UAB
Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

Tacna's Street Markets during COVID-19: "Routines of Justification" in Itinerant Trade Practices

Janna Dallmann

ADVERTIMENT. L'accés als continguts d'aquesta tesi queda condicionat a l'acceptació de les condicions d'ús establertes per la següent llicència Creative Commons: https://creativecommons.org/licenses/?lang=ca

ADVERTENCIA. El acceso a los contenidos de esta tesis queda condicionado a la aceptación de las condiciones de uso establecidas por la siguiente licencia Creative Commons: https://creativecommons.org/licenses/?lang=es

WARNING. The access to the contents of this doctoral thesis it is limited to the acceptance of the use conditions set by the following Creative Commons license: https://creativecommons.org/licenses/?lang=en

Tacna's Street Markets during COVID-19: "Routines of Justification" in Itinerant Trade Practices

Las ferias de Tacna durante el COVID-19:
Rutinas de justificación en las prácticas del comercio ambulante

Les fires de Tacna durant el COVID-19:
Rutines de justificació a les pràctiques del comerç ambulant

Janna Dallmann

Supervisors:

Sònia Parella Rubio & Marcela Tapia Ladino

Department of Sociology
Faculty of Political Sciences and Sociology
Autonomous University of Barcelona

July 2024,
Bellaterra–Barcelona

Agradecimientos

Esta tesis ha sido respaldada por un contrato de trabajo de investigadora predoctoral FI-SDUR de la Generalitat de Catalunya, vinculado al grupo de investigación de migración y minorías étnicas (GEDIME) del Departamento de Sociología de la Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona.

Quiero agradecer a las doctoras Sònia Parella Rubio y Marcela Tapia Ladino por su sabiduría y apoyo en todas las etapas de la investigación. Más allá de la excelente orientación académica, la confianza de ambas me dio aliento para seguir adelante.

Gracias al equipo del Instituto de Estudios Internacionales (INTE) de la Universidad Arturo Prat en Iquique por haberme recibido. Aprendí mucho durante mi estancia y siempre recordaré la afectuosa acogida que me brindaron, compartiendo conocimientos y experiencias.

La tesis no hubiera sido posible sin las personas que conversaron conmigo sobre las ferias de Tacna. Estoy eternamente agradecida de las vendedoras y los vendedores por el acompañamiento, las invitaciones, la instrucción, las risas y el afecto.

La tesis es como una maratón: Muchos kilómetros se corren en solitario, pero la meta solo se alcanza con un esfuerzo colectivo. Gracias de corazón a quienes sostuvieron el entrenamiento, el descanso y la nutrición. Al equipo GEDIME, espacio privilegiado de formación y amparo. A Jaime, por ser maestro y ejemplo. A Cata, por su amistad y luz. A las constelaciones cambiantes del *Frittenfreitag*. A las integrantes de "Nuestra Chacra" y los talleres de escritura. Al equipo y colaboradoras de los talleres predoc. A los *Homies* y la segunda generación. A Franziska. A les vecines y les compis del CELAB.

Danke, Silvi, für den Spaß am Lernen und Bildungsunterstützung in allen Phasen.

Danke, Mama, für Wurzeln und Flügel. Und für gemeinsames Seifenblasen in allen Lebenslagen.

Gracias José Julián.

Contents

Introduction

Street markets are an integral part of Tacna's everyday life. Vendors, building their stalls, regularly transform the city's public space into vibrant and colorful places of exchange. The broad array of products offered makes the phrase "*Hay de todo*" a standard description for these urban commercial sites. The three markets that this thesis focuses on—*Feria de la Chacra a la Olla*, *Feria Boliviana*, and *Feria del Altiplano*—have been part of the city since the second half of the 20th century, growing alongside Tacna and visibilizing the growing number of "newcomers."

These traditional street markets operate on the edge between "formality" and "informality." Although they have municipal permission, this status is the outcome of ongoing negotiation processes and remains temporary. The markets lack basic infrastructure found in other commercial sites, with vendors largely depending on private agreements for water and electricity. This *institutionalized precarity* partly stems from disagreements about the street markets and their vendor's presence in the city's landscape.

As part of public space, the street markets are of interest to different stakeholders with differing interests. Some neighbors' associations fiercely reject ambulatory and itinerant trade, staging protests and taking action. The municipality, on the other hand, is responsible for managing ambulatory trade and aims to appease tensions. Critiques regarding itinerant trade practices are frequently raised, placing street markets under a constant *imperative of justification*. Not only are merchandise and prices negotiated, but so is the righteousness of itinerant trade practices.

The fragility of the local agreements regarding the taking place of ambulatory trade has become particularly evident during the pandemic caused by the SARS-CoV-2 virus. Security measures implemented to reduce mobility and gatherings profoundly disrupted

the everyday life of Tacna's street markets. Shortly after the virus spread, its origins were linked with the Wuhan Huanan seafood and wildlife market. Consequently, in Peru and elsewhere, the various and often "informal" markets became one of the main suspects concerning the dynamics of contagion. As a result, itinerant selling practices were particularly affected by the situation.

Despite the challenges, itinerant trade practices in Tacna's street markets quickly reemerged, even before many other commercial activities resumed—except for so-called essential supply. These practices found themselves in a new "situation" where assumed stabilities concerning their regularity and durability were questioned, and critiques were raised. Vendors and other market actors had to navigate uncertainties while continually reaffirming and constructing the legitimacy of their practices through everyday activities. This highlights the adaptability of itinerant trade in a context of crisis and underscores the importance of understanding its dynamics.

Consequently, this thesis examines itinerant trade practices in three street markets—*Feria de la Chacra a la Olla*, *Feria Boliviana,* and *Feria del Altiplano*—in the city of Tacna, at the triple border between Peru, Chile, and Bolivia, particularly during the COVID-19 pandemic caused by the SARS-CoV-2 virus.

The respective research question that guides the manuscript is:

- How did stakeholders negotiate the righteousness of itinerant trade practices?

Consequently, the aim of the thesis is to understand how stakeholders reached the fragile agreement regarding the continuation of street markets particularly in the context of COVID-19. Therefore, it reconstructs the processes of re-negotiation by tracing different ways of creating and questioning the righteousness of the itinerant trade.

The thesis is organized into five parts. Part I contextualizes the street markets, highlighting their *institutionalized precarity*, which has become evident during COVID-19. Part II presents the thesis' theoretical perspective and provides the relevant conceptual tools for the following parts. Particularly, it introduces practice theory approaches and the "orders of worth" framework before elaborating on the thesis' conceptual proposition of "routines of justification." Part III uses this framework to discuss empirical studies of ambulatory trade and street markets in the region. Subsequently, Part IV outlines the overall research design and the techniques used, integrating reflections on the role of drawing and crochet during fieldwork. Finally, Part V examines the negotiation processes

regarding the continuity of the street markets in times of crisis, discussing the simultaneous presence of different “orders of worth” in the arguments and the resulting fragility of the agreements.

Part I. Street Markets in Tacna at the Triple Border

1 Introduction

In this first chapter, we will contextualize itinerant market practices in the three street markets *De la Chacra a la Olla*, *Feria Boliviana*, and *Feria del Altiplano*. The chapter, before highlighting the institutionalized precarity of these markets and presenting the specific research questions, will locate the phenomenon theoretically and geographically.

On Street Markets and Itinerant Trade

Itinerant trade as such is an intriguing social phenomenon. On the one hand locally embedded and always differing from other locations in terms of the products sold, the organization involved, the officially ascribed status, and so on, it is, on the other hand, also highly standardized as Shove et al. (2012) would put it. Offering specific products in public space, converting typical sites in the city such as pedestrian zones, parking places, or even streets into a cluster of shops or even lively street markets through establishing, in Erving Goffman's terms, a *situational territory* (Goffman 1971, p. 29) forms part of contemporary urban life itself.

Standardized traits

We will first focus on the rather standardized character of street markets. In a second step, we will specify the local context in which the three street markets *De la Chacra a la Olla*, *Feria Boliviana*, and *Feria del Altiplano* regularly take place.

Street markets and their itinerant trade practices take place in public spaces. Since the "spatial turn," identified by some scholars of the social sciences[1], place is introduced into theoretical reflections on the "social." Instead of overlooking it as simply "given" or assuming it the "container" in which everything else takes place, it is conceptualized as a constitutive part of the social in which power becomes apparent. Particularly Henri Lefebvre (1996, 2008) has been prominent in reflections on the entanglements of power and physical space.

Consequently, itinerant trade and street markets, do not take place on a "neutral background." Rather, the space they occupy is of interest to different actors. We follow Jordi Borja, who in his preface for "Espacios públicos, género y diversidad" (2014) makes

[1] For an overview over different "turns" in social theory see, for instance, Bachmann-Medick 2016.

this emphasis on public space being permeated with power graspable. He specifies these different actors with their diverging interests in general but precise terms.

First, there was the state, who was, strictly speaking the owner of "public" space. As such, public space was the state's "stage," the symbolic site of its appearance and representation. Consequently, political actors were generally interested in the maintenance of public order, insisting on the citizen's compliance with their duties and the effective staging of the state's authority. Second, at the same time and in direct contradiction with the formerly mentioned, public space was also the place of civic articulation. Approval or disapproval, support or opposition regarding political events or decisions, forms of civic participation—often in the form of gatherings, demonstrations, festivals, and marches—were all an expression of people regarding the official order and themselves as a group. Finally, there were furthermore economic actors that were interested in public space regarding commercial activities, such as selling and advertisement. All of these actors contributed to the "production" of space.

Siebel, in *Die Kultur der Stadt* (2016), expands on the idea of the public character of urban space. Its "publicness" was constituted by the general accessibility of culturally homogeneous places also for those who did not belong, for strangers and newcomers (p. 85). It implied the potential opportunity to move through different places without being hindered by fences or by fear of expressions of social devaluation. Just as Borja, he also recognizes the eminently political character regarding the city's streets and squares (p. 88). This political character was drawn from the fact that it was in public space where symbolic struggles concerning social recognition and political power took place.

While Siebel also stresses the aspect of power, he insists on the visibility of divergence, of critique, of difference in public space as fundamental for this political character. Not the deliberate political organization of people made public space "political." Rather the simple fact that "the divergent" was visible and thus directly accessible to experience in public space. Everything—referring to objects and behaviors—and everybody that were part of public space and universally acknowledged there, counted with social recognition. Similarly, those people and behaviors that were not in accordance with the regulations of political power, were a symbolic assault to its rule (p. 88). This view opens the possibility to look at explicit symbolic conflicts regarding recognition that takes place here. At the same time, it includes the negotiations about its use in these conflicts.

Mitchel Abolafia (2011), in his contribution to Michel Callon's "The Laws of the Market" presents parts of his ethnographic works on "the stock, bond, and futures markets on Wall Street" (p. 70). His text "surprises" by applying rather "classic" ethnographic terms and perspectives to market dynamics that are thought of as being very abstract. The text is interesting to look at, because it summarizes the central aspects of classic topics and assumptions regarding anthropological perspectives on "markets" before using them as tools to think about the New York Stock Exchange, for instance.

Following Polanyi's (2010) argument regarding the social embeddedness of markets, he starts his contribution by referring to the fact that people here were "in touch with each other" (p. 69), sharing a social network as much as a "meaning system of norms, rules and cognitive scripts" (p. 69). He stresses that it was the repetition of transactions that institutionalized relationships and these systems of meaning. These systems included "expectations about appropriate behavior and scripts for the performance of roles." His text unravels the constant social construction of even very abstract market dynamics.

Siebel's reflections on public space in which strangers meet combined with Abolafia's reflections on the importance of shared "scripts" and behavioral rules, leads to further elaborating on the standardized character of street markets. From the moment of their emergence, street markets set a common stage with clearly circumscribed boundaries in which actors come together with a common involvement in the circumstances. Unlike as in, say, parks[2], where different people coexist in the same space without necessarily sharing the reference for their action nor the interpretations of the situation, street markets are already a "situation" in "which they have to deal in common" (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, p. 35).

Street markets, in their quality of being nodes in which flows of people, merchandise, ideas, and conceptions meet, overlap, and intermingle, are sites in which individuals meet who would probably not come across each other in other circumstances (Morales 2011). Even though strangers to each other, with their distinct backgrounds, lifestyles, group memberships, and so forth, participants in street markets know how to behave correctly. "Scripts" and "roles" are the precondition for individuals to communicate fluently, to

[2] Boltanski and Thévenot 2006 use the forest as an example: "Thus, on some fall afternoon in a forest, persons who are unacquainted with one another may be walking in the same wooded glen: strollers, lovers, hunters, mushroom gatherers, woodcutters, Boy Scouts, and so on. Their presence in the same space is a matter of circumstance and does not produce a situation in which they have to deal in common" (p. 35).

interact and to negotiate. They are part of the participant's shared stock of knowledge (Berger and Luckmann 2010).

The standardized spatial arrangement of street markets is helpful in this regard, too. The stalls usually have in common that they separate the clients from the vendors, being the site in which the merchandise is presented on more or less sophisticated showcases. The plurality and diversity of people, objects, and ideas that assemble in street markets seem to make a higher degree of standardization necessary to facilitate smooth interaction.

At the same time, as has been stressed in the opening statement, markets are also locally embedded and specific in their precise contexts. This is of course also true for *Feria de la Chacra a la Olla*, *Feria Boliviana*, and *Feria del Altiplano*. Before "entering" these street markets, we will look at their spatial location and the local specificities of itinerant trade in Tacna.

Local Specificities

In Latin America, street markets and itinerant trade practices are part of everyday urban life. Not only due to their characteristic perceptual richness—their colors, smells, and noises—and their often chaotic appearance have they been the object of scholarly interest. They are also part of the so-called "informal sector" and thus of interest to actors on different levels, scholars and policy makers alike. Before presenting these various perspectives in Part III, let us progressively "zoom in" into the three street markets that this thesis focuses on. First, we will have a look at the particularities of the city of Tacna before then looking with more detail on its different commercial sites and particularly *Feria de la Chacra a la Olla*, *Feria del Altiplano*, and *Feria Boliviana*.

Fundamental for the city of Tacna is its particularity of being a bordering city (Berganza 2014). It is the southernmost city of Peru nearby the border to Chile and specifically well connected with Arica, its *ciudad hermana* (Guizardi et al. 2017a), 56 km and two border checkpoints (*Santa Rosa* on the Peruvian and C*hacalluta* at the Chilean side) away. The border to Bolivia starts in the *tripartito* at approximately 157 km of distance towards the interior and with an altitude over 4000m above sea level[3].

[3] See Apendix 1.

The territorial distribution has not always been as it is in the actuality[4]. Tacna, from the Pacific War onwards, had remained under Chilean administration. It was not until 1929[5] that the city was reassigned to Peruvian territory. Ever since, it has been object of various disputes throughout the 20th century[6]. Tensions concerning the geographical line are pertinent for both, political authorities and the population (Tapia et al. 2017). At the same time, interconnectivity, family and professional relations crossing the national boundaries, are characteristic of this area (Guizardi 2018).

The cities Tacna and Arica, today located in different national territories, are considered to form an important urban productive complex (Berganza and Cerna 2011, p. 6). Both are relatively far away from other productive urban centers and remote from the capital cities Lima and Santiago (Berganza 2014). There is a variety of regional publications, which have put an emphasis on the mutual relations between the cities. Those include, for example, research on migration and mobility (Cortes 2002; Garcés and Moraga 2016; Tapia 2012; Vicuña Undurraga and Rojas Valenzuela 2015; Tapia et al. 2019; Valdebenito and Guizardi 2014), on regional political integration (Gundermann Kröll and González Cortés 2008; González Miranda et al. 2008; Ovando Santana and González Miranda 2018), border-crossing networks and practices (Tapia and Chacón 2016; Guizardi and Garcés 2013; Tapia Ladino 2015; Tapia Ladino and Chacón Onetto 2016; Tapia 2018; Contreras et al. 2017), work-related migration dynamics (Mondaca et al. 2018; Guizardi and Garcés 2012; Tapia Ladino and Ramos Rodríguez 2013; Bijsterbosch 2007), and recent history (Jiménez Palacios 2019; Díaz Araya and Tapia Ladino 2013).

The interrelatedness of the cities has inspired the creation of various concepts that aim at contesting the methodological nationalism of perspectives on the border, such as *region*

[4] See, for instance, Skuban 2007, González 2008.

[5] That year Chilean and Peruvian diplomats signed the *Tratado de Lima*. In the negotiation process leading up to the contract, US-American diplomats offered their "good offices". The border between Bolivia and Chile, on the other hand, was established in 1904 in the *Tratado de Paz y Amistad* in which Bolivia gave up its former costal territories. Before these territorial alterations, Peru did not share a border with Chile; they thus implied the creation of a triple border. For more information on the topic from a historical perspective see, for instance, Soto Lara 2022, Lagos Carmona 1966.

[6] Concretely, there have been a controversy over a triangle of 3,7 hectare of rocky coast between Peru and Chile, the lawsuit of the former brought before the International Court of Justice in Den Haag concerning the maritime borders and, finally, the process before the same Court concerning the negotiations between Bolivia and Chile about the access to the sea for the former country, initiated in 2011 and lost by Bolivia in October 2018. While the disputes were formally held on political level, they were extensively made subject of media reports in the different states, playing a decisive role in defining political and civil positioning regarding the respective neighbors. For further information see, for instance, Brunet-Jailly 2015.

fronteriza (Tapia Ladino and González Gil 2014), *hyper-border space* (Guizardi et al. 2017b) *CUT* (Dilla 2015; Dilla and Álvarez 2018a, 2019), or *territorio circulatorio* (Tapia et al. 2017). This variety of concepts demonstrates that transborder dynamics and movements are characteristic and fundamental for everyday life in the area. All of them highlight the need to look at these cities as connected and interdependent territories that cannot be fully understood from national perspectives.

Tacna's street markets grew together with the city, from the second half of the last century up to today. In Latin America, reasons named for the remarkable city growth are the rising birth rates and the state's efforts to implement programs of preventive medicine and to guarantee basic sanitation (Schauffler and Portes 1993), which led to a general population growth. Combined with policies that favored the cities' development, massive movements from rural areas to the urban centers could be witnessed (see, for instance, Tutino and Melosi 2019). This process was "concentrated on one or two cities in each country" (Schauffler and Portes 1993, p. 34). Together with this growth and the lack of "formal" job opportunities for the high number of people arriving from rural areas, informal commercial activity grew which is up to the present characteristic for cities in Latin America and their public space.

Ødegaard (2018) highlighted that in the Peruvian context, these massive rural-urban migrations "aroused anxiety for delinquency and social breakdown among the urban elites" (p. 185f.). She adds: "In the city, migrants from the Andes were considered 'matter out of place' in the perspective of the upper and middle class, and the migrants' presence disturbed the racialized spatial dichotomies of rural-urban, indigenous-mestizo" (ibid.). Together with rural migrants, inequality became present and visible in the urban centers.

In comparison to other cities in the region, especially the capital cities, Tacna did not follow a typical process of industrialization. Berganza and Cerna (2011) state that its growth was only partially due to a mining project in Toquepela; The increasing commercial activities in relation to the creation of free zones in Iquique (Chile) in 1975 and after that in Tacna in 2002[7] (Berganza 2014, p. 161) were decisive factors, too.

[7] In 1989, the *Zona Especial de Tratamiento Arancelario de Comercio*, ZOTAC, was found during the government of Alan Garcia. In 1996, ZOTAC was replaced by CETICOS under Alberto Fujimori's government. The current ZOFRATACNA was established in 2002 with Law N° 27688 under Alejandro Toledo's administration (See https://www2.congreso.gob.pe/sicr/tradocestproc/clproley2001.nsf/pley/592BA990B14BDAE105256D25005C4F8E?opendocument)

The same authors (Berganza and Cerna 2011) stressed the fact that in 2007 over 40% of the city's population was not born in the region of Tacna. Internal migratory movements had their origin predominantly in rural southern areas of Puno, heading from the upper Andean zone towards the cities (Berganza and Cerna 2011, p. 49). Consequently, many of the internal migrants were *quechua* or *aymara* native speakers. The importance of mining, commerce, transport and communication, manufacture and construction and the vivid border crossing dynamics were tied up intimately with this population, generally searching employment or self-employment in the city and thus "*un mayor desarrollo*" (Berganza 2014, p. 154; Parella and Tapia 2015, p. 199).

The emphasis on the importance of narratives of development regarding the movements is also present in local newspaper publications. In 2002, for instance, the *Correo* titled "*Migrantes siguen llegando a Tacna*"[8], citing the mayor of *Ciudad Nueva* who referred to the roughly one hundred newly arrived families. It indicates that the "search for a better future" was the main reason for the arrivals that kept happening notwithstanding the difficult situation regarding work opportunities in the city.

At least before the pandemic, the highly dynamic terrestrial border with Chile was a central factor for raising hopes to find a "better future." *Santa Rosa* was Peru's most frequented border checkpoint after Lima[9] and can be seen as a specific resource for those arriving. Commercial activity profits from the border in so far as there is a price difference between the countries; The precondition for the intense movements which have the border as their point of reference is, after all, the unequal development of the bordering states and Peru's relative poverty (Dilla and Álvarez 2018b). Chileans regularly cross the border to consume services and goods on the other side. At the same time, merchandise is mobilized crossing national borders, too. Products from Bolivia and Brazil, for instance, find their way to the street markets in Tacna, further lowering the prices.

[8] See *Correo*, May 21, 2002, *Migrantes siguen llegando a Tacna*.
[9] See Migraciones Perú: https://www.migraciones.gob.pe/index.php/estadisticas/](https://www.migraciones.gob.pe/index.php/estadisticas/.

2 *Feria de la Chacra a la Olla, Feria Boliviana, Feria del Altiplano*

Tacna is full of artifacts. Street markets are only one of the diverse places of consume in the city such as shops, the indoor *mercadillos* and *ferias*, and *galerías*, for instance. In March and April 2022, with the terrestrial border still closed for the transport of people, their presence appeared to be wildly disproportionate regarding the number of people actually shopping for things.

In some cases, shops are thematically ordered; there are entire streets in which different shops offer the same merchandise or service, such as party decoration items or ultrasound examinations. There are places such as the *galería Tupac Amaru II*, which is specialized in electronics, or indoor *Ferias* such as the *Feria 28 de Julio*, offering predominantly new clothing and other textile products. In general, however, this "ordering" is not systematic and there are many sites in which the offer is jumbled.

