study Caceres et al. found that peers played a key role in reaffirming men's sense of manhood. They were the "monitoring group" of the hegemonic masculinity; it was within the male spaces where this identity was consolidated. The importance of the group seemed to decay with age, usually at the time when the young man formed his own family. According to Caceres et al., the space of the street played a key role, particularly for men from lower socioeconomic backgrounds because it is here where they can overcome the 'rules' and rebel. Being on the street implied adherence to certain codes of behaviour. Among them, displays of masculinity in the form of aggression and conquest of women were privileged. The street was the place where they would also network with other men and where they spent most of their time when unemployed.

Another characteristic of men found in this study is their difficulty in demonstrating or discussing ideas surrounding their emotions. Public displays of emotion were seen as feminine, and only in certain circumstances was it considered acceptable, such as at the time

⁶ One of these cities was Lima and within Lima one of the sites of the study was El Agustino.

the death of a family member, or after a serious injury. When analysing results by social strata the authors found some differences. For instance in the middle classes women were less ready to accept the traditional division of labour and men had a more egalitarian discourse as well—compared to lower classes. However, when analysing attitudes towards homosexuality, the authors found that men from popular sectors viewed gay men as “semi-women” that felt attracted to men. In this social strata having sex with another man was not necessarily labelled as homosexuality—if the man “looked” and “behaved” as a man. In contrast, in the middle classes homosexuality was considered “abnormal” and linked with medical and psychological disorders, and having sex with another man was sufficient condition to label a man as gay.

Chirinos and Bardales (2005), in a study on young men’s sexuality in Lima with young men from poor socio-economic backgrounds, qualitatively explored the ideas surrounding manhood as a backdrop against which to interpret the results of a survey on their sexuality. The authors found that being a man was associated with being responsible in terms of working and earning money, providing for the household and protecting the house. This implied a hierarchical relationship with the other members of the family and an assumption that the principal woman’s domain was the house and the man’s was the public arena. The interviewees saw men as inherently strong—both physically and psychologically—explaining these traits from a biologicist perspective. Many of them mentioned *machismo* as the generator of many of men’s behaviours. Some of the participants had a critical view on it arguing that it generated unequal relationships with women. Finally, these men recognised that women were now participating more in the work sphere which they associated with the fact that there was an economic crisis and that men’s work was no longer sufficient alone.

Focusing on the study of masculinities and violence, Santos Anaya (2002) explores masculinities and violence in the context of gang networks in Cercado de Lima⁷. For the purposes of this study I concentrate on his results concerning masculinities, violence and gender dynamics. Santos Anaya found that men from gangs constructed their identities as “parador”, which meant a man that is young, tough, is able to resist physical pain and is abusive with others to avoid being abused himself. In the construction of their masculinities, control over their partner’s sexuality was paramount and violence against their girlfriends was justified by the idea of them “having the right” to “teach them”. Violence against partners contrasted with their role as protectors of women, but as seen before, this can be explained by understanding that defending women is usually connected with the protection of their own reputation and manhood, thus if they have to use violence against women to preserve that reputation they will do it and override their protective role. Regarding the use of violence in the gang, Santos Anaya found that there were rules within the gang that determined the nature and intensity of the violence exerted against enemies, as well as established ideas of where to exert this violence.

Santos Anaya interpreted these results by making a distinction between an “embarrassment culture” and a “guilt culture”. According to this distinction, which he extrapolated from the political and institutional crisis⁸, Peruvian people do not regulate their behaviour because of feelings of guilt surrounding the deed itself, but to avoid social embarrassment. According to Santos Anaya, this would explain why gang members never commit criminal activities or engage in fights in their own neighbourhoods. However, I think that this could also be a sign of loyalty; deciding not to disturb their own neighbourhood and the people they know and

⁷ A socially deprived neighbourhood in Lima that constitutes the oldest part of the city as it is here where the Spanish founded Lima. This district neighbours El Agustino.

⁸ This study was conducted in the context of a political scandal, where videos showing the closest president collaborator bribing members of the congress, business men and celebrities from the television.

love. Finally, the author highlights the temporality of the engagement in gangs, explaining that most gang members leave the gang when they grow older, in accordance with Fuller's ideas of the importance of considering the life cycle when studying masculinities. Another factor that encourages leaving the gang is fatherhood, which is seen as a reason for change and commitment to traditional ways of earning a living. This resonates with Barker's (2005a) findings for other countries in Latin America.

In summary, I found that many of these authors similarly describe Peruvian masculinities as following the main characteristics found for the rest of Latin America. Something important to Peru seems to be the strong impact of race, social class and geographical differences in the construction of masculinities. Among men from poor backgrounds, homosociality, for example, performed mainly in the social space of the street, seemed to be a key element of the construction of masculinities. In the following chapters, I will describe the results from my study of masculinities and violence in the setting of El Agustino.

Chapter 3. Methods

The purpose of this chapter is twofold; first it contextualises the study site by describing the main characteristics of Peru, Lima and specifically El Agustino. Second, it provides a descriptive critical account of the methods used, including considerations of reliability and transferability of the findings. In this chapter I present the research design of the study, and describe the fieldwork and data collection methods, including information about the sampling strategy and the participants, as well as a detailed account of the qualitative analysis approach. Ethical considerations and the limitations arising from the design are also included. Finally, I present reflections on the dynamics of the fieldwork, the role of my own thoughts, prejudices and emotions in different situations, and the ways in which my social background, gender and biography may have affected my research endeavour.

1. Study setting

1.1 Peru

Peru is a middle-income country that has three major geographical regions: coast, highlands and Amazon jungle, each with different cultures and ethnic groups. Peru is also characterised by high levels of structural violence in all its manifestations. The country suffers from large inequities in income distribution. Peru has over 28 million inhabitants; 39.3% of the population live in poverty and 13.7% in extreme poverty (INEI a). Poverty is associated with unemployment, nutritional deficiencies and poor education and health systems, as well as deficit of basic services such as water, sewerage and electricity.

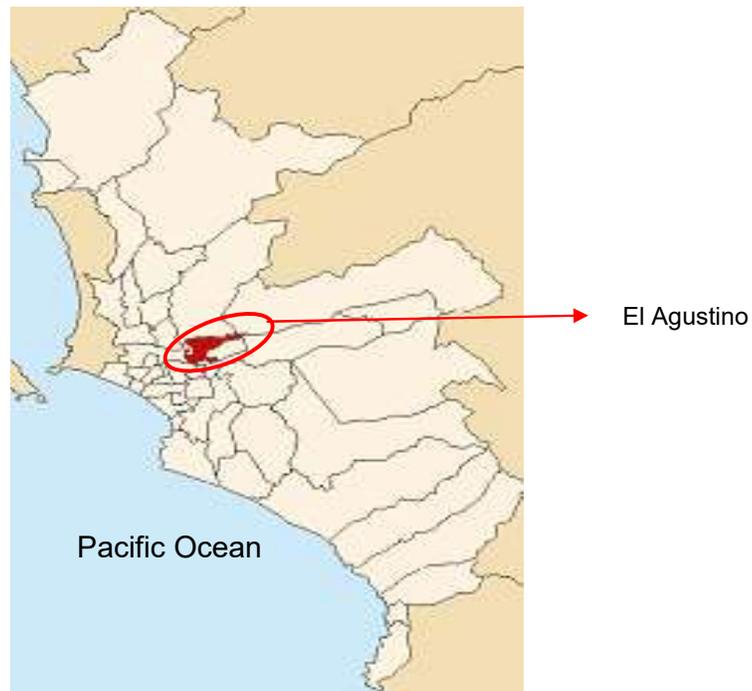
Peru suffered ten years of internal war against terrorism in the 1980s. During this period an estimated 69,280 people were killed or went missing⁹ (CVR 2003) and many children were left without parents. Most of the victims of the conflict lived in the highlands. Given the brutality of the conflict and its location primarily in rural areas, people were forced to leave their towns and migrate to the coastal cities, particularly to the capital, where they quickly became part of the socially excluded population, living in the periphery of the city, with limited access to services and lack of job opportunities. From a governance perspective Peru is—despite a process of decentralisation that is giving more autonomy to new created regions—still a highly centralised nation with most of the decision-making and administrative power exerted by the central government based in Lima. The nation’s main economic resources are agriculture, cattle, mining and industries (Caceres, Salazar et al. 2002). As a result of the migration process (starting in the 1950s, but exacerbated during the internal war in the 1980s) and the lack of economic opportunities in the rest of the country, almost one third of the total population lives in the capital—7.6 million people (INEI a).

1.2 Lima and El Agustino

Migration to Lima has resulted in accelerated and unplanned growth of urban space that has given birth to what are called “*pueblos jóvenes*” (shanty towns or slums) on the outskirts of the capital. The migration has transformed Lima and its inhabitants, the music they listen to and their cultural practices (Caceres, Salazar et al. 2002). Today the capital is divided into 43 districts.

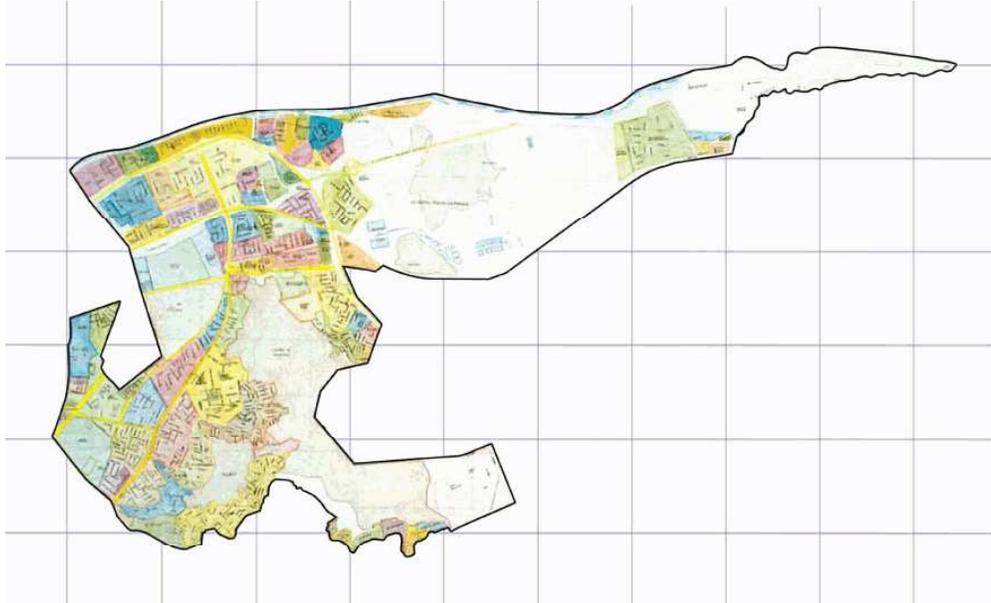
⁹ Estimation with 95% confidence interval, lower and upper limits of 61,007 and 77,552 respectively.

Figure 3. Map of Lima



One district, El Agustino, is the site of this study. It is situated towards the east of Lima (see Figure 3). The district has a total land area of 12.54 km². According to a 2007 estimate by the INEI (National Institute of Statistics and Informatics), the district has 180,262 inhabitants and 38,165 households, with a population density of 14,375 persons/km² (INEI a). El Agustino is the 25th most populated district in Lima (INEI a). The area is characterised by high levels of poverty and extreme poverty, positioned among the three most deprived districts in the capital (Ministerio de Economía y Finanzas 2010). Twenty-five percent of the area is mountainous (see Figure 4, white areas) and 40% of the whole district's population live on steep slopes. Of these, 70% live in extreme poverty (Caceres et al. 2002).

Figure 4. Map of El Agustino



Source: www.munielagustino.gob.pe/ndistrito/division.html.

El Agustino has high crime rates, although according to the local authorities these have ameliorated considerably in the past years (Salcedo R. 2007). According to the district's mayor there was no record of organized gangs operating in the area in 2007, contrasting with 36 organised gangs identified in 1998. However, there are approximately 14 “*barras bravas*”¹⁰ identified in the whole district (Salcedo R. 2007).

2. Research design

In keeping with the need to explore everyday, subjective experiences of violence and the role of gender in these experiences from the young men's perspective, I used a qualitative approach that allowed for the exploration of the dialogical constructions of gender, and the

¹⁰ “Barras bravas” is the term used in Peru to identify organized groups of football team fans that frequently engage in violent acts during matches and confront groups who favour their opponents.

generation of grounded and rich insights into men's constructions of masculinities (Gough and Robertson 2010). Following previous studies conducted with young people which aim to explore their everyday practices (Burton 1997; Lightfoot 1997; Farrer 2002) and theoretical accounts that advocate for interviews as the privileged site to study everyday violence, I chose a cross-sectional observational research design, using in-depth narrative interviews and participant observation within an ethnographic approach.

3. Fieldwork

3.1 Preliminary visit

In May 2007 I travelled to Lima to apply for local ethical approval and identify an appropriate site to conduct my fieldwork. Upon my arrival I contacted the coordinator of the project "Promotion of Youth and Prevention of Violence"¹¹. She introduced me to different people working in local initiatives involving young people and their well-being. One of these contacts invited me to her project's office in El Agustino and offered to introduce me to an NGO working in the area and a "youth association" that she thought might be of interest. Through this contact I got in touch with the NGO SEA (El Agustino Education Services)¹² and Father Chiqui, a Spanish Jesuit who had lived in the area for the last 30 years and was also the main advisor of the Martin Luther King (MLK) youth association.

The following week I went to El Agustino and had a meeting with Zvly¹³, the president of the association MLK and 'Pepe'¹⁴ a young member of the association. In this meeting I learned from Zvly how he went from being a gang member at the age of ten, to become the founder and president of MLK with help from Father Chiqui. Confirming what I had read from the borough authorities, Zvly explained that the gang activities in El Agustino had stopped and

¹¹ Conducted by the GTZ in conjunction with PAHO (Pan American Health Organisation) <http://www.gtz.de/en/weltweit/lateinamerika-karibik/peru/13412.htm>

¹² NGO linked to the catholic church <http://www.seaperu.org/>

¹³ Information given in this informal meeting reproduced with Zvly's authorization.

¹⁴ This young men's name has been changed in order to keep his identity anonymous

that MLK NGO had played a key role in this. After explaining the topic of my PhD and the ethnographic approach of the study, Zvly showed interest in my work and offered to help me use MLK as my study site, should I wish to work with them.

3.2 Data collection period

I was in Peru collecting data between January and December 2008. My fieldwork was organised in three stages.

3.2.1 Establishing support networks and hiring research assistant

This stage between January and February 2008 was mainly dedicated to finding a place to live and establishing contacts with organisations and the community in El Agustino as well as finding a fieldwork assistant. After some enquiries I was introduced to Jesus, a research assistant for previous projects with the Institute of Studies in Health, Sexuality and Human Development Studies (IESSDEH) at the School of Public Health and Administration at Cayetano Heredia University. Jesus grew up in El Agustino and had had previous experience of recruiting participants for sexual health related projects. He agreed to participate in the study and seemed keen to have the opportunity to work in El Agustino now that he was living somewhere else with his family. Jesus acted as a guide and key informant—providing insights into the local culture and contact with young people in the area—as well as recruiting participants. Jesus had a similar but not identical—he was some years older—profile of that of the target population of my study. He was friendly and easy-going, had good communication skills and non-judgmental attitudes (he collaborated with projects on HIV and sex workers as well as homosexual populations), as well as being punctual and reliable: all characteristics identified as desirable in a research assistant (Marston 2001).

I also made contact with Patricia Magallanes, the coordinator of the Restorative Juvenile Justice (RJJ) project, sponsored by Terre des Hommes, a Swiss-based organisation working for children's rights. She offered her help and said I could recruit some of my interviewees from the young men participating in the RJJ project. My original recruiting contact following my preliminary fieldwork visit, the MLK association, was undergoing major changes at the time and not operating as normal, which meant that I did not have the opportunity to work with them as much as I had planned. Instead, I concentrated on taking part of the few activities they still had in place, mainly around football with boys and young men from the community.

3.2.2 In-depth interviews

I conducted interviews with key informants, young men, women and “*other limeños*”¹⁵ between February and December 2008. The main sources of contacts for the interviews with young men, women and stakeholders were the MLK association, the RJJ project, NGO SEA, the local council of El Agustino and Jesus' personal contacts. Interviews took place in various locations depending on the interviewees' affiliation and preference, either at SEA or RJJ venues, Father Chiqui's office or at a classroom in the local parish of an area called San Cayetano, within El Agustino, where most of Jesus' contacts lived. A number of steps were taken to facilitate participants' comfort and informed consent. Before starting the interview, I offered the interviewee an information sheet containing full information about the purpose of the study and read it with them in case they could not read¹⁶ (see Appendix 1), and offered them time to think about it before they decided whether they wanted to participate in the study.

¹⁵ The term refers to people born and raised in Lima

¹⁶ I started doing this after an experience with one interviewer that left the interview without explanation when I gave him the information sheet and asked him to read it before we could continue with the recruitment. I learned later that he could not read and he felt ashamed to tell me so he preferred to leave with an excuse. I realised that I had assumed all the interviewees could read and decided that instead of giving them the information sheet to read, we would read it together before starting the interview.

I offered young men and women participants travelling expenses when they needed to travel to the interview venue, and a t-shirt to young men and eau de toilette to women to compensate them for the time taken during interviews. I thought these were better options than a voucher or money, as they could be seen more as a personal gift. Whenever an interviewee told me that he was involved in hip hop music, I arranged to obtain an electronic version of the songs. For the “*other limeños*” interviews, contacts through friends and family were used and interviews were done in the interviewees’ house, work or at a cafe.

3.2.3 Participant observation

The participant observation component of the fieldwork happened on a continuous basis and encompassed my whole time in El Agustino. I had a total immersion period of about 6 weeks when I moved to live in El Agustino in October 2008. I rented a private room within a family house with an independent entrance and bathroom and during my time there continued with interviews, visited houses with the RJJ project outreach workers, attended local seminars organised by NGO SEA and also went out approximately 6 weekend nights to spend time in San Cayetano with Jesus and his friends.

4. Data collection methods, sampling strategy and participants

I conducted data collection with different members of the community at different levels, allowing for the creation of a corpus of data (Bauer and Gaskell 2000) that accounted for the multilayered experience of situated violence, but also included the discourses and contexts in which these experiences were embedded. I used a combination of in-depth interviews and key informant interviews, analysis of hip hop lyrics produced by some of the interviewees,

analysis of press articles related to El Agustino and participant observation (for correspondence between data collection methods and specific objectives see Table 1).

Table 1. Summary of objectives, methods and data source

Specific objective	Method (s)	Sample/data source
To examine the role of manifestations of structural violence such as racism, social and economic inequalities, and ‘area stigma’ in the constructions of masculinities in El Agustino	In-depth interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Young men and women from El Agustino
	Analysis of hip hop song lyrics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Young men from El Agustino involved in hip hop music
	Analysis of news articles	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Press articles related with El Agustino from January 2006 until September 2008 (from <i>El Comercio</i>)
	Key informant interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Limeños</i> living outside El Agustino • Stakeholders
To explore young men’s definitions of and the meanings they ascribe to “violence”	In-depth interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Young men from El Agustino
	Analysis of hip hop song lyrics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Young men from El Agustino involved in hip hop music
To explore young men’s personal experiences and negotiation of violence	In-depth interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Young men and women from El Agustino
	Key informant interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stakeholders
	Participant observation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Same sex and other sex interactions in MLK association between members • Interactions of young people in El Agustino public spaces such as discos and parks • Fieldwork notes
	Analysis of hip hop song lyrics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Young men from El Agustino involved in hip hop music
To describe the constructions of masculinity among young men of El Agustino	In-depth interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Young men and women from El Agustino
	Key informant interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stakeholders
	Participant observation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Same sex and other sex interactions on the field • Fieldwork notes
	Analysis of hip hop song lyrics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Young men from El Agustino involved in hip hop

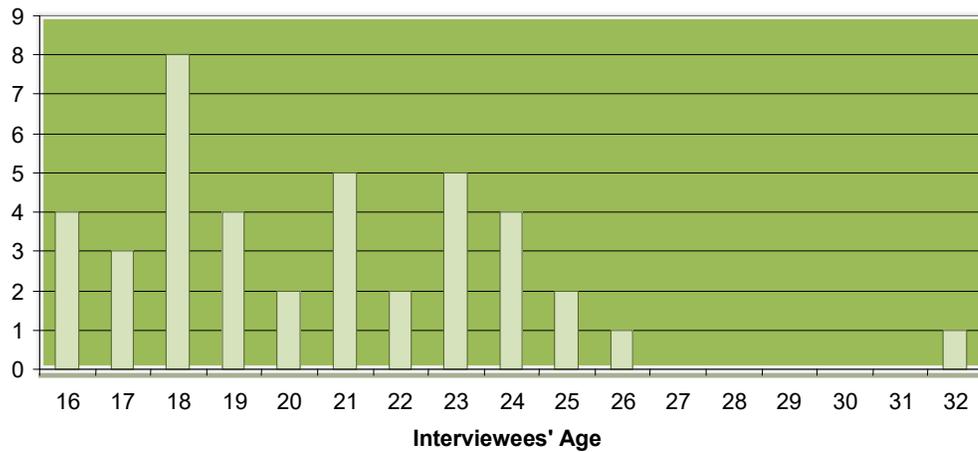
Given the exploratory and grounded qualitative nature of this study, I used a theoretical sampling approach, using a purposive technique of recruitment (Green and Browne 2005) and an iterative process of analysis of the initial interview transcripts. Based on this analysis I determined whether I needed more cases in order to test specific emerging hypotheses (Ritchie and Lewis 2003). I started with contacts provided by NGO SEA and MLK members, followed by the fieldwork assistant's contacts and JJR project participants. After initial contacts I also used a snowball technique, relying on the previous interviewees' contacts. Criteria to ensure that the sample was "as diverse as possible within the boundaries of the defined population" (Ritchie and Lewis 2003) were age, area of residence within El Agustino—I tried to cover all the areas in the district, instead of concentrating in one particular area—and working/studying status. The criteria to decide the number of interviewees depended upon "saturation" of contents, i.e. when no new data emerged from the interviews (Corbin and Strauss 2008).

4.1 Young men and women's in-depth interviews

I conducted in-depth narrative interviews with young men and women from different areas of El Agustino, using topic guides developed in tune with the aims and objectives of the study that were slightly modified during fieldwork following the pilot and the first interviews (for the final version of the topic guides see Appendices 4 and 5). I piloted the topic guide with a young man and a woman from the area before applying it and also asked for advice from local researchers Ximena Salazar and Maria Rosa Garate. The topic guide explored issues around the respondent's family composition, their life during childhood and adolescence, their experiences of violence living in El Agustino as witnesses, victims and perpetrators, as well as their ideas about violence. For the women's interviews, I included questions on gender differences in approaches to bringing up children (because many of them were

mothers or grandmothers). In total I conducted 45 interviews with young men (see Figure 5). I conducted 15 interviews with women, aged 16 to 76 years. Interviews lasted between 45 minutes and over 2 hours and were all conducted in private spaces with only the participant and me present.

Figure 5. Age distribution for male interviewees:



4.2 Collection of hip hop song lyrics

I collected hip hop song lyrics from a convenience sample of interviewees who spontaneously told me that they were involved in hip hop music. The songs' themes were about young people's experiences in day to day life and the feelings and emotions associated with them. I considered them to be a good complement to the observations and interviews. Most songs were downloaded from the website of an interviewee who gave me permission to do so, others came from a CD produced by one of the interviewees and I recorded the rest of the songs during the interview. In total I collected 18 songs.

4.3 Key informant/stakeholder interviews

Interviews with key informants and stakeholders helped me to gain a deeper understanding of the dynamics of the community and people working with the young population in the area. I purposively interviewed members of local organisations and authorities of El Agustino e.g. MLK advisor, the GP and nurse at the medical centre, NGO member working with young men in the area, police force member, council member, etc. The topic guide concentrated on views and ideas about El Agustino before and after starting working in the area, friends and family reactions to them working in El Agustino (for the ones that did not live in El Agustino), area of work with a particular focus on their interaction with young people, experiences of violence in the area, ideas about violence and young people in El Agustino and gender interactions between men and women in El Agustino (see Appendix 6). In total 15 interviews were conducted (some of them with two participants at the same time), 14 were tape recorded and one was recorded with hand written notes.

I also conducted 5 formal interviews with “*other limeños*” using a purposive sample that targeted those with middle-class and upper-middle-class backgrounds, who were not working in the academic or development fields and who had lived all their lives in Lima. These *limeños* lived in other areas of the city and had varied occupations (agent at a client attention centre for a financial company, entrepreneur owner of a telecommunications retailer company, assistant at a quality certification company, receptionist at a telecommunications company and University student) and I used their interviews to investigate ideas that “others” had of the district, its people and their way of living. The focus of these interviews were about how familiar they were with El Agustino as a district of Lima, and their ideas about El Agustino and its inhabitants, with particular focus on their views on young people living in El Agustino (see appendix 7).

4.4 Archive search for newspaper articles

I carried out a newspaper search in September 2008 at the archive office of *El Comercio*¹⁷, using their electronic archives that include all the articles published in the newspaper every day. I searched for every news item containing the words “El Agustino” either in the headlines or the body of the articles included in the *El Comercio* issues between 1 January 2006 and 30 September 2008. I identified 150 items for this period.

4.5 Participant observation

As mentioned before, participant observation happened daily, becoming more intensive towards the end of the fieldwork period when I moved to El Agustino and was able to join outreach workers from the RJJ project in their follow-up home visits as well as getting involved in meetings organised by the local authorities and activities including local leaders. This kind of participation in the community and my day to day life activities living in the area, gave me the opportunity to observe young men and their families in their private houses, in public spaces and interacting. I used fieldwork diaries, records of meetings and activities, and photos taken in different areas of El Agustino and at different stages of the research to illustrate the context.

I emphasised observation of everyday life in the community and the different manifestations of violence. I visited gathering places for young people other than the association, such as parks and squares, especially at night. I tried to make my observations in an unobtrusive but systematic way, focusing on the following elements of observation: what was happening, who was involved in the event, where and when did it happen, why were they doing it/what caused it/what was the purpose, how the actions were organized and how the different

¹⁷ *El Comercio* is the oldest newspaper in Peru and has the largest national distribution with more than 120,000 copies each day

elements related to each other. I also gave special attention to the reflective aspect of the fieldwork—which I account for later in this chapter— by taking careful notes at the end of each day of fieldwork about my personal reactions and feelings about the observed events and interaction with people, as well as changes in my own views over time.

Table 2. Summary of participants and data collected

Type of data	Composition	Number/Length
In depth interviews young men	17 (Jesus contact) 10 (RJJ contact) 8 (MLK contact) 8 (SEA contact) 2 (Local council contact)	45 (63 hours app.)
In depth interviews women	5 (mothers) 3 (grandmothers) 7 (young women)	15 (18 hours app.)
Key informants interviews	6 Local leaders involved in different grassroots organisations 4 NGO/development programmes working with young men in the area 3 Health workers in the area 3 Local government 2 Church leaders 1 Police force	19 (18 hours app.)
Other <i>limeños</i> interviews	4 women 1 man	5 (3.5 hours app.)
Hip Hop lyrics	9 Carlos (M14) 7 Christian (M32) 2 Jacinto (M13)	18 songs
<i>El Comercio</i> articles	NA	150 news articles
Participant observation	NA	Fieldwork notes between February and December

5. Data analysis

5.1 Preparation of the data and approach to analysis and data presentation

I conducted interviews in Spanish and recorded them digitally, except for one interview for which I took notes. Two professional transcribers transcribed verbatim a total of 82 interviews and over 100 hours of recorded material in the original language (see Table 2). In

order to ensure that transcriptions were performed under the same standards, I instructed two professional transcribers—that did not have any connection with El Agustino—to follow a set of transcription guidelines, which I had specifically developed for this study taking ideas from Wetherell and Edley (1999) (see Appendix 8). Additionally I reviewed all the transcriptions against the original tapes for accuracy and reliability.

I took particular care to ensure that the analysis was comprehensive and thorough, including the experiences from all the participants. When selecting a quote to exemplify a point I looked at all the quotes regarding that issue in order to make sure that the quote chosen was representative of the topic in hand and also to make sure that I was including deviant cases—cases that presented a different angle or contradicted in any way my interpretations—in my analysis. Most of the analysis was performed by comparing cases; however I also performed intra-case analysis to account for variations within individuals (see Chapter 7). Regarding the reliability of the results, I found internal consistency among the different accounts of the interviewees and also found consistency when I compared data from men and women, newspaper articles, “*other limeños*” and stakeholders interviews. Additionally I followed a thorough process of reflexivity in order to warrant that potential biases caused by my own characteristics as a researcher would not interfere with my interpretation of the results without my being aware of it.

I translated results and quotations stemming from the data in Spanish into English only at the final stage of the study taking care that key concepts did not lose their meaning and paying attention to words that might not have conceptual equivalence in English. In the extracts of dialogues included in this thesis “**I**” and “**P**” signify interviewer and participant respectively. Each quote also includes a name (a pseudonym in order to maintain anonymity), an **M** or **W**

signifying man and woman respectively, as well as the number of the interview and the age of the participant, or the institution for stakeholders. Lastly, each quote has a unique identifier number composed of **Q** and a number, to locate the quotes in the original language in Appendix 9. For instance the notation: (Charlie M12, Age 17) (Q3) means that Charlie was a 17 year old man, whose interview was number 12 and that particular quote can be find in its original language at the table in Appendix 9 as Q3 in the correspondent chapter section.

5.2 Content analysis of in-depth interviews with young men and women and interviews with “*other limeños*”

When conducting the analysis I paid particular attention to the way interviewees “do gender” (see Chapter 2) through their narratives at the moment of being interviewed as well as the use of language when describing their experiences. Following Bakhtin’s and Volosinov’s idea of heteroglossia (Maybin 2001), I took into account that language in its everyday use “is shaped by conventions associated with different genres, social classes, professions and generations” (Maybin 2001). I believe that gender is a category that should be added to this quote.

For the analysis of the data corpus I followed “grounded theory” principles (Strauss and Corbin 1998), identifying emerging themes from the data that seemed relevant for my topic, testing them for coherence and then generating a profile of conceptual themes and relationships among variables. I did this by following an iterative process, in which deviant cases were identified to confirm or deny earlier findings until it was possible to chose final themes and establish relations between them, reaching conceptual saturation (Yonas, O’Campo et al. 2005; Boeck, Flemming et al. 2006).

Consistent with qualitative analytic and grounded theory procedures, I first thoroughly read the transcripts in order to familiarize myself with the data and make preliminary observations. As a second step, I produced a summary document for each interview, which allowed me to have a general idea of the individual that I could go back to every time I needed to and also to compare between interviews as whole cases. As a next stage in the analysis, I performed initial open coding (Corbin and Strauss 2008) of the data using NVivo software. Following an inductive approach I did not impose any previous themes to the data, but coded all the transcripts line by line into open codes that I thought were relevant for study. After coding some interviews, I realised that some of the codes were not capturing the information accurately so I went back to modify the coding. I repeated this process several times by following a constant comparative analysis (Strauss and Corbin 1998) by which I compared the content of the interviews against previous created codes, until all the data was coded.

As the following step I performed axial coding, establishing relationships between codes, organising them in themes and bringing back together the fragmented data (Strauss and Corbin 1998). Alongside the process of coding I created memos to explain the concepts underlying codes and themes. I also wrote an analysis diary that helped me to keep track of my analysis decisions and document ideas about the relationship between codes, themes and theory. These memos and analysis diary served as a starting point when drafting my results at a later stage (Charmaz 2006).

5.3 Thematic analysis of songs and stakeholder interviews

Analysis of the stakeholders' interviews, song lyrics, newspaper articles and fieldwork diary entries followed a pragmatic thematic analysis approach, identifying arising themes and sub-

themes. In the following section I describe the procedure I followed, using analysis of news articles as an example.

5.4 Thematic analysis of newspaper articles

The aim of the analysis was to uncover how El Agustino was portrayed by this particular media, daily newspaper *El Comercio*. From the 150 items found, 129 were included for analysis. The kinds of news items that were not considered for analysis were the ones in which El Agustino was mentioned only in a tangential manner and thus contributed no relevant information about it. Other criteria for exclusion consisted of news items where El Agustino was listed alongside many other of Lima's neighbourhoods, which meant that specific information about El Agustino was not given. The news items included were analysed for their content exclusively in relation to what they said about El Agustino and coded according to the type of information given. In this way it was possible to find the basic elements that composed a larger portrait of El Agustino. In order to reveal this, these elements were grouped into 10 themes, which in turn were organised into 4 "views". Each news item could fit into more than one theme, therefore in the results table (see Table 3, p.110), there are more counts (141) than news items (129).

6. Ethical considerations

I sought and obtained ethical approval both in Peru (at the Cayetano Heredia University – UPCH) and in the UK (from the LSHTM Ethics Committee). Given the sensitive nature of the topic, anonymity and confidentiality were fundamental aspects of this study, I designed the data collection, storage and analysis procedures to ensure that they maintained confidentiality and anonymity of participants.

I informed respondents about the nature of the study verbally (face to face) and through written information sheets during recruitment (see Appendix 1, 2 and 3). I used a verbal informed consent procedure, because I considered that a signed informed consent was not advisable in this case. Given the potential violent nature of some of the events to be reported during the interviews, confidentiality issues became a key element to gain the participants' trust. Asking for a signed consent might have created suspicions about the confidentiality of the information they were sharing with me, resulting in a negative effect for the study, as shown by a study with a rural community in Peru (Creed-Kanashiro, Ore et al. 2005). Before starting the recording process I asked the participants not to mention any personal name (including theirs). If a participant failed to do so, names were removed from the transcripts.

I ensured that verbal consent was recorded at the beginning of each tape by following these steps:

1. Information sheet was read with the participant before starting the interview
2. I answered to any query about the study that the participant had and confirmed the participant's wish to take part in it
3. I started recording. In the first part of the interview I asked the participant to confirm that he/she was agreeing to take part in a recorded interview as well as being anonymously quoted in the final report.

Potential risks and discomforts linked to this research were likely in the following situations:

1. If a participant recalled a violent incident affecting him/her and became emotionally upset, I gave him/her the option to take a break or end the interview. If s/he decided to

continue with the interview I offered him/her support immediately after the interview by talking over the experience and the feelings it generated. I also gave him/her the option of contacting me at a later stage (the information sheet included contact details for me and the local supervisor in case the interviewee was unhappy about the way the interview was conducted or any aspect of the study). Additionally if the participant wished to discuss the issue with a professional, I offered information on counselling services available to the community.

2. If the participant had disclosed being the subject of any type of psychological and/or physical abuse in the present, I would have asked the person if s/he had reported this to the relevant authorities. Given that the interviewees were over 16 years old, I would not have disclosed any of this information without their consent.
3. If the respondent had disclosed any act that involved hurting or potential significant harm to a minor under the age of 16, I explained to him/her that confidentiality would be breached and the issue reported to the responsible authorities. This was also made clear on the information sheet.

During the interviews nobody reported content related to a minor being hurt in the present tense, nor did they report being victims of abuse at that particular time. Thus, I did not have to resort to measures b or c. When upsetting contents from the interview had an impact on the interviewees I offered a space to discuss them after the interview and also gave them the contact number of the psychologist at the parish (free service) in case they wanted to follow up, as described above. This was the case for 6 interviewees.

I stored records and transcriptions in different locked drawers to which only I had access. Transcripts had a code and a date when the interview took place but otherwise were not

identifiable. As mentioned before, quotations in the results chapters in this thesis only include general characteristics as gender and age and have been only included if the participant agreed to it—no one asked not to be quoted in the final thesis. Names have been changed for anonymity purposes. Finally, a summarised write up of the results will be sent to the key institutions and informants interviewed from the different organisations working with young people in the area, after writing the final report.

7. Limitations of the study design

This study aimed to produce an in-depth analysis of a very particular group of young people in Lima, and the findings may not apply to the whole young population of Peru or even of Lima, since different social contexts and geographical areas would yield different results. However, I expect that some of the observations and conclusions will serve as guidelines for the planning and design of interventions created for and with young people living in similar conditions as the population under study, as well as to a better understanding of the role played by the experience of violence and social stigma on young men's gender identity constructions, as discussed in Chapter 9. Given the sensitivity of the topic and the self-reported nature of the interviews, a limitation in terms of the "truthfulness" of the violence-related accounts could be argued. However, this does not pose a real limitation if we consider a post-structural theoretical framework and the underlying assumption that the important information is how informants construct their identities and present themselves within the interview setting (Atkinson and Coffey 2003).

Another limitation is related to the difficulty of observing violence first hand as it was difficult to anticipate when a violent event would occur. I generally had to rely on accounts of

violence instead of direct observation of the events. Additionally, security concerns meant that I was advised by locals not to take part in activities or to go out at times when violent events were most likely to happen, such as the early hours of the morning, confirming that risk and fear in the field can affect research quality by limiting access and participation (Wheeler 2009). I followed this advice although I sometimes felt it was over-cautious. Baird (2009) suggests that “it is the researcher’s responsibility to err on the side of caution when in doubt” (p.75). Despite these limitations, I could observe displays of violence on the streets as well as within the context of daily life as reported in the results chapters of this thesis (see Chapters 4 and 5).

Findings from other studies in Peru and other contexts (Fuller 1997; Barker 2005a) suggest that there is a strong developmental component in the enactment and experience of violence and masculinities, whereas other authors find that in particular settings violence is kept as a strategy to achieve masculinities regardless of age (Mullins 2006) (see Chapter 2). The cross-sectional design of this study did not allow for this aspect to be confirmed or rejected, which could also be seen as a limitation. However, my interviewees varied in age (16 to 32 years old) and I could observe some variation in the understanding of violence according to age, which is reported in the results (see Chapter 6).

8. Reflexivity in the field: Reflections about my position as a researcher

Researchers’ social backgrounds and interests influence[d] the research process, and emphasise[s] the importance of self-reflection, such that researchers can be aware of the effects of their own socially acquired dispositions. (Moncrieffe 2009, p.65)

Following the “reflexive turn” movement (Bourdieu and Wacquant in, Blackman 2007) and adhering to the view that “researchers need to take some responsibility for producing an

analysis which can be applied to support a particular view of the world, whilst recognising researcher involvement in the production of the account” (Gough 2003a, p.32), I reflected throughout my study on the dynamics of the fieldwork, my emotions in different situations, and the impact that my origins, gender and biography might have had on my research. I think that being a “white” Peruvian, unmarried woman in her early thirties, from Lima’s middle class¹⁸ who had been living in the UK for the previous four years, affected the way I positioned myself and the way the participants of this study positioned me in terms of social and gender status.

My fieldwork notes on these issues were extensive and I have only included observations here that I thought most relevant to the study. In this section, I assess the impact of my own characteristics in both directions i.e. the impact of my own position in the way I understood and interpreted my interactions and experiences during fieldwork and how the way participants perceived me, affected the research process—both positively and negatively. Along the lines of “reflexivity as social critique” (Finlay 2003, p.12)—stemming from a feminist background—I explore the shifting positions that the participants and myself adopted during the research process, due to variables of class, gender and ethnicity (Finlay 2003). I pay particular attention to how “relations of power between interviewer and participant become part of the interview data” (Presser 2005, p.2086).

With this reflexivity exercise I am not implying that I was completely aware of *all* the underlying personal and participants’ issues affecting the study. I am certain that there were many interactions and processes that took place that I could not account for. Despite this

¹⁸ This is evident in the way I look, talk and my level of education

limitation I want to share those issues I was aware of, in the hope that they will enhance the transparency of my research and aid the reader in understanding the context.

8.1 Socio-economic, ethnic and education issues

From my first contact with the area I was aware of the implications of coming from a different background and how this would impact the way people of El Agustino may perceive me. I was aware of my privileged position within Peruvian society and I made a conscious effort, where possible, not to highlight those differences. However, I also realised that efforts to change my way of dressing or talking would have been futile as I ran the risk of being perceived as fake and/or patronising. Hence, I decided that I needed to keep these aspects in mind, embracing the differences without losing sight of them in case they interfered with my research efforts. These differences also meant that at various points of the research experience I felt as an outsider. I did not share the same codes of interaction, did not always understand some of the slang and found it hard to position myself within certain situations:

While he was talking he started talking about being happy to see all these girls because he had just left New York, he said he had been there 3 times and the last time he was already getting sad, until God sent him his return ticket. I was about to ask where in NY and why ... then I realised that when he said 'New York' he was referring to Lurigancho which is the biggest prison in Lima (Fieldwork notes, 1 November 2008) (Q1).

I also found many examples of the impact of my social position in comments from participants during interviews and our day to day interactions. For instance, many interviewees addressed me using the formal form of "you" (usted), and called me "señorita". This is a deferential form of expression and the informal context we were in did not require them to address me in this way. Even men and women that were older than me called me

usted¹⁹”. When this happened I usually made a joke about not being old enough to be addressed as “usted”, but in most cases they kept addressing me in those terms.

In addition, many interviewees commented on my skin colour, establishing a connection between my “whiteness”, my social class and my presence in El Agustino. One of the interviewees spontaneously brought up the issue and told me how he thought that people “like me” saw places like El Agustino as dirty and dangerous and that he was surprised that I had decided to move there. Another interviewee told me that it was very clear that I was not from El Agustino, and that my face did not seem to match the place because I was white (“su cara no paga para ser del barrio, porque es blancona” Sebastian M39, Age 24). With these comments these interviewees made it clear that they were aware of the differences between them and me and also highlighted my condition of being an outsider in El Agustino.

I was also aware that I was perceived as an educated person who had advantages in terms of education and knowledge. Some people who knew I was a psychologist by background addressed me as “doctora²⁰”. This again is frequently used as a form of deference. Women trained in a profession are addressed as “doctora” and men are addressed as “engineer” or “doctor” even though they may be lawyers or economists. These language expressions showed how people from poorer backgrounds positioned themselves in the interaction in hierarchical terms, making a point of highlighting the difference and treating more educated people with respect. This positioning also meant that they expected certain help and advice from “the expert”. Thus, during my time living in El Agustino various people asked me for advice on legal matters or about matters related to child development and parental skills. I

¹⁹ In Spanish there are two forms of the English term ‘you’. In Peru ‘tu’ is used in informal, familiar situations, and by older people speaking to younger people, and ‘usted’ is used in more formal situations, with strangers, and by younger people speaking to older people.

²⁰ Gendered version of doctor, used in Spanish for women.

was also asked for favours such as helping people to understand an official letter, or write a letter.

8.2 Gender and sexual tension in the field

Literature on women conducting research with men have shown that cross-gender research has particular characteristics that must be taken into account (Reilly, Muldoon et al. 2004; Presser 2005). The interview situation places the researcher in a powerful position and when the interviewer is a woman and the interviewee is a man, these positions can challenge conventional gender relations. Women researchers have reported that male interviewees may respond to this situation by asserting their masculinity during the interview (Deutsch 2007, p.112). Another way of re-establishing the balance of power can be achieved through open displays of “manhood”. Hence Presser (2005) found in her study of young offenders that men acted either chivalrously or in a controlling way towards her. In my case I found that participants tried to re-establish the balance and enact gender during the research process by being reluctant to follow the interview protocol, by challenging my femininity, or highlighting my feminine and their masculine condition by making sexist remarks or flirting, as described in the following section.

“There are moments during the research where roles are reversed and the researcher can experience a degree of vulnerability or self-consciousness” (Gough 2003b, p.155). Some of my interviewees tried to reverse the interview traditional format by asking questions and interviewing me. Some of these questions were of a personal, questioning nature. In these instances I had to negotiate my position during the interview (Gough 2003b) and I was left feeling flustered.

He started interviewing me, every time he felt challenged. He was surprised that I did not have kids, he thought I should have them and not “wait” that much, he

asked how old I was and if I have sexual relations with my partner. He did not understand how I could have sexual relationships and no kids. I guess this can be due to lack of understanding about contraception, but it also entailed a moral judgement as adulthood means having a baby in this context. He was also implying that I am old enough to have children and should have them soon, as he highlighted that other women had babies in their twenties. I was taken aback by his questions and was not sure how to react so I kept answering the best I could until I started answering with more questions such as: do you think then that women should have children early on in life then? (Fieldwork notes, 5 April 2008) (Q2)

I felt that this interviewee was trying to re-establish the power between him and me as a man and woman by asking questions and pointing out what he saw as flaws in my femininity, i.e. not being a mother. Similar situations happened with other interviewees who asked why I was not married, why I did not dye my hair and instead let my grey hairs show, and why I did not wear more “fashionable” clothes, as I was still “young”. These were challenges to my femininity that I interpreted as an attempt to re-establish the balance to their threatened masculinities. I also found that some young men made sexist remarks or acted flirtatiously, presumably to demonstrate their masculine position. For instance, one interviewee told me that he was hungry and that since there was a kitchen in the venue, I could cook for him (Christian M32, Age 23).

Throughout my time in El Agustino I was aware of my condition of being a woman hence I spontaneously used some strategies of self-presentation. I chose to wear informal and “not-feminine” clothes, usually loose. I also tied my hair in a pony tail and did not wear makeup. In general during the interviews my body language was assertive but self-protective. When analysing all these factors I realised that I was trying to help participants forget that I was a woman. I was concerned about not being taken seriously because of my young(ish) woman/female status, but most of all I was afraid of being the object of any kind of sexual interest from them.

I had some experiences of participants or men who I met during my time in El Agustino inviting me to go out, sending me flirtatious mobile texts or e-mails. I did not want to alienate them and come across as rude, but at the same time I was aware of needing to establish limits.

I found it difficult to find the appropriate balance as my fieldwork notes show:

I got two texts: one from Rafael and the other from Pablo. One of them said he missed me, why had not I been to visit them again? I did not reply to that text and was not sure of what approach I should take to a text like that. (Fieldwork notes, 29 March 2008) (Q3)

These episodes did not feel threatening and seemed more playful than serious, but they made me realise that my initial concern about being a woman working among men was justified and that it may have an impact on the relationships I established in the field, and ultimately on the data I collected. The impact was not necessarily negative but I had to be aware of this during my time in El Agustino (for a similar situation look at, Wood 2003).

8.3 Danger and fear

The research itself, as well as causing risks, offered ways to diminish risk, but not fear. It is important to recognise that engaged and participatory research on violence is not without a personal and emotional cost, both for the researchers, and for those who participate. (Wheeler 2009, p.96)

I felt at risk at different moments during fieldwork, when travelling to the higher parts of El Agustino on a dangerous road by a cliff, when walking on the streets at night on my own (this did not happen very often as I was careful to avoid being out alone after dark), when doing home visits with outreach workers and we had to walk up the slopes and I was advised to put my mobile phone in a safe place, when groups of angry dogs barked at us and we had to use stones to keep them away, when lying in bed and hearing gunshots in the distance or a fight outside the house, etc. However it is hard to judge the extent of the real risk I was exposed to, as my own perception of the level of risk in different situations changed over time, resonating with other researchers' experience (Wheeler 2009).

The closest I came to an explicit situation of violence was generated by my fieldwork assistant one Saturday night when we decided to go out and observe nightlife in El Agustino. While walking around his former neighbourhood he suddenly started insulting a young man standing some meters away from us. He told him that that he was lucky that I was there, otherwise he would have beaten him up. Jesus pushed the young man with his shoulder and pointed with his finger in his chest. Finally the young man left and Jesus apologised to me but made it clear that it was only because of me that he had controlled himself and did not start a fight. He then explained that this young man, who he had not seen for 3 years, had attacked one of his cousins with a knife some years ago, cutting his face, and that he had wanted revenge since then. This episode made me feel vulnerable. I was worried that a fight would start, and I would end up in the middle of it with the only person I knew being part of the conflict. My thoughts that day are summarised in the following entry,

When I saw him pushing this guy around I felt scared, what would have happened if a fight started there? If this guy had more friends and a big fight started? What would I have done? I felt at risk, I realised how despite having been going to El Agustino all those months I still felt very insecure (Fieldwork notes, 1 November 2008) (Q4)

Something that underscored my experience of fear was that given my research topic, my interviews and conversations very often revolved around the issue of violence in El Agustino. I reflected on how I was embedded in my own research topic by experiencing some of the anxiety and risk that my participants confronted every day.

In addition, I found myself scared of more subtle risks such as lack of hygiene and the possibility of getting ill if I ate something that had not been cleaned properly—I had gastric illnesses a couple of times during my stay. Hence, I found myself being very careful about what I ate and keeping my room very clean. My room (see Figure 6) was close to a garden

and sometimes I found large flying cockroaches—which I am very afraid of—inside when I came back from a day of work.

Figure 6. Pictures of my living space during fieldwork in El Agustino



I also found it hard to shower with cold water in the middle of the winter, and to wash my clothes by hand. These apparently irrelevant details made me realise that I was being confronted with my own limits in terms of day to day living and the things I was used to. I often also felt guilty about my own standards, thinking that what was so normal for so many people was “so difficult” for me.

8.4 Confrontation of values

A final issue I would like to discuss in this section is that of the researcher “as a critic” which arises when the interviewees display views that the researcher finds “problematic” (Gough

2003b). “There is a delicate balance for researchers to negotiate between respecting participants’ views and making careful, critical and perhaps more personal contributions to the research encounter” (Gough 2003b, p.154).

Throughout my data collection process I found myself very often in this situation. I found it particularly hard for instance to keep quiet when sexist remarks were made or when a perpetrator of violence tried to justify his violence with what I considered to be lame excuses. Most of the time I was able to keep silent and did not voice my ideas, but sometimes I could not exercise enough self control and made remarks that made my position clear:

This interviewee made me angry, challenged me with his attitude and his ideas. His logic was that robbery was more effective as you could get money fast. He also argued that you needed to be 18 years old to work legally so he did not have another option than robbery. There was another interviewee that had a job offer but would not take it because he did not like the job. I tried to make him understand that if he did not have a job he should take the offer he had. (Fieldwork notes, 6 April 2008) (Q5)

When looking back at my notes I realised how my own ideas of what is right and wrong as well as my work ethics were evident in my responses to these interviewees’ comments. This made me realise that even if I had made an effort to present myself as an objective listener sometimes it was not possible to maintain my detached researcher position.

Towards the end of my stay in El Agustino, I realised that I was shifting to an “advisory role”. I also realised that I started taking this “advisory role” in the interviews a while after I moved to El Agustino, which generated the following reflection,

I have realised that in these last interviews I find it harder to keep my objectivity and detachment. I have ended up doing counselling, telling them that they should not rob, telling them about the option of finishing school at night. I do not know if it is because I am living here now, maybe it is. I feel that I cannot be silent and let them ruin their lives without doing something. I do not think that this is very good in terms of objectivity and my research. I am not going to do more interviews: I have not found new content anyway. (Fieldwork notes, 1 November 2008) (Q6)

As shown by this entry, this issue became one of the criteria to stop doing interviews, in combination with the fact that I had reached content saturation. This shows how reflexivity can be used as a useful tool not only to unpack the dynamics of the interactions in the field but also to inform research decisions.

Chapter 4. El Agustino: A District of Two Tales

The purpose of this chapter is to understand the social constructions surrounding El Agustino and its people, in the broader social context of Lima and its inhabitants. In order to do so, I describe how El Agustino is viewed and experienced from the “outsiders” and from the “insiders” points of view. The outsiders’ view is based upon a content analysis of articles related to El Agustino published in *El Comercio*—the most influential newspaper in the country—and in-depth interviews conducted with “*other limeños*” (residents of Lima that do not live or work in El Agustino). The insiders’ views are drawn from interviews conducted with “Agustinian” (those living in El Agustino) and stakeholders working in the area.

The chapter is divided therefore into two main sections. In the first section I set out to provide an account of the views contained in the articles of *El Comercio* about El Agustino. In the second section I incorporate the voices of Agustinian, describing how they see their own environment and their views on how they think they are seen by the rest of Limenian society. In this section I also explore the impacts of stigma on Agustinian’s daily lives, and the different strategies they display as a reaction to it. By using a triangulation of results stemming from different sources (newspapers, other *Limeños*, Agustinian and stakeholders interviews, as well as my own field notes) I aim to account for different perspectives on stigma allowing an in-depth understanding of this issue.

I. Outsiders' views: Perceptions of El Agustino in *El Comercio* newspaper and among “other limeños”

1. What hits the headlines about El Agustino?

In El Agustino

A taxi driver is shot to death

A 25-year-old taxi driver was murdered by a shot to the head ... the driver strongly resisted two car thieves (one man and one woman), one of whom shot him. The taxi driver was thrown from the car at the 5th block of Bosque Huanca Avenue, in El Agustino, whilst the criminals escaped (*El Comercio*, 22/08/2008) (Q1²¹)

Content analysis of articles from *El Comercio* newspaper showed a biased depiction of El Agustino. This area of Lima was viewed as a “problem place”, home to “problem people” (Dean and Hastings 2000). In general, the picture of El Agustino that was portrayed in *El Comercio* was quite bleak. Of the articles surveyed, a hundred and one pieces took a negative tone, while only 40 pieces used a positive tone. I have divided the information contained in these articles into “views”, which are, in turn, divided into themes and specific contents. An overview of these is presented in Table 3.

²¹ Quotes have been numbered in each chapter as Q1, Q2, etc. for easy identification in the appendix table.

Table 3. Summary of content analysis of *El Comercio* newspaper articles

View	Theme	Contents	No.
1. No man's land	A. Violence	Shootings; detained/arrested people; murders linked to robbery; juvenile/youth delinquency; "disturbing/worrying" gangs; kidnappings; crimes of passion; abandoned babies; child labour	40
	B. Illegality	Informal/black market; drug trafficking/commercialisation; culture of illegality; clandestine businesses; illegal settlements/invasion of land; circulation of <i>mototaxis</i> ²² without permit	14
Total 54			
2. Poverty and exclusion	A. Material restrictions	Poor housing; overcrowded homes; lack of resources	19
	B. Social exclusion	Social and racial extremes: racial discrimination (they are " <i>choleados</i> " ²³); inequalities compared to upper classes; home of Andean immigrants; a peripheral and marginal district/ borough	5
Total 24			
3. Safety and environmental hazards	A. Precarious Infrastructure and services	Lack of adequate infrastructure; scarcity of resources; lack of urban planning; poor health facilities; car accidents	15
	B. Unhealthy environment	Dirty streets; rubbish lying around; unfinished construction; lack of green spaces; arid and hilly; contaminating factories; lack of environmental consciousness; contaminated channel waters	8
Total 23			
4. Positive aspects	A. Urban improvements	Urban improvements; economic growth (companies are investing here)	15
	B. NGO, aid	Recipient of social help; the local council has good initiatives; support of cultural activities	14
	C. Successful personal stories	Stories about emerging Agustinian personalities e.g. in environmental management; social development; grassroots organisations	6
	D. Popular culture as positive	'popular' district; where faith and local sentiments and identities are represented	10
Total 40			
TOTAL 141			

²² Vehicle that consists of a motorcycle and an adapted cabin for passengers like a rickshaw. They are banned in some areas of the city and in El Agustino they are only legal as long as they have established routes and stops.

²³ This word comes from the word 'cholo' which generally refers to people with andean racial ancestry. It has various uses, it can be an endearing term among friends but it is also used in pejorative way to insult people with indigenous background.

1.1 No man's land

1.1.1 Theme A: Violence, danger and neglect

El Agustino

A trailer is robbed by thieves armed with rifles

Eight criminals, armed with rifles, attacked and robbed a trailer full of construction material worth US\$ 40,000. The theft occurred near Puente Nuevo, in El Agustino The driver, Walter Ayala Aguilar (49), was left in San Juan de Lurigancho completely drugged (*El Comercio* 97, 10/10/2006) (Q2)

In relation to El Agustino, this news theme was, by far, the most common type reported in *El Comercio*. In this theme, I categorised news material that depicted violence, mainly related to crime: robberies, shootings, drug production and trafficking, theft-related murders, kidnappings, etc. Some of these were not petty crimes but seriously dangerous events where people could be (and were) easily killed. It appeared that, most of the time, it was people concerned in illicit actions who were arrested or otherwise involved, but, many times, it was also reported that innocent witnesses, policemen, taxi drivers or passers-by were harmed, sometimes even killed, during shootings, killings of passion or revenge.

This theme also included news related to high levels of neglect of children: e.g. mothers abandoning their babies, leaving children alone in the house, forcing them to work begging for money, or even poisoning them, as well as the occurrence of violence at school, including sexual harassment and rape. Various hints of a discourse of moral judgement against women were noticeable in the news related to children's neglect. As we can see in the following extract, it was assumed that it was the mother who abandoned the baby and she was referred to as "irresponsible". The use of the words "unforgivable" and "horrifying" also add to the morality of the discourse.

Unforgivable

Newborn is abandoned in El Agustino

The police found him lying in the street. The infant was hospitalised

Two policemen from the police station in El Agustino ... made [sic] a horrifying discovery. On a house doorstep, a naked baby was lying on the floor Apparently, the baby had been abandoned by his mother five hours after birth The public prosecution office for family affairs took over the investigation to try and identify the irresponsible mother Meanwhile, the police continued to try to obtain ... any information that could help locate the woman who had abandoned her son. (*El Comercio* 132, 22/01/2006) (Q3)

In the same way, when reporting on a pair of siblings, who died from a house fire started by an electrical short circuit, the headline read: “They were left alone” (*El Comercio* 54) and in the main body of the text it could be read that it was the mother who left them to go and pick up her older daughter from school.