The three street markets this thesis focuses on have characteristics that distinguish them from other commercial sites in the city. In the first place, they are renowned for the wide variety of products they offer. The phrase "*Hay de todo*" is commonly used to describe this particularity. From vegetables and fruits, meat and groceries, to kitchen utensils and underwear, clothing and shoes, spices and herbs, toys, and drugstore products, customers can find an extensive range of goods.

As mentioned above, *Feria de la Chacra a la Olla*, *Feria del Altiplano*, and *Feria Boliviana*, take place over two days each week: the first on Saturdays and Sundays, the other two on Mondays and Tuesdays. This spatial and temporal restriction leads us to the second particularity of the street markets, which also distinguishes them from other commercial sites: their ephemeral character. Vendors set up their stalls during specific times in designated spaces and dismantle them afterward. Consequently, on non-market days, one can hardly imagine the colorful presence of artifacts and people that animate these ordinary parts of the urban landscape during market hours.

On market days, the respective streets start to get busy early in the morning. From 4 a.m. onwards, these particular commercial sites start to emerge. Many vendors use vehicles—often taxis or the car of a relative—to arrive at the selling spots. Around the street markets, people offer garages and other storing spaces in their properties for vendors to deposit the merchandise and the stall materials throughout the night. Depending on the distance

between storage place and selling site, cars, cargo bikes on three wheels (*triciclos*), or handcarts serve for moving the materials to the precise selling spot.

The three markets are held in open-air sites within the city's public spaces. Most vendors use similar scaffolding for their stalls, which consist of metal tubes of varying lengths that connect through an interlocking mechanism. Once the basic structure is built and adjusted to fit the precise space between other vendors' stalls, the "walls"—mostly black, blue, and white tarpaulins—are attached to these structures. Depending on the ground conditions, it may be necessary to cover the dusty terrain with a tarpaulin to protect the merchandise from getting dirty and thus less presentable. These "walls" protect both the vendors and their merchandise from the sun, rain, and wind as much as from "outside" gazes and traffic.

Tables are set up to convert this "tent" into a market stall,. These vary in size and form but generally consist of two or more trestles on which vendors place flat surfaces, such as cardboard supported by smaller orthogonally placed wooden battens, for instance. On the surface, a visually more appealing fabric is placed on which the merchandise can be presented. This is also another measure to ensure to protect the products from dirt or any other harm.

The merchandise is generally stored in huge plastic bags. They are unpacked least, when the stall is already completely lined with tarpaulins and fabrics. Ordering the products takes time since the presentation aims at looking neat and inviting. Apart from presenting the products on the tables, many vendors additionally use the inner "walls" as showcases. Different—more or less sophisticated—devices help hanging the products for better presentation. This is particularly true for those selling clothing or other textile products.

Besides these "classic" stalls, some vendors offer their merchandise in a different manner. Some use the storage space of their tree-wheeler bicycles (*triciclos*) directly as the table of presentation. Others use self-build tables and metal parasols or other sun protection. The most basic way of presenting merchandise—and formally prohibited—is the presentation of products on a cover extended directly on the floor. This latter stall is used mainly by those who are not part of an association and just occasionally vending.

All three street markets are relatively close to the historical center ("*Zona Mounumental*")[10], in the south of the district of *Alto de la Alianza* and in the north of *Tacna Centro* (see Appendix 2). The "Zona Monumental de Tacna," before the pandemic, was the main area in which Chilean tourists strolled through the galleries of the *Avenida Bolognesi* or had a break with a snack or a "*jugo*" in the *Mercado Central*.

Up to the moment of the pandemic, the three markets had a similar structure, which did not correspond to the typical market place, as in square. Rather, they formed a "street" or a "tunnel," through which clients could walk in two directions. During fieldwork, *Feria de la Chacra a la Olla* and *Feria Boliviana* counted with two parallel "lanes," each made by two lines of stalls facing each other. The stalls were build side by side, only occasionally leaving a gap for clients to "enter" or to "exit" the *feria*.

This spatial arrangement is, of course, an adaptation to the urban surroundings, a "replication" of the street's form. The proximity of the stalls "protects" the commercial "lane" from the "outside." Additionally, it makes controlling space easier and distributes accessibility to the different stalls relatively equally. One of the central issues in indoor markets is the variation in stall locations relative to the entrance and other key infrastructure, such as the toilets. This variation influences the streams of passers-by, which are by no means equal for all stalls.

Consequently, stall prices vary and internal dispute is often related to these differences. In contrast, in the street markets, the differences are less pronounced: Once "entered," clients have to get past all the stalls, at least until the next opening.

Many of the vendors who sell in *calle Meléndez* at *Feria de la Chacra a la Olla* on Saturdays and Sundays also have a stall in one of the other markets on Mondays and Tuesdays or other commercial sites in Tacna. Some even count with stall properties in some indoor commercial center. However, there are also those vendors who travel from other cities to Tacna only to sell in one of the markets. Small producers, for instance, offer their products in Tacna's markets only for two market days and travel back home afterwards. The market takes place in that street since over 30 years. Some clients and vendors remember times in which the now asphalted road in the midst of the city was an unpaved path.

[10] See Apendix 2.

Feria Boliviana and *Feria del Altiplano*, in the actuality taking place simultaneously in different sites, were once one big street market located around the *Plaza José Abelardo Quiñones*, referred to as *Plaza Quiñones*. It was divided in two in 2006 after the former location had been declared *zona rígida*. Fourteen years later, the *Feria del Altiplano* was relocated again due to the pandemic. Not without conflict and negotiation, it was transferred from *calle Jirón de la Unión*—usually referred to as *calle Unión*—into the stadium *Héroes de la Alianza*, usually referred to as *Maracaná* (we will look at both processes of relocation in Part V).

Another characteristic of the street markets is the low prices. Even though vendors are officially allowed to sell in these places under the aforementioned specific conditions, they are not required to pay taxes. This exemption is a reason for "formal" vendors to complain about the unfair competition posed by the itinerant merchants to their own businesses. It also allows street market vendors to offer some products at lower prices than those in other commercial sites. Vendors in formal markets, who must pay taxes and cover costs for rent, electricity, and water, cannot offer the same low prices for their items.

It is difficult to know the exact number of people selling in the three street markets. Associations have lists of their active members and sometimes have to report the number to the municipalities since the latter takes one Peruvian Sol per day for the allowance of selling products in public space. However, the pandemic altered the composition of the markets. At the time of research in Tacna, various vendors in the markets did not count with a membership, occupying the same sites on a regular basis. It is generally acknowledged that it is difficult to join associations; "*no hay sito*" is how vendors subsume the difficulty to start selling regularly in one of the market places.

This said, at the moment of its relocation, *Feria del Altiplano* counted approximately 1100 active members. In the case of this street market, there are only two associations. Each sector (cuadra) counts with a delegate (*delegado*). Regarding the numbers in *Feria Boliviana*, the local newspaper offered an estimate of around 500 people. Following the vendors, the *Feria* consists of 27 associations. Finally, *Feria de la Chacra a la Olla* is the biggest of the three markets. Estimates made by vendors refer to approximately 2000 vendors in the *Patricio Meléndez* Street. It covers several blocks and consists of seven

associations[11]. However, in all the street markets, there are always *ambulantes*, who are not members of one of the associations. They take the empty spots.

Some vendors of *Feria de la Chacra a la Olla* still recall when the street market was still tiny. In their narratives, they emphasize the remarkable difference between the city of Tacna and its inhabitants back in the 1980s compared to the actuality. The vendors offered their products at the same site but it was not yet a paved street, nor was it lined by buildings. In the past, vendors stressed, they had been surrounded by *chacras*, not constructions.

The working conditions in the street markets correspond to those of the so-called "informal" sector: unstable and low wages go hand in hand with a lack of public services such as water or electricity (see, for instance, Barua et al. 2016, p. 5; Maldonado et al. 2017, p. 27). Additionally, street vendors do not count with benefits of labor legislation such as "social security, gratifications, holidays etc." (INEI 2019, p. 9). Maldonado et al. add that "La desigualdad de género también aparece en este ámbito, así como una dimensión xenófoba cuando los vendedores provienen de otras latitudes del interior o exterior del país" (p. 27).

Indeed, vendors in the three street markets are often subsumed as "*los puñenos*." Even though the composition of the markets is very diverse concerning the vendor's places of origin, due to the migratory movement mentioned above, there are indeed many family ties and social relationships spanning to different areas of the Peruvian highlands and particularly Puno. Prejudice and negative stereotypes regarding rural migrants are common in Tacna (Pastor 2017).

[11] See *Correo*, October 17, 2020, *Feria plantean (sic) a municipio que les alquile un terreno*.

3 Itinerant or Ambulatory Trade?—Conceptual Specifications

Throughout the text, we refer to "itinerant" trade practices regarding the activities of the vendors in the three street markets. At the same time, they are part of "ambulatory" trade practices, which comprises furthermore the less institutionalized forms of selling in public space.

As much as the city is full of artifacts, it is also inhabited by many people who are dedicated to the selling activity. As varied as the different places of commercialization are the modalities of selling. On one side, there are those who own one or more stalls in one of the indoor *ferias* and *galerías*. They are generally considered part of the "formal" economy. On the other side, there are ambulatory vendors, who offer their merchandise directly on the streets of the city and which are normally considered part of the "informal" sector. In between, these two modalities, there are various further ways and hybrid modalities of vending.

"Itinerant trade"[12] is located between both. The term stresses the institutionalized but ephemeral character of the markets. With the erection of the stalls, "regular" urban spaces turn into street markets. Even though they take place in the same location, on non-market days, there is no sign of the commercial sites' business dynamics. At the same time, the term hints at the regularity and the relatively high level of their organization. Marketers are divided into associations, and there is an agreement with the respective municipalities on where and when the markets may take place. Therefore, marketers pay a regular fee to the municipalities.

This latter aspect is what it distinguishes from other forms of "ambulatory trade" in the context of this thesis. In the city, there are people who are selling products that they are carrying in their hands or directly on their body, those who have some sort of "movable stall" such as a mechanical vehicle with some sort of display for their products. Some ambulatory merchants "build" a transitional local stall by spreading a piece of fabric on

[12] Besides *De la Chacra a la Olla*, *Feria Boliviana*, and *Feria del Altiplano*, there is *La Cachina*—or *Miami*, as the same market is called colloquially due to its specialization on the selling of second-hand clothing from the United States of America imported informally via Chile. Differing from the former three, this market is an itinerant street market in a strict sense: It takes place five times a week in different locations and districts of the city. In other words, the same vendors built up their stall on five working days in different urban sites. For an overview of works referred to these markets, see Jiménez Palacios et al. 2019, 8ff.; Jiménez Palacios 2020.

the ground, on which the merchandise is than presented or constructing some sort of elevated platform used as the display. Finally, some ambulatory vendors even use the same metal structures as most of the itinerant vendors in the street markets[13].

However, his terminological distinction between "itinerant" and "ambulatory" trade is analytical and not as clear-cut in practice. Regarding the use "on the ground," in the local newspaper and in daily use in Tacna, the Spanish *ambulantes* is applied when talking about *all* of the before mentioned forms of selling practices. Itinerant marketers themselves use *ambulantes* for referring to their own group as much as to those that they are often complaining about, namely those vendors who do not count with an affiliation to a vendor's association. These *ambulantes* take advantage of the market dynamics toearn some *Soles*. An itinerant vendor in one market may be an ambulatory vendor on other weekdays and in other market contexts. Some of the vendors who are selling as itinerant vendors in one of the markets have fixed stalls in one of the various other commercial sites in the city of Tacna, and so forth.

[13] On the general heterogeneity behind the term and a review over different propositions for classification see, for instance, Wongtada 2014, p. 60.

4 The Pandemic, the Border, and Itinerant Trade

The World Health Organization declared COVID-19 and its rapid worldwide spread officially a pandemic on March 11, 2020. This declaration served as a call to action for nation-states worldwide. The international recommendations, though general and still imprecise, needed adaptation to fit national and local contexts.

Peru proclaimed its Public Health Emergency, the *Emergencia Sanitaria*, on March 15, 2020, followed by the declaration of the State of National Emergency via Decree N° 044-2020-PCM. Initially set for 15 days, it ordered a general quarantine and border closure. Peru was the first country in the region to implement these drastic measures. Throughout the following month, the Decree was regularly extended, with further details being integrated[14].

After the declaration of the Public Health Emergency, ambulatory selling practices and marketplaces became highly controversial topics in Peru. The specific tension can be briefly formulated as follows. In their quality as nodes of exchange, they were one of the main "suspects" regarding the gathering of people and thus facilitating viral infection. From a sanitary and health perspective, it were precisely these sites that need to be drastically intervened and controlled in the interest of public safety. At the same time, they were essential from at least two further perspectives: First, regarding the population's supply needs and, second, as central workplaces for those engaged in commercial activities.

The numerous commercial sites in Tacna are a manifestation of the eminently dynamic character of the bordering city. It was here where merchants exchanged their products for clients' money, where internal migrants and their descendants encountered *tacneños netos*, where Peruvian citizens met with Chileans, and where further categories such as gender and ethnicity came into play.

From the beginning of the pandemic, it was precisely this characteristic, which converted commerce into a topic of dispute. Authorities had to enforce the national decree, controlling public space and commercial activities. Simultaneously, they aimed to guarantee the population's supply with "essential goods" by approving their

[14] Intentions of controlling national borders in the region had already become increasingly relevant throughout the years before the pandemic. See, for instance, Alvites Baiadera 2019.

commercialization in spaces such as soccer stadiums or other open fields in various parts of the city.

Here, to prevent congestion and thus creating new "hot-spots" of contagion, different biosecurity measures were introduced, further refined, adapted, and in some cases discarded again. Some examples are facemasks, facial protectors, gloves, and disinfection facilities and their use as requirements for entering the street markets. Additionally, police and military personnel controlled the compliance of the established security measures at the entrances to commercial centers of products of basic necessity.

On the part of the regional authority, the *Municipalidad Provincial de Tacna*, there were further attempts to reduce mobility in what concerned the *Mercado Grau*, the main supply center in the city. At the end of March, the decision was reached to allow only one part of the population per day to leave their houses to provide the household with essential goods. More precisely, those whose ID card number ended in an uneven digit (1, 3, 5, 7, 9) had permission on uneven days of the month, while those with an even (2, 4, 6, 8, 0) number were allowed to leave on even days of the month. At the entrances to the street markets in the city of Tacna, thus, this was controlled by security personnel and the police[15].

Some days later, this regulation underwent a change. Instead of regulating permissions based on identification, the *Decreto Supremo N° 057-2020-PCM* made a person's gender decisive. Women, it decreed, could only leave the home to acquire household supplies on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, while man could do so on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. However, contrary to the intended objective, markets and other centers of essential supply were significantly more crowded on "women's days." The decree had failed to consider the unequal distribution of responsibilities regarding reproductive labor in households. Therefore, it was rescinded after only one week, having been in effect from April 3 to April 10 of 2020.

The border closure and reopening

In Tacna, the border closure that went along with the Sanitary Emergency had severe consequences for the possibilities of the so-called economic reactivation. As a city of commerce and services specialized in the satisfaction of Chilean tourists' needs, the

[15] See *Correo*, March 31, 2020, *Tacna: Caos con nuevo sistema de ingreso al mercado Grau.*

closure meant a barrier to launching "the new normality." The terrestrial border between Peru and Chile remained closed for the transport of people for over two years.

The negotiations regarding the reopening depended, of course, on the evolution of the virus, specifically the overall counts of new infections, hospitalized clients, and deaths. Furthermore, central for these was the development, the distribution and finally the application of the vaccines.

While the permission for international flights was foreseen for October 5, 2020[16], the first attempts to negotiate the reopening of the border were made at the beginning of October 2020[17]. Key stakeholders of these negotiations were those most affected by the border closure, namely collectives such as the vendors of the *galerías* in the city center and those working in the transport of people.

Soon it became clear that a reopening would not be an option without a majority of the population having received the vaccine[18]. Therefore, the local authorities proposed preferential treatment for the city regarding the distribution of the vaccines[19]. Vaccinations started in February 2021[20] with personnel working in the health sector and other essential workers. Thereafter, it was the turn people over 65 years. From Mid-July, people over 38 started to receive the first dose, leading to the official number of 44.4% of vaccinated *tacneños* in Mid-August[21]. In September, children started to receive the first dose. Eventually, in October 2021, so-called herd-immunity was reached in Tacna, meaning that over 75% of the population over 18 had received the vaccine[22]. It was not until this month that a reopening of the border for the transport of people was seriously considered.

On the Peruvian side, the high vaccination rates were highlighted and suspicions raised in what concerned the lack of determination on the Chilean side. Employment rates had

---

[16] See *Correo*, September 25, 2020, *Gobierno levanta cuarentena focalizada en Tacna*.
[17] See *Correo*, October 4, 2020, *Congresista solicita abrir la frontera con Chile*; *Correo*, October 16, 2020, *Gremios hacen fuerza para que reabran la frontera con Chile y se reactive el comercio; Correo*, October 21, 2020, *Colectiveros plantean iniciar viajes bioseguros entre Tacna y Arica*; *Correo*, October 22, 2020, *Galerías de la avenida Bolognesi no venden nada*.
[18] *Correo*, April 20, 2021, *Tacna exige vacunas contra la COVID-19 para reabrir frontera terrestre con Chile*.
[19] See *Correo*, May 23, 2021, *Urge abrir fronteras y flexibilizar medidas para la reactivación*.
[20] See *Correo*, Februrary 10, 2021, *Tacna recibirá su primer lote de vacunas para 1,706 profesionales de la salud*.
[21] See *Correo*, August 14, 2021, *El 44.4% de tacneños tiene las dos dosis contra la COVID-19*.
[22] See *Correo*, October 21, 2021, *Tacna alcanza inmunidad de rebaño al vacunarse el 75.2% de la población.*

raised and Chileans were forced to buy many of the products they would have acquired in Tacna previous to the pandemic in Arica[23]. The border closure, thus the accusation, had resulted in positive effects on Arica's economy, which led local authorities to prefer maintaining the closure.

In November, finally, the Chilean government announced the reopening of the terrestrial border for the beginning of December 2021[24]. The crossing would be possible when fulfilling the respective conditions, such as counting with insurance, having a negative COVID-19 test and their papers in order. The details on these conditions were discussed and called into question[25].

The necessary legal preparations were induced hastily on the Peruvian side[26]. The national rule regarding the border closure needed to be suspended again. It had been re-established in the *Decreto Supremo N° 023-2021-PCM*, published in February 2021, which had modified the *Decreto Supremo N° 189-2020-PCM* of November 2020, wherein the international transport of people had been allowed to restart progressively.

Only two days before the planned reopening, *Correo* reported, Chile postponed the date for the reopening of terrestrial border checkpoints with its neighboring countries for an undetermined amount of time, "until further notice." The official reason for that decision was the new variant of the SARS-CoV-2 virus called Omicron[27], which had led to concerns about the associated uncertainties regarding symptomatology and potential consequences.

Just before Christmas 2021, Chile announced the new date: the border would be opened on January 4, 2022[28]. The precise conditions and consequently the concrete steps of

---

[23] See *Correo*, October 18, 2021, *Empleabilidad en Arica aumentó un 14.5% tras el cierre de frontera.*
[24] See *Correo*, November 11, 2021, *Chile anuncia que reabrirá su frontera terrestre con Perú el 1 de diciembre*.
[25] See *Correo*, November 11, 2021, *Autoridades de Tacna enviarán documento al Ejecutivo para abrir frontera con Chile en diciembre*; *Correo*, November 18, 2021, *Tacna: Controles en la frontera serán independientes en Chile y Perú; Correo*, November 19, 2021, *"Las cosas no están claras para la reapertura de la frontera;" Correo*, November 11, 2021, *Se tiene listo el protocolo sanitario para reabrir la frontera; Correo*, November 19, 2021, *Transportistas solicitan que no les exijan prueba negativa de COVID-19*.
[26] See *Correo*, November 25, 2021, *Tacna: Malestar de gremios por demora en rehabilitación de la frontera*; *Correo*, November 27, 2021, *Superintendenta de Migraciones inspeccionó complejo Santa Rosa*; November 27, 2021, *PCM autoriza reapertura de frontera terrestre en diciembre*; November 29, 2021, *Tacna: La PCM autoriza el ingreso de personas por Chile desde este 1 de diciembre*.
[27] See *Correo*, November 29, 2021, *Chile pospone la reactivación de su frontera terrestre con Perú*; *Correo*, December 15, 2021, *Tacna: Preocupación por la no reapertura de la frontera con Chile*.
[28] See *Correo*, December 21, 2021, *Chile reabrirá la frontera terrestre con Perú el 4 de enero*.

control at the border were still to be defined in detail. They were part of Chile's *Plan Fronteras Protegidas*. Between others, it counted with a digital control tool concerning the detailed information on the vaccines received by the traveler, namely the *pase de movilidad*. The Chilean government only a few days earlier discarded this second date, too[29]. Chile wanted to maintain the lower infection rates in comparison to the neighboring countries. In Peru, with the beginning of 2022, the "third wave" of accelerated infection reached Tacna partly due to the imprudence regarding the biosecurity measures during the Christmas and New Year's Holidays.

The repeated postponement of the border's opening for the transport of people on the part of Chile highlighted the city's economic dependency of tourism from this neighboring country. Even though different commercial sites had already opened and developed detailed biosecurity protocols, without Chilean tourism "economic reactivation" was not taking place. At least discursively, efforts were made to stress Tacna's potential regarding tourism from other Peruvian regions and Bolivia[30]. Some programs were launched to encourage mobility from places other than Chile.

The border was finally opened on 1 May, 2022, after it had been closed for over two years. During the third phase of fieldwork, which took place after the reopening, commercial sites had gained clients. Vendors reckoned that Chilean tourism returned step by step.

Itinerant trade in times of COVID-19

The public discussions on the one hand and controlling practices regarding itinerant trade practices on the other hand depended on the unfolding of the pandemic, too. National regulations had to be taken into account as much as Tacna's specificities.

With the general progressive reopening of commercial sites in the city from July 2020 onwards, ambulatory trade, notwithstanding the prohibitions, started to reappear more visibly on the city's streets. We will describe this reappearance of traders in the city and particularly regarding the three street markets with further detail in (Part V). For now, it

[29] See *Correo*, December 21, 2021, *Tacna: Se suspende reapertura de frontera con Chile por segunda vez.*
[30] See *Correo*, November 11, 2021, *Gremios turísticos y comerciales reclaman que se abra la frontera pero con Bolivia*; *Correo*, December 2, 2021, *Tacna: Región lanza campaña pese a que frontera continúa cerrada*; *Correo*, December 21, 2021, *Tacna: Sector comercio y turismo apuesta por reactivar economía con Bolivia*; *Correo*, December 27, 2021, *Empresarios bolivianos interesados en promocionar a Tacna*; *Correo*, December 31, 2021, *"Por Miss Rutas", la nueva apuesta del turismo regional.*

is suffice to say that this reappearance was gradual and not at all linear. As much as the regulations regarding the border, rules and practices on the ground depended on the evolution of the pandemic.

In this regard, the declaration of the targeted quarantine, *cuarentena focalizada*, in Tacna in August of 2020 made stricter and more vehement suppression of ambulatory trade necessary. It was declared due to the soaring infection rates and thus the lack of available health care facilities. Forbidding itinerant trade, showed to be utterly difficult. In the first place, there were many more ambulatory traders than there was controlling personnel. In the second place, vendors were well aware of the risks and inverted in preventive measures as much as possible. Furthermore, they argued convincingly that there was no choice for them regarding their ambulatory trade practices: they needed to occupy the streets in order for them and their families to subsist.

The targeted quarantine was lifted at the end of September and in October, the curfew, *toque de queda*, on Sundays was eventually dismissed, too. ambulatory and itinerant trade were expected to be regulated by the local authorities who were responsible for avoiding congestion and thus new foci of infection. The pandemic, however, developed in "waves."

In Tacna's case, Christmas meant a new rise in contagion at the beginning of 2021. Towards the end of January, the effects of the social gatherings in the preparation and celebration of the holidays became evident: cases of new infection exploded. First, the *toque de queda* at night was extended again[31], a measure that affected those vendors normally selling after 19:00 h.

In the following days, hospitals were overcrowded, controls intensified, and new focal quarantines considered[32]. Temporal detention centers were launched, which served for people who did not respect the biosecurity protocols[33]. The infection rates soared and death tolls rose[34].

[31] See *Correo*, January 20, 2021, *Toque de queda afecta a más de 10,000 comerciantes*; *Correo*, January 24, 2021, *Policía y ejército refuerzan control durante toque de queda en Tacna*.
[32] See *Correo*, January 23, 2021, *Cuarentena focalizada se podría ampliar en Tacna*; *Correo*, January 31, 2021, *Policías y militares controlan aforo en los mercados*.
[33] See *Correo*, January 31, 2021, *Tacna: Crean centros de retención para los infractores*.
[34] See *Correo*, February 3, 2021, *La COVID-19 está matando a más personas en esta segunda ola*.

Consequently, in mid-February, a new *cuarentena focalizada* was decreed. Vendors of various *galerías* and of the *Cachina* market protested against this measure[35]. Merchants of different city districts assured that they understood the situation but that their financial situation did not allow them to stay at home any longer. They had no insurance, let alone a stable income, and they depended on the possibility of working on Tacna's streets. They emphasized that they would follow the protocols in place and made suggestions such as elaborating a plan to work in shifts to lower the risk of contagion[36]. Overall, vendors primarily insisted on their right to work. After this "second wave" of high infections, the third was predicted for the month of April.

The newspaper reported that the mayor of *Alto de la Alianza*, regarding this situation of evermore contagion, was not aiming at evicting the vendors from the district's streets. Rather, he stated, they would opt for other strategies such as sensitization and education regarding the security measures and the risks of not sticking to the protocols. He repeatedly stressed the lack of personnel and the high number of people depending on the itinerant trade activities[37].

[35] See *Correo*, February 16, 2021, *Comerciantes de la "Cachina" protestan contra la cuarentena en Tacna*.
[36] See *Correo* February 17, 2021, *Con protesta rechazan cuarentena extrema en Tacna*; *Correo* February 24, 2021, *Comerciantes protestaron contra el encierro y el derecho a trabajar*.
[37] See *Correo*, February 2, 2021, *Municipio de Alto de la Alianza no retirará a feriantes*.

5 Institutionalized Precarity and the Imperative of Justification

The three street markets are diverse and dynamic nodes in which flows of people, material, and ideas meet and intersect. Rural migrants "appear" in public space, making struggles regarding issues of recognition and redistribution, in short, the political character of public space, tangible. As street markets, they are a shared setting in which strangers meet and relate. Therefore, interaction is organized along informal scripts that facilitate communication.

Different stakeholders in the context of the city are interested in the market for different reasons. The varied interest groups support or oppose the taking place of the markets. The neighbors and their associations, for instance, are generally the most visible group to oppose the street markets' taking place. "Formal" vendors and their associations are relevant in this regard, too.

On the other hand, there are also those stakeholders that directly or indirectly benefit from the street markets and their dynamics. Ambulatory vendors and those working "around" the street markets by helping with transport, offering infrastructure, or simply taking advantage of the density of people are the most obvious examples in this regard.

The local authorities, namely the municipalities of the respective quarters, are the representatives of the State and responsible for regulating and controlling ambulatory trade. The three street markets occupy a particular location in-between the "formal" and the "informal." As they count with specified permissions and are represented through associations, the street markets' itinerant traders are "more formal" than other ambulatory vendors. At the same time, they are "less formal" than their colleagues working indoors.

Put differently, the permits of the three street markets depend on the current local authorities and are not permanent in nature. Therefore, the aforementioned stakeholders that are critical of the markets' existence question them altogether. Opponents and supporters are constantly negotiating.

This particular constellation implies a permanent pressure for the markets, their vendors and associations, to "prove" and argument their righteousness. They are exposed to a constant "imperative of justification" (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006) since they depend

on their being perceived as legitimate in the urban contexts, by local authorities and on the part of the other urban dwellers.

Specifying the Imperative of Justification

Street marketers and their respective associations draw on different arguments for their legitimacy. These contribute to their persisting "in-between." The first, of course, is related to their utility for the district's supply needs. The street markets offer all sorts of different merchandise in only one site and are thus part of the infrastructure that provides citizens with basic and not-so-basic products. The second, however, relates to the vendor's situation—or what others assume about this situation. Regarding the few possibilities of participating in the labor market otherwise and the simultaneous need to subsist, informal trade is defended a respectable manner to generate income. The third argument is related to the markets' tradition. Present in the city and engaging in ambulatory trade for over three decades, street markets draw on their historicity when arguing for legitimacy.

All of these arguments remit not only to the different roles that vendors take in the unfolding of everyday market dynamics, such as "vendor," "parent," or "vendor's association member," but also to the different "worlds" that these roles belong to. The coincidence of the different worlds is constantly palpable in the markets. Vendors do not only act as vendors[38]. Additionally to the professional activity of offering high-quality products and a competent service—aligned with the ideal of "customer first"—merchants often directly refer to their parenting and domestic responsibility to convince clientele regarding a purchase[39].

In sum, the street markets depend on their surroundings' perception regarding their legitimacy. Due to the eternally transitional character of the institutional arrangement of its taking place, they are under a constant imperative of justification. Since they derive their legitimacy from different "worlds" and consequently construct their righteousness

[38] Siebel 2016, p. 63 in reference to Bahrdt 1998 stated that market relations were highly specialized, meaning that participants could take only two roles, the role of the vendor or the role of the client. The thesis, on the contrary, stresses the simultaneity of roles that the participants in the street markets "take" or "represent."

[39] The particularity of this situation becomes more evident when related to other commercial settings and their respective informal "scripts." One would rather be surprised if an employee of a supermarket, for instance, argued in favor of a client´s purchase in reference to his or her "personal" or family situation. The characteristic of highly scripted situations is precisely, that other roles fade into the background. This anonymity facilitates communication and lowers the risk for conflict.

referencing different “orders of worth,” these are inscribed in the markets’ everyday dynamics and interactions.

Their taking place, thus, is a fragile outcome of negotiations between different actors with differing interests and has no temporal guarantee. The fragility of the arrangement has become particularly evident throughout the pandemic. Former arguments supporting or opposing street markets were reframed in that context and former lines of negotiation became visible.

To be able to look at these manifestations of justification in the street markets more closely, after presenting the emerging aims and questions of research, we proceed to introduce to Luc Boltanski’s and Laurent Thévenot’s framework regarding justification in a detailed manner. This framework allows for dissecting specific situations and interactions in and around the market, attending the elements of justification they carry.

5.1 Aim and Questions

As already stated in the introduction, this thesis examines itinerant trade practices in three street markets—*Feria de la Chacra a la Olla, Feria Boliviana* and *Feria del Altiplano*—in the city of Tacna at the triple border between Peru, Chile, and Bolivia, particularly in times of the COVID-19 pandemic caused by the SARS-CoV-2 virus.

We remember the general research question:

- How did stakeholders negotiate the righteousness of itinerant trade practices?

Consequently, the respective general aim of the thesis is to understand how stakeholders reached the fragile agreement regarding the continuation of street markets particularly in the context of COVID-19.

At the beginning of the project, we followed the general research question: How did the vendors of the three street markets in Tacna maintain their selling practices, notwithstanding the difficulties resulting from the COVID-19 pandemic? Throughout the abductive research process, it became clear that, due to the fragile institutional constellation of the street markets discussed in the previous chapter, "routines of justification" play a vital role in the everyday dynamics—especially, but not exclusively, in times of crisis.

Justification is an integral part of the itinerant trade practices in the city. Research revealed that although the pandemic notoriously affected itinerant trade practices, the COVID-19 crisis was woven into existing patterns of dispute. Within these patterns, the practice and its various aspects are simultaneously criticized and continuously (re-)produced as legitimate.

The thesis' general aim, thus, is twofold:

First, the thesis aims at following these disputes "on the ground," examining specific situations (relocation) and reconstructing the prominent lines of critique (see Part V, Chapter 1 and 2). In doing so, it explores the "orders of worth" that the actors evoke and offers an innovative perspective for looking at street markets.

Second, the thesis seeks to follow the patterns of justification regarding the itinerant trade practices in the street markets (see Part V, Chapter 3 and 4). This includes non-discursive elements of justification. It highlights how critique and justification occur not only in the discourse in and around everyday market life but also in itinerant trade practices.

Consequently, the specific research question are:

- Q1.1 Who were the main stakeholders involved in the disputes?
- Q1.2 What were the main critiques throughout the disputes regarding the relocation of the *Feria del Altiplano*? Which of these critiques were specific to the COVID-19 pandemic?
- Q2.1 What were the individual ways vendors navigated the difficult situation regarding itinerant trade practices due to COVID-19?
- Q2.2 What were collective ways of staging discord regarding the decisions made throughout the pandemic?
- Q3.1 Which are the "routines of justification" taking place in the everyday dynamics of the street markets?
- Q3.2 Which "orders of worth" evoke the critiques and the justifications?

5.2 Plan of the Thesis

The thesis consists of five parts. The aim of the former part was threefold: it presented the three street markets at the center of the study, locating them a) theoretically, b) geographically and c) temporarily. It highlighted the fragile institutional agreement that place the street markets at the margin of "formal" commercial activities, putting them under a particular pressure to justify their taking place. This institutionalized precarity was particularly visible in times of COVID-19.

In the following second part, we will examine the conceptual underpinnings of the project, thereby displaying its theoretical relevance. The section clarifies the manuscript's overall theoretical perspective and provides the conceptual tools to analyze the negotiation processes in the street markets. It discusses practice theory approaches alongside the "orders of worth" framework. Eventually, it presents the thesis' conceptual contribution, namely "routines of justification." This proposition will be central for the fifth part of the manuscript.

The third part has a twofold objective. The first aim is the construction of an overview on the theoretical perspectives that underpin empirical studies on streets markets and itinerant trade—particularly but not only in the region. It shows that the literature on the topic can be better understood when taking into account the different "worlds" and thus "orders of worth" present in so-called "informal" trade. The second aim, consequently, is to show how the different perspectives tend to claim one of the worlds as the most relevant for evaluating the social phenomenon.

The forth part presents the overall research design and the particular techniques used throughout the study. It thus elaborates on the abductive design, qualitative observation, interviews, and document revision, connecting these to the theoretical chapter on the one hand and the research questions on the other hand. Additionally, it offers methodological reflections on crafting together and drawing in fieldwork.

The final fifth part takes the conceptual proposition, the "routines of justification" to Tacna's street markets. It consists of five subchapters. The first lays the groundwork for the following, with a chronicle regarding the beginning of the pandemic and the progressive so-called "economic reactivation." After the chronicle, which is primarily a reconstruction of the events and topics published in the local newspaper regarding ambulatory and itinerant trade, it elaborates on the theme of relocation. It contrasts the

publicly discussed topics in what concerns the relocation of the *Feria del Altiplano* in 2020 with those of a previous relocation in 2006.

In the second chapter of Part V, we reconstruct the negotiation processes between the different actors and their diverging interests. Therefore, the chapter examines the main stakeholders involved in the disputes. It discusses the main topics of conflict, specifies the respective critiques, and draws on the specificities regarding the situation during COVID-19.

The third chapter of the fifth part looks at the patterns of justification regarding itinerant trade practices, particularly—but not exclusively—in times of crisis. Therefore, the first subchapter presents some exemplary individual accounts of the vendors regarding the first months of the pandemic. These complement the chronicle with personal narratives. Subsequently, the second focuses on collective ways of staging protests. Temporarily, it is located in 2022, when vendors of the relocated street market started to claim back their right to public space. It considers the overall situation and analyzes the central aspects of these protests.

Finally, "Righteousness in Practice" draws on those elements of itinerant trade practices that incorporate the common critiques towards ambulatory trade and street markets and defend their righteousness. It examines the "routines of justification" in the everyday market dynamics. It is the last part of the thesis' *praxeography*.

The fifth part connects the former parts with Boltanski's and Thévenot's framework, which Part II presents. It reflects on the "orders of worth" evoked in the arguments and "routines of justification." Therefore, it aims to flesh out the differing orientations for "good" and "right" behavior and decisions the stakeholders present during the conflicts.

.

Part II. Theoretical Lenses and Posture of Inquiry

1 Introduction

In this chapter, we present the theoretical framework that the thesis relies on. It starts with a revision regarding practice theory approaches in the social sciences. These are key for understanding the theoretical overall angle from which itinerant trade in Tacna will be looked at throughout the thesis. To convey that particular way of looking at a social phenomenon, the first step is to present practice theory approaches, stressing their commonalities and particularities regarding other and previous theoretical endeavors. In a second step, those aspects that are particularly central to the present project will be fleshed out. Finally, practice theory approaches will be related to Luc Boltanski's and Laurent Thévenot`s framework.

As we have seen in the first chapter, street markets are composed of vendors who organize in associations. They temporarily occupy public space and do not automatically count with permission. Unlike other commercial sites, street markets do not have basic infrastructure such as water and electricity. However, this is precisely why they have lower costs and are known for offering products at lower prices. Given that the market dynamics attract people and offer options for collaboration and earnings, the neighborhoods where they take place economically profit from them. On the downside, some neighbors disapprove of the street markets in front of their houses.

In short, from the moment street markets emerge, they are under a specific pressure to "show" and "perform" their righteousness. The thesis will explore the different manners in which this righteousness is conveyed on the one hand and questioned on the other. To do so, it will draw on the "orders of worth" framework initially developed by Luc Boltanski and Laurent Thévenot (2006).

The second part of this chapter, thus, will present the framework in its scholarly context. After a more general presentation, it will draw on aspects of particular interest to the thesis. This partly happens in reference to further texts of the authors mentioned before and other published works that relate to and build on the framework. The main aim of this second part is to convey the particular vocabulary that the authors introduce to speak about justification processes. Understanding the main lines of their argument is, at the same time, the introduction to the more empirically oriented parts of the thesis.

The third part presents the connections between practice theory approaches and the "orders of worth" framework that the thesis draws on.

2 Practice Theory Approaches and Social Theory

To speak about practices and their role in social theory, the first to be mentioned is Theodore Schatzki. He is broadly cited in what concerns practice theory, having been one of the first, together with Karin Knorr-Cetina and Eike von Savigny (2001), to broadly promulgate the idea of a "practice turn" in the social sciences[40].

The idea of "turns" is based on Thomas Kuhn's (1996) elaborations on changing scientific paradigms. It puts into question Karl Popper's idea about the falsification of theoretical assumptions (hypothesis). From this perspective, an empirical finding that is not in accordance with the theoretical foundation in question challenges its validity. Consequently, this finding should lead to abandoning the very theoretical foundation. However, following Kuhn, this is not what usually happens in the sciences. Instead of immediately abandoning a theoretical assumption in revealing an anomaly, it was rather modified or adapted. Even in fields perceived as creators of objective truths, the so-called "hard sciences," the collective construction of scientific theory is critical.

What did announcing a "practice turn" in contemporary theory mean? The popularity of seeing "practices" as the site of the social in theory development can be best understood by looking at one of the key proceedings of sociology and theory building in this discipline.

Starting with Talcott Parsons and the convergence thesis, one of the main sociological "moves" is to refer to established theories or currents of social theory and their advocates to highlight emerging contradictions. Subsequently, an innovative theoretical solution to these contradictions is offered. This might also relate to identifying—as in Parson's case—convergences in quite distinct theoretical approaches (see Joas and Knöbl 2009).

Similarly, the "first generation" (Hui et al. 2017, p. 1) of practice theorists in sociology, namely Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002) and Anthony Giddens[41] offered different answers to the question of how to reconcile different strands of theory. Namely, they addressed the challenge of integrating theories focused on macro-structures as determining social

[40] For cultural turns, see Bachmann-Medick (2016).

[41] The authors mentioned here are not the only ones considered "first generation" of practice theory approaches. However, there are differing opinions of who does belong into this list and who does not. Giddens and Bourdieu whatsoever are generally among them.

life on the one hand with those engaged with autonomous and rational actors who make individual choices on the other hand.

Bourdieu's empirical and theoretical works focus on explaining the reproduction of social differences through analyzing practice[42]. Stating that structure is central to how the individual acts, he also acknowledges the indeterminacies of action, the actors' possibility to exploit the same structure, in short, the role of agency. This is conceptually solved in the notion of habitus—"systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize 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 to attain them" (Bourdieu 1992, p. 53). Even though possible, changes in habitus is slow.

The habitus concept aims at "transcending" (Bourdieu 1977, p. 55) the antinomies of "determinism and freedom, conditioning and creativity, consciousness and the unconscious, or the individual and society" (ibid.). Another critical contribution is the concept of capital that Bourdieu develops. With the diversification of types of capital, his works allowed a more precise analysis of class and "filled the gap" concerning culture in materialist approaches (Joas and Knöbl 2013, p. 537). *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1977) was the groundwork for his concepts and empirical contributions. In this book, the main idea of offering a synthesis between structural and rational choice approaches is already palpable, which would be explicitly refined on a conceptual level in later publications.

Anthony Giddens also points to reconciling structure and agency by introducing *structuration*. This term underlines the dynamic character of what can be perceived as structure and respects the actor's agency. Actors are described as "knowledgeable agents" (Giddens 1985, p. 281) who are experts in their daily lives and know about the conditions and about the outcomes of their actions. Even if he stresses that actors are competent to reflect and reason about what they do, he puts a very strong emphasis on the role of routines. Routine "is the predominant form of day-to-day activity" (p. 282). It is the

[42] The "move from structure to practice," as Wacquant puts it in Wacquant and Akçaoğlu 2017, p. 56.

driving force of the reproduction of "institutionalized practices" (ibid.), and it could finally be considered as making structuration possible.

Said this, the statement "practice theory has emerged as a potent challenger to prevalent ways of thinking about human life and sociality" (Schatzki et al. 2001, p. 1) becomes our point of departure and the answer to the question posed above. In 2003, Andreas Reckwitz published a paper called "*Grundelemente einer Theorie sozialer Praktiken*" (2003), an extension of his formerly published "Toward a Theory of Social Practices" (2002), in which he convincingly synthesizes those approaches that localize the "social" in practices as juxtaposed to structures or the individual.

It is another text broadly cited in the literature on social practices. In it, Reckwitz assembled different approaches focused on practice, then situated them in the current panorama of social (and cultural) theory, further systematized them by stressing their similarities and comparable properties, and finally pointed to the ambivalences in and between these different approaches.

To sum up, there is no unified practice theory[43]. What the outlined "family of theories" (Reckwitz 2002, p. 244), the "body of ideas" (Hui et al. 2017, p. 1) or the "diffuse movement" (Shove et al. 2012, p. 6) have in common is "that something called 'practice' is central to social life" (Hui et al. 2017, p. 1). There are different conceptualizations concerning the term. What they share from the point of view of Hui et al. is "that practices consist in organised sets of actions, that practices link to former wider complexes and constellations—a nexus—and that this nexus forms the 'basic domain of study of the social sciences'" (Hui et al., 2017, p. 1; citing Giddens, 1984, p. 2).

2.1 Practice Theory in the Thesis

Schäfer (2016) understands practices in terms of dynamic repetition, which makes space for stability at the same time as for innovation and spontaneity (p. 140). Practices were recognizable and experienceable formations of action embodied and performed (p. 142). They were always both structure and event (p. 155). Furthermore, they depended on subjects who "effectuated" them competently, citing this "circulatory repertoire" and thereby, at the same time, adapting and transforming it. The term repetition was better

[43] Sherry Ortner, in the 1980s, was one of the first to use this term; see Hui et al. 2017, p. 1. See, for instance, Ortner 2006.

suited for understanding practices than routine, as it was also apt to account for not regularly exercised practices in individual biographies such as marriages.

Schmidt (2012), regarding the plurality of practice theory approaches, states that it was to be understood as a posture of inquiry, a strategy for searching and finding, an approach, and a methodology of praxeologization ("*Methodologie der Praxeologisierung*"). In this sense, he proposes the term "praxeography" (*Praxeografie*) in relation to ethnography, which will be picked up again in Part IV.