By contrast, in another article, a husband who murdered his wife did not receive any comment and his action was almost justified by the fact that he did not have a job. As we can read below, in this article, the perpetrator was labelled “enraged”; no moral judgment was evident. The headline reads “deadly jealousy”, as if it was the jealousy, not the man, which perpetuated the murder. The first line of the article attributes the murder to a dangerous mix of jealousy, insecurity and rage and there is no direct judgment of the individual who committed the murder.

Deadly Jealousy

Angry subject stabs his wife 14 times

Jealousy, insecurity and rage, a dangerous mix of feelings, common in some romantic relationships, were the cause of another passion crime This time, it was an unemployed man who killed his wife, stabbing her fourteen times after a violent argument. This bloody episode took place yesterday in El Agustino. ... (*El Comercio* 129, 28/01/2006) (Q4)

An important aspect of the news contained in this theme was the level of attention given to youth gangs. Indeed, these were discussed in terms of being the main source of crime-related troubles in the area. Youth gangs were described as being “ever more worrisome”, because they were turning to more “serious” and organised crimes like drug-dealing (as opposed to

petty crime), were becoming armed, and were composed of progressively younger children. Along these lines, the following news extract describes a meeting at the council level to tackle the gang problem:

**Eleven sign a treaty
Councils unite against gangs**

Eleven district mayors met yesterday to analyse the youth gang issue in Lima and subscribed to a commitment to seek solutions to this serious problem affecting the city. With this aim, they agreed to implement comprehensive care programs to reintegrate gang members. Mayors from ... and El Agustino attended the meeting. (*El Comercio* 78, 15/03/2007) (Q5)

1.1.2 Theme B: Outside the law, illegality

This theme described certain characteristics of life in El Agustino that revealed a tendency to operate “outside the law”. A culture of informality in dealing with everyday life, manifested in illegal economic transactions, drug dealing, clandestine businesses and unregulated economic activity, for example, were the main features of this subcategory;

**El Agustino
A workshop full of stolen cars is raided**

Yesterday, the police raided a fake car repair and paint workshop, which in reality served as a depot where stolen cars were disassembled. The operation took place on the second block of Placido Jimenez Street, in El Agustino. At the site, ten cars were found; three of them had been reported as stolen. (*El Comercio* 43, 26/02/2008) (Q6)

Other elements found under this theme reported actions by inhabitants of El Agustino, such as an incident when a group of parents broke into and occupied a school in protest against measures taken by the head teacher. Thus, this subcategory revealed a “modus operandus” for inhabitants of El Agustino that was situated outside mainstream laws and regulations.

1.2 Poverty

1.2.1 Theme A: Material poverty

This theme explicitly described El Agustino as a place of material poverty. Most of the articles in this category suggested that El Agustino was a poor place, where poor housing, overcrowded homes and the like, could be found. According to the news in this category, people living in El Agustino had restricted access to material goods and they struggled to feed their families;

Teamwork in the hills of the eastern sector

More than a thousand residents are trained to improve their life conditions

In February 2003 ... a project began, that will attempt to change the ideas of hundreds of residents of the poorest hills in the eastern area of Lima. The hills of El Pino in La Victoria, and 7 de Octubre, El Amauta I and El Amauta II in El Agustino, were the chosen shanty towns for implementation of the 'Security for the Development of the Hills of the Eastern Sector of Lima' project (*El Comercio* 128, 01/02/2006) (Q7)

1.2.2 Theme B: Social exclusion

Within this theme, articles reported that the people living in El Agustino suffered from social and racial exclusion. In these articles, people from El Agustino were categorised as part of the lower end of the social ladder, as well as migrants from the Andes. El Agustino was described as a district situated on the periphery of the city, in a manner that underlined its marginality. Thus, in aggregate, this subcategory suggested that the people who lived in El Agustino suffered from geographical, economic, social and racial exclusion;

Rally in El Agustino

Flores urges to transform people's anger into hope

To transmit hope. This was what Unidad Nacional's (UN) candidate, Lourdes Flores Nano, emphasised in her speech to the district of El Agustino last night ... Social exclusion was also a part of her speech. Flores Nano pointed out that she understood the anger and pain of the Peruvians; they have valid reasons for feeling excluded, abused and deceived. ... (*El Comercio* 125, 22/03/2006) (Q8)

This item described the people of El Agustino as being “angry” and “in pain” because of the exclusion and abuse they suffer. This was said by one of the presidential candidates in the 2006 elections, revealing how appealing her discourse was thought to be for someone in this area. Readers of the newspaper seemed to agree; one such reader sent a letter to the newspaper, complaining about the amount of money invested in repairing the roads that would be used for the presidential summit, in comparison to the lack of care directed towards streets in poor places such as El Agustino:

Letters

Indeed, at the foot of El Pino hill, at the entrance of El Agustino, it seems that the people living there are not Peruvian, nor from Lima, because no authority bothers to meet their immediate needs, such as providing them with a properly paved street, and with an area where they can freely move about, without the risk of being robbed. (*El Comercio* 21, 10/05/2008) (Q9)

1.3 Safety and environmental hazards

This view grouped together news items that showed El Agustino as an insecure, unsafe place, due, in this instance, to a lack of appropriate infrastructure and the general precariousness of the urban environment.

Teamwork in the hills of the eastern sector

More than a thousand residents are trained to improve their life conditions

Life in Lima’s hills is more difficult than it seems. To realise this, it is necessary to step into the dusty shoes of a settler of these areas: houses with poor foundations, overcrowding, open rubbish dumps, unpaved streets, lack of water, lack of green areas, among other problems. (*El Comercio* 128, 01/02/2006) (Q10)

1.3.1 Theme A: Precarious infrastructure and services

According to these articles, dirt roads, unfinished buildings and poor urban planning in El Agustino resulted in unsafe housing, threatening lives in the area. For instance, an accidental fire in a factory was reported, which put approximately two hundred families at risk, all in neighbouring homes. Threats to safety also came in the form of repeated road accidents, collisions and houses collapsing, as exemplified in the following news extract:

A collapse in El Agustino: A family is saved from being crushed.

A mother and her two young children were slightly injured when part of a containing wall on the 7 de October hill, in El Agustino, fell on top of their home. Gisela Caso and her 7- and 3-year-old children were sleeping, when stones placed on the hill's slope as a loose wall detached and fell on the roof of their humble home ... (*El Comercio* 60, 22/09/2007) (Q11)

Additionally, some articles included in this theme mentioned inadequate services. One example was poor health and education facilities, suffering from a lack of health staff, and inefficiency of teachers, as well as inappropriate or insufficient infrastructure to cover the needs of the population.

1.3.2 Theme B: Unhealthy environment

Lastly, the way that news articles described the geography of the area added further negative connotations already perceived as associated with El Agustino, i.e., that it was a precarious and unhealthy place to live). It was described as dirty, arid and full of hills, which in a context of insufficient transport infrastructure, implied areas that were difficult to access. Articles described heaps of rubbish, and also accused the people of El Agustino of contaminating the canals that fed a larger river used for irrigation in lower parts of Lima:

In two districts, the irrigation water for the city parks is contaminated.

Surco's and Huanca's irrigation canals water ten million square metres of green areas in Lima's seventeen districts. Their function is vital, but, in Santa Anita and El Agustino, they are used as sewers. (*El Comercio* 30, 31/03/2008) (Q12)

The language in this article is condemning; the article highlights how important the irrigation canals are for the city of Lima and how, despite this, these two districts contaminate them. There is no further analysis of the possible reasons for this. It is not mentioned, for instance, that most people living in the hills of El Agustino do not have proper sewerage services.

1.4 Positive aspects

This view grouped together four different kinds of “positive perceptions” of El Agustino portrayed in the newspaper, forming a counterpoint to the three previous views, which revealed quite a negative picture. This shows that, despite the tendency to take a negative tone in reporting about El Agustino, *El Comercio* also included some positive news about the area.

1.4.1 Theme A: Urban and economic improvements

This theme gave us information about urban improvements being undertaken in El Agustino, as well as signs of incipient economic development. Through articles in this group, we learn that a bank was opening a new branch in El Agustino for the first time, despite having been founded forty-two years ago (*El Comercio* 59, 30/09/2007). Also, several pieces were retrieved relating to the construction and inauguration of a new housing complex.

El Agustino’s makeover

Former military barracks La Polvora will host 3,000 homes

The CEO of the Mivivienda fund, Rudy Wong, officially launched the mega housing project La Polvora, on the site where the military barracks of the same name used to operate, in the district of El Agustino. (*El Comercio* 92, 24/12/2006) (Q13)

The headline of the above news article, although positive in general terms, implied that El Agustino needed to change its face.

1.4.2 Theme B: NGO and aid, grassroots organisations

This theme offered information about El Agustino as a district that was receiving social help and economic stimulation from different organisations.

Work that makes life sweet

Thanks to the initiative of CESVI (an Italian NGO), eighteen young men, who were at high social risk, were recruited and created Yoper Company, which specialises in bakery. It is an ambitious project. In the future, they will take over

the full management of the company. (*El Comercio* 123, Contra Corriente, 07/04/2006) (Q14)

Thus, we learn of some international NGOs that were present in the area doing development work; the local municipality also came across as having been very pro-active in presenting good initiatives. According to the news reports, the current local government had put in place programmes and schemes to stimulate people to pay their housing taxes, through encouraging community-building amongst neighbours, as well as workshops to promote environmental consciousness. It had also subscribed to funds received from the administration of Lima to support cultural centres and several artistic activities.

1.4.3 Theme C: Successful personal stories

Some news articles related the life stories of people who were born in El Agustino and who, overcoming all the difficulties posed by the area and by conditions of their lives, were able to succeed. These were stories of how regular people succeeded in creating and implementing organisations for their communities: taking environmental action; undertaking social development work; or becoming famous for some kind of artistic expression, such as music, painting or photography. One of these stories concerned the founder of one of the most successful (and controversial) grassroots programmes in the country.

Creator of the “vaso de leche” (glass of milk) programme

Candidate for the Prince of Asturias prize

On seeing the poverty of the hills of El Agustino, Ms. Consuelo Torres remembered the lack of resources she experienced during her childhood. After gathering the women of the area, she founded the first mothers’ club in the country. She is eighty-seven years old and is running for the Prince of Asturias Prize. (*El Comercio* 118, 18/04/2006) (Q15)

1.4.4 Theme D: Popular culture as positive

This final theme corresponded mainly to reported interviews with anthropologists, sociologists or artists, where their views on El Agustino and its problems were shared. Many of them mentioned, either directly or indirectly, that El Agustino was a place where “popular”

representations of Lima could be found. Several references to the word “popular” were used, in the sense of El Agustino being representative of the authenticity of *limeño* culture. However, it is also important to note that the word, “popular”, is a euphemism in many Spanish-speaking countries for “poor”. Many of them mentioned the poverty, exclusion and racism in El Agustino and proposed ways of changing this. Particularly challenging were interviewees in the arts, such as photography, cinema, literature, design and painting. In one way or another, these individuals proposed to use the imagery of El Agustino to make it more real to the rest of Lima.

Interview. Cherman.

“I do not offer more of the same thing”

Two years ago, he and a friend created the brand Faite, a clothing line that is more than a business. It is another way of fighting indifference, he says, and above all, it is another way of shaking things up and yelling to ourselves: “Comrades, there is still a lot to do.” (*El Comercio* 8, 27/07/2008) (Q16)

They also proposed alternative ways of understanding the logic of life in El Agustino. Hence, a sociologist, who moved to live in one of the hills in El Agustino, argued that, in El Agustino, many needed a mobile phone because they worked on occasional jobs and needed to be contacted. They could not afford to buy these phones from the main companies, so they turned to the illegal market.

In sum, it is very likely that the overall impression, with which the readers of *El Comercio* were left, was a sense of hopelessness that El Agustino would ever access wealth or privilege. However, there were some indications that it was a place with a growing economy. Positive aspects of El Agustino in the press were limited to news about economic growth, or news about different organisations (either local or foreign) trying to “improve” conditions—fighting crime or doing charitable/development work—hence, reinforcing the idea that El Agustino was a place that needed help. More positive aspects from El Agustino were barely commented upon in these articles. El Agustino has undergone many positive infrastructure

refurbishments and has benefited from a growing economy in the broader national context over the past ten years, yet these aspects have not seemed to be newsworthy. El Agustino's logo is, "El Agustino *está cambiando*", "El Agustino is changing"; its residents recognise this but *El Comercio* does not seem to report from this perspective.

In addition, as seen in some of the quotes included in the previous sections, the language used to refer to El Agustino and its inhabitants in these articles had quite negative connotations. In general, in the news items that were analysed, descriptions of the inhabitants of El Agustino were gendered. Men were presented as more inclined to be involved in violence, although not exclusively, and women were presented as involved in parenting as their primary occupation and duty, although sometimes deficient (neglecting their children). Age, much more than gender, however, was an important differentiator in the way people of El Agustino were portrayed. Young people were primarily identified as the source of trouble and crime. This was directly related to an apparent surge in the membership and activities of youth gangs, which were perceived as becoming progressively more professional; local youth gangs which were turning into groups in organised crime. Confronting this problem, we learn from reading *El Comercio*, that there were a number of interventions targeting prevention of the establishment of these gangs and "reintegration" of the young people into the society once they had left them.

2. "Other limeños"

These results are based on a few interviews conducted with *limeños* who lived and worked outside El Agustino. The idea was to triangulate their views with the main results of the analysis of *El Comercio*. These interviewees spent most of their time in five districts of the city, mainly financial, business and residential areas (San Isidro, Miraflores, Surco, La

Molina and San Borja). In the interviews, I could appreciate that the image of El Agustino in this group was not completely homogeneous, with different people exhibiting different opinions, based on the information gathered through news reports and their first-hand experiences in places they considered similar to El Agustino. However, I could find certain commonalities in their views of this part of the city, and many of these views coincided with the contents identified in the newspaper analysis. Hence, neglect, stigma, exclusion and marginalisation were the topics I identified during the analysis of these interviews.

2.1 Neglect

Generally speaking, it could be said that “*other limeños*” were not familiar at all with El Agustino. When asked to recall the names of districts in Lima, none of them mentioned El Agustino spontaneously. Metropolitan Lima has thirty-six districts, excluding rural areas and beaches. Between them, the interviewees correctly named thirty districts, while six districts, including El Agustino, were not mentioned. When explicitly asked about El Agustino and its location in Lima, a couple of them had a vague idea, but were not completely sure about it. Most of them had never set foot in it, except for one interviewee who thought she had visited it, when younger, with her mother:

Honestly if you tell me to go there, I have no idea where it is, now for what we hear about it, one could think it is a sort of a dangerous place ... right? Overcrowded, I don't know. (Carla OL3, Age 32) (Q17)

P: My mum used to have a goddaughter in El Agustino

I: Really?

P: Yeah, yeah I remember once we went to visit her, yeah, it was her baptism and my mum told us “you are very mistaken if you think you are not coming” and we all went, my dad, my sister and me. (Rebeca OL5, Age 20) (Q18)

Interviewees also described their lack of information regarding how the place was formed or what it looked like. Interviewee Sergio (OL2, Age 35), for instance, was not aware that El

Agustino consisted of hills where people lived. This lack of knowledge was clear across all of the interviewees, excluding one who was studying communications at the university and who had had to do an essay about the poor areas in Lima. She knew that El Agustino was one of the first places to be occupied by internal migrants and she assumed that, due to the time that had passed since the first settlements, that basic services would now be available there (Rebeca OL5, Age 20). The reality was, however, that the lower areas benefited from all the basic services, but the higher areas did not have sewerage, and some of them did not have proper lighting.

By contrast, another interviewee regarded El Agustino as a “young” district

I see it more as an area in which, it reminds me of I don't know, the early stages of Villa El Salvador, right? I mean the beginning of Villa El Salvador from 1985 to 1990, right? They're young settlements, trying to make a progress and looking for development, I see it that way (Debora OL1, Age 36) (Q19)

When asked about dangerous areas, El Agustino was not spontaneously mentioned; however, when directly asked about El Agustino, it was immediately regarded as very dangerous, making evident a strong stereotype attached to this area of the city. In the next section, I will explore this in more detail.

2.2 Stigma

2.2.1 Poor in general, poor infrastructure, unhealthy

I guess it's a very poor place, where there's poverty, delinquency, ummm, I guess because of that it's a dangerous place, where there's poverty there are no plants, it's awful, it's sad, it's dirty maybe that's why I relate it to rubbish, right? Um, and the fact that it smells is because there mustn't be water everywhere, I guess, ummm, and that's why I think the place would be dangerous. (Debora OL1, Age 36) (Q20)

The attention, you know what caught my attention? That they burn rubbish sometimes, there were places where the rubbish is accumulated in heaps. (Sergio OL3, Age 35) (Q21)

These quotes are good examples of the ideas that “*other limeños*” had about El Agustino as a dirty place, that smelled badly and that did not have any green areas at all; in sum, a “sad” place. In particular, one of the interviewees, who had visited El Agustino on one occasion, emphasised her idea of it as an unhealthy place. She told me she was very suspicious about the food and the hygiene standards of the place and, when I told her that I had been living there for a couple of months, she asked me what and where I ate whilst there. This resonates with one of the things I experienced as a researcher in the area (see Chapter 3).

Some interviewees also imagined it as a place without paved streets, and precarious houses made out of straw, with a few made out of concrete. According to one interviewee, the houses in El Agustino must have been “ugly”, because they were “bound to be tasteless and dated”. Many of the interviewees used grim adjectives to describe the place, such as “horrible”, “grey” and “sad”. Another perception evident in the interviews was that El Agustino was an industrialised place;

P: ... little huts, umm, built with straw panels, right? Planks of wood, umm, mud, some of them built with cement of course but not built in a proper way, rather ugly, right? Tacky maybe

I: What do you mean by tacky?

P: You see, I’ve seen heart shape windows (laughs) ok? The well-heeled guy in the neighbourhood that has the house with the heart shaped window (Debora OL1, Age 36) (Q22)

Umm, I imagine it’s an area where there are a lot of companies, then there are many companies and also there are houses of, of, slums, like shanty towns, but the one that is near the Panamericana, near the Via de Evitamiento that’s why El Agustino connects to the Via de Evitamiento, maybe I’m mistaken, ummm” (Carla OL3, Age 32) (Q23)

2.2.2 Dangerous, violent place

As previously mentioned, El Agustino was also regarded as an insecure place, although it was

not mentioned spontaneously whilst interviewees listed the places in Lima they thought most insecure. When prompted to think about the characteristics of El Agustino, however, all of them described it as a dangerous and violent place, as the following quotes show.

I imagine it's a very poor place, where there's poverty there is crime, umm, I guess that's why it's a dangerous place ... (Debra OL1, Age 36) (Q24)

Well, you can find everything everywhere, right? There are good and bad people but as I was telling you I think that since there is a lot of poverty, there is a lot of crime, right? I wouldn't, I wouldn't feel safe in a place like that, right? With nobody, I mean, it's not like in some places where if someone takes you, like Lince, it has ugly places and really nice ones too, right? Umm, but we could say I think that in El Agustino there is more poverty than in other places, so it must be more dangerous (Debra OL1, Age 36) (Q25)

One of the interviewees recognised that she was “very paranoid” about security and feared an attack most of the time, regardless of where in Lima she was. She had attended school and University in the same neighbourhoods, which were exclusive ones, and, as she explained to me, she did not have any reason to go to other places in Lima (Rebeca OL5, Age 20).

One of the interviewees acknowledged that reports from the media were part of the reason she was so scared of places like El Agustino,

Well, because I think that the possibility of being robbed, the danger, of being robbed, raped, whatever, I don't know! That's it; I believe newscasts fill up your head up with bad stuff, right? They never broadcast anything good that happens in those districts, right? Of course, they are never going to tell you ‘in this district’ I don't know ‘a sports field was inaugurated thanks to the effort of the...’ They will never do that, instead they would say ‘a bad drug addict boy was killed at this sports field’ Typical, right? (Andrea OL4, Age 31) (Q26)

2.2.3 The image of Agustinian people and of people living in poor areas

A key part of the reputation of places perceived as poor and rough lies in how the people who live there are perceived (Dean and Hastings 2000). In this case, people living in El Agustino were perceived as “tacky”, “ugly”, “sad” and “poor”. Interviewees did not seem to think that people living in extreme poverty could be happy. Others thought that people living in El

Agustino would not be homogeneous and that it was possible to find good and bad people there.

What I didn't, what frightened me was that there were so many people passing by and they were people that frightened me, because they looked scary, they frightened me, I don't know if, I don't know, like I was telling you, right? They weren't necessarily criminals but the way they looked made you think they were, maybe it's a prejudice, right? (Carla OL3, Age 32) (Q27)

When asked about their origins, interviewees said that inhabitants of El Agustino were occupiers that came from the highlands or inner parts of the country. In their view, these people arrived in the capital and did not have anywhere to live, so they "invaded" empty areas of land. Some interviewees also recognised them as "fighters" and hard workers.

Right? I can imagine there are people that because of their effort have got out of their situation and started a business, I mean their companies, something of their own and, little by little, they have been able to succeed and on the other hand, well, I imagine that there are people that are there because they can't be anywhere else because of the economic factor. (Andrea OL4, Age 31) (Q28)

When prompted to think about the characteristics of young men and women living in the area, most interviewees mentioned the existence of youth gangs as a problem. They associated young people with illicit activities, constant partying, lack of hope and lack of goals in life. For the interviewees, the problems started with the onset of adolescence when young people started drinking, smoking and joining gangs. When asked about the reasons young people joined gangs, I found two main discourses: some mentioned structural problems surrounding these young people, which they thought led to or influenced their decisions to join gangs; others directed a discourse of blame towards the young people themselves;

Uhhh I believe that, I think it is people that in some case um, are doing it out of need and to show courage and to gain prestige within the gang? Ummm, you have to be mean, right? (Sergio OL2, Age 35) (Q29)

One interviewee, in particular, associated intrafamilial violence with forming part of a gang. For her, gang membership was linked to an unstructured family and abuse. She thought that

such an upbringing created “resentful beings”, however, she simultaneously blamed the young people themselves, explaining involvement with drugs, robberies and so on, as a desire for easy money.

I think that if a child at that age sees his mother being beaten up and the mother does not defend herself or kicks the man out, he just starts to build up resentment, anger, till maybe, right? And I think that these are people that are not interested in life or are not interested in succeeding and take the easiest way out, right? Drugs, stealing, easy money, maintaining the vicious cycle, right? I don’t make any effort, I just go around the corner and steal and that way I’ll have money. (Andrea OL4, Age 31) (Q30)

Others did not seem to have a formed opinion:

But the thing is that, that, um, they are groups, and, and they get together and take advantage of it to commit crimes, steal, and to and they confront with each other, actually I don’t know the reason, ummm, that links them together or why they hang out together. (Carla OL3, Age 32) (Q31)

When asked about the way they looked, the youngest of the “*other limeños*” interviewed described how she thought people from El Agustino would dress like “hip hop singers”. Her description had a negative connotation and described female dress in El Agustino as “tasteless” and “tarty”;

I: How are they dressed? How do they walk?

P: Oh like Daddy Yanqui, have you seen him? With the baggy trousers, I don’t understand it; my friends don’t dress like that, no way! It’s ugly, I think it’s awful and on top of that Daddy Yanqui style, like, with the huge trousers and huge t-shirts and (laughing) with big chains and caps, like hip hop singers, like the U.S.? They dress like U.S style.

I: Ok and the girls?

P: Oh all provocative with tight jeans and tops that show their belly (laughs) (Rebeca OL5, Age 20) (Q32)

2.3 Exclusion and marginalisation

These concepts of neglect and stigma had a concrete impact on the way these *limeños* interacted with people from deprived areas. In this section, I provide some examples of the sorts of interactions with people from poor areas recalled by the interviewees, and ideas that bring to the fore the dynamics between rich and poor in Lima.

First of all, there was a clear hierarchical tone in the way they described these interactions. When “*other limeños*” had visited places like El Agustino, or El Agustino itself, it had always been either because of work, because they were invited by poorer people with whom they normally had a hierarchical relationship, or because they wished to obtain goods cheaply or illegally. They said that they would try to minimise the likelihood of going there and took precautions if they did. One interviewee, who had to do a university assignment, went to the place in her friend’s car, driven by the chauffeur (Rebeca OL5, Age 20). Along the same lines, another interviewee reported that she went to a poor area with her father, because he was invited to a party and she highlighted that she was clearly more beautiful than the rest of the girls in the party, classifying herself as “gorgeous” for the place (Debora OL1, Age 36). When asked about the possibility of establishing a different type of relationship with people from poorer areas, she said that although she would not consider herself racist, she would not want to establish any friendship with the security guard, whom she implied might be an example of an El Agustino inhabitant.

P: I feel really sorry about these kinds of situations, I am not a discriminatory person nor am I racist, and umm..., I deal with all kinds of people, right?

I: Hmh

P: But it’s different having a work relationship, cause like, the security guard, I don’t know, the local grocery store, I don’t know, it’s not the same as wanting to well um establish a friendship in a place like that, a place I consider dangerous and let’s say sad, right? (Debora OL1, Age 36) (Q33)

In another example, one interviewee described how, in her university, the groups were strongly delineated and she did not mingle with people who were not from her group. To exemplify the difference between these two groups, she said that “the others” would eat in the cafeteria—instead of going to a restaurant in the area, where the students with more money normally went—and would sit on the grass. When I asked what the problem was with sitting on the grass, she explained that only low-class people would do that. However, she recognised that if her friends were to start sitting there, she would also do it (Rebeca OL5,

Age 20). This interviewee mentioned that she could tell the difference between her university and another university in the city with students from a wider range of social classes. She said that, in her university, you would make friends only with similar people (Rebeca OL5, Age 20). She described how her friends from the other university told her that, although they had other friends from different social classes, they had problems interacting with them, because when they got invited to “these places” (meaning poorer districts), they found it really difficult to go. This exemplifies the lack of mobility across the social class system. Related to the system and wealth distribution in the country, one of the interviewees expressed her discomfort with paying services for the poorer areas from her taxes, highlighting that they had free services even when they had “illegally occupied” the land.

Well, they don't have, well they do, we pay for them to have, because they take these places and from our taxes, from the extra charge in our bills, um, we provide electricity for others, right? (Debora OL1, Age 36) (Q34)

One interviewee, from a more critical perspective, recognised dynamics and barriers between the upper and lower classes as negative. She acknowledged that there were some people, usually from the middle and upper classes and usually white, that looked down on “*cholos*” and treated them badly, hence, people from poorer areas automatically associated all white people with this abuse (Andrea OL4, Age 31). Along the same lines, another interviewee recognised that people from poorer areas of the country did not receive enough governmental support (Sergio OL2, Age 35). Finally, as a positive comment about El Agustino and poorer areas, an interviewee highlighted the intense community life as something that was not common in more wealthy areas (Rebeca OL5, Age 20).

It is clear that the majority of the above views correspond to those portrayed by the media, as presented in the first part of this chapter. Hence, many of the perceptions found in the newspapers were confirmed in this small sample. This is not conclusive, but it gives an idea

of the thoughts that non-residents have about El Agustino and the influence that the media might have on them.

II. “Insiders” views

1. Living in El Agustino

1.1 Positive and negative aspects

When asked about what they liked and disliked about the place in which they live, Agustinians mentioned, as positive aspects, infrastructure improvements, a decrease in crime, the fact that their friends and family lived there and the lively and active community life in El Agustino. When discussing negative aspects of El Agustino or things they disliked, answers were often linked to the level of crime, drug consumption and commercialisation, and gangs’ activities.

El Agustino, El Agustino, it’s a... it’s a district, a neighbourhood well known for the... for the amount of gangs, drug abuse and everything that is related to bad things, El Agustino, is also a neighbourhood that has hidden young talents, it’s a poor and humble neighbourhood, everything... if we were to mix all that, we would call it Agustino. (Jacinto M13, Age 17) (Q35)

Some interviewees showed an unequivocal view; some described everything in El Agustino as positive, others conceived of everything as negative. Two young women, in particular, had very negative views regarding El Agustino and thought that nothing positive could be found in their district, on the contrary, “all the bad things in the world” were concentrated in El Agustino.

P: There are no good things here in El Agustino.

I: There aren’t?

P: You have to... you have to leave El Agustino to get good things. (Maria W3, Age 17) (Q36)

Yeah, wow! Terrible problems. Actually, I've known all kinds of problems, abuse, beatings, abandonment, alcoholism, drug addiction, wow! A lot of things, everything you could find in the world in one place, you can find it here. (Teresa W2, Age 16) (Q37)

In the above quote, Maria highlighted the point that in order to get “good things” you needed to leave El Agustino, which takes us to the next section about how Agustinians felt about the possibility of moving out of El Agustino.

1.2 Should I stay or should I go?

In this respect, I found three different kinds of responses. Most interviewees mentioned that they would not want to move from El Agustino because they had family, friends and people there. For this group, these social networks were a very important aspect of their lives, not only at the emotional support level, but also at the practical level, given that, in a place where community life was so important, “knowing people” became a survival strategy—a way of avoiding problems, asking for favours, finding jobs and offering mutual protection. They also mentioned that they were “used to” the place already and did not think they would feel at ease somewhere else.

I: Do you like living here?

P: Of course, I love relating with people. In this sense, if I go to La Molina, a residential area, all I will hear is silence, I can't, without noise I'd feel different, I am someone that likes noise and makes noise, therefore I can't stand silence, I can't, I mean, I'd move to another neighbourhood because it would be too uncomfortable, why? Because I've moved 6 times, I've studied in 6 different schools, but here in El Agustino. (Teresa W2, Age16) (Q38)

Other interviewees had had the opportunity to live somewhere else and had decided to go back because they had not liked it. Many mentioned the idea that other places outside El Agustino were quiet and lacking social life, because people did spend time on the streets;

I came back to El Agustino because, first my mum was here, right? I wasn't with my mum there and because, I felt I was locked up there, I mean, it's not like El Agustino where you can leave your place and um, and chat with your friends nearby. (Javier M8, Age 20) (Q39)

These interviewees made a conscious decision to stay in El Agustino and identified the reasons why they would want to do so. There were others, however, who had a different approach: they also wanted to stay, but this seemed more the product of faith and conformism than a deliberate decision;

I: Hmm, if you could move, would you move out of here? Would you leave?

P: Noo

I: Why not?

P: I've always been here. (Julian M45, Age 18) (Q40)

Reading between the lines of this interviewee's answer, I could see that there was little comprehension of the possibility of living somewhere else; my question therefore came as a surprise. "How can I move from here? I have always been here, why would I be somewhere else?", he seemed to think. Similarly, a couple of interviewees mentioned that "I was born here, I grew up here and I shall die here" (Raul M27, Age 24) (Q41). This phrase, or an equivalent, was mentioned by more than one interviewee and it seemed to have both some level of fatality associated with it, as well as a sense of belonging within their established place in society and a sense that there was little they could do to change it.

In a second type of response, I found that some interviewees said they would move as soon as they could, if they had the opportunity, arguing that there was too much crime and too many problems in El Agustino.

I: Aha, and for example, where would you like to live?

P: Somewhere else near La Molina or San Isidro, there are not those things, it's not like here in El Agustino, it's different.

I: Do you like it there?

P: Yes, I've been there once, people... people... big houses, posh people yeah there, I'd like to go

I: Why?

P: Because there are beautiful girls (Jose M15, Age 15) (Q42)

Some answers hinted at the idea that, in order to make any progress in life, they needed to leave El Agustino. This was mentioned especially in relation to young children and adolescents, who would find “better” friends and learn “better” manners somewhere else:

I also have cousins... they tell me: come here ... come and stay here, so you will meet people from another place, people from La Molina. Because you're not meant to be in that neighbourhood. Sometimes they reprimand me for not going... I mean I don't like it... it's like I'm already used to it here. (Juana W5, Age 17) (Q43)

Most of these interviewees also mentioned that they would move because they would prefer to live in a “quieter” area, which, in this context, implied not only fewer people and less traffic but also less crime and fewer problems. The following quote also introduces the idea that moving out from El Agustino was an opportunity to dissociate with a “bad” past history:

Oh if I could choose, I'd go to, what's it called? Chorrillos, quiet places, where I wouldn't be drawn by my past and where I could start over all over again. And there, perfect. (Beto M18, Age 27) (Q44)

A final subgroup of interviewees said that they would move only because of work, or because their family had to move somewhere else. Some interviewees in this group highlighted that, for them, this new place would be just a place to sleep, but they would keep “hanging out” in El Agustino:

I: So, if you could leave, if you had the opportunity to move to another neighbourhood or district, would you move?

P: (.) If my job is nearby, I think I'd live there, but I'd live there to sleep and I'd live here to work here. Well I think that is wisest answer, because one can sleep wherever, but... (Pablo M5, Age 27) (Q45)

Regardless of the type of answer, most interviewees considered the actual likelihood of moving as improbable and highlighted the fact that, despite bad things in their district, they were somehow used to living there and had friends and family there.

2. Living with stigma

Why? Because every time I get out, right? When I go out of El Agustino, when I go sometimes to my aunt's house in la Molina, the ladies look at me from head to toe. Maybe because I'm badly dressed, or because they are racists, because I'm black, I don't know. Because they live in La Molina, they might feel better, superior. (Martin M31, Age 16) (Q46)

This interviewee attributed the stigma he experienced, to the way he dressed, the way that he looked (he was "*moreno*", which means he was mixed race with black ancestors) and the fact that he lived in El Agustino. In this section, I focus upon stigma as experienced and reproduced by the interviewees that live and work in El Agustino at different levels. Discourses that highlight rebellion against, and challenge of this stigma are also presented.

2.1 Experiences of discrimination

Well, after the workshop, she [one of the workshop facilitators] invites them for a soda to that restaurant; she goes with five, six kids, yeah? She goes in through one door and they go in through another one and the owner immediately stands up and tells them no no no no no you can't come in here. (NGO, SW5) (Q47)

Various examples of discrimination were raised during the interviews. These ranged from being denied access to restaurants, to receiving suspicious looks when entering a shop, people frowning at them on finding out that they lived in El Agustino and, foremost, taxi drivers refusing to take them back home once they knew the final destination was El Agustino. It seemed, that the "taxi experience" was the best way to exemplify the discrimination they felt from the rest of *limeños*; almost all interviewees brought up this example, when asked about discrimination. I experienced this myself. Whilst conducting the first stage of the fieldwork, I lived outside the area and I normally reached El Agustino by taxi. After the first couple of experiences, I learned that I had to allow extra time for the journey, because I would have to stop at least three or four taxis before they agreed to take me (at a reasonable price) to El Agustino.

Of course, when I was at La Molina, I was going to take a taxi here, it was going to be expensive but I didn't know the area (I: Ok). And I tell him 'hello mate, to El Agustino?', 'I don't go there'. And so I had to jump on a crowded bus! (Rafael M2, Age 16) (Q48)

Another example of discrimination came from a young man from El Agustino involved with the Jesuits, who had had the opportunity to attend meetings with students from other schools in the city. He recalled his encounter with students from a particular private Jesuit school in Lima—which is considered a good school for upper-class young men—and how he got angry about the comments that they made and the questions that they asked, when they found out that he was from El Agustino.

P: Every time I meet lads from those places, it's like 'where do you live?' 'In El Agustino' 'Oh, you live there? Really?' Or something like that, 'Yes, I live in El Agustino and that's where I grew up, there'.

I: And, how does that make you feel?

P: 'I've felt fine I guess, and I tell them jokingly 'I feel discriminated against, can you believe it?' I tell them, 'you talk about equality and every... and then someone says I'm from El Agustino and you're surprised. Yes, I am from El Agustino' I tell them, right? 'I'm proud of it, let me tell you, even though no taxi wants to take me to El Agustino, I am from El Agustino' (Javier M8, Age 20) (Q49)

2.2 How do the Agustinians explain the stigma?

When asked why people from Lima discriminated against El Agustino, one of the main explanations given was that it was down to the negative media portrayal. One interviewee used the word "demonise" to describe how the image of El Agustino conveyed by the media implied "evil" and "danger":

I: Why do you think people think like this?

P: It is because of the media, which demonises El Agustino

I: The media?

P: Yeah, it's always the media, and then the word spreads out. People that do research also, I don't know, they don't know the place, I don't know like how large El Agustino is, it's big, it's huge (Francisco M3, Age 27) (Q50)

Another common explanation for the discrimination directed towards El Agustino and its people, was that those who discriminated against El Agustino had never been there, and so they only repeated what they had heard about it. The assumption was that many people did

not have first-hand experience of El Agustino, and that one could not like a place one did not know. Many interviewees did report that they had met people who had never heard the name *El Agustino*, and did not know where in Lima it was located. Another source of prejudice was the idea that El Agustino had been a “red area”. This idea stemmed from the terrorism era, when El Agustino was considered one of the chief operation centres for the *Shining Path* and *Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement* terrorist groups, due to the strong influence of grassroots organisations in the area;

But talking about El Agustino as a district, it’s a place that has earned many prejudices in Lima and at the district level, it’s known as a dangerous area because of the violence there was [meaning terrorism in the area]. (Pedro M1, Age 19) (Q51)

I: But, what do you think people that aren’t from El Agustino think?

P: That it’s a dodgy neighbourhood, red area, red area because there used to be terrorists, gangs, there’s been so much news about El Agustino, rapists in the hills. (Christian M32, Age 23) (Q52)

Yes, it’s because in El Agustino, I don’t know if you know, you must know the history of El Agustino given that you are working here, El Agustino is... I mean... It was a red area, there were terrorists, and there are people that rob banks, criminals, everything... (Gustavo M33, Age 24) (Q53)

3. Impacts of stigma

3.1 Stigma and relationships with “*other limeños*”

In general, I found that people’s experience of being an inhabitant of El Agustino had a strong influence on their interactions with “*other limeños*”, on different levels. Their relationships with people seemed to be constantly permeated by the awareness of prejudice and discrimination against them, which they accepted, refuted or sometimes ignored:

Yes, they gave me a bad look, but what? It’s fine, I... I... I’m proud to be from El Agustino, because there, I am who I am, I’ve learned a lot, imagine a kid who might have money but doesn’t know that many things can backfire in the future, they can say look, I have this or that and in the end, they’re clueless because they haven’t suffered what people from the neighbourhood have, the real people, they have all the money, but in the end they throw it away and are left with nothing,

the others, those coming from below, they will see this, they will look at them, 'what happened bro? You weren't like that? You used to speak so much, and now?' They don't realise, they don't value what they have, that's how things is (sic), that's why it doesn't bother me to say where I'm from, I actually say it all the time, I'm from El Agustino mate. (Carlos M14, Age 18) (Q54)

Carlos (quoted above) thought that in order to value what you have, you needed to have fought for it. He considered that "the real people", i.e. those like him, had an advantage over the "spoilt" young men that had everything. Resentment, envy, but also pride, could be read within his response. Achievement by Agustinians was not seen as due to a privileged position in society, but to their own efforts, for which they could feel pride.

3.1.1 Family and friends outside El Agustino

People who did not live in El Agustino were clear about their position and prejudices against the place, and many times urged their Agustinian friends and family to consider leaving the place, or keeping a distance from other people living in the area. In the following example, a young girl complains about her aunts giving her a "hard time" because she lived in El Agustino, telling her that she should not trust anybody. These aunts were women who used to live in El Agustino, but who had moved when they married, and who now suggested that she should do the same:

Yes, some people discriminate against El Agustino or Barrios Altos, there are, for example, my aunts, well, they have all always have means, well since they got married they lived in a place, um, they advise me to be careful, and not trust anybody, don't talk to anybody. I can't stop being who I am, I trust my friends a lot, my class friends, and they tell me not to talk to them, just concentrate on studying! Blah, blah, blah! People around there [El Agustino] are like this or that. That made me feel uncomfortable, actually with my aunts on my dad's side, I've never gotten along with them. So I just listen to them and that's it. (Teresa W2, Age 16) (Q55)

Other interviewees reported that members of their family did not want to visit them in El Agustino, or asked to be escorted when arriving and leaving. All of these reactions from family members made people living in El Agustino feel ashamed and uneasy about the place in which they lived.

3.1.2 Work relations outside El Agustino

Discrimination could also be felt in working relations. For instance, some Agustinians who worked at the local council told me that, when they went to meetings with other council staff, they often felt that they were looked down upon because they did not wear “fancy” and “formal” clothes in the meetings. They often felt under-dressed and uncomfortable, but they argued that they did lots of fieldwork and that that was why they could not dress formally on a daily basis:

But you’ll see us in decent clothes mostly at formal ceremonies. Otherwise... There are some other young counsellors that wear their suits all the time, and that is surprising for us too, going to meetings, because sometimes, a meeting is set at a certain hour, and we just go as we are dressed at the moment, and they are very well dressed, suited up, and they look at us. Where are you coming from? No, we had to do some fieldwork, aha! True, you guys do work! So um... (Local Government, SW11) (Q56)

3.1.3 Romantic partners from outside El Agustino

Romantic relationships with people from outside El Agustino were also affected by stigma and discrimination issues. One interviewee told me the story of a girlfriend he had had, whose family did not want them to be together. Then he highlighted that she was from Miraflores (an exclusive district in Lima, popular with tourists) and only came to El Agustino because she had some family to visit there. Although the interviewee put emphasis on the sentimental aspect of the story, it was clear that he felt that the reason her family did not want them to see each other was that he was from El Agustino.

For this reason, right? I mean, her family didn’t want her to be with me ... because, I mean, she lived in Miraflores but came to visit her aunt and I met her here ... and her cousins didn’t like me either and we’d see each other once a week when she’d come over during the weekends. They kept her so locked up that she could only go to the store and we’d meet up for five minutes ... and well those five minutes were eternal, because it’s what I remember the most ... the most sincere. (Simon M6, Age 24) (Q57)

The lyrics of a hip hop song referred to this issue. The song talks about a boy and a girl who are in love, but they are “different”. He thinks she likes him because they are different,

because he is from the “street” and she is from a “residential” place (a place with nice houses and generally considered wealthy):

She prefers me because we are not alike
She prefers me even if I’m a street guy
I’m from the hood and she’s from residential.
(...)
She takes me to her house and her parents look at me from head to toe.
Because of my looks, without asking me, without knowing me, they deny me the possibility of being by her side
They don’t want to see me, now we have to break up
They don’t know my intentions, or my aspirations.
Why do they want to judge me?
Without knowing me, without asking, without finding out who I really am. (Ella me prefiera a mi, Christian M32, Age 23) (Q58)

This song conveys the feelings of frustration and hopelessness of this young man, who does not understand how the girl’s parents can judge him by his clothes, without really getting to know him.

3.2 Emotional impacts of stigma

Among the negative emotional impacts of stigma, I found anger, shame and hopelessness. There was a generalised feeling amongst Agustinians that there was nothing one could do to change things and to show others that all the negative ideas and generalisations they made about El Agustino were not accurate. There was also an impact on their self-esteem:

I: And how does it make you feel when they would tell you... someone who is not from El Agustino has told you any time, has made you feel...
P: Of course, it makes one feel bad, like we were living in the worst, right? Make us feel bad (Elena W9, Age 38) (Q59)

However, I also found that inhabitants sometimes found ways of using the stigma for personal benefit. Thus, for some men, for example, there was a secondary gain²⁴ associated with living in El Agustino, in particular, in the context of the “street” and amongst peers from other areas of the city. Upon the stigma of El Agustino, an identity of a “tough” and

²⁴ Terminology used in psychology describing how patients unconsciously use their condition to achieve a direct benefit or manipulate other people

“dangerous” man was constructed. Although this might have had some negative connotations in certain contexts, it was still an identity and might have compared favourably with feeling oneself considered invisible. Hence, in this group, I could find a combination of pride and shame regarding their Agustinian identities. When other young men found out that they were from El Agustino, there was a sense of immediate respect, which meant they were not “messed with”. However, at the same time, there were assumptions that they were thieves or bad people. Coming from El Agustino, therefore, both constituted a social stigma but also gave them street credibility;

I: Have you ever felt this? Have you ever been somewhere and they know you’re from El Agustino, have you ever felt that they say ‘oh! You’re from El Agustino, so you must be...’?

P: I’d rather say that... they respect you more when you say you are from El Agustino ...

P: They say “hey! He’s from El Agustino, careful with this lad, he’s... a crook”

I: And, how does that make you feel?

P: I don’t feel anything. It’s funny; I just look at him... It’s not about me, in the end; I’m not a crook, period!

I: But, doesn’t bother you that they think you are because you are from El Agustino?

P: Sometimes, you shouldn’t pay attention to what other people say, if you believe you’re not, then you’re not, if they want to believe it, then it’s up to them. As long as you are not bothered by it. (Rafael M2, Age 18) (Q60)

4. Strategies

4.1 Reproducing the stigma: Internal stigma

One of the main impacts of the stigma was the reproduction of the stigma itself within El Agustino, which I labelled “internal stigma”. This stigma refers to discrimination against different groups within the El Agustino community, and towards other poor areas in Lima;

La Victoria, not that I discriminate against the district, it is getting better supposedly it’s getting better but... there are more criminals in that area, at the border with El Agustino. It has all that image. They think La Parada is part of El Agustino, but La Parada is not El Agustino. (Simon M6, Age 24) (Q61)

In the following quote, Patricia explains how she reacted to negative comments about El Agustino, arguing that those who were teasing her did not come from rich neighbourhoods. This almost implied that, if they had lived in rich areas, they would have had the right to stigmatise El Agustino, but because they also came from deprived areas, they should have not been teasing her. This is a good example of how some people from El Agustino internalised the stigma and reproduced it in their own discourse;

Them telling me that, of course it's uncomfortable for them to say that to me, it makes me feel uncomfortable. Although, as I tell them, you don't live in a posh neighbourhood either. Excuse me but you don't live in San Borja, you don't live in San Isidro, La Molina, for you to come and, you live in La Perla, I tell them, that's where you are. I don't know what I tell my friends, I start to take the mickey and that's how I overcome these situations, but, yes, I would like to live in a calmer place. (Patricia W10, Age 20) (Q62)

4.1.1 Inhabitants of the higher and lower area

Another aspect of this internal stigma came in the form of prejudices towards and stigmatisation of the inhabitants of the higher areas in El Agustino. Those living on the hills were believed by Agustinians to be the truly dangerous people in El Agustino:

I: And regarding people that don't live in El Agustino, how do you think people from other neighbourhoods see El Agustino?

P: They think badly of it (.) They like think El Agustino is a synonym of danger, but it's not like that everywhere in El Agustino, you can't generalize and say it's dangerous all over El Agustino, there are certain areas that are risky, but also others that are not, it's calm, the dangerous part is in the hills, in the hills it is, and in the shanty town areas, near Ansietà, those areas should be considered dangerous (Francisco M3, Age 27) (Q63)

The hill-dwellers in El Agustino were regarded as first-generation migrants, who brought their "highland manners", were less wealthy, uneducated and had criminal tendencies. The area was regarded as being full of drug addicts and criminals. One interviewee even compared it to a cemetery:

I: Have you been to the hills?

P: Yes I have, I've seen the people, I don't like living on the hills.

I: Why?

P: No... living on the hill... it's like living in a graveyard. (Gonzalo M28, Age 23) (Q64)

In contrast, people living in the lower areas of El Agustino, were thought to be those who arrived during the earlier stages of rural-urban migration (i.e. have more generations of *limeños* in the family) and they were considered to be “better”, in terms of wealthier, more developed, more educated and with fewer criminal tendencies. When interviewing young men living on the hills, I found that they were aware of this prejudice and felt rejected by the lower-area Agustinians;

I: And what do people from below think about people from the hills?

P: That people come down to rob, make trouble, break windows.

I: And, is that true?

P: No, that's what people from below, say about the hills

I: Hmh and how do you see people from below? What are they like?

P: No, they're trouble makers too (Julian M45, Age 18) (Q65)

As a consequence of this internal stigma, exclusion took place and people living in these areas felt neglected, as this extract from my fieldnotes shows:

Another thing that surprised me was something that a girl from the youth association said when she got the microphone, she was grateful to be a part of the association and having the opportunity to do something for the youth, who are the future of Peru, she also said she thanked the mayor for taking care of Amauta I (the settlement where the event took place), because ‘El Agustino is not only the lower parts, but also up here’, to which the crowd applauded and cheered in approval. (Fieldwork notes 17 October 2008) (Q66)

Closely linked with the distinction between higher and lower areas was the dichotomy between recent and long-term migrants. For some interviewees, recent migrants brought bad manners to El Agustino and generated problems, while on the other hand, there was the view that migrants were hard-working and determined, whereas as long-term migrants or *limeños* were lazy and untrustworthy;

I: Why? What is life like for a family in the upper part like?

P: Like, in the upper part, they [the families] are composed of immigrants, so since different kinds of people arrive there, especially from the Andes and some people from the jungle, they, like, come with bad manners, I see that, I see that. They get into fights; they get into trouble, that's what I see. (Francisco M3, Age 27) (Q67)

They even mistake us for them, yeah? El Establo, they think we are from El Establo. ‘Just a moment mister’ I tell them, people from El Establo are from the Huancayo, they all have t-shirt factories, bags, backpack factories, they work, it comes in their genes, they are all very hard-working people. (Rosa W13, Age late sixties) (Q68)

4.1.2 The skin colour issue

Finally, I also found a strong racial component in the internal stigma. People from El Agustino, and from Peru in general, organise their perceptions of a population of mixed race ethnicity (usually Andean, black and white) according to racial classifications which are founded on the location of skin colour along a “more to less dark” continuum. Having a “less dark” skin colour is a status symbol, whereas being “darker” is always associated with discrimination and discomfort. Hence, most of the interviewees who had Afro-Peruvian background commented on their racial characteristics and reported some kind of discrimination at some point. One of the interviewees, for instance, apologised to me because of his colour, reassuring me that he was a good person despite being “*moreno*” (“dark”). Other interviewees, again, the ones with Afro-Peruvian background, felt the need to explain to me that one of their parents was white, or that their children were whiter than they were, showing obvious discomfort with their Afro-Peruvian heritage. Many of the interviewees also highlighted the fact that my skin colour was not dark and that I was “white”;

P: Look, I’m going to tell you something, ok? Even though my dad is white and my mum is white too, I’m black, and I don’t know why I turn out like this, maybe because lately I’ve done some grocery shopping and went to the countryside, like when you go up north? It’s so hot! It’s scary.

I: True, it is very hot.

P: And yeah, I’m more in the sun, with the weight thing and all that, I am in the heat, it can’t...

I: What is wrong with it?

P: No I mean, I’ve got a tan, just like my godfather, he has got a tan too

I: But being tanned is ok, right?

P: No.... Yes it’s ok, I am just saying, don’t take it the wrong way, ok?

I: Why?

P: Because maybe, since my dad is white and my mum too

I: Why would I think badly about it?

P: No... that... just out of curiosity

I: But what do you think I am going to think badly about?

P: No just leave it there

I: But explain it to me!

P: No, because I'm a bit dark. (Ruben M26, Age 19) (Q69)

On the other hand, one of the interviewees told me the story of a friend of his who had visited an exclusive school, and seeing all the “white kids”, thought they were foreigners, even when it was a Peruvian school full of Peruvian students (the Peruvian upper classes tend to have European backgrounds). Prejudices therefore work both ways, because, for this interviewee, a “white person” is not considered Peruvian; giving a clear picture of a fractured country where people do not recognise each other as part of the same country, based upon their skin colour:

P: Just like in this kind of meeting where there was..., it was a youth group from the Jesuits, so people from everywhere came, right? A school of La Inmaculada, the Jesuits have, that's in...

I: Yes, I know it.

P: Ok, it's a school, and really, really, like people there are sort of, as once (name), a friend of mine, said these guys they come from another country or what because he was really surprised that they were very very white, very I don't know, whatever. (Javier M8, Age 20) (Q70)

One interviewee, Santiago, told me how the prejudice could also extend from darker-skinned people to those with less dark skin:

I: And you were racist towards whom? People with darker or lighter skin?

P: Those who had lighter skin, I was angry with people of that colour (Santiago M40, Age 18) (Q71)

Finally, one of the stakeholders confirmed these views, by explaining to me that young men and women from El Agustino seemed to resent the fact that everything was a challenge for them, in comparison with people with a better situation in life. They did not like the fact that they were darker-skinned and therefore looked more indigenous, within a society that looked down on them because of their appearance (NGO, SW3).

4.2 Trying to dissociate yourself from El Agustino

As previously mentioned, some people in El Agustino felt that, in order to avoid stigma, they needed to dissociate themselves from the typical characteristics associated with El Agustino people, or they needed to make an effort to mingle with people from other districts and learn others' ways. Hence, the strategy enacted by some parents, to keep their children away from the bad influences of El Agustino, was to send their children to study outside El Agustino:

I want to stay here. But my father tells me 'go out, you need to meet people from other places, you have to change your way of talking' (Juana W5, Age 17) (Q72)

I: Have you ever felt discriminated against? Have you ever felt that people gave you bad looks because you said you lived in El Agustino?

P: Ehh... no, no not really, I haven't felt that because... It might also be cause of the way people behave, I know people here and friends that are quite dodgy. So if they hang out with someone else, they would say you are from El Agustino, that's the profile [of El Agustino]. But.. when I relate with other people I know how to behave. (Simon M6, Age 24) (Q73)

Studying outside El Agustino, for instance, was not only seen as a learning opportunity but as an opportunity to socialise with new, "better" people from other spheres outside El Agustino. One of the interviewees explicitly commented on how, when he started studying, he anticipated having "different" friends from other areas of Lima and hanging out with them:

Yeah, I have mates in San Juan. I also have umm, well, in several areas because when I started studying my technical career I set [it] as a goal to have friends from different areas and hang out with them. (Juan M4, Age 21) (Q74)

In some cases, interviewees had the urge to leave El Agustino, however, this was only possible for those who had the means to pay for studies and those who felt comfortable with the idea of interacting with people from other districts. They thought that they needed to adopt a different language and accent and behave differently "to fit";

I: So the slang people who go to Uni use is different to the slang people from the neighbourhood use?

P: Aha, from the neighbourhood, aha, yeah, yeah, definitely, yeah, at least in the Uni I go to that's a private university, I mean people... people from El Agustino don't easily go to school there, right? Normally people from other districts go there, more umm, well, people that have a better, a better economic situation, way better (Javier M8, Age 20) (Q75)

I have a gift for expressing myself in a certain way, a popular language, um with slang, um knowing this but with people from a certain rank, I know I mean I behave at the level, dropping a certain type of language maybe like right now, I'm resorting to words I don't understand clearly (laughs). (Pedro M1, Age 19) (Q76)

4.3 Challenging the stigma

Some residents of El Agustino did not accept the stigma and offered alternative explanations, arguing that drugs and crime, which were normally attributed to El Agustino, could also be found in more wealthy areas:

I: Hmh, and how do you see them, people from other neighbourhoods? Do you like them? Do you find them different? Or do you prefer people from El Agustino?

P: Yes, I think they are different but uh... even if they are...the richest person also does cocaine

I: They have money, they take drugs...

P: Of course and they even use the expensive stuff but how do I see them different? Because there are others that succeed, study, they have a job, they speak differently, and they have another way of dressing, another way... how can I say this? A different way of doing things in their neighbourhood, yeah? For example, you leave something there and nobody takes it... for example if you drop something, they give it to you. (Juana W5, Age 17) (Q77)

Another interviewee, Blanca, on the other hand, offered an interesting explanation of why the stigma happened, arguing that crime and drugs were present everywhere, but because people in El Agustino lived more in the community, or "outside", one got to see things, whereas, in more residential places, people were inside their houses;

It's the same everywhere, in Miraflores you can get robbed and in terms of, I mean, lads that use drugs it's the same everywhere, with or without money, everywhere, since they have money it might be in more private places, yeah? So people don't notice, and since people don't normally hang out there, they don't see, but here we do see it. (Blanca W6, Age 45) (Q78)

On the other hand, many challenged the stigma by highlighting positive aspects of the place they lived in. These included, for example, the rich and vibrant community life of El Agustino and how much they enjoyed knowing their neighbours and helping each other. This is something I could experience first-hand while living in El Agustino, as the following entry in my fieldnotes diary shows:

While I was walking I noticed how lively the street around here is. Everybody was in the street, near the Jan several groups of girls were dancing in the street making up choreographies and stuff, their mums were watching the dance from their doorsteps. (Fieldnotes 10th October 2008) (Q79)

Some interviewees had developed positive identities related to El Agustino and would highlight the fact that the district was improving, with many acknowledging that there had been positive changes in the district in the last few years;

P: Even though outside people have a terrible concept of El Agustino, like wow don't go there, it is horrible do not enter it, hey the taxi doesn't go there, you know, when I see someone that thinks like that, I tell them that they are very mistaken, because I am very proud of El Agustino and I stand up for it (...)

P: But at the same time I feel like saying, hey let's do more for this place, it's going to grow bigger! I don't know if you've heard but El Agustino has been in the last two or three years, I mean, among other districts, the one that has grown the most. And if we keep up this way I think we will achieve much. (Juan M4, Age 21) (Q80)

A month ago, RPP (radio station) said, I mean, they did a small survey about which was the best district, the one that has made more progress and the cleanest and it is El Agustino (.) That has been, well, I am really proud of my district in that sense. (Simon M6, Age 24) (Q81)

Many of the interviewees said that El Agustino looked better now, because many urban improvements had taken place. They highlighted the fact that it was cleaner and some of them also thought the crime rates were lower. The latter was contested by some other interviewees, who, on the contrary, thought crime rates had increased, although they recognised that youth gangs were less common in the borough these days.