The author furthermore states: "The particularity of this way of thinking is that practice is simultaneously concrete and abstract, it can be observed and yet withdraws definitive reification, because it always refers to other times, places and entities on which its existence depends" (p. 144). The fundamental principle of analysis in practice theory was that instead of focusing on mono-causal explanations, the practice's embeddedness in "a net of relations" was made central, following these relations, making them visible and explicit (p. 144). This perspective aligns with the idea that practices consist of different elements, including bodies, things, and knowledge (Reckwitz 2002; Shove et al. 2012).

Summing up, the present project understands practice theory as a promising posture of inquiry concerning itinerant trade practices in Tacna. First, it situates both change and stability in everyday practices without binarily opposing them. Second, it understands practice not solely as "what somebody does" but instead as composed of different elements—all of which are constitutive for the practice—which "are picked" up and "performed" by subjects that are endowed with "competences."

This posture of inquiry means a shift in perspective: rather than focusing on individuals or structures, it asks about the constitutive elements of practice and their mutual relationships. Finally, social practices are understood as those sites in which mechanisms of reproduction, as much as contestation and subversion or innovation, are taking place and thus become observable. They are the space of the social. As they depend on their existence in a shared repertoire and their constant enactment, they are as much dependent on the "mind" as on the "body," overcoming yet another dichotomy.

The thesis follows social practices approaches, which situate the "social" in practices. We assume that it is in practice that "agency" and "structure" manifest. In what follows, to eventually draw the connection between both, we complement these theoretical considerations regarding practice theory with reflections from French Pragmatism.

3 Orders of Worth

"On Justification" (2006) is one of the main results of a broader research program initiated by Luc Boltanski and Laurent Thévenot. Corcuff (1995) calls this program a "new sociology of public justification." Sánchez-Hernández and Moro-Guitiérrez (2019) refer to it as a "convention theory," highlighting that it was also called "theory of the orders or regimes of justification" (p. 109). Albert and Davidenko (2018) privilege the label "sociology of critical capacity." Jagd (2011), in reference to a variety of authors, further stretches this list of labels, including "French Institutional Theory," "Economies of Worth Perspective," and, finally, "Pragmatic Sociology." This latter term is also the one chosen by Mohamed Nachi for his introductory work on the program (2006), "*Introduction à la sociologie pragmatique*" in which the author delineates and specifies this program.

This introduction (Nachi 2006) includes a preface written by Luc Boltanski. In it, he clarifies: "*l'appellation de sociologie pragmatique s'est imposée de l'extérieur plutôt que de l'intérieur*" (p. 9). Besides clarifying that the "label" Pragmatic Sociology was "external" to the "movement," he stresses the diversification of perspectives and fields that scholars were turning towards and the lack of "internal" propositions of systematization—this project being precisely the contribution of Nachti's work.

The label "Pragmatic Sociology" is not directly a reference to the US-American pragmatists (Dewey, James, Pierce), as Boltanski further lays out in the preface. US-American pragmatism had influenced the development of theory rather indirectly through Mead's Symbolic Interactionism and Garfinkels Ethnomethodology. The author instead highlights the reference to linguistic pragmatism: "*le terme de pragmatique fait plutôt référence à la pragmatique linguistique en tant qu'elle met l'accent sur les usages que les acteurs font de ressources grammaticales à l'épreuve des situations concrètes dans lesquelles ils se trouvent plongés*" (Nachi 2006, p. 9)[44].

It is in this sense that Joas and Knöbel (2009) identify Luc Boltanski as a representative of a generation of French theorists who explicitly formulate their critiques regarding the structuralist school (see also Jagd 2013, p. 345), including aspects of Pierre Bourdieu's work. At the center of this critique stands the idea—that Boltanski shares with interactionist or ethnomethodological scholars (see Joas and Knöbl 2009, p. 540)—that

[44] For a more detailed description see also Boltanski 2011.

"actors reach decisions in very specific situations and under contingent circumstances" (ibid). The decision is neither located "in" the individual alone nor determined by the structure. Instead, it is at a particular time, in a particular place, under given circumstances, and embedded in interaction that decisions are made and action takes its form.

Said differently, the program touches upon is a recurrent topic in social theory, namely the question about the "drivers" that give action their direction. What it offers is an interesting "twist" regarding previous perspectives. It does not focus on socially shared and individually incorporated "values," "norms," "dispositions," or the like (as would structuralist perspectives). Neither does it focus on motivational drivers located in the individual's psyche (as would psychology-inspired perspectives) or call on the individual's rationality (as would rational choice approaches). Instead, the "orders of worth" perspective looks at the forms of justification (the "*ressources grammaticales*," as Boltaksi put it) that actors display regarding their actions. Consequently, instead of conceptualizing "norms" or "values" as something stable and the primary orientation for action, the interest is put in the dynamic process of negotiating and modifying evaluations in specific social situations. These social situations are characterized by "uncertainty and ambiguity" (Jagd 2011, p. 345).

Nachti further stresses the program's proximity to Science and Technology Studies. He mentions as much British David Bloor, known for his early contributions to the current, as the influential works of Bruno Latour and Steve Woolgar and their Actor-Network Theory. There are various overlaps in the terms and concepts used here and in the development of the "framework." We will look at some of these terms by presenting the before-mentioned key work regarding Pragmatic Sociology.

3.1 On Justification—Presenting the Book

"On Justification" was first published in French in 1991 and translated into English in 2006. In the book, Luc Boltanski and Laurent Thévenot flesh out a framework that allows for understanding in a systematic and nuanced way how individuals and groups criticize and justify objects or practices in given situations. The book is written in a noteworthy language, presenting the outcome of their previous empirical work more broadly. Additionally to presenting the book's structure, this part will draw on the particular

"vocabulary" the authors develop, highlighting those aspects that are key throughout the present thesis and connecting them to practice theory approaches.

Additionally to an introduction and an epilogue, the book counts five parts. In the first, the foundations for the others are laid by exemplifying the different "underlying principles for agreement" elaborated by the discipline of sociology on the one hand and economy on the other hand. The authors prepare the different strings of argument that they develop throughout the following chapters: different higher common principles regarding social order, the coordination of action, dispute and justification, and the collective creation of legitimacy.

In "Polities" (*cités*), they refer to five authors of political philosophy. They flesh out the "higher common principle," which is central in each for justifying a legitimate order between people: "inspiration in Augustine's *City of God*, the domestic principle in Bossuet's *Politcs*, the signs of glory and the value of fame in Hobbes' *Leviathan*, the general will in Rousseau's *Social Contract*, wealth in Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, and industrial efficiency in Saint-Simon's *Du système industriel*" (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, p. 14). These works are understood as answers to the question of how agreements are reached and are thus the foundation for a sort of "ideal types" of possible "orders of worth." In other words, people's efforts to justify are oriented towards different possible "orders of worth."

In "Common Worlds," they elaborate that the different "orders" stemmed from a "common model" (ibid. p. 65): All the "ordering" relied on six principles, namely the principle of common humanity (a1), the principle of differentiation (a2), common dignity (a3), the order of worth (a4), the investment formula (a5), and the common good (a6). The first refers to the group of people considered part of humanity. The second hints at the different possible states for these members, which must be justified and tested. The third concerns the same "power" for every member to access these differentiated states. These states are not equal but hierarchically ordered, as four affirms. Five connects the advantages of a higher state to costs and sacrifices. The last principle "posits that happiness, which increases as one moves toward the *higher states*, is beneficial to the polity as a whole, that is a *common good*" (p. 76).

Based on this, they differentiate six "polities" (*cités*), which rely on this common model: a) the inspired polity, b) the domestic polity, c) the polity of fame, d) the civic polity, e)

the market polity, and f) the industrial polity. Even though they rely on the same principles, ordering and coordinating took different forms in these polities.

The authors make explicit that they are interested in "the relations between the kinds of coordinating efforts people make in ordinary situations, on the one hand, and philosophical constructions of a principle of order and a common good, on the other" (ibid). Their aim here is to "show that the constraints brought to bear on constructions of order among human beings have just as much to do with political philosophies as with persons who are trying to reach agreement on the practical level, and that the abstract and systematic solutions proposed by the former correspond to the solutions actually adopted by the latter" (ibid). In other words, they are interested in everyday "situations" in which people coordinate and negotiate relying on the different "orders of worth" traceable in the classics of political philosophy.

They elaborate on the idea that there was no such thing as a stable order. Instead, the principle of common humanity led to a general instability regarding the states of the members since these were changeable and reliant on justification. From this perspective, social order is collectively created in a coordination effort between the members of a polity. This instability, the authors specify, resulted from the tension between this principle and the fourth, which implied the hierarchical order. Every state, once assigned, could be questioned at any moment. In short, the tension could lead to dispute.

Particularly interesting about their approach, as laid out above, is the idea that value systems exist simultaneously, creating a "new" understanding of complexity. Value systems are not tied to cultures, groups, or individuals. The authors do not suppose that actors, due to their internalized "ethical precepts or postures" (p. 151), apply the same principle over different circumstances of life. Rather, they "hypothesized that a given person can refer to any and all measures of worth" (p. 151) depending on the situation at hand. Thus, the authors account for complexity, not in reference to the diversity regarding the individuals and their backgrounds, but regarding the individuals' embeddedness in different situations. They go a step further than recognizing diversity by asking about the way groups deal with the potentially "problematic juxtaposition" of "cultures or value systems" about the manners through which they reach agreement.

To make their point, they focus on the "space" of business and draw on a particular material: manuals or guides for business people. They do so because they consider these

handbooks the place in which the previously outlined principles are deployed in an everyday realm. Written to instruct those involved in business about the "right way to behave and to make judgments" (p. 153), they refer to different "worlds" and their "orders of worth." This is somewhat surprising since one might suspect that manuals for business orient their "nuts and bolts" exclusively in the "market order." Contrarily, the authors list different works, each of which can be assigned to one of the previously listed "polities."

Their argument is that different "orders of worth" can be evoked in the same field or even in the same social situation. The "orders of worth" correspond to the six respective "common worlds." This notion of "world" (*monde*) refers to the concrete way in which the logics of the "polities" unfold in concrete situations. These worlds, which they present in a detailed manner in the third part of their book, are the *world of inspiration*, the *domestic world*, the *world of fame*, the *civic world*, the *market world*, and the *industrial world*.

The authors further explore how these "worlds" present themselves in everyday life. They examine social situations in which different "worlds" and their respective "orders of worth" enter into conflict, asking about the actors' critiques and justifications regarding behavior and the processes of reaching an agreement. The question here is how relative stability is reached after the insecurity caused by discord.

The framework they develop stresses that the foundation for everyday interaction was the individual's competences. Humans were reasonable. They were able to "recognize the nature of a situation and adapt to it" (p. 144). Agreement-reaching processes implied a "system of constraints" that actors were able to maneuver and thus to "function within these constraints" (ibid). Additionally, the "principles of justice and the worlds in which they are realized are not attached to persons or groups but are instead embedded in situations" (p. 145).

Consequently, "everyone encounters situations in daily life that arise from the various systems of justice, and in order to behave with naturalness, everyone has to be able to recognize these situations and adapt to them" (p. 145). They call this competence *moral sense*. They do not mean that people had studied the classics of political sciences to know the model. Instead, the different principles had a certain degree of universality precisely in the form of people's moral sense.

3.2 The "Orders of Worth" in the "Worlds"

Since understanding the different "worlds" that the authors lay out in their work is central to our empirical chapters, we will concisely present them in what follows. We recall that the "worlds" the authors "reconstruct" are based on business guides, meaning that these "ideal types" rely on explicit discourse regarding practices. People in search of practical advice are being instructed on the "right" and "correct" way of taking decisions for their practices.

The "orders of worth" belong to these respective "worlds." Following Sánchez-Hernández and Moro-Guitérrez (2019, p. 110), they are coherent sets of values and norms and thus conventions regarding acts and objects that the actors construct in an iterative process. They create reliable expectations concerning behavior in everyday situations, allowing actors to evaluate people's merit and justify their own behavior and ascribed status. As such, they reduce uncertainty and endow acts and people with legitimacy.

The aim of presenting the worlds here is to build the groundwork for the empirical chapters to associate with these ideal types regarding itinerant trade practices in the street markets. Justification, critiques, and negotiation in conflictual moments will be looked at with the help of this general classification of "worlds" and their respective "order of worth." Therefore, the "worlds" will be presented chronologically following the structure of Boltanski's and Thévenot's book (2006). Even though the authors include many further aspects, in this presentation, we will give a general overview of what is considered relevant and valuable in each "world." We will determine how worth is assessed in these different worlds.

We will see, however, that not all of them are of the same relevance in the street markets. We will specify this aspect in Part V, particularly Chapter 5.

3.2.1 The Inspired World (Le monde de l'inspiration)

The inspired world is the first presented by the authors. At the same time, it is the least stable of the orders. It was in this world where inspiration was the "higher common principle." It was less stable than other worlds since it did not count with objects (like clothing in the domestic world, for instance) or mechanisms of stabilization as some of the others. "What is worthy is what cannot be controlled" (p. 159) or measured as in the industrial world. It was derived from creativity and the intrinsic qualities connected to the

arts and creation. What is valued is singularity, transcendence, and meaning beyond the material world. It appreciates the spiritual and the emotional.

Worth (*grandeur*) is ascribed in relation to authenticity and creative or spiritual contribution. Achievements occur spontaneously and intuitively. They enrich human experience and do not depend on material wealth or social recognition. Consequently, there is no stable measure available for the inspired world; qualities refer to the intangible and transcendental.

3.2.2 The Domestic World (Le monde domestique)

The domestic world is rooted in tradition, hierarchies, and social bonds. These refer to the family, community, and social relationships one is embedded in. Consequently, it is bound to space and time, particularly the past, since it relies on these interpersonal dependencies. Continuity of practices, the preservation of tradition, and loyalty are highly valued. Regarding its stability, there are objects that foster the maintenance and transparency of order, such as clothing, titles, or bodily signs. Trust and tradition structure coordination.

Worth in this world is assessed based on one's place in the hierarchy. Respect for and correct enactment of the assigned roles are key. This is possible through fulfilling the expectations regarding the roles and the attached rules of impeccable conduct. What helps maintain the community and everything related to caring for it is considered of value. Consequently, "conventions, customs, or principles" (p. 175) are central for orientation. Furthermore, respect and reputation are considered highly important.

3.2.3 World of Fame (Le monde de l'opinion)

In the world of fame, in contrast to the last presented world, memory is unimportant. Just like the first world, it was not very stable, manifesting also in the lack of stabilizing objects or mechanisms. What was popular one day could be forgotten the next; it is not characterized by continuity as the domestic world. Worth in this world is ascribed to those who capture the attention of a broad audience and are publicly present. It is based on fame (*renom*), prestige, and appreciation.

Worth is assessed in purely relational terms. It depends on one's ability to influence trends and opinions and on the influence of one's brand and image. Achievements are attached

to the general reach regarding others and the concrete number of supporters. The public is the realm of this order.

3.2.4 The Civic World (Le monde civique)

Regarding the civic world, the authors stress that particular importance was ascribed to non-human entities, namely "collective entities" (*êtres collectifs*). The things and arrangements in this world were consequently destined to stabilize these, objectify and institutionalize them, and thus endow them with presence (see p. 185). In opposition to the inspired world, in which singularity is of value, in the civic world, people are expected to "make themselves the expression of a *general will* and the embodiment of a *general interest*" (see p. 185, original italics). Therefore, the figure of the representative is central. Since they have the power to speak for more than themselves, they are expected to express the aspirations of the larger group. This makes mechanisms and devices (rules, procedures, etc.) to control them an important aspect.

Group membership is the precondition for collective organization; regular encounters where the collective person becomes a physical being are vital. Solidarity, equality, and the principles of democracy are highly valued. Drivers in this world are social justice, the well-being of the community, and the protection of rights and freedoms. Consequently, participation and commitment regarding these in public life are understood as the responsibility of the members. Worth in this world was ascribed to one's contribution to the community by subordinating one's own interests to those of the collectivity. The sacrifice of one's own interests is fundamental for making collective action possible. The coordination principle is the collective will.

3.2.5 The Market World (Le monde marchand)

In this world, the individual's desires regarding valued objects motivate action. Possession is central in the market world; it defines the worth of its entity. Just as in the world of fame, memory and time are unimportant. Instability is not a defect as in the industrial world. People are not connected to each other through domestic bonds; instead they stand alone with a disposition to "engage in a *transaction*" (p. 200). The relations that take place in this world are business relations: "*Business* consists of at least two individuals plus an object whose *purchase* and *sale* they *negotiate*" (p. 201). Actors had to constantly observe the others not to miss any opportunity for gain. In short, "*Money* is

the measure of all things" (p. 202). In utilitarian philosophy, this world is the world of the individual, which is "detached from the chains of belonging and liberated from the weight of hierarchies" (p. 198) in contrast to those of the domestic world.

Worth in the market world is assessed regarding value—in terms of prices—on the market. Success is synonymous with possession and the principle of coordination is competition. Flexibility is highly regarded. Those who know how to make business and are successful regarding these market relations are those that are ascribed *grandeur*, worth.

3.2.6 The Industrial World (Le monde industriel)

The industrial world is the world of efficiency, method, and measure. Technological objects and manifold tools such as equipment, standards, and scientific methods are central here. In counter-position to the market world, time, particularly the future, is essential. Stability is a requirement as much as a precondition for operational excellence. This holds true since forecasting and planning are key for productivity and performance. It is the world of rationality in which processes are meticulously planned and measured to guarantee an optimal output. The relations in the industrial world are defined through a hierarchy of professional qualifications in terms of competences and responsibilities. Everything evolves smoothly towards the future, towards development and progress.

Entities are endowed with value when they are functional, predictable, and reliable. Put differently, those who contribute to the system's efficiency, help stabilize, and promote predictability are assessed as valuable. The functionality hints at the fact that every piece of the world has its function that it is expected to fulfill as efficiently as possible. Therefore, hard work that is in conformity with the task at hand and the respective competences has to be invested.

3.2.7 Summing up

Table 1: The "Orders of Worth" (overview adapted following Boltanski and Thévenot 2006)

The World	Characteristics	Worth (*grandeur*)
The Inspired World (*Le monde de l'inspiration*)	• Higher common principle: Inspiration • The least stable order • Creativity, art, creation, spontaneity • Singularity, transcendence, spirituality, emotion	• Authenticity • Creative or spiritual contribution • Experience
The Domestic World (*Le monde domestique*)	• Tradition, memory • Hierarchies, social bonds, interpersonal dependencies • Bound to time and space: past-oriented • Conventions, customs, principles	• Continuity, stability • Loyalty, respect, reputation • Conformity • Care for community
World of Fame (*Le monde de l'opinion*)	• Instability • Image, brand	• Influence, public opinion • Fame (*renom*) • Popularity, attention, support
The Civic World (*Le monde civique*)	• Community • Collective will • Representatives • Rules, procedures, laws • Rights and freedoms	• Solidarity, equality, democracy • Social justice • The well-being of the community • Participation, commitment, personal sacrifice
The Market World (*Le monde marchand*)	• Valued objects, possession, money • Memory and time are not relevant • Instability, flexibility • Business and transaction • Competition	• Prices, gains, material value • Possession • Business competences
The Industrial World (*Le monde industriel*)	• Efficiency, performance • Method, measure, planning • Equipment, standards, rationality • Stability, hierarchy • Future-oriented, forecasting	• Functionality • Predictability • Stability • Hard work • Contribution to efficiency

The framework, even though first published in 1991, did not appear regularly in the production of empirical studies in international journals until more or less a decade ago. Different factors might have influenced this "delay." First, the book's translation into English was not published until 2006, 15 years after its French counterpart. Second, as we have seen, the authors wrote their book in an innovative language, developing their own vocabulary throughout the text. To grasp the proposition and its implication for social theory, immersion in this way of "narrating" theory is essential. The authors' work, in this way, bypasses the contemporary tendency to present research in an evermore "efficient" way.

As a theoretical orientation or as an analytical framework, it has been applied in organization studies (Cloutier et al. 2017). As these are interested in the "production of order and change in organizations" (Jagd 2011, p. 344), the framework adds to the debate on organizations relying on "plural rationalities."

However, this particular vocabulary and some of the theoretical schemes—also stemming from Science and Technology Studies and Actor-Network Theory—found their way into local empirical studies. They became more or less explicit drivers for formulating research interests and shaped what was considered worth "looking at" when trying to dissect "the social" in concrete phenomena. We will draw on this with more detail in Part III.

4 Assembling the Perspectives

After this rather general overview over the two perspectives that are relevant for the thesis, we will flesh out some of the central ideas and concepts that they have in common before than elaborating the thesis' conceptual proposition of "routines of justification."

4.1 The Actor and the Situation

Both, practice theory approaches and French Pragmatism, as we have seen, develop a particular perspective on the actor. The focal point of scholarly attention is not the individual, nor a group of individuals, a culture, or a society. Rather, both propositions hint at the importance of the situation and the particular composition of a social encounter. Individuals act at a particular time in a particular place while surrounded by other elements that influence the unfolding of the interaction. Both see the actors as "maneuvering" the constellations, equipped with the therefore crucial competencies and expertise.

Part of that expertise is the "fluency" in scripts. As mentioned in the introduction, the knowledge of how to interact appropriately in the street market is key for smooth communication between strangers and the prevention of difficulties regarding their exchange. Boltanski (2011) lays out that the notion of "competence" they employed was taken from generative linguistics. On its specific application in French Pragmatism he states: "We used it to refer to generative schemas whose presence must be assumed to account for the capacity of actors to produce acceptable critiques and/or justification *en situation*—that is to say, their sense of justice or their moral sense" (Boltanski 2011, p. 25). These scripts, thus, manifest in practice and become observable there.

The focus are precise situations. These are conceptualized as contingent and emerging. The outcome of social situations cannot be predicted. Their unfolding depend on the different elements of the situation.

4.2 Objects

Objects are of interest in both currents of sociological thought. Certainly in relation to Actor-Network theories, they share an interest in objects and the way in which these shape social situations and their unfolding. In "On Justification" (2006) the authors draw on how objects enable actors to draw on different "orders of worth." They are interested how

objects either stabilize, destabilize, and constitute shared interpretations of situations and interactions.

Practice theory approaches understand objects as an integral element of practices. Just as other elements, they shape practice. Rather than just passively "receiving" human activities, they also shape how these are carried out[45].

4.3 Complexity

Both practice theory approaches and the "order of worth" framework offer innovative propositions to understand and look at complexity in everyday life. Particularly the latter connects to different reflections on simultaneity and ambiguity that we want to draw on.

In the first place, Anna Tsing in her works on globalization from an anthropological perspective and particularly in "The Mushroom at the End of the World" (2015) uses the concept of polyphony to explain her approach. The concept is present in her work as much regarding her view on the task of anthropology as in reference to her own empirical work. Instead of locating ethnography's task in constructing a melody, she stresses the presence of different tones that were present simultaneously and that were far form harmonic. Instead of melody, the polyphony should be brought to the fore. In her empirical work "*Selva de colaboraciones*" (2013), she shows how she applies this idea. She narrates the story of different groups of people saving a part of the woods in the Indonesian Meratus Mountains from the activities of logging companies. In this narration, the collaboration between these groups is detailed in all their misunderstandings and incoherencies. Instead of constructing a narrative without contradictions, she constructs a narrative about contradictions.

In the second place—and spatially nearer at the three street markets of our concern—, Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui (2018) in reference to René Zavaleta suggests the concept of "*lo abigarrado*," meaning "of various colors, specifically if awkwardly combined" in its first acceptation, and "heterogeneous, gathered without prior agreement" in its second acceptation. She draws on that Spanish term before than referencing the equivalent Aymara and Quechua terms: *ch'ixi* o *ch'iqui*. Both had their origin in the mining towns of Potosí and Oruro and hinted to the combination of color and the unexpected behavior

[45] See, for instance, Gherardi 2017 who draws on the question of materiality in practice theory approaches in regard to the degree of agency ascribed to objects and artifacts.

they display in the process of intermingling. She uses this term to complexify the notion of "society," particularly in Bolivia, stressing ambiguity and incongruity. Just as Tsing, she draws on these aspects in terms of creative forces and cultural abundance hinting to the unchartered potential for social theory.

Thirdly, and lastly, Tim Ingold (2010) offers a similar metaphorical reflection in what concerns methodology in ethnography. Just like the formerly presented, he highlights the necessity to find new ways of "narrating culture" in anthropology—and ethnography respectively—beyond the ideas of holism, homogeneity, and linearity. Instead of metaphors of sound or color, as his colleagues, he uses the "painting" versus the "drawing." While the former supposes a "right whole" from the start, drawing rather "dwells." It was never really finished and one never knew exactly where it went next. The metaphor implied "drawing with" not "drawing about" the phenomenon of interest, it encouraged to participate, to follow, to make errors, and to go back: "Like the lines of a drawing, the lines of social life manifest histories of becoming in a world that is never complete but always work in progress" (Ingold 2010, p. 302).

The thesis sustains that these three reflections are an expression of the general tendency in social theory to attempt to broaden our possibilities to think about the "social" in terms complexity. The three above-mentioned scholars offer different metaphors to think about ambiguity, dissent, non-linearity, and open-endedness. While all of them find concrete ways in their work—scholarly and activist—to "translate" these reflections into practice, they don't make a structured proposition of how to get hold of this amplified notion of complexity in research.

While focusing on everyday practice, this thesis draws on the "orders of worth" framework to theoretically capture some of the aspects that this complexity entails. Just like laid out above, it looks at situations that are conceptualized as composed of different entities and as "composite situations." Actors are only one of these. They maneuver the unstable agreements and can draw on different "orders of worth" that are simultaneously present as part of a shared repertoire to justify or to criticize action. There are relationships between the different elements of the situation that are prone to change.

4.4 Reintegration of Norms and Values into the Toolkit of Culture

As an example of praxeological perspectives and their implications Reckwitz (2003) refers to studies regarding "cultural globalization." The developed lenses stood in opposition to the conceptualization of culture as "a sphere of shared norms and values or as a collective system of symbols" (p. 285) that was homogeneous in regard to one specific group of people or even an individual. He hints at Ann Swidler's notion of "culture as tool kit" (Swidler 1986), which stresses that culture provided agents with different "resources for constructing action" (Swidler 1986, p. 284).

Thinking this further, the framework offers the possibility to understand "norms and values" as part of this "toolkit," as a "competence" necessary for practice to take place. Rather than "attached to" cultures or subjects, they are available in the form of a shared repertoire. Different "worlds" with their respective "orders of worth" can be evoked in specific social situations. This takes place with the help of shared scripts and depends on the composition of the situation. Conventions are part of the abilities that enable agents to act competently in social situations. They help in the collective and negotiated process of order-making. Being able to draw on the "orders of worth" is part of the agent's "play-ability" in social situations (Alkemeyer and Buschmann 2017, p. 8ff.).

4.5 How the Perspectives Complement Each Other

Practice theory approaches that perceive of practices as being composed of different elements, generally draw on "competences" in connection with "tacit knowledge" (Polanyi 2016). These are thought of as being "present" as a possible source for drawing on in social situations. This, however, does not mean that they necessarily manifest in each social situation. On the contrary, they are selectively mobilized or not depending on the composition of each situation.

This conceptualization implies major methodological challenges: how can one "observe" these "competences" that might or might not manifest in practice in a particular situation?

The "orders of worth" framework is an attempt to "map" some of these simultaneously existing orientations for action. These orientations are coherent in their respective "worlds," even though they might seem contradictory when looked at simultaneously. These shared conventions are "visible" and become "palpable" in the way actors justify and criticize their own and the others' behavior. These processes of justification and

critique are part of everyday situations since they imply the actors' negotiation for a common orientation in the midst of the openness and uncertainty that social situations and interactions imply.

The "orders of worth" framework, as presented by Luc Boltanski and Laurent Thévenot is focused on the verbal or at least linguistic expressions of human actors to get hold of these judgments in reference to and collaboration with things. This is certainly due to its theoretical roots in linguistic pragmatism. Even though it draws on the importance of further elements such as objects in social situations, it still primarily attends to the actor's verbal reference to these objects. In short, it is linguistic expression in which justification and critique manifest.

This is precisely where practice theory approaches, on the other hand, could be fruitful for the framework. Justification, we suggest, does not only take place in verbal expression but is inscribed in the arrangement of the situation, in bodily gestures, and in the "way things are done." It manifests not only in linguistic expression but also in spatial arrangements, habitual behavior, and gestures.

Different from the idea of "habitus"—incorporated dispositions and preferences—these expressions can be conceptualized in terms of Goffman's *body gloss*. He defines this concept as "the process whereby an individual pointedly uses over-all body gesture to make otherwise unavailable facts about his situation gleanable' (Goffman 1971, p. 11). This could happen in the form of material "clues," such as specific clothing, of facial or bodily expressions, or even in short "performances." In the case of the street markets, as we will see in Part V, "righteousness" of the commercial practices is not only verbally conveyed but also enacted.

With these aspects in mind, we present the thesis' conceptual proposition of looking at "routines of justification." This concept draws on the notions of "repertoires" and "acts" and connects practice theory approaches with the framework presented.

5 The Conceptual Proposition

Charles Tilly (1929-2008) proposed and developed the concept of "repertoires of contention" in his historical works of social movements and the changes these experienced comparing pre-modern to modern regional contexts (see, for instance, Tilly 2004).

In "Politics of Collective Violence" (Tilly 2003, p. 45), he defines repertoires of contention as "interactive performances" which "link pairs or larger sets of actors, the simplest pair being one claimant and one object of claims" (p. 45). He further states: "In any particular regime, pairs of actors have only a limited number of performances at their disposal" (ibid.) to make their claims. Doherty and Hayes speak of "tactical forms" which are "constrained, culturally saturated, relatively stable sets of potential ways of acting" (Doherty and Hayes 2019, 72).

Donatella della Porta sums this up as follows: "A repertoire of contention comprises what people know they can do when they want to oppose a public decision they consider unjust or threatening" (Della Porta 2013, p. 1). Repertoires refers to the "forms" available for displaying discord through action and emerge in moments of conflict. The key idea is that protest and other forms of contention are not invented from scratch every time they occur, but rather recur to the preexisting "repertoire" of possible ways of acting collectively.

The concept refers to explicitly staged dissent. It stresses the "stability" regarding the "forms" of collectively staging disagreement while at the same time leaving space for change and innovation.

A similar concept, which contrarily focuses on individual action, is that of "Acts." We will present two concrete conceptual propositions, namely "Acts of Citizenship" and "Acts of Growth" to hint to the particular conceptual contributions and its links to "routines of justification."

The concept "Acts of Citizenship" was developed by Egin Isin (2008). While asking about general conceptions of citizenship, he proposes to shift the focus from either status or those who hold that status to the acts that have citizenship as a reference. Consequently, the idea is to focus on "those acts when, regardless of status and substance, subjects constitute themselves as citizens or, better still, as those to whom the right to have rights is due" (Isin and Nielsen 2008, p. 1). These acts, Isin lays out in the introduction of the

anthology with the same title, were "everyday deeds that are ordinarily called politics" (ibid).

William Walters (2008) in the same anthology pinpoints two advantages that he sees regarding the concept. In the first place, it enabled scholars to look at the politics of citizenship "beyond the realm of formal entitlements, rights and laws." Concretely, in the field of citizenship studies, this implies being able to conceptualize "informal" migration and its relationship to citizenship. In the second place, the concept drew on "constitutive moments, performances, enactments and events when a new identity, substance or relationship of citizenship is brought into existence" (p. 192). It opened a perspective that focused on change at micro level rather than on persistence.

Another example is "Acts of Growth" (2022). It is the title of Eric Hirsch's ethnographic account regarding his work on development in rural Andean Peru. Even though he does not directly refer to the "Acts of Citizenship" concept offered by Isin and Nielsen (2008), his conceptual notion is similar. The fundamental assumption of his work is that "growth" is displayed in "acts" in the local Andean community he examined.

These "acts" take on particular "forms" that stress cultural and natural wealth, which he describes as "the labor of enacting and embodying economic growth in 'The Richest Country in the World'[46]" (p. 26). His book thus connects the broader national and international context regarding economic programs and policies on the one hand to local level in a rural community on the other hand. In short, he asks about the concrete manifestation of "growth" on local level.

Both concepts take an abstract term—precisely "citizenship" and "growth"—and explore their manifestations in collectivities that are not typically the first to come to mind. Looking for "citizenship" in "irregular" migrants and for "growth" in rural Andean villages means focusing on concrete local manifestations of abstract, human-made concepts. It ask about how these concepts are experienced by people in specific places.

This thesis, partly following "repertoires" and "acts," proposes the concept of "routines of justification." Routines, apart from being central in reflections of practice theory approaches and referring to "a usual or fixed way of doing things,"[47] also mean "a regular series of movements, jokes, or similar things used in a performance." Like "repertoires"

[46] This slogan of advertisement was launched by *PromPerú* as part of a marketing campaign.
[47] Cambridge Dictionary: https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/routine.

and “acts,” “routines” are part of a dramaturgical vocabulary. What comes to mind is the metaphorical language of the theater to describe social life made popular by Erving Goffman (1959).

While acts emphasize individual action that take place in a particular social situation and the proposition of repertoires stress the plural but limited possibilities of action available to collective actors, routine focuses on repetition, regularity, and reiteration.

“Routines of justification” refer to critiques towards the practice, incorporating contestation. In the case of itinerant trade practices, these routines refer to common critiques brought forward against ambulatory trade in general and the three street markets in particular. Routines of justification, thus, take an active position towards existing or possible critiques, defending itinerant trade practices’ righteousness.

5.1 “Routines of Justification” in Tacna’s Street Markets

As we have seen at the end of the previous partr, due to the particular institutional arrangement, street markets in the urban context are under pressure to “prove” their “righteousness.” We referred to this as the imperative of justification. The fragility of the street markets as a situation and the permanent presence of critique towards their taking place require vendors to engage in constant “routines of justification.”

Taking the outlined theoretical lenses to the street markets enables us to look at the specific critiques and the “routines of justification” that incorporate them in the three street markets in question. We will do so in the fifth part of the thesis.

As mentioned previously, Boltanski and Thévenot draw on business guides in the reconstruction of the different axes that are relevant in each “world” (*cité*), thereby presenting the different “orders of worth” they imply. The concrete sites these business guides were written for is the firm, an entity anchored primarily in the market world and the industrial world. In this single site that is organized towards economic objectives, more than one “order of worth” is present, as the authors stress. Specific situations require the actors to draw on either one or the other.

Street markets, especially the three markets in focus, share similarities with the figure of the firm. They are organized around trade and economic exchange, involving people who need to coordinate their activities. In this sense, one might expect the market order to be the main reference, particularly when arguing for the legitimacy of these sites. However,

just as in the case of the firm, there are various worlds that actors refer to in everyday market life. The authors' following citation can thus be applied to Tacna's street markets:

> "The samples we present thus show how the various worlds and the polities to which they refer may take shape today in situations realized within a single space (that of a business firm) and among a single set of persons (the firm's employees)" (p. 153).

The street markets in this thesis are understood to be another "single space." Here, in the midst of the city's public space, different people with initially very clearly defined "roles" come together and interact with the help of informal scripts regarding economic exchange.

The street markets are further comparable to the firm as a single space in that roles and the according expectations concerning action are relatively clear. However, hierarchies are more diffuse and depend on the world in which a situation takes place. While people might have an officially ascribed role in his or her association and thus to some extend more power of influencing political decisions than others in the civic world, they might not be as "successful" entrepreneurs as their peers in the market world or they might enjoy less public recognition of a vast network of family members and friendships that are relevant for the market dynamics in the domestic world. In contrast to the firm, there is no "official" business hierarchy.

The street markets, in contrast to the figure of the firm that Boltanski and Thévenot present, are not primarily oriented in the market and the industrial world. The worlds that are most present in the dynamics are the market, the civic, and the domestic world, as we will see further on. The synchronicity of the presence of these "orders of worth" enables agents to refer to them depending on the situation at hand. This makes the "forms" of justification for itinerant trade practices diverse. On the other hand, it fosters a constant instability and thus necessity for negotiation.

In sum, with both currents of social thought in mind, we locate the "orders of worth" in practices. Instead of concentrating mainly on discourse, we trace how they manifest in concrete social situations—in the form of verbal expression and others. As an element of social practices, the "orders" form part of the shared repertoires that are at the actors' disposition in regard to behaving appropriately in specific situations. We look at how this shapes social practices in concrete sites, namely in Tacna's street markets.

Therefore, we propose the concept of "routines of justification" that brings practice theory approaches together with the "orders of worth" framework. Street markets are a privileged place to examine "routines of justification" because, as we have seen in the introduction, they are neither "formal" nor completely "informal" commercial sites. Their position and the institutional agreement of their taking place puts them under a constant imperative of justification regarding itinerant trade practices. Actors in and around the markets, thus, invert a lot of energy in justification.

"Routines of justification" are not only to be found "on the ground." They are also part of the literature on ambulatory trade and street markets in the region and the respective trading practices.

Consequently, in the following part, we will present different scholarly perspectives. The chapters draw on the "worlds" and the respective "orders" that these evoke. We will show that the presented framework can serve as a lens through which the diverse contributions can be understood. It will show how scholarly arguments are referencing different "worlds" to examine and to understand the phenomenon.

Part III. Studying Ambulatory Trade

1 Introduction

The following chapter presents the reader with a literature review of relevant scholarly contributions to answering the question of how stakeholders negotiated the righteousness of itinerant trade practices in the three street markets: *Feria de la Chacra a la Olla*, *Feria Boliviana*, and *Feria del Altiplano*.

This review already contributes to the thesis' overall argument by exhibiting the literature through the lens of the "orders of worth" framework presented in the previous chapter. This argument grew partly out of astonishment about the literature on street markets in the region: the variety of contributions on itinerant trade practices specifically and ambulatory trade more generally is remarkable. The perspectives and arguments taken, although all coherent in themselves, are often difficult to reconcile.

As we will learn in the methodological chapter, the research project leading up to this manuscript followed an abductive design. Consequently, there was a back-and-forth movement between the potentially relevant literature, its concepts, and the empirical material during research. The theoretical framework—presented in the last chapter—emerged throughout this process, and the conceptual proposition of "routines of justification" crystallized.

It turned out that "routines of justifications" did not only exist in itinerant trade practices, which either made the markets' righteousness palpable or questioned it. Patterns of justification also emerged in the literature. Scholars from diverse disciplines developed different perspectives to look at ambulatory trade in the region more generally and regarding the Andes and its (migrating) population more specifically.

What these perspectives have in common are their "roots": emerging in reference to the first reflections on the "informal" economy of the cities, authors more or less directly followed the question of why informal markets were thriving and growing. Why and how do they persist, notwithstanding the hazardous circumstances?

Along with this question comes the need to tackle the topic of the markets' righteousness. Scholars generally have a position regarding the phenomenon that, to some extent, reflects the different ways of justifying and formulating critique toward it.

This review will thus outline different ways of "reading" street markets. It aims to link works on Andean markets to the more general debate of the "informal economy" and its

social embeddedness in Tacna. “Routines of justification” and the “worlds” they evoke differ in the disciplines that have shown interest in the phenomenon. The chapter concludes with the idea that street markets are “composite situations” in which the different “worlds” coexist in a fragile equilibrium.

This fragility became particularly palpable throughout the COVID-19 pandemic, as key stakeholders were forced to reassess their critiques and justifications regarding itinerant trade practices. Street markets, essential for the livelihoods of many families, simultaneously became focal points of suspicion for contagion. Regarding the former, the value of itinerant trade was underscored in reference to the domestic order. Concerning the latter, it was critiqued in reference to the civic order. These dynamics will be presented in detail in Part V, which is focused on the processes of critique and justification “on the ground.”

For now, we will review the perspectives on itinerant trade practices in scholarly works.

1.1 Theoretically Locating Street Marktes

One of the main arguments that Karl Polanyi (1886-1964) develops in “The Great Transformation” (2010, first published in 1944) is that modern and liberal market economy destroyed the social institutions and thus the social tissue of “traditional societies” for the sake of individual freedom in “modern societies.” His observation is not only of historic character regarding Europe (and the US); he also references the colonial projects of his time. It was precisely “traditional institutions” such as “kinship, neighborhood, profession, and creed” (p. 171) that had to be destroyed in the “new world” toextract labor (p. 172) efficiently.

Just as other scholars before him, such as Karl Marx (1818-1883) or Max Weber (1864-1920), he was interested in the question of the impact on (and the role of) the “social” (vs. the “economy”) in the remarkable transformation of society that he witnessed. These manifold shifts seemingly revolved primarily around changes in the economic sphere, precisely the expansion of the ideal of a self-regulating, free market. He elaborates the idea of the “double-movement” (Polanyi 2010, p. 223), which he anchors historically around the change of the 19th to the 20th century in Europe. The first one is precisely this “laissez-faire movement to expand the scope of the market” (in the introduction by Joseph E. Stiglitz in Polanyi 2010, p. xxviii).

The second movement he identifies, however, is "the protective countermovement that emerges to resist the disembedding of the economy" (ibid). Protective forces mobilized in the context of an expanding market logic and the respective severe social consequences. The actors that Polanyi has in mind regarding this second movement are, on the one hand, organized working-class organizations, but on the other hand, capitalists themselves. To "resist the uncertainty and fluctuations that market self-regulation produces" (ibid), society reacted with a countermovement, establishing "forms of protection" (ibid).

He argues that, notwithstanding the shaping force of the idea of an economy ideally regulated and directed by "market prices and nothing but market prices" (Polanyi 2010, p. 45), there were other factors at work that shaped the actors' economic behavior. Polanyi stresses the centrality of social relationships for actors and their behavior in the economic realm of society. These, rather than "specific economic interests attached to the possession of goods" (ibid. p. 48), were the driving force behind economic action. What he ultimately calls into question is the image of men as *homo economicus*.

The motivation for action—a recurrent topic in social theory—following Polanyi was far from being solely defined and directed by economic calculations of costs and benefits. On the contrary, "Human passions, good or bad, are merely directed toward noneconomic ends" (p. 49); the "so-called economic motives" *really* came from "the context of social life" (ibid.). The ordering principles of society were the principles of "reciprocity and redistribution" (p. 49f.) (in opposition to utility maximization). Both assured intact social relationships and drove individuals to behave in a way that was considered ethically correct.

Polanyi, furthermore, highlights that what was regarded as ethically correct depended on the particular community or society in which individuals operated. What exactly was considered, for instance "good husbandry and fine citizenship" (p. 50), he states in reference to insights of social anthropology, was locally embedded and as diverse as human communities were.

Even though from a theoretically quite disparate angle, Talcott Parsons (1902-1979) had formulated a similar idea in "The Structure of Social Action," which was published in the US in 1937, only a few years earlier. In his work, he presents the aforementioned "convergence thesis," identifying a major interest in European sociology's classic

thought. Namely, he interpreted their works as critiques of utilitarianism. More precisely, Alfred Marshall (1842-1924), Vilfredo Pareto (1848-1923), Émile Durkheim (1858-1917), and Max Weber had—independently from each other and in different national contexts—all moved towards a "voluntaristic theory of action" (see Joas and Knöbl 2009).

Parsons develops this "voluntaristic theory of action" throughout his influential book. It emphasizes the relevance and centrality of *social norms* for action. In counterposition to those perspectives, which stressed the expansion of the capitalist logic that structured behavior in terms of individual utility in evermore areas of everyday life, he pointed to the persistence and prevalence of "ethical systems" (Joas and Knöbl 2009, p. 54) in society.

Joas and Knöbel (2009) use Talcott Parsons as a starting point and orientation for their "*tour de force*" through the landscape of social theory of the second half of the 20th century. The idea that connects the various chapters is that theory after Parsons developed more or less explicitly in reference to his works. We mention this here because the thesis sustains that a similar assumption can be made regarding works on street markets and itinerant trade with what concerns Polanyi (2010).

We hold that scholars interested in economic practices "on the ground"—more or less explicitly—engage with Polanyi's work[48]. This engagement might take the form of simply stressing the importance of "the social" for the "economy." Similarly, it might manifest as an interest in the details of the *social* transformations taking place due to "modernization" and "development."

[48] For a similar argument see Isaak 2005, p. 22.

2 Economic Perspectives: Development, Progress, and Entrepreneurship

Economic perspectives on street trade are interested in the "new" urban forms of work. Theory in this regard grapples the emergence of the so-called "informal sector," particularly in the "developing countries." Notwithstanding the precarious and hazardous working conditions of the sector and specifically regarding informal commercial activities, the number of people engaging in it was growing.