III. Theoretically contextualising the analysis of the results of this chapter

My analysis of the results described in this chapter are summarised in Chapter 8 of this thesis and they concentrate on the agents of stigma as well as the impact on the lives of the stigmatised, addressing the gap identified by Oliver (2002, cited in Link and Phelan 2001): “research examining the sources and consequences of pervasive, socially shaped exclusion

from social and economic life are far less common” (p.366) than research concentrating on the individual’s perceptions and their consequences at the micro level. Additionally and following Howarth’s (2002) ideas on stigma and identity, and how these are co-constructed through the shifting dialectics of self-other relations, I propose to understand Agustinian identities as co-constructed through the relations they establish with people within and outside El Agustino. From this it follows that stigma becomes germane in understanding the construction of young men’s social and gender identities. Finally, I apply the reformulated conceptualisation of stigma offered by Link and Phelan (2001) to these results to test if their idea proposing that stigma only happens when certain components are present, applies in this context.

IV. Summary

In this chapter, I have reported on the social constructions surrounding El Agustino based upon data collected from a particularly influential newspaper in Lima, “*El Comercio*”, interviews with people living in El Agustino and in other, different, areas of the city and my own observations in the field. I found that the media and “*other limeños*” hold mainly negative views regarding El Agustino, seeing it almost exclusively as a violent, dangerous, deprived and dirty place, populated by people who have illegally settled in the area, live outside the law and have criminal tendencies. These views are tainted by prejudices against Andean migrants and a deep ignorance, particularly from “*other limeños*”, of El Agustino and its characteristics, with most of them not even knowing its location.

Agustinians experience this area stigma as an excluding force which affects their self-esteem. They also experience this stigma as a barrier to establishing equal connections with other

sectors of society, fearing rejection and discrimination. Their way of coping with these stigmatising views is not homogeneous. I found that some Agustinians dealt with the stigma by internalising it, reproducing it or exhibiting dissociating tactics in order to hide their El Agustino affiliation, whereas others challenged the stigma, either by not accepting it, or by using it for their own benefit (e.g. building street credibility amongst young men). In the next chapter, I will show how structural and institutionalised poverty have an impact on the daily life of Agustinians at the social level, and the ways in which they negotiate it.

Chapter 5. Structural, Political and Institutional Violence

There is also child violence, but not only physical violence, there is violence that... for example, a child that did not eat that day, it's violence, and it leaves a mark too (Police, SM7) (Q1)

The level of pressure they have from different sources, I find that violent. Kids are left hanging on the air, I mean institutions don't take responsibility, families don't take responsibility... they are blind to the fact that that young man is no longer attending school... his development possibilities, I mean what's he going to do in the future right? (NGO, SW5) (Q2)

As can be read in the above extracts, violence manifests itself in El Agustino at different levels and in different forms. The purpose of this chapter is to present the different manifestations of violence that were identified throughout the data collection process in El Agustino, at the macro level. The chapter is divided into two sections. The first section describes the characteristics of structural violence in El Agustino; the so-called “violence of poverty” (Bourgois and Scheper-Hughes 2004c) and some of its associated social conditions of suffering. Given the extensive accounts of many of these conditions in previous literature, I concentrate on an aspect of poverty that has been less documented but is evident in the interviewees' accounts, i.e. the violence that a lack of money generates at the level of human relations. Finally, I report on the contents relating to political violence (terrorism) found in the narratives and its identified consequences, particularly the damage generated to the social fabric of the community by a generalised feeling of suspicion and lack of trust. In the second section of the chapter, I report on the violence exerted and fuelled by institutions such as the local government, the police force, the educational system and the football clubs.

I. Structural violence

1. Poverty

1.1 Basic services, housing, food, health and child employment

During the interviews and from my own observations, I gathered information on the poverty conditions in El Agustino. Broadly speaking, the geographically lower-lying areas of El Agustino were better off than the higher ones, but, overall, it was a very impoverished area. Many of the interviewees from the lower areas remembered growing up without some of the basic services. Many of these lower-area inhabitants, however, also reported that, at the time of the interview, they now had basic services. Pedro told me, “my dad ... was one of the people working as a neighbourhood leader and he fought to obtain the property deeds and also participated in getting water and sewerage services” (M1, Age 19) (Q3). However, many of the higher areas’ inhabitants still did not have services such as sewerage. For the community, this was an urgent problem, which needed to be addressed, as the following fieldwork extract shows:

It was interesting how in the middle of the mayor’s presentation about fixing the sport courts, providing scholarships so young and adults could be trained in different trades in the council and free cultural activities, a little boy asked him ‘And when are you installing the sewerage system?’ To which a flustered mayor answered ‘That is not a sport-related activity’. (Fieldwork notes, 17 October 2008) (Q4)

In the course of my time living in El Agustino, I had the opportunity to take part in domiciliary visits alongside the social workers of the Restorative Juvenile Justice (RJJ) project. During these visits, I entered private households and observed the living conditions and housing characteristics of different areas of El Agustino. All of the houses we visited were unfinished. Some of them were built of concrete, but many of them were built with a mixture of concrete and adobe, with cardboard and corrugated iron panels on the roof. In

some houses, electricity connections were made by extending cables to the house from the street lighting, with exposed cables hanging from the walls. It was clear to me, during the visits, that the young men felt very self-conscious about the houses in which they lived, as shown by entries in my fieldwork diary:

Jimmy is sitting on his bike outside the house... he tells us his mum went to the market and when Alexis asks him if we can come in, he tells us the house is dirty... he looks a little bit embarrassed... finally his sister comes out and lets us in. We go in and the house is very dirty indeed... there's rubbish all over the floor, an empty yogurt cup, flies are flying around the house and the TV is on with the volume very high. There are electricity cables hanging from the roof like spider webs... Jimmy looks uncomfortable with our presence. (Fieldwork notes, 18 October 2008) (Q5)

The house is very poor, made of *adobe* and bricks, it has a dirt floor and the roof is made out of concrete and cardboard pieces. Martin starts cleaning when we arrive and his mum tells him to pay attention, he replies it's dirty and stops cleaning. Again I have the feeling that he is embarrassed about it, I wonder if it is related to my presence, as Alexis has been visiting him many times (Fieldwork notes, 25 October 2008) (Q6)

In Figures 7 and 8, some of the characteristics of the houses in El Agustino are visible. In the first picture, some houses made out of cardboard and wooden panels are seen, these kind of houses usually lacked some of the basic services; in the second picture, finished houses can be seen. A common strategy, used to share costs of housing, was for residents to live with their extended families. Inhabitants of El Agustino tended to divide spaces within the houses to accommodate different family groups. It was very usual, for example, to have a family sharing with two or three other families, and to have three or four generations of one family living in the same space.

Figure 7. Upper Agustino housing conditions



Figure 8. Lower Agustino housing conditions



Houses were normally built by the original migrants, who now had children and grandchildren, all living in the same house. This generated high levels of overcrowding, with many adults and children sleeping in a room. Maicol, for example, described his house as

hosting a “band”: “Now, wow! I live with a band! (laughs) I live with my mum, my stepfather and my brother... his wife, children and my children” (M29, Age 25) (Q7). Other people did not have a place to live, which meant that they were constantly moving, sleeping in someone else’s house and eventually on the streets:

P: Then I go to my uncle’s house and I sleep there, just sleep because I don’t have a TV, I mean, I’m ashamed. Since my uncle lives with my aunt and their two children

I: Hmh

P: I’m ashamed, maybe my aunt feels uncomfortable, I feel shame. Maybe I am using her space, I don’t want to be cheeky and just go up to watch TV on their television, that’s why I stay downstairs, to avoid problems (Alvaro M41, Age 17) (Q8)

The extreme poverty experienced in El Agustino went beyond infrastructure and services. Sometimes basic items such as food were scarce. Experiences of a lack of food when hungry, or of growing up with a lack of resources to feed the family adequately, were not uncommon in the narratives of the interviewees. Many of them told me about parental arguments, or about the mother complaining about the father, who, in many cases, lived elsewhere and, did not provide money for food, and the anguish associated with this. Interviewees described violent situations regarding the feeding and neglect of children. In the following quote, for example, Ana is talking about a man she knew, who had a mistress, and so he would disappear for days, during which his “official” family would have no food to eat and would be forced to live off the charity of friends and family:

They didn’t have a dad... their dad had another relationship, the father would send money ... but the day he didn’t send anything, they wouldn’t eat (Ana W4, Age 25) (Q9)

Jaime remembered the times when there was no money to eat at home as sad and difficult:

I: You don’t recall a lot of cheerful times? Was it a difficult time?

P: Aha, they were difficult times because besides the fact that we had just arrived, and sometimes there was no money to eat (**I:** aha) and all that... and it was the times of terrorism (**I:** aha) (Jaime M7, Age 19) (Q10)

The lack of resources in a family forced some of the children to work in order to contribute to the house or to have pocket money. Some parents would teach them how to work, which meant taking them along to their own work, which was usually the sale of goods. Thus, Alejandro told me about how his mother initiated him into the selling business, when he was a small child:

I mean, when we were, since we were eight, we worked, my mum always taught us to work because she told us 'maybe, God forbid, I am not here, you'll be able to work by yourselves' and she taught us how to work (Alejandro M11, Age 16) (Q11)

Other boys and young men I interviewed felt the urge to have some money to spend at school, to buy sweets as their classmates did, so they started working on their own initiative:

Of course! Because seeing all the kids eating and you don't have anything, yeah? And I remember that at the time, we didn't have money, yeah? And the only way you could have money was working, and that's why I liked it, right? Having my own money and so little by little I started earning money (Raul M27, Age 24) (Q12)

No, well my mum would do, she worked independently, and I would go out... when I went to school I'd see how my classmates would have money, would buy stuff and I couldn't, I didn't have any money, and then I started 'mum, can I have some pocket money', 'No, son, we don't have enough money, this and that' And so one day my mum made ice lollies for me... 'Mum buy me a box, I want to sell this' that is how I started (Gustavo M33, Age 24) (Q13)

Other young children and young men combined their working activities with theft, on the buses or the streets, as an effective way to gather the money to cover their needs. One interviewee, whose mother had abandoned him and his little brother and left them with their grandfather (the father had died in the United States), told me that he was in charge of his brother and protected him from everything. He said that he began to steal from the early age of 7 so that his brother could have food and go to school and would not rob. Once he started stealing on the streets, he joined a gang and started taking drugs:

P: Yeah, he's younger than me, I would take care of my brother because my grandfather was old, and he didn't... and my aunt wouldn't give him food

I: Your aunt was whose sister...

P: My mum's, and I had to find money on the street to bring back for my brother, I remember we would be sad during Christmas too... (Enrique M42, 22) (Q14)

Some young men resorted to petty crime to have money to buy the same things their friends had, in particular, clothes and trainers. Families prioritised food and shelter; hence, clothes, shoes and pocket money became a luxury that they could not afford and young men had to find their own ways to obtain them. The people of the RJJ project told me that most families chose to ignore or deny what was happening with their children until the children got caught. The underlying attitude was that it was better not to ask. In the following excerpts of Jose's and Gonzalo's interviews, the importance of being able to purchase their own things is clear:

Others had money and I didn't, I wanted to have money too, to buy my stuff, when I stole I had my trainers, I would buy my own clothes, my mum would ask me 'where do you get money from?' 'It's the money I save' (Jose M15, Age 18) (Q15)

I would rob to eat, to buy my clothes, to look cool because my friends would look cool, I was the only one that wasn't... clean clothes but with holes in it, I... I would stitch them up, all patched, it didn't look that bad and very, very clean, a torn shirt but very clean, that's what I would wear... I'd always wear the same clothes... and it was fine... then I got into a gang... (Gonzalo M28, Age 23) (Q16)

1.2 Lack of money and human relations

P: There are a lot of problems

I: And, what kind of problems?

P: Economic problems mostly. I don't know why money is related to everything, but that's how it works. Money shouldn't exist; it should be a barter system.

I: (smiles) Like before?

P: Of course! It'd be better, you want something, you exchange (Rafael M2, Age 18) (Q17)

An element that was evident in the discourses and my observations was the presence of money in all the narratives, related to all kinds of aspects of the interviewees' daily lives, including human relationships. When asking about relationships with a partner, child or parent, they were normally assessed by interviewees in terms of the provision (or lack thereof) of money.

Given the scarcity of money, and the fact that most individuals did not have regular jobs, relationships became very unstable. Nevertheless, discourses around giving and receiving money showed that giving money in this context meant more than just offering a way to acquire material goods; giving money became a way of showing that you cared about the other and that you were worried about their wellbeing. This was clear when looking at the discourses around giving/receiving money and how they revolved around the word “*apoyo*” (“support”). This word conveys the idea of “help” in a broad sense, as it is also used to refer to moral support; it means to be able to “lean on” someone else, hence, its connotations seem to have more depth than just the value of money:

P: My mum has always supported me, always, always, always, always, that’s why I stay with her, I will never leave her. (Carlos M14, 19) (Q18)

Sometimes this logic was taken to the extreme of justifying harmful acts if the person was a good provider. Gonzalo, for instance, told me about a doctor who was a friend of his father, and whom had sexually assaulted his brother when they were young. This doctor had had a homosexual relationship with his father for years, although they denied it, saying they were only friends. After telling me this story, Gonzalo (M28, Age 23) then said that this doctor was: “a good person, he is nice, he gives him money for his food, practically he supports my dad, my dad and his wife eat from that money”(Q19).

By the same token, many interviewees, who mentioned being beaten by their parents, concluded that they were very good parents, because they had always provided food. Parents highlighted the fact that they were the ones providing food and shelter, and used it as an argument to garner their children’s obedience and loyalty. I found a good example of this phenomenon in an extract of a theatre play, which young men from the RJJ project wrote, about a character named “Pepito”, a young man from El Agustino. In this play, Pepito is seen being disciplined by his father because he spends too much time on the street and comes back

home late. When his father confronts him, Pepito says that he was hanging out with his friends, to which the father replies in a sarcastic way: “your friends, your friends! Your friends what? Tell me, do your friends feed you, huh?” (Theatre play by the RJJ project participants) (Q20).

1.2.1 Strained relationships

Relationships between parents and children were usually strained by issues surrounding a lack of money, and its implications. Given the poor conditions, parents needed to work all day, and, therefore, did not have time to spend with their children. Some children felt guilty, especially boys towards their mothers, about their parents having to work so hard for them. Alejandro, for instance, told me that when he was 11 he started helping his mum with selling on the streets because he was worried about her wellbeing, denoting a sense of responsibility and a protective role for his mother even as a young boy. He told me, “I worked, I sold bread too, because I didn’t like my mum to go out to the street, I was afraid that something might happen to her and I’d be at home and my mum working, I didn’t like it” (Alejandro M11, Age 16) (Q21). Additionally, the police commander told me that some young people in El Agustino “felt guilty” about studying and not helping out financially at home, which prevented them from finishing school,

Yeah, yeah, or there’s too much poverty, there’s too much poverty, sometimes, people dropout of school because of money, they can’t, some young people say, I can’t study if I see my mum who’s not even able to buy a piece of bread, I can’t concentrate, they say. (Police, SM7) (Q22)

As I will show in the following chapters, a lack of education meant that young men in El Agustino found it harder to find a job later on in life. This shows how poverty and its consequences turn into a violent and vicious circle which is difficult to break as an individual. Thus, the “normal” order, in which children assume that their parents are there to take care of

them and protect them, is broken. Children are aware and, often, reminded from very early on, that they are a financial burden:

Umm... my mum used to tell me 'I'm taking too much care of you'. Not to throw us out, yeah? But she was right because she'd work hard for us, so through an order from the district attorney's office, we went to spend a year with my dad. We both [he and his sister] failed the school year that year (Rafael M2, Age 18) (Q23)

My son is fed up he tells me, 'with the money you work for, and you give us, is it that all for you?' he tells me, I tell him 'but what do you want me to do? I work from eight in the morning, come back at seven, eight at night, tired, I can't be here, I get tired, you don't know what it is like to be responsible for you, I have to pay for the house, I have to pay for the phone, electricity, water, I have to pay for everything' (Monica W7, Age 40) (Q24)

Given the possibility, many parents emigrated to other countries leaving their children behind with grandparents or uncles, in an attempt to gain a better future for their children and families. According to the psychologist's estimations (SW 10), about 70% of her patients had one parent who had migrated to a country such as Spain, Italy, USA, Argentina, Chile and Ecuador. Although this information was not official, it gave me an idea of the dimension of the phenomenon. Of my 45 male interviewees, 22% (10) had one parent who was abroad. This migration caused grief and instability to the children left behind, especially as young children and adolescents, as supported by Lucas' and Jose's accounts of their personal experience in this regard:

Well, since my mum separated from my dad, not because of problems but because she went to Argentina for work, which affected me psychologically right? Not being with my mum from 12 years onwards (Lucas M37, Age 23) (Q25)

P: Yeah, and yesterday, my mum left, on my birthday

I: Where did she go?

P: To Argentina

I: She went to work

(...)

P: I, I feel fine, I'm remembering my mum, I'm only with my siblings and my dad, that stayed, and they'll leave me at my grandma's house, I'm going to stay here, from Monday to Friday at my grandma's and Saturday and Sunday at my dad's, to entertain myself a bit. (Jose M15, Age 17) (Q26)

Couples' relationships also suffered under the pressure of economic hardship. Parents' most cited reason for fighting and arguments was money, with unfaithfulness and alcohol consumption, usually on the father's side, also mentioned:

I: And has there always been a reason why they fight? Do they fight about anything or is there a recurring theme they fight about?

P: There are some subjects, for example the money factor is very important (**I:** aha) it's a cause of fighting, right? (Simon M6, Age 24) (Q27)

As described earlier in this chapter, El Agustino inhabitants usually lived with their extended families. This arrangement often generated conflicts as it meant that they depended upon each other to pay the bills, etc. Thus, when someone did not pay their share, fights between the different sections of the family began and I frequently found accounts of people living under the same roof who did not talk to each other, or who were in constant friction,

From my dad's side (**I:**aja) and yeah... then and yeah, well um... sometimes communication with my uncles is um... is good, we joke and everything but there are also some problems... because they have to pay the water but they don't... because, there is also one uncle who never pays on time (**I:** laughs) and sometimes, umm... he doesn't, he doesn't pay and says 'Oh. I'll just pay afterwards'. (Jaime M7, Age 19) (Q28)

1.2.2 Money as a status symbol and a measure of comparison: Social envy and resentment

Ten houses on a block, to give you an example, right? Out of the ten... six are perfectly built, with a ground and first floor, with some services, right? And... four out of them, are umm, have the shell walls, but inside the walls there are no divisions, no water, the toilets aren't... the internal divisions are made out of cloth, plastics, a quilt and that's where an adolescent is living, right? And he goes out, and a few steps from his house is his friend, his mate, his neighbour. But his neighbour has everything, right? And they start to resent that, right? He wants to dress the same way, but he can't. If he can't there is someone else telling him 'you want Nike trainers? I've seen in the neighbourhood, a mate that has them...' 'I think it's your size, let's go yeah?' (Community leader, SW15) (Q29)

I just told her; I said to her, 'you know? Someday I am going to be someone big I'll even have more money than they do' and they will ask me for money, for support and I won't give them anything and everything they have done to me, I will do to them'. (Simon M6, Age 24) (Q30)

The above quotes summarise the situation of constant comparison, social envy and resentment, resulting from differences in the material goods that different neighbours and family members were able to afford. Money, then, was the privileged way to compare yourself with others, and, by the same token, it was the best way to demonstrate your superiority over others.

In the following extract, it is clear how a neighbour was the subject of envy because he had a career and earned good money. Young men saw this as a desirable situation in which to be and expected that people around them would respect and look up to them because of their wealth. Pedro told me about a conversation he had with a school friend, discussing which careers they wanted to pursue in the future. According to Pedro, his friend told him he wanted to be an engineer because his dad kept complaining about the neighbour being an engineer and having money: “Dad complains about that guy because he has money, I also want them to talk about me because I have money” he told me. And I think that’s when the idea of being an engineer came up to me” (Pedro M1, Age 19) (Q31).

Status related to money was not only displayed outside the house, but also within households, where differences in earnings had an impact on young people’s positioning within the family. Young members of the family who worked and were able to contribute to the household, i.e. were less of a burden, were instantly regarded as more important than those that did not. Generating income was reinforced by preferential treatment in the household over those who still depended on the parents, prompting conflicts and resentment among siblings, such as the following:

Yes, because my sister is a bit aggressive, well, she’s my half sister, my mum’s daughter, her dad is in Spain. She’s very aggressive, very stuck up my sister, because her dad sends her money and clothes from Spain, she thinks all is about grandeur, and I am not like that, I just take what they give me and that’s it. But

my sister is very arrogant; she believes she's better than me. (Maria W3, Age 17) (Q32)

It's like I'm still angry from them telling me off but not telling her anything and sometimes I say it I tell her 'Ok fine just because now you make a bit of money but what good does it make you? It's just because you are lucky (1) sometimes life goes around' I tell her (Jaime M7, Age 19) (Q33)

Connected to this, another very common issue was that families were composed of children from different fathers. It was quite usual for women to have children by more than one partner. In most cases, the current partner would support his children but not his stepchildren. In fewer cases, the current partner treated all the children in the house as equals; this usually happened when he had acquired his stepchildren as babies. Many interviewees, like Alfredo, reported growing up feeling left aside and envying the half-brothers and half-sisters who had a present father to provide for them and protect them:

I: And did you feel a difference between the way your stepfather would treat you and how he would treat his own children?

P: Yeah, of course there was a difference, my brothers have had the opportunity to um... the best right? studies and everything, but they didn't take advantage of it and I felt that, that I wanted all that but he wouldn't give it to me. (Alfredo M16, Age 32) (Q34)

2. Political violence: Experience of terrorism and its impact on trust at the community level

As I will show in this section, the violence of terrorism went beyond the human and material losses caused by attacks and bombs. In Chapter 4, I described how, according to many of the interviewees, terrorism had left a kind of remnant "violent identity" in El Agustino. In this section, I show how direct experiences with terrorists attacks and its consequences had an impact on young people's lives and also how the terrorist legacy still shaped lives and social

organisation in El Agustino, more than fifteen years after its main leader and principal collaborators were caught²⁵. Father Chiqui reflected:

The political violence fractured the country, the institutions; it broke the grassroots organizations, the open and brotherly living that used to be in the slums, right? In a very significant way, El Agustino, was a... here we had, we made a list of people that died violently in El Agustino or Agustinians who died because of terrorism, and there were seventy-two people, here they killed communal leaders, market leaders, grassroots movements leaders... (Church leader, SM1) (Q35)

2.1 Experiences of terrorism

The direct experience of terrorist attacks and operations in the area meant that many young men and women had grown up seeing or knowing about people who had been murdered, as a result of terrorism, in the area. They were witnesses of terrorists' attacks and of the resulting destruction and pain. This, in Samuel's words, left a "deep scar" on him:

I don't know why the 80's left such a big mark on me, because of the very many terrorist attacks, many car-bombs, El Agustino was in turmoil and there were news every day, people dying, yeah? Here and there and you'd see people suffering, crying, as a consequence of violence (Samuel M9, Age 27) (Q36)

Civil liberties were restricted during that period, as it was not safe to be on the streets after certain times. The population was also a victim of violence stemming from repressive actions taken by the military forces fighting the terrorists. People were trapped between two forces and left vulnerable and scared. As Pablo recalled,

P: During that time, because of the things we lived, it was a post-terrorism time, where violence was huge, if you had lived here, my God! I remember that during those days, the military would go on to the buses and if you didn't have your ID they'd take you, you could only be outside until 9pm because the military..., since there are some military barracks here...

I: Which one, Barbones?

P: Yeah, they'd walk the avenue up and down and those who didn't have documents would be taken, man or woman, during that post-terrorism time...

I: And, were they violent?

P: Yes, they were violent, and because of that I think they made people become more violent... (Pablo M5, Age 27) (Q37)

²⁵ Abimael Guzman, Shining Path's main leader was caught in 1992, after that the main cells of the group were disintegrated and the level of attacks diminished considerably. Nowadays there are still some isolated groups operating in the jungle but they have not caused the levels of violence and disruption as in the 80's and 90's again.

For a couple of interviewees, the threat of violence had been much more tangible because they had a father who was part either of the military or police forces. They had feared retaliation against the family if anyone had found out that the father was part of the military forces. As Jaime told me, they had to hide the fact that his father was in the military, and lie to the neighbours saying instead that he was in the construction sector:

I: Your dad was tense during that time?

P: Yes, at the time there was still some terrorism (**I:** aha) he was tense because you couldn't say your father was in the military because...they could do something to him, my dad would tell us 'if they ask you what does your dad do? Say he works in construction'. You couldn't tell anyone that he was in the military... for a while he forbade us to say he was in the military... during the times of terrorism (Jaime M7, Age 19) (Q38)

In Brandon's case, the impact of terrorism in his family was still felt, as his father had been injured in a confrontation with terrorists, and was left disabled: he had never fully recovered and could not work properly. According to Brandon, whenever they went to the police hospital, they were asked to pay for the medicines, which should have been free in this case, and which were impossible for the family to afford. This was a clear example of how the political and structural violence combined to create a situation of deep social suffering, which was difficult to overcome;

My dad was working patrolling, he was inside the car, and during the time there were a lot of conflicts with terrorists, they launched tear gas and unluckily he was inside, he was affected by it... he ended up with internal fractures in his foot, he ended up being kind of disabled ... (Brandon M22, Age 21) (Q39)

However, not all forms of the violence of terrorism were as explicit and as direct as this one. Political violence had also had a "prospective impact", affecting the future and lives of young men and women who did not experience it directly. This was the case of Juan, a young man born in the jungle, whose papers (birth certificate and registration) were destroyed years before, in a terrorist attack:

P: Ah. Well, it's a problem I've had since I was little, well I wasn't born in El Agustino, but I have a problem caused by terrorism, the terrorist eliminated all my documents, and I've been, all this time, during 22 years, studying and being

part of Peru without really being part of it. That means I don't have a national identity card now, and that is something that prevents me from studying and developing as a person, right? And that's complicated, at least for me.

(...)

P: And I am always asking my dad for money, 'dad I need money for my transport' (laughs), well, it is a bit uncomfortable for me, but I do it, maybe also asking him to help me out with my documents, I mean, as long as you don't help me with this, I will keep on asking you for money, something like that. Maybe it's a way of protesting, I think (Juan M4, Age 22) (Q40)

Juan had not managed to get a national identity card (DNI), which meant that it was very hard for him to find a legal job, as, by law, employees were required to provide a copy of the DNI. Juan had studied for a technical career, but he told me that he had not been able to get a proper job since he had finished his studies. In order to solve the problem, Juan explained to me, he needed to travel to the province where he was born, but the fare was expensive and he did not have the money to afford it and his parents would not give him the money. He felt frustrated and angry with his parents and the society.

2.2 Impact on trust at the interpersonal and community level

According to some of the stakeholders I interviewed, another, subtle form of violence left by the terrorist era, was the damage caused at the level of the social fabric, expressed in the form of high levels of suspicion and mistrust among the population of El Agustino, when compared to the pre-terrorist social organisation:

P: And a lot of mistrust, before everything was more open, right? In the relationships between people, even the houses were open, but then a distrust feeling started like 'Who do I have living next to me?' If they were "lefties", they thought they could be a snitch from the intelligence service, if not you were involved in organisations that Shining Path had threatened... everyone would look at each other, everybody ...

I: And has that changed or does it still happen?

P: Yeah, to re-establish the trust will take a lot, a lot, the openness there was, the trust, everyone has become very suspicious ... (Church leader, SM1) (Q41)

In this paragraph, Father Chiqui established a link between political violence and lack of trust within the community. When analysing my transcripts, I found much content related to gossip, suspicion and lack of trust. These were present at the couple and family level, extending to friends, neighbours and the rest of the community. Whether these kinds of interactions were completely fuelled or created by the violence of earlier terrorism is hard to say, but it certainly could have been a contributing factor.

Among the examples of mistrust I found at the couple level, issues surrounding infidelity were widespread, with both men and women constantly suspicious about the fidelity of their partners, and furthermore about the paternity of children. Juana (W5, Age 17), for instance, told me that her father did not love her because she did not look like him and he thought she was not his real daughter. Interviewees also referred to a lack of trust within their families.

Finally, at the level of friendships and the extended community, many interviewees reported that they felt mistrust towards their friends. They felt that their friends were only there to have a good time and drink with, especially if someone was paying. They would say that they knew that they were talked of behind their backs [by their friends], which prevented them from confiding anything personal [to them].

II. Violence and institutions

1. Local government

Some people from El Agustino felt that their local council, did not care for them and only used them for its own political interests. Council employees were seen as inefficient, lazy and disengaged. Hence, Francisco told me how he thought that the people working at the local

council were not there because of merit, but personal contacts, which meant he did not think that they were suitable for the job:

Basically in the council, people that work there are boring, well, stressed people and I'm sure those people didn't get in because of a public contest but because of friendships, they should good go through based on a public bid. And that's what I have noticed (Francisco M3, Age 27) (Q42)

Another interviewer told me that he thought that the council did not focus their priorities on the areas that really needed it, such as the border areas of the district, which seemed to be forgotten by the authorities. He was aware that it was only the local government who could make a real change, as they had the power to do it, and blamed them for not using that power to change the situation:

Those boundary areas should be taken into account by the authorities, those are areas the authorities forget about as if they didn't exist. I live near a boundary and I see people lying down there, abandoned children. I see a lot of things, and I don't know what the El Agustino and La Victoria [another borough] authorities do about it, how do they allow this. I see a lot of people, homeless, lying there, lying there, as if they were paper, dirty paper. And it makes you feel bad you can't do anything about it because you don't have the power, those who have the power to make a decision should make it (Francisco M3, Age 27) (Q43)

As part of my participant observation, I also observed the neglect of the local government insofar as they used the population and their activities as a platform to generate a good image for the council, without guaranteeing the functioning of the policies implemented. During my time in El Agustino, I was part of the inauguration of a youth association in the Amauta sector (in the upper part of El Agustino). The ceremony was organised with chocolate and cake for all the attendants and a theatre act. The mayor attended and spoke about the importance of incorporating the young people of El Agustino in sports and cultural activities and promised several free workshops, and had photos taken with the inhabitants of Amauta, who clapped and cheered after his speech.

Some weeks later, I went back to Amauta to conduct some interviews and found that only one workshop (boxing) was being conducted. The other teachers had never appeared and no other activities were taking place. While talking with the founding members of the youth association, they told me that they were there only for the inauguration but that they never really believed in the project as Mario's account shows:

P: No, they take it as a game, but to be honest I don't..., I got into it not to disappoint the lady, what's her name? Luz

I: Aha

P: Because she deals with the mayor, only because of that, otherwise I wouldn't have got involved, she told me, so not to make the lady look bad in front of the mayor. That is why I did it, otherwise I would not have got involved (Mario M44, Age 21) (Q44)

There were also some positive accounts of the mayor's activities. Some interviewees reported that the incumbent mayor was doing things right for El Agustino, as it was a better place to live because of him. They highlighted the security and infrastructure improvements he had implemented,

I: Ah, ok, ok, and if you had the opportunity? Umm... no... if you had to describe El Agustino to someone that doesn't know it, how would you describe your district?

P: It has changed, it's better with the new mayor, it has changed a lot, how can I tell you, it has changed by sixty percent, it has changed very much (Felipe M36, Age 20) (Q45)

2. Police forces and justice system

Following my interviews with the local population, I concluded that the police force was seen as an abusive and unreliable institution, operating with the criminals, instead of protecting the (law-abiding) population. Additionally, I found that there was a complete lack of trust in the justice system. Most interviewees told me that there was no point in reporting anything to the police, if you did not offer them some money. This is illustrated by the incident when Monica went to the police station to report that her partner had threatened her and hit her:

P: They said ‘he hasn’t hit you, you don’t have a bruised face or any cuts’, **I:** got really mad, and told him: ‘What? Are you going to wait for me to come bleeding or with my face destroyed to give me an order or detain him?’ ‘Yes ma’am, because that’s the law’

I: Hmh

P: That’s how it works, but I told the officers ‘but if I come with fifty soles and I tell you, mister, can you do this favour for me...’, it’s true! And the captain got kind of upset ‘Ma’am, how disrespectful!’, ‘I know it because I live here, everything here works with money, unfortunately I don’t have it now’ I said ‘thank you’ and I went into my room frightened. (Monica W7, Age 40) (Q46)

On the other hand, there was also a perception of ill-treatment and unfairness from the police, with people saying that they were accused, detained and beaten up before charges against them were proved. This was particularly true for young men. It seemed that being a young man in El Agustino put them under suspicion by default. Taking bribes from parents of minors caught in some illegal activity was also usual for the police, with the argument being that if they did not receive money they would send the minors to an institution. Monica described an interaction between the police and her son. Gathering on the street in a group was presented as an offence, which, combined with the fact that the young man, Monica’s son, already had a previous arrest, meant that she was threatened with the prospect of her son being arrested:

They could have asked, but no, the first thing the officer tells me is ‘This is your son’s third offence’ I say to him ‘but why? What did he do?’, ‘Because he was hanging out on a corner with some gang members. That is an offence, going around in a group of five is forbidden, that is the same as robbery, and they already have a police record’ (Monica W7, Age 40) (Q47)

In this vein, Blanca told me how the police used the young men to gain credit in front of the TV cameras. In her account, Blanca told me that the police planted weapons and drugs into her son’s pockets to make him appear guilty,

The policemen stole my phone that was in my sweater, since I covered my son with my sweater inside the car, I covered his face so he wouldn’t appear on TV, because they called the press, miss, so they would record the whole thing, saying that they had caught the leader... and they said that they would take them to the... um... what’s it called? To the district attorney, which wasn’t true, they didn’t take them, they were just driving in circles... and we went to the office of the district

attorney, and we didn't find them. In the meantime, they had taken them back so the TV cameras could record the kids and they introduced this other kid as the leader of one of the gangs from Villa Hermosa and my son too as a part of the gang and they were saying that they had found the lads with drugs, scissors, and all that, which was a lie, because my son told the officer in front of the district attorney: 'you didn't find anything, you planted it on me, you put it there, we didn't have anything' (Blanca W6, Age early forties) (Q48)

Physical violence against detainees was also quite common, with various accounts of abusive behaviour, such as insults and beatings, directed by the policemen towards minors:

P: I mean, they shout at you, 'your name?' And since you're there in front of a police officer and you are all nervous, 'Hey! I can't hear you' Pom! Some hard slaps on the face... they tell you there 'you're good at throwing stones, aren't you? And now you're here and you get all small and frightened, you're quiet, you know you can't do or say anything' ...

I: And how do they hit you? With what?

P: Everything, and to avoid leaving a mark, they put a blanket or a pillow and then hit you.

(...)

P: Yeah, they cut your hair everywhere, and when they're doing it they make you say, I won't steal again, I won't steal again. While they are cutting your hair, with or without people watching.

(...)

P: Once when I robbed, they caught me and they cut my hair and they would make me say I won't rob again, and it helped me! Because I never stole again (laughs) (Beto M18, Age 27) (Q49)

Yes, they hit you, on the sole of your foot they hit you with that police stick but not like this (shows a light touch) they hit you with all their strength on the sole or where ever it lands, and you just have to handle it, that's what you pay back because of what you did on the street. (Lucas M37, 23) (Q50)

Nonetheless, it should be highlighted that not all of the accounts of the police were negative.

One interviewee, Alberto (M20, Age 26), told me that he had a good experience when he got detained and Martin expressed his desire to join the police force, because he thought that police officers inspired respect. However, given the above-mentioned accounts, it would seem that this respect was not based on positive characteristics but on the ability to exert violence and abusive power:

That he wants one of his children to be a police officer, he wants to see him with his uniform. And I also want to be a police officer because the policeman is like the most respected. (Martin M31, Age 16) (Q51)

3. Educational system

This young man must have a learning disability, but no-one thought of it, no-one took care of him, no-one helped him out with his educational process, because when you spoke to him, he had a huge motivation to learn, but he had quit a couple of years ago, you could even tell he had a language problem, right? So I thought, there must have been some kind of difficulty there, that no-one cared about, that is violence for me, right? (NGO, SW6) (Q52)

In this section, I discuss the violence exerted within the schools as an educational system. The interpersonal experience of violence at the peer level in the school context will be reported in Chapter 6. As with violence in other contexts, I found that violence in the school system was expressed at different levels. There was a physical dimension to it, with teachers hitting students and promoting fights in the classrooms, as Samuel's and Eduardo's accounts show:

And the teacher comes, she looked like a soldier (I: laughs) and I remember the first thing she said was: 'I shouldn't be teaching in this school, I should be working in the main school, I was the headmistress of the main school.' This and that... 'because of an act of injustice they send me to work here at this school, so after a year I am going to teach again in a classroom, so I am going to warn you that my teaching system, blah, blah, blah' So then, oh my God, who sent us the devil? The teacher was an ogre, a soldier, and she impressed me a lot with her strong character yeah? She was a very good teacher, yeah? But her personality struck me, I had never seen such a hard woman, it struck me, and I remember we were all afraid because every class we'd have a test, and you had to do it on the board, and if you got it wrong, they wouldn't correct you, boom! You'd get a punch on the head!

I: A punch?

P: Yes a punch, you'd get a punch, and be careful if you complained, if you complained and you erase your notebook so your dad does not see it, what will your dad give you? A whipping with the belt! So you learn with the trauma, right? (**P:** laughs) You'd learn out of fear, but there I was, right? And I survived! (Samuel M9, Age 27) (Q53)

P: There were certain days when the teacher would close the door and make us all fight

I: He'd make you fight?

P: Yes, he'd make us fight for fun, to kill time during recess (Eduardo M43, Age 23) (Q54)

Another, more abstract, but no less violent, aspect of the system, was the corruption of the teachers, who would charge money to students that were in danger of failing a year. This

practice was so institutionalised that, as Cesar narrated, there would be teachers that would offer “the service” of coordinating with all the other teachers and calculating a “total price” for the student to pass the academic year,

P: I had to bribe the teachers in third, fourth and fifth years of secondary school to not fail, because if I didn't I would have failed.

I: You had to pay

P: Yes, the teachers, teachers make deals

I: Oh really?

P: Of course they make deals, they are the worst, they like money

I: How much do they charge? So to pass a course you need to pay each teacher?

P: Each teacher, every course is like 50, 30 soles, or sometimes there were some that were nicer and would ask you to bring them highlighters, pens, anything, or there was another teacher that was known in the ‘business’, yeah? You’d give him all the money and he’d make a bill and he’d talk with each teacher (Cesar M19, Age 21) (Q55)

Violence was also directed at those pupils labelled “problematic”. Young men were considered problematic because they had learning difficulties, did not concentrate properly, were violent or missed classes, etc. These students were usually the ones with more problems at home.

The most common way of dealing with these students was to send them to a school with other “problem students”. These schools were seen, in the community, as places which “produced” gang members and potential criminals. One of the interviewees backed up this view, by telling me that when he was moved to one of these schools, he began to know “rougher people” (Carlos M14, 19). If the problems continued, the next common strategy was to expel the pupils from the school, or, similarly, not to encourage the young men to stay on when they wanted to leave.

When young men were expelled or left school, they had more time to spend on the streets and more time to be involved in gang-related activities. It was a system that did not offer a

solution to the young men's problems, but instead deepened and complicated their problems, as Gustavo's experience suggests:

P: I mean, when I was fourteen, no thirteen, thirteen they expelled me, so then I had like two years without studying...

(...)

I: And when you stopped studying did you start participating even more?

P: Of course, participating more in the gang, sometimes we'd go to the schools and just stand there, we'd take the mickey out of the girls, we went drinking and sometime you'd get a girlfriend, this and that.. (Gustavo M33, Age 24) (Q56)

4. Football clubs

At least in Lima, gangs and football supporters are very related. Many of the confrontations between gangs, even the killing, are related to football fanaticism, the hysterical identification of colours from one or other teams. Concerning El Agustino, during the dates we are talking about, leaders of "Comando Sur" [faction from Alianza] and "Trinchera Norte" [faction from Universitario] had their base in the district. Precisely, Zully and "Los Picheiros" were the leaders of the Alianza supporters and during the time I was the Alianza Lima's chaplain. (Church leader, SM) (Q57)

To conclude this section, final institutional sources of violence were the football clubs and the dynamics they generated among their football followers. The clubs had a system, in which they organised boroughs by areas, and established a leader for each area. They gave tickets to these leaders for each match, and these leaders sold the tickets at a low price, or gave them free to followers who had a record of loyalty to the team. Loyalty was assessed by matches' attendance and participation in confrontations with followers of the opposite team, as one of the stakeholders told me:

P: Even high management from the U or Alianza, before anything they distribute areas so the young men would get fired up in the violence that is the way it is

I: it's a business too

P: Of course it's a business!

I: The tickets...

P: And deals and trafficking with the tickets!

I: Hmh

P: But where does it come from? It comes from high up. Below the kids are only victims and it's important to make that clear ... (Church leader, SW2) (Q58)

This system also generated violence among the followers of each team, and factions were created which fought over becoming the area leaders and having control over the tickets and the followers in their sector:

I: But sometimes they fight within the people from Alianza?

P: Oh yeah, that's for the tickets, sometimes

I: Tickets!

P: Tickets, for the power...

I: Oh to see who's in command

P: Who's in command, yes, who leads (Enrique M42, Age 22) (Q59)

Violence, then, turned into a "business". These football clubs profited from the fanaticism reigning among young men from deprived settings. Football was a very important aspect of these young men's lives, often described as a "passion". Beto explained to me, when I asked what being part of a football fan group meant to him, "passion, how should I explain this to you... It means that if I go to the stadium I chant, chant, chant the whole 90 minutes" (Beto M18, Age 27) (Q60). Usually, they referred to their team as a woman, with whom they were utterly in love.

III. Theoretically contextualising the analysis of the results of this chapter

The links between the findings in this chapter and the theoretical analysis will be further discussed in Chapter 8, where drawing primarily on anthropological views on structural violence and the theory of practice presented in Chapter 2, I analyse the above presented findings in terms of the interaction between structural conditions and individual social agents. Additionally when looking at the embodied experiences of structural violence and stigmatisation through the lens of the theory of practice; the concepts of field, habitus and practice become useful to explain the mechanisms at the base of this interaction. Finally in Chapter 8 I incorporate the ideas of "symbolic violence" and "misrecognition" in the

analysis, attempting to explain how the system of inequality and social exclusion (structural violence) ends up perpetuating itself.

IV. Summary

In this chapter, I have shown how structural and institutional violence pervades social interactions at different social levels: from the violence of poverty and its associated ailments, such as lack of services, overcrowding, homelessness, lack of food and child labour; to the political violence of terrorism and the army forces' retaliating acts; to the institutional violence stemming from the local government, the police forces, the educational system and the football clubs. I have described how social dynamics are corroded by the presence of violence at all levels, generating a culture of aggression, social envy, distrust and suspicion. Institutions, instead of fortifying the social order, seem to add to the confusion and to the experience of ill-treatment and chaos. Police forces, for example, are seen as corrupt and aggressive. Football team alliances have a strong impact on the territorial identity of young men in El Agustino, which in turn fuels violent confrontations between opposing football team fans. In the following chapter, I describe violence from a subjective point of view, looking into the nuances of the everyday experience of violence at the individual level.

Chapter 6. The Violence of Everyday Life

I: If I say the word violence, what's the first thing that comes to your mind?

P: El Agustino (Ricardo M21, Age 21) (Q1)

Ricardo's answer to my question about violence encapsulated the findings presented in this chapter. Violence was experienced as a constant feature in the day-to-day lives of people in El Agustino. When prompted to think about associations with the word "violence", most interviewees mentioned concrete physical acts such as punching, fighting or hitting someone, whereas others associated the word violence with "blood", "death" and "murder".

However, there were other interviewees who alluded to more subtle or abstract manifestations of violence. Associations with verbal and psychological violence were frequent and the word "abuse" emerged in many of the responses, as the following excerpts show:

I: Now, I want you to tell me a little bit about, what comes to your mind when I mention the word violence?

P: Abuse. It's abusing someone, getting into a fight without a motive (Martin M31, Age 16) (Q2)

I: What's, what do you think violence is?

P: Violence is when someone abuses someone else. (Alvaro M41, Age 18) (Q3)

I: What's the first thing you think?

P: It must be abusing, right? (Eduardo M43, Age 23) (Q4)

When looking at the definition of the word "abuse" in the Spanish language dictionary²⁶ I found that this word did not directly relate to the idea of violence, but more to the idea of using something, or treating someone, wrongly. The word had connotations of injustice, relating to the idea of disproportionate and unfair behaviour:

²⁶ http://buscon.rae.es/draeI/SrvltConsulta?TIPO_BUS=3&LEMA=abuso, accessed 21 May 2010

abuse

1. action and effect of abusing. (Q5)

To abuse

1. wrongly, excessive, unfair, inappropriate or improper use of something or someone. (Q6)

My informants seemed to think, therefore, that violence was associated with aggressive displays of behaviour, or events that were not justified or were seen as an overreaction. Closely linked with this idea of injustice and violence, was the idea of a power relationship in which one person subjected a “weaker” other to abusive treatment, as we can read from this second definition from the same dictionary:

2. treating dishonestly someone with less experience, strength or power. (Q7)

Hence, according to the local understanding, abuse, and ultimately violence, happened when exerted against someone that was not your equal. This, in turn, seemed to be related to a need to demonstrate power, and to make yourself feared by others, as evident from Jaime’s account:

I: Ehm if I mention the word violence. What’s the first thing that comes to your mind?

P: Violence? An aggressive person. (**I:**aha) An aggressive person that... that doesn’t want to express something, that just wants to feel strong, someone that only wants to hurt and have other people fearing him, that’s what I think. (Jaime M7, Age 19) (Q8)

Having briefly explored the emic perspectives on violence in this milieu, I now aim to understand how people experienced violence in El Agustino, how it permeated their daily lives and what the most salient features of this experience were. I start, in the first section, by describing the main characteristics of violence found in the interviewees’ accounts, in hip hop song lyrics and in my own observations, focusing on the pervasiveness and normalisation of violence, which seem to lead towards its use as a prominent and privileged problem-solving strategy. The fluid nature of violence, both in terms of changing contexts and actors’ shifting roles, is also highlighted. In this regard, I describe how people shift from being victims, to

being witnesses, to being agents of violence, within different settings. This, in turn, relates to the next characteristic of daily violence, which is the fluidity and interconnected nature of violent events, fuelled primarily by emotions of revenge and anger. In the second section of the chapter, I report on the way young men negotiate violence by using different strategies, according to their situation and personal characteristics.

I. Characteristics of violence found in the narratives of young men and women.

1. Pervasiveness: It is everywhere

According to the interviewees' accounts, violence permeated their lives and behaviour on a constant basis and across situations. Some of them recognised the impact of pervasive violence in their own behaviour and felt that they had little control over it. Thus, Monica told me about her experience of violence surrounding her at all times, and her feeling of lack of control and irrationality when she became violent herself:

Here, everything is violence, everyone, everyone, even I am violent myself, where I live is violent also, if I don't like something I go crazy, crazy. (Monica W7, Age 40) (Q9)

In my analysis of the transcripts, it became clear that people living in El Agustino had to learn to live with violence and deal with it from very early on in their lives. They learnt that the environment was dangerous and that they needed to be careful and react adequately, because the violence in which they were immersed could manifest itself at any time. Elena, for instance, told me about her fear of one of her children being attacked and killed on the street, something, she told me, that she constantly reminded her son about; "I tell him, 'be careful' 'So many things happen on the streets, they beat you up, mug you, they even kill you' I tell him, 'be careful baby'" (Elena W9, Age 38) (Q10). People in El Agustino

experienced violence across layers of social relations (Parkes 2007), and across contexts such as at home, on the streets, at school, etc. Their involvement in this violence varied according to the particular characteristics of each context, and violence itself acquired a different meaning and was expressed in different ways depending on the context, as I will show in the following sections.

1.1 Violence in the family

Accounts of violence in the context of the family were very common, ranging from verbal and psychological violence, to physical aggression amongst different members of the family. Verbal violence, in the form of insults and yelling, was used in the households as a way of dealing with or solving problems, and reprimanding children when they behaved badly. Many of the interviewees experienced this as a shameful and disturbing experience, as Maria told me:

And there is too much violence at my home, they deal with everything yelling and screaming, it's the only way they do it, screaming and screaming, everybody stares because it looks terrible! They fight; assault each other in my family, it's terrible. (Maria W3, Age 17) (Q11)

My observations in the field confirmed this idea, and, during my time in El Agustino, I witnessed situations in which children, even as toddlers, were shouted at and addressed with abusive language. In the following extract from my fieldwork notes, for example, I report on my experience of joining one of the outreach workers of the RJJ project on one of his home visits; I wrote:

Small kids are coming into the living room... one is about nine years old, the other three are between one and four years old... They are Jimmy's sisters' children... You can hear one of the sisters yelling at the kids from the first floor: 'Come here damn it! Fuck!' (Fieldwork notes 18 October 2008) (Q12)

Physical violence was also usual between members of the nuclear family, such as between parents and children, among siblings, between parents (with men hitting women being the

most usual modality) and also among members of the extended family, such as uncles, nephews and grandparents. As mentioned in the previous chapter, overcrowding and sharing the living space with extended family was a typical strategy to deal with limited housing resources. This led to internal fights usually related to unpaid bills or disputes over the space they shared. Some of these reported confrontations were very aggressive and potentially dangerous, as we can read in the following account:

I stood up for myself, my uncle was yelling at me, I yelled at him too, we almost got into a fight, and if it hadn't been for my aunts, I would've fought him because I got crazy too, angry, and I... well I didn't grab a knife but I was going to, I was so angry that I wanted to kill him, because I went mental, he always picked on me, I mean I grabbed it only to scare him, 'cause I didn't want to kill him, but in my head I was killing him. (Alvaro M41, Age 18) (Q13)

Besides violence between the father and the mother, aggressive behaviour from parents towards their children was one of the most common forms of violence reported in this setting. Violence, in this case, was used as punishment, when children committed a mistake or behaved in an unexpected way. The modality of hitting children ranged from slaps, punches and kicks to more "sophisticated" procedures reminiscent of torture practices. A typical form of beating children was to use the leads of electrical goods, such as from the TV or the radio, against wet skin; a hose, wooden elements, or even knives were also used. The following excerpts show the scope of the aggressive acts towards children:

I: And did you hit your kids when they misbehaved?

P: Not with a whip ... but with my hand, sometimes a slap, or a punch or a kick, now I realise it wasn't the right thing to do. (Blanca W6, Age early forties) (Q14)

P: She would wet my body and put electricity on me, ouch!

I: Electricity!

P: Then I had marks in my body... and then um... she'd whip me ... what could I say? (Andres M34, Age 19) (Q15)

P: But my mum, when she got mad, she would throw knives at you. I remember one day she threw a knife at me and she cut me
(...)

I: Where did she cut you?

P: On the leg ... I had a cut, but it was not too deep

I: And how old were you?

P: Ten years, almost 11 (Maicol M29, Age 25) (Q16)

Interviewees, commenting upon these experiences, seemed to regard violence experienced at home as having a negative, deep and long-lasting impact on their lives. Many of the interviewees remembered physical punishment by their parents as something that had marked them for life, bearing an impact on their own behaviour and on the way they related to other people. In the following extract, Maicol told me about the only memory he had about his father, who left when he was young and never came back:

P: No, the only thing I remember about him, and I have never forgotten, is one day when he hit me really hard in the shower, he undressed me and hit me really hard with a cord

I: In the shower?

P: Yeah, that's the only thing I remember about him

(...)

I: And how did you feel? Do you remember how you felt when he did that to you? Did he hit you a lot?

P: No, no, only that time, and I think that marked me for life really!! (Maicol M29, Age 25) (Q17)

Similarly, a young woman associated her emotional reserve with the violence experienced in her household. Throughout the interview, she constantly complained about lack of love in her house and insisted that parents should not resort to violence to educate their children because it generated more violence, “they hit me hard, my dad used to hit my mum too, that’s why I’m so cold... I think I already grew up like that, with resentment” (Maria W3, Age 17) (Q18).

Despite acknowledging the negative impact of parent’s violence in their lives and expressing feelings of anger and sadness connected to it, I also found that most of the interviewees justified the violence that their parents had committed against them. Many commented that their parents were brought up in the same aggressive way by *their* parents and that they were only replicating it, as Felipe told me about his father: “my grandparents, since they are from

the highlands, they brought him up like that, very strict, serious,” (Felipe M36, Age 20) (Q19). Others explained parents’ violence by saying that it was due to their parents having had a hard life, or having experienced a traumatic event. This was seen, for example, in Rosa’s case, when she explained to me that her mother had been raped in her teens and that that was why she “is traumatized and that is why my mum used to hit us a lot” (Rosa W13, Age late sixties) (Q20).

Many interviewees told me that they thought they deserved their parent’s violence as punishment for their bad behaviour. Sebastian told me about his father’s reasons for beating him up: “he had a good reason to do so because I wouldn’t do my homework, didn’t study, I even failed two years” (Sebastian M39, Age 24) (Q21). I found one extreme example of this justificatory discourse in Gonzalo’s transcript. Gonzalo, who despite having been beaten harshly—describing it as torture—, and having been humiliated by his father, argued that actually his father was a good father after all. The following quote makes evident the contradictions in Gonzalo’s discourse:

I’d just look at him, sometimes when he was mad, they’d pour him his soup and he’d throw the chilli soup in my face, I’d cry, insult him and leave, but he’d still catch me, and he’d whip me, but he never tried to abuse us [sexually], he was a good father, but then he... I can say right now I am an orphan²⁷, I don’t have a father or a mother (Gonzalo M28, Age 23) (Q22).

As mentioned before, violence between couples in the household was also very common. During the interviews, many stories relating to domestic violence emerged. According to the interviewees, problems between parents were most often triggered by the father coming back home drunk or drugged, by arguments over monetary problems, by jealousy or episodes of infidelity.

²⁷ During the interview he told me that his mother had died some months ago and he was still quite shaken because of that.

For the purpose of this research, I will focus on the impact of this kind of violence on the interviewees' lives and, their perceptions and reactions to these events, instead of focusing on the accounts of domestic violence themselves. Experiences of violence between parents generated anxiety, fear and stress, which could cause physical effects as we can see in the following account:

- P:** Yes he hit her, but then... then...
I: And did you react or what happened?
P: I umm... tried to separate them
I: Uhum... and after that, you got...
P: Yeah, I got facial paralysis, but then little by little um... I got better
I: You went to physiotherapy
P: Yes and I recovered (Raul M27, Age 24) (Q23)

Alongside the emotional impact, different behavioural reactions to violence occurring in the household could be found in the accounts. Some chose to avoid the violent events, by spending time outside the house and therefore not witnessing the violence. Others assumed a mediator's role, trying to calm things down. On many occasions, children would take the mother's side and confront their father. This could sometimes lead to an open physical challenge with the father, in which young sons ended up threatening their father, as a way of protecting their mother, their siblings or even stepmothers from the father's violent assaults, as we can see in Gustavo's and Celia's accounts:

I mean, now they talk to each other (voices) and... since we're older too... before when we were little my dad used to hit my mum, and now when we come back home, we have told him 'You know what? We are older now. You need to stop this. Enough is enough' and he must think 'they're older now, they can hit me'. (Gustavo M33, Age 24) (Q24)

He used to come back home drunk, and once when my older kids were grown up, once he came drunk and tried to hit me and my children told him 'dad you have to... why are you going to come and hit my mum if she hasn't done anything? Before doing that you better stay in the street' they told him, both my children took him, threw him in bed and when he sobered up they told him again. That was the last time he touched me, never again. (Celia W14, Age 76) (Q25)

In sum, I found that intra-familial violence was a complex phenomenon taking place between different members of the family and mediated by their relation to each other, their gender and

age. This kind of violence had a deep emotional impact on the people involved in it. The following quote demonstrates the multi-layered dynamics of violence in the household. This excerpt shows that the father in this family was very violent with the children, against the mother's will. However, the mother, Celia, seemed to think that her husband needed to be violent, so she would ask him to hit her instead of her children. The son, in turn, seemed to think that he should take the aggression, as he was a man and pushed his mother out of the way. In addition, we can see that the daughters were also punished, but in a different way to the boy, with humiliation and pain, instead of direct physical contact:

P: Well, when they misbehaved, he would hit them, abuse them

I: Hit them strongly?

P: He'd hit them with those belts made out of bull leather

I: Hard... and what would you do?

P: I would interfere, I'd say 'Why do you abuse my children, don't hit them, hit me not my kids' I'd tell him

I: Hmh

P: My older son would tell me 'let him hit me mum, stay away'

I: Hmh

P: And then, he would not hit him anymore

I: And with the girls?

P: Well they had another punishment when they misbehaved, he made them carry a stone kneeling on top of beans, he'd put beans there and made them kneel on them and then carry a stone on their shoulder, they would cry, but he didn't hit them with the belt, but that was their punishment. (Celia W14, Age 76) (Q26)

1.2 Violence "on the street"

Violence on the street was reported as constant and dangerous in El Agustino. In contrast with violence in the household, I did not find any attempts to justify this kind of violence. Moreover, interviewees seemed to consider violence "on the street" as less controllable and more dangerous, frequently associating it with serious injuries, with death and with detrimental consequences for innocent people who happened to be in the vicinity when violent events took place. Most of the violence "on the street" occurred between antagonistic football gangs or school groups, and in the form of crimes such as assaults and armed

robberies, but some also occurred between neighbours²⁸; most of the events involved young men. A high proportion of this street violence included weapons such as forks, knives, machetes, broken glass bottles and guns.