As a phenomenon, economic theory perceived the migration from rural areas to the urban centers primarily as economically motivated and explainable. Thus, people moved from "the traditional subsistence farming sector characterized by low productivity and low wages to modern industrial centers" (Guha et al. 2023, p. 238) to be employed in the growing industries. This general statement was later complemented by the observation that, even though movements of people might indeed relate to the expectation of finding employment in production, they were not corresponding with the actual availability of jobs (see Guha et al. 2023 in reference to Lewis 1954 and Harris and Todaro 1968). This discrepancy led to high unemployment rates in the urban centers and consequently to more economically active people working in the "informal sector."

Regarding the concept of the "informal economy" and its emergence, the scholar generally referred to is Keith Hart. He coined the term in the 1970s in his works on the economy in Ghana and particularly its capital Accra's peripheral sector. He stated that "income and expenditure patterns are more complex than is normally allowed for in the economic analysis of poor countries" (Hart 1973, p. 61), criticizing "the unthinking transfer of western categories of the economic and social structures of African cities" (ibid.). What Hart aimed at in this paper is a shift regarding the view on the "reserve army of urban unemployed and underemployed" as a passive and exploited majority group.

In the context of the Cold War, he showed how the outlook regarding this majority group also depended on political ideas regarding the economy, presenting socialism and "optimistic liberalism" as the two opposing alternatives:

> "Socialists may argue that foreign capitalist dominance of these economies determines the scope for informal (and formal) development, and condemns the majority of the urban population to deprivation and exploitation. More optimistic liberals may see in informal activities (…) the possibility of a dramatic 'bootstrap'

> operation, lifting the underdeveloped economies through their own indigenous enterprise" (89).

In Peru, Hernando de Soto in "The Other Path" (1989) represented this latter perspective. The controversial book manifested the opposed ideological currents present in the national territory throughout the Peruvian Civil War and beyond. The title's allusion to the Maoist *sendero luminoso*—translated as Shining Path Movement—accused it of assuming that "poor Peruvians were a social class naturally disposed against markets and democracy." The text laid out that most of the Peruvian poor were "emerging entrepreneurs working outside the legal system" (vs. the proletariat) and that "The real revolutionary class in Peru is made up of the micro, small, and medium-sized entrepreneurs who during the last half of the twentieth century began migrating from rural areas to towns and cities to work in the fragmented market economies of the informal or 'extralegal' sector" (Soto 1989, p. 183). This majority was, thus the idea, a central driver for "development."

The book was published just before the presidential mandate of Alberto Fujimori, who "embarked on a now-familiar series of policies: the implementation of neoliberal economic measures, privatization of state-run businesses, and restructuring" (Seligmann 2004, p. 94)[49]. De Soto's perspective and outlook, at the same time as it was a polemic scholarly contribution, also expressed a political position.

The historical constellations of independent former colonies, the Cold War, and programs for "development" generally fostered the West's interest in the modernization processes of the "Global South." Those arriving in the urban centers were not least of interest because of the political and, thus, economic stability of the developing countries (see, for instance, Bayat 2000, p. 537). However, analytical tools had been developed regarding modernization in industrializing Europe and in the US. Developing countries of the "Global South" were looked at with concepts coined in the "Global North." Consequently, local and cultural particularities were not accounted for.

Michael Denning added the idea of work as synonymous with employment to the list of Eurocentric concepts. In his text "*Vida sin salario*" (2011), he reflected on the genealogy of the concept of "unemployment." The precondition for that category—which was later applied through the same lens in the "Global South"—was the normalization of

[49] See, also, Ødegaard 2018, p. 183.

understanding work in terms of employment. This notion had developed in Europe throughout industrialization referring to the new forms of work it brought about.

The same author hinted to the importance that international organizations, in particular the International Labour Organization (ILO) had regarding the adaptation of Hart's concept of the "informal sector" for measuring the transformations regarding "developing" countries. The ILO started to use it in 1972 and thereby initiated its conceptual success, converting it into "*el tropo dominante para representar la vida sin salario en ciudades de todo el mundo*" (Denning 2011, p. 86). Other international institutions, such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, emerging from the Bretton Woods System, as much as the UN's Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA later ECLAC) played an essential role regarding the implementation of neoliberal interests and deregulated markets. Loans were given to "developing countries," which were tied to "structural adjustment programmes" (Steger 2017, p. 56).

More recent publications, besides the need to explain the emergence of ambulatory and itinerant selling, focused on its persistence. Nittaya Wontgada (2014), in her review, for instance, aimed at systematizing factors that facilitate or hinder ambulatory selling, being interested in street vendor's business "success and failure" (p. 73). The commercial phenomenon economically "made sense" because it was "an important source of earnings for the unemployed" (p. 55) on the one hand and "a source of relatively inexpensive goods and services for city residents" (p. 55) on the other hand. Furthermore, street vending could "enhance tourist experiences" because it created an "exciting atmosphere" (p. 56 in reference to Kusakabe 2006). As such, street selling could even promote tourism. At the same time, however, vendors faced manifold difficulties, which made its persistence less likely.

In similar terms, the article "*Determinantes de las ganancias de los vendedores ambulantes en México*" (Fuentes Castro et al. 2012) looked at performance, "*rendimiento*," and profit, "*ganancia*," from a comparative perspective on diverse ambulatory traders in Mexico. The authors were interested in the factors that were important for vendors regarding their business growth. At the center of their study stood the overall "economic performance" of street vendors.

The outlined economic perspectives did not only aim at better understanding the modernization processes in the "Global South" regarding urbanization and the respective changes in people's livelihoods and particularly their income-generating activities. They also "wrote against" the negative and alarming connotation attached to the "unemployed" in the growing cities of the "Global South." The argument at heart is that far from "unproductive," this new constellation of people and activities were actually main drivers of the respective economies or at least that they held the potential to become it.

Ambulatory trade, as part of the informal sector, is an "outcome" of urbanization processes and thus directly related to "modernization." At the same time, street markets and its dynamics are often referred to as part of a pre-modern economy. In a way, Latin America's growing street markets express the heterogeneous unfolding of modernization.

Perspectives differ regarding the evaluation of the phenomenon in this regard. While some would argue that the informal sector in general and street markets in particular are a hindrance to "development," "progress," and the unfolding of modernity, others, on the contrary, would stress its contribution to their respective national economies and their potential for economic growth.

2.1 Multiple Modernities

An overall critique of the Eurocentrism inscribed in the analysis regarding structural changes in the "developing countries"—mostly former colonies—is the notion of "multiple modernities." Shmuel Eisenstadt (2000) and those following him in his conceptual proposition agreed that "modernity" had its origin in Europe and "spread" from there through colonialism. Yet, they highlighted the contradictions unfolding with modernization processes in different world regions. What was scrutinized and eventually rejected was the homogenizing and hegemonic assumptions of the Western program of modernity "arriving" in other places in the world. Rather than thinking of "modernity" in singular and as a unilateral imposition, they hinted at the local particularities of the "modernity projects."

A similar concept was that of "Alternative Modernities," which is at the same time the title of an anthology edited by Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar (2001). Here, too, the conception of a homogeneous Western project slowly unfolding in other world regions

was rejected in favor of models that account for the plurality of processes. These perspectives paved the way for concepts such as hybridization[50] and creolization.

These latter terms connect to the debates on globalization, which joint and often replaced debates on "development" from the 1990s onwards. The questions tackled were similar. One of the quarrels and topics of discord regarding the phenomenon is its "essence," the definition of which aspects of it were to be prioritized. Was globalization primarily "economic," "political," "cultural," or—more recently—"ecological?"

Scholars interested in ambulatory trade started to criticize merely economic perspectives and to develop conceptual propositions that took regional specificities and the social embeddedness of economic practices seriously.

Still from an economic viewpoint, Christian Acevedo (2017), for instance, made an compelling proposition as regards ambulatory trade in Barranquilla (Colombia): he uses the concept of "contextual marketing" in reference to Dagoberto Páramo and his works on marketing and ethnomarketing (2004, 2005). The concept is defined by its emphasis on an anthropological and site-specific analysis regarding the strategies and practices of "marketing." This perspective was developed in counterposition to those who aimed at implementing a general and thus uniform way of "marketing" without considering the particular place and community.

The concept introduces "culture" and the contextual specificity of economic practices regarding "marketing" strategies. Economic actors are conceptualized as "cultural beings," "*seres culturales*," —in counterposition to economic beings, "*seres económicos*" —implying that their economic actions are intertwined with "*valores, creencias, costumbres, especificidades contextuales*" of a specific context and community.

Páramo (2005) distinguishes between three main functions of marketing, namely "to comprehend consumers, to conquer customers (buyers) and to conserve clients" (p. 180). Acevedo picks up this classification, hinting at the role of "marketing" as organizations' strategies developed to establish, maintain, and strengthen long-term relationships with clients and other key stakeholders (see Acevedo 2017, p. 189). While marketing generally refers to how merchandise or services are presented, advertised, and sold, "contextual

[50] See, for instance, the works of Néstor García Canclini.

marketing" looks at the specificities of the related strategies that street vendors in Barranquilla employ.

Their texts make a precise proposition regarding introducing factors other than merely economic ones. Nevertheless, both still apply economy-specific schemes and ideas regarding ambulatory trade overall. Acevedo concludes his contribution by drawing on the importance of social relationships. He hints at the relevance of these relationships in and around ambulatory trade to "offer" not only demanded products but also a more secure experience.

3 The State and Resistance

The relationship between ambulatory trade and the state (Dürr and Müller 2019a, p. 1) influences the concepts research uses to describe the phenomenon. The "informal[51]" is the antonym of "formal," which was equated to "official" as in "belonging to the state." "Informal" qualifies ambulatory trade as "outside of" or at least "marginal to" what is considered the national economy. On the other end of pondering this relationship stands the idea that it was precisely the "lack" of the state that fostered the growth and flourishing of the "informal." This "lack" is furthermore often ascribed to neoliberal politics and the corresponding "*despojo estructural*" (Gago 2014).

This binary conception, however, has received critique. The main argument was that there were mutual interdependencies and overlaps, and actors could not be classified into either one of these two categories. Denning's critique was joined by the observation that the so-called "formal" economy often depended on the "informal" (Cielo et al. 2023). Just as reproductive activities (Gago 2019), informal work needed to be considered to understand "the economy." Consequently, scholars criticized the "informal" economy concept as misleading and proposed alternatives for naming the phenomenon. Depending on the specific context, propositions were, for instance, "undocumented economy" (Swanson and Bruni-Bossio 2019), "social and solidary economy" (Deux Marzi et al. 2020), "ethnic economy" (Güell et al. 2015; Eriksen 2005)[52], and "the urban poor" (Bayat 2000).

Another proposition was "globalization from below" (Mathews et al. 2012; Ribeiro 2006). The authors defined the concept as follows: "'Globalization from below' is globalization as experienced by most of the world's people. It can be defined as the transnational flow of people and goods involving relatively small amounts of capital and informal, often semi-legal or illegal transactions" (Mathews and Alba Vega 2012, p. 1). Even though economics is the aspect the authors are most interested in, they also aim to gain insights concerning political and cultural factors. The perspective pinpoints that "globalization from below" shapes the contexts that it is embedded in as much as these contexts shape it. Consequently, to understand the current economic *and* social

[51] "Informal" is not to be equated with "illegal." For reflections on "illegal" markets, *contrabando*, in the region see, for instance, Ødegaard 2017.
[52] A related debate focuses on "ethnic entrepreneurs." See, for instance, DeHart 2010.

transformations due to the increasing interconnectedness, selling practices on "small scale" mattered.

The "popular economy" concept was undoubtedly one of the most successful scholarly alternative propositions. CLACSO's workgroup on Popular Economy upheld that the concept was more comprehensive, including people who switch between employment and unemployment, autonomous workers in the streets and those doing care work and reproduction labor, peasants, and small entrepreneurs (see, for instance, Azzati et al. 2021). Furthermore, the term made room for including aspects such as self-organization, self-management, solidarity, and eventually, ways of expressing claims and protest (for an overview, see also Maldovan Bonelli 2018). Following Dürr and Müller (Dürr and Müller 2019a), "popular economy" was "associated with the Peruvian scholars José Matos Mar (1984) and Aníbal Quijano (1998)." The term made explicit that economic practices on a small scale and their organization occasionally actively questioned the (neo-)liberal market order and opened possibilities for processes of politicization (see, for instance, Fernández Álvarez 2018; Hirsch 2016).

However, vendors did not automatically have a critical position regarding market logic. Scholars claimed that the movement of people was primarily motivated by the hope of "making a better living." Ideas about progress and development permeated the migratory projects. Nevertheless, itinerant street markets were an expression of resistance. They resulted from people's movement from rural areas to the city and the lack of more "formal" working possibilities. As such, they contained the claim for participation in the local working order and a defense of the "right to work." Vendors regularly claimed public space, building their stalls on ordinary streets and thus converting them into vivid spaces of consumption.

This conceptualization of vendors as agents who claim rights strategically emerged regarding former ideas about the "urban poor." Asef Bayat (2000) lined out four common perspectives on the group of the so-called "urban poor," namely "The Passive Poor," "The Surviving Poor," "The Political Poor," and the "Resisting Poor." He hinted at the Chicago School's vital role in developing ways of describing migrant "newcomers" to growing urban centers and their ways of life. What was different in the "developing countries," and surprising to former theory, was "the continuous prominence of the 'informals' (which in many developing economies clearly outweighed the industrial working class)" (Bayat 2000, p. 536).

An aspect that has caught attention were the relations in the market and beyond, as we have already seen above. Calla Hummel (2017, 2021), for instance, was particularly interested in this high degree of organization notwithstanding the unfavorable working conditions such as the long working hours and the respective lack of time, the low income, and family responsibilities, for instance. Additionally, she hinted at the importance of local and situated agreements between vendors and state officials. One of her main arguments referred to the local authorities' interest in fostering vendors' organization since it made the informal markets more easily manageable. Particularly where there were not enough resources regarding enforcement, officials opted for collaboration and encouraged organization. This view also partly explained the rather rarely occurring and unsystematic "official interferences" in the market activities "at the margin of the formal economy."

Hummel's position had some similarities with reflections of migration as a movement. There is, for example, the "autonomy of migration" idea proposed by Papadopoulous and Tsianos (2013) referencing Moulier Boutang that suggested that rather than only being a "response" to circumstances, migration should be analyzed as a "constituent force in the formation of polity and social life" (ibid., p. 184). Instead of being defined only by their "claims to institutional power," it meant that "the very movement itself becomes a political movement and a social movement" (p. 184).

Wonders and Jones (2018) specified this perspective. They referred to the migration that is "framed by nation-states as 'irregular'" (p. 2) and affirmed that these could indeed be understood as social movements because "much irregular migration to the West reflects and produces collective identity and repertoires of action that seek to transform the boundaries between citizenship and irregularity in a globalized world" (p. 2).

The aim of taking this perspective is, as Papadopoulous and Tsianos (2013) put it, to focus on "the social and subjective aspects of mobility before control" (p. 184). Instead of either criminalizing or victimizing migrants, it pointed out the need to better understand these movements and their "inner logics." Migration, thought of as movement of individuals with their own projects and aims, was "autonomous, meaning that it has the capacity to develop its own logics, its own motivation, its own trajectories" (p. 184 in reference to the *Transit Migration Forschungsgruppe).* Wonders and Jones underlined the fact that "Reframing migration as a social movement places the human agency and lived experience of border crossers at the very center of analysis" (p. 14).

Such a conception of social movement responds directly to general "minimal definitions" of what counts as a movement and what does not. As an example, we refer to Gemma Edwards (2014) and the four aspects that she named as similarities in common definitions of social movements: "(a) Social movements are collective, organized efforts at social change, rather than individual efforts at social change. (...) (b) Social movements exist over 'a period of time' by engaging in a 'conflictual issue' with a 'powerful opponent', rather than being 'one-off' events. (...) (c) The members of a social movement are not just working together, but share a 'collective identity.' (...) (d) Social movements actively pursue change by employing protest" (p. 4ff). As neither directly aiming at social change nor counting with a durable organization *per se*, migrations generally are not considered a social movement.

When looking at the three street markets from Edward's perspective, particularly regarding the first aspect she mentioned, we state that the organization of the street markets is quite sophisticated. Organized in different associations, vendors are putting effort into *maintaining* their workplaces. However, they are not overtly aiming at changing society. Still, implicit topics of the organizations' action are redistribution and recognition[53]. Redistribution is a central aspect of vendors' explicit claims to the right to work, while recognition refers to the aspect of ethnic discrimination migrants from rural areas experience in Tacna.

Second, the organization of the markets "from below" does reach back to the second half of the last century. The "conflictual issue" is the "appearance" of the markets in public space. Even though grievances towards the local municipality have been formulated, there are other actors that are fundamentally important in the conflicts such as the market neighbors and other merchants' organizations. In sum, vendors' associations indeed persisted over time and regularly engaged in the same "conflictual issue" with different stakeholders.

Third, there is a notion of collective identity in so far as many vendors are internal migrants and share the ascription of belonging to the social category "*puneños*" and consequently associated attributions (see, for instance, Pastor 2017). Internally, on the contrary, vendors are very aware of the group's diversity. Belonging to a vendors' association implies a group affiliation but does not automatically mean sharing a

[53] On redistribution and recognition in social movements see Fraser and Honneth 2003.

"common identity." Lastly, vendors' protest aims to maintain "an already achieved gain" (Bayat 2000, p. 543).

In Tacna's case, as we pointed out earlier, vendors are not illegalized border-crossers as suggested by the texts above. Nevertheless, their movement, even though not motivated by an explicitly political goal, shapes local perceptions and politics.

3.1 Moral Economy

Jürgen Golte and Doris León scrutinized an exclusionary perspective on resistance and stressed the ambiguous relationship between categorical ascriptions to street vendors. In "Alasitas" (2014), they looked at this traditional Andean market, which takes place yearly in the city of Lima. They stated that instead of associating the "rural" and "indigenous" communities of the highlands automatically with social movements and resistance, one needed to complexify this vision further. At the same time as it was possible to perceive the markets as spaces of resistance, they were also partly in alignment with neoliberal ideations. They stress the "ideals of social upward mobility" and accumulation embedded in the market dynamics, making the simultaneity explicit.

This latter argument, brought forward by Golte and León, incorporated the central ideas of the "Moral Economy." This term refers directly to the aspect of resistance situated in economic practices. It was made popular by Edward P. Thompson in "The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century" (1971), in which he examined forms of collaboration and the rise of protests in times of dearth. These were not understandable when only looking at liberal market logic. Norms and beliefs about justice in the respective communities had to be considered. The term "moral economy" paved the way for various studies focused on shared beliefs and norms that shape economic behavior. This view, noticeably, challenges the idea that economic behavior is motivated primarily by self-interest. The "moral economy" was convoked to resist the "free market."

Thompson (1971) also referred to the centrality of the marketplace in Britain in the eighteenth century:

> "But if the market was the point at which working people most often felt their exposure to exploitation, it was also the point—especially in rural or dispersed manufacturing districts—at which they could most easily become organized" (p. 134).

On the contrary, in industrial society, the act of buying, "shopping," became "increasingly impersonal." In passing, he mentioned that the important social role of the market was still observable in some parts of Europe and in various developing countries. In this regard, he hinted to Sydney Mintz's works on peasant markets and the economy (Mintz 1960, 1986) in Haiti and beyond.

James Scott is known for having taken the notion of the "moral economy" to Southeast Asia. He can be described as one of the leading representatives of this perspective in anthropology (Molina and Valenzuela García 2007, p. 128). Instead of focusing on "rebellions and revolutions" (Scott 2008, p. xv), he is interested in the "*everyday* forms of peasant resistance—the prosaic but constant struggle between the peasantry and those who seek to extract labor, food, taxes, rents, and interest from them" (ibid. p. xvi). These forms of resistance, the author stated, had some common features: "They require little or no coordination or planning; they make use of implicit understandings and informal networks; they often represent a form of individual self-help; they typically avoid any direct, symbolic confrontation with authority" (ibid.).

It was those "commonplace forms of resistance"—such as "foot-dragging, dissimulation, desertion, false compliance, pilfering, feigned ignorance, slander, arson, sabotage, and so on"—that were less dangerous regarding the unequal power relations. Central to this proposition is that this form of resistance never puts the official government into danger; it does not become a threat to those in power. In short, he looks at the "multiple acts of peasant insubordination and evasion" (ibid. xvii).

Golte's and Leon's reflections above are a critical addition to these ideas of the "moral economy" in the context of Andean migrants in Lima. Their point is to stress that peasants were depicted as automatically anti-capitalists in moral economy perspectives. In their own work (Golte and León Gabriel 2014), they reintegrate the "free-market" and neoliberal elements.

4 The Markets in the Domestic World

Gender in itinerant trade and street markets in the region caught the attention of various researchers (Babb 2018, 2008; Weismantel 2001; Ikemura Amaral 2018; Ødegaard 2010, 2018; Brooke and Harris 1995; Dürr and Müller 2019b; La Cadena 1995). Many of those who migrated from rural areas of the highlands earn their living through informal activities, and many women engage in commercial activities on the streets of the cities.

One of the aspects that makes the topic particularly attractive is the challenge that women traders theoretically and empirically meant for the common public-private binary. Not only did women increasingly become part of an "informal working force;" as vendors, they also appeared prominently and visibly in public space. Aspects that were often thought of as belonging to the "private" sphere and thus the "home" took place on the street[54]. Scholars have reflected on the nexus between care and income-generating activities in public space (see, for instance, Prieto and Miranda 2018)[55].

Anthropological work regarding women marketers in Peruvian cities stressed the importance of other axes of inequality, such as race and class. Street markets and their merchants were at the intersection of these axes that were furthermore culturally shaped. Markets and commercial practices contained contradictions and ambiguities that Cecile Ødegaard (2018) sees epitomized in the figure of the "entrepreneurial *chola*." Her reflections add to the debate of the local specificity of economic activities, in this case to the "Andeanness" of street markets.

Concretely, in her contribution to the anthology "The Social Life of Economic Inequalities in Contemporary Latin America" (Ødegaard 2018)—which already in the title hints at the focus on the "social" in the "economic" in Polanyi's terms—, she draws on this figure[56]. She states: "Indeed, the work of vendors, and especially the entrepreneurial *chola*, epitomises the development and effects of neoliberal politics in post-colonial Peruvian society, by actualising and reproducing class, 'race' and gender categories, stereotypes and relationships" (p. 184). The author further elaborates on the idea of this figure troubling well-established binaries such as urban-rural or indigenous-

[54] This is, of course, not only the case in Tacna. For a reflection in the context of COVID-19 see, for instance, Guha et al. 2021.
[55] On the nexus between care and the economy in general see Silvia Federici 2014; Federici 2018.
[56] For a similar argument see Seligmann 1989, 1993, 2004.

mestizo. The author futher states that "the *chola* may appear as the 'perfect neoliberal citizen', as hard-working and self-made," the author further states. "Yet, the entrepreneurial *chola* seeks to develop her economic strategising and tactics in her own terms" (p. 185), particularly in reliance on "relational and symbolic resources" (ibid.).

Scholarly contributions that put an emphasis on the specific local organization of the commercial activities, on reciprocity and extensive networks (Müller 2020; Tassi et al. 2013; Tassi et al. 2015; Tassi 2017) on local, regional, national, and global level, highlight the importance of interpersonal dependencies in commercial activities in the Southern Andes. In apparent contradiction to the impersonal logic of the market, these works show the centrality of trust and loyalty (Müller 2021) between the parts.

4.1 Space and Mobility

Central is the recognition of mobility and regional interconnectedness in different studies (Hirsch 2018; Ødegaard 2010; Tassi and Poma 2020). To understand the dynamics of the street markets, they were to be understood as nodes in which people, things, and ideas came together. The market-as-nodes were only one part of networks that span over regions and international frontiers (Ødegaard 2016). An exciting perspective examines more recent international connections, specifically the personal trading relations between vendors in Bolivia and their negotiation partners in China (Tassi et al. 2012; Müller 2020; Ødegaard 2017).

Different scholars have followed critical geography, particularly Henri Lefebvre's works, namely "Production of Space" (2008) and "Writings on Cities" (1996), emphasizing the central role of the physical (built) environment and power relations. The relationship perspective was complemented by examining space and the translocal[57] character of the phenomenon of popular trade in the South Andean context (Tassi and Poma 2020) emphasizing power relations.

Hirsch (2018) was similarly interested in the connection of spatial and social mobility in the Andes, particularly in the Arequipa region. In his article, he connects contemporary patterns of (im-)mobility and the generation of value to the concept of the "vertical archipelago" proposed, between others, by John Murra (1974).

[57] On translocality, see, for instance, Greiner and Sakdapolrak 2013; Smith 2016; Freitag and Oppen 2014.

The original concept highlighted the local pre-colonial conceptions regarding the relationship of community and territory, pinpointing the centrality of mobility. Precisely, communities were not "mapped" onto a specific place[58], but distributed along the "vertical archipelago" living at different heights. Movement between the different steep grades of the area was thus essential concerning the functioning of the community: to supply each group with those products that could just be achieved or produced under particular conditions, these were mobilized along the vertical orientation of the territory. In his article, Hirsch proposes that in the contemporary Peruvian Andes, in the context of projects and narratives of "development," *vertical* mobility was still crucial for generating value.

Finally, Aiko Ikemura Amaral (2018) asked about the connection between geographical and social mobility in the case of Bolivian market women in different national and local contexts, stressing the complex intertwining of identity categories regarding social (im-)mobility.

[58] Colonization involved defining communities in terms of territorial boundaries; for a short overview of the change in the conception of the relationship between community and territory, see Amilhat Szary 2007.

5 Street Markets as Composite Situation

As we have seen in the introduction, Tacna's street markets are part of the urban landscape. They emerge periodically, creating a "situation" in which actors follow shared scripts and conventions of interaction. They are a social situation in which actors structure their behavior with others in mind.

Tacna's street markets are sites of commercial exchange. At the same time, as we have seen throughout this part, they are the expression of collective claims and sites in which family life takes place and relationships are cared for. While the first chapter of this part presented works primarily oriented in the "market world," the second presented those that emphasized the "civic world," and the third referenced authors focused on the "domestic world."

The outlined strands of scholarly interest and perspectives on street markets in the region correlate with the discipline of Economics on the one hand and Social Sciences and Humanities on the other hand. While the former is "specialized" in interpreting phenomena from and in the "market world," the latter evokes the "civic" and the "domestic world."

Simply put, while economic scholars find the "good" and the "bad" aspects of street markets in relation to the national economy, scholars of the social sciences and the humanities usually stress the "value" of markets regarding social relations and culture. In short, the presented "readings" or possible ways of understanding street markets imply a reference to different "worlds." They contribute to construct either justification or critique of itinerant trade practices. This often leads to a "persuasive" manner of conveying to which "order" the street markets *really* belong and, thus, how they should be assessed concerning their value.

The thesis follows the French pragmatists by noting that the presented perspectives refer to different "orders of worth" regarding the structures of their arguments. As much those participating in the market dynamics as those writing about them evoke different "orders of worth." These are simultaneously present in the street markets, structuring coordination in specific situations of interaction. Consequently, street markets are "*situations composites*," "composite situations" (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, p. 217). Thévenot defines these situations as composed of entities that "qualify for different orders of worth" (2001, p. 411).

"Compromises," the same author elaborates, is "a specific way to designate the kind of composition between "orders of worth" (and not only between particular interests) which suspends controversy" (Thévenot 2001, p. 411). These compromises, however, are not a durable constellation. Rather, they were characterized by their "*critical uncertainty*" (ibid.).

About the firm, he states that it could be understood as a "compromising device between several modes of coordination, involving at least the *market* and the *industrial* modes" (ibid). In fact, "all organizations have to cope with critical tensions between different orders of worth" (p. 410). Firms and their workers, thus the idea, competently maneuver through different situations in which not only the market order is at stake. This created "*critical uncertainty*" in specific social situations. This notion thus refers back to the idea of complexity in terms of simultaneity that we have outlined in "Complexity."

In contrast to the firm, street markets are concrete sites. They only exist on specific days and during specific hours and do not count with a stable built environment. This spatial characteristic connects the conceptualization of the "composite situation" with the idea of the "boundary object." This concept was coined by Susan Leigh Star and James Griesemer (1989). In the article they published over 30 years ago, they showed that collaboration on the same project (in their case, a museum) was possible without a consensus (p. 388). They focused on the ways that made successful collaboration possible, notwithstanding the diversity concerning perspectives, interests, and the ascription of the meaning of the different actors involved.

In a later article that Star published in response to the concept's broad adaptation in different fields (2010), she defines a "boundary object" as "a sort of arrangement that allow different groups to work together without consensus" (p. 602). Instead of being a clear line, she stresses, it was a "shared space," in which the "sense of here and there are confounded" (ibid.).

It is in this sense that Tacna's street markets are boundary objects. They are places in the urban landscape where "different social worlds" can meet and interact. Linda Seligmann sums this up, stating that the markets were "sites of social interactions that bring together people and groups across ethnic, class, and gendered strata and divides" (Seligmann 2014, p. 124).

5.1 The Pandemic as Rupture

The given context of the crisis due to COVID-19 was a specifically profitable moment for researching ambulatory trade practices. The measures taken in response to the quick propagation of the virus focused on reducing human mobility, closing the border, and aiming at the control of public space where ambulatory trade takes place. Markets in Peru—additionally to being "incompatible" with modernizing ideals from a state perspective—were now furthermore referred to as a threat to public security.

From a practice-oriented approach, routines are crucial for the unfolding of everyday life. Following Giddens, "whatever is done routinely" constitutes the "basic element of day-to-day social activity" (Giddens 1985, p. 23). Routines are carried out mainly in practical consciousness and do not imply constant reflexive monitoring. This, thus the idea, changes with rupture. Routines that formerly were not called into question reflexively by the agents turn into "issues at stake" or "problems." The moment called "rupture" in this project has also been referred to as "crisis" (economy), "disturbance" (ecology) or "disaster" (geography). What these moments have in common is that they scrutinize formerly established routines, how things were, and how things were done.

Following "Disaster as Method" by Tironi et al. (2019), the everyday experience of those affected is central. Moments of rupture and their aftermath are not interesting because they contrast a "before" with a completely different "after," but because they imply two things: First, the questioning of "the former way of doing things" by those affected and thus the "activation" of the agents' reflexivity. Second, the possibility for accelerated reconfiguration that is theoretically captured by concepts such as "opportunity spaces" (Grillitsch and Sotarauta 2020).

The thesis explores how the pandemic led to a changed "situation" for the street markets. It argues that the crisis made a renegotiation of the "orders of worth" necessary, consequently renderering the respective patterns of critique and justification palpable.

COVID-19, however severe for individuals, was finally "just another crisis" for street markets and yet another aspect that led to criticizing, questioning, and contesting these ephemeral spaces of commercialization. The stakeholders' interests stayed the same, but the arguments for questioning and defending Tacna's street markets' righteousness shifted. These "arguments" are understood as not only discursively brought forward but also "enacted." We will have a closer look at this throughout the empirical chapters.

5.2 Remembering the Research Question

- How did stakeholders negotiate the righteousness of itinerant trade practices?

5.3 Specific Objectives

The general aim of the thesis, we remember, is to understand how stakeholders reached the fragile agreement regarding the continuation of street markets particularly in the context of COVID-19.

This general aim leads us to more specific objectives:

- O1.1. Identify the stakeholders involved and single out the principal topics of critique.
- O1.2. Examine which critiques were specific to the moment of crisis due to the pandemic of COVID-19.
- O2.1. Understand the individual ways vendors navigated the months of lockdown and progressive reopening.
- O2.2. Analyze the collective ways of staging protest and the corresponding patterns of justification.
- O3.1 Examine the "routines of justification" in the everyday market activities that relate to the identified critiques and justifications.
- O3.2. Link the identified critiques and justifications to the "orders of worth" framework proposed by Boltanski and Thévenot.

In what follows, we will lay out the research techniques through which these objectives were tackled.

Part IV. The Research Design

1 Introduction

Before diving into the empirical material and findings, this chapter will present the different research techniques used. They will be outlined, connected to the theoretical part, and, of course, to the research questions at hand. After presenting the overall research design, the concrete techniques used throughout the study will be presented.

This chapter specifically contributes reflections about using crafting together on the one hand and drawing on the other hand as integral parts of fieldwork. It narrates the experiences made with drawings and crocheting and connects them to previous work that considered these elements as potentially helpful in the research processes.

The research had a "projected design" (Verd and Lozares 2016, p. 66). It followed an abductive logic, positioning the design and methods proposed "simultaneously within the contexts of justification and discovery" (Tavory and Timmermans 2014, p. 60).

Abductive qualitative research has its theoretical origin in early US-American pragmatism (Tavory and Timmermans 2014; Verd and Lozares 2016) and specifically in the works of Charles S. Peirce. It aims at an equilibrium between empirical findings on the one hand and theory on the other hand, at the development of "a double story: one part empirical observations of a social world, the other part a set of theoretical propositions" (p. 2). In other words, research aims to construct "empirically based theorizations" (p. 4).

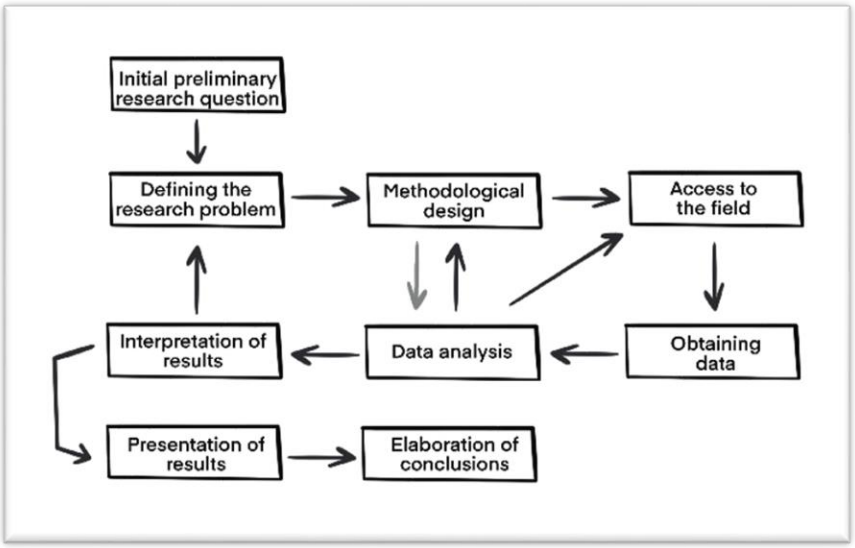
It usually accomplishes that by combining deductive "movements"—from theory to observation—with inductive movements—from observation to theory—during research. The constant movement between empirical material and theoretical generalization is deliberately "built" into the research process. Detailed descriptive accounts of the empirical material and the mobilization of theoretical concepts are combined to generate further theoretical insights.

Departing from "empirical anomalies," surprises during observation or analysis, the constant back-and-forth between concepts and observation, between the theoretical and the empirical inferences (Verd and Lozares 2016, p. 50), allows for generating concepts. The research process consequently follows a logic of discovery (Reichertz 2007).

Vert and Lozares offer a comprehensive scheme regarding the different phases of research in abductive studies that further clarifies this relationship between theory and observation

(see Image 1). It shows the point of departure, an initial research question, and the definition of the respective sociological problem. There is a circular relationship between this phase, the definition of the methods, the empirical work and the gathering of convenient data, the analytical procedure, and the interpretation of the findings. Empirical discoveries might influence the methodological design or even the formulation of the sociological problem. The scheme visualizes the iterative processes between "working with empirical materials in relationship with a broad and diverse social science theoretical literature" (Tavory and Timmermans 2014, p. 131).

Image 1: Moments in Research. Verd and Lozares "Figura 3.4. Dinámica de investigación abductiva" (2016, p. 71), slightly modified by the author.



This means that each phase might influence the others: decisions are made considering as many theoretical insights as the empirical material and its revision. Every phase is open to modification, refinement, and concretion based on findings made throughout the unfolding process of research.

In the case of the developed research, the first phase of defining an initial problem took place during the COVID-19 pandemic. Together with preparing a preliminary conceptual framework, this phase was longer than initially planned: due to the global mobility restrictions in 2020 and 2021, the foreseen first exploratory visit to the markets could not be carried out.

Given the abductive circular principle, the back-and-forth between the empirical material and the preliminary theoretical concepts was central throughout the research. Therefore,

during the first phase, articles on the markets in the local press were revised from afar. They were the first empirical material to help further narrow the research interest.

2 Document Revision

In different phases of research, revising local newspaper articles, accompanied by other official documents, was essential. We will specify this aspect in what follows.

2.1 Article Revision: News as Sources

Gabriel Tarde (2017) proposed a compelling idea about the "border" of social groups. He claimed that a group initially ended with the scope of our perception. Our visual and auditory capabilities limited our ability to "see" and "hear" the others, to know "what was going on." This changed throughout modernity as mass media "extended" this perceptual scope. Mass media was the key to the creation of "*le public*," the general public, as opposed to the "*la foule*," the masses.

Other scholars of the time also explored the connection between modernity and humans' perceptive possibilities. Sigmund Freud (2012), from his psychoanalytical perspective, claimed that the development of technology was humans' attempt to enhance the body and overcome its limitations. Cultural development aimed at optimizing humans' motor and sensory organs and removing their barriers[59].

Robert E. Park in "News as a Form of Knowledge" (1940) also followed this idea: "In fact, news performs somewhat the same functions for the public that perception does for the individual man; that is to say it does not so much inform as orient the public, giving each and all notice as to what is going on" (p. 677). News was primarily concerned with the "unusual and the unexpected." It focused on events that "either startle, amuse, or otherwise excite the reader so that it will be remembered and repeated" (p. 678). However, *what* was reported about was not unexpected. Topics such as "births and deaths, weddings and funerals, the conditions of the crops and business, war, politics, and the weather" (p. 680) were not communicated unexpectedly, but it was their unpredictable character that made them news.

The same author stresses the vital role of news for the formation of "public opinion"[60]:

[59] McLuhan 1996 elaborated on that idea more recently, in reference to digitalization processes, by proposing to understand technological development not only in terms of an "expanded body" but also as an extended "mind," namely consciousness and memory.

[60] An essential reading regarding the topic of public opinion is Habermas "*Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit*" 2019.

> "The first typical reaction of an individual to the news is likely to be a desire to repeat it to someone. This makes conversation, arouses further comment, and perhaps starts a discussion. But the singular thing about it is that, once discussion has been started, the event under discussion soon ceases to be news, and, as interpretations of an event differ, discussions turn from the news to the issues it raises. The clash of opinions and sentiments which discussion invariably evokes usually terminates in some sort of consensus or collective opinion—what we call public opinion. It is upon the interpretation of present events, i.e., news, that public opinion rests" (Park 1940, p. 677).

From this perspective, the newspaper is a medium that expands the gaze. It informs about the latest events and thus plays a vital role in defining consensus regarding socially acceptable opinions. Further discussion about the issues raised by current events evolves based on the news. Articles are written and published for a specific group: a local community embedded in a broader national and international context. Furthermore, its development is intertwined with the emergence and consolidation of the modern nation-state and had a central role regarding modern society's members sense of cohesion (Picó and Sanchis 1996, p. 219) and, consequently, nation-building (O'Leary 2000, p. 75).

The newspaper's role is to publish articles about "events that bring about sudden and decisive changes" (Park 1940). The COVID-19 pandemic was a chain of mostly unpredictable events. Besides social media, the "official" news production updated the confined population about the latest developments in "real-time." The newspaper, mainly in its digital version, provided a means to stay informed about the development of the exceptional situation the world was experiencing. Staying at home while still "perceiving" the changes regarding the spread of the disease, contagion, and the respective bio-security measures was partly possible thanks to digital newspapers.

In Tacna, besides the local "*Radio Uno*," the local edition of *Correo* was key for updating citizens. The newspaper was relevant for communicating the changes in the normative regulations and building the basis for further discussion regarding the pandemic and the appropriateness and efficacy of the biosecurity measures implemented in response. This made the newspaper an ideal document to complement fieldwork.

As in other parts of the world, the local newspaper played a crucial role in dispelling rumors and superstitions about the virus, as well as providing updates on the progress of treatment and vaccine development. While it tracked the first cases of COVID-19 and

reported on the number of new infections and deaths, *Correo* also informed the public about the measures that authorities were implementing in response to these developments. In short, it instructed the public on the new ways of behaving correctly.

In a time in which particularly street markets and other commercial sites faced significant restrictions and in which basic behavioral norms underwent changes, the newspaper served as a valuable resource for information. Given the unprecedented circumstances, routine activities such as grocery shopping became frequent topics in daily reports. However, there are limitations to using local news reports to reconstruct the argument of different stakeholders regarding the legitimacy of street markets.

The first limitation concerns the criteria defining what qualifies as news mentioned above, namely that events that are either surprising, unexpected, or unpredictable are reported[61]. Street markets and other commercial sites became newsworthy during times of heightened tension, such as the initial implementation of new biosecurity measures, incidents of vendors testing positive for COVID-19, or open conflicts concerning commercial sites during the pandemic. Consequently, the news do not provide information about those aspects of the pandemic that were less visible and that unfolded without further complications.

A second limitation relates to the organization of information and the potentially biased decisions taken by newspapers[62]. Different factors shape these decisions and make reporting necessarily selective. In this sense, newspaper coverage is always incomplete and fragmentary. Moreover, follow-ups on specific situations are often insufficient or absent. Consequently, the nuances and complexities of arguments and conflicts, as well as their evolution over time, may only be partially represented. With these limitations in mind, we will describe the concrete use of the assembled articles.

The third limitation is the quality of reporting and the veracity of the information printed. Even though the reports are ideally "objective" and "true," inaccuracies and misinformation occur. Depending on internal verification processes, the resources,

[61] Van Dijk 1990 defines "news" as "*Un ítem o informe periodístico, como por ejemplo un texto o discurso en la radio, en la televisión o en el diario, en el cual se ofrece una nueva información sobre sucesos recientes*" (p. 17) for his discourse analysis. In the case of this thesis, we used primarily newspaper articles, which we refer to as "news."

[62] For further information and reflection on this limitation, see texts on "framing," such as Entman 1993. While developed in communication studies, it also found its way into the social sciences, for instance in Goffman 2010, being applied in particular currents such as organizational research and fields such as social movement research or in policy debates. For the latter, see, for instance, Creed et al. 2002.

personnel, and time available regarding the fact-checking processes, the level of accuracy of news might vary.

2.2 *Correo*: Document Revision

The revision of articles of the local newspaper *Correo*, as laid out above, was central to the project. It was relevant during different moments of the research process.

In the first place, during the preparation of fieldwork, the revision was a way of gaining information about the situation concerning the development of the pandemic and thus the enfolding of contagion in the city on the one hand and about discussions concerning markets and other establishments of commerce on the other hand. As mentioned earlier, markets had become one of the main suspects for contagion and were part of the newspaper's daily reporting.

Consequently, in 2020 and 2021, the digital edition of the *Correo* was a possibility to "replace" the initially foreseen exploratory phase of fieldwork that could not be carried out given the circumstances. It allowed for collecting relevant articles and mapping topics, sites, and actors of interest regarding the research questions. More concretely, through the regular revision of the edition during this first period, articles that referred to the evolution of the pandemic in the city in general were collected together with articles precisely concerning ambulatory, itinerant, and "regular" trade in the city. Working with qualitative documents, in this case, was mainly justified regarding the mobility restrictions and, consequently, the lack of other sources (Verd and Lozares 2016, p. 280).

One of the remarkable alterations of the itinerant trade practices that occurred due to the pandemic was the relocation of the *Feria del Altiplano* from a street to a stadium. Reports on that decision, its enforcement, and consequences in the collected articles hinted at the importance of the topic of relocation for itinerant trade in the city. This impression was further solidified during fieldwork. Vendors narrated that many years prior to COVID-19, their market had already been "moved" after a long process of discussion and negotiation.