An important source of information, besides the interviews, about life “on the street” and the kind of violence that takes place in it were the hip hop song lyrics. Many of these songs talked about life on the streets, presenting it as violent and dangerous and alluding to fights, but, most of all, to gun ownership and shooting, as symbols of power and manhood. From the lyrics of these songs, it became clear that guns were seen as necessary protection devices, as the following excerpt shows:

Look mate, it’s not your business what happens here, living, learning, handling weapons that’s what really happens in this neighbourhood we see what happens every day, it’s an ordeal. Look little guy, bullets are necessary here, to save yourself you need to be a hired killer (No te achores, Carlos M14, Age 18) (Q27)

Guns were also mentioned in some of the interviews with young men; most of the young men that carried guns had not actually use them, although they also pointed out that they would use them if needed. Some men in El Agustino said that owning a gun would improve their chances of not being attacked. Rafael, for instance (M2, Age 18), mentioned that he would like to have a gun to feel protected and powerful. Another young man (Gustavo M33, Age 24), who used to manage tickets for a particular football team, told me that he always carried a gun because that was his only way of protecting himself from possible attacks. He said that, because of his lead position within the football fans group, he had many enemies and he was not safe if he did not carry a gun; he told me that he had it with him during the interview, but I did not see it.

²⁸ Reports of experience of sexual violence were common in the women’s interviewed either at home or on the street context. These reports have not been included in this thesis because they go beyond the scope of the study.

The presence of guns on the streets meant that the kind of violence experienced in this context was varied, and it could range from simple attacks and physical fights, to shootings and, on occasion, death. Some interviewees reported having seen or found dead bodies in the neighbourhood, one reported having witnessed a murder, and two interviewees reported having killed someone themselves, for money²⁹;

P: They had... I don't know, they wrapped him up in a sort of bag and left him

I: Did you see when they killed him?

P: Yes, I saw it and I was traumatised

I: How did they kill him?

P: With a gun (Gonzalo M28, Age 23) (Q28)

Despite these accounts, most of the time, weapons were carried for prevention and as a marker of power. The connection between owning a weapon and being powerful was witnessed not only as part of the young men's thinking; I found that other members of the community also seemed to believe in this connection. For example, I learned this during an observation of a football match. A local community worker had organised a football team with the young boys of her area, in order to get them involved in positive, rewarding activities. These young boys were from an area considered very rough within El Agustino. While cheering them on during the game, I realised that the volunteer worker, my contact, joked repeatedly about the young men's bad reputations. Some of these jokes involved the use of weapons, as documented by my fieldwork notes:

I went today with Ms Soledad to a football match to see Sonia's boys playing. I was surprised by the way Sonia and Ms Soledad treated the boys. They'd say things like: 'Hey Giancarlo run because the police is coming'. Then one kid from the opposite team told another: 'alright mate, warm up your knife.' And Ms Soledad told the boy 'answer him, knife? No! I have a machete'. (1st November 2008) (Q29)

When enquiring about the presence of illegal weapons on the streets of El Agustino, I learned from Father Chiqui that the terrorism era had left many guns on the streets and that it was easy and cheap to get one from the black market. This was later confirmed by the police chief

²⁹ For anonymity reasons I do not include any information about these informants.

commander Llauri, who explained that, most of the time, guns were not used in everyday violence in El Agustino and that they were mostly used between people that had some kind of revenge issue or unfinished business:

P: Look, what happens is that in El Agustino there are a lot of deaths caused by guns

I: People own weapons?

P: Fire weapons, a lot! Most of the time the deaths are because of revenge and personal rivalries. There are very few cases when they kill people as part of a robbery. (SM7, Police) (Q30)

The street was also the location of group confrontations, where football fans and groups belonging to different neighbourhoods would battle against each other. These battles usually entailed throwing stones at each other and then following through with group fights. On their way to these fights, they would sometimes smash windows, hurt passers-by and vandalise buses or private property. In Martin and Enrique's accounts, we can learn about the kind of violence displayed once they reached their "enemies":

We stuck a fork in his back or shoulder. Or we would cut his hair, we would cut it to bother him, we would cut his hair leaving a patch without hair. (Martin M31, Age 16) (Q31)

I stabbed him twice, once in the lung and the other one on his foot, I did it, because he had done it to me too, that is why I stabbed him twice. (Enrique M42, Age 22) (Q32)

Fights amongst neighbours could also get violent, the most violent account of this type was given by Rocio, a woman who told me how she had overheard her neighbours trying to convince her son to steal from people on the avenue. When she confronted the young men (her neighbours), members of their family started insulting her and they ended up fighting; she had to defend herself from three women at the same time:

Miss, I've bitten, I don't know how strong my jaw is, but their hands came to me trying to hurt my face, and I caught the three hands with my mouth so I ended up with a blooded mouth, miss! They all attacked me, miss! So I bit here and there, I bit the other one here, and the other one there, and then I stood up and the bitch told me 'yeah look we broke your mouth!' I said 'what!?' I went and washed my mouth with a brush, quickly I washed myself, rinsed my mouth and had a look. Nothing! My nose, nothing!! It was all their blood, and all my living room, miss,

all my living room was filthy with blood, spilled with blood, a lot of blood. (Rocio, W12, Age early forties) (Q33)

1.3 Violence in the school

Experience of interpersonal violence at school also occurred at different levels. As we saw in Chapter 5, from an institutional point of view, violence was exerted against pupils by the teachers and by the system itself. But violence also happened among students and between groups from rival schools. The so-called “wars” between different schools’ students usually happened in the areas surrounding the schools, disturbing the neighbours and people in the area. In a similar manner to the football fan confrontations, these battles entailed throwing stones and attacking buses which contained members from the rival school, as Jacinto told me during his interview:

Alfonso Ugarte high school is a prestigious school but since... if I remember right, the eighties, ummm... when the gangs started and everything... It has a neighbour school, near Canada bridge, the Melitón Carbajal, that is also a big unit [big state school], and there is rivalry between both of them. When I started at the school I saw kids how students from both schools would get each other, they would break the bus windows where you were on, and if the other school would see that people from the rival school were on it they would break the windows with stones, chains, they’d run... (Jacinto M13, Age 17) (Q34)

At the individual level, there were also many interviewees who described their experience of constant violence at the school. This violence was particularly directed against individuals considered “different” for some reason, such as the “geeky” ones, the ones that did not like to get involved in fights, the introverts and the ones from different neighbourhoods, etc. Many young men struggled whilst at school, and learned that they needed to “fight back” and be aggressive themselves in order to survive in a highly violent environment. It seemed to be important in this context to demonstrate that you were willing to fight and defend yourself. As in the context of “the street”, it was important to build a reputation for yourself, if you did not want to be bullied. In the following extract, Rafael told me about the time when he reacted against the abuse of his fellow students in a very aggressive manner and how this

meant that he was left alone from that day onwards. In his account, he highlighted his racial features as the source of his rage and strength to fight:

They'd beat me up in school, I was kind of geeky. And once I got really angry and the indian and black man I have inside came to me. I was sitting down, quiet, because I was always like that, and someone hit me from behind pam! And I turned around and asked 'Oi what did you do?' And I grabbed a chair and threw it on his head and he stared at me and stared at me. I got angry and I told everybody 'The next one that messes with me, I'll beat him up, whoever it is.' And then nobody bothered me anymore, I'd sleep and nobody would say anything (Rafael M2, Age 18) (Q35)

The violence happened on a daily basis, students had to be prepared to engage in a fight at any moment and they seemed to be prepared to start fights for any reason. As one interviewee put it, "it was like the law of the jungle, where the strongest wins" (Pablo M5, Age 27) (Q36). Violence not only took place among students in the same school class, but also occurred to younger students, committed by older students. Hence, pupils were potentially in danger inside the classroom, during the break, in the bathrooms and outside the school:

I: So there were fights every day?

P: Potentially yeah, the typical 'I'll see you after school', or you'd go to the bathroom, people from the older year could get you, hold your neck, push you against the wall, or something like that, there was a period when they did that to me. (Juan M4, Age 21) (Q37)

The experience of violence marked their transit through their high-school years and became a routine for many of them, a part of the daily experience of attending school. Esteban told me about his experience of being bullied because he attended a school outside El Agustino, where he and his cousin were constantly the target of insulting remarks: "we got fed up with it and we took out a stick and started hitting them and that is when it started, in the first year of secondary school and we stayed like that for five years" (Esteban M12, Age 17) (Q38).

It was clear from the interviews that the most extreme experiences of violence happened at "boys only" schools, with many of them acknowledging that attending a boys' school was quite frightening, because of the bullying and the fights. Some interviewees said that the

presence of women made violence milder and that that is why they preferred mixed-sex schools.

2. Normalised: It is the default way out

As I have described in the previous section, manifestations of violence in El Agustino could be found in different contexts and across social relations, used by different actors at different times. This led to what I have called a “normalisation of violence”, in which aggression seemed to be the assumed, preferred and most effective course of action, to solve problems and react to conflict. It seemed difficult for people in this environment to think about alternative routes of action. Violence was expected and became the default way of solving problems.

Some interviewees acknowledged their tendency towards using violence and aggression and explained it from a biological point of view. Enrique, for instance, when trying to explain why his little daughter was so aggressive, said that she must carry it in her blood and have inherited from him:

I: And why do you think she is aggressive?

P: I don't know. I think she has inherited my blood, ha ha, she has inherited my blood because I am with her and pow! All of a sudden she slaps me on the face, she pulls my hair. (Enrique M42, Age 22) (Q39)

Nevertheless, even when violence was normalised, there were certain expressions of it that seemed more appropriate than others, to interviewees. For instance, in relation to violence by parents towards children, a slap or being hit with a belt seemed to be considered normal and necessary to impose discipline, whereas kicking and punching were seen as extremes, as Lorenzo made clear in his interview:

I: And when they hit you, was it very hard or was it...
P: No, only with the belt on your buttocks
I: Oh, ok.
P: But no kicking and punching (Lorenzo M38, Age 23) (Q40)

Comparison with the common practices in the area seemed to determine which manifestations of violence were accepted. Hence, some interviewees minimised the seriousness of some aggressive acts, by saying that the hitting was within “normal” parameters, when compared with other practices they could observe in other households:

P: No my mum would hit me but not as much, not how they would hit other friends of mine, I’ve seen when their mums would hit them and spank them with the TV wire.
(...)
I: How would your mum hit you?
P: No my mum would slap me, that’s what she’d do. (Manuel M10, Age 16) (Q41)

Normalisation of violence was not only applied to the violence exerted at home. Violence on the streets and between strangers also seemed to be seen as “normal” within certain parameters. Hence, violence against older women in the context of a robbery, for example, was condemned as unacceptable, but violence at a party under the influence of alcohol was somehow seen as normal; part of the normal behaviour of being drunk, as the following extract from the conversation with Monica shows. In the quote Monica justifies the fact that a man attending her birthday celebration smashed a bottle on her head when she refused to change the music:

P: And I told him, ‘but I am the birthday girl and I want to listen to the music I feel like listening to’ then I walked away turning my back to him and he smashed the bottle against my head!
I: Oh my God!
(...)
P: ... Next day I had to report it, my family would tell me, ‘But Monica he hurt you’ ‘No’ I said, ‘You know what? He was drunk, I was drunk’. So I went to the police station and the only thing I told him was ‘You know what? Next time think before acting I have 6 stitches in my head’. (Monica W7, Age 40) (Q42)

3. Fluid and interconnected: Actors have multiple and shifting roles across contexts

Yes, I turned more aggressive, I mean, my dad would hit me at home, but on the street, when I went to play football, well I wanted to hit everybody, I yelled at everybody, I mean, I realised that that made me more aggressive. (Sebastian M39, Age 24) (Q43)

It became apparent from the interviewees' narratives that violent events were usually interconnected. I found that actors shifted positions from victims or witnesses to agents and vice versa. Hence, in the narratives, it was often possible to identify episodes of violence preceding, and leading to, other episodes of violence. Most of the time, the roles of victim and aggressor were combined or alternated over time, and over contexts. Aldo told me about an occasion when he and his friends were caught by the police selling drugs and the police took advantage of them by beating them up, taking the drugs and the money and then letting them go free. When trying to get back home, they took a bus, but the driver did not allow them to stay on board because they did not have money to pay the fare. Frustrated and angry they attacked the bus:

I: After the police took everything from you?

P: Yes

I: So to vent your anger you came off the bus and started throwing stones at it?

P: Yes, because the driver pissed us off by saying 'why do you get on here if you are broke and drunk?' That was the only time we broke all the windows of a bus, I felt a bit sorry that time because we broke all the windows. (Aldo M17, Age 25) (Q44)

Many of the interviewees connected their violent reactions to their fathers' displays of violence at home and the fact that they were witnesses or victims of this home-centred violence. So, for example, when I asked Jaime to recall a situation in which he had initiated violence, he explained to me how he thought his aggressive behaviour at school was fuelled by his father's behaviour at home,

A violent situation that I initiated... let's see, let's see, let's see... I can't remember... well when I was younger... when I was younger, I think I've been... very violent, well with stuff at home that my dad sometimes would get home and start shouting and it would annoy me, and I started picking that up like, I would make people feel that... at school they knew me so they'd pick me as the school

policeman [students that are supposed to help impose discipline in the classroom] and so, I kind of had power. (Jaime M7, Age 19) (Q45)

Going further, in a similar claim, Gustavo traced a link from his father's behaviour to his own involvement in gangs, and his lack of motivation to follow a career. Gustavo told me that constant violence in his house meant that he started to spend more time on the street, which led to his involvement with gangs. Gustavo blamed his father for his lack of current career:

P: I felt bad, and now in the present, sometimes, talking to my dad (footsteps) fuck, um sorry for the word... fuck

I: No, it's fine...

P: Fuck, if you hadn't been a problem here at home, maybe I wouldn't, I'd be a different person, a good person, right? I'd have had a career and everything, my dad tells me, true son, he feels bad now, he feels bad, regrets what he has done. (Gustavo M33, Age 24) (Q46)

The idea of the interconnectedness of violence was confirmed by the psychologist of the chaplaincy. She told me that while, most of the time, young people would come to see her about problems they had "on the street" and with other young people, but when asked about the situation at home, young people also usually reported problems in the household, which often included violence issues. This, in turn, generated feelings of resentment and anger among them,

I: What are the main causes of violence? Is it only the money...?

P: No! No, no, no. There is a lot of resentment towards parents, a lot of revenge. Because here you work a lot with sports groups, U, Alianza, everything and everybody is like, if you do something to me, then I will have to pay you back. Or you mess with my friend, then I'll do the same with you and a lot of ill feeling. Then, why do they become gang members? Why do they become club supporters? Because of family problems, dad has drinking problems, mother is a crook, mum is a prostitute, dad drug addict, a bad image, abuse, because many of them come from abuse. When they come to therapy, there's a moment when they commit to the work and they are able express how bad they felt when they were beaten up, when they tried to drown them in a water bucket because they misbehaved, when they were whipped, when they were kicked out of the house so one of the parents could have sex with someone else without them seeing it, and left them wandering the streets, that leaves a mark on them. So then, when they grow up, they are like you did something to me I will get back at you. (Psychologist, SW10) (Q47)

Another aspect that stood out from these accounts, and particularly from the psychologist's ideas on violence, was how shifts in the positioning of the subject regarding violence were usually set in motion by feelings of anger and revenge. Revenge, in particular, seemed to be a strong motivating factor for shifting from the position of a victim of violence to an agent of violence and resonates with the previously mentioned "tit-for-tat" logic which seemed to underpin many of the violent manifestations in El Agustino. It also became clear that the violence resulting from a revenge act tended to escalate, and sometimes the reactions seemed disproportionate. For instance, in the following excerpt of my conversation with Lucas, he told me how he pulled his gun and was determined to kill a young man that had stolen his brother's trainers:

Ah! Once when they robbed my brother, they took his trainers, everything, I had a weapon under my mattress, I had a weapon so I asked 'Who was it?' 'It was that guy' I took the gun ... and I started to hit their heads with the handle? of the gun, and shooting next to their heads poom! 'Tell him, I'm going to get him and I'm going to kill him' I was young, but if I had found him, I was decided, so if I had found him I would've shot him and killed him, yeah! (Lucas M37, Age 23) (Q48)

The urge to take justice into their own hands was also obvious when reading through these accounts. Most of the interviewees did not trust the police to impose justice, and the police force itself was seen as a source of violence, as described in Chapter 5. Another reason for not reporting aggression or attacks to the police was their fear of possible revenge from the perpetrators if they reported them. However, if they took revenge themselves, consequences seemed less feared. In the following extract from the interview with Alejandro, the idea of taking justice into their own hands, and escalating violence were evident:

P: One hugs me and the other one goes to my pocket and I tell him 'hey let go, let go' and one took out his knife and he put it to my neck and said 'either you allow us to mug you or I'll cut you' and so I just had to let them do it and took it all

I: And, what did you do?

P: Then I went to my neighbourhood and told my cousin, a while after we went down and we were able to find the one that stole from me

I: You found him, and what happened?

P: They beat him up

I: Who?
P: My cousins and people from my neighbourhood
I: You too?
P: I hit him too, of course, how is he going to put a knife to my neck? What if he had not calculated well? I wouldn't be here anymore! They hit him, and then they warned him not to do anything to me in the future. I've seen him again; he doesn't say anything to me
(...)
I: Did he give you your money back?
P: Yes
I: Yeah?
P: Yeah, but they beat him up anyway
I: And how many people hit him?
P: All of them were like five or six
I: You too?
P: Me too
I: Ok and did they hit him hard?
P: Yes
I: Was he...?
P: He was on the floor, bleeding, but you know, he lives by the park and he likes to steal and he has stolen from several people in my neighbourhood and so that was his payback. (Alejandro M11, Age 16) (Q49)

II. Adherence and negotiation

1. The emotional impact of violence

As described in the previous sections, violence in El Agustino was used, among other things, to educate children, to defend oneself, to build a reputation, to avoid further violence, to vent frustration and anger, to enact revenge and to impose justice. But, despite its apparent normality and multi-functionality, I found that violence still generated negative emotions. In the transcripts, I found that emotions associated with violence were fear, depression, sadness and guilt. In particular, interviewees involved in thieving or group battles explained to me that they never thought about what they were doing while doing it. They would think about it afterwards and even then, they would diffuse any feelings of guilt with a joke. There seemed to be a blockage of feelings in order to conduct these activities, as Esteban's account demonstrates:

I: And do you remember how it was when you pinned down the guy on the floor and you were beating him up. What did you feel at that moment?

P: I didn't feel anything

I: Nothing?

P: When you are in the middle of a fight, you don't feel anything. Later on you can feel some kind of remorse

I: Would you feel remorse?

P: Yes, afterwards you would feel remorse, but then we told a joke and we would laugh

I: And did you talk with anybody about that remorse?

P: No, among us, we knew... we would say this son of a bitch! How is he going to do that! (Esteban M12, Age 17) (Q50)

2. Strategies to negotiate violence

Not all my interviewees reacted towards violence in the same way; furthermore, it was possible to find different reactions to violence within the same individual, as shown by the previous description of violence in different settings. In a similar manner to stigma (see Chapter 4), I found that people in El Agustino adopted different strategies to negotiate violence.

2.1 Engaging in violence

As described in the previous sections, a common way of dealing with violence was to get involved in it, become an agent of violence and retaliate when necessary. Reasons for getting involved in violence varied from person to person and according to the circumstances. Among the rationales to engage in violence, I found some contradictory discourses, particularly when violence was used to avoid another kind of violence. For instance, I found that some interviewees, who wanted to stay away from the violence of stealing, resorted to undertaking eviction or other jobs for the construction sector, in order to make some money. These jobs entailed violence, and normally they used force and guns, for example, to evict squatters, or to discourage a construction contractor to bid for a particular job.

When finishing fieldwork, I learned that one of my informants had been charged and incarcerated for shooting the son of a contractor, who had interfered whilst he was beating the father up. The original plan had been only to “warn” the contractor, but his son’s interference changed the situation and my informant ended up accused of and charged with homicide. This informant had been adamant about his decision to stay away from gangs, and football fans’ activities, however, he gave up resisting violence when he was offered an important sum of money for this job. Similarly, Esteban told me about his and his friends’ decision to no longer participate in theft and football fans’ fights. Paradoxically, he explained to me that in order to persuade members of his group to comply with the agreement to avoid violence, they threatened to beat them up:

P: Yeah we’ve all stopped, now we say we will hit whoever wants to go.

I: Whoever, what?

P: Whoever wants to go, we beat up, so nobody goes, nobody wants to go, because that is what we have agreed, we only go to the stadium (Esteban M12, Age 17) (Q51)

I found a further example of this contradiction within the accounts of violence against children. I found that some parents used violence in order to teach their children *not* to be violent, *not* to fight between siblings, for instance. In the following extract, we can see that this father beat his kids because they had been fighting with each other. The father complains that they are family and they should not be fighting, however, he hits them quite brutally himself, according to Ruben’s account:

He turned the radio on really loud, and he locked up the room, he shut his room and left the radio in the kitchen, high volume, so you couldn’t hear, and I was there for quite a while, I went upstairs and I heard boom!, boom!, as if they were hitting a horse, when they whip him, I heard that, boom!, ‘ouch!, stop it dad’, boom!, ‘ouch!, ouch!’, and I heard my dad saying ‘why do you fight damn it! What are you? You are brothers! How are you going to do that?’ plum!, plum!, plum!, and at the door, keeping the door was my uncle, um... he was raised like my dad, that’s why he stayed checking the door, so no one would come in or out. And they hit them both and everything, yeah. The next day I saw them, with a black eye, a their backs covered in blood, I remember it was awful, that was the worst thing I recall ever seeing until now. (Ruben M26, Age 19) (Q52)

Another way of dealing with violence stemming from complicated family situations was to engage in extreme behaviours, such as heavy drug consumption and alcoholism. The consequence of these behaviours was not only a negative impact on their own health, but further deterioration of the family relationships, with some families resorting to drastic measures in order to deal with the problem. Ruben, who used to work from a very early age, was expelled from his house because of his drinking problems when he was only 10 years old:

I: And you got drunk at home?

P: Yes, I got drunk at home and she got angry, very angry. I also shouted to her and then she said ‘well if you are going to continue like this, go away and don’t come back’ she told me... ‘I’ll go’ I said, so I put my things together in one, two, three boxes, I got everything and I took a taxi, I took all the basic and the other things I left there, my TV, my DVD I left there... (Ruben M26, Age 19) (53)

2.2 Avoidance

Another way of dealing with violence was to avoid it altogether. In this group, I found different motivations. Some interviewees found their justification to avoid violence in their Christian beliefs, whilst others argued that, once they had had a child, they started avoiding violence in order to stay safe for their children. Finally, others argued that having a “good” girlfriend was a good way of staying out of trouble, because the girlfriend deterred them from violence. The following extract from the interview with Carlos, summarises some of these points:

P: Yeah, but I didn’t want anything, it wasn’t what I was looking for and so we broke up, until a while ago, last year I met a girl, in September (.), September, yeah, September 28th and yeah, everything is different, this girl is different, very different from her.

I: You don’t hit her?

P: No no, no, no, not anymore, that’s not for me anymore, hitting a woman, not anymore, what they’ve done to my mum no... I had lost it, very stressed at the time

I: You remember what they did to your mum and you don’t want to...

P: Of course, I have a daughter and my daughter is going to grow up, she’s not going to stay little forever and no, no, no, not anymore, that’s not for me anymore. (Carlos M14, Age 18) (Q54)

Involvement in gangs and drugs was seen as part of their natural development, as if it was a normal part of growing up and something they grew out of when they became older. Many of my interviewees told me that, with time, they realised that it was a better idea to not be violent, in order to avoid further violence:

I: You did before?

P: I did, when I got angry

P: But that's it, I'm calm now all the time, I like being like that, calm, quiet, you get more out of being quiet than aggressive (Rafael M2, Age 18) (Q55)

I also noticed that it seemed easier for young men with other resources, such as further education, to avoid violence. Pedro (M1, Age 19), for example, was attending university and he also trained in martial arts, so he knew how to fight, but he found that keeping a low profile and not demonstrating that he could fight was a better strategy for him. He told me that the other young men in his neighbourhood looked up at him because he was studying and usually protected him if someone wanted to attack him, saying "leave him alone, he studies". For Pedro, it was clear that he did not need to build a reputation based on violence, he already had a good reputation and was respected, because he was considered intelligent and successful because he attended university:

I: You'd rather them not know? Do you think it'd be a good thing for them to know? [that he can fight]

P: In a way yes, so they pity you and say 'oh he doesn't know how to fight, let's help him, defend him.' I don't know, in a way you avoid fights (Pedro M1, Age 19) (Q56)

2.3 Sublimating violence

Related to the avoidance of violence, I found that another way of negotiating violence was to get involved in other activities that served to channel anger and frustration. One of these activities was music and, in particular, the rap or hip hop genre:

P: My dad was very violent, I think I got it from him.

(...)

P: When did he do it? When he did it... I remembered certain things.

I: Really, like what?

P: Like the beating he used to give my mum, that my dad gave my mum

I: That was like...

P: Of course, that was something I had held inside me and I needed to vent, but it's over now, it is in the past, now I think... I concentrate more, I talk to my mate and tell him music will be the first thing. (Carlos M14, Age 18) (Q57)

Thus, I understood that some young men from El Agustino found in hip hop a way of talking about their experiences and feelings about violence, and life in general, without getting involved in actual violence. When exploring a little bit more about hip hop, I learned that they called the act of rapping: "*tiraera*", which means something like "musical shoot-out". Composing hip hop lyrics was used as a way of venting emotions and of describing their experiences in El Agustino. The three interviewees who composed this kind of music told me that hip hop lyrics always talked about experiences "on the street", daily life and included much violent content:

Well, the rap music lyrics, will be always be about, um... about... about what... the experiences that you might have on the streets or what you live on the streets, for example, umm... gangs, shots, shootings and everything, that this or that neighbourhood, the gang, the football supporters and also... but it always has a message, I mean you shouldn't believe that what they are saying is, start fighting, they always have a message and ummm... nut... this music always tells you, I mean, this music was born... it's music from the 'hood, it was born in the 'hood and it will always talk about it in a way that reaches out to young people, like through slang. (Jacinto M13, Age 17) (Q58)

What I went through, almost all my life, I talk about it there, what I have always seen, what I know, the streets, I don't lie, I can't talk to you about politics, I can't talk to you about that, because it's not my thing, I identify with the people from the 'hood, or with... where I grew up, with what I've seen, violence, gangs, drugs, the streets, all... all that, that's what I talk about in my music and I... I don't censor anything, I'm always very upfront with anyone, what I don't like I will say, that's part of... how can I say this? Sometimes I can be angry and I take it out with the microphone (Carlos M14, Age 18) (Q59)

III. Theoretically contextualising the analysis of the results of this chapter

The discussion of this chapter's results will be analysed in Chapter 8, in terms of current ideas on structural and everyday violence, proposed by authors such as Farmer and Burgois. When discussing these findings I will consider how the local subjective understandings of violence and its particular characteristics in this social context, shape the experience of violence by the individuals immersed in this setting as well as highlighting their agentic capacity to generate strategies to negotiate it. I will also pay attention to the way in which these varied violences can be organised in a continuum, as proposed by Scheper-Hughes and Bougois (2004c).

IV. Summary

In this chapter, I have described the subjective experience of day-to-day violence amongst young men and women in El Agustino. I began by accounting for the local definitions of violence and continued with an analysis of the particular characteristics that violence has in this context, such as pervasiveness, normalisation, fluidity and interconnectedness. As seen in these results, violent acts are linked one to another across contexts, and individuals shift positions in relation to violence, depending on the context and their individual characteristics. At the base of these changes in position, we find feelings of anger and revenge, the latter in particular, fuels escalating displays of violence. I have also described the ways in which young men negotiate violence, by reproducing it and being violent against others and/or against themselves, by avoiding it altogether or by finding alternative ways of expressing or channelling it, for instance, by composing hip hop lyrics which are based on their experience

of everyday violence in El Agustino. In the following chapter, I aim to describe the way masculinities are constructed in El Agustino, and the characteristics of these masculinities in this particular setting, as well as establishing the association between violence and gender.

Chapter 7. Constructions of Masculinities and Violence: Exploring the Gendered Dimensions of Young Men's Interpersonal Violence

In previous chapters, I have explored the different types of violence with which the respondents have experimented and it has emerged that the way manhood is constructed within the respondents' social contexts, and the way their masculinities are cast, plays a key role in how violence is experienced and reproduced. In the present chapter, I aim to explore the characteristics of these constructions of masculinities. My ultimate aim is to understand the way local constructions of masculinities and experiences of interpersonal violence, mainly against other men, but also against women, are articulated. Bearing in mind the relational nature of gender, I have organised the results referring both to men's and women's accounts and experiences of violence.

The chapter is divided into two main sections. The first section intends to answer the main questions around masculinities: *Which are the constitutive markers of masculinity in this milieu and how do men fulfil the expectations of manhood? And Where do men enact their masculinities?* While these key characteristics of masculinities are not necessarily confined to El Agustino, and may be found in many other social settings within Peru and other countries, I intend to present here the nuances of these demands in this particular local context. I also aim to contextualise these masculinities, in the space where most of the interpersonal male to male violence took place: the street. I, therefore, discuss the social meaning of the "*barrio*" (the immediate neighbourhood), where gender is enacted and shaped; 'staged'. Finally, I aim to understand the role of violence in the construction of masculinities, by describing the different functions of violence in this setting. In this section, I try to unpack the rationale behind violence, exploring how the use of violence contributes to the achievement of

manhood in this context and proposing the idea that interpersonal violence is not necessarily an essential element of masculinity, but instead serves as a short cut to fulfilling those masculinities.

In the second section of the chapter, I use intra-case analysis and describe the experiences of Rafael (18) and Juan (21), to give an embedded account of how young men experience violence and to highlight how these young men do not necessarily adhere to one fixed version of masculinity. Across contexts and throughout their lives, they follow different ways of being a man, showing that “alternative” versions of manhood, or what other authors have called the “voices of resistance”, are also possible in this setting.

I. Constructions of masculinity: The main questions and some answers

As it is in every society, young men and women in El Agustino are socialised into the prevailing gender roles from very early on. Among the various characteristics of this socialisation — which I do not aim to discuss in depth in this study, as this goes beyond the topic at hand — I could discern, from my observations and interviews, a strong belief about the need for women to stay at home and learn basic household skills and the need for men to be allowed to spend time “on the street”, to build up their characters and to learn to defend themselves and fight back. As we can see in the following extract, Elena teaches her daughter her role in the house and, to justify that role, her main argument revolves around gender and gender hierarchies. Thus, the daughter, who rebels against this role, is taught from an early stage in life that not following the rules could mean that violence will be exerted against her:

And since she comes at 2pm, she helps me clean the house, even though she complains ‘Why me?’ ‘Am I my brothers’ maid?’ She says that, ‘But honey, you need to learn because some day, you’ll have a career, a partner, and you’ll have a man and you won’t know how to cook, or clean and he’s going to hit you then,’ I

tell her, I talk to her. 'You need to learn because you're a girl.' She's the one that helps me at home, even though she complains. (Elena, W9, Age 38) (Q1)

The consequences, of this differentiated way of socialising boys and girls, are varied for men and women. A potential outcome for women is domestic violence, while, for young men, a potential outcome may be more exposure to street interpersonal violence³⁰. According to various stakeholders, young men experience neglect from their parents, because their sisters are protected but they are left alone to learn how to protect themselves:

From what I've seen in El Agustino, most of them, no, no, I mean, yeah... there are differences in the way men and women are raised, there is a difference and I think that also generates resentment from boys, right? Towards women... towards their sister, because they're always like 'why do they protect her?' (Community leader, SW15) (Q2)

However, young men were not the ones who rebelled against these differences in how they were raised. It was young women, as the following extract shows, who questioned the status quo:

Yes, my mum says that men can have more freedom than women. But it doesn't work that way, because men or women, they can still be in danger, men can be raped too, get involved in drugs consumption, and women too. (Maria W3, Age 17) (Q3)

Many of the girls interviewed thought that this differentiated way of bringing up young men and women corresponded to a male chauvinistic view and felt that they should be treated equally. Men, on the other hand, rarely complained about the expectations that their families imposed upon them, as a stakeholder working with young people in the area confirmed:

I: And boys react because it's, it's a lot of responsibility, do they react? Do they notice?

P: Yes, they notice and it's also a burden right? And they feel more frustrated than women, but ... but I haven't seen them rebel against it, but I have seen women do so; they demand to have the same as men. Women do rebel, 'I have to go out, I have to work' and they fight with their parents and everything, but men don't, they take the burden and accept their role. (NGO staff, SW3) (Q4)

³⁰ Except for sexual violence, where women are the main victims and in many cases the attacker is an 'insider', a man in the woman's immediate circle such as a close friend or a family member.

In sum, according to my participants, men were given some privileges, such as more freedom and independence; sometimes, they were even given better food, nicer clothes and money. All of this situated them in a powerful position within their families, but at the same time, they were more exposed to violence on the streets. This also meant that there were high expectations of them; if they failed to fulfil the family's expectations, for example, the family's reaction could be as extreme as withholding food from them, if they did not contribute towards household expenses, or expelling them from the house, even at a young age, as the community psychologist confirmed:

P: I think parents expect more from their sons than from their daughters

I: And does that generate any kind of pressure?

P: Yes, because when they get to an age where they can't... they don't respond [financially], they start insulting them, abusing them, telling them to go away, because they do end up kicking them out, which is completely different to how they treat their daughters. (Psychologist, SW10) (Q5)

It is around these expectations, and the ways in which young men from El Agustino strove to meet them, that I focus my description of the results in the following sections.

1. What is expected from a man in El Agustino?

1.1 Men as providers

Well, what they say about being a man ... a man is the one that provides money, that is present ... because society says it too, 'meet your duties as a man, support your family, you are responsible for the household, you are the one that, once you have children, has to be committed to them, or to your woman' (Juan M4, Age 21) (Q6)

Throughout the interviews, I found that the man's ability to earn an income and be a provider or breadwinner for the family was the most important feature of their role as a man. This is something they have to prove on a daily basis, as most families operate on a daily budget. But they also had to prove it throughout their lives and it was something upon which they were judged, by members of their family and community. As the following extract shows, Pedro

really admired his father because he was able to settle in Lima (he migrated from the highlands), buy a house, form a family and consistently provide for it:

He was able, through his own means, to settle, get a job, money, meet someone like my mother and form a family and provide us with many things that maybe he didn't have ... My father ... he did the job for me ... by himself he was able to accomplish the work that two or three generations would have done. He was able to get the house, the job, money and was always able to support us. (Pedro M1, Age 19) (Q7)

The generalised idea was that men's main activity was to work and bring money to the family, to cover basic needs. However, most men in this setting were unable to find stable jobs, as I will discuss in further detail later in this chapter. They often lacked specialised training and many of them left school before finishing secondary education (which lasts 5 years), this meant that they had access only to occasional or part-time, unskilled, badly-paid jobs. Hence, in practice, this clear division of labour between men and women was not always possible, and women needed to work to contribute towards the household economy. The balance was not deeply disturbed by this, however, as the kinds of activities in which women got involved tended to be familial micro-businesses and based at home, e.g. managing a telephone/internet cabin or selling staples, cooked food or clothes:

Umm... during the time when my dad wasn't stable in his job, my mum who used to be a housewife, she runs a business at home, a grocery shop and ummm that helped us cover some expenses my dad could not take care of, right? (Rafael M2, Age 18) (Q8)

Although most interviewers recognised that, given the hindered economic situation, men and women both needed to work, this proved to be a problematic arrangement for many couples. The women's contributions tended to be seen as "help" for the father. Many men were not happy with their wives working and tension was generated by this. Several interviewees mentioned that once their mothers started working, fights and discussions were more frequent in the home. Fear of women's potential infidelity, as a result of meeting other men at work, and interference with their house duties were usually listed as reasons for the arguments:

P: She didn't work before, my mum studied and everything, she did a typing course
I: Uhu
P: But my dad did not want her to develop, he didn't want her to work and for her to help out
I: Why?
P: He wanted her at home. 'You wash, cook, clean'
I: Umm
P: Chauvinist right? (Lucas M37, Age 23) (Q9)

Some men were more flexible about the idea of women working; however, underlying this flexibility and rational discourse about their "right to education and work", I could still find the hierarchical belief that it was men who "grant" the equality, by "allowing" women to work. Ultimately, it was still men who had the power to decide if a woman worked or not, as the following extract shows:

I don't know, they think women should stay at home, I think that is not the case anymore, it doesn't work like that anymore. Now women have the right to work, the right to go to school, and I wouldn't oppose if I ever get married, I'd let her work, it's fine (Alberto M20, Age 26) (Q10)

On the other hand, women seemed to back up the idea that men had to be the main providers, by valuing this role over others. For instance, being a disengaged father, who did not participate in the day-to-day education of his children, was not considered a problem by some women and it was justified by the argument that the fathers did not have time to become involved parents, because they were working. Along the same lines, Elena seemed to justify or diminish the importance of her partner's high alcohol consumption, because ultimately he was a "responsible father", who gave his children all that they needed:

Yes, he helps me ... he would go drink, but he's responsible, in the same way he goes drinking he's responsible with my children, he gives them money for their studies, for food, for whatever they need. (Elena W9, Age 38) (Q11)

Another social interaction, in which the importance of being a provider was reinforced, was that of sentimental relationships in young couples. Among my interviewees, I found a rooted idea that, in order to have a girlfriend, a man needed to have money. This idea was reinforced

by general members of the community and the young women themselves. Young men experienced it as an extra pressure in their lives, another expectation they had to live up to, as Jaime and Jose told me:

I: I don't want to have a girlfriend yet (**I:** aha) first because to have a girlfriend you need to have money (Jaime M7, Age 19) (Q12)

P: Cause I'm the man, men have to pay everything

I: Men?

P: Of course, she's not going to pay for me. She's going to think I'm broke! (Jose M15, Age 17) (Q13)

The presence of such expectations early in relationships played out almost like a test of whether these young men would be good providers in the future. Women learnt that, in a context with limited resources, it was important to have a relationship with a man who would be able to provide for the family, and young men wholeheartedly assumed the role, even becoming involved in illegal activities to fulfil it:

P: Here yeah, yeah here a young man has to provide everything and they have to steal to do so and give it to their little girlfriend

I: Even if they aren't married or have children?

P: Yes, imagine they once brought a 17-year-old, because he stole a mobile phone, and I asked him 'why did you rob the phone', and he said, 'because I promised my girlfriend a mobile phone'. Can you imagine how the male chauvinism is related to violence and crime? (Police chief, SM7) (Q14)

Exploring further into the "paying for your date" issue, I understood that, for some men, paying was seen as a way to establish a position of power, whereas not paying meant being left in a weak position, a "lesser man" position. Thus, Alfredo explained to me that if a woman paid for the date, he felt ashamed and "weak":

P: I don't know, I feel weak (laughs) if a girl pays for me

I: You feel weak?

P: Yeah... it's awkward, I don't know... but most of the time, I like to pay, when I've had money, I have always been happy to pay (Alfredo M16, Age 32) (Q15)

Along the same lines, paying was seen as a way to achieve certain goals, such as having sex with the girl they were dating,

P: Ah, I thought that, well, how can I put this, ummm... my friends say, yeah? You try it with a woman; you know everything, typical, right? And in the end, I am sorry to say it like this, you end up in bed, yeah? Um, that's what my friends have told me

I: That if you invest in her, then you would be able to...

P: Yeah, that you'd end up in bed (Felipe M36, Age 20) (Q16)

1.2 Men as protectors

I: The ideal man is a man that knows how to defend himself, that knows how to fight?

(...)

P: Yeah and that also gives his family security

I: Security in what sense?

(...)

P: Yeah, yeah, they have to protect ... if he's a man his role is to protect. And that protection has to be at different levels, right? Providing food, economically, against the violence in the context, the neighbourhood. It's his role to provide a sense of security (NGO staff, SW3) (Q17)

Another role, which seemed to be paramount in the construction of masculinities, was the one of protector. Men, in El Agustino, were in charge of protecting their women and families. As a religious community leader mentioned, the idea of masculinity as exemplified by a "tough" guy, who needed to fight and defend his family, was instilled in the young male from very early on, by their families and society:

I've seen it and I keep seeing it in kids nine, ten, eleven years old. It's like they want to protect their mother or protect their younger siblings (Religious community leader, SW2) (Q18)

Men were told and learnt that they have to take care of women, even when the men were the youngest in the family. As brothers, they took care of their sisters and, when the father was absent, they very often took on jobs in order to help their mothers. Sometimes, as mentioned in the previous chapter, they even had to fight their own father in order to protect their mother. This, in turn, situated the young men in a position of power and status within the family, as Teresa told me about her relationship with her younger brother:

For example, because we were the two first before my little sister was born, we were the older ones, it was like you two have to share and he gets all of it (laughs), it was like that. And now we can't say anything to him ... because he is

the only boy and he has to take care of us and we can't complain. (Teresa W2, Age 16) (Q19)

This role of men as protectors seemed to be based on the assumption that women were a little naïve and needed protection. Women were seen as defenceless and clueless, as the two following extracts show. Ricardo implied that women were vulnerable to sexual attacks, whereas men were hurt only if they "allow it". In the second quote, Jon mentions that when his parents complained about him spending time with friends who consumed drugs, he replied that he knew what he was doing, because "he is not a little girl" and he "thinks before doing things", implying that young women were impulsive and irrational:

P: Well, I think, I'd rather it be only guys [talking about school], because you know you can always find sick people, yeah? Those that have bad intentions and... and if its combined men and women, they can hurt a girl or something... see, that is why I'd prefer it to be only men

I: And don't men hurt each other?

P: Yes... but... it depends if the ones that are going to get hurt allow that to happen (Ricardo M21, Age 21) (Q20)

[Your parents think that if] your friends are druggies, they're going to take you somewhere else... you're going to end up in jail (I: aha) No... are you crazy? Its one thing for me to go out and very different for me to do something that isn't right. What I do or do not do is my decision. So when I grew up I proved that I am not a girl, and that I know what I'm doing and I give it a thought before I do it (Jon M23, Age 18) (Q21)

These assumptions regarding the fragility and softness of women, contrasted with the accounts of the interviewees of how their mothers brought them up on their own and with women's accounts of different situations in which they themselves needed to resort to violence to defend their family or confront problems. In women's stories, characteristics such as courage, "toughness", violence and braveness could be found, as well as counter-examples of men who apparently broke down easily. As Rosa explained,

P: [the doctor] has told him to take care of himself, that he shouldn't have any stressful news, that's why I can't stress him, right?

I: Hmh

P: I put up with everything because I'm the strong one, I don't have any medical condition, my daughter says 'you pretend you're strong but one of these days it's

going to get you' 'No' I tell her, I have faith in God... (Rosa W13, Age late sixties) (Q22)

In Rosa's account, there are two contradictory discourses. On the one hand, her husband was the one providing and making the main decisions in the house, arguing that he could not help with domestic chores because he worked hard, but, on the other hand, she talked about him being "weak" and her being "strong", the one that supports the family and "buffers" him from harm. She was very careful not to make this obvious to her husband though. She explained to me that she never asked for more money, so that he would not think that what he gave her was not enough. Rosa was proud of herself, because she always accepted what her husband could give her without complaining and then worked herself to get the rest of what she needed.

Sometimes, men even assumed the role of protectors of women from the community who did not belong to their immediate social network, behaving like "*caballeros*" [gentlemen];

P: In my class, well, when I was in first year [secondary school], they'd play dirty games. Sometimes they'd say 'let's go and do...' some times they had dirty intentions and would say 'let's go when school finishes' and they'd try to feel up girls

I: Girls...

P: Sometimes I'd be outraged, I'd watch and the next day I'd get out and I'd end up getting into a fight with someone because I didn't like them doing that ...

P: ... I always told them 'hey, you have sisters', I've always stood up for women I didn't like them to treat them badly (Jaime M7, Age 19) (Q23)

This protective role was often intertwined with controlling behaviours. Particularly in their interactions with girlfriends, young men tended to be very jealous and controlling, especially regarding the ways in which women dressed and handled their social interactions with other men. In the following extract, for instance, Carlos was adamant about the fact that he was happy with his girlfriend, because she behaved in the way he expected her to:

She was all I wanted, I'm doing my thing and she goes, waits for me at mine. She is quiet, she studies, then... I come home and she goes home, or she says 'you know Carlos, I'm going to go out with my girlfriends', 'go ahead, it's cool'. Good, because she lets me know, yeah? ... When there's trust, you trust with your

eyes shut, with the other [girlfriend] it wasn't like that (Carlos M14, Age 18) (Q24)

Juana told me about her boyfriend verbally abusing her whenever he felt threatened by another man or when she interacted with another man in a party setting, by criticising the way she danced and calling her a whore:

No, he has never hit me... but sometimes when his friends looked at me or I looked at them or someone asked me to dance and I'd accept, he'd get angry, he'd pull me aside and tell me 'Why do you dance like that? You're a bitch' and that hurt me you know? I didn't... I was dancing like everyone else. (Juana W5, Age 17) (Q25)

As with the breadwinner role, I found that women supported this kind of relationship, fuelling the protection aspect of their relationship, encouraging men to fight for them in order to show their [the men's] interest in the women:

No, even sometimes some girls would ask me to fight (**I**: oh really?) to show them if I was really interested, I mean to see if I had feelings for them. 'If you really believe what you are telling me...', I mean, for example they would tell me something like 'there is this guy that has been bothering me (**I**: aha) and he has been bothering me and you know what? I want you to beat him up and I would say, 'no, why would I hit him if he hasn't done anything to me' and then she'd say 'Oh ok' and then she would not talk to me because she wanted me to fight the guy. (Pedro M1, Age 19) (Q26)

1.3 Men as tough

Of course, I didn't leave crying, not at all, I left like what I am: a man, a male. (Ruben M26, Age 19) (Q27)

In this quote, Ruben established a clear link between not crying and his male identity. In many of the interviews, young men mentioned that they used to cry when they were kids, but they stopped doing it when they grew up. These accounts always had a negative tone. It seemed that not crying, i.e. being able to control emotions, was a skill that was achieved with age and was a marker of masculinity:

I was a cry baby at the time, and when they'd hit me, I'd start crying crying and crying... (Ricardo M21, Age 21) (Q28)

I: And how did you feel?

P: Fine, I didn't cry! When I was little... when I was younger, I used to cry, but not anymore, not anymore, no I have... I didn't like it... so I don't cry anymore (Ruben M26, Age 19) (Q29)

In these accounts, men showed control over their emotions, but they did not deny the feelings associated with the tears. They explained that they might have wanted to cry, because they were in pain, sad or happy, but they had to suppress the tears. The act of crying seemed to be seen as “bad practice”, especially in front of strangers, because it put young men in a vulnerable position in front of others. Andres told me about the birth of his baby girl:

P: I wanted to see my daughter, I saw all my family there and I wanted to cry... I've held back in several occasions.

I: Why?

P: Because it's not a good thing to do [crying] (Andres M32, Age 23) (Q30)

There were certain deeply emotional situations, e.g. when someone died, where the tears of a man were justified, however, they still had to make clear that those were “men's tears”, as this excerpt from the song “*Amigo Pedro*” shows: “I don't want to say goodbye, these are man tears, if God has summoned you well those are the rules and they can't be broken” (Carlos M14, Age 18) (Q31).

Also associated with this mandate of “toughness”, is the idea that a “proper” man always fights back, and is aggressive. A man should not allow another man to attack him without fighting back; otherwise, his manhood is questioned and this is mainly done by comparing him with a “female”. A religious community leader told me about policemen talking to young men:

P: Of course! Even the police man, when lads go, they tell them ‘oi are you a man or a bitch?’ excuse the language, ‘you are just like a woman’

I: Hmh

P: You know? You can see it at all the levels, in every social stratum, right? People, who administer justice, I've heard judges saying ‘answer like a man, or are you a girl?’ (Religious community leader SW2) (Q32)

Peer pressure to follow this mandate was very important, with young men policing the standards through their social practices. Alejandro told me that he and his friends would threaten other young men in their neighbourhood with beating them up, if they did not fight back when attacked by young men from other neighbourhoods,

I: Do you bother other boys when they don't get into a fight?

P: Sometimes

I: Yeah? What do you tell them?

P: 'Hit the one that has hit you, or else I'm going to beat you up' (Alejandro M11, Age 16) (Q33)

It was also usual to find accounts of parents "teaching" their sons to be "tough" and retaliate when attacked. These accounts always had a double emotional association: on the one hand, participants were happy because it helped them learn how to be a man, but, on the other hand, they resented being subjected to aggression:

P: And everyone would hit me..., everyone, and I would cry. And my dad when I was... I was little, he'd yell at me.

I: What would he say?

P: He'd say 'Are you stupid? How are you going to let them hit you?' (Rafael M2, Age 18) (Q34)

I: And your dad, didn't your dad tell you off because you got into fights?

P: He taught me to be like this!

(...)

P: He'd say 'you can't let anyone hit, do you understand me? (I: aha) 'Do you understand what I'm telling you?', 'Yes' I told him, 'Is that the way to answer? Speak louder!', 'Yes', I'd answer louder, ... 'That's it (.). He'd grab my face 'And say 'that's how you do it' ... He'd slap me with both hands, fine, yeah? No, I didn't cry at the time I was 15 already. (Jon M23, Age 18) (Q35)

1.4 Men as "studs"

When I was little, my mum used to tell me: 'Son, you have to be very charming, you need to be very talkative with girls' 'Ok mum'. 'And be careful with having a girlfriend!' 'Ok mum, I won't' 'No! You have to have at least 5!' (Pablo M5, Age 27) (Q36)

In general, I found that there was the idea that a proper man was always keen on having sex with women, and unable to turn down the possibility of a heterosexual encounter. As

Santiago told me, “but one is a man, (laughs) if you have an opportunity, you’re not going to waste it!” (Santiago M40, Age 18) (Q37). Rejecting a sexual encounter was seen as missing an opportunity to confirm your status as a man, to yourself and to the rest of the community. This way of thinking justified men’s infidelities, as it implied that, even if a man was in a relationship, if he had the opportunity to have sex with another woman, he *had* to take that opportunity, he had to be a man and had to “proceed”. So, cheating was seen by many of the interviewees as the norm, part of the behaviour they were expected to display as men. In the following quote, it is clear how agreeing to have sex is a must for men:

P: I mean, you know... you’re somewhere and you have the opportunity. Because girls come of their own will, yeah? I’m not the kind of guy who chases girls, but if things happen, what am I supposed to do? I’m not going to tell her to go away, right?

I: Why not?

P: No, it’s not my thing

I: You have to say yes always

P: Yes that is what I’ve been taught to do (Carlos M14, Age 18) (Q38)

A clear distinction was made between actively looking for another woman and being presented with the opportunity of another woman, even when they were not looking for it. The idea seemed to be that if the man was not actively looking for the possibility of an affair with another woman, then they should not be accused of cheating. However, once they had the opportunity of being with another woman, saying no was not a possibility, because they could not risk their image as men, and moreover they could not resist their male sexual drive:

P: But one thing is to go around looking for the opportunities, and a different one is that opportunities come up

I: Uhu

P: I don’t look for gals

I: But if they look for you, they’ll find you?

P: Of course, miss, I am a man, aren’t I? (Santiago M40, Age 18) (Q39)

As has been seen in other settings (Marston 2001), this mandate did not apply for women. A woman who “sleeps around” compromised her reputation and most men would not want to engage in a serious relationship with her. When confronted with the unevenness of this

situation, Carlos explained that he knew that gender equality discourses were used these days, but he argued that in his context and his life this was not applicable. He argued that he knew that everybody else in El Agustino understood male and female sexual roles in the same way that he did, so equality discourses were not applicable in this setting. There was only one truth for him: if women slept around they were whores, whereas if men slept around, their reputation enhanced. This finding partially contradicts gender scholars who argue that, most of the time, individuals are not able to see the “gender matrix” (Barker 2005a) in which they are immersed. In this case, Carlos was aware of at least part of it, by recognising alternative discourses on gender equality, and even acknowledging that these ideas might be “right”, but he opted not to follow them because, he argued, those ideas were not valid in his context:

P: A man, however he lands, he lands in a good position, that simple. Is not the same for women, they think poorly of them, you can snog any chick, they do not think badly of you. But your girl cousin what? She can't be with one and then another man, your sister can't be with one and then another man who makes a bad impression? Men? No, because here everyone's thinks like that and I see it the same way. I mean I know that... as everyone says, yeah? That we're wrong and that there should be equality, but no, I mean not for me.

I: It's nonsense

P: It's bullshit, (I: laughs) equality? They could be right, but no, I mean... I was raised like this and that's what I think and most people think the same... (Carlos M14, Age 18) (Q40)

To back up his argument against gender equality regarding sex roles he stated that even women in his family were “*machistas*”. According to him, in his family, if a male family member was unfaithful, his mother and aunties protected him, but if a woman was unfaithful, they judged her:

P: In each family, even women, it's a male chauvinistic society

I: Even women?

P: Even my own aunts, too, even my own aunts (Carlos M14, Age 18) (Q41)

2. How do men fulfil these expectations?

2.1 Men and work

In order to legitimate their position as a provider and protector, men had to be able to generate an income. This was usually attained either by working or by getting involved in some illegitimate activity such as stealing, which in some cases was labelled as “work on the street”. Illegal activities, in which some of the interviewees were involved, ranged from petty crime, to working for the construction sector evicting squatters or threatening individuals to get the bid on a contract. Usually, people in the community were aware of these activities and young men felt judged by others, as Mario explained when talking about his employment situation:

I: Uhu, hmh. How do you think people in the neighbourhood see you?

P: I don't know, lately they seem to have a bad impression of me, yeah? But it wasn't like that before. It all changed when I lost my job

I: Uhu

P: Since then I have started to do other things [stealing] (Mario M44, Age 21) (Q42)

One of the reasons many young men became involved in illegal activities was that these were more available to them. The formal system and their lack of training and resources did not facilitate their entry into the labour market. Many did not have study certificates, national ID cards or birth certificates, all of which were usually required when recruited for a job. Looking for a job also required a certain amount of money to cover various associated activities, such as renting computers and printers to produce their CVs, travelling costs to possible work venues, buying newspapers with job advertisements and having credit for their mobile telephones³¹ in order to make and receive calls, etc. The following extract describes the situation:

³¹ Most of them own a pay as you go mobile phone but do not have credit to make phone calls.

There are jobs, but I don't know, I've sent my CV to loads of places and they don't call me, you spend more on transport, you know what I mean? ... you go to a factory, you spend on transport or you need to have breakfast or you have to call an advert that says 'work needed' you give a mobile phone number, you have to call, if you don't call you have to walk here or there or taxi or a *mototaxi*, right? You can spend 15 soles or 20 soles or 10 soles in a day. If you don't find anything, you need to go out again and you know, your parents don't understand this, that's why I don't go out to look for a job because I don't have money right now... for example, I am I'm thinking more and more about robbing people (Mario 44, Age 21) (Q43)

Contrasting views on work could be found in young men's discourses. On the streets, working legally was admired but, at the same time, the young men talked about it in a derogatory way. For some young men, working did not seem like a very clever thing to do, due to the low wage, when you could rob people and earn much more money with less effort (and more risk, as well) and in a shorter period of time. Interviewees who thought that working was for "idiots", tended to be young men who had been thieving all their lives, and who, in some cases, came from families where theft for a living was also the norm, as Enrique explained:

P: That's how the neighbourhood works, things run in the family, generation after generation, they become more and more dangerous
(...)

I: What do they think? If you work you're dumb [stupid]?

P: Yeah, you're dumb, stupid, they treat you like a moron (laughs) (Enrique M42, Age 22) (Q44)

The social context and the kind of interactions and relationships they established also had an impact on the jobs they were willing to take. A good example of this was the failure of the programme implemented by the local government, in which they hired ex-gang members to be part of the local government security force, called "Serenazgo". This programme intended them to patrol areas in different parts of El Agustino, keeping the streets safe, fighting crime and drugs. However, for men who had been involved in street or football groups' confrontations, it was almost impossible to take a job like this, as they did not consider it safe to enter their former opponents' territory. Even if they were assigned to their own

neighbourhood, they still would have issues with the job, as they would have to control their own friends' and neighbours' behaviour. They saw a conflict for them in capturing or reporting someone they knew, for example, for consuming drugs, because these were the same people with whom they would "hang out" or live near to, in their day-to-day lives. Finally, people from the neighbourhood who had already stigmatised them as gang members did not trust them and did not think the programme was a good idea.

By contrast, I found that women had fewer restrictions to take on any kind of job, especially women who had children. As Monica (W7, Age 40) told me, she would even do laundry by hand to cover the monthly bills and "did not care what [she had] to do" (Q45) to feed her children. This might be related to the role that work has, in the construction of gender identities in both genders. It seemed that, for women, the kind of job they did, did not define them and it was seen merely as a means of survival and a way of caring for children, whereas, for men, the type of job they did was related to their manhood and the image which they presented to others.

2.2 Fatherhood

Nine of the 45 interviewees had children. All had had them at the age of 25 or younger, some had been as young as 15 years old. Becoming a parent was understood to be a natural part of life and one of the adulthood markers, as made clear by Jose's response, when I asked him what he thought about becoming a parent before he was 20 years old:

P: In my neighbourhood they have kids at nineteen, twenty

I: And what do you think about this? Is it ok?

P: No, but if he's a grown-up, they have their ID³² and everything, yeah?

I: And, is that enough to have children?

P: If they work, if they work, then its fine, they can live (Jose M15, Age 17) (Q46)

³² In Peru 18 year old citizens are required to have a national identification card (DNI) and carry it with them at all times, this is also the age where you acquire full civil rights, you are allowed to drink alcohol, get a driving license and have sex among others. If you are caught by the police without your DNI you can be taken to the police station.

I found that fatherhood had multiple functions in young people's lives. First, I found an emotional/psychological aspect to it. The young men looked forward to having children, as a way of feeling loved and giving love. They saw it as an opportunity to give all the monetary support and love which they lacked, and to reverse the story of abandonment and neglect they had experienced. As Christian and Enrique told me, they did not want to do to their children what their parents did to them. Christian was abandoned by his father when he was born; Enrique was abandoned by his mother, left with his grandfather and never knew who his father was:

I held her and I took a breath ... and she filled a void in my heart, which was always bitter when I thought about my father. I don't feel like that anymore when I see my old man. I don't suffer, I'm not sad. I'm like 'fuck he's my old man', ... and now he has another son with a different woman, I tell him 'don't do the same thing with the other kid, don't be stupid', ... 'what goes around, comes around!' (Christian M32, Age 23) (Q47)

P: And I tell her, 'you won't need anything' as long as I'm alive, that's why I am your father

I: Hmh

P: Especially, I don't want her to go through what I went through (Enrique M42, Age 22) (Q48)

For other young men, fatherhood was regarded as a cue for change and for becoming more responsible, by working in "proper" jobs instead of spending time on illegal activities or spending time on the streets with their friends or football team group. Having a child was seen as an opportunity to do things right, a way out of delinquency, gangs and the prospect of ending up in jail:

P: When I had my first child I started meditating, thinking because I didn't want to end up like my friends, in jail. When I had my son I started thinking why I didn't want to end up in jail like three of my friends.

(...)

I: And, when you were 18, when your baby is born, and you gave it more thought, what happened? Was there any change? What did you do?

P: I started working; I started working in a factory ...

I: For the first time?

P: (laughs) I started doing decent work (Maicol M29, Age 25) (Q49)

Staying out of gangs and “off the streets” seemed to be, in part, a conscious decision that men could take at some stage in their lives. Why did they not seem to take that decision without an event in their lives such as becoming a father? Taking a closer look at some of the accounts about fatherhood, I found that being a father was also related to becoming a man and to the end of boyhood, hence, on becoming fathers, many young men in El Agustino were willing to take any job in order to provide for their child:

P: I don’t know, everyone thinks that (noise) sometimes when you have a child you become a man, and they don’t realise that (noise) really being a man means being able to care for your family and if you have children you should help them to succeed. Otherwise what is the use in having one, two, three, four, five, six children and in the end, your wife will complain and you won’t give her what she wants, you’re not a man then. (Francisco M2, Age 18) (Q50)

Some young men were aware of the need to be able to support a child, if they were to have one, and said they wanted to defer having a baby until they had a stable position. They also said that they would not have more than two children, in order to be able to provide enough for them, and not struggle as their families did:

I: And, do you want to have children?

P: Of course, like everybody else, but not yet, I need to get a good job first (Cesar M19, Age 21) (Q51)

At my age ... it would be an obstacle for me, for my career, having to work for my family, no... it’s not in my plans yet, in the future, when I’m someone in life, when I have a career, when I am a fully grown man, but not yet. (Brandon M22, Age 21) (Q52)

I: Only two? Why? Why not four?

P: I don’t know (laughs) I see my mum with us, we’re four, she suffers very much (Guillermo M30, Age 16) (Q53)

In the case of young women, I found that motherhood was usually a consequence of agreeing to have sex with their boyfriends, in order to retain them. According to the interviewees’ accounts, women would “give in” and have sex with their boyfriends, in order to keep them by their side. Boyfriends, in turn, would fulfil the role of protectors that absent fathers could not provide. Girls acknowledged having unprotected sex, which many times resulted in

unwanted pregnancies. Once they had a baby, life tended to get complicated, with women struggling to cope with motherhood demands in a context of poverty and disengaged fathers. However, they still thought that having a child was a form of securing company and future protection for the rest of their lives, especially if they had baby boys. As Rafael explained:

Girls go out with a guy because sometimes they think he will make them feel confident. And they don't know that confidence comes from within them. But well, every girl has their way of... their own opinion, right? Maybe they don't plan to have children, but to be with a guy they like, a cute guy (noise), a guy that looks rich, they sleep with them, and a baby comes and when the man leaves them they realise that things aren't rose-tinted and when they change their minds it's too late, that's what happens to girls now (Rafael M2, Age 19) (Q54)

2.3 Presentation to others

Taking a closer look at the gender dynamics in El Agustino, it also became clear that being a man was something that had to be validated by the community, in particular by peers. It was in the eyes of this "significant other" that men could be reassured that they were succeeding in constructing their male identity, according to the expectations of their environment. Hence, young men adopted certain strategies to display their masculinity and their main "stage" was the neighbourhood; the "*barrio*". Among these strategies, "looking good" seemed to play a key role in the construction of their masculinities. Carlos, for instance, was clear about using clothes to feel good about himself and also disassociate himself from the way people in his surroundings looked:

I: Looking good? What do you mean by looking good?

P: Well-dressed, look... feel good with myself, not to look like people in my neighbourhood. (Carlos M14, Age 18) (Q55)

According to some stakeholders, young men paid particular attention to the way they dressed to avoid marginalisation, but also judged other young men based on their looks, reproducing the same mechanisms that outsiders used to marginalise them. Talking with staff members of SEA NGO, they told me that clothes helped young men to define an identity that was otherwise undermined:

In the conversation we analysed how clothes are an external factor that helps these kids in defining their identity, particularly in an environment that denies them other ways to do so. (Fieldwork notes 7th May 2008) (Q56)

I found that, as in other social contexts, buying nice-looking clothes and well-known brand items was a status symbol. However, I found that, in El Agustino, these items were not only used to obtain economic status, but to circumvent the label of “*lacra*”. “*Lacra*” was the word they used to address someone that dressed poorly, someone that looked untidy and dirty, and it was associated with the image of a drug addict who lived on the streets. As discussed in the stigma section of Chapter 4, young men of El Agustino were aware of the ideas surrounding El Agustino and its inhabitants, and dressing nicely was a strategy they used to avoid that stigma, buying new ones every time they could afford it:

I: And, what do you think people that are not from el Agustino think about it?

P: About El Agustino? That it’s all ‘*lacra*’ (Cesar M19, Age 21) (Q57)

Young men feel pressured to buy new, fashionable clothes in order to avoid being marginalised as discussed above, but also as a result of globalised marketing campaigns, which associate nice clothes with successful lifestyles and often target young people. Thus, young men would try to purchase branded clothing and when they could not afford it, they would buy “fakes” which were available in informal market stalls. According to the interviewees, trainers were the most important clothing item in a men’s wardrobe, therefore, if possible, they would try to own at least one original pair. In the following quote, the importance and meaning of trainers is well described. Beto explained to me that it did not matter if his clothes were “good”, a “bad” pair of trainers would ruin the whole outfit. As a consequence, he would spend all his salary on a pair of branded trainers and assessed his financial situation in terms of the number of pairs of trainers he owned:

P: When you buy, you get dressed from head to toes, if you have bad trainers, it’s not worth having bought trousers or a good shirt?

(...)

I: Why, the trainers, what?

P: I don’t know, it doesn’t identify you, but, I mean it makes you look good

I: What trainers make you look better? For example?

P: If you wear Nike, any trainers from a well-known brand

I: Hmh

(...)

I: Hmh, and they also know the latest models

P: Of course, you go into a store and you know what the latest models are, you ask for it. When I worked and made good money, I'd go in and ask 'the latest Nike model' 'bring me the latest Nike model' and they would bring it for you 'this is it' and you'd buy the one you liked the best. I've paid up to 380 soles [approximately £85] for a pair of trainers. My bonus, almost my complete bonus

I: How many pairs of trainers do you have?

P: ... I used to have many, now it's my worst period, right now I only have 3 pairs (Beto M18, Age 27) (Q58)

It emerged from the interviews that the importance of brands and trainers differed by gender.

Young women did not pay that much attention to brands, concentrating instead on having varied clothing items that were fashionable. Parents also seemed to understand the importance of clothes and "looks" for their young sons and I found more than one case who reported that mothers working abroad would send more money to their sons than to their daughters, so they could buy "good" branded clothes:

P: But my daughter sends (name of the grandson), she tells him she's going to send him \$100, so he can buy his clothes

I: And the girls?

P: Um, well for them she sends the money together, for example she sends \$150 and tells me 'see what they like, they don't like expensive things, right?' My girl that is 12 tells me 'mommy Gamarra [market that sells cheap clothes] clothes it's ok, buy me 20 soles trainers'. (Rosa W13, Age late sixties) (Q59)

The symbolic value of trainers was not only linked with social status, but also with the young men's honour and masculinity. Trainers became the visible symbol used to show others that they were able to purchase expensive items and to find the money to do so. Hence, robbing someone's trainers was a humiliation, it meant taking away part of his masculinity and status. This explains why many of the assaults between young men from opposing groups targeted the other's trainers. Beto explained:

P: By stealing from him you're humiliating him. Then you leave him barefoot.

I: So, many times, the trainers might not be as good, or you don't want them?

P: It's not like that, it's only to humiliate him

(...)

I: It's not because you are interested in stealing his trainers?

P: You take them only to humiliate him, you send him barefoot to his neighbourhood, that's humiliating for anybody (Beto M18, Age 27) (Q60)

Trainers had such a powerful meaning for their masculinity that they even used them to assess a man's wealth and his consequent readiness to have children. Hence, Rafael was able to quantify and used trainers as a clear marker for fatherhood and ultimately manhood:

I: And, when do you want to have children?

P: Not yet. I always say something that might seem not real but... When I have money to buy myself seven pairs of Nike trainers. Each costs like 380 soles

I: What will happen when you have the money to buy 7 pairs of trainers?

P: Ok, only then will I be sure that I have something safe to give to my children. Have them, raise them, for their education (Rafael M2, Age 18) (Q61)

2.4 Being sexually active and having many women

Young men's sexuality was built around heterosexuality and hypersexual ideas, and it was linked to their masculinity in different ways. On the one hand, homosexuality was something young men had to actively reject most of the time, in order to show their virility. Being called "gay", or any of the various derogatory words used for homosexuals, was one of the most typical insults for their opponents. As Samuel explained:

I: Was that an insult you used a lot? Poof?

P: Yes, gay, poof, right? That was the worst insult (Samuel M9, Age 27) (Q62)

Biological traits of sexual maturity, like the penis size and pubic hair, were used by younger men to establish comparisons with each other and to demonstrate that they had become men, or were "more of a man" than the other. These practices, however, seemed a little contradictory, as, in order to demonstrate they were not gay, they sometimes engaged in some homoerotic practices. Samuel's narrative showed how prevalent these practices were at his boys-only secondary school and how the discourses of not being gay and pretending to be gay intertwined within the interactions. On the one hand, in order to demonstrate that you had a normal penis, i.e. that you were a proper man, you had to be willing to show it to other men. By the same token, in order to show that you were not gay, you had to play along in a

provocative game in which other men touched your genitals or backside. The idea was that if you did not react pushing them away or hitting them then you “liked” it.

P: Lets see when you’re twelve, fourteen, all the lads are worried about the size of their penis, who has a bigger one, yeah? So then if you don’t show it, then you are a poof, or something like that, right? So you have to play the game or else, you bring a porn magazine

I: And what do you do it? Do you show it [penis] to everyone, just like that, they measure it?

P: (laughs) We used to do sports and then go to the showers and there it’s fine, right? You should not have to hide anything, yeah? But some people are shy, and they would call them poofs, and say that he had a ‘small’ one, they would take the mickey, yeah? So you had to be open, not ashamed

(...)

I: And was there ever any kind of sexual game, between classmates, I don’t think it would’ve gone any further, but as a way of intimidating the other, of taking the piss, eh? I don’t know, feeling each other up, those kind of things?

P: Oh my god, yeah, yes, those things happened, especially until third year in high school. I mean when I saw that in first year of high school, it really surprised me. And you had to be in a defensive mode, because a joker could want to feel you up, I’ve got into a lot of fights because of that, yeah? (Samuel M9, Age 27) (Q63)

The other major aspect of sexuality among young men was that of hypersexuality. This trait was demonstrated in different ways. At school, for example, boys used to bring pornographic magazines or masturbate in class, as this excerpt from Samuel’s interview describes:

P: Yes you’d find everything ... those kind of sexual games, there were also kids that would masturbate, yeah? In class!

I: In class?

P: In class, it was awful (Samuel M9, Age 27) (Q64)

Another common way of demonstrating virility as mentioned before was to have sexual relationships whenever a woman was open about her attraction to them. Finally, I found that another way of achieving masculinity related to sexual behaviour was their first heterosexual intercourse experience. Penetrating a woman was interpreted as a way of becoming a man. For Simon, this had been an outstanding experience, particularly because his partner had had more experience than him and told him “what to do”:

I: Was it her first time too?

P: No. First time! From what she taught me (**I:** laughs) I didn't know anything I barely knew how to kiss, it was then when I learned everything and (**P:** nervous laugh) it was an amazing experience
(...)

P: It was nice because I didn't want to do anything, 'not just like that' and she was the one doing everything (**P:** laughing) and I remember that after finishing, coming back on the bus I felt weird, yeah? (.) 'I'm a man now' (**P:** loud laugh)
(Simon M6, Age 24) (Q65)

3. Where do they enact their masculinities? Territoriality and networking: The social meaning of the “barrio”

Displays of masculinity became particularly relevant in the geographical and socially constructed space of the “*barrio*”. It is here where young men had the opportunity to show to other young men who they were, what they had achieved and how they exerted their masculinities. Carlos' hip hop lyrics highlighted how “the street” became the space where reputation was built, respect was gained and masculinity was asserted:

They are witty guys who have nothing fierce, no one knows them on the street or in their neighbourhood
(...)

Do you see how I appear in this situation, very well, respected, walking all around (Destrabando, Carlos M14, Age 18) (Q66)

The following lyrics are good examples of the connection between “the street” and being a man. For example: “you are not street mate, you are a miss you are the little mermaid” (Tu Crees, Carlos M14, Age 18) (Q67); here, Carlos was associating the concept of “street” with masculinity in opposition to the words “*señorita*” and “the little mermaid” that are feminine, making a clear link with gender. Along the same lines, the following exchange, in the interview with Esteban, highlighted the importance of fighting and getting involved in inter-neighbourhood “wars”, in building a reputation and spreading it to other areas:

I: And why do you think that they fight, they attack each other? What is the cause?

P: Maybe because they think they are more of a man in this way

I: What do you mean?

P: To make themselves known, be famous, have other neighbourhoods recognising them (Esteban M12, Age 17) (Q68)

Territorial identity in El Agustino was narrowly associated with their immediate neighbourhood which normally included only a few blocks. Some interviewees only felt safe in their own immediate space and avoided specific areas where they knew opposing football teams' fans lived, or where other young men with whom they were "*palteados*"³³ lived. Thus, being able to walk everywhere in El Agustino was a symbol of power, it meant that they were so "respected" that they could walk safely everywhere. Beto's narrative and this hip hop song lyric are typical:

I: And in el Agustino, where do you hang out?

P: In my neighbourhood, I don't leave my neighbourhood

I: No I don't leave?

P: No, since I was in a gang, we have problems with other neighbourhoods (Beto M18, Age 27) (Q69)

In your neighbourhood and in mine, I always walk slowly, I don't fear anybody because I have won respect (En la cintura el armamento, Carlos M14, Age 18) (Q70)

In this context, being known and knowing people was very important. Networking became imperative and "*hacer hora*" ("hanging out") was the main strategy to get to know people, be known and bond with other men. Good networking became a survival strategy that granted them and their families protection, and was also useful to recover stolen items, as reported in these extracts:

P: I know this guy that lives in my neighbourhood, and they know him and he's like a good reference

I: They rather not mess with him

P: ... Yes they tell you 'ok go ahead' and they do not do anything to you. I know people like that, that have told me that if someone wants to do something to me, I should say I know them (laughs) and that in some or another way they'll help me (Pedro M1, Age 19) (Q71)

³³ To be '*palteado*' is a slang idiom used to denote that you are on bad terms with a person, an area, a group. It implies that contact with any of these might end up in a fight or violence.

So people know you, people here, and if someone that doesn't know me messes with me, I tell my friends and in the end you get back everything (stolen goods) (Rafael M2, Age 18) (Q72)

Women friends seemed to be part of the assets included in young men's territories. Young men interacted with women from other neighbourhoods as a strategy to "enhance" their reputation in front of other young men. Many fights, for instance, started because one group of young men had been spending time with girls from other neighbourhoods. On the other hand, I could observe that when in a group of friends in their own neighbourhood, men tended to interact mainly with the other men, paying less attention to women.

4. What is the role of violence in the construction of these masculinities?

4.1 The different functions of violence

As seen in the previous chapters, violence was pervasive and normalised in El Agustino. Being used for different purposes, violence had different functions for the members of this community. When looking in particular at the way men used violence, I found that it was first used to avoid further violence and to make sure that you stayed as safe as possible in a violent environment. We could say that violence was to some extent a *survival strategy*:

So while your Christian education right? About loving your neighbour, right? And yes you have to love your neighbour, but, you have to be aggressive, otherwise your neighbour will beat you up (Samuel M9, 27) (Q73)

Look little guy, bullets are necessary here, to avoid getting one, you need to be a paid assassin (No te achores, Carlos M14, Age 18) (Q74)

Using this logic, the main "street law" was "tit-for-tat", in which it was important not only to take revenge, but to "give as good as you get":

I'm always going to have in mind what he told me: wherever I go, if someone wants to mess with me, for example they call me 'son of a bitch', then I should do the same, if they hit me, hit back, you have to answer in the same way, because if you give in once, they are going to mess with you all your life, that's the street law, if you are going to be here, it has to be like that, if not, you're screwed and that's how it works. (Carlos M14, Age 18) (Q75)

Secondly, violence was used as a *display behaviour*, to demonstrate how “*macho*” and how much of a man you were. These displayed behaviours were recognised and valued by the community. In the following extract from my fieldwork notes, it is clear that violence is considered a positive trait, associated with a man brave enough not only to take aggression, but to be aggressive towards others:

Conversation between Tintaya (one of the MLK football team players), the football coach and Omar (an *ex-picheiro* and member from MLK, vice-president of the MLK football club): They are talking about ex-players of the team. They talk about ‘*el negro*’ they say he was a very good player because he liked to foul other players. The coach explains that the attacking area of the field is only for ‘*machos*’. Omar tells Tintaya that the MLK team fans like players that ‘play hard’ (Fieldwork notes, 19-02-08) (Q76)

I also found that violence was used and understood as a *way to vent frustration*. According to Juan, some men in the home setting were violent because they felt frustrated when they could not fulfil their provider role. Juan argued that, when these demands were not met, men were left in an inferior position which made them feel “small” and they resorted to violence in order to channel that anger:

P: That’s what I was telling you, maybe men are more violent because sometimes they feel more repressed, in a home where the man does not provide the money, he feels less, small ... he feels he’s not performing as a man
(...)

P: The woman is dedicated all the time... let’s say a woman that doesn’t work, she’s dedicated full time to the children, and the man feels the woman is fulfilling her role, but he isn’t, he brings money home, but it is not enough, and the man feels less, small and on top of that having his children asking ‘dad my allowance?’ or ‘daddy I need this or that’. And that’s when he loses it, and in that moment he tries to be violent (Juan M4, Age 21) (Q77)

4.2 Violence as a short cut to achieve masculinities

Analysing the interview transcripts, I found another connection between violence and masculinities seemed apparent: the idea of violence as a “short cut” to fulfil manhood mandates, when the “official channels” were closed or very difficult to take. Violence was intentionally used as an alternative way to become breadwinners and protectors, to

demonstrate that they were “tough” individuals and to reaffirm their positions as womanisers. In order to become breadwinners, young men would often resort to illegal violent activities such as thieving, evicting squatters and carrying guns. Through these activities, they earned the money they needed to provide for their families and their own needs. This was also true at a more symbolic level, where owning a gun replaced having a career and gained you respect as this hip hop song lyric suggests:

I do not care what your profession is, now I have a gun? Very heavy armaments to bring down your façade, so respect me (En la cintura el armamento, Carlos M14, Age 18) (Q78)

By the same token, the role of protector could be achieved by engaging in fights related to their different alliances and “their” women; these might be “wars” between neighbourhoods, “wars” between football team supporters or challenges to young men “hanging out” with girls from their area. Similarly, violence served as a short cut to demonstrating that you were a “tough” man who was not afraid of physical pain and therefore deserved respect. In many accounts, young men told me about using violence as a strategy to stop being bullied and gain respect from other men. They highlighted how it was very important to engage in violence, even when you were sure that you were going to lose. Respect did not stem from winning the fight, respect came from the fact that you stood up for yourself. The social settings where this was more evident were “the street” and the school.

Regarding the use of violence as a short cut to fulfil the mandate of being a womaniser, I found that violence within relationships among young couples (not living together) was usually linked to presumed infidelity—either actual unfaithfulness or suspicion of it. Stakeholders involved in work with young people in the area also highlighted this issue. Young men confessing they had hit their girlfriends, when they knew or thought they had cheated on them, reported it as a matter-of-fact event, with most of them making a point of

the fact that that they had hit their girlfriends in a “lighter” way (“only” slaps in the face or arms) and highlighting how it was against the man (third party) that they directed “proper” violence:

P: And then I found them “infraganti” [in fragrante], I mean they were in a park, I took the girl, and told her it was over, and then bang! I slapped her, but I beat up the guy more

I: You slapped her?

P: Just one slap

I: And the guy?

P: I beat up the guy, and everyone else too, ‘beat him up because he is a backstabber’ (**P:** laughs) just like that (Gustavo M33, Age 24) (Q79)

However, the aggression towards the woman could become more severe, with one of the young men implying in his narration that the girl whom he was with might have had a miscarriage because he kicked her;

P: I kicked and even spat on her. She was very pretty, like Liliana Rengifo [Peruvian celebrity], yeah the girl was very pretty. She blackmailed me, ... I mean she was good, but when she had her little boy her sisters must have told her, all her sisters ‘how are you going to get involved with that wanker [*huevo*on]’ they must have told her that, and she told me ‘no, I can’t be with you’ Just like the other one, my daughter’s mother, they tell her the same thing about me. And she [talking about the girl that was pregnant again] told me she was going to go to El Callao [another borough in Lima] until I told her ‘go ahead, go to El Callao’ ‘go’ I told her and I kicked her and spat on her and she was pregnant but she didn’t lose the baby then, and on Saturday... that was a Tuesday, on Saturday, on Saturday I lost my little boy, a Saturday I lost him. (Enrique M42, Age 22) (Q80)

In the above quote we can see how Enrique used violence as way to deal with rejection and compensate for his threatened masculinity and ultimately preserving his “stud” position.

II. Alternative masculinities: Intra-case studies

In this section, I aim to problematise the concept of masculinity, by analysing two case studies of young men presenting aspects of alternative masculinities to the typical model in El Agustino. By analysing their cases, I aim to provide an idea of how individuals “do gender” and do not necessarily conform all the time to a static idea of the nature of being a man. I

found that different constructions of masculinities in different settings led to different behaviours and that I could find different discourses of masculinity within the same person.

1. Rafael

1.1 Biographical information

Rafael was 18 years old and was one of the young men attending the youth association, Martin Luther King (MLK). He lived in the low-lying area of El Agustino and his main activity was playing football for the MLK team. Rafael had finished secondary school the previous year. He lived with his mother and two younger sisters, and was the only man in the family. His parents had separated when he was 5 years old, because his father got involved with another woman. Once separated, the children stayed with his mother. When he was 12 years old, the mother sent him and his sisters to live with his father because she could not afford to have them anymore, but after a year they returned to their mother, because the father did not take good care of them. He told me that he felt unprotected when his parents separated, because he did not have a father to take care of them anymore and his mother could not protect him because she was a woman and women were weak. He considered that his real parents were his grandparents, who took care of the siblings for most of their lives.

1.2 Social context

Rafael spent most of his time with the MLK group. He acknowledged having delinquent friends that he had known throughout his football activity, but he told me that he never participated in their activities. He did not party much, because he needed to take care of his alcohol intake and health in order to be in good shape to play. He stayed away from the “bad”

people and considered that people from his neighbourhood liked him because of his football-playing skills.

1.3 Constructions of masculinities and violence

Rafael's ideas about the role of men in society revolved around the described mandates of protection, provision, being able to stand up for oneself and retaliate if attacked. However, he made clear that he did not like to get involved in fights very often and that the only reason he would fight was if someone was bothering his girlfriend, his mother or his sisters. On the other hand, he stated his desire to own a gun, clarifying that he just wanted it to make himself feel more protected.

Rafael had strong opinions about women who stayed in abusive relationships, arguing that it seemed that some women liked to be beaten up and got more involved with their partners when that happened, otherwise, he did not understand why they stayed with them. Rafael was completely against domestic violence and thought that men that hit women did it because they could not hit anybody else.

Analysing Rafael's interview, I could identify how he challenged some of the typical roles of men prevailing in El Agustino: besides opposing domestic violence, he also opposed infidelity, arguing that men should be honest if they were not happy in a relationship and end it instead of being unfaithful. As the follow extract shows, Rafael did not adhere to the idea of men as "studs", who gained status by having many women at the same time, complaining about the objectification of women as trophies by his fellow young friends:

I: And guys that go from one woman to another, are they players [*bandidos*³⁴]

³⁴ In Peru this denotes disapproval but not strong judgement. I used this word because it is not judgemental.

P: Of course! They think women are trophies, they do but I don't. Even if I don't give that impression

I: What do you think?

P: I think that if you're going to be with someone, it has to be someone you really like, some you see as, someone... with whom you feel comfortable, because if you don't feel comfortable with her, then don't go out with her.

I: Aha

P: Before you cheat, it's best to tell her 'you know what? It's over' and then you keep on going your way. I don't know what others think really, that is their problem.

I: Do they cheat a lot? Guys around here?

P: Yeah, they are players (Rafael M2, Age 18) (Q81)

Rafael not only criticised the womaniser attitude on moral grounds, but also for health reasons, arguing that promiscuity could lead to STIs:

Or they see women as trophies; they go from one girl to the other. In the end, they end up like some people that are in the hospital with illnesses [STIs]. They have to know who they are messing with, right? (Rafael M2, Age 18) (Q82)

2. Juan

2.1 Biographical information

Juan was 22 years old and he participated in activities with SEA (an NGO in El Agustino, doing work with young men and women). He lived near the river in the northern part of El Agustino. Juan finished secondary school and a technical course on electronics at a private institute, but at the time of the interview he had been unemployed for a while. His main activity was helping his father in the family business. Juan lived with his mother, father, brother and grandmother. He used to live with his grandparents in the north of the country, until he was 8 years old. When he got back to Lima, he did not like it. He did not like El Agustino and the house where they used to live, because it was less comfortable than that of his grandparents. Because he spent his first years living somewhere else, Juan told me that, at the beginning, he did not feel part of the family, or brother of his brothers, even when he was expected to be the one taking care of them (he was the eldest). He said that until he was 12, he did not feel part of his family.

2.2 Social context

He was bullied at school and he belonged to the quiet, studious group. The bullying was so bad that he had to ask his father if he could change school to get away from the abuse:

I don't know, they wanted to feel strong, or if they saw you very active in school or someone that, maybe your girlfriends would look at you, then they were jealous, 'oh so you think you're so smart?' Paf, they'd belittle you immediately. Like saying 'you need to stay there, do not interact with anyone', or something like that. During exams, they'd be like 'pass me your notes, oh, you know, I'm not going to hit you anymore but pass me your notes'. And they would say this to other classmates too, not only to me and that was very annoying, I talked about it with my father, and my father told me well, it's something you need to solve. I didn't like that he didn't back me up, for example. (Juan M4, Age 21) (Q83)

When he changed to a mixed-sex school he felt better, because he said that, in a mixed-sex school, boys controlled their aggressiveness due to the presence of girls. Juan told me that when he was a child, he decided not to "hang out" with the people from his neighbourhood, because he felt discriminated against when he arrived from the north and he did not spend time with them until he was in his last school year. At the time of the interview, he knew them all, especially because he was closely connected with the parish activities, working with young people in youth movements.

He was somehow depressed because he was having problems with his girlfriend, because he did not have identity papers (they were burned by the terrorists and he was still unable to get new ones) and because he was, therefore, not able to work and apply what he had learned or to study at the university, as he wanted. The idea was that, with the technical career, he was going to be able to earn enough money to support his university studies, but that had not been possible yet. Juan held very positive opinions about El Agustino and the possibility of change coming from its own people. He felt proud of El Agustino, because it was changing for the better. He thought that he was perceived as a positive and enthusiastic young man, who was involved in activities that aimed to benefit the community.

2.3 Constructions of masculinities and violence

Juan seemed to rebel against the typical image of a “*macho*” man in El Agustino. He told me that he did not like violence at all and that he always felt bad at school when the other kids attacked him and when his father did not defend him and instead told him to be aggressive and fight back, without understanding Juan’s aversion for it. Juan told me about his fear of school and how his father did not back him up:

No. Once I came home with a black eye because of the kick I told you about ... and he asked me how it happened, who was it, ‘was it someone older than you?’ ‘No he was my age, from my class’. ‘Then it’s something you need to solve, from man to man’. (Juan M4, Age 21) (Q84)

And it turned into something really violent for me. I used to think ‘am I going to a school or to a detention centre?’ I didn’t want to go to school, because, because I found violence at school (Juan M4, Age 21) (Q85)

Throughout the interview, he complained about the current masculinity model in El Agustino, where, according to him, you were considered more of a man if you displayed a “*macho*” attitude. He was aware that his ideas about manhood were different to the prevailing stereotype of masculinity, which he rebelled against, acknowledging that “what I believe can be contradictory to what is said about being a man” (Juan M4, Age 22) (Q86).

Juan also rebelled against some of the typical roles assigned to masculinities, such as the role of protector in its typical display. Hence, even when Juan agreed that men had to protect their family, he did not think that the way to do it was through violence. Juan was one of the few interviewees who believed in reporting aggression to the police, as the following extract shows:

P: Or for example, if there’s violence at home or someone attacks your family and you go and report it [to the police], people here will think you are a moron, they think ‘he should have beaten up the guy’

I: Oh really?

P: Let’s say someone comes and insults your wife in front of you, the logical thing for him is to beat the hell out of the girl... I mean (he corrects himself), the lad that insulted your wife, instead of reporting it. Because everybody thinks

‘what a wimp, what a wimp that guy, that has not beat the hell out of him! If she were my wife I would have beaten him up!’ Or something like that. And well perhaps, there are other ways, ways to not end up with violence. (Juan M4, Age 21) (Q87)

However, at the same time, Juan adhered to certain beliefs about men and women that were rooted in the more prevalent ideas of gender. He displayed rigid ideas about the differences between him and his sister and how much independence they should be granted, according to their gender, as the following quote shows:

My sister was more independent, and sometimes she’d do her own thing! And my dad would compare both of us and I did too, I’d say ‘how is it possible that my little sister being a woman does her own thing’ and me the man, would get back home on time [talking about going out] because I liked to be respectful (Juan M4, Age 21) (Q88)

With these two examples, I have shown how masculinities were experienced by individuals within the contexts of their particular life stories and characteristics. As we can see from Rafael’s and Juan’s stories, it was possible for young men in El Agustino to construct their masculinities in different ways, depending on the context and their own circumstances. In Rafael’s case, the fact that his parents divorced when he was young made him feel responsible for his mother and sister from early on in life, embracing the protective role and seeing women as weak. At the same time, Rafael had very clear ideas about violence against women and sexual behaviour, challenging the idea that men had to sleep with every woman they could and that men should exert power through violence. Juan displayed a quite conscious rebellious position against the established masculinity, criticising the “*macho*” model and the violence among men on the streets and in the school setting. However, in the context of the home, he demonstrated that he thought that men and women should have different levels of independence, supporting the idea that women belonged at home and men belonged on the street. Hence, these examples demonstrate some of the complexity and fluidity of Agustinian masculinities and how context-dependent they were.

III. Theoretically contextualising the analysis of the results of this chapter

In order to analyse the findings in this chapter, in the discussion chapter (Chapter 8) I describe the configuration of masculinities found in El Agustino based on the identification of the gendered demands imposed on men by their society, and the strategies they use to meet these demands. In doing so, I address the enactment of masculinities following Butler's (1999) and Goffman's (1959) theories of performance, analysing the results in terms of homosociality, props, stage and the importance of the body in the process. Following reformulations of the concept of hegemonic masculinities coined by Connell (1987), I continue the analysis by focusing the discussion on the idea of dominant masculinities found in El Agustino and their relationship with gender hegemony, including hegemonic masculinity and femininity as proposed by Schippers (2007). Throughout the analysis I will consider the role of violence in masculinities constructions in the context of a deprived, limiting and stigmatised milieu.

IV. Summary

In this chapter, I have described the configuration of masculinities in the particular setting of El Agustino, with a focus on the demands that are imposed on men i.e. breadwinner, protector, "tough guy" and "stud" and the way they fulfil these demands. Masculinities and their performance have been contextualised in the social space of their neighbourhoods and the importance of self-presentation elements, such as the relevance of peers and looks, were highlighted. The chapter also considered the link between masculinities and violence by analysing the functions of violence in this context and how they contribute to the formation of gender identity. I have suggested that violence is a short cut to achieve masculinities' mandates, in a context where "official" ways of achieving manhood are limited. I finished the

chapter with an intra-case analysis of Juan and Rafael's narratives, which described how young men in El Agustino "do gender", by shifting positions from more complacent to more resistant masculinities, depending on the social situation and the possibilities and limitations they have in each of these contexts. In the following chapter, I aim to discuss the findings of this thesis in the light of the theoretical concepts reviewed in Chapter 2.

Chapter 8. Discussion

This chapter summarises the main findings of this thesis which have been described in Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7. I discuss these findings in a dialogue with the interdisciplinary theoretical approaches reviewed in Chapter 2. The main objective of this chapter is to answer the principal research question, i.e. what is the role of interpersonal street violence in the construction of masculinities in young men in El Agustino? In order to answer this, I first address the specific research objectives described in the introductory chapter (see Chapter 1), related to the impact of structural violence and stigma in the social identities of people in El Agustino; the emic representations of violence and how young men negotiate it; and the configuration of masculinities in El Agustino. I have organised the present chapter into five sections corresponding to these themes, starting with the discussion of the secondary objectives, followed by an attempt to address the leading research question of the thesis and finishing with some general conclusions. In the conclusions' section I begin with a consideration of the study rationale and how the results have helped to illuminate the original research question regarding the relationship between violence and masculinities in the context of social exclusion, stigma and poverty. Throughout this chapter, following demands to include more intersectionality in the study of masculinities, I situate the analysis against the backdrop of variables such as age, race and social status, as well as contrasting my results with those from other masculinities studies reviewed in Chapter 2.

1. The impact of structural violence and stigma on social identities

1.1 Structural violence

As reported in Chapter 2, the study of structural violence in the anthropological and sociological tradition focuses on the subjective experience of macro forces that result in particular patterns of social suffering (Farmer 2004a). By adhering to this line of thought I aim to shift from the sensationalist emphasis put on individual acts of violence and instead highlight the importance of structural violence as a more disruptive form of violence, as suggested by Zizek (2008). To explore this kind of violence it is necessary to explore the interaction between social and economic conditions of exclusion and individual experiences of it. As previously mentioned in this thesis, it is in the everyday practices and interactions where structural violence is enacted; hence as Kleinman (2000) points out, the local becomes relevant to understanding the influence of macro processes. Bearing this in mind I prompted individuals to talk about their life histories and everyday life experiences in the hope that in this way I could gain insight into how the structural conditions of poverty and inequalities had, and certainly still do, shape their lives.

As reviewed in Chapter 2, according to Farmer (2004b) and Alcalde (2006) structural violence occurs in a systematic manner and it usually entails a historical dimension, with the systems operating at the base of it traceable back in time. This holds true for El Agustino, where as described in Chapter 5, violence has become institutionalised, stemming from diverse social actors such as the local and central government, the police, armed forces, the educational system and the football clubs. The police, for instance, are not seen as a force of protection but as a source of oppression (Fine, Freudenberg et al. 2003; Reilly, Muldoon et al.

2004; Winton 2004), which leads to a feeling of neglect and the need for the community to take justice into their own hands. This in turn, fuels interpersonal violence in this context.

Additionally, mechanisms of oppression can be traced back to the conquest period when the conquistadores imposed their culture and power over the local population. This historical event established a pattern in Peruvian society whereby “whiteness” is considered superior, while indigenous features are associated with lack of education and poverty (Alcalde 2006). Most of the young people living in El Agustino are second or third generation migrants from the highlands with indigenous ascendants. This has power and race implications which are discussed in the stigma section of this chapter.

My observations in the field and interviewees’ accounts brought to the fore a variety of manifestations of violence operating at different levels, such as the lack of government intervention in the area, the endemic levels of unemployment—particularly among young men—, neglect by the richest sectors of the society, the pervasive levels of corruption, and the scars left by the political violence of terrorism and the armed forces’ violent tactics to fight it back. The impact of poverty across generations should be added to this picture, with most interviewees referring to their parents’ and grandparents’ struggle to make a living. When concentrating on the violence related to poverty, the results in Chapter 5 showed that the lack of resources manifests itself not only at the material level (lack of services, poor shelter, limited access to basic needs such as food and clothing), but also at the level of social relations, familial dynamics and social fabric levels, resonating with the idea that objective structures have an impact at the subjective level (Bourdieu and Nice 1977).

Following this in Chapter 5 I described how many of my interviewees had to work from a very early age in life, jeopardising their school attendance and assuming adult responsibilities despite being children. On the other hand, economic hardship meant that parents had to work extra hours or migrate to foreign countries in order to make a living, leaving them with reduced or no time to spend with their children and altering the composition and dynamics of the nuclear family. As children, most of my interviewees internalised the discourse of being a burden for their families, and felt guilty about their parents having to work hard for them, failing to recognise their human right to be nurtured and protected by their primary carers. When thinking about the effects on the social fabric I found a combination of social envy and lack of trust that generated relations of suspicion and aggression in the community (see Chapter 5). This seems to be associated with prolonged experiences of political violence, as documented in other settings such as South Africa (Wood 2003), as well as inequalities in the distribution of income within countries (Kawachi, Kennedy et al. 1999).

1.2 Stigma

Following Howarth's (2002) ideas on social identities, I recognise that the meaning of El Agustino is constructed through a dialogue and social interaction with "the other". Thus, in order to understand the stigma upon El Agustino it is necessary to incorporate the views from the "labelling" and the "labelled". Therefore in this thesis I have considered both the insiders' and outsiders' accounts, incorporating the views from the stigmatisers and the stigmatised (see Chapter 4). As shown in Chapter 4, El Agustino is portrayed by the media as a lawless place where people, mainly young men, commit crime and many illegal activities take place. *El Comercio* describes an environment where all people live in very poor, precarious and insecure conditions. Additionally, I collected "other limeños" views on El Agustino and found that their ideas on this area of Lima coincided with the ones found in *El Comercio*. In

their accounts there seemed to be a mix of neglect and stigma. The stigma was mainly anchored in the bad reputation of the area and the low social status and migrant background of its inhabitants; which, as mentioned before, ultimately relates to racial and cultural prejudices. I found further confirmation of these views in the accounts of Agustinian which contained many examples of how they were discriminated against and mistreated when leaving El Agustino and interacting with these other “*limeños*”.

1.2.1 Analysis of stigma elements

Analysing these results from the point of view of Link and Phelan’s (2001) theory of stigma, I found that the different components (labelling, stereotyping, separation, status loss, discrimination and power relations) that these authors proposed were present. El Agustino was labelled as a poor, dangerous and unhealthy place and people living there were portrayed as “ugly” and “sad”, leading to a strong stereotype of people living in this area as hopeless and depressed. In the “*other limeños*” discourses, a clear separation from El Agustino and its people as the “other” i.e. different from them, was clear. This would explain why they had such strong views about El Agustino without having ever been there. It seemed that these *limeños* needed to stress the difference between them and the poor, and in doing so infused the place and its people with negative conceptions.

At the practical level, a clear segregation of the urban configuration between rich and poor areas of the city, with a consequent lack of interaction between the “*other limeños*” and El Agustino was obvious. In the accounts of Agustinians it became clear that the discrimination was not only linked with the area but also with the colour of their skin and the way they dress and talk. Hence underneath the form of social exclusion and poverty, discrimination based on

social class, culture and race was effective. This resonates with Ruiz Bravo's (2001) idea that social exclusion and poverty can mask the effect of race.

1.2.2 Consequences at the personal and identity level

As previously mentioned, the negative view from outsiders, that associate Agustinians with negative characteristics such as dirtiness, untidiness, danger, and tacky etc, has an effect on people from El Agustino who often feel stigmatised and discriminated against, which in turn has an impact on how they situate themselves in the wider Peruvian society. Hence, in Agustinian accounts I found various examples of feelings of marginalisation and exclusion, resulting in a limited use of other areas of Lima, as well as hindering their potential interactions and social relations with people from other areas of the city. Stigma therefore disrupts relationships with the other, but as seen in Chapter 4, it also disrupts the relationship with themselves, having an impact upon their self-image and self-esteem. Many of my interviewees reported shame about their poverty, the way they dressed, their cultural heritage and the colour of their skin. However, their attitude towards stigma was not necessarily a passive one and I found that they displayed different strategies to cope with it, highlighting their capacity as individuals to negotiate their stigmatised condition.

First, I found that some Agustinians accepted the label imposed on the area and ultimately on them. In order to preserve the integrity of the self, interviewees in this posture exhibited a dissociation strategy from the "Agustinian" stigmatising label, rejecting their affiliation through social practices such as: altering their accent, having friends from other places and hanging out with them, or even lying about where they live. These findings resonate with Howarth's (2002) study of black youth in Brixton.

Second, I found that many interviewees reproduced to a certain extent the stigma at the local level. Thus, stigmatised views of those living in the “upper parts” of the district were common, as well as prejudices against migrants and people with darker skin colour. Finally, I found that some of my interviewees challenged the stigma, either by highlighting the positive aspects of the place and developing proud Agustinian identities (Howarth 2002), taking pride in themselves for being able to succeed even in harsh conditions, or by using the negative ideas about El Agustino for their own benefits. For instance, when they use their Agustino affiliation to gain street credit and respect, and therefore presumably avoiding being attacked by other men from other areas of the city.

The above strategies evidenced a struggle to resist the stigma, supporting the idea that the analysis of stigma should not follow a passive victim perspective and instead should incorporate Link and Phelan’s (2001) warning about the risk of portraying members of stigmatised groups as “helpless victims”. I found that the young men were active challengers that found creative ways of contravening the stigma attached to them, either by internalising it or by challenging it. Some questions arise from this, i.e. how does this internalisation work? And, why is it that they reproduce stigma within their own community even when they suffer from the consequences of it? Discriminating against people that migrate is ultimately discriminating against their own origins, and another manifestation of the impact of stigma at the self-esteem level. In the following section, I turn to the theory of practice proposed by Bourdieu in order to shed light on these issues.

1.3 Accounting for the interactions between structural conditions and social actors

Analysing the results of this thesis in Bourdisean terms, if we consider El Agustino to be the field where the interviewees have been socialised in, it can be inferred that all the above

mentioned conditions have contributed to form their dispositions and consequently their habitus, which in turn regulates their social practices. It could be argued that a structurally violent and stigmatising context will generate “negative” dispositions, such as feelings of unworthiness leading to self-denigration, envy, resentment, suspicion, lack of respect for the law, aggressiveness and also “positive” dispositions such as striving to survive, competitiveness, a sense of community, solidarity with fellow sufferers, creativity and resourcefulness. These dispositions are differentiated by gender, with young men internalising the image of the provider and generating an income as a central component of their gendered habitus, whilst women internalise a nurturing role.

Furthermore, applying the ideas of symbolic violence (Bourdieu and Wacquant 2004b), it is plausible to attempt an explanation of how the system perpetuates itself once established. According to Bourdieu the main idea underlying the concept of symbolic violence is that individuals immersed in it are not able to recognise the systems or conditions that generate the violence or the stigmatisation; individuals assume, for example, that the poor conditions are justified and that they are a result of their own actions. This is what Bourdieu calls *misrecognition*, referring to the violence that can be applied with the compliance of the oppressed.

I found that misrecognition happened at different levels, with young people not identifying their parent’s violence (psychological and physical) as abusive, justifying it as a “legitimate form(s) of retributory justice” (Parkes 2007, p.406), whilst adults did not recognise forms of oppression from the broader system. Despite the conditions of extreme poverty, exclusion and stigmatisation described above, the interviewees rarely complained about the policies or the inequalities they suffered compared with other sectors of Limenian society. They were

aware of the differences with other boroughs with better infrastructure; however, their main points of comparison were the other members within their community. Hence, a great deal of social envy could be identified (see Chapter 5).

There was also misrecognition of the violence exerted by the educational system towards students that were problematic or had learning difficulties, with most individuals blaming the students for not being able to keep up and stay in the system. Additionally, I found misrecognition operating on the basis of the internal racial stigma. Many interviewees felt they had to make excuses for their skin colour during their interviews, highlighting the fact that one of their parents was white, or that they were tanned and their natural skin colour was fairer; probably as a response to the fact that in this context I am considered white (see Chapter 3). This shows that the heritage left by the Conquest, where European, white men were in power and indigenous were oppressed, has been perpetuated. These individuals have adopted the views from the stigmatisers and have learnt to regard their own origins and characteristics as inferior.

In sum, by forming an autodepreciatory habitus that internalises a generalised feeling of neglect, these individuals misrecognise their rights and are not able to plead with the authorities. Neither are they able to fight an unfair system that contributes nothing towards helping them emerge from poverty, and perpetuates income inequalities, and unequal access to services and opportunities with consequent imbalances of power. They blame themselves and their families for not being able to change their living conditions, resulting in an everyday suffering that entails a constant fight for survival, and a generalised feeling of unworthiness and hopelessness. Hence, it becomes clear that the conditions of poverty and stigmatisation have an impact on the biographies of individuals living under these conditions

at different levels, generating what Link and Phelan (2001) describe as *persistent predicament* which “refers to a general pattern of disadvantage that is connected to stigma processes” (p.380).

2. Young men’s experiences and negotiation of violence in El Agustino

When exploring the emic understandings of violence in Chapter 6, I found that people from El Agustino associated the idea of violence with abuse and asymmetry of power, which ultimately relates to the idea of unfairness and justice. In general, acts of aggression between two parties that were considered unequal in some regard, for example in physical strength or social status, were understood as violent. Hence, the use of violence was seen as an effective way to demonstrate power and to stress superiority. These conceptualisations of violence have an impact on the way Agustinians experience and negotiate violence, and they also determine which enactments of violence would be considered as violent or not. Hence acts that did not include a clear imbalance of power, or were considered a retaliatory measure for an equivalent event, were not labelled as violent.

When analysing the discourses and examples of violence reported by the interviewees I found some distinct characteristics. First, I found that violence was pervasive and its use spread across diverse social situations and interactions. Violence was externalised in different forms: verbal, psychological and physical. I found that people from El Agustino experienced violence across social layers: in the family, on the street and at the school. This resonates with results from other studies on violence in similar settings (Anderson 1999; Parkes 2007). As seen in Chapter 6, in each of these settings, violence had different characteristics and served different purposes. Violence, it follows, is context dependent. The latter resonates with

Messerschmidt's (2004) findings on young men and their different choices of violence within different social contexts. Additionally, I found that violence was normalised. By this I mean that violence was used as a generalised and "natural" way of dealing with problems. Hence, the idea posited by other authors, of violence as a common sense way to resolve problems, assert hierarchies of prestige and belonging, and assert moral values is confirmed by this study (Kleinman 2000; Bourgois, Prince et al. 2004b).

Another characteristic of violence that this study confirmed is that violence is not a discrete phenomenon; it is fluid and interconnected. By this I mean that actors shift positions in relation to violence. It was clear from the interviews that people could not be typified as violent or not violent. Most of my interviewees had experienced violence as victims, perpetrators and witnesses. Hence, a victim of one type of violence in one context became the agent of another type of violence in a different context. The individual's relation to violence changed according to the context, with some young men tending to have a victim position at home but a perpetrator position at school, or vice-versa. This stresses the situational nature of violence, the importance of the context and the impact it has in the way individuals can negotiate violence—by choosing to be violent or not—in certain settings. Additionally, the interconnectedness of violence was evident by accounts of interviewees recognising, for instance, how their parents violence filled them with anger and "made" them violent in other settings.

The former could be linked with the idea of the continuum of violence coined by Scheper-Hughes and Bourgois (2004c). These authors use this concept to organise structural, symbolic and everyday violence in a continuum in order to account for the relationship between these different types of violence that are related and difficult to tell apart in real life observations.

Applied to this case, I claim that structural and symbolic violence, as discussed in the previous section, find their individual expressions in the acts of everyday violence among people from El Agustino. These acts of everyday violence, in turn, are connected across social layers within this milieu.

Another aspect to consider in the subjective experience of violence is the emotional one. In the interviews, I could identify some emotions concomitant to the experience and (re)production of violence such as revenge, anger and guilt. As described in Chapter 6, many of the interviewees linked their anger and violence with stressful situations and violence at home. They usually blamed the father figure—usually violent and absent—for most of the problems. From these emotions, revenge in particular played a key role in the interpersonal violence among young men, with a “tit-for-tat” logic that has been documented by Mullins (2006) in the USA. Violence generated with this logic aimed to gain respect, preserve one’s image on the streets, defend one’s honour and fill the void left by what was considered an inefficient and abusive justice system. Moreover, retaliating acts usually triggered an escalation of violence, overpowering the original violence and fuelling further violence.

Bearing the above discussion in mind, it was clear that far from being an unconscious reflex denoting impulsivity, violence served particular purposes. This highlights young men’s agentic capacity to negotiate structural and pervasive everyday violence. No matter how chaotic their actions seemed, young men appeared to consider the pros and cons associated with violence before exerting it (Reilly, Muldoon et al. 2004). This decision was rooted in a mesh of meaning in which violence becomes a form of expression, a message for other young men and women, a strategy to avoid further violence and a way of venting anger and

frustration; this resonates with Woods (2003) findings about the meaning of everyday violence in South Africa.

Following this analysis, I found different examples of the individual agency to negotiate violence in its different forms and classified them as: adhering to violence—either directing it at others or at themselves—avoiding violence, and finding alternative ways to deal with violence. Regarding the adherence to violence, I found that most of the time violence was used as a way to vent anger or enact revenge, which ultimately was seen as a way to demonstrate power and a lack of fear, hence building a strong reputation in the community and avoiding possible future violence. Self-directed violence, on the other hand, seemed to be the product of an effort to cope with stressful situations and problems. The capacity to avoid violence altogether was associated with having other resources and access to other kinds of social capital that allowed young men to build reputations based on other parameters, such as education. Finally, alternative options to violence like engaging in hip hop music, constituted a way of channelling aggression and stressful experiences in their daily lives.

The above might have implications for interventions as will be discussed in the next chapter. A reflection on Bourgois' (2004) results about the role of misrecognition in the experience and reproduction of violence is relevant here. Directing violence towards themselves, in the form of misuse of alcohol and drugs, football related violent behaviours and school fights etc could be seen as a way of misrecognising the broader social violence, reacting to it by directing it towards oneself and one's loved ones. It could be hypothesised that everyday violence masks the effect of structural violence, fuelling young men's engagement in risk-behaviours.

Finally, it also seems appropriate to reflect on the multi-purpose role that violence has on the social functioning of young men in this context. Bearing in mind the results and analysis in this section, violence seems to be one of the skills young men need to learn while growing up in order to adjust to their context. As described above, violence serves as an effective survival strategy, which begs the question of whether violence is necessarily a “bad” thing. The fact that violence serves as a medium to adapt and survive should not be overlooked. In approaching the study of violence, recognition of its benefits and adaptive function in settings such as El Agustino is needed, instead of only stressing its negative consequences and disruptive effects.

3. Constructions of masculinities in El Agustino

3.1 The demands on masculinities

When exploring the configuration of masculinities in this setting, I found that meeting certain mandates played a key role in the construction of masculinities in El Agustino. As described in Chapter 7, these demands were: being the main provider or breadwinner, being the protector of women and family, being tough and strong, and having many sexual partners. Each of these demands implied a particular set of behaviours and positioning of men in the world and in society, as well as a set of assumptions about women and the way both genders interact. Thus, being a provider meant that women’s contributions to the household were considered “help” and a complement to the men’s salary; regardless of the actual amount (I explore this issue in more depth later in this chapter when discussing hegemonic femininities). Being the family’s and women’s “protector” meant that women were regarded as weak, and unable to defend themselves. The expectation of men being “tough” was usually linked to the cultural ideas of adult men being able to control their emotions, who did not

depend on their mothers anymore. This is opposed to women's tendencies to become emotional. Finally, having numerous sexual partners was associated with the idea that "real men" have an uncontrollable sexual drive, compared to women who have less sexual desire and, hence, find it easier to be loyal to a unique partner.

In order to meet the above mentioned demands, men usually followed socially accepted routes. The main "accepted" way of becoming a breadwinner, which seemed to be the most important demand in line with what other authors have found in other settings (Totten 2003; Barker 2005a), was through work (Valdes and Olavarria 1998b; Fuller 2001; Mullins 2006). However, this was not always a straightforward path. As seen in Chapter 7, the conditions of poverty and the idea of young men having to prove their ability to become providers and contribute to the household from an early age, pushed young men to work from very early and leave school. This in turn had an impact on their employment prospects. Hence, the demand to prove their fitness to become providers, jeopardised their possibilities of becoming a good provider when adults.

Additionally, in line with Mullins' (2006) findings in the USA, I found that men had problems with the type of job they were willing to take. Given their lack of skills and formal training, they usually gained temporary, low-paid jobs, under the supervision of others. These kinds of positions put them in a subservient position, which they experienced as emasculating. This also resonates with Mullins' (2006) findings of ideas surrounding work among men on the streets of St Louis, and how their drive for independence was usually more important than fulfilling the breadwinning expectations.

Confrontations with other men in the area, and a past related to gangs or delinquency also usually worked to restrict young men's working possibilities in El Agustino. This proved a further difficulty given that, as discussed previously in this chapter, they rarely left their borough and so working in a location where they might not have had enemies or a "bad reputation" was not often considered possible. Bearing the previous discussion in mind, I suggest that the rigid ideas of what it means to be a man and how to be men shapes young men's working lives, job opportunities and decisions. It is because work is so crucial to their gender identity construction that these men cannot accept "any" job, which would explain why women are more inclined to say that they would do whatever they had to do to feed their families.

Besides protecting women in their families—particularly from other men—, forming a family and becoming a father seemed to be the favoured way of fulfilling the role of protector. A salient aspect of the protective role of men was that it was often linked with controlling behaviour towards women. To a great extent men protect women as a way to safeguard their own reputation as men. Threats to their sisters' or mothers' honour were seen as a threat to their own masculine status.

Regarding the expectation of "toughness", I found that the restricted display of emotions and lack of fear of physical pain and violence, were part of the creation of a manly facade which they needed to present, in particular to other men. This is linked with the ideas around self-presentation that I discuss later in this chapter. Finally, regarding the "stud" dimension, I found that a way of achieving this status was linked to a conceptualisation of men as heterosexual and hypersexual, according to which they needed to demonstrate that they are ready to have sex at any time and that they can and would have as many women sexual

partners as possible. An additional component of this mandate was the need to exert control over their partners, which also often implied a certain level of aggressiveness.

In sum, all of these demands and the processes of achieving them were linked to a necessity to demonstrate traits usually associated with manhood such as responsibility, aggressiveness, toughness, independence, achievement and—above all—control and power. However, I found that men in El Agustino adhere to these demands to varying extents. Results from the intra-case analysis presented in Chapter 7, show that young men follow these demands to different levels in different contexts. This confirms that masculinities are fluid, contradictory and in constant development, in line with ideas proposed by Wetherell and Edley (1999). In these examples, I found that young men from El Agustino negotiate their own versions of masculinities, exhibiting shifting positions with respect to the above demands. Within this negotiation, alternative ways of being a man emerge that do not follow the characteristics of the dominant masculinities. In some contexts these masculinities are subordinated. Hence a man that was not aggressive and violent in school, or a man that did not display heterosexual behaviour would be marginalised and subordinated.

3.2 Hegemonic masculinities, hegemonic femininities

Throughout the results chapter reporting on the expectations placed on men in El Agustino (see Chapter 7), I incorporated aspects arising from the interviews and my fieldwork observations related to women's role in the creation and establishment of these demands. Using the lens of gender hegemony (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005) and incorporating the relational aspect that is usually overlooked in the analyses of masculinities—despite it being widely accepted that gender is relational—I aim to highlight the role of women in the construction of masculinities and the power imbalance of these mandates when looking at the

kind of gender interactions they prescribe. Schippers' (2007) approach to hegemony in general, and hegemonic femininities in particular, seems to be useful to analysing how practices following these mandates result in unequal outcomes for men and women in El Agustino. As previously mentioned, these mandates are set on the assumption that women are not able to earn the necessary money to support a household, are weak and in need of protection, are unable to control their emotions and are sexually disempowered. Men on the other hand, are seen as embodying the opposite to all these traits. From this it follows that adhering to these mandates and behaving accordingly perpetuates the ideal of superiority and complementarity between the genders.

Following the idea that hegemony is to be found in those characteristics identified as “manly” or “womanly” that contribute to the perpetuation of masculine hegemony in society, I found specific practices among women in El Agustino that hinted towards hegemonic femininities i.e. femininities that contributed to the perpetuation of hegemonic masculinities. Practices in the context of the family reinforced the hegemony of men from a very early stage in life. This included unequal distribution of household chores between sons and daughters, unequal distribution of resources in the case of families that give more money or give more food to the sons, and unequal liberties in terms of going out etc.

Additionally, I found that women in El Agustino, who were driven into the labour market because of their poverty, derived less power than their male counterparts from their economic contributions. Despite the importance of their contributions, they maintained a subordinate position in their families as “helpmates” to their partners rather than equal contributors to the family economy. Even when economic conditions changed, the internalised discourse of men and women's place in the gender dynamics did not allow for a real change, or state of

equality, and the system was perpetuated. Finally, I also observed women's compliance with the status quo, at the level of relationships, with mothers justifying their sons' extramarital relations, but telling daughters that they should always be loyal to their husbands. Women following these ideals would be encouraged by members of the community. Men would look for "good girls" for serious relationships and marriage, which usually meant girls matching these characteristics, whereas women would label women that did not follow these ideals as "bad women", "sluts" etc.

Even when actual practices and social interactions did not conform to these ideas about men and women, these were the assumptions at the ideal level. This resonates with literature in the Latin American context about the gap between normative ideas and actual practices (Olavarria 2001; Caceres, Salazar et al. 2002; Gutmann 2003a). Hence, in a similar fashion to men, I could observe that women moved between more hegemonic and less hegemonic femininities, displaying certain social practices that perpetuated unequal relations, but also others that challenged them. In the following section I return to the focus on masculinities and aim to describe how masculinities are enacted in the social space and through social interactions.

3.3 Masculinities and its performance

Having considered the configuration of masculinities and the role of women in it, I now proceed to discuss my findings regarding the way these masculinities are enacted in the day to day lives of young men from El Agustino. In this section, I consider the manner in which men act and do gender through their practices, social interactions and bodies; this follows the idea of gender as an ongoing project and the theories of performativity and self presentation proposed by Butler (1999) and Goffman (1959) respectively. According to these theories

gender is created through the enactment of repetitive and ritualised practices. These practices or performances, moving the analysis into Goffman's terminology, are usually directed to an audience and include certain props such as clothes, language, age, race and social position and also take place in a determined setting.

Following the analysis of interviews, hip hop lyrics, and through my own observations in the field it became clear that the main audience to which the display of masculinities is directed is other men. Hence, hip hop lyrics were always directed towards other men, either as an interlocutor or as an enemy, whereas if women were mentioned in these songs it was usually in derogatory, sexual terms. The only time women were directly addressed was when the song talked about a romantic relationship. My first hand experience spending time on the streets of El Agustino, taught me that women were hardly ever addressed in the street setting (see Chapter 7). The usual activity of hanging out with women girl friends on the street was seen as a way of showing off in front of other men. This resonates with Mullins' (2006) interpretation of the role of women on the street as part of what he calls "masculine capital". These observations also reinforce the idea that the male bond is prioritised in this setting, coinciding with claims about masculinities as primarily a homosocial enactment (Kimmel 2004), and findings by Flood (2008) in Australia and other Latin American (Viveros 2001a; Gutmann 2003b) studies about the importance of male friendship and bonding in the construction of masculinities.

Following Fine and Kuriloff's (2006) call for nesting masculinities within social spaces, it is also important to incorporate into the discussion the importance of the "*barrio*" as a masculine space where men exercise this homosociality. The "*barrio*" is a micro social environment imbued with social meaning which, in this particular case, is the product of a

disorganised urban development where young men spend most of their free time. In this social space, young men in El Agustino negotiate the meaning of being a man by bonding with other men and learning from them, displaying and testing their versions of masculinities (see also Jardim 1995, cited in Gutmann and Vigoya 2005 in the context of "butecos" in Brazil). The "*barrio*" also serves as a social capital facilitator, becoming the privileged site to network and building alliances. This in turn serves as a protective asset and helps them find local jobs—legal or illegal—when available.

Also important within the performance of masculinities are the use of props, such as "looks", ways of talking, etc. In this discussion, I want to focus on the use of "looks" as a way of displaying signs of wealth, and ultimately the capacity of becoming a provider. As seen in Chapter 2, Mullins' (2006) findings among members of the underworld in St Louis show that "flossing", i.e. excessive displays of wealth, in the form of spending cash carelessly and wearing expensive clothes, was the way of demonstrating their capacity to purchase expensive goods.

My interviewees, however, did not have access to that level of wealth. Hence displays of wealth in this setting were limited to the purchase of trainers and some branded clothing items, resonating with Barker's (2005a) findings in Latin America and the Caribbean. In his analysis, Barker (2005a) mentions that the preoccupation with looks demonstrates how "even low-income youth want to fit in" (p.55) in a globalised world. I propose that it is exactly because they *are* low-income young people that they desire to fit in, into a society that otherwise marginalises them. This resonates with Elliot and Leonard's (2004) results on their study on children from poor households in the UK, mentioned in Chapter 2, in which they found that branded trainers fulfil a self-completion role in their attempt to mask their

condition of poverty. I should add here that in the context of El Agustino and Peruvian society, this self-completion role extended to the need to mask racial features and their feelings of inadequacy given their indigenous descent, becoming a clear example of how masculinities intersect with ethnicity and class.

Finally, I should add that even though my study did not look into sexual practices, some themes emerged during the interviews which seemed to point in the direction of the first sexual encounter, and penetration in particular, as an important step in becoming an adult man. This resonates with the idea of being a “stud” as a demand on masculinities, as well as literature that has supported the idea that heterosexual penetrative sex is a marker of becoming a man (Barker 2005a). The relationship between sexuality and masculinities also brings to the fore the element of the body, and begs the question of what is the role played by men’s bodies in the making of masculinities. I come back to this idea later when discussing the connection between the body, violence and masculinities.

4. Is violence the measure of a man? The role of violence in the construction of masculinities

As mentioned in Chapter 1, men tend to display more violence than women. The literature also shows that men living in conditions of deprivation and social exclusion display more violence, which is normally put down to frustration and anger caused by harsh conditions. This information begs the question of whether violence is essentially gendered, i.e. are men naturally more violent than women? My results point in the direction of violence being used by men as a strategy to fulfil their masculinity mandates. Highlighting an element of agency in the resort to violence as an effective strategy, encouraged by society and context. In line

with studies based on the history of the construction of masculinities, this thesis emphasises that aggressive behaviour is not necessarily an integral and inevitable aspect of masculine identity (Petersen 2003, p.64) as many biological approaches suggest.

In the previous section, I described the main masculinities mandates found in my study as well as the accepted and traditional ways of fulfilling those mandates. Added to these traditional ways of achieving masculinities, I found that violence becomes a useful and cost-effective strategy to meet all of these demands. Violence in the form of crime serves to obtain the means to provide and fulfil the breadwinner role; fighting back and being aggressive towards other men is a clear way of demonstrating that they are able to protect “their” women and family and it also makes them attractive to girls, which addresses the demand of having many sexual partners. In addition, violence against partners can also be seen as a way of compensating for threatened masculinities as Totten (2003) found in his study of violence against young men’s girlfriends in Canada. Nonetheless, violence against women in the context of romantic relationships seems to contradict their role as protectors. This seemingly contradictory finding, also registered by Mullins (2006), can be explained by taking into account the assumptions operating at the base of those mandates. When men protect women, mainly from other men, they are protecting their relation of ownership with that woman, following the idea proposed by Mullins (2006) that women serve as “masculine capital”. This protection, as previously discussed in this chapter, is based on the assumption of women as weak and disempowered. However, if a woman threatens a man’s sense of manhood in any way, the young men will find it justified to react violently and re-establish their sense of power and relation of superiority.

My findings are similar to Wood's (2003) results on violence in a township in South Africa. Following her study, Wood concludes that violence and masculinities are related in an indirect manner. Violence is important to masculinities because it is through violence that men can achieve respect and control, and through respect and control they reinforce their masculinities. But why is it that violence is the chosen strategy to establish respect and control? I propose that interpersonal violence constitutes a short cut to fulfil the demands of masculinities in a context where stigma, racism, and structural and institutional violence make it difficult to follow the "official" ways of achieving masculinity. This would account for the concentration of violence in socially deprived contexts. In a context where their race, social status and location in society are condemned and access to education and work is scarce, their masculinities are subordinated, displaced and contested, hence their need to find alternative and effective ways to reinforce it.

My results concur with findings by authors who highlight the functionality of violence as an alternative way of achieving masculinities in deprived contexts such as the street underworld in St Louis (Mullins 2006), in Africa and the Caribbean (Barker 2005a) and in Northern Ireland (Reilly, Muldoon et al. 2004). When looking at mechanisms at the base of the relationship between men and violence, Mullins uses the idea of "masculine capital", arguing that violence is a tool to achieve masculine capital when work is not available, or generates less capital than violence. Reilly et al., on the other hand, use Messerschmidt's Structured Action theory (see Chapter 2) to account for the way that young men from a marginalised community in Northern Ireland—with limited access to educational, occupational and economic success—resort to violence to achieve masculinities.

I propose two additional ideas to complement these theorisations: the role of the male body and Schippers' (2007) reconceptualisation of gender hegemony. Following claims of a lack of evidence or research on the embodiment of masculinities and how masculinities are constructed in relation to bodily experiences (Morgan and Hearn 1990) I want to turn the focus of the discussion now to the relationship between the body, the experience of violence, and masculinities. I propose that violence becomes a preferred tool to achieve masculinities because it is intimately linked with the body. The link between masculinities and violence is actualised through the body; hence interpersonal violence is a form of incorporating the body into the construction of masculinities. In Bourdiean terms and without falling into an essentialist approach, I argue that the gender habituated body is a violent body. Hence we can consider violence as a repetitive performativity action (Butler 1999) intimately related to the body that naturalises masculinities. The body and violence are intimately related because as Messerschmidt points out, the body sets the limits on how much violence men can enact, who do they attack or not and ultimately which kind of masculinity they are allowed to perform. Hence, exploring the relationship between masculinities and violence brings back the attention to the embodied experience of masculinities and the way young men use it to construct their gender identities. In the case of young men in El Agustino, the body gains particular relevance as this is also the site where racial tensions are negotiated as suggested by Fuller (1997) and the site where structural violence is contested and experienced.

Finally, I would like to incorporate Schippers' insights into gender hegemony in order to understand violence and masculinities. Following this author, I propose that the connection between masculinities and violence can also be explained from a relational point of view. Thus, it could be argued that violence serves to perpetuate male hegemony. Interpersonal violence among men could be used as a warning sign to other men but also to women about their physical strength and dominance, highlighting the "female condition" of weakness.

Violence would be used as a way of maintaining the masculine hegemony by stressing the lesser physical strength of women and their need for male protection, but also their vulnerability to male attacks. Another aspect that could be related to this theory is that of “good girls” choosing “bad/violent boys” through which the idea of the complementarity of the genders is again maintained. I conclude that the structural conditions of social exclusion and stigmatisation, in conjunction with the rigid and unequal gender configurations in settings such as El Agustino conflate to turn violence into the measure of a man.

5. Conclusions

In this section I summarise the main themes running through the thesis, highlighting the distinctive contribution to theory generated by this thesis with respect to theory revised in Chapter 2. I also incorporate some of the implications that the findings of this study may have for interventions to address young men’s experiences and negotiation of violence are also included. Finally I include with suggestions for future research.

5.1 The violence/masculinities relationship

I approached this study by acknowledging a link between violence and masculinities. However, it was not clear from the literature what the exact nature of this relationship was. It has been said that violence is an essential element of masculinity but if this is so, why aren’t all men violent? This essentialist approach to violence that assumes it is inherent to masculinity also implies that there is no scope for change. Following this line of thought men are seen as “time bombs” ready to become violent at any time. An additional weakness of

this view is that it implies that individuals do not have agency, and are unable to control their unconscious impulses.

In this thesis, I contribute to the work of previous authors who have addressed the violence/masculinity relationship. In line with Wood (2003), I support the idea of an indirect relationship between violence and masculinities. I suggest that violence does not equal masculinity. Instead, violence helps to reach certain positions that are associated with masculinity such as power and control. I argue that violence is used by young men as a tool to achieve masculinity mandates imposed on them (see Chapter 7). Examining this in a context of social exclusion, stigmatisation and poverty (see Chapters 4 and 5). I also highlight the agentic capacity of men in negotiating violence by demonstrating that young men in this study chose—to some extent—whether to be violent or not. As described in the results, their decisions involve considering risks and benefits of violence (see Chapter 6). My findings underscore the importance of the performative aspect of constructing masculinities, particularly aspects such as the social setting in which masculinities are performed, and the homosocial direction of these performances. I also highlight the relevance of the male body in the enactment of social practices through which masculinities are put into practice (see Chapter 7).

I propose that violence is not an inherent characteristic of masculinity as commonly proposed. I claim that violence serves—besides the other functions reviewed in the previous sections—a functional purpose for young men, allowing them to achieve masculine capital. Drawing on the theory of practice and Shipper's (2007) reformulation of the idea of hegemonic masculinity I found that violence is one of the strategies that men use to perpetuate masculine hegemony. According to Schippers (2007) and as seen in Chapter 2,

hegemony can be identified not by describing a particular kind of man but by finding characteristics or strategies used by men that serve to perpetuate the unequal relation between men and women in a particular context. I suggest that violence constitutes one of these strategies because it helps to maintain the hegemony of masculinities, by sending the message of strength and aggression, perpetuating in this way the relation of superiority and complementarity between the masculine and the feminine. According to my results, the construction of masculinities in this setting occurs by negotiating the mandates that are imposed to men in their context. Through the process of socialisation men internalise these mandates and form gender habituated bodies. At the base of these mandates are underlying assumptions that underpin the unequal relation between men and women. In this way I have applied recent developments in the theory of masculinities in my analysis and have contributed to the operationalisation of the concept of masculinities, which could help to “measure” this concept in the future. In Table 4, I have summarised my findings regarding the mandates of masculinities in El Agustino and the ways of achieving them, highlighting the role of violence as an alternative way to fulfil these mandates.

At the methodological level, I have considered my position as a middle-class “white” woman researcher in the field, performing cross-gender research with men from a poor and stigmatised context. I draw attention to the relationship of power operating at the researcher/participant encounter and the ways that these dynamics of power shape the research process and the positioning of both researcher and participants, forcing them to negotiate gender dynamics. In a way, the interview became another site for *doing gender* (Presser 2005), and I found myself and the participants enacting the dynamics of gender prevalent in the context. By reflecting on these dynamics, I could capitalise on them by using them as research data.

Table 4. Configuration of masculinities and violence

Mandate/Demands	Formal ways	Violence as a short cut	Social context
Breadwinner/provider	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Work and education enable a man to be main provider 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Robbery • Illegal activities 	House Street/neighbourhood
Protector	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Head of the family takes care of women in the house • Fatherhood 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Street fighting, • Protecting neighbourhood • Fighting for your football team 	Street/neighbourhood House
Toughness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Presentation to others, does not cry, • Emotionally detached, • Clothing codes also important here 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Street fighting • Carrying knives and guns 	Street/neighbourhood School
“Stud”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sexually active • Having a girlfriend • Having lots of girlfriends 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Girlfriend abuse • Challenging guys that are “hanging out” with the girls from your area 	Street/neighbourhood House

5.2 Implications for interventions

Based on the results of this thesis I propose the following suggestions for interventions.

5.2.1 Keep intervention grounded in the local experience of violence

When thinking about interventions we usually think about strategies to generate change. I suggest that before thinking about change, we need to think about the feasibility and scope for change in the particular context, as well as our motivations for generating change. Applied to this particular case of young men and violence, I suggest that it is important to reflect on our own position regarding violence, and to be aware of the fact that in certain contexts—El Agustino is one of them—violence serves survival purposes. These must be

recognised and incorporated into the intervention if it is to resonate with the local people's experiences and needs. In this case interventions need to recognise the importance of violence in gaining masculine capital and to avoid a discourse that positions violence as "morally bad". If we accept the idea proposed in this thesis, that violence is a tool to achieve masculinities and engaging in violence is a conscious act that entails weighing up pros and cons, it becomes apparent that interventions need to provide young men with alternatives which are as cost-efficient as violence in the construction of their masculinities.

5.2.2 Towards gendered and relational interventions

Closely related to the previous point is the need to generate a change at the gender level. With gender oriented interventions for men that offer them the chance to reflect on the kind of masculinities they want to achieve, knowing that flexible and less rigid versions of masculinity are possible. Particular emphasis should be given to the idea that violence does not equal masculinity. Young men should know that violence is not inherent to manhood and that they have the capacity to negotiate it.

Another point to consider is how the relational aspect of gender should be incorporated when designing interventions aiming at tackling violent behaviour in men. Programmes should target both men and women in order to contravene hegemonic masculinities and femininities and work towards more equal versions of gender interaction. Work with young women and mothers should concentrate around their own role in constructing gender dynamics that affects them, recognising that "girls and women can contribute to traditional, restrictive versions of manhood just as boys and men can contribute to traditional, restrictive versions of womanhood" (Barker 2005a, p.150).

5.2.3 Practical considerations

At the practical level, I suggest that interventions should be implemented where they are most needed, for instance on places such as the “*barrio*”. Following results related to masculinities and social space from this thesis, I propose that interventions need to incorporate the importance of looks and self-presentation in the social space of the “*barrio*”, complementing interventions in institutionalised settings such as schools that exclude young men who have left school early. Innovative and engaging ways of generating discussion and involvement in the interventions should be incorporated. In this particular setting, hip hop music was a popular way to express feelings and reflect on everyday life. Hip hop might therefore be a way to introduce new ideas in this setting.

Of course change is needed not only at the community/individual level but also at the macro level. If masculinities are being achieved through violence because of the limitation of alternative ways of achieving masculinities such as education and work, we need to transform social circumstances if we want to generate real change. The education system, for instance, should not be an additional source of violence for these young men, but should help them to enter the labour market. It is also necessary to recognise the way that broader society excludes these young men given their location in society. Considerations of race, social status, and stigmatisation analysed in this thesis should be integrated into the design of interventions.

5.3. Further research

As mentioned in the limitations section in Chapter 3 a longitudinal study could explore developmental factors involved in the enactment of violence. This would help elucidate the

role that age plays in the level of engagement of men in violent behaviour. There is also scope for investigation of the embodiment of violence and its relation to masculinities. In this study I had some glimpses in the interviews of how the body was a factor that encouraged the engagement of men in acts of violence; however this was not the focus of my research. Finally, a questionnaire, the Gender Equitable Men (GEM) scale, proposed by Barker (Barker 2005a) could be validated and applied to the population of men in El Agustino in order to complement the qualitative results in this study.

A complementary line of research could be developed around the idea of hegemonic femininities and their relation to hegemonic masculinities. This would be particularly interesting in a context such as El Agustino, and Peru in general, which is experiencing rapid economic growth. For instance, it could be explored if the lower levels of unemployment for men and the increased insertion of women in the labour market have an impact on the power dynamics between men and women. Through the study of hegemonic femininities the gender impact of these changes could be assessed.

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Appendix 1. Young Men and Women Information Sheets

Research study about youth in El Agustino



Please take time to read this sheet carefully

We would like you to take part in an interview that will ask you about your life experiences living in El Agustino. Please take time to read the following information carefully and ask me if there is anything that is not clear to you or if you would like more information about the study.

1) WHY ARE WE DOING THIS STUDY?

We are interested in knowing the views and experiences that you have had living in El Agustino, as a part of my PhD research.

2) WHAT DO YOU HAVE TO DO IF YOU DECIDE TO PARTICIPATE?

I would like to interview you. The interview will take around one hour and we will record it so that we do not have to take notes while you are speaking. We will type out your answers afterwards. Your name will not appear anywhere in the document. The only person who will be able to match up your name to your interview is me, and I commit to destroying these records after the study has finished. If you feel uncomfortable at anytime, you can stop the interview at any time. You do not have to give a reason. We would like to compensate you for your time once we finish the interview with a t-shirt.

3) WILL MY INFORMATION BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL?

The information you give us will not be shared with anybody else with the exception of the following situation: if I am made aware that a minor is at risk of significant harm, I will ask you to inform to the responsible authority, or I will have to report it myself. The final report of the study may use a small number of anonymous quotations from these interviews. If you do not wish any of your words to be used in the final report please let me know.

4) IF I AM UNHAPPY WITH THE INTERVIEW, WHOM CAN I SPEAK TO?

If you have any query, need to discuss anything regarding the study or you remember something you want to add to your interview please contact me at:

Ana Maria Buller, Email: ana.buller@lshtm.ac.uk Telephone: 345 15 33

This study has been approved by the Ethics Committees of the Universidad Peruana Cayetano Heredia in Peru and the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine in England.

Thank you for reading this information sheet

Appendix 2. Stakeholders' Information Sheet

Research study about youth in El Agustino



Please take time to read this sheet carefully

We would like you to take part in an interview that will ask you about your life experiences living in El Agustino. Please take time to read the following information carefully and ask me if there is anything that is not clear to you or if you would like more information about the study.

1) WHY ARE WE DOING THIS STUDY?

We are interested in knowing your perspective of youth in Lima.

2) WHAT DO YOU HAVE TO DO IF YOU DECIDE TO PARTICIPATE?

I would like to interview you. The interview will take around one hour and we will record it so that we do not have to take notes while you are speaking. We will type out your answers afterwards. Your name will not appear anywhere in the document. The only person who will be able to match up your name to your interview is me, and I commit to destroying these records after the study has finished. If you feel uncomfortable at anytime, you can stop the interview at any time. You do not have to give a reason. We would like to compensate you for your time once we finish the interview with a t-shirt.

3) WILL MY INFORMATION BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL?

The information you give us will not be shared with anybody else. The final report of the study may use a small number of anonymous quotations from these interviews. If you do not wish any of your words to be used in the final report please let me know.

4) IF I AM UNHAPPY WITH THE INTERVIEW, WHOM CAN I SPEAK TO?

If you have any query, need to discuss anything regarding the study or you remember something you want to add to your interview please contact me at:

Ana Maria Buller, Email: ana.buller@lshtm.ac.uk Telephone: 345 15 33

This study has been approved by the Ethics Committees of the Universidad Peruana Cayetano Heredia in Peru and the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine in England.

Thank you for reading this information sheet

Appendix 3. “Other Limeños” Information Sheet

Research study about youth in El Agustino



Please take time to read this sheet carefully

We would like you to take part in an interview that will ask your perspective of El Agustino. Please take time to read the following information carefully and ask me if there is anything that is not clear to you or if you would like more information about the study.

1) WHY ARE WE DOING THIS STUDY?

We are interested in knowing your perspective of El Agustino.

2) WHAT DO YOU HAVE TO DO IF YOU DECIDE TO PARTICIPATE?

I would like to interview you. The interview will take around one hour and we will record it so that we do not have to take notes while you are speaking. We will type out your answers afterwards. Your name will not appear anywhere in the document. The only person who will be able to match up your name to your interview is me, and I commit to destroying these records after the study has finished. If you feel uncomfortable at anytime, you can stop the interview at any time. You do not have to give a reason. We would like to compensate you for your time once we finish the interview with a t-shirt.

3) WILL MY INFORMATION BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL?

The information you give us will not be shared with anybody else. The final report of the study may use a small number of anonymous quotations from these interviews. If you do not wish any of your words to be used in the final report please let me know.

4) IF I AM UNHAPPY WITH THE INTERVIEW, WHOM CAN I SPEAK TO?

If you have any query, need to discuss anything regarding the study or you remember something you want to add to your interview please contact me at:

Ana Maria Buller, Email: ana.buller@lshtm.ac.uk Telephone: 345 15 33

This study has been approved by the Ethics Committees of the Universidad Peruana Cayetano Heredia in Peru and the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine in England.

Thank you for reading this information sheet

Appendix 4. Young Men In-depth Interview Topic Guide

Hello, thank you for your participation. I am a PhD student and I am doing a study about El Agustino. Today I would like to talk with you about your neighbourhood life. There aren't right or wrong answers for the questions I will ask, I'm interested in what you think and how you feel regarding the things I will ask you about.

If you still agree to participate I will record our conversation. I do so to be able to remember everything you will tell me. As I told you before, everything is confidential, and neither your name nor any other information that may identify you will appear in any part, this way no one besides you will know you did this interview. Do you have any questions before we begin?

Background questions

Well, let's start then with some general questions...

Can you tell me how old you are? How old will you be this year or next year?
What do you do for a living? (*Explore according to each case: student, employed, looking for a job*) How did you start doing this?

Where in El Agustino do you live? How long have you lived here?

What is El Agustino like? Do you like living here? (*Explore with*) What do you like the most? What do you like the least?

Do you hang around here or do you go out in some other neighbourhood? Where do you hang around in El Agustino? Are there any places you do not feel comfortable going to? Where? Why would do you rather not go there?

If you had the opportunity, would you move to another neighbourhood? (*Explore*) Why would you/wouldn't you move? Where would you move to? Why would you move there?

Family

Now I want you to tell me a little bit about your family and your relationship with them...

Who do you live with? How do you get along with the people you live with? Who's the person you get along with the best?

Tell me a bit about your family when you were growing up...

What was it like in your family when you were a child, since you were born until you were 11 years old? What was the environment like when you were little? Are you still living with the same people? (*Explore any change in the family composition*) Did you have a good relationship with the people you lived with? And, with your dad? Mum? Siblings? How did your parents get along? (*Explore fights, domestic violence*) Who would punish you when you misbehaved? What was the punishment? Did someone drink regularly at the time?

How would you describe yourself as a child? What was your personality like? Smiley? Serious? Shy? Outgoing?

Where did you live? Could you describe the place where you used to live? Did you like it there? Why did you/didn't you like it?

If I ask you to think about a moment or event in your childhood that you think was important or that you particularly remember which one would it be? Can you tell me a bit about that experience? (*Explore*) How old were you? How did it make you feel? Why do you find it to be an important event in your life? (*Explore why did he like it or not*)

What was it like when you were 12 to 16 years old? Were there any changes? How was your relationship your with dad at the time? With your mum? With your siblings? How did your parents get along? (*Explore fights, verbal violence, domestic violence*) Who would punish you when you misbehaved? What was the punishment? Did someone drink regularly at the time?

If I ask you to think about a moment or event in your adolescence that you think was important or that you particularly remember which one would it be? Can you tell me a bit about that experience? (*Explore*) How old were you? How did it make you feel? Why do you find it to be an important event in your life? (*Explore why did he like it or not*)

Education

What school did you attend? What was (is) school like for you? Did you enjoy going to school?

Was it a mixed school or a boy's school? Would you have preferred to be in a mixed/boys school? Why? Did you get along with your classmates? Did you get along with the teachers? (*If it was a mixed school, explore*) Did you have female or male friends? Did you go out with your classmates after school? What did you normally do when you'd get together?

Up to what grade did you go to school? What happened when you quit/finished school? What did you do? (*If he has gone on studying, explore*) How many more years have you studied after secondary school? What have you studied? What were your activities after you finished school?

Present social life

Who do you hang out with now? People from school? Your neighbourhood? From where you study? Do you go out much? How many nights a week? Who do you mostly go out with? How many people would you describe as good friends? Are there thing you talk about with your male friends and not with your female friends (vice versa)?

Emotional situation/interaction with the opposite sex/masculinity issues

Are you dating someone? (*If not, ask about past relationships if there has not been any or he does not want to talk about it just drop the topic and continue with next section*)

How did you meet? How long have you been dating/together? How do you get along with her? Have you ever broken up or gotten into a fight? What was the fight about? Could you tell me more about what happened? What do you like best about your partner/girl? If you could change something about her, what would it be? Do you know if there's something your partner does not like about you? What is it?

Where do you go when you go out? Who usually pays? *(Once they answer, confront with the opposite to what he does)* And why do you/does she pay? What would happen if she offers to pay or to split the bill? *(Explore the way men and women relate)*

Do you have any friend or relative you admire/respect very much? *(Once they answer, explore)* Why do you admire that person so much? What is he/she like? Is there anyone you don't know and that you admire/respect very much? *(If he doesn't spontaneously answer, ask)* It could be someone like a singer, artist, football player, etc. Can you tell me why you admire him/her?

Violence

If I mention the word violence, what comes to your mind? You can give some example of violence you can think of.

Have you ever been witness of/have seen any acts of violence? Could you tell me about this experience? *(Allow the person to tell their experience spontaneously. Once they finish, explore aspects he has not mentioned in-depth such as)* How did it start? Who started it? How did you feel at the moment? How did you feel after that experience? Do you believe it's something you will see/witness again? Why?

Now, I would like for you to tell me if you have ever been *victim* of any acts of violence. Could you tell me about this experience? *(Allow the person to tell their experience spontaneously. Once they finish, explore aspects he has not mentioned in-depth such as)* How did it start? Who started it? How did you feel at the moment? How did you feel after that experience? Do you believe it's something that could happen to you again?

Could you now tell me, have you ever participated in a violent situation? Could you tell me about this experience? *(Allow the person to tell their experience spontaneously. Once they finish, explore aspects he has not mentioned in-depth such as)* How did it start? What made you do it? How did you feel at the moment? How did you feel after that experience? Do you believe it's something you could do again? Why?

Can you recall any time where you could have been violent and you weren't? Tell me a little bit more about that situation, when was it? And, how did you decide not to be violent? How did you feel afterwards?

Prejudice and stigma

How do you think people from the neighbourhood see you? Why do you think they see you like that? *(Explore if he feels people from the neighbourhood consider him a good person, a nice boy 'de su casa' or a bad boy 'de la calle')*

And regarding people who don't live in El Agustino... How do you think people from other neighbourhoods see El Agustino? Do you know what they think about people from El Agustino, particularly about youth in El Agustino? *(If he doesn't answer spontaneously, probe with)* What do you think people think about young people concerning what they do, how they look, how the streets, neighbourhood, houses are?

Perspectives regarding the future

How do you see yourself in the future? *(If he does not answer spontaneously, explore with)* Living where? Working in what? Doing what? Do you see yourself having children? Is there any other idea or comment you would like to make before finishing the interview?

Thank you very much for your time, your contribution has been very helpful. Please do not hesitate to contact me if you have any query or would like to discuss anything regarding this interview, my information is on the information sheet I gave you.

Appendix 5. Women In-depth Interview Topic Guide

Hello, thank you for your participation. I am a PhD student and I am doing a study about El Agustino. Today I would like to talk with you about your neighbourhood life. There aren't right or wrong answers for the questions I will ask, I'm interested in what you think and how you feel regarding the things I will ask you about.

If you still agree to participate I will record our conversation. I do so to be able to remember everything you will tell me. As I told you before, everything is confidential and neither your name nor any other information that may identify you will appear in any part, this way no one besides you will know you did this interview. Do you have any questions before we begin?

Background questions

Well, let's start then with some general questions...

Can you tell me how old you are? What do you do for a living? (*Explore according to each case: student, employed, looking for a job, takes care of her children and the household*)

Where in El Agustino do you live? How long have you lived here?

What is El Agustino like? Do you like living here? (*Explore with*) What do you like the most? What do you like the least?

If you had the opportunity, would you move to another neighbourhood? (*Explore*) Why would you/wouldn't you move? Where would you move to? Why would you move there?

Family

Now I want you to tell me a little bit about your family and your relationship with them ...

Who do you live with? How do you get along with the people you live with? Who's the person you get along with the best?

(If she has children) How old were you when you had your children? Immediately after having your children, where did you live? What was the experience of being a mother like? Was it easy/complicated? Was the father of your children with you? How did you get along with him? Did he help you raise your children? Do you think he has been a good father? Why?

(For all the interviewees) What should a son's upbringing be like? (*explore with*) What is the most important thing about a man's development? What is the most important thing about a woman's development? How have you raised/would you raise your daughters?

Emotional situation/interaction with the opposite sex/masculinity issues

Do you have a boyfriend, partner, and husband? How long have you been together? How did you meet? When you first started going out, what did you do? And when you'd go out to eat

or to the cinema or hang out, who would pay the bill? (*Once they answer, confront with the opposite idea*) Why would he/you always pay? What would've you thought if he told/tells you to split the bill? (*Explore ideas about the way men and women should relate on that level and why*)

Are you happy with your relationship? Is there anything you think he could improve or that you would like to change?

Their views on youth

Now we are going to talk about a different topic, youth here in El Agustino

What do you think about youth in El Agustino? Do you think youth here are like youth in other districts in Lima? Why? What do young people do around here? What do they spend their time on? (*If they don't answer spontaneously probe with... they study, work, are lazy...*) What do they do when they get together with friends? To kill time?

How did/do you have fun (when you were younger)? Tell me a typical activity you and your friends do, for example.

Violence

If I mention the word violence, what comes to your mind? Do you think there's violence in El Agustino? Can you give some example of violence that you know about?

Have you ever been witness of/have seen any acts of violence? Could you tell me about this experience? (*Allow the person to tell their experience spontaneously. Once they finish, explore aspects he has not mentioned in-depth such as*) How did it start? Who started it? How did you feel at the moment? How did you feel after that experience? Do you believe it's something you will see/witness again? Why?

Now, I would like for you to tell me if you have ever been *victim* of any acts of violence. Could you tell me about this experience? (*Allow the person to tell their experience spontaneously. Once they finish, explore aspects he has not mentioned in-depth such as*) How did it start? Who started it? How did you feel at the moment? How did you feel after that experience? Do you believe it's something that could happen to you again?

Could you now tell me, have you ever participated in a violent situation? Could you tell me about this experience? (*Allow the person to tell their experience spontaneously. Once they finish, explore aspects he has not mentioned in-depth such as*) How did it start? What made you do it? How did you feel at the moment? How did you feel after that experience? Do you believe it's something you could do again? Why?

Can you recall any time where you could have been violent and you weren't? Tell me a little bit more about that situation, when was it? And, how did you decide not to be violent? How did you feel afterwards?

(*If throughout the violence section she only mentions male youth, point out*) You have mainly mentioned male youth, why do you think it is men whom are more related to these types of behaviours?

Prejudice and stigma

And regarding people who don't live in El Agustino... How do you think people from other neighbourhoods see El Agustino? Do you know what they think about people from El Agustino, particularly about youth in El Agustino? *(If he doesn't answer spontaneously, probe with)* What do you think people think about young people concerning what they do, how they look, how the streets, neighbourhood, houses are?

Thank you very much for your time, your contribution has been very helpful. Please do not hesitate to contact me if you have any query or would like to discuss anything regarding this interview, my information is on the information sheet I gave you.

Appendix 6. Stakeholder Topic Guide

Before starting I would like to thank you for your participation in this study and the time you are taking to give me this interview. Do you have any questions before starting?

Please feel free to answer what you like during the interview, if you do not wish to answer or you feel uncomfortable, let me know immediately to rethink the question or pass to a different topic.

Where do you live?

How long have you been working in El Agustino (EA)?

How did you start working in EA?

(For those whom do not live in El Agustino)

Had you ever been to EA before you started your work there? At the time when you started working in EA how did you imagine it? Tell me a bit about what you thought about it. Have these ideas about EA and its people changed after working here?

Is EA any different from where you live? In which way is it different? What do you think are the main differences?

And, when you told your family and friends you were going to work here, did they say anything in particular? What were their comments?

Before working here, had you heard any story of violence in EA? Which one? Could you give me an example?

(For all the interviewees)

Do you think people that don't live here have a stereotype of El Agustino? *(If they answer yes, explore...)* What are those stereotypes? What do you think about those stereotypes?

What is your work about? How does it relate to young people in EA? Based on your experience with young people from EA, how would you describe them? What do they like to do? How are they like? What characteristics do they have? Are they any different from other young people in Lima? How so?

Have you ever been a victim or a witness of violence in EA? Could you tell me about your experience? When did it happen? Where were you? Who were you with or who was there? How did you feel about it afterwards?

Have you ever been a victim of or witness of other manifestations of violence in EA? Do you know any other manifestation of violence in EA? What types of violence? In which context do they occur? Who are the actors?

Which of the manifestations of violence mentioned before do you think is/are the most frequent? What do you think causes/triggers this sort of violence manifestation? Have you got any ideas on how these manifestations could be stopped/prevented? Does your work relate directly or indirectly with these manifestations of violence?

(If throughout the discourse young men have been repeatedly mentioned prompt with the following...) You have mainly mentioned young men, why is this? Why do you think young men are more related to these kinds of behaviours?

(If the issue of masculinity, machismo or masculine identities construction arises, explore...) How do men in EA relate with women? What is their main role in society and how does this relates to their daily activities? What is the role of women in this? What do they expect from men?

Is there anything else you would like to add to what you have said? Thank you very much for your time and cooperation. Please do not hesitate to contact me if you have any questions about this study or this interview. Thank you.

Appendix 7. “Other Limeños” Topic Guide

What do you do for a living? What do you work in?

Where do you live? Where did you grow up? What districts in Lima have you lived in? Which of the districts you have lived in did you like the most? Why? Where did your parents live when they grew up? What district would you buy a house in or would you move to if you could choose where to live? Why?

Which districts in Lima do you hang around the most? Is it because you live there, because of friends or family? Or because you go out to have fun there?

Could you mention the names of all the Lima districts you can remember (*allow him/her to mention them spontaneously*). Could you mention now the places in Lima that you find dangerous? Places you don't go to, or you'd rather avoid and I'd like you to mention why you'd rather not go there.

(If he/she didn't mention it spontaneously) If I mention El Agustino, what do you think? What comes to your mind? (*Explore the nature of the ideas he/she has about El Agustino with...*). What do you think about El Agustino? Is it a safe place? (*Explore ideas about EA being safe or not, if they say it's not safe...*). Why isn't it safe? Do you know where El Agustino is?

Have you ever been there, passed by? (*If they say yes*) Can you tell me about that visit? (*Explore with...*) When was it? What was the reason for the visit? How long did it last? How did you feel? How do you remember the place? How did you feel during the visit?

What are the houses you saw in El Agustino like? And, the people that live in El Agustino? What were they like? And youth in El Agustino, have you heard anything about them? How do you imagine young people from El Agustino? How do they dress? What music do they listen to? What do they do for a living? And where have you heard about El Agustino? Or where have you read about it?

(If they say they have never been there) How do you imagine it? Similar to what district? How do you think houses in El Agustino are? And people that live there? How do you imagine them (*explore SES, race, habits*) Have you ever heard about youth in El Agustino? How do you imagine young people from El Agustino? How do they dress? What music do they listen to? What do they do for a living? And where have you heard about El Agustino? Or where have you read about it?

Have you ever known/met someone that lived in EA? How do you imagine people that live in EA are?

If they were to tell you sometime to work in El Agustino, what would you do? If they tell you about a party or a concert there, would you go? If they tell you there is a store where you can get something you need and can't get anywhere else, would you go? (*In every option explore with*) ¿Why would you or wouldn't you?

You know, I've been living in El Agustino for a couple of week for the purpose of my study, what do you think? Why?

Well, that's all, thank you very much for your cooperation. Your contribution has been very important for my study. Do you have any question or query?

Thank you

Appendix 8. Transcription Guidelines

The following information is intended to serve as guidelines and to help answer questions that might come up in the course of transcribing. Do not spend a lot of time listening to garbled or impossible to understand segments. Make a reasonable attempt (2 or 3 passes), but if you can't make out what is being said, insert [hard to hear] and move on.

This is a verbatim transcript, a record of the interview as it actually occurred. I will edit segments that we use in publication. Resist any temptation to edit as you go, even if you are sure that the interviewee intended to say something other than what he/she actually did. What we are looking for is readable and accurate records of our interviews. Thank you.

1. Layout

Identifier Code: Start first page with interview's unique identifier number (this will be given by researcher) and your initials

Length: Record the length of the interview (in minutes) at the end of the document

Page Numbering: Use automatic page-numbering for page numbers in the final transcript

2. Formatting

Font: Use Times New Roman, Font size 12, in Microsoft Word

Paragraph: Use 1.5 line spacing. Start a new paragraph each time a person speaks, leaving one line space between each paragraph (as in a dialogue for a theatre script), and begin each with an identifier and a colon

I: refers to the interviewer

P: refers to the interviewee/participant

3. Notations

Create a faithful verbatim record of all that was said (and not said), using the notations described below. Include silences and pauses, laughter etc, with qualifiers when needed, as follows:

... Pause in the flow of talk

[...] Material deliberately omitted

[text] Clarificatory information (pause, laughter, external noises etc)

text Word(s) emphasized by speakers

a) If there is any interruption to the interview or the recording, such as a loud sound or person entering the room, write what you can discern about it within brackets.

b) If you are unsure about a word or phrase, highlight it in yellow.

Example:

MLK-1 / ABS

I: How long have you been living here?

P: Hmm about ten years now, wow ... [lowering voice] I hadn't realized it was that long [R:
laughs]

I: Did you liked it when you moved here from **Breña**

P: I hated it [Door bell rings and respondent goes to answer it. Tape switched off.]

75 minutes

Appendix 9. List of Quotes by Chapter

Chapter 3	
Quote text in Spanish	ID
Luego en su relato mencionó que había estado en Nueva York pero que estaba triste y felizmente diosito le mandó su pasaje de regreso. Yo estuve tentada a preguntarle en qué parte de Nueva York había estado pero por suerte no lo hice porque después me di cuenta de que se estaba refiriendo a Luriganchos... a los otros penales (en los que también había estado) (1 November 2008)	Q1
El empecé a entrevistarme cada vez que se sentía amenazado. Le sorprendió que no tuviera hijos, penso que debería tenerlos y no “esperar” demasiado, me pregunto que edad tenía y si tenía relaciones sexuales con mi pareja! No entendía como yo podía tener relaciones sexuales y no tener hijos! Creo que esto se puede deber a la falta de conocimiento respecto a contracepción, pero también implicaba un juicio moral porque la adultez implica tener hijos en este contexto. También estaba implicando que soy lo suficientemente grande como para tener hijos y que los debería tener pronto, porque destaco que otras mujeres tenían hijos en sus 20s. Me chocaron sus preguntas y no estaba segura como reaccionar así que seguí contestando lo mejor que pude hasta que empecé a contestar con más preguntas como: crees que las mujeres deberían tener hijo jóvenes entonces? (Fieldwork notes, 5 April 2008)	Q2
Por otro lado me han llegado dos textos uno de Rafael y uno de Pablo, 2 chicos que entreviste. Uno decía que me extrañaba y que por qué no venia que me había olvidado de ellos, no le he podido contestar porque no tengo crédito, y la verdad es que no sé muy bien cuál es la actitud que debo tomar antes este tipo de manifestaciones (29 March 2008)	Q3
Pero me dio miedo cuando lo ví empujándolo pensé que pasaría si él le contestaba o salían más amigos y comenzaba una bronca, qué iba a hacer yo, me sentí en riesgo me di cuenta que a pesar de haber estado yendo varios meses al Agustino todavía me sentía muy insegura (Field notes, 1 November 2008)	Q4
Este entrevistado me molesto, me reto con su actitud y sus ideas. Su lógica era que robar era más efectiva porque podías obtener dinero rápido, y de todas maneras para trabajar legalmente necesitas tener 18 años y yo trate de hacerle entender que si no tenía un trabajo debía tomar la oferta que le habían hecho. (Fieldwork notes, 6 April 2008)	Q5
Además me he dado cuenta q en estas últimas entrevistas me ha costado más mantenerme objetiva y al margen. He terminado haciendo consejería, diciéndoles que no deben robar y deben trabajar... diciéndoles del colegio en la parroquia... no sé si es por vivir aquí... quizás si... siento que no puedo quedarme callada escuchando como malogran sus vidas sin tratar de hacer algo... no creo que sea muy bueno en términos de objetividad para mi investigación. Creo que ya no voy a hacer más entrevistas, siento que no están saliendo más contenidos... aunque el tema del respeto es algo que ahora he sentido más marcado...(Fieldwork notes, 1 November 2008)	Q6

Chapter 4	
Quote text in Spanish	ID
<p>En El Agustino. Asesinan de un balazo a taxista Un taxista de unos 25 años fue asesinado de un disparo en la cabeza... el chofer opuso tenaz resistencia a dos ladrones de vehículos (un hombre y una mujer), uno de los cuales le disparo. El taxista fue lanzado del auto en el mismo lugar-la cuadra 5 de la AV. Bosque Huanca, en El Agustino-mientras los malhechores se dieron a la fuga ... (El Comercio 6, Notas Breves, Sección Lima, 22/08/2008).</p>	Q1
<p>El Agustino Armados con fusiles asaltan un tráiler Ocho delincuentes provistos de fusiles asaltaron y robaron un tráiler cargado con fierros de construcción valorizados en US\$40 mil. El robo ocurrió cerca del Puente Nuevo en El Agustino (...) El chofer Walter Ayala Aguilar (49), fue dejado en San Juan de Lurigancho totalmente drogado (El Comercio 97, Notas Breves, Sección Lima, 10/10/2006).</p>	Q2
<p>Imperdonable Abandonan a recién nacido en El Agustino La policía lo halló tirado en la calle. Pequeño fue hospitalizado Dos policías de la comisaria del Agustino (...) hizo (sic) un hallazgo escalofriante (...) En la puerta de una casa estaba tirado un bebe desnudo (...). Al parecer la criatura había sido abandonada por su madre cinco horas después de haber nacido (...) la Fiscalía de Familia se hizo cargo de las investigaciones para tratar de identificar a la irresponsable madre (...). Por su parte, la policía seguía tratando de averiguar (...) alguna información para dar con el paradero de la mujer que abandono a su hijo. (El Comercio 132, Sección Lima, 22/01/2006).</p>	Q3
<p>Celos asesinos Iracundo sujeto mata a esposa de 14 puñaladas Los celos, la inseguridad y la ira, una peligrosa mezcla de sentimientos encontrados que se viene dando entre algunas parejas, volvieron a ser la causa de un Nuevo crimen pasional [...]. Esa vez fue un sujeto sin empleo el que mato a su esposa, asestándole 14 puñaladas tras una violenta discusión. El sangriento hecho ocurrió ayer en El Agustino.[...] (El Comercio 129, Lima, 28/01/2006)</p>	Q4
<p>Once firman compromiso. Concejos se unen contra pandillaje Once alcaldes distritales se reunieron ayer para analizar el tema del pandillaje juvenil en Lima y suscribieron un compromiso con el fin de buscar soluciones a este grave problema que afecta a la ciudad. Con tal fin se acordó ejecutar programas de atención integral para recuperar al pandillero. A la cita asistieron los burgomaestres de (...) y El Agustino (El Comercio 78, 15/03/2007).</p>	Q5
<p>El Agustino Intervienen taller con autos robados La policía intervino ayer un falso taller de planchado y pintura que en realidad era un deposito donde se desmantelaban autos robados. La operación se realizo en la segunda cuadra del jirón Placido Jiménez, en El Agustino. En el lugar se encontró 10 vehículos, tres de los cuales habían sido reportados como robados (El Comercio 43, Lima, 26/02/2008).</p>	Q6

<p>Trabajo en equipo en cerros del cono este Más de mil habitantes se capacitan para mejorar sus condiciones de vida Desde febrero del 2003 ... se inició un proyecto que cambiaría las arraigadas ideas de cientos de habitantes de los cerros más pobres del cono este de Lima. Los cerros El Pino, en La Victoria; 7 de Octubre, El Amauta I y El Amauta II, en El Agustino fueron los asentamientos humanos escogidos para realizar el plan Seguridad para el Desarrollo en los Cerros del Cono Este de Lima (El Comercio 128, Vida y Futuro, 01/02/2006)</p>	<p>Q7</p>
<p>Mitín en El Agustino Flores urge a transformar la rabia de la gente en esperanza Transmitir esperanza. Ese fue el énfasis que la candidata presidencial por Unidad Nacional (UN), Lourdes Flores Nano, impuso anoche a su mensaje en el distrito de El Agustino [...] La exclusión social también fue parte de su discurso. Flores Nano señaló que entendía la rabia y el dolor de los peruanos que se sienten excluidos, abusados y engañados con razones validas para ello. [...] (El Comercio 125, Política, 22/03/2006)</p>	<p>Q8</p>
<p>Cartas Efectivamente al pie del cerro El Pino, a la entrada de El Agustino pareciera que viviera una gente que no es peruana, ni limeña, puesto que ninguna autoridad se digna en atender sus necesidades inmediatas como el procurarle una calle correctamente asfaltada, y además una zona donde transitar libremente, sin riesgo de sufrir un atraco (El Comercio 21, Trinos y Trones, 10/05/2008).</p>	<p>Q9</p>
<p>Trabajo en equipo en cerros del cono este Más de mil habitantes se capacitan para mejorar sus condiciones de vida La vida en los cerros de Lima es más difícil de lo que se cree. Para darse cuenta de ello es necesario ponerse en los enterrados zapatos de un poblador de esas zonas: Casas con malos cimientos, hacinamiento, muladares, calles sin asfalto, falta de agua, déficit de áreas verdes, entre otros problemas. (El Comercio 128, Vida y Futuro, 01/02/2006).</p>	<p>Q10</p>
<p>Derrumbe en El Agustino. Familia se salva de morir aplastada Una madre y sus dos menores hijos resultaron con heridas leves al caer sobre su vivienda parte de un muro de contención del cerro 7 de Octubre, en El Agustino. Gisela Caso y sus pequeños de 7 y 3 años dormían cuando las piedras colocadas en la ladera a modo de muro se desprendieron y cayeron sobre el techo de su humilde vivienda [...] (El Comercio 60, Lima, 22/09/2007).</p>	<p>Q11</p>
<p>En dos distritos se contamina el agua de riego de los parques de la ciudad Los canales de riego Surco y Huatica riegan 10 millones de M2 de áreas verdes en 17 distritos de Lima. Su función es vital, pero en Santa Anita y en El Agustino son usados como cloacas. (El Comercio 30, Lima, 31/03/2008).</p>	<p>Q12</p>
<p>El Agustino cambia de cara Ex cuartel militar La Pólvara albergara 3000 viviendas El gerente general del fondo Mivivienda, Rudy Wong, lanzo oficialmente el megaproyecto habitacional La Pólvara, ubicado en el lugar donde</p>	<p>Q13</p>

funciono el cuartel militar y del mismo nombre en el distrito del Agustino. (El Comercio 92, Economía, 24/12/2006)	
Trabajo que endulza la vida Iniciativa. Gracias a la ONG italiana CESVI, dieciocho chicos que se encontraban en alto riesgo social recibieron capacitación y fundaron la empresa Yoper, especializada en panadería y pastelería. El proyecto es ambicioso. En un futuro, ellos asumirán la gestión de total del compañía (El Comercio 123, Contra Corriente, 07/04/2006)	Q14
La precursora del vaso de leche Aspira al Príncipe de Asturias Al ver la pobreza en el cerro El Agustino, doña Consuelo Torres recordó las carencias de su niñez. Tras reunir a las mujeres del sector fundó el primer club de madres del país. Tiene 87 años y postula al Premio Príncipe de Asturias (El Comercio 118, Primera Plana, 18/04/2006)	Q15
Entrevista. Cherman ‘No doy más de lo mismo’ Hace dos años creó con un amigo la marca Faite, una línea de ropa que no solo es un negocio. Es otra forma de lucha contra la indiferencia, dice él, y sobre todo es una manera más de sacudirnos y de gritarnos que todavía, hermanos, hay muchísimo que hacer. (El Comercio 8, Mi Negocio, 27/07/2008)	Q16
Sinceramente si me dices para ir no tengo la menor idea dónde está, ahora por lo que uno escucha uno si tiene la idea de que es un lugar medio peligroso que...no? congestionado, que se yo (Carla OL3, Age 32)	Q17
E: Mi mamá tenía una ahijada en El Agustino I: Ah sí? E: Si, si me acuerdo una vez fuimos a visitarla, claro, porque era su bautizo y mi mamá dijo ‘ah no se equivocaron, todos me acompañan’ y fuimos todos mi papá, mi hermana y yo (Rebeca OL5, Age20)	Q18
Lo noto mas como una zona en la que, me hace acordar no sé, lo inicios de Villa El Salvador no? Te hablo de los inicios de Villa El Salvador en los ‘85 al ‘90 no? que son pueblos jóvenes, que están tratando de progresar y buscar un desarrollo, lo veo de esa manera (Debora OL1, Age 36)	Q19
Yo imagino que es un lugar muy pobre, donde hay pobreza hay delincuencia, emm, por eso supongo que es un sitio peligroso, donde hay pobreza no hay plantas, es horrible, es triste, es sucio por eso relaciono basura no? um, y que huela mal también porque no debe haber agua por muchos lados, supongo, emmm, y por eso pienso que sería peligroso el sitio (Debora OL1, Age 36)	Q20
La atención, sabes que me llamó la atención? Que queman la basura a veces, había lugares donde había basura así cerros acumulada (no se entiende) de hecho pues no? (Sergio OL2, Age 35)	Q21
E: ...chocitas, estee, con esteras no? maderas, ehh, barro, algunos si de material noble de hecho no? pero mal hecho, feo no? o huachafo quizás I: Huachafo, cómo? E: Mira yo he visto ventanas en forma de corazón ah! (ríe) yaaa? El platudo del barrio que tienen la casa con una ventana de marco de corazón... (Debora OL1, Age 36).	Q22
Esteeee, me imagino que es un una zona en la que hay bastantes empresas,	Q23

entonces hay muchas empresas como también hay casas de, de, como se llama, tipo de asentamientos humanos, como asentamientos humanos pero la que está muy cercana a la Panamericana, a la vía de evitamiento por eso que El Agustino tiene contacto con la vía de evitamiento, tal vez me equivoco, estee (Carla OL3, Age 32)	
Yo imagino que es un lugar muy pobre, donde hay pobreza hay delincuencia, emm, por eso supongo que es un sitio peligroso (..)” (Debora OL1, Age 36)	Q24
Bueno en todo sitio hay de todo no? hay como buenas personas como malas personas pero yo como te digo pienso que como hay mucha pobreza, hay bastante delincuencia no? no me, no me sentiría para nada segura en un sitio así no? con nadie, o sea no es como en otros lados que puedes ver que sitios que si conoces por eso te llevan, por ejemplo Lince hay partes que son bien feas como hay unas partes bien bonitas también no? estee, pero digamos que pienso que en El Agustino hay más pobreza que en otros lados, entonces debe ser más peligroso (Debora OL1, Age 36)	Q25
Bueno porque yo creo que es el hecho del robo, el hecho del peligro, de que te asalten, te violen, en fin, que se yo! Eso yo creo que también los noticieros acá te llenan la cabeza de todo lo malo no? Jamás te ponen lo bueno que supongo también debe pasar en esos distritos no? Porque definitivamente jamás te van a decir ‘ese distrito’ no se pues ‘se inauguraron una losa deportiva por el esfuerzo de los...’ jamás lo van a hacer sino ‘en esa losa deportiva mataron al chico que no era bueno se drogaba’, no? la típica (Andrea OL4, Age 31)	Q26
Lo que a mí no me, lo que me asustaba era que siempre tanta gente pasando y gente así como que daba miedo, porque tenía un aspecto que te daba miedo, daba miedo no sé si como te digo no? no es que necesariamente esa gente fuera delincuente pero tenía un aspecto que te hace pensar que si, de repente es una, un prejuicio no? pero... (Carla OL3, Age 32)	Q27
No? me imagino gente también que ha por el mismo esfuerzo ha salido desde abajo y ha puesto su comercio, o sea sus negocios, algo propio y que poco a poco ha podido salir adelante y por otro lado pues me imagino que hay gente que de repente está ahí porque no puede estar en otro lugar por el tema económico (Andrea OL4, Age 31)	Q28
Ehhhh yo creo que, yo pienso que es gente que en algunos casos estee, lo hacen por necesidad y en otros para demostrar la valentía y que porque para ganarse un prestigio dentro de la pandilla? Estee, tienes que ser malo no? (Sergio OL2, Age 35)	Q29
Y yo creo que el niño pues a esas edad si ve que a su madre le están pegando y la madre no se defiende o no bota al hombre, simplemente él se va llenando de ese resentimiento de rabia hasta de repente no? y yo creo que es gente que simplemente no le interesa la vida o no le interesa salir adelante y simplemente son facilistas pues no? drogas, robar, plata fácil, seguir ese círculo vicioso pues no? yo no me esfuerzo pero simplemente voy a la esquina a robar y ya tengo plata (Andrea OL4, Age 31)	Q30
Pero el tema es de que, de que, estee, son grupos, y, y con que se juntan y aprovechan para cometer delitos, robar y para y se enfrentan unos con	Q31

<p>otros, la verdad como te digo no se cual es el motivo, o sea, o sea, cual es el motivo que los une ni porque se juntan unos con otros (Carla OL3, Age 32)</p>	
<p>I: Cómo se visten, como caminan? E: Ay como Daddy Yanqui, has visto, todos con los pantalones enormes, yo no entiendo, mis amigos no se visten así, no! Que feo, me parece horrible y todavía tipo Yanqui, esto, con pantalones enormes y polos enormes y (riéndose) con cadenas y con gorras, así pero no todo así bien rapero , a los Estados Unidos? Se visten así a los Estados Unidos I: Ya y las chicas? E: Ah rica y apretadita todo jeans así apretaditos con el polo que se le ve la barriga, (ríe) todo pueblerino así (Rebeca OL5, Age 20)</p>	Q32
<p>E: A mí me dan pena esas situaciones, no, yo no soy una persona discriminatoria ni tampoco racista, y estee, trato con todo tipo de gente no? I: Hm E: Pero una cosa es tratar por trabajo, porque bueno, el huachimán, no sé, la bodega del barrio, no sé, es distinto a querer pues estee, entablar amistades en un sitio así pues que yo considero un sitio peligroso y bueno triste, digamos no? (Debora OL1, Age 36)</p>	Q33
<p>Bueno, no tienen, si tienen, nosotros pagamos para que ellos tengan, porque ellos se apropian de esos sitios y a nosotros de nuestros impuestos de lo que nos cobran más en los recibos, estee, se les da luz a otros no? (Debora OL1, Age 36)</p>	Q34
<p>El Agustino, El Agustino, es un... es un distrito, un barrio que es bien conocido por su... por el porcentaje de pandillaje, drogadicción y todo lo que tiene que ver mal, El Agustino, también es un barrio, que, también tiene a jóvenes talentos ocultos, es un barrio que es pobre y humilde, todo... si combinamos todo eso, lo llamaríamos solamente Agustino (Jacinto M13, Age 17)</p>	Q35
<p>E: No hay nada acá de cosas buenas del Agustino I: ¿No? E: Tienes que... tienes que salir de El Agustino mejor para que consigas buenas cosas (Jose M15, Age 17)</p>	Q36
<p>Sí, guau!!! Problemas horribles. De hecho he conocido todo tipo de problemas, abuso, golpes, maltrato, abandono, alcoholismo, drogadicción, guau!!! Un montón de cosas, todo lo que podrías encontrar en el mundo en un solo lugar lo puedes encontrar aquí [en El Agustino](Rafael M2, Age 16).</p>	Q37
<p>I: Te gusta vivir aquí? E: Claro, es el hecho de relacionarme con las personas, me encanta. Es decir, si yo me voy a La Molina, a una zona residencial, lo único que voy a escuchar es silencio, no puedo yo estar, sin bulla me sentiría diferente, soy una persona que me gusta la bulla y hace bulla, entonces no puedo estar en silencio, no puedo, o sea si me mudaría a otro barrio sería muy incómodo por qué? Porque me he mudado 6 veces de casa, he estudiado en 6 colegios diferentes, pero aquí dentro de El Agustino (Teresa W2, Age 16)</p>	Q38
<p>Me regresé al Agustino porque, primero que aquí estaba mi mamá, no? Yo no estaba allá con mi mamá y porque, sentía que allá estaba como que</p>	Q39

encerrado, o sea no es como El Agustino que tu puedes salir de tu casa y, y este conversar con tus amigos ahí cerca (Javier M8, Age 20)	
I: Hmh, si tú pudieras mudarte, te mudarías de acá? Te irías? E: Noo I: Por qué no? E: Si acá estado siempre (Julian M45, Age 18)	Q40
Yo nací aquí, crecí aquí, y moriré aquí. (Raul M27, Age 24)	Q41
I: Ajá, y a ¿cómo a dónde te gustaría vivir por ejemplo? E: En otro la'o así por la Molina, por San Isidro, ahí no hay nada pe', ahí no es como acá en El Agustino, es distinto I: ¿Te gusta por ahí? E: Sí, sí he ido una vez, gente... gente.. casas graaandes, gente pituca ahí sí pe, ahí si quisiera ir I: ¿Por qué? E: Porque hay bonitas chicas (Jose M15, Age 15)	Q42
También tengo mis primas...me dicen: vente para acá ... vente para que te quedes acá, para que conozcas gente de otro lado, gente de La Molina. Porque tú no eres para estar en ese barrio. Y a veces me llama la atención de no ir...o sea no me gusta...como yo ya me acostumbré aquí (Juana W5, Age 17)	Q43
Ah si yo pudiese elegir, me iría, como se llama? Chorrillos, sitios tranquilos, donde mi pasado no me pueda jalar y ahí pueda empezar de nuevo. Y ahí, perfecto (Beto M18, Age 27)	Q44
I: O sea que si tú pudieras irte, si se te presentara la oportunidad de mudarte de barrio o de distrito, te mudarías? E: (.) si mi trabajo se encuentra cercano, creo que viviría pero, viviría para dormir allá y viviría acá para trabajar. Bueno esa respuesta creo que es la más prudente porque uno puede dormir donde sea, pero... (Pablo M5, Age 27)	Q45
Por qué? Porque siempre cuando salgo no? Cuando salgo de El Agustino, cuando voy a veces a casa de una tía en la Molina, las señoras que me ven, te miran así de pies a cabeza. Porque quizás voy mal vestido, o porque serán racistas, porque soy moreno, no sé. Porque ellos porque están en la Molina, se sentirán mejor, superior. (Martin M31, age 16)	Q46
Bueno, saliendo del taller, ella [one of the workshop facilitators] los invita a tomar gaseosa a ese restaurante, se va con cinco, seis chicos no?, ella entra por una puerta y los chicos entran por otra y el dueño inmediatamente se para y les dice, no, no, no, no, no pueden entrar (NGO, SW5)	Q47
Claro, cuando yo estaba en La Molina, me iba a tomar un taxi para acá, me iba a salir más caro pero no conocía. (I: Ya) Y me dice 'maestro, buenas Al Agustino', 'no voy'. Y así, así, tuve que chapar micro lleno! (Rafael M2, Age 16)	Q48
E: Cada vez que me encuentro con jóvenes de esos lugares es ¿dónde vives?, en El Agustino, uy, ¿ahí vives, estás seguro?, no? o sea una cosa de esas, sí yo vivo en El Agustino y ahí, yo he crecido ahí I: y cómo te hace sentir? E: Ahí a veces me he sentido, y les digo en son de broma me siento discriminado pueden creerlo?, les digo, ustedes que anuncian pues una cuestión de igualdad y tú... y dicen que yo soy de El Agustino y se	Q49

quedan sorprendidos. Sí, soy de El Agustino, les digo no?, con mucho orgullo, déjenme decirlo, aunque ningún taxi me quiera llevar al Agustino, soy de El Agustino. (Javier M8, Age 20)	
<p>I: ¿Por qué crees que la gente piensa así?</p> <p>E: Por los mismos medios de comunicación que lo satanizan al Agustino.</p> <p>I: ¿Los medios?</p> <p>E: Sí los medios de comunicación siempre son, y la misma gente también que se pasa la voz. Los que hacen investigaciones también, no sé, no conocen pues, no sé todo El Agustino cuánto mide, es grande, es inmenso. (Francisco M3, Age 27)</p>	Q50
Pero en términos de El Agustino como distrito es un lugar este que tiene una ganado muchos prejuicios a nivel de lima y a nivel interdistrital lo conocen como una zona peligrosa debido a la violencia que se generaba (Pedro M1, Age 19)	Q51
<p>I: Pero qué crees que piensa la gente que no es de El Agustino?</p> <p>E: Que es maleante el barrio, zona roja, zona roja porque había terroristas, pandilleros, tantas noticias que han salido de El Agustino, violadores en el Cerro (Christian M32, Age 23)</p>	Q52
Si y, es que en El Agustino anteriormente no sé si tú sabrás, habrás sabido la historia de El Agustino ya que tu estas trabajando acá, El Agustino, es... o sea es... era una zona roja, donde habían terroristas, hay este gente que asalta bancos, delincuentes to'o... (Gustavo M33, Age 24)	Q53
Sí, me han mira'o mal, pero qué, normal, yo.. yo... más bien me da orgullo ser de El Agustino, porque ahí, soy lo que soy, he aprendido bastante, ponle que otro chiqui'o pueda tener plata pero no sabe muchas cosas que le puede pasar factura más adelante, pueden decir mira, yo tengo esto, yo tengo el otro y al final, se quedan en nada, porque no han sufrido, como han sufrido los que son de barrio, los que son de verdad, ellos tienen toda la money, pero al final lo derrochan y se quedan sin nada, los otros que viene de abajo, lo ven, después lo miran, qué pasó causa, qué tu no eras así?, no hablabas, y ahora?, no se dan cuenta, no valoran lo que tienen, así es las cosas, por eso no me molesta decir de dónde vengo, más bien lo digo a cada rato, soy de El Agustino compadre (Carlos M14, Age 18)	Q54
Sí, hay personas que discriminan al Agustino, a Barrios Altos, de existir existen, por ejemplo mis tías siempre han tenido, bueno, desde que se casaron han vivido en un lugar este, me dicen ten cuidado, no te confíes en nadie, no te hables con nadie. Yo no puedo dejar de ser, confío mucho en mi amiga, en mis amigos de mi salón, y me dicen no te hables con ellos, dedícate a estudiar!!! Bla, bla, bla!!! La gente por ahí es así, es así. Eso me hace sentir incómoda, es más con las tías por parte de mi papá, con todas nunca me he llevado. Entonces es, escucharlas y nada más (Teresa W2, Age 16)	Q55
Pero mayormente en las sesiones solemnes nomás nos vas a ver con ropa decente. Porque después. Hay otros regidores jóvenes que sí que todo el tiempo están bien entrenaditos, y eso también para nosotros es chocante, reunirnos porque a veces, reunión a tal hora entonces como estamos vamos, y ellos están bien, bien a la tiza, y nos miran. De donde viene? No es que hemos tenido trabajo de campo, ahh!! Verdad ustedes trabajan!!! Entonces este (...) (Local Government, SW11)	Q56

<p>Por ese motivo ¿no? o sea su familia no quería que este conmigo (.) porqueee o sea ella vivía en Miraflores pero venía a visitar a su tía y acá la conocí (.) y sus primos también me tenían bronca y nos veíamos veíamos a la semana cuando los fines de semana sábado y domingo venía ella (.) era tan encerrada que solamente iba a comprar a la tienda y esos cinco minutos era donde nos encontrábamos (.) y pucha pero esos cinco minutos eran eternos pues era lo que más recuerdo (.) lo más sincero (Simon M6, Age 24)</p>	Q57
<p>Ella me prefiere a mí porque no somos iguales, Ella me prefiere a mí aunque yo soy de la calle. Yo soy de barrio bajo y ella de residencial. ... Ella me lleva a casa y sus padres, me miran de pies a cabeza Por mi facha sin preguntarme, sin conocerme, me niegan estar a su lado No quieren verme, ahora debemos terminar No conocen mis intenciones, tampoco mis aspiraciones Porque me quieren juzgar? Sin tratar, sin preguntar, sin averiguar quién soy en realidad (Ella me prefiere a mí Christian M32, Age 23)</p>	Q58
<p>I: Y cómo te hace sentir cuando te decían...alguna otra persona que no es de Agustino te ha dicho alguna vez, te ha hecho sentir E: Claro, hace sentir a uno mal pe' como que estamos viviendo en lo peor no? hace sentir a uno mal (Elena W9, Age 38)</p>	Q59
<p>I: ¿Lo has sentido alguna vez? ¿Alguna vez que has estado en alguna otra parte y saben que eres de El Agustino, has sentido así como que (1) tipo que dicen 'ah! Tu eres de ahí, entonces tú seguro...'? E: Mas bien, shs... te respetan más cuando dices que eres de El Agustino (...) E: Te dicen 'oe es de El Agustino, cuidao que este huevón es... choro' I: ¿Y cómo te hace sentir eso? E: Nada. Me da risa, yo lo miro noma'... no es conmigo, conmigo no es pe' a las finales yo no soy choro y punto! I: ¿Pero no te molesta a veces que ellos piensen que eres, porque eres de El Agustino? E: A veces no hay que prestarle atención a lo que otros dicen, si tú crees que no eres, no es pe', si ellos creen que crean pe'. Tú con tal que estés tranquilo.(Rafael M2, Age 18)</p>	Q60
<p>... La Victoria no es que yo discrimine al distrito está mejorando supuestamente está mejorando pero (.) más delincuentes hay en esa zona de de la frontera con El Agustino (.) toda esa imagen tiene ahí (.) La Parada piensan que es El Agustino no es El Agustino La Parada (.) (Simon M6, Age 24)</p>	Q61
<p>Que me digan eso sí, claro incomoda que me digan eso, a mí si mi incomoda. Aunque tampoco, yo como les digo, ustedes tampoco viven en un barrio ficho discúlpame tú no vives en San Borja ni tú en San Isidro, la Molina, para que me vengan acá, tú vives en la Perla les digo, tú ahí donde estás no sé qué cosa les digo a mis amigos, los empiezo a molestar y así como que se sobrepasa las situaciones pero, no, me gustaría, vivir en un sitio más tranquilo. (Patricia W10, Age 20)</p>	Q62
<p>I: ¿Y, respecto a la gente que no vive en El Agustino, cómo crees tú que</p>	Q63

<p>la gente de otros barrios ve El Agustino? E: Lo ven (.) mal, como así piensan que El Agustino es sinónimo de peligro, pero no es así pues, no es así, en todo El Agustino, no pueden generalizar que todo El Agustino es peligroso, hay ciertos sectores que sí son zonas riesgosas pero otros que no, la parte baja de El Agustino no, es tranquilo, la parte peligrosa está en el cerro, en el cerro está, y en las zonas digamos de asentamientos humanos, de Ansieta esas zonas nomás deben considerarse peligrosas (Francisco M3, Age 27)</p>	
<p>I: Has ido a los cerros? E: Si he ido, he visto a la gente, he visto como se droga también la gente, he parado en los cerros, no me gusta vivir en los cerros I: ¿Por qué? E: No.. vivir en el cerro... es como vivir en el cementerio (Gonzalo M28, Age 23)</p>	Q64
<p>I: Y qué piensa la gente que vive abajo de El Agustino de la gente del cerro? E: Que la gente va pa'abajo a robar a asaltar, a hacer problemas, a romper las lunas I: Y eso es cierto? E: No, así habla la gente de abajo, de los cerros I: Hmh y tú como los ves a los de abajo, cómo son? E: No, también son pleitistas (Julian M45, Age 18)</p>	Q65
<p>Otra cosa que me llamo la atención fue lo que dijo una de las chicas de la asociación cuando le dieron el micro, ella agradeció por ser parte de la asociación y darle la oportunidad de hacer algo por los jóvenes que son el futuro del Perú, también dijo que agradecía al alcalde por preocuparse de Amauta I, porque: 'El Agustino no es sólo la parte de abajo, si no también aquí arriba' a lo que todo el mundo aplaudió y vitoreó dando su aprobación...(fieldwork notes 17 October 2008)</p>	Q66
<p>I: ¿Por qué, cómo es la vida de una familia en la parte alta? E: O sea, más que todo las partes altas, están compuestas por personas migrantes, entonces como llegan, bueno, distintas clases de persona de la sierra más que todo y pocos de la selva, o sea llegan con malos modales, yo noto eso, yo noto eso. Pelean, están en líos, eso es lo que yo noto. (Francisco M3, Age)</p>	Q67
<p>Incluso nosotros también nos confunden no? el establo, nosotros somos del Establo 'señor un momentito' le digo, El Establo son gente provinciana, son gente ayacuchana, trabajadores, son huancaínos, todos tienen ahí, por decir fábrica de polos, tienen fábricas de maletines, de mochilas, trabajan, de genes, todos son gente de trabajo (Rosa W13)</p>	Q68
<p>E: Y mira yo te voy a decir una cosa no, y eso que mi papá es blancón y mi mamá también es blancona, y yo soy negro, no sé por qué he salido así, será por lo que ahora último he hecho el mercado y la chacra, así, cuando tu vas al norte?, hace un calor!, que da miedo I: Sí pues, hace calor E: Y ya pe' yo paro más en el sol pe', con esta del peso y to'a esta vaina, uno está en el calor pe', no puede... I: ¿Qué tiene?, qué tiene estar en el calor? E: No, tá' bien, pero me' he quema'o pe'no?, igual mi tío, mi padrino también se ha quema'o</p>	Q69

<p>I: Pero estar quemadito está bien pues</p> <p>E: Nooo... tá' bien, no... Ya te digo, no vayas a pensar mal ah?</p> <p>I: ¿Por qué?</p> <p>E: Porque de repente, como mi papá es blanco y mi mamá es blanca</p> <p>I: Y por qué voy a pensar mal?</p> <p>E: Noo... que... por curiosidad nada mas</p> <p>I: No, pero pensar mal de qué?....</p> <p>E: Noo.. ya fue ya</p> <p>I: Explícame pues!</p> <p>E: No, por lo que soy medio trigueñito pe' (Ruben M26, Age 19)</p>	
<p>E: Igual en algún tipo reunión donde había..., era encuentro pues de jóvenes de la compañía, entonces venia gente de todas partes no?, este un colegio que tiene la Inmaculada, los Jesuitas que está en</p> <p>I: Sí, si lo conozco</p> <p>E: Ya, es un colegio y , y súper, súper o sea (.) gente como de algún tipo, algún día lo dijo (nombre) que es un amigo mío, decía oye estos o vienen de, del exterior o no sé que porque se sorprendió mucho de verlos que eran muy, muy blancos, muy no sé qué cosa, no sé cuánto. (Javier M8, Age 20)</p>	Q70
<p>I: Y contra quien fuiste racista? Personas más morenas o mas blancas?</p> <p>E: Los que eran más blancos, estaba molesto con la gente de ese color. (Santiago M40, Age 18)</p>	Q71
<p>Aquí me quiero quedar. Pero mi papá me dice 'sal, tienes que conocer gente de otro lado, tienes que cambiar tu forma de hablar', también me dice (Juana W5, Age 17)</p>	Q72
<p>I: ¿Alguna vez te has sentido discriminado alguna vez has sentido que alguien te ha mirado feo así por decir que vives en el Agustino?</p> <p>E: Ehh (3) no ah (.) no no realmente no (1) no he sentido eso porque (.) también será por la forma de comportarse de la gente yo acá tengo conocidos amigos que tienen una manera de comportarse bien maleante (.) entonces si se junta con otra persona dirán tú eres del Agustino ese ese es el perfil (.) entonces (.) yo cuando me relaciono con otra gente sé cómo comportarme pues (.) (Simon M6, Age 24)</p>	Q73
<p>E: Tengo patas en San Juan, sí. También tengo en (.), bueno, en varias zonas porque cuando comencé a estudiar mi carrera técnica me proyecté a tener amigos en diferentes zonas y estar con ellos (Juan M4, Age 21)</p>	Q74
<p>I: o sea la jerga con gente de la universidad es distinta a la jerga con la gente del barrio</p> <p>E: Mmju, del barrio mmju, sí, sí, de, de definitivamente sí, por lo menos en la universidad donde estoy yo que es una particular o sea no vie..., no viene gente así no más del Agustino no?, viene gente normalmente de otros distritos más este, bueno que tienen más, más más situación económica mucho mas (Javier M8, Age 20)</p>	Q75
<p>Tengo la facilidad de expresarme o sea de tener en cierta medida un lenguaje criollo, popular este con jergas, este conocer esas cosas pero con otras personas de cierto lado, cierto cargo, o sea comportarme a esa altura dejar otro tipo de lenguaje quizás como ahora estoy recurriendo algunas palabritas que ni las tengo muy claras no la tengo (risas) pero... (Pedro M1, Age 19)</p>	Q76
<p>I: Hmh, y cómo los ves tú a ellos, gente de otros barrios, te caen bien los</p>	Q77

<p>ves diferentes...o prefieres a la gente del Agustino</p> <p>E: Si los veo diferentes pero eh...por más que sea ir...él más rico también se coquea.</p> <p>I: Tiene plata, se pepean...</p> <p>E: Claro y de lo fino le meten todavía pero lo veo diferente en qué....? En qué bueno hay otros que salen adelante, estudian, tienen un buen trabajo, tienen otra forma de hablar, otra forma de vestir, otra forma de....cómo te puedo decir...otra forma en su barrio, no?...por ejemplo tu dejas algo ahí..nadies lo agarra...por ejemplo se te cae algo...te dicen...toma (Juana W5, Age 17)</p>	
<p>Que en todo sitio es igual ya en todo sitio, sea en Miraflores roban y en cuestión de cómo se dice lo que es los chicos de drogadicción es igualito en todo sitio tengan plata o no tengan plata, en todo sitio, como ellos tienen plata será en sitios más cerrados no? para que la gente no se dé cuenta, como todo el mundo no para ahí, no mirarán, en cambio nosotros acá los miramos (Blanca W6, Age 45)</p>	Q78
<p>Mientras caminaba note cuan vivas están las calles por aquí. Todos estaban en la calle cerca del Jan, varios grupos de chicas estaban bailando en la calle haciendo coreografías y cosas así, sus mamás las estaban mirando bailar desde sus puertas... es una realidad distante de la que uno se imagina cuando no conoces este lugar, la gente trata de ser feliz con lo poco que tiene. (Fieldnotes 10th October 2008)</p>	Q79
<p>E: Aunque El Agustino tiene así, un concepto para otras personas de fuera, de que, guau, es horrible que no entres, oye que el taxi no entra, sabes, yo a la persona que le veo eso, le digo que está recontra equivocada, porque en verdad para mí El Agustino es algo por qué saco pecho en verdad</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>E: ... Pero a la vez me siento con ganas de decir, oye hagamos mayor cosa porque esto, va a crecer más!!. No sé si te has enterado pero El Agustino ha sido durante estos dos tres años, que es, el barrio entre todos los barrios, o mejor dicho entre todos los distritos que ha crecido más, o sea, no está a la altura de los demás, pero quién ha crecido, ha crecido más, y si seguimos así me parece que va para más, va para más (Juan M4, Age 21)</p>	Q80
<p>(...) Inclusive (.) haaace un mes atrás habrá sido que en RPP (.) eh dijeron (.) o sea hicieron una encuesta que el mejor distrito el distrito que mejor ha progresado y está más limpio es el Agustino (.) y eso ha sido pues realmente me siento orgulloso de mi distrito en esa parte (Simon M6, Age 24)</p>	Q81
Chapter 5	
Quote text Spanish	Int. ID
<p>También hay violencia hacia los niños, pero no solo una violencia de maltrato físico, sino que hay una violencia, por ejemplo de que, el niño no comió ese día, es violencia, y eso te marca también (SM7, Police)</p>	Q1
<p>El nivel de presión que tiene por todos lados, eso me parece violento, eso definitivamente me parece violento, es un chico que está colgado, o sea las instituciones no responden... la familia no responde... son ciegos a que ya no está en el colegio, sus posibilidades de desarrollo, o sea qué va a hacer en el futuro, no? (SW5, RJP)</p>	Q2

<p>Mi padre es uno de los dirigentes que estuvo trabajando para que el barrio en si hablando particularmente (I: uju) mi barrio obtenga los recursos básicos el fue una de las personas que estaba trabajando de dirigente del barrio que se fajo al tema de los títulos de propiedad y también participo en la obtención del agua y desagüe pues con la luz contamos desde ya tiempo (Pedro M1, Age 19)</p>	<p>Q3</p>
<p>Algo interesante fue que en medio de la declaración del alcalde de arreglar las lozas deportivas, de dar becas para que los jóvenes y adultos se entrenen en diferentes oficios en la municipalidad y las actividades culturales gratuitas un niño le pregunto: ‘y el desagüe cuando nos lo van a poner?’ A lo que el alcalde respondió visiblemente turbado ‘eso no es actividad deportiva.’ (Fieldwork notes, 17 October 2008)</p>	<p>Q4</p>
<p>Jimmy está sentado en su moto afuera de la casa... nos dice que su mamá se ha ido al mercado y cuando Alexis le pregunta si podemos pasar, nos dice que la casa está sucia... que le da roche... finalmente la hermana sale y nos hace pasar. Pasamos y efectivamente la casa está muy sucia... hay desperdicios regados por el suelo, un envase de yogurt, las moscas vuelan en la sala y la televisión esta prendida con el volumen alto. Hay cables que cuelgan del techo como telarañas... hacia el equipo, hacia el televisor, hacia el teléfono Jimmy se ve avergonzado. (Fieldwork notes, 18 October 2008)</p>	<p>Q5</p>
<p>La casa es muy pobre, de adobes y ladrillos, sólo tiene piso afirmado y el techo es parte concreto y parte cartones. JP comienza a limpiar en cuanto llegamos (barre el piso) y la mamá le dice que ponga atención, él le dice que está sucio y deja de limpiar (nuevamente siento que se avergüenza de su casa y me pregunto si es por mi porque Alexis ya ha estado allí varias veces) (Fieldwork notes, 25 October 2008)</p>	<p>Q6</p>
<p>Ahorita, asu!! Yo vivo con una banda!! (ríe) Vivo con mi mamá, mi padrastro y mi hermano... su esposa, sus hijos, mis hijos (Maicol M29, Age 25)</p>	<p>Q7</p>
<p>E: ... después en la noche ya voy a la casa de mi tío ahí me pongo a dormir nomá pe’, dormir po’que no tengo ni tele, o sea yo tengo vergüenza, como mi tío vive con mi tía y con sus dos hijos I: Hmh E: Yo tengo vergüenza de llegar, de repente mi tía se siente incómoda, siento vergüenza yo. De repente le estoy quitando un espacio no voy todo conchudo y subir pa’ver su televisión, por eso me quedo abajo noma, pa’ estar tranquilo pa’ evitar problemas (Alvaro M41, Age 17)</p>	<p>Q8</p>
<p>No había papá...el papá tiene otro compromiso, el papá mandaba su plata para la hija menor, pero el día que no mandaba el papá ese día no comían (Ana W4, Age 25)</p>	<p>Q9</p>
<p>I: No te acuerdas muchos momentos felices (.) eran momento difíciles E: Aja, ese tiempo era muy difícil porque aparte que habíamos llegado y aparte que (.) A veces no había dinero pa’ comer (.) (I:aja) todo eso (.) el tiempo de terrorismo también que hubo (1) (I:aja) y eso. (Jaime M7, Age 19)</p>	<p>Q10</p>
<p>O sea, más bien, cuando (.) Teníamos a partir de los ocho así, siempre trabajaban mi mamá siempre nos enseñó a trabajar a todos (.) porque nos dijo ‘de repente si Dios quiere, yo no estoy para que puedan trabajar ustedes’ (.) Y ya nos enseñó a todos a trabajar. (Alejandro M11, Age 16)</p>	<p>Q11</p>

Claro!, porque ver a todos los chicos comiendo y tu no tengas no? y yo me acuerdo que en ese tiempo no había no? y la única manera de tener, era ir trabajando y por eso es que me gustaba no? tener mi dinero y ahí poco a poco, comencé a ganar dinero (Raul M27, Age 24)	Q12
No, o sea mi 'amá hacía, mi 'amá trabajaba ta'miénd independientemente, y.. Ya, yo salía... cuando iba al colegio veía a mis compañeros que tenían, compraban pe' y yo, nada, no tenía nada, ento'ces, mami propina, no hijito, que no alcanza que esto... ento'ces, agarró un día mi mamá me preparó estée... marciano... mami, cómprame una cajita quiero vender,.. (Gustavo M33, Age 24)	Q13
E: Claro es menor que yo, yo lo cuidaba a mi hermano porque mi abuelo también era abuelito y ya no, no y mi tía también, hay veces también no le daba un plato de comida I: Tu tía era la hermana... E: De mi mamá, y yo tenía que buscármelas en la calle para traerle pa mi hermano, me acuerdo también que en navidades la pasábamos triste pe. (Enrique M42, 22)	Q14
Otros tenían y yo no pe', yo tam'ién quería tener plata pe', pa' comprarme mis cosas, yo cuando robaba tenía mis zapatillas, me compraba solo toda mi ropa no, mi mamá me decía de dónde sacas plata?, no ese es mi plata que me guardo le decía (Jose M15, Age 18)	Q15
Robaba para comer, pa' comprarme mi ropa, pa'ndar para'ito porque todos mis amigos andaban para'o, yo era el único que andaba... ropa limpia, pero con huecos, yo.. Yo lo cosía pe', con su parchecito se veía bien, pero bien limpio, mi camisa rotita pero bien limpia, con eso yo paraba, siempre paraba con la misma ropa y ya ... yo normal, después me metí a la pandillas... (Gonzalo M28, Age 23)	Q16
E: Hay muchos problemas I: ¿Y por qué son los problemas? E: Económicos más que todo. No sé por qué la plata tiene que ver con todo, pero así es. La plata no debe existir, debe haber el trueque I: (sonríe) ¿Cómo antes? E: ¡Claro! Sería mejor pe', quieres algo y lo cambias, (Rafael M2, Age 18)	Q17
Para qué mi mamá siempre me ha apoya'o en todo, siempre, siempre, siempre, siempre, por eso estoy con ella, por eso nunca pienso dejarla (Carlos M14, Age 19)	Q18
Si se sigue.. Sí, hasta ahorita, pero pa' qué, es doctor, es una bella persona, es buena gente, le da pa'.. Para el diario, prácticamente le mantiene a mi papá, de ahí comen.. El y su mujer.. Nadie más, porque mi hermano trabaja (Gonzalo M28, Age 23)	Q19
Los amigos, los amigos... que ocurre, los amigos te dan de comer? (Theatre play by the Restorative Project participants).	Q20
Trabajaba, vendía pan también, porque no, no me gustaba que mi mamá salgan a la calle, me daba miedo que le pasé algo y yo esté en mi casa y mi mamá trabajando no me gustaba (Alejandro M11, Age 16)	Q21
Sí, sí, o hay mucha pobreza, hay mucha pobreza, hay veces que, hay deserción por dinero, no puedes, hay jóvenes que dicen, yo no puedo ir a estudiar viendo a mi mamá que no tiene ni para un pan, no puedo concentrarme dicen. (SM7, Police)	Q22

Este... como mi mamá me decía ‘ya mucho toy que me hago cargo de ustedes’. No por botar ¿no? Sino que tenía razón pues porque se sacaba la miércoles por nosotros, entonces por medio de la fiscalía nosotros pasamos un año allá, con mi papá. Repetimos año los dos (Rafael M2, Age 18)	Q23
Ya no, ya está curtido mi hijo, me dice ‘qué con tu plata que trabajas y nos das eso es todo para ti’ me dice, le digo ‘pero que quieres que haga, trabajo de ocho de la mañana, regreso siete, ocho de la noche cansada, no puedo estar acá, me canso prácticamente, tú no sabes que es ser responsable de ustedes, tengo que pagar casa, tengo que pagar teléfono, luz, agua, tengo que pagar todo’ (Monica W7, Age 40)	Q24
O sea a partir de que mi mama se separo o sea no por problemas sino por trabajo se fue a Argentina, o sea a mi psicológicamente me afecto no? No estar con mi mama en ese momento desde los doce años (Lucas M37, Age 23)	Q25
E: Si y ayer, mi mama se fue, el día de mi cumpleaños. I: A donde se fue? E: A Argentina I: Se fue a trabajar? ... E: Yo, yo me siento, me estoy acordando de mi mama, solo estoy con mis hermanos y mi papa, que se quedaron, y me dejan en la casa de mi abuelita, me voy a quedar aquí de lunes a viernes en la casa de mi abuelita y los sábados y domingos en la casa de mi papa, para entretenerme un poco. (Jose M15, Age 17)	Q26
I: ¿Y siempre ha habido algún tema por el cual ellos se pelean? ¿Se pelean por cualquier cosa o hay un tema o temas recurrentes por los que ellos se pelean? E: Hay temas por ejemplo el factor dinero es muy importante (I: aja) es causa de pelea ¿no? (Simon M6, Age 24)	Q27
Lado de papá (I: aja) y yaa pues... y ya bueno eh a veces la comunicación con mis tíos es este es buena bromeamos todo y hasta cierto punto que a veces hay problemas porque tienen que pagar el agua que no pagan para que así también hay un tío medio moroso (I: ríe) que a veces este no paga que dice ‘ah ya después pagaré’. (Jaime M7, Age 19)	Q28
Diez casas en una cuadra por darte un ejemplo no?, de las diez casas,... seis están perfectamente construidas, con un primer y segundo piso, algunas comodidades no?, y ... cuatro de ellas, están esté, por decir con paredes nada más rodeadas, pero dentro de esas paredes rodeadas, no hay divisiones, no hay el servicio de agua, el servicio no... y las divisiones internas son con trapos, con plásticos, con frazada y ahí está un adolescente viviendo eso no?, y el sale y a unos cuantos pasos de su casa, está su amigo, es su amigo, su pata, su vecino. Pero su vecino tiene todas las comodidades no? Y ellos empiezan a hacer un resentimiento de eso no? El se quiere vestir igual que el otro, no puede. Si no puede, hay otro que le dice, ‘qué, quieres una zapatilla Nike, yo he visto en un barrio, un pata que tiene’... ‘creo que es de tu talla, vamos no?’ (SW15, Community leader)	Q29
Justo a ella una vez le cuento le digo sabes qué algún día yo voy a ser alguien bien grande (.) voy a tener inclusive más dinero que ellos (.) y	Q30

ellos me van a pedir me van a buscar a mí para pedirme apoyo y no les voy a dar nada y todo lo que me han hecho yo se los voy a hacer igualito. (Simon M6, Age 24)	
Bueno como mi papa reniega de ese señor porque tiene plata, entonces yo también quiero que renieguen de mí por tener plata' me dice y yo este desde ahí creo que empieza a cobrar tomar forma esa idea de ser ingeniero (Pedro M1, Age 19)	Q31
Sí, porque mi hermana es media agresiva, bueno, es mi media hermana, hija por parte de mi mamá, su papá está en España. Es muy agresiva, es muy creída mi hermana, porque su papá le manda plata y le manda ropa de España, ella todo lo ve a grandeza, y como yo no soy así, yo recibo lo que me dan y ya pues no. Pero mi hermana sí se cree, ella se cree superior que yo (Maria W3, Age 17)	Q32
Bueno bueno con mi hermana (.) no tanto mm como que noo (.) tampoco no me hablo mucho (.) aparte que ella como ella ya comenzó a trabajar y como ya gana su dinero (I:aja) como que ya ya mi papá ya dice 'ah ya que ah no deja a tu hermana' por ejemplo yo estoy viendo televisión así (.) y mi hermana viene lo cambia y dice mi papá 'oh ya pe' deja que vea viene cansada' (1) pucha maquina (.) ya que si no cuando yo hago algo (1) al toque me dicen oye oye (.) Pero cuando ella hace algo (.) noo como que a veces todavía queda esa cólera de (.) de a ti sí te dicen todo pero a ella noo y a veces yo mismo le digo (.) le digo ah ya si todo porque (.) 'ahora ganas dinero pero (.) de qué te sirve que (.) que a veces solamente es por suerte (1) a veces la vida da vueltas' le digo (Jaime M7, Age 19)	Q33
I: Y tú sentías diferencia entre como tu padrastro trataba a sus propios hijos y cómo trataba a ti? E: Si claro hay una diferencia pe'po'que a veces, mis hermanos han tenido para tener esteee, lo mejor no? estudio todo, pero no lo han aprovechao y yo sentía eso pe' que yo quería eso pero él no me lo brindaba (Alfredo M16, Age 32)	Q34
Si, la violencia política rompió al país, a las instituciones, rompió la organización popular, rompió la convivencia abierta y fraterna que había en los pueblos jóvenes no? ah, de una forma muy significativa, el Agustino era un, aquí tuvimos, sacamos la lista de gente que murió en el Agustino violentamente o agustinianos que murieron fuera por razones de, y había setenta y dos personas, aquí asesinaron a dirigentes comunales, a dirigentes de mercados a dirigentes de movimientos populares... (SM1, Church leader)	Q35
A mí no sé por qué los ochenta me marcó mucho, sobre que haya muchos atentados, muchos coches-bomba, El Agustino resultó un distrito complicado y que cada día que aparecían noticias, aparecían personas que mueren no? Por aquí, por acá, por acá, y ves gente sufriendo, llorando, como reacción por la violencia, (Samuel M9, Age 27)	Q36
E: En ese periodo, por las cosas que se veía acá, era una época después del post terrorismo, donde la violencia era muy grande, si vivieras acá Dios mío, me acuerdo que en ese tiempo los militares subían a los buses y si no tenías documentos te llevaban, había que estar en la calle hasta las 9 de la noche, porque los militares, como acá hay comandancia, acá hay cuartel. I: Cual, Barbones?	Q37

<p>E: Sí, caminaban por toda la avenida y el que no tiene documentos le llevaban sea varón o sea mujer, y bueno, en la época de ese post....</p> <p>I: ¿Y eran violentos?</p> <p>E: Sí, eran violentos, y por esa incidencia creo que hizo que la gente se volviera violenta...(Pablo M5, Age 27)</p>	
<p>I: ¿Tu papa andaba tenso (.) en esa época?</p> <p>E: Sí, en ese tiempo todavía había terrorismo todavía (.) (I: aja) andaba tenso porque no podía decir que tu papá era militar porque (2) podían hacer le pueden hacer algo decía mi papá no digan sii te preguntan tu papá qué es ah es de construcción civil (.) no le podías decir que era militar (1) nos prohibió por un tiempo que no digamos que que mi papá era militar (1) ese tiempo del terrorismo (Jaime M7, 19)</p>	Q38
<p>Mi papá justo estaba haciendo su servicio en un carro adentro, estaba adentro él, justo en ese tiempo se veía muchos conflictos con los terroristas, lanzaron bombas lacrimógenas y para mala suerte de mi papá que estaba adentro, salió afectado... sufrió fracturas internas en su pie, quedó como discapacitado...(Brandon M22, Age 21)</p>	Q39
<p>E: Ah. Bueno, es un problema que tengo desde pequeño, bueno yo no nací en El Agustino, bueno, yo no nací en El Agustino, pero tengo un problema con lo que es el terrorismo, el terrorismo eliminó todos mis papeles, documentos, y he venido, todo este tiempo, llevo 22 años, estudiando y siendo parte del Perú sin serlo. O sea, significa que no tengo DNI hasta ahora, y es algo que me impide estudiar y desarrollarme como persona no? Y es complicado para mí al menos eso.</p> <p>...</p> <p>E: ...y siempre pidiéndole todos los días dinero a mi papá, papá quiero que me des pasaje (E: ríe), bueno, es algo incómodo para mí, pero que lo hago, de repente también pidiéndole esto de mis documentos, o sea, mientras que no me días, mientras que no me ayudes con mis documentos voy a seguir pidiéndote dinero, algo así. De repente es una forma de protesta a mi parecer. (Juan M4, 22)</p>	Q40
<p>E: Y de mucha desconfianza antes todo era mucho más abierto no? en las relaciones entre la gente en las mismas casas abiertas, pero luego se crea una sensación de miedo de, ‘bueno quien tengo a mi lao qué será?’ Si era gente de izquierda pensaba que podría ser un soplón del servicio de inteligencia, si no era eso estaba involucrado en cuestiones de organizaciones y Sendero te tenía amenazada...todo el mundo se miraba, todo el mundo...</p> <p>I: Y eso ha cambiado o eso sigue, hay remanentes todavía?</p> <p>E: Si, es reconstruir eso va a durar mucho, mucho, mucho la apertura que había, la confianza, todo el mundo se ha vuelto mucho más desconfiado... (SM1, Church leader)</p>	Q41
<p>Más que todo en la municipalidad las personas que trabajan son personas aburridas, personas, bueno, estresadas, y (.) yo estoy seguro que estas personas no han entrado por concurso público sino así por amistad, lo bueno sería que ingresen por concurso. Y eso es lo que he notado (Francisco M3, Age 27)</p>	Q42
<p>Por ahí por mi barrio, justo en la frontera, justo son zonas donde ya los alcaldes ya no les importa, esas zonas de fronteras deberían tener en cuenta muchos, autoridades, que son zonas donde las autoridades se</p>	Q43

<p>olvidan como si esa zona no existieran. Yo justo vivo cerca de la frontera y veo personas que están tiradas, niños, botados. Veo un montón de cosas, no sé qué hacen las autoridades de El Agustino, de la Victoria, cómo permiten esto, veo un montón de, de personas, mendigos, botados, botados, como cualquier cosa como si fuese un papel, un papel sucio botado. Y hace sentir mal, uno no puede hacerlo porque no tiene poder, el que tiene poder es el que tiene que tomar la decisión (Francisco M3, Age 27)</p>	
<p>E: No, ellos lo toman como un juego pero yo la verdad tampoco, yo mas he entrado para no hacer mal a la señorita como se llama? Luz I: Ajá E: Po'que ella se iba al Alcalde, por eso nomás, si no yo no entraba, la 'ñorita me dijo ya pero pa'no hacer quedar mal a la señorita con el Alcalde por eso sino no entraba pe' (Mario M44, Age 21)</p>	<p>Q44</p>
<p>I: Ah, ya, ya, okey ¿y si se te presentara la oportunidad?, Ah.. no...¿Cómo.. Cómo, si tú te tuvieras que describirle el Agustino a alguien que no lo conoce, cómo describirías.. Tu distrito? E: Que ha cambia'o, mejor con este alcalde que tiene, ha cambia'o bastante, como qué te puedo decir, ha cambia'o el 60%, bastante ha cambia'o (Felipe M36, Age 20)</p>	<p>Q45</p>
<p>E: Dicen 'que no le ha pegado, que no tiene la cara maltratada, no tiene ni un corte', yo me amargué, me alteré y le dije: 'qué van a esperar que yo venga sangrando o con la cara destrozada para recién hacerme el papel o detenerlo'...'si señora porque así es la ley' I: hmh E: así estamos, pero yo le dije a los guardias... 'Pero si yo vengo con cincuenta soles y le digo, sabe que señor, hágame el favor' si es cierto y el capitán medio que se molesto y me dijo 'pero señora qué falta de respeto!' no le digo, 'yo veo porque yo vivo acá, todo acá es con dinero, desgraciadamente yo no lo tengo ahorita' le dije ' gracias' ya me metí a mi cuarto asustada (Monica W7, Age 40)</p>	<p>Q46</p>
<p>Le han podido preguntar, lo primero que me dice el guardia 'señora su hijo ya tiene, esta es la tercera' yo le digo, 'pero porque, qué ha hecho?', 'por que ha estado en una esquina con pandilleros', 'no señora, que eso está penado, no sé, andar en grupo de cinco ya está prohibido, que eso es de robo ya, que ellos están fichados.' (Monica W7, Age 40)</p>	<p>Q47</p>
<p>Los mismos policías se agarraron mi celular que estaba en mi chompa, como yo le tapé a mi hijo con toda la chompa tapado en el carro, tapado su cara para que no salga en la televisión, porque ellos llevaron la prensa señorita para que filmen a los chicos diciendo que han chapado al cabecilla ... y ellos dijeron que se los iban a llevar al....ay como se llama....a la fiscalía, lo cual fue mentira no los llevaron les hicieron dar una vuelta...y nosotros como fuimos a la fiscalía, como no lo encontramos, volvieron con el canal de televisión y los filmaron a los chicos y ahí lo presentaron al otro chico que era cabecilla de unas de la pandillas de Villa Hermosa y a mi hijo también como integrante de la pandilla y diciéndole que a los chicos les habían encontrado droga, tijera, todo eso, lo cual era mentira porque mi hijo le dijo al guardia delante de la fiscal: a mí tú no me has encontrado nada, tú me has puesto, tú has puesto, si nosotros no teníamos' (Blanca W6, Age early forties)</p>	<p>Q48</p>

<p>E: O sea te dicen, ya, tú nombre? Como estás ahí delante de la policía y estás todo nervioso, oe, no te escucho!!!, pop!!! Unas tremendas de cachetadas... ahí te dicen, eres bueno para tirar piedras no? Y ahora estás acá, y te me achicas, estás calladito, sabes que no te puedes ahorarme ni decir nada...</p> <p>I: Y cómo les pegan, con qué les pegan?</p> <p>E: Todo, y para que no te marque te ponen una frazada o sino una almohada y ahí te pegan.</p> <p>...</p> <p>E: Sí. Te cortan coco por todo lado, y ahí, como se llama, cuando te cortan te hacen decir, no voy a volver a robar, no voy a volver a robar. Mientras están cortando así haya gente o no haya gente</p> <p>...</p> <p>E:Una vez cuando yo robé, me chaparon y me cortaron el pelo, me decían di esto, yo decía no voy a volver a robar, y de ahí me sirvió!! Porque de ahí nunca más volví a meter la mano (ríe) (Beto M18, Age)</p>	<p>Q49</p>
<p>Si te pegan, en la planta del pie te meten ese palo de toambo pero no así (muestra) te meten con toda su fuerza en la planta o donde te caiga, ya tu normal pes' ahí si te llega lo que has querido en la calle tienes que pagar (no se entiende) o sea para que tu pases a San Jorge tienes que pagar, tienes que pagar (Lucas M37, Age 23)</p>	<p>Q50</p>
<p>Que quiere que uno de sus hijos sea policía, quiere verlo así con su uniforme. Y además yo también quiero ser policía porque el policía es como que, es más respetado. (Martin M31, Age)</p>	<p>Q51</p>
<p>Este chico debe tener un problema de dificultad de aprendizaje, pero nadie se le ocurrió, nadie lo atendió, nadie lo acompañó en su proceso educativo, porque cuando tu hablabas con él, tenía una enorme motivación por aprender, pero hacía algunos años que lo había dejado, incluso le notabas que tenía un problema de lenguaje, no?, entonces yo decía, debe haber habido una dificultad ahí, que a nadie le importó, eso me parece violencia, no? (Olga Salazar)</p>	<p>Q52</p>
<p>Y llega la profesora, parecía un soldado, (I: ríe) y recuerdo que lo primero que dijo era lo siguiente 'yo no debería estar enseñando en este colegio, yo estaba trabajando muy bien en la USE tal, yo era directora de USE, pa' qui, pa' ca por una sanción, una injusticia me mandan a trabajar al colegio, entonces, después de un año voy a volver a enseñar en aula, entonces voy a advertir, que mi sistema de enseñanza, pa,pa,pa,pa', entonces, asu madre, ¿quién nos trajo el demonio?, un ogro, era la profesora, un soldado, y, y me impresionó bastante pue' y su carácter fuerte no? Enseñaba muy bien no? Pero era su carácter, me impactó, nunca había visto tanta dureza en una mujer, me había impactado, y me recuerdo todos estábamos con temor porque cada clase era una práctica corregida, y tenía que demostrarla en la pizarra, y si lo hacían mal, aquí sino que ah, te vamos a corregir na, na, nada, o sea pla!, te caía un cocacho!</p> <p>I: ¿Cocacho?</p> <p>E: Cocacho pues, te caía un cocacho, y ahí que se queje pue', ahí que se queje y borre su cuaderno para que le vea su papá, que te va a dar tu papá un correazo!, aprendes por el trauma no?, (E: ríe) por el miedo, pero ahí estaba no?, sobreviví!! (Samuel M9, Age 27)</p>	<p>Q53</p>

<p>E: O sea había días de que el profesor agarraba, cerraba la puerta y hacía pelear a todos</p> <p>I: Los hacía pelear!?</p> <p>E: Sí, nos hacía pelear así por diversión, por pasar el rato del recreo? (Eduardo M43, Age 23)</p>	Q54
<p>E: Ya este tuve que arreglar en 3ero, cuarto y quinto para pasar de año, porque sino lo pasaba, no</p> <p>I: Tuviste que pagar</p> <p>E: Ah, a los profesores, así los profesores arreglan pe</p> <p>I: Ah sí?</p> <p>E: Arreglan eso son mas arregladores, son, le gusta la plata</p> <p>I: ¿Cuanto te cobran? Que, para que pases su curso a, a cada profesor le tienes que pagar</p> <p>E: Cada profesor, cada curso así 50, 30 soles, o a veces habían otros más buenos, no que no les gustaba nada de eso, sabes que tráeme plumones, ya cualquier cosas así, o sino había un profesor que era conocido en eso, no que le dabas toda la plata el te sacaba la cuenta y él hablaba con cada profesor (Cesar M19, Age 21)</p>	Q55
<p>E: O sea, a los... catorce, no trece, trece me expulsaron del colegio, ya ento'ces ya, tuve como casi 2 años sin estudiar ento'ces..</p> <p>...</p> <p>I: ¿Y cuando dejaste de estudiar, comenzaste a participar más todavía?</p> <p>E: Claro, participar más en lo que es en las pandillas, hay veces íbamos a... los colegios nos parábamos, fastidiábamos a las chicas, nos íbamos a tomar... y. . hay veces se hacían enamorada de uno que esto que el otro y así (Gustavo M33, Age 24)</p>	Q56
<p>Por lo menos en Lima, las pandillas y las barras están íntimamente relacionadas. Muchos de los enfrentamientos entre pandillas, incluso con muertos, han tenido que ver con el fanatismo en el fútbol, la identificación histérica con los colores de uno u otro equipo. Por lo que respecta a El Agustino, en las fechas de las que estamos hablando los dirigentes de “Comando Sur” (Alianza Lima) y de “Trinchera Norte” (Universitario de Deportes) tenían su sede en el distrito En concreto Sully y “Los Picheiros” comandaban la barra del Alianza y por ese tiempo yo era capellán de Alianza Lima. (SM1, Church leader)</p>	Q57
<p>E: ...los mismos altos directivos de la U o de la Alianza antes de nada se reparten para que los chicos se empilen a la violencia, así es</p> <p>I: es un negocio además</p> <p>E: es un negocio, por favor!</p> <p>I: de las entradas...</p> <p>E: y es un tráfico tremendo!</p> <p>I: hmh</p> <p>E: pero de dónde viene? Viene de más arriba y abajo los chicos son víctimas y eso hay que decirlo... (SW2, church leader)</p>	Q58
<p>I: Pero hay veces también se pelean entre los de Alianza?</p> <p>E: Ah ya, eso sí por cuestión de entradas, hay veces</p> <p>I: De entradas!</p> <p>E: De entradas, por el poder ya...</p> <p>I: Ah ya eso para ver quien lleva la batuta</p>	Q59

E: La batalla y el comando (Enrique M42, Age)	
E: Pasión, o sea, cómo te explico. Yo, yo voy al estadio, canto, te canto los 90 minutos... (Beto M18, Age 27)	Q60
Chapter 6	
Quote text Spanish	Int. ID
I: Si yo te menciono la palabra violencia, qué es lo primero que se te viene a la mente? E: El Agustino (Ricardo M21, Age 21)	Q1
I: Ahora, quiero que me cuentes un poquito, qué se te viene a la cabeza si te menciono la palabra violencia? E: Abuso. Sería abusar de una persona, sería pelearse sin ningún motivo... (Martin M31, Age 16)	Q2
I: Qué cosa, qué crees tú que es violencia? E: Violencia es cuando uno abusa de otro (Alvaro M41, Age 18)	Q3
I: Qué es lo primero que se te viene a la cabeza? E: Abusar debe ser? (Eduardo M43, Age 23)	Q4
abuso 1. m. acción y efecto de abusar	Q5
Abusar 1. intr. Uso incorrecto, excesivo, injusto, inapropiado o indebido de algo o alguien.	Q6
2. intr. Hacer objeto de trato deshonesto a una persona de menor experiencia, fuerza o poder.	Q7
I: Ehm (.) si menciono la palabra violencia (.) ¿Qué es lo primero que se viene a la mente? E: ¿Violencia? (.) una persona agresiva (.) (I: aja) una persona agresiva quee (3) que si no no no quiere expresar algo sino solamente quiere (.) quiere sentirse fuerte quee (.) una persona que (.) que solamente quiere hacerte daño que otras personas le teman (.) como que considero eso (Jaime M7, Age 19)	Q8
I: Qué asocia con violencia? E: Acá que te puedo decir todo es la violencia, todos, todos, hasta yo misma soy violenta, donde yo vivo también es violencia, no me gusta una cosa, como loca me pongo, como loca (Monica W7, Age 40)	Q9
Yo le hablo a él, 'tu, yo te doy mi confianza pero no abuses' le digo, 'ten cuidado' ' por qué tantas cosas que pasan en la calle hay te , te golpean o te asaltan, hasta matan' le digo, 'ten cuidado hijito' (Elena W9, Age 38)	Q10
Y mucha violencia hay en mi casa, todo lo solucionan, quieren solucionarlo a gritos nada más, a gritos, a gritos, algo que todo la gente mira porque se ve horrible!! Se pelean, se agraden entre mi familia, es muy horrible (Maria W3, Age 17)	Q11
Pequeñitos van saliendo a la sala... una de cómo 9 años y 3 que están entre los 1 y 4... son hijos de las dos hermanas de Jean Pierre... desde el segundo piso se puede escuchar a una de las hermanas que les grita a los chicos: ya pues mierda! Carajo! (Fieldwork notes 18 October 2008)	Q12
Me puse rebelde también, mi tío me gritaba, yo también le grité, casi nos peleamos y, y si no fuera por mis tías yo me peleaba por que a mí también me entró la locura, la cólera y yo agarre, o sea no agarré un	Q13

cuchillo sino agarré, iba a agarrar el cuchillo pe'po' que estaba, tanto fue mi cólera que ya quería matarlo nomá, po' que me había cruzado, siempre se la agarraba conmigo, o sea yo agarré solo pa'sustarlo porque yo no lo quería matar, en mi mente lo estaba matando, (Alvaro M41, Age 18)	
<p>I: Y usted a sus hijos les ha dado duro cuando se portaban mal?</p> <p>E: O sea no con chicote...si no les daba con mi mano, a veces les daba un lapo, un puñete, o veces una patada, cosa que me di cuenta no había hecho correcta no?</p> <p>I: Hmm</p> <p>E: Porque mis hijos no eran animales eran gentes,..... um (Blanca W6, Age early forties)</p>	Q14
<p>I: En el cuerpo</p> <p>E: En el cuerpo me tiraba (.) a veces me mojaba el cuerpo me metía alambre</p> <p>I: Te metía qué</p> <p>E: Me mojaba el cuerpo con agua y corriente ¡aasu!</p> <p>I: ¡Corriente!</p> <p>E: ¡Rooncha! el cuerpo (1) de ahí este (.) así pe' me latigaba (.) a veces hacíamos algo malo (.) una cosa que mi mamá dijo no agarres a veces yo agarraba y lo rompía (.) ya sabía que me tenía que pegar (I: uh)(2) y pe' (.) normal qué iba a decir (Andres M34, Age 19)</p>	Q15
<p>E: Pero mi mamá cuando se amargaba, sí se amargaba sí, te tiraba con cuchillo, me acuerdo que un día me tiró y me cortó.</p> <p>I: ¿Te cortó?</p> <p>E: Si</p> <p>I: ¿Qué pasó?</p> <p>E: O sea me tiró así pe'</p> <p>I: ¿Y dónde te cayó?</p> <p>E: En la pierna, estaba cocinando, me había mandado no sé pa' que y entonces ya, ahorita vengo, ahorita vengo, pucha mare!!! Ya me tiró el cuchillo. Azú!!! Me había cortado, pero suave nomás!!!</p> <p>I: ¿Y qué edad tenías?</p> <p>E: 10 años, 10 para 11 años (Maicol M29, Age 25) (Q17)</p>	Q16
<p>E: No, no, lo único que me recuerdo de él, y hasta ahorita no lo olvido es que cuando un día me acuerdo que, me pegó bien duro en la ducha, me calateó y me pegó bien duro, con cordón!!</p> <p>I: ¿En la ducha?</p> <p>E: Sí, eso es lo único que me acuerdo de él</p> <p>...</p> <p>I: ¿Y cómo te sentiste, te acuerdas como te sentías cuando te hizo eso?</p> <p>¿Te pegaba mucho?</p> <p>E: No, no, esa vez nomás me acuerdo, y eso creo marcó para toda mi vida. Verdad!! (Maicol M29, Age 25)</p>	Q17
Me pegaban duro, mi papá le pegaba duro a mi mamá también, por eso que soy así fría, mis amigos me dicen eres muy fría, eres muy orgullosa, es que hasta ahorita sigo así, porque ni siquiera mis papás hasta ahorita me dan cariño, de vez en cuando así, pero creo que ya crecí así, con ese rencor, con ese resentimiento, esa frialdad, y ya, ya no, ya así soy. (Maria W3, Age 17)	Q18
Mis abuelos pe', como son de la sierra, les han.. les han... les formó así	Q19

pe', correctos, son bien rectos, bien serios, o sea también los han forma'o así a ellos y ya pe', tranquilo no? (Felipe M36, Age 20)	
Mi mamá dice fue violada a los trece años, doce años; a los trece tuvo su primer bebe, entonces a consecuencia de eso mi mamá ha tenido el trauma mi mamá nos pegaba (Rosa W13, Age 20)	Q20
Me pegaba con la correa, pero me pegaba con razón porque o sea no hacía tareas, no estudiaba, incluso he repetido dos años, o sea me pegaba, yo creo que me pegaba con, yo creo, o sea ahora que estoy grande me doy cuenta que con el golpe nadie entiende no? el golpe más bien lleva a que tu crezcas más agresivo, o sea (Sebastian M39, Age 24)	Q21
Yo lo miraba nomás, a veces cuando estaba amargo, le servían su sopa, me tiraba la sopa de ají en la cara, lloraba le metía la madre y me iba, pero igual me chapaba, me flagelaba, pero nunca, nunca, trató de abusar de nosotros, si fue un buen padre, sí, fue un buen padre, pero de ahí ya.. (.).. Yo puedo decir horita, soy huérfano, no tengo ni padre ni madre (Gonzalo M28, Age 23).	Q22
E: Sí, le pegó, pero yaa... después ya I: ¿Y túu.. Reaccionaste ó tú... qué pasó? E: Yo me puse estée.. a separarlos I: Uhum.. ¿Y a partir de eso.. Luego te dio..? E: Sí, parálisis facial, me dio, pero ya después poco a poco yaa.. eeh..me fue esté, curando I: Te rehabilitaste E: Me rehabilité (Raul M27, Age 24)	Q23
O sea, hora', si conversan (se escuchan voces) y... como ya somos grandes ta'mién ya.... ya no sea, ya no hay el hecho que, antes era un chiquito, mi papá hay veces, pa.. le ponía la mano a mi mamá ya y.. cuando hemos vuelto a la.. a la casa la ya le hemos dicho, pá' sabes que, ya pe' 'tamos grandes, ya cánsate tam'ién ya pe' habrá visto.. ya 'tán grandes me pueden pegar (Gustavo M33, Age 24)	Q24
Borracho venía, ya una vez que estaban mis hijos grandes los mayores, una vez vino borracho a pegarme y mis hijos le dijeron 'papá usted que tiene, a mi mamá por que viene a pegarle si mi mamá no hace nada, antes usted se queda por las calles' le decía, los dos mis hijos lo agarraron y lo tumbaron a su papá en su cama y cuando estaba sano, levantó sano le decían, esa fue la última vez que me tocó de ahí no mas (Celia W14, Age 76)	Q25
I: Fuerte...y usted que hacía? E: Yo no, yo me metía le decía 'por que le maltratas así a mis hijos, no le pegues, pégame a mi no a mis hijos' le decía I: Hmh E: Mi hijo mayor me decía 'mamá déjale que me pegue, quítate pa'lla' I: Hmh E: Así que después ya no le pegaba ya I: Y con las hijas mujeres cómo era? E: Bueno ellas tenían otro castigo cuando se portaban mal, las hacía cargar una piedra arrodilladas en frejoles, ponía el frejol así en ahí y hacía que se arrodillen y que carguen una piedra al hombro ahí lloraban nomás ellas, no les castigaba con correa pero ese era su castigo (Celia W14, Age 76)	Q26

Así que chamaquito aquí nadie te interesa, viviendo aprendiendo manejando armas esto es realidad lo que pasa, aquí en el barrio vemos todos los días lo que pasa es un calvario. Mira chamaquito aquí la bala es necesario, para librarte de una tienes que ser un sicario (Carlos M14, Age 18, No te achores)	Q27
E: Le habían... no sé, que lo habían envuelto en un costal y tira'o I: ¿Tu viste cuando lo mataron? E: Sí, yo ví, me traumé I: ¿Con qué? É: Con pistola (Gonzalo M28, Age 23)	Q28
Hoy fui con la Sra. Soledad a ver un partido de futbol de los chicos de Sonia. Me llamo la atención la forma en que ella misma y la Sra. Soledad los tratan.... Les decían cosas como: 'oe Giancarlo corre que ahí viene la policía', después un niño le dice al otro 'ya comanda caliente tu cuchillo' y la Sra. Soledad le dice al niño 'contéstale, cuchillo no, sable' (1st November 2008).	Q29
E: Mira, lo que pasa es que en el Agustino hay bastante muerto por bala. I: Se manejan muchas armas? E: Armas de fuego, bastante. Pero lo que pasa es que mayormente es por ajuste de cuentas o por rivalidades personales, el índice de una muerte de que te quisieron robar es mínimo (SM7 Police)	Q30
Le clavamos un tenedorazo en la espalda o en el hombro. O así le cortamos su pelo también, lo cortamos por molestar, le cortamos su pelo y le dejamos un hueco (Martin M31, Age 16)	Q31
Le metí dos puntazos uno en el pulmón y otro en la pata, le metí, por lo mismo que me había metido a mi también pe'por eso le metí dos puntazos (Enrique M42, Age 22)	Q32
Señorita, he mordido, señorita, no sé con qué fuerza de mandíbula, que la manos se me atravesaron así y las tres manos que se me han atravesado para hacerme daño el rostro, las tres manos señorita las he chapado que toda mi boca era de sangre señorita(.). Todos me agredieron señorita!!! Entonces, mordía acá, a la otra le mordí por acá, a la otra por acá, y yo me paré y la otra desgraciada me dijo sí mira, te hemos roto la boca!!! Yo dije qué? Me fui me lavé la boca con cepillo, rapidito me lavé, me enjuagué la boca y me miré nada!! De mi nariz nada!!! Era toda la sangre de ellas, que les había arrancado, y todita mi sala señorita, todita mi sala de sangre, todita chorreada la sangre, bastante sangre. (Rocio W12, Age early forties)	Q33
El colegio Alfonso Ugarte, es un colegio de alto prestigio, pero desde... si no me equivoco, de los años ochentaitanto, estée... con eso que comenzaron estée.. la... el pandillaje y todo eso, estée... tiene un colegio vecino, en.. puente Canadá con el colegio Melitón Carbajal, que también vendría a ser una gran unidad, entre ambos colegios tienen una rivalidad. Cuando yo entré, esté... yo veía así que los muchachos se agarraban, reven... a los buses en la que uno iba, esté, si el otro colegio veía que el... que el colegio rival está arriba, reventaban las lunas con piedras, cadenas, corrían asuu.... (Jacinto M13, Age 17)	Q34
En el colegio me pegaban, era medio sonso pue. Y un día... un día me amargué pe' puta que se me vino todo el indio, el negro, de todo se me vino. Y agarro y como estaba sentado, porque yo siempre paraba así, me	Q35

mete uno por detrás, ¡pam! Y volteó y ‘oye qué has hecho’, y chapo la silla y ¡pam! Se la meto en la cabeza y me mira y me mira. Y me amargo pue, y les digo a todos ‘al que se meta conmigo le pego bien duro, venga quien venga’. Y ya nadie me molestaba, dormía y nadie me decía nada. (Rafael M2, Age 18)	
La ley de la selva, el más fuerte gana, yo me acuerdo en el colegio, broncas, pandillas. Más que todo aprendí en el colegio, por el lugar, yo estudie en el Alfonso Ugarte de San Isidro (Pablo M5, Age 27)	Q36
I: ¿O sea que había broncas todos los días? E: Prácticamente sí, era la clásica de te espero en la salida, o ibas al baño, los de quinto te podían agarrar y te agarraban del cuello y te ponían contra la pared, algo así, hubo un tiempo que a mí me hicieron eso (Juan M4, Age 21)	Q37
Me mandaban tiros, ya pe’ un día con mi primo nos cansamos, sacamos un palazo le metimos, se ahoró, ya desde ahí comenzó pe’, ya después desde primero, cinco años estuvimos así pe’ (Esteban M12, Age 17)	Q38
I: Y por qué crees que es agresiva? E: No se, mi sangre creo que ha sacao, je, je, mi sangre ha sacao porque ahí estoy con mi hija y po! De la nada me tira un cachetadón, me jala el pelo (Enrique M42, Age 22)	Q39
I: Y cuando te pegaba era muy fuerte o era... E: No, con la correa te daba en las nalgas, normal I: Ah ya E: Pero así con puñete, patadas, no (Lorenzo M38, Age 23)	Q40
E: Nooo mi ama también me pegaba pero no tanto, mi ama me pegaba pero no tanto no como otros yo he visto a mis amigos cuando sus mamas le pegan y el dan con el alambre del televisor I: Con el alambre del televisor? Asu! deja marca! E: Es que mis amigos tampoco no hacían caso por mas que le dijeran I: Como te pegaba tu mama? E: No mi ama me tiraba un lapo mi mama (Manuel M10, Age 16)	Q41
E: y agarro y le digo pero yo soy la dueña del santo yo quiero escuchar lo que me da la gana, me estoy yendo para allá, le he dado la espalda y me ha roto la botella en la cabeza I: dios! ... E: un pedacito de vidrio, al siguiente día para que yo repitiera la denuncia, mi familia ‘pero Ana te ha roto la cabeza’ ‘no le digo, sabes que, ha estado mareado, yo mareada’, voy a la comisaría y lo único que le dije, ‘otro día piensa antes de hacer, tengo seis puntos en mi cabeza’ I: y él sólo estaba mareado? E: mareado, mareado, bueno yo lo he visto mareado, no se (Monica W7, Age 40)	Q42
Sí, si me ponía más agresivo, o sea mi papá me pegaba en la casa pero yo en la calle, cuando salía a jugar partido, pucha que yo quería pegar a todo el mundo, quería pegar a todo el mundo, gritaba a todo el mundo, o sea si me di cuenta que eso me volvía más agresivo (Sebastian M39, Age 24)	Q43
I: Después que la policía les había quitado todo? E: Sí. I: Se la desquitaron, y entonces bajaron y comenzaron a tirar piedras.	Q44

<p>E: Sí, porque el pata nos molestó, para que se suben si están así misios, borrachos. Esa fue la única vez que le rompimos todas las lunas le reventamos de la combi esa vez si me dio un poco de pena porque todas sus lunas le reventamos (Aldo M17, Age 25)</p>	
<p>E: Situación violenta (1) que haya iniciado (2) a ver a ver a ver (3) no me acuerdo (3) bueno (1) cuando era chiquito (2) cuando era chiquito considero que he sido po... bastante violento bueno cuestiones de mi casa que a veces mi papá llegaba renegaba y a mí me fastidiaba conque fui agarrando adoptando eso (1) conque eso le transmitía a veces ... en el colegio me conocían me escogían de policía escolar (.) ya pe ya conque ya tenía el poder (Jaime M7, Age 19)</p>	<p>Q45</p>
<p>E: Me sentía mal pe', y ahorita en la actualida' a veces, conversando así con mi papá (se oyen pasos) le digo 'uta, esté, perdón la palabra 'uta I: No, si... E: 'Uta ma're si tu, antes no hubieses sido... o sea no hubieses hecho problema acá en la jato de repente 'horita yo no sé lo que soy, sería otra persona, sería alguien pa' bien no?, tendría una profesión to'o, mi papá dice si pe's hijo, se siente ahora.. se siente mal, se arrepiente de las cosas que ha hecho ... E: Ya pe', tenía como 19 años, ya, ahí.. po'que, yo también vine un poco mareado y me acordé de lo que pasábamos, o sea me quise desfogar, o sea pagarle con la misma moneda, después ya de sano agarre pum, mi papá me'ijo ven vamo' a conversar, ya nos sentamo' a conversar, que este que el otro pum, pucha viejo, perdóname pero pucha, no sé hay veces... todo lo que pasé en mi infancia to'o pa hay veces, se me viene a mi mente, hay veces pelea con alguien por ahí y vengo furioso y de repente, puedo pagar pato contigo porque... pero gracias a Dios no... hasta el momento no...no le he puesto la mano, o sea a 'eces he querido poner pero algo que.. (Gustavo M33, Age 24)</p>	<p>Q46</p>
<p>I: Ya para terminar, este, si tú pudieras, no sé me imagino que trabajando en esto tú vez muchas cosas y entiendes como funciona, si tu pudieras tratar de resumir cuáles fueron las principales causas, o cuales, no sé, difícil, pero, cuales son las principales causas de la violencia? Es sólo el dinero... E: No!!! No, no, no. Es mucho el rencor hacia los padres, es mucho, digamos la venganza. Porque acá mucho se trabaja con grupos de, de, cómo se llama? De deportes, de la U, de la Alianza y todos, tú me haces algo y yo te lo devuelvo. O tu le haces algo a mi amigo y yo también te lo doy, y mucho el rencor. Entonces, porqué se vuelven pandilleros? Por qué se vuelven barristas? Por problemas de familia, papá borracho, mamá delincuente, mamá prostituta, papá drogadicto, una mala imagen, un maltrato, porque muchos vienen por maltrato, muchos de ellos cuando están en terapia, realmente llega un momento en el cual sí se entregan al trabajo y te expresan lo mal que se sintieron cuando le pegaron, cuando los intentaron ahogar en un balde de agua cuando se portaron mal, cuando los latigaron, cuando los botaron a la calle por tener relaciones con otra persona y que ellos no vean, deambulando en la calle, eso los marca. Entonces, cuando crecen, tú me hiciste una yo te la devuelvo, entonces, yo les pregunto, por qué eres así? Porque ella me maltrató. Ella, ni</p>	<p>Q47</p>

<p>siquiera mi mamá, ella, o él. (Psicóloga, SW10)</p>	
<p>(1) ah! una vez cuando le robaron a mi hermano le quitaron su zapatilla, todo, yo tenía un arma debajo de mi colchón tenía un arma y ‘quien ha sido’ ‘ha sido tal’ saque el arma y jalé a uno ‘acompañame tu’ y menos mal que no encontré al que había agredidos a hermano, encontré a otros dos pero ya no les disparé, los tenía así (demuestra) y comencé a chancarle la cabeza con el catcha, pa, pa y a su costado su cabeza disparé puaf! ‘oe dile que lo voy a chapar y lo voy a matar’ era chibolo, ya pes’pero si yo lo encontraba, estaba decidido, o sea si lo encontraba a él le iba a disparar y le iba a matar, ya (Lucas M37, Age 23)</p>	<p>Q48</p>
<p>E: Por el Túpac y ahí estaba, estaba caminando, como me había ido a comprar mis cuadernos y en eso que uno me abraza y el otro, y el otro se va a mi bolsillo y le digo ‘oe, suéltame, oe suéltame’ y uno que sacó un cuchillo y me puso en el cuello y me dijo ‘o te dejás asaltá o te hincó’ y ya y me tuve que dejar nomá, ya me robaron I: ¿Y qué hiciste? E: De ahí ya subí a mi barrio y le dije a mi primo (.) de ahí al rato bajamos y llegamos a encontrar al que me había robado I: lo encontraron ¿y qué pasó? E: Le pegaron I: ¿quién? E: Mis primos y la gente de mi barrio I: ¿Tú también? ¿no? E: Yo también le pegué porque <u>claro</u>, cómo me va poner un cuchillo en el cuello, de repente se le pasa y (.) ya no estuviese acá, ya le pegaron, de ahí le, de ahí le advirtieron que no me haga nada, ya de ahí (.) volví a ver al que me robó, no me dice nada I: ¿Te saluda? ¿no? E: No, tampoco no me saluda tampoco, pero sí me mira, no me dice nada I: ¿Te devolvió tu plata? E: Sí I: ¿Sí? E: Sí, pero de todas maneras le pegaron, todo I: Y entre cuántos le pegaron? E: Entre todos, eran cinco, no, seis I: ¿Tú también? E: Yo también I: Ya y ¿le dieron fuerte? E: Sí I: ¿Se quedó...? E: Estaba en el piso, estaba sangrando, pero es que también, él como vive por el parque y le gusta robar y hay varios en mi barrio que le han robado y (.) ya se le cobraron todas ahí (Alejandro M11, Age 16)</p>	<p>Q49</p>
<p>I: ¿Y tú te acuerdas como era así, cuando agarrabas al chibolo que se había caído o algo y le dabas en el piso, que sentías en ese momento? E: No sentía nada. I: ¿Nada? E: Cuando estás en plena pelea no sientes nada, pero después ya sientes como remordimiento ya I: ¿Te daba remordimiento?</p>	<p>Q50</p>

<p>E: Sí, después se te venia remordimiento pero también contábamos un chiste y nos reíamos</p> <p>I: ¿Y ese remordimiento le contabas a alguien que sentías eso?</p> <p>E: No entre nosotros mismos ya sabíamos, decíamos, éste bien desgraciado, cómo vas a hacer eso (Esteban M12, Age 17) (Q51)</p>	
<p>E: Si todos hemos dejado, ahora decimos al que quiere ir lo pegamos.</p> <p>I: Al qué, qué?</p> <p>E: Al que quiere ir, lo pegamos, ya nadie va, ya nadie quiere ir, porque eso lo hemos acordado, solo vamos para el estadio nomas (Esteban M12, Age 17)</p>	Q51
<p>Prendió la radio a volumen fuerte pe', y se encerró en el cuarto pe', de... su cuarto lo cerró y la radio la dejó en la cocina, volumen fuerte, pa' que no se escuchara y ya pe', entonces yo estoy.. estaba buen tiempo ahí, yo subo pe', paso por ahí y escucho plum!, plum!, como si estuviese dándole al caballo pe', cuando lo chicotean, así escuchaba pe', pum!, au!, ya papá, pum!, au!, au!, ya, así escuchaba, mi papá, pa' qué se pelean carajo!, quienes son ustedes, son hermanos, como van a hacer esas cosas, plum!, plum!, plum!, en la puerta.. la puerta la estaba cuidando, no sé quien, mi tío creo que la estaba cuidando, como mi tío esté.., tiene así, la formación de mi papá, por eso mi tío se quedó en la puerta cuidando que nadie salga no?, ya y ahí a los dos, los pegaron, los golpearon y todo lo demás no? Y al día siguiente los veo pe', con su ojo morado, la espalda llena de sangre, si me acuerdo bien feo de esa cosa, esa fue la nota más fea que yo me acuerdo hasta ahora (Ruben M26, Age 19)</p>	Q52
<p>I: Y llegaste borracho a tu casa</p> <p>E: Sí, llegué borracho yo pe', se asó, se molestó bien feo, yo tam'ién le alcé la voz y en'toces, (...) 'vete de aquí, si vas a seguir así, ento'ces ya no vengas', me dice, entoces'... 'me voy dije' pe', me agarré mis cosas, puse en una... cajoncito, dos cajones, con tres cajas, agarré todo y me quité, chapé un taxi, llevé to'o pe' y lo normal lo dejé ahí nomá' pe', mi televisor, mi DVD, ahí lo dejé nomás, ya ahí sí pe'.(Ruben M26, Age 19)</p>	Q53
<p>E: Sí, pero yo tampoco quería nada pe', no era lo que yo buscaba, ya... y terminamos, hasta que ahora, hace poco el año pasa'o conocí a una chica, en setiembre..(.), setiembre, claro, 28 de setiembre y ya, todo es diferente, esta chica es diferente, muuy diferente a ella</p> <p>I: ¿A ella no le pegas?</p> <p>E: Nonno, no, no, ya no, eso pasó para mí ya, golpear a una mujer no ya, lo que le han hecho a mi vieja... yo estaba en otras pe', 'taba muy tenso ya, en esos momentos</p> <p>I: Tú recuerdas lo que le han hecho a tu mamá y tú no quieres...</p> <p>E: Claro pe', tengo una hija y mi hija va a crecer, no se va a quedar chiquita toda la vida y nonno, no, ya no, eso ya fue para mí también ya (Carlos M14, Age 18)</p>	Q54
<p>I: ¿Antes si?</p> <p>E: Antes si, cuando me asaba pe</p> <p>E: Pero ya, <u>estoy tranquilo no</u> má paro, me gusta ser tranquilo, callao, más ganas callao que siendo fosforito (Rafael M2, Age 18)</p>	Q55
<p>I: ¿Tú prefieres que no sepan? Crees que sería bueno que sepan?</p> <p>E: Para que no vean con cierta así, como se llama condescendencia, cierta pena 'eeh no sabe pelear hay que ayudarlo hay que defenderlo'. No sé en</p>	Q56

cierta medida te ahorras peleas (Pedro M1, Age 19)	
<p>E: ¿Cuándo lo hacía?, cuando lo hacía... me acordaba de ciertas cosas</p> <p>I: ¿Sí, cómo qué?</p> <p>E: Como las golpizas que le daba a mi mamá a mi papá, mi papá a mi mamá</p> <p>I: Eso era como que...</p> <p>E: Claro, como algo guardado que yo tengo que desfogar, pero ya fue ya, tiempo pasa'o, pienso ahora... me concentro mas, hablo con mi causa y le digo que, la música va a ser lo primero. (Carlos M14, Age 18)</p>	Q57
Bueno, las letras en la música rap, siempre va a tratar de o sea estée.. de.. de lo que .. las experiencias que tú puedas tener en la calle ó lo que se vive en la calle, por ejemplo eso de estée... de.. los pandillajes, balazos, balacera y todo eso, que el barrio, que este barrio, la pandilla, que la barra y también... pero siempre te traen como el mensaje, o sea no vayas a creer que te está diciendo, sabes qué? tu ponte a pelear, siempre con un mensaje, y estée.. peroo... esta música siempre te lo dice, o sea, esta música nació... es música de barrio, nació en el barrio y siempre te lo va a decir o sea de una manera a que a un joven llegue o sea por medio de jergas (Jacinto M13, Age 17)	Q58
Lo que yo he pasado, casi toda mi vida, yo lo cuento ahí todo, lo que siempre he visto, lo que siempre sé; la calle, lo que no miento, yo no te puedo hablar de... ponle, de política, no te puedo hablar de eso, porque no es lo mío, yo me identifico con la gente de barrio, con lo... donde me he criado yo mejor dicho, con lo que yo he visto, la violencia, las pandillas, la droga, las calles, to.. todo eso, ya, de todo eso yo te hablo en la música y y no.. no me censuro para nada, siempre soy frontal con cualquiera, cosa que no me gusta, lo digo, ese es parte de... como te digo, a veces puedo estar así, molesto y con el micrófono me la desquito y ya, por ejemplo ayer grabé por eso no, no pude venir, ya me fui a grabar y ya... así me la paso casi todo el tiempo y a veces en mi barrio, pero más tiempo paro allá, aparte de grabar, paro haciendo hora por allá (Carlos M14, Age 18)	Q59
Chapter 7	
Quotes text in Spanish	Int. ID
Y ella como viene a las dos de la tarde, me ayuda a limpiar la casa, aunque reniega '¿Por qué yo todo?' '¿Soy su chacha de mis hermanos? Me dice así, 'Pero hijita tienes que aprender porque algún día vas a ser profesional, vas a tener tu pareja, te va a tocar un hombre y tú no sabes ni cocinar, ni limpiar, te va a pegar', le digo así, le hablo. 'Tienes que aprender por que tu eres más mujercita'. Ella es la que me ayuda más en la casa, así renegando también me ayuda (Elena W9, Age 38)	Q1
De lo que he visto en el Agustino, la mayoría no, no, o sea así, si... hay diferencia de criarse, entre niñas y niños, hay diferencia y eso también creo que causa un... un proceso de rencor del varón no? Hacia la mujer... hacia la hermana mujer, porque siempre por qué la protegen (Ana Mostorino)	Q2
Sí, mi mamá dice que a los hombres se les puede dar más libertad que a las mujeres. Pero eso no es así, porque hombre o mujer igual corren igual peligro, los hombres en las violaciones también y en la drogadicción y en las mujeres igual. (Maria W3, Age 17)	Q3

<p>I: Y los chicos reaccionan ante, porque es, es bastante responsabilidad, reaccionan de alguna manera, lo focalizan, se dan cuenta?</p> <p>E: Si, se dan cuenta y también saben que es una carga no? Y los frustra más que a las mujeres, pero [...] yo no he visto rebeldía en cuanto a eso, más bien las mujeres sí, exigen tener los mismo que los varones. Las mujeres sí se rebelan, ‘yo sí tengo que salir, tengo que trabajar, tengo que hacer’ y se pelean con sus papás y todo eso, pero los hombres no, asumen la carga y aceptan su rol. (SW3, NGO staff)</p>	Q4
<p>E: Yo creo que los padres esperan más de los hijos varones que de las mujeres.</p> <p>I: Y eso genera algún tipo de presión?</p> <p>E: Si porque cuando llegan a una edad que no pueden, que no responden, ya comienzan los insultos, los maltratos, el lárgate, el vete, porque los llegan a botar, que es muy diferente con las hijas mujeres (Luz psychologist)</p>	Q5
<p>Bueno, lo que se dice es que ser hombre ... el que pone el dinero y él está allí ... porque la sociedad también lo dice, ‘cumple como varón, para tu casa, mantén a tu familia, eres el responsable de esa casa, eres quien, una vez que tienes tus hijos tienes que estar dedicados a ellos, o a tu mujer’. (Juan M4, Age 21)</p>	Q6
<p>Logro mediante sus propios medios conseguir trabajo, dinero asentarse, lograr conocer a una persona como mi madre y poder formar una familia y brindarnos muchas cosas que quizás el no tuvo ... Mi padre ... me ahorro ese trabajo ... el solo logro hacer el trabajo que quizás dos o tres generaciones lo hubieran hecho. Logro conseguir la casa, trabajo, dinero y siempre nos pudo apoyar. (Pedro M1, Age 19)</p>	Q7
<p>Este esteee fue los momentos en que mi padre no estaba tan estable en su trabajo, mi madre como era ama de casa, tiene un negocio en casa una este bodega y estee eso nos servía para poder solventar algunos gastos que mi padre no podía tratar no? (Rafael M2, Age 18).</p>	Q8
<p>E: Antes no trabajaba, mi mamá estudió todo, estudió carrera de mecanografía</p> <p>I: Aja</p> <p>E: Pero mi papá no quería que ella se desenvuelva, que trabaje, que lo apoye</p> <p>I: Por qué?</p> <p>E: La quería tener en la casa ‘tu lava, tu cocina, tu limpia’</p> <p>I: Hmh</p> <p>E: Machista no? (Lucas M37, Age 23)</p>	Q9
<p>No sé, piensan que la mujer tiene que estar en su casa, pero pienso que ya no, ya no coge eso, ahora la mujer tiene derecho de trabajar, tiene derecho a estudiar, y yo no me opondría tampoco si me llego a casar, la dejo trabajar , normal (Alberto M20, Age 26)</p>	Q10
<p>Si me ha ayudado ... se iba a tomar, pero es responsable, así como se va a tomar es responsable de mis hijos o sea si les da para sus estudios, para la comida, para lo que les falta (Elena W9, Age 38)</p>	Q11
<p>Todavía no no quiero estar con nadie todavía (I:aja) uno porque tener enamorada tiene que tener dinero (Jaime M7, Age)</p>	Q12
<p>E: Porque yo soy el hombre pe’, el hombre tiene que pagar todo</p> <p>I: ¿El hombre?</p>	Q13

E: Claro pe' ella no me a invitar, va a decir que 'toy misio (Jose M15, Age 17)	
E: Acá sí, acá si el varón, joven tiene que darle todo y tiene que robar para tener y darle a su parejita es, I: Y no estando casados con hijos? E: No, con decirte que una vez trajeron a un menor de 17 años, por robo de un celular, y le dije porqué has robado un celular? Y me dijo, no, es que le he prometido a mi enamorada un celular. Imagínate el machismo que llega a relacionarse con la violencia, con el accionar delictivo, (.) (Comandante Llauri)	Q14
E: No sé, me siento débil (ríe) que me está invitando la chica I: Te sientes débil? E: Ah...me avergüenza, no sé, pero mayormente a mí siempre me ha gustado invitar, cuando he tenido, me ha gustado invitar (Alfredo M16, Age 32)	Q15
E: Ah, yo pensaba, bueno pe' no, como qué te puedo decir, hummmm... como mis amigos dicen no?, tratas en una mujer, toda la cosa típico.. como en cualquier clásico no?, luego al final, disculpa que la expresión, terminas en la cama no?, como se dice, eso fue tri... eso fue bueno, la psicología que me dieron mis amigos pe' no I: Que si invertías en ella, luego tú ibas a poder... E: Ajá, acababas en la cama (Felipe M36, Age 20)	Q16
I: Entonces el ideal digamos, de hombre, es un hombre que sabe defenderse, que sabe pelear? (...) E: Ajá, y además le da seguridad a su familia. I: Seguridad en qué sentido? (...) E: Sí, sí, sí, que tienen que proteger ... si es varón su rol es proteger. Y ese proteger significa en varios sentidos no? La alimentación, la economía, frente a lo violento que puede ser el contexto, el barrio. Le toca dar seguridad (Irene Chamilco)	Q17
Lo he visto y lo sigo viendo en los chiquitos nueve, diez, once años como que quieren proteger un poco a la madre o a los hermanos menores, (Deodora)	Q18
Por decir, o sea, como nosotros dos éramos, primero cuando no estaba mi hermanita, nosotras dos éramos las mayores, ustedes comparten y a él le damos todo entero (ríe), así. Y claro y ahora porque, no le podemos decir nada, por decir, antes no, no le podíamos decir nada porque él es único hombrecito y ya nos tiene que cuidar a nosotras y nosotros no tenemos qué reclamarle (Teresa W2, Age 16)	Q19
E: Bueno a mi parecer, yo preferiría, que siempre sea de hombres, porque tú sabes que hay algunos enfermos no?, que todo lo ven a la maldad y... ponte que sea mixto, le hacen daño a una chica ó algo por el estilo... ya pues por eso, yo quisiera que fuera de hombres nomás I: ¿Y entre los chicos no se hacen daño? E: Sí... pero... depende pe' si se dejan a los que le van hacer daño, si se dejan pe' (Ricardo M21, Age 21)	Q20
Tus amigos son fumones te van te va a llevar a otro sitio (.) después vas a terminar en la cárcel (I:aja) noo tan locos ustedes (.) normal no que yo	Q21

salga cosa que quiera hacer algo que no es (.) es mi decisión si hago o no (.) ya pue' y ya cuando tuve más edad ya me hice quedar en claro algo pue' que no soy una niña y que sé lo que hago y lo que hago lo hago pensando (Jon M23, Age 18)	
E: [el doctor] le ha dicho que se cuide que no tenga impresiones, por eso yo a él no le puedo dar impresiones no? I: hmh E: todo me lo como yo por que yo soy la fuerte, yo no sufro de nada, mi hija me dice 'tu te haces la fuerte pero cualquier día te puede chocar' 'no' le digo, yo tengo fe en Dios... (Rosa W13, Age)	Q22
E: En mi salón bueno eran eran para qué eran cuando 'taba en primero eran de 'tar jugándose a veces de manos (.) que a veces 'oe no vamos a' a veces eran medio mañosos también 'vamos a la hora de salida' y se iban a veces para meter la mano a las chicas I: A las chicas E: A veces yo me quedaba indignado siempre mirabaa y al día siguiente siempre a veces siguiente salía (.) peleándome con alguien porque no me gustaba que hagan eso (...) E: me dedicaba a decirles 'oe tú tienes hermanas', salía siempre he sacado cara por la mujeres (1) no me gustaba que (1) las traten mal (Jaime M7, Age 19)	Q23
Es lo que yo quería, yo estoy haciendo mis cosas y ella va, me espera en mi casa, tranquila, estudia, bueno... llego y se va a su casa, 'sabes qué (nombre), voy a salir con mis amigas', 'sal nomá', normal,' bueno porque me avisa no?, no hace las cosas, eh... por hacerlas ... cuando hay confianza, uno confía a ojos cerrados, pero, con la otra no era así pe' (Carlos M14, Age 18)	Q24
No, nunca, nunca me ha pegado él...pero a veces cuando sus amigos me miraban o yo lo miraba o me sacaban a bailar y yo bailaba se la agarraba, me jalaba me decía...qué por qué bailas así! Que eres una perra...a mí me dolía pues...yo no...yo bailaba normal como cualquier persona (Juana W5, Age 17)	Q25
No, hasta a veces algunas chicas me invitaban a pelear (I: ah sí?) para demostrarles que yo realmente estaba interesado, ósea que yo sentía algo por ella ya si realmente piensas eso que dices por mí, o sea por ejemplo me dice 'hay un chico que me estaba molestando (I: uju) y me está molestando y sabes que quiero que le pegues' y yo decía 'noo que le voy a pegar sino me ha hecho nada' pero me decía 'ah, entonces está bien' y a veces hasta ni me hablaba por querer que le pegue al chico (Pedro M1, Age 19)	Q26
Claro, no me fui llorando, nada, me fui como lo que soy un hombre, varón, pe' (Ruben M26, Age 19)	Q27
Yo era llorón en ese tiempo y cuando me pegaban, yo me ponía a llorar, llora y llora, llora y llora, ya p'es (Ricardo M21, Age)	Q28
I: ¿Y cómo te sentiste? E: Normal, no lloré! Yo de chiquito... cuando era más chiquito, si me gustaba llorar, pero ya no ya, ahora ya tenía... no me gustaba... ya no lloraba (Ruben M26, Age)	Q29
E: Tenía las ganas de ver a mi hija, encontré a toda la familia allí y quería	Q30

<p>llorar, varias veces me he aguantado en varias ocasiones</p> <p>I: Por qué?</p> <p>E: Porque no es bueno (Andres M32, Age 23)</p>	
<p>Pedro Mesías, no quiero despedirme estas son lágrimas de hombre, si Dios ya te llamó pues esas leyes no se rompen (Amigo Pedro, Carlos M14, Age 18)</p>	Q31
<p>E: Claro! El mismo policía cuando van los chicos ‘oye tu eres macho o eres hembra?’ disculpe la frase que ‘tu pareces hembra’</p> <p>I: Hmh</p> <p>E: Se da cuenta está en todo nivel, toda, en todo estrato social no? Personas que administran justicia, yo he escuchado a jueces decir ‘responde como un macho pues o eres hembra?’ (Deodora)</p>	Q32
<p>I: Aja ¿tú has visto a chicos, tú los molestas a chicos así cuando no se pelean?</p> <p>E: Hay veces</p> <p>I: ¿Sí? ¿qué les dices?</p> <p>E: ‘Golpea al que te ha pegao o sino yo te voy a pegar’ (Alejandro M11, Age 16)</p>	Q33
<p>E: Y ya todo el mundo me pegaba (3) todo el mundo, y ya lloraba. Y mi papá cuando tenía ... era chiquito mi papa me gritaba pe’</p> <p>I: ¿Qué te decía?</p> <p>E: ‘Eres huevón? Como te vas a dejar pegar’ me decía (Rafael M2, Age 18)</p>	Q34
<p>I: Y tu papá y tú papá no te decía por que te peleas?</p> <p>E: Él me enseñó a ser así</p> <p>[...]</p> <p>E: Me decía ‘tú no debes dejarte pegar de nadie ... ¿me estás entendiendo?’ Me decía (I: aja) ‘¿Me estás viendo cómo te estoy hablando?’ (.) ‘Sí’ le dije (.) ‘¿Pero esa es la manera de contestar?’ (.) Contesta más fuerte’ ‘sí’, le decía duro, ... ‘Y así (.)’ Me agarraba mi cara ‘Y (.) así tienes que hacerlo’ (1) ... la cachetada con las dos manos normal ¿no? (.) No no lloraba en ese tiempo tenia quince años.(Jon M23, Age 18).</p>	Q35
<p>Es que mi mamá de chico me decía: ‘Hijo tú tienes que tener bastante labia!’ Debes ser bien comunicador con las chicas’ ‘Ya mamá’. ‘Y cuidadito con que tengas una enamorada!!!’ ‘Ya mamá yo voy a ser tranquilito’. ‘No! Debes tener como cinco!!!’ (Pablo M5, Age 27)</p>	Q36
<p>Pero uno es hombre, (ríe) tienes una oportunidad que vas a desaprovechar! (Santiago M40, Age)</p>	Q37
<p>E: Es que tu sabes, mira... tú estás en otro lado y se te presenta esa oportunidad. Porque las chicas solitas vienen ah?, bueno yo no soy de buscar una, mi forma no soy de afanar a nadie y si se da, ya pe’, que voy a hacer, no le vo’a decir vete no?</p> <p>I: ¿Por qué no?</p> <p>E: No, es que no hay, no es lo mío pe’</p> <p>I: Tú tienes que decir que sí nomás</p> <p>E: No me han enseñado a eso (Carlos M14, Age 18)</p>	Q38
<p>E: Pero buscar, una cosa es buscarlo las oportunidades y otra es las oportunidades que se te presentan a ti</p> <p>I: Aja</p>	Q39

<p>E: Yo no busco chibolas, nada I: Y si te buscan, te encuentran? E: Claro pes' señorita soy hombre sí o no? (Santiago M40, Age 18)</p>	
<p>E: [...] el hombre 'onde caiga, bien para'o, así de simple, las mujeres no, pe', la mujer la miran mal, tu puedes agarrar cualquier jerma, igual tu caes para'o, tu no quedas mal, tu prima qué, no va estar con uno y con otro, tu hermana no va estar con uno y con otro, quién queda mal?, los hombres? no, porque acá, todo el mundo lo ve así, pe' y para mí tam'ién es así, ó sea, yo sé que... como dice todo el mundo no?, pucha que estamos equivocados, hay que tener igualdad, pero no, ó sea para mí no, no I: Son tonterías E: Son huevadas, (I: ríe) hay que tener igualdad, podría tener razón, pero no, pe' no, para... yo ya me crié así y mi pensamiento es así pe' y de la mayoría... (Carlos M14, Age 18)</p>	Q40
<p>E: En la familia, hasta las propias mujeres, hay una sociedad bien machista I: Las propias mujeres E: Hasta mi propias tías, también, hasta mis propias tías (Carlos M14, Age 18)</p>	Q41
<p>I: Ajá, hmh. Cómo crees tú que te ve la gente del barrio a ti? E: No se, hace poco me ven mal no? pero antes no era así pes' todo cambió cuando perdí mi trabajo I: Ajá E: Desde ahí ya comencé a hacer esas cosas (robar) (Mario M44, Age 21)</p>	Q42
<p>Si hay trabajo para conseguir pero te puedo decir, he dado mis papeles a bastantes lugares y no me llaman, mas es que se gasta pasaje, entiendes? [...] vas a una fábrica, pasaje se gasta o tienes que tomar tu desayuno o si no tienes que llamar a un, donde dice 'se necesita trabajo' dejas un celular que tienes que llamar si no llamas tienes que caminar pa'llá o moto así no? Gastarás un día 15 soles o 20 soles, 10 soles. Si no encuentras tienes que salir otro día y ya pes'tu papá no te entienden en eso pe', por eso es que no salgo a buscar también trabajo porque ahorita no tengo dinero y mas que, como te puedo decir no? [...] por ejemplo mas se me está metiendo en la cabeza robar (Mario 44, Age 21)</p>	Q43
<p>E: Es que así es el barrio pes' ya viene de tradición, de familia de generación en generación, van saliendo más cargosos y más cargosos [...] I: Qué piensan que si trabajas eres... sonso? E: Ahh, eres sonso, mongol, te agarran de tarado, (ríe) (Enrique M42, Age 22)</p>	Q44
<p>No me importa lo que tenga que hacer (Monica W7, Age 40)</p>	Q45
<p>E: En mi barrio tienen diecinueve años, veinte y ya tienen su hijo ya I: ¿Y tú qué crees? ¿Eso está bien? E: No pe', pero si ya es mayor de edad' ya, ya tienen... ya tienen DNI y todo ya? I: ¿Y eso basta para tener hijos? E: Si trabajan ellos, trabajan, normal viven (Jose M15, Age 17)</p>	Q46
<p>Ya la cargué y respiré ... y lleno un vacío en mi corazón, que siempre sentía amargo cada vez que pensaba en mi viejo, ahora cuando veo a mi</p>	Q47

viejo ya no es igual. Ya no sufro, ya no me pongo triste. Digo puta madre es mi viejo, ... y ahora tiene otro hijo con otra germa, le digo no hagas lo mismo con el otro chibolo, no seas huevón, ... dos veces ya, todo da vueltas después! (Christian M32, Age 23)	
E: Y le digo que 'nunca le va a faltar nada mientras yo esté vivo', para eso está su papá I: Hmh E: Mas para que no pase lo que yo he pasao, eso es lo que más quiero (Enrique M42, Age 22)	Q48
E: Cuando tuve mi primer hijo medio que ya me puse a meditar, a pensar porque yo no quería llegar a donde estaban mis amigos, en la cárcel (se escucha una campanada de celular del E quien conversa). Cuando tuve mi hijo ya me puse a pensar por que no quería estar yo preso, me fui preso yo con tres amigos. (...) I: Y a los 18 años, cuando nace tu bebé y comienzas a pensar un poco más, reflexionas, qué pasó, hubo algún cambio? ¿Qué hiciste? E: Comencé a trabajar ya, ya comencé a trabajar en fábrica... I: Por primera vez? E: (Ríe) comencé a trabajar lo que es trabajo digno (Maicol M29, Age 25)	Q49
No sé, todo el mundo piensa que (ruido) a veces que cuando tienes un hijo ya eres hombre, y no se dan cuenta que (ruido) que realmente ser hombre es cuando tú puedes sacar a tu familia adelante, y si tienes hijos ayudarlos a que salgan adelante. Si no, de qué te sirve tener, uno, dos, tres, cuatro, cinco, seis hijos y a las finales tu esposa va a estar renegando contigo y no le das lo que quiere, no eres hombre pe' (Francisco M2, Age 18)	Q50
I: Y, ¿Quieres tener hijos? E: Claro, como cualquiera, pero todavía no pe' pero todavía no pe' debo buscarme una buena chamba (Cesar M19, Age 21)	Q51
A mis 21 años .. sería un tropiezo para mí, para mi carrera, tener que trabajar para mi familia, pero no... no está en mis planes todavía, sería más adelante todavía, cuando yo sea, alguien en la vida, cuando ya tenga mi carrera, ya hecho y derecho, pero por ahora no (Brandon M22, Age 21)	Q52
I: ¿Dos nomás, porqué? ¿Por qué no cuatro? E: No sé (ríe) como veo a mi mamá también, cuatro que somos nosotros, y mi mamá sufre mucho pues (Guillermo M30, Age 16).	Q53
Las chicas a veces están con un chico, porque piensan que estando con ese se van a sentir seguras. Y no saben que la seguridad la tienen ellas mismas. Pero bueno, cada chica tiene su forma de... su propio parecer ¿no? De repente ellas no planean tener hijos, pero por estar con un chico que le gusta, un chico simpático, (ruido) un chico que lo ven rico, están con él, ahí sale la criatura y cuando este las deja se dan cuenta de que todo no era color de rosa y ahí se arrepienten y cuando se arrepienten ya es tarde, eso es lo que les sucede a estas chicas pe' de ahora (Rafael M2, Age 19)	Q54
I: ¿Verte bien, qué significa, verte bien? E: Verme acharlado, verme bien vestido, verme... sentirme bien conmigo	Q55

<p>mismo, no verme como se ven ponle, por ejemplo los de mi barrio [...] (Carlos M14, Age 18)</p>	
<p>En la conversación analizamos como la ropa es un factor externo que ayuda a estos chicos a definir una identidad frente a un medio que parece negarles otras maneras de afirmarse (Fieldwork notes 7th May 2008).</p>	Q56
<p>I: Y cómo crees tú que ve la gente que no vive acá en el Agustino ¿Cómo ve el Agustino? E: El Agustino todo lacra pue' (Cesar M19, Age 21)</p>	Q57
<p>E: Cuando tú te compras, tú te vistes de pies a cabeza, si tienes una mala zapatilla de nada te vale haber comprado un pantalón o una buena camisa (...) I: Por qué, las zapatillas, que? E: No se, para mí, no te identifica no? pero o sea, te hace ver mejor I: Qué zapatillas te hacen mejor, por ejemplo? E: Te pones unas Nike, cualquier zapatilla que sea de marca I: Hmh (...) I: Hmh, y saben también que modelo es nuevo E: Claro tu entras a una tienda y ya sabes qué modelo es nuevo, pides el último modelo, cuando yo trabajaba y ganaba bien yo iba y 'el último modelo de Niké' 'sácame el último modelo de Niké' y te lo sacaban pe' 'estos son' y el que más te gustaba lo comprabas y he llegado a pagar hasta 380 soles por una zapatilla (...) E: Mis gratis, casi mis gratis, casi todas las gratis (...) I: Cuántos pares de zapatillas tienes? E: (...) antes si tenía bastantes, ahora tengo mi bajón, ahorita tengo 3 pares nomás (Beto M18, Age 27)</p>	Q58
<p>E: Pero si mi hija pa' Giancarlo pa' el, le manda, le dice Giancarlo te voy a mandar cien dólares, le dice, pa' que compres tu ropa I: Y las otras niñas? E: Um, bueno para las otras me manda en común así, por decir, me manda ciento cincuenta y me dice 'ya tu ve lo que le gusta, no le gusta pedir caro no?' Mi niña que tiene doce años me dice 'mami de Gamarra nomás, cómprame zapatillas de veinte soles, quiero esto, quiero esto, la otra igual quiero esto, quiero esto' (Rosa W13, Age)</p>	Q59
<p>E: Sí, pero yo no, otros amigos, les robas todo. Con robarlo lo estás humillando. Después lo dejas descalzo I: O sea que muchas veces, las zapatillas pueden que no sean tan buenas y no las quieras? E: No así no es, para humillarlo nomá (...) I: No es por que estén interesados en robarle las zapatillas E: Tu se las quitas para humillarlo nomás, a ver, lo mandas descalzo a su barrio, eso es humillante pa' cualquiera (Beto M18, Age 27)</p>	Q60
<p>I: ¿Y cuando quieres tener hijos así? E: Todavía no. Yo, yo he dicho algo que aunque parezca mentira de repente va ser. Cuando yo tenga, tenga para comprarme siete pares de zapatillas Nike. Cada zapatilla Nike está 380 I: ¿Qué va a pasar cuando tengas para comprarte 7 pares de zapatillas?</p>	Q61

E: Ya, ahí recién podré estar seguro que tengo algo seguro para dar a mis hijos pe'. Poder tenerlos y criarlos, para su educación (Rafael M2, Age 18)	
I: ¿Ese es un insulto que se usaba mucho, decirse maricón? E: Sí, gay, maricón, marica no? Eso era como el peor insulto (Samuel M9, Age 27)	Q62
E: A ver desde los doce hasta los catorce años, todos los muchachos están preocupados, de qué tamaño tiene el pene, quién la tiene más grande, no?, entonces ahí, si no lo demuestras, eres maricón, algo así no?, entonces uno tiene que entrar en el juego, no cierto?, ó sino, traes una revista porno, I: Y qué haces, se la enseñas a todo el mundo, tal cual, te la miden? E: (E: ríe), Sino que antes hacíamos deporte, y nos íbamos a la ducha y ahí uno normal pues, uno no tiene que ocultar nada no?, pero hay unos que son muy tímidos, y les dicen este es maricón, lo tiene chiquito, lo vacilan así no?, entonces era una manera que no seas inhibido no?, una manera que no debes tener paltas ni roches no? .. I: ¿Y alguna vez hubo algún tipo de juego sexual, entre alumnos, no creo que llegaran mas allá, pero era una manera de intimidar también, cómo molestarse, eh, no sé pues, meterse la mano, ese tipo de cosas? E: Asu madre, sí, sí hubo esas cosas, sobretodo hasta tercero de secundaria, o sea que cuando ví en primero de secundaria esas cosas, a mí también me chocó no?, esta vaina!, y uno tenía que estar a la defensiva, no vaya a ser que un payaso, te quiera meter la mano, por eso muchas veces me he peleado pues, muchas veces me he peleado, no? (Samuel M9, Age 27)	Q63
E: Sí (no se entiende) había de todo, asu turno tarde pues, no?, (empieza ruido de taladro), así ese tipo de juegos sexuales, también habían chicos que se masturbaban también, no? En clase! I: En clase? E: En clase, una cosa espantosa, (Samuel M9, Age 27)	Q64
I: ¿Era su primera vez también? E: Nooo (.) ¡Primera vez! (.) Para todo lo que me enseñó (I: ríe) yo no sabía nada te digo (.) con las justas sabía ni sabía besar (.) allí recién había aprendido todo y (E: ríe nervioso) fue una experiencia alucinante [...] E: Fue bonito, fue anecdótico (.) porque yo no quería hacer nada no así no más y ella era ella la que hacía todo (E: riendo) y me acuerdo que luego terminando esto en el carro de regreso yo sentía (.) sentía raro ¿no? (.) ah ya soy hombre (E: ríe fuerte) (I: ríe) fue anecdótico (Simon M6, Age 24)	Q65
Son unos pendejos que no tienen nada de bravo, nadie los conoce en la calle ni en su barrio (...) Y mira como he quedado yo en esto, recontra bien parao, respetao, caminando en todo lao (Destrabando)	Q66
Tú no eres calle socio, tú eres señorita, tú eres la sirenita	Q67
I: ¿Y tú por qué crees eso, que se forma todo eso que peleaban, guerreaban, se enfrentaban? E: Por creerse más machitos será pe'	Q68

<p>I: Por que como así?</p> <p>E: Para hacerse conocidos y ganar fama, para que otro barrio lo conozca pe (Esteban M12, Age 17)</p>	
<p>I: Y acá en el Agustino, por dónde paras?</p> <p>E: En mi barrio, de mi barrio no salgo.</p> <p>I: No sales?</p> <p>E: No, no, como hemos sido antes pandilla, tenemos este, paltas con otros barrios (Beto M18, Age 27)</p>	Q69
<p>En tu barrio y en mi barrio yo siempre camino lento, no le tengo miedo a nadie porque me he ganao respeto (En la cintura el armamento)</p>	Q70
<p>E: Yo conozco a tal pata que es mi amigo vive en mi barrio y como lo conocen y ese a quien hace referencia es una persona que ya pues es uno de los que...</p> <p>I: Mejor no se meten con el</p> <p>E: Ah te dice 'ya entonces pasa no más' o ya no te hacen nada. Yo conozco así personas, que me han dicho que cuando trate o quiera pasar algo que solamente diga que lo conozco (risas) y quee de aclguna y otra manera me ayudan pues. (Pedro M1, Age 19)</p>	Q71
<p>Para que te conozcan pe', la gente está acá, y alguien que no me conoce se mete conmigo, ya les aviso y al final todo se recupera (Rafael M2, Age 18)</p>	Q72
<p>Entonces, mientras que recibes una formación cristiana no es cierto de amar al prójimo no cierto? Si tú tienes que amar al prójimo, pero, tienes que ser agresivo porque si no el prójimo te abolla a ti (Samuel M9, 27)</p>	Q73
<p>Mira chamaquito aquí la bala es necesario, pa' librarte de una tienes que ser un sicario (No te achores)</p>	Q74
<p>Siempre lo voy a tener en cuenta eso que me dijo: vaya donde vaya, cualquiera que se te achoré, ponle, que te menta la madre, tú tienes que mentarle la madre, si te mete un puñete, tú tienes que meterle otro, tú tienes que responderle igual a lo que él te dice, porque un sajiro que tu le das ya te van a agarrar de gil toda tu vida, así es la ley de la calle, si vas a estar acá, tienes que ser así, sino 'tás frito y así las cosas (Carlos M14, Age 18)</p>	Q75
<p>Conversación entre Tintaya (jugador del equipo de MLK), el entrenador y Omar (ex picheiro y miembro de MLK, vice-presidente del club de futbol de MLK). Están hablando sobre uno de los ex jugadores del equipo. Hablan del 'negro; dicen que era un muy buen jugador porque le metía pierna a los otros jugadores. El entrenador dice que el área de ataque es solo para machos. Omar le dice a Tintaya que a los hinchas de MLK les gustan los jugadores que juegan fuerte (Notas de campo 19-02-08)</p>	Q76
<p>E: Por eso es lo que te decía, de repente el hombre es más violento porque a veces también se siente más reprimido, en un hogar el hombre que no pone dinero se siente muy poco, muy chico (...) se siente que no está cumpliendo como varón (...)</p> <p>E: La mujer está dedicada todo el tiempo, ponte la mujer que no trabaja, todo el tiempo está dedicada a los niños, y el hombre siente que la mujer cumple con su labor, pero que el hombre no lo hace, que él trae el dinero pero que falta, entonces el hombre si siente muy poco, se siente chico, y encima que digan los chicos, 'papá propina, o papá necesito lo otro'. Entonces ahí cuando él se crea ese sentido de, o sea qué hago, se</p>	Q77

desespera, y en esa desesperación busca esa parte de ser violento. La mujer también tiende a eso pero total, de buscar medios, de buscar formas, de buscar formas, y bueno por ahí se crea, lo que se dice es eso (Juan M4, Age 21)	
No me importa tu carrera, ahora traigo metralleta, armamento bien pesao pa' bajarte la careta so respeta (En la cintura el armamento)	Q78
E: Pa' los encuentro infraganti o sea en un parque estaban, agarré a la jerma, hasta acá nomá pe', o sea, pum le metí un cachetadón, pero más al pata le pegué I: A ella le metiste un cachetadón E: Un cachetadón nada mas I: ¿Y luego al pata? E: Al pata ya le pegué pa, y los demás pe', fuá, péguenle también por serruchador (E: ríe) ya pe's (Gustavo M33, Age 24)	Q79
A ella le metí un 'tabazo y un flemón todavía, ella era bien bonita era como Liliana Rengifo así era bien bonita era la chibola, eso no me ha dado por que como se llama me, me chantajeaba, me llevaba, o sea ella era buena, ya cuando tuvo el hijito medio que se, ya que le habrán dicho sus hermanas pes' todas sus hermanas 'que te vas a meter con ese huevón' le habrán dicho, ella me decía 'no, yo no puedo estar contigo' también como la otra que es la madre de mi hija, igual le dicen de mí pes' y me decía que se iba a ir al Callao hasta que yo le dije 'anda vete al Callao pe'' 'vete' le digo, le metí un tabazo y un flemón y 'taba ella embarazada todavía pero ahí no perdió a mi hijito, yo ya el sábado, eso fue un martes, el sábado, el sábado le perdí a mi hijito, un sábado lo perdí (Enrique M42, Age 22)	Q80
I: ¿Y los patas que andan así un día con una y con otra, son bandidos? E: ¡Claro! Ellos piensan que las mujeres es trofeo, ellos pero yo no, aunque no parezca I: ¿Tú qué crees? E: Que si tu vas a estar con alguien, tienes que estar con alguien que tu realmente quieras, que veas ¿no? que (2) que estás bien y te sientas cómodo, porque si no te sientes cómodo mejor no estés con ella. I: Ajá E: Antes de engañarla, mejor dile 'sabes que, hasta aquí no más' y de ahí sigues tu camino pue'. Pero cómo verán ellos pe' es su problema de él. I: ¿Sacan mucho la vuelta? ¿los patas de acá? E: Sí, unos bandidos son (Rafael M2, Age 18)	Q81
O lo ven como trofeo a las mujeres, estando con una y con otra. A las finales terminan como algunas personas que están en el hospital con enfermedades. Tiene que saber con quién se mete no? (Rafael M2, Age 18)	Q82
E: No sé, se querían sentir fuertes, o que si te veían muy activo, muy activa en el colegio o una persona que de repente ya las amiguitas te miraban por ahí, los celos estos, ah te crees vivo no?, paf, te bajoneaban en una. Como quien, oe tú tienes que mantenerte ahí, no te acerques a nadie, o algo así. En el momento de los exámenes ponte algo así, o sea, pásame las notas, oh, ahí sí, ya pues, tu sabes, ya no te voy a pegar pero pásame las notas. Y no solo a mí sino a otros compañeros, y pucha, eso ya me marcaba recontra fastidio, algo que hablé con mi padre, y mi padre	Q83

me dijo: no, bueno, es algo que tú tienes que solucionarlo. No me pareció su respaldo así por ejemplo. (Juan M4, Age 21)	
<p>E: No. En una época aparecí con el ojo moreteado por la patada que te dije. Y dije ah, ya. Y me preguntó cómo fue, quien fue, ha sido mayor que tú? No ha sido de mi edad, del salón. Es algo que tú lo tienes que solucionar, de hombre a hombre pues, ah bueno.</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>E: O sea pégale, entiendes, ¿y si me siguen pegando? (se ríe). Yo ah, bueno (Juan M4, Age 21)</p>	Q84
Y era algo recontra violento para mí se tornaba, decía, estoy yendo a un colegio o estoy yendo a un centro de reclusión no? Ya no querías ir a estudiar, porque porque encontrabas violencia en tu cole (Juan M4, Age 21) (Q84)	Q85
<p>I: ¿Y qué significa ser hombre, qué crees tú que significa ser hombre acá?</p> <p>E: Bueno, lo que yo puedo creer puede ser muy contrario a lo que pueda decirse de ser hombre (Juan M4, Age 21)</p>	Q86
<p>E: O por ejemplo si generan una violencia en tu casa o un atentado contra tu familia, ponte y tú vas y lo denuncias, ante los demás puedes quedar pucha qué papanatas, le pudo haber sacado la michi al pata.</p> <p>I: ¿Ah sí?</p> <p>E: Ponte que alguien venga y la insulte a tu mujer en tu delante de un hombre, lo lógico es que el tipo agarre y le saque la michi a la chica, a la chica digo (se corrige), al tipo que ha insultado a su mujer, en lugar de ir a quejarse así. Porque para los demás queda, ‘pucha qué cobarde ese tío, qué cobarde no ha ido y le ha sacado la michi, si fuera mi mujer!!! Yo le sacaba la michi!!!’ Algo así. Y bueno, de repente pude haber medios, medios de no llegar a la violencia.(Juan M4, Age 21)</p>	Q87
Tanto a mí como a mi hermana, pero mi hermana fue un poco más suelta también, ya, a veces, ya se abría más!! y mi papá hacía la comparación y yo también de decir, oye mi hermanita como siendo mujer como se va a abrir tanto espacio así, y yo el hombre llegaba a la hora, porque me gustaba respetar eso (Juan M4, Age 21)	Q88