Accordingly, another moment of "crisis" in Tacna's markets crystallized as relevant to the research question. In particular, two of the studied street markets, *Feria Boliviana* and *Feria del Altiplano,* had once been only one market near their current location in the *Circunvalación* street, close to *Polvos Rosados*. The urgency of the topic of relocation at

the moment of conducting fieldwork—not only in the *Feria del Altiplano*—led to the decision to revise the same newspaper regarding reports on this previous relocation.

In this second "moment," the revision of qualitative documents was justified through the interest in a situation in the past. Even though some of the interviewed vendors still remembered the situation, since they had personally taken part in it, accounts regarding precise dates and arguments varied greatly. The revision of documents thus allowed for contrasting the vendor's accounts with the newspaper's perspective, permitting the construction of a chronology and identifying central topics of interest.

To understand the contextual situation regarding this earlier relocation, the second article revision took place during the third phase of fieldwork. Because the newspaper's digital archive only covers the years from 2008 onwards, it took place on-site in the local city library, *Biblioteca Pública de Tacna*, and the local Archive, *Archivo Regional de Tacna*. Both institutions gather the newspaper's daily editions. The library returned to regular opening hours in April 2022. It stores the newspapers—together with its other media—accessible to the public. In contrast, the archive still operated with restricted opening hours and received guests only after arranging a personalized appointment.

In addition to the articles of *Correo*, other documents showed to be of interest to research. Regarding the evolution of the pandemic, for instance, the state's *Decretos Supremos* regarding the State of Emergency, *Resoluciones Ministeriales* of the Ministry of Health (*Ministerio de Salud,* abbreviated as *MINSA*), and *Ordenanzas Municipales* of the respective municipalities were vital for understanding the legal background on which selling practices in the street markets took place. Additionally, some reports offered by the local radio station *Radio Uno* were included in accounts concerning the situation of the city's itinerant traders.

Decrees indicated the measures taken in response to international and national tendencies of contagion. The newspaper added more detailed information regarding the implementation of these measures and their consequences "on the ground" in the commercial places in Tacna. In the different chapters, the precise additional materials and documents will be further specified.

The aim of the revision was threefold. In the first place, it allowed for a reconstruction of the events and conflictual moments regarding the restrictions in 2020 and 2021, when traveling was still unthinkable. While all news concerning COVID-19 and itinerant or

ambulatory trade were of interest initially, this interest was narrowed throughout the abductive research process. Stakeholders and their positions regarding the street markets were singled out, and the respective passages were gathered (see Part V, Chapter 2.1) Stakeholders). Furthermore, the lines of conflict and the respective arguments brought forward by those involved were identified. The respective passages were classified into different topics (see Part V, Chapter 2.2) around which the arguments were organized.

Regarding the vendors, the reported manners of protest were furthermore of interest (see Part V, Chapter 3.2). The observation of routinized protest action in 2022 in response to the relocation of *Feria del Altiplano* led to asking about other moments of disagreement in which vendors explicitly staged protests. Articles were sorted respectively. Finally, in moments in which topics of particular interest crystallized as relevant, as was the case of *Centro Comercial Bolivia*, for instance, the gathered articles were consulted regarding related reports in order to complement the information obtained throughout fieldwork.

3 Qualitative Observation

The central research technique from fieldwork I onwards (see Table 2) was qualitative observation (Verd and Lozares 2016, p. 244ff.). Fieldwork consisted of extended participation in the market dynamics during which itinerant trade practices were observed (Buscatto 2018). These observations and the derived descriptions are understood to build a "praxeography" (*Praxeographie*), following the conceptual proposition made by Schmidt (2012). The participation in everyday life in the street markets and the interest in "naturally occurring and generated data" (Tavory and Timmermans 2014) were the basis for producing "mnemonic devices" such as field notes, the respective memos, analytical notes, transcripts, and additional visual material.

3.1 The Phases of Fieldwork

During the different phases of fieldwork, qualitative observation was complemented by conducting qualitative interviews and extending the document revision. Additionally to the local newspaper articles, other relevant documents, such as further news reports or legal papers related to the municipalities, were included, too. Connecting these different research techniques is a form of triangulation (Patton 2001, p. 248).

Table 2: Research techniques used during the phases of fieldwork.

Phase	Time	Techniques
Preparation of fieldwork	First semester 2021-22	• Newspaper revision (digitally and from the distance)
Fieldwork I	19.03.-31.03.2022	• Qualitative observation
Fieldwork II	01.04.-29.04.2022	• Qualitative observation • Qualitative interviews • Semi-structured interviews
Fieldwork III	20.06.-31.07	• Qualitative observation • Qualitative interviews • Newspaper revision (*in situ*) • Revision of further relevant documents

Contrasting the preliminary theoretical concepts with the gathered material was crucial during all the phases of fieldwork. Mismatches between the different parts of the project had to be constantly adjusted and revised. The research plan, furthermore, needed to stay flexible given the incalculable development of the pandemic.

3.2 Praxeography and Qualitative Observation

"Praxeography" is a direct reference to the characteristically anthropological research strategy of ethnography. Instead of putting emphasis on "ethnicity," it stresses "practice" with its different participants, carriers, and infrastructures. The present project ascribes to this strategy.

The strategy's proximity to ethnography is palpable in various similarities: both aim at observing and participating in "what is going on." Furthermore, as Breidenstein et al. (2015) propose for ethnography, "writing" as part of the strategy's name already stresses the centrality of writing (Breidenstein et al. 2015, p. 39f.). The process of experiencing and writing about practices comprises the possibility of exploring implicit aspects, "tacit knowledge" (Polanyi 2016) and "know-how" (Ryle 2009), rendering them palpable.

There are also differences: while ethnography is considered to be "the work of describing a culture" (Spradley 1979, p. 25), praxeography can be seen as a form of "thick description" (Geertz 1973) of the practices of interest, identifying its elements and their relation (Shove et al. 2012). "Meaning" is only one of these elements besides material and competencies. It considers that practices are standardized at the same time as they are local and situated.

Concretely, the participation in market dynamics, on the one hand, and the written reflection about it, on the other hand, were central to the project. These activities compose a double movement of research between "participation" and "dissociation" (Breidenstein et al. 2015). Both "moments" were deliberately organized: while I participated as much as possible in the market dynamics, I also planned dissociation phases. This took place on three levels. First, during my time in the field, I regularly left the market situations (generally in between visiting different stalls), jotting down as much as possible. Second, during the evenings and on market-free days, these field notes were completed and specified. Third, I planned a month in-between the second and the third phase of fieldwork, leaving the city of Tacna and planning the first part of a research visit in Iquique (Chile). This offered the opportunity of actually being distant and intensely revising the gathered material.

Qualitative observation was not articulated with others during the first phase of fieldwork. I participated in the market dynamics of the *Feria de la Chacra a la Olla*, *Feria Boliviana*, and *Feria del Altiplano* as potential client. During this phase, every visit had a particular

"topic of interest" to focus my observations. Some of these topics were the products, typical figures, non-selling activities, children, vendor-client interactions, etc. Even though these topics directed my attention during the visits, often other issues emerged as more relevant that specific day or in a particular encounter.

The outcome of these visits was field notes. For their management and easy revision, I used the program *Obsidian*, which allows for cross-referencing and embedding notes and parts of notes. Memos and analytical notes were also ordered and stored here. Days of fieldwork, vendors, emerging topics, the transcripts of the recorded qualitative interviews, and the newspaper articles had their own file including references to other relevant notes.

It is essential to mention that the first "block" of fieldwork—meaning fieldwork I and fieldwork II—took place while the terrestrial border with Chile remained closed for the transport of people. Its reopening had been postponed various times and was finally executed on May 1, 2022, over two years after its closure. While I had to leave Tacna by airplane, my second arrival to the city was by land. I took a "*colectivo*," a shared taxi, to cross from Chile's city Arica to Peruvian Tacna. Even though the number of Chilean citizens in the street markets observed was still relatively low—the reopening did not mean a "return" to pre-COVID-19 dynamics—this allowed for contrasting observations made before and after the reopening.

Once the specific research questions were settled and "routines of justification" emerged as a conceptual possibility to capture the justification work interwoven into the everyday market activities in connection to the question of the respective "orders of worth" evoked, the notes, memos, and analytical notes were revised for further reflecting on justification in practices. These were grouped under specific topics and the base for the text of the fourth chapter of Part V.

Ideally, in an abductive research process, another block of fieldwork should have taken place at that moment in order to re-focus observations and expand on the notes already containing relevant information. Given the temporal and financial limitations of this thesis, a fourth block of fieldwork could not be undertaken. Notwithstanding this restraint, the gathered material was already rich in information and was used respectively. Additionally, this opens the path for future research.

4 Qualitative Interviews

Qualitative Interviews complemented the observations. Given the rupture of everyday life, particularly concerning the street markets due to the pandemic, interviews were helpful by tapping into the "augmented reflexivity" of the actors involved in the practices. The interviews with vendors moved between the *entrevista conversacional informal* and the *entrevista basada en un guion* as distinguished by Valles (Valles 2009, p. 180) referencing Patton (2001). Before the conversations, a script was elaborated concerning topics of interest to respond to the different research questions. These topics were complemented throughout the process, following the principle of openness (Rosenthal 2011, p. 39ff.). Conversations with the interviewees occurred repeatedly and at different times of the day. Concerning occasional interviews, which were held with clients and the "*guatchimán*," for instance, a script with questions, flexible in their order, was prepared.

4.1 The Interviewees

Flick (2007) emphasizes that sampling in qualitative research differs from that in quantitative research. Instead of being focused on the sample's representativeness concerning the population, it can be focused in differing ways in qualitative research. In the case of our project, it is essential to remember that one of the main interests of the study is to understand the different ways of justifying practices regarding itinerant trade and the issues that emerged during the pandemic.

Patton (2001) presents various strategies related to the sampling design in research, among which variations of purposeful sampling were of particular interest. The foundation of purposeful sampling is the idea of choosing cases that carry a significant amount of information about the research question. The author argues that purposeful sampling can be carried out using different strategies. Those of particular interest for this study are *maximum variation sampling*, *snowball* or *chain sampling*, and *opportunistic or emergent sampling* (Patton 2001, p. 230ff.). We will elaborate on this in reference to the dynamics of the field.

Table 3: Interviewees.

Code	Pseudonym	Rol(es) in the market	Street Market	Type of the interview
001	Doña E	Vendor	1	A
002	Doña F	Vendor	1, 2	A
003	Don L	Vendor	1, 3	A
004	Don K	Vendor	1 (antes 3)	A
005	Doña S	Vendor	1	A
006	Doña T	Vendor and until recently president of her association	1	A
007	Don F	Vendor, president of his association	1, 3	A
008	Doña KT	Vendor and producer	1	A
009	Doña C	Vendor	1,3	A
010	Doña D	Vendor	1,3	A
011	Señorita B	Vendor	1, 3 +	A
012	Doña I	Vendors and wholesaler	2	A
013	Doña N. y Doña O	Vendors	1, 2	A
014	Doña Z	Vendor	1,2	A
015	Doña G	Vendor	1 +	B
016	Doña H	Vendor	1 +	B
017	Doña P	Vendor	1 +	B
018	Doña N2	Vendor	1,2	B
019	Doña K2	Vendor	2 +	B
020	Doña M	President of the Federation	2	A
021	Doña E2	Vendor, president of her association	1, 2	A
022	Don M	"Guachimán" (security personnel)	1, 2	C
-	Approx. 30 people	Clients	1, 2	C

1 = *Feria de la Chacra a la Olla*
2 = *Feria Boliviana*
3 = *Feria del Altiplano*
\+ = other commercial sites
A = Qualitative interview (regular conversations)
B = Interviews (One or two long conversations)
C = Semi Structured Interviews

I searched for interviewees with the aim in mind to reflect the heterogeneity of the vendors in the street markets regarding their demographic characteristics and their itinerant trade practices. The starting point was the intention to "access the variety that exists in what we study" (Flick 2007, p. 61). Starting with a first interview, I would build heterogeneity inductively. Given the dynamics of the markets and interactions among vendors, *opportunistic sampling* and *snowball or chain sampling* complemented this strategy of *maximum variation sampling*. Often, vendors referred me to other vendors, or new conversation possibilities arose during one of the ongoing conversations.

The first long conversation took place in the *Feria de la Chacra a la Olla*. It was the first day that I aimed at more extended conversations and standing by the stalls as long as possible. My first interview partner invited me into her stall and introduced me to her

"neighborhood." Before I left that day, she told me she would not attend her stall for some weeks since she traveled to the highlands to "help with the potatoes." However, she added that I could come back to visit her neighbors.

Taking advantage of encounters that made further conversations possible, I decided to diversify the group of interviewees by seeking conversation in a spatially distant part of the same market, looking for different age groups, merchandise, manner of selling, and so forth.

4.2 Notes on the Informed Consent

Regarding the transparency of the research project, I always introduced myself to potential new interviewees as a doctoral student working on a thesis on the commercial activities of the street markets in the city of Tacna, particularly during COVID-19. Explicitly stating that I was searching for conversations on the topic in the street markets and that my conversation was part of the doctoral research was central to conveying the interested nature of my presence in the markets.

Just as in any interview situation, it was essential to reflect on the topic of informed consent and its concrete formalities in the case of the research carried out for my doctoral thesis previously and during fieldwork. The research was not focused on collecting sensitive data but on understanding the arguments and tensions evolving around itinerant trade practices in times of crisis.

Given the institutional standing of the street markets, the resulting omnipresent threat of eviction, the personal backgrounds of family experiences with authority's power abuse and the respective bureaucratic measures, paired with the very heterogeneous literacy levels and the fact that Spanish was often the vendor's second language, I refrained from asking for written consent. Having participants sign a formally written document would likely have induced feelings of insecurity and alarm and thus compromised trust. Consequently, asking for consent was adopted to the particular context of Tacna's street markets.

As stated earlier, I asked for consent orally from the beginning of each unstructured interview and often repeated my research interest throughout the conversations. The oral consent was not recorded for the same reasons as mentioned above. Instead, I used a written document to attain the evident advantages of consent forms, namely the

possibility to properly inform the participants regarding the purpose of the research, the participants' rights regarding data protection, and the possibility to abstain from participating in research at any given moment.

This document contained my contact details and further information on my researcher role and institutional affiliation. It briefly presented the general interests of the research, situating the conversations in regard to writing my doctoral thesis and making sure to inform about the participant's anonymity in the written report. It also emphasized the right to decide on participation at any given moment. More concretely, I printed two copies per participant: 1. We read the document together. 2. There was a moment to discuss further questions or doubts. 3. I signed both copies, keeping one and handing over the other.

This manner of asking for consent resulted in fruitful conversations. The act of adequately informing, handing over a respective written document, and thus officially taking responsibility for the research process was an utterly positive research experience. In the first place, handing over the written document stressed the importance of the conversations and the information that vendors had shared. In a way, the simple gesture allowed for "officially" valuing the time and patience invested. It opened the possibility to "store" the information regarding my contact. Instead of burdening the research, the adapted manner made the communication process more transparent.

5 The Rhythms of the Market or How to Join the Vendors

As a potential client, I visited the markets *Feria de la Chacra a la Olla*, *Feria Boliviana*, and *Feria del Altiplano* on a regular base during the first part of fieldwork. A crucial insight during this phase was that the rhythms of everyday life structure the market activities. The weather conditions determine the precise actions taken throughout the installation and the dismantling of the stalls and their modification throughout the day. The meals are temporal points of reference, and the flux of clients has typical highs and lows. Between these phases, there is a time in which "*no hay nada que hacer*."

Depending on these rhythms, sellers are more or less busy. On arrival at the market, everybody needs to construct the stand structure, put the plastic tarpaulins and tables into place, and arrange the merchandise. The transport of all the items needed and the erection of the stall are physically strenuous activities that require strength as much as skill. Some vendors get help from family members or cooperate with stall neighbors.

A lot of communication takes place amid the routinized movements that characterize the process of assembling the stalls. Between greetings, one can observe coordination, and jokes are frequent between friends and families. It is the only moment concerning the market routines, that everybody is busy at the same time, and that the degree of interaction between vendors is generally very high. It is a moment in which vendors, family members, and other people passing by often exchange information and opinions on the latest news and gossip.

It is not until the first meal of the day that the degree of movement and activity in the street markets decreases. Of course, not everyone has their early-day snacks at the same time. While some are already eating, others are still—in a more or less sophisticated way—arranging the merchandise they offer inside the stalls. Merchandise either lays on tables or other constructions apt for the presentation of products (such as shelves, for instance) or hangs on the inner "walls".

Particularly during the border closure, there were phases throughout the day in which there were no organization or coordination efforts to be accomplished nor many clients to be attended. The flux of international tourists from Chile had ceased, and the times in which "*no hay nada que hacer*" were not rare.

The activities that took place in these interludes were decisive for the qualitative observation during the second phase of fieldwork. This second phase aimed to switch from the client's point of view to the seller's perspective and, thus, to join activities on the other side of the stall. Observations made throughout the first phase of fieldwork made joining "the seller's perspectives" and more extended visits possible. More specifically, two observations concerning further marketplace activities were crucial.

In the first place, conversation and interaction were important in the street markets. Most of the stands counted with an extra seat, allowing the vendors to invite guests to sit down and chat while not having to abandon the stall. When alone, vendors followed—as one would suspect—activities related to entertainment technologies such as the radio or smartphones. Additionally, and in the second place, another family of activities that I will subsume under the concept of "handicrafts" were observed in the street markets:

> "Finalmente están varias actividades los cuales se pueden describir como manualidades en un sentido amplio. En primer lugar, se observan muchas personas quienes efectivamente tejen: veo personas quienes hacen chompas, obras más bien voluminosas con lanas gruesas, otras quienes están trabajando en piezas más pequeñas y delicadas. Hay una persona que fabrica llaveros para venderlos en su mismo puesto (…). Otra persona tiene un puesto en el cual oferta diferentes modelos de prendas hechas a ganchillo, aceptando también pedidos. A veces, desde uno de los bolsos en los cuales se guardan las mercancías aparecen distintos proyectos de manualidad, pues forman parte del equipaje y están presentes en muchos puestos.
>
> Un segundo tipo distinto de manualidad es la preparación de la mercancía para la venta. Una persona que vende cabezas de ajo puede preparar también bolsitas con dientes de ajo ya pelado, por ejemplo, o una persona que vende palos grandes de canela la puede organizar en menor cantidad presentándola en forma de abanico en bolsitas que se venden a uno o dos Soles. Otra persona que vende choclo, lo desgrana preparando también bolsitas para su uso inmediato, etc. La manualidad en este caso es la preparación, el embalaje, y la presentación del producto.
>
> Una tercera manualidad observada es el cuidado del material del estante y la mercancía. Se observan personas quienes cosen un defecto en una de las telas o toldos, "limpian" costuras acabadas de la ropa ofertada o mejoran cuidadosamente la presentación de los productos. Todas estas actividades implican un trabajo manual exigiendo alta concentración para transformar algún material en algo útil, sugerente o bello" (Memo: Actividades en las ferias).

These activities determined further decisions for the qualitative observation process. To be able to spend more time inside the stalls, I integrated a foldable stool (*el banquito*),

wool and a crochet hook, and some sketching materials such as pens and watercolors into my usual luggage. Realizing the crafting activities allowed me to be present as a guest with a "mission." This took away the perceived pressure of constantly having to "entertain" me and made my presence in the absence of conversation possible.

As much sketching as crocheting allowed me to "be there," to remain behind the stall, even when vendors got busy regarding their merchandise, clientele, or other activities that demanded their full attention.

5.1 Crochet

Crochet is a handicraft. This term and the Spanish *ganchillo*, refer to the "hook" at the end of the "needle". Burns and Van Der Meer (2021) define crochet as "the process of creating fabric by interlocking loops of yarn" (p. 150). At its base is the "transformation of a linear thread into an interwoven layered construct" (Steed 2016, p. 139). In this handicraft, in contrast to knitting, only one needle is used to interlock the loops. The hook at its end serves to pull the yarn through the already crafted loops of the fabric.

Karp (2018) emphasizes that the craft of crochet was established under this name at the beginning of the 19th century in Continental Europe. However, knitting, as converting thread into textile artifacts, can be traced back much further[63]. The practice in Peru is generally brought into connection with colonization.

The activity of crochet is relatively accessible. The only things needed to engage in it are some thread or yarn, a suitable crochet hook, and at least some basic knowledge of the technique. The material, texture, color, and thickness differentiate the threads and yarns. The respective hooks and needles available further amplify this diversity. They, too, are offered in suiting sizes and different materials, the most common being made of metal or plastic. Prices range from highly accessible to very expensive depending on the materials and the artistry inverted. Burns and Van Der Meer (2021) stress the relatively low costs and accessibility of the craft as much as its portability.

To start with crochet, the most essential elements to know are chain stitches, which are then complemented with interlocking single stitches in a second row. Only with this simple procedure is it possible to create basic pieces of looped fabric, at the beginning,

[63] For more on the history of knitting also regarding different world regions and particularities in patterns see, for instance, Rutt 2003 or Nargi 2011.

often “blankets, hats, shawls and bags” (Burns and van der Meer 2021, p. 150). Of course, to elaborate more complex textures and structures, many other stitches must be mastered. To that end, it is also crucial to understand the principles of increasing, decreasing, and joining different parts of the fabric. This is also true for knitting.

Regarding the learning process of these different techniques, like other crafts, crochet has long been dependent on the personal transmission of at least the basic skills. Consequently, texts in this regard often hint at the activity’s intergenerational and often gendered character (Burns and van der Meer 2021; Turney 2009). Following these texts, women experienced in the craft passed on the knowledge to less experienced younger women. This made knitting a medium of connecting generations. It was a way of passing on traditions and culture. Patterns and techniques could also travel via the finished artifact: they could be understood and imitated far from where they had been made.

The craft was not literate until relatively recently. It was not “orally” that knowledge was passed on but rather through demonstration and imitation, trial and error, adaption, and through looking at the pattern of a knitted artifact that the practice persisted. Besides this reflection, Anna Zilboorg (2015), a knitting teacher, in her instructional book on knitting, reflects beautifully on the learning process that involves as much the mind as the body:

> “Most people learn to knit by rote. That is, they are told or shown exactly what to do with their hands and yarn and needles, step by step. At first doing it is extremely awkward. Then it gets easier. Hands learn things far more slowly than minds do. You tell your fingers what to do and expect instant obedience, but it takes a while for fingers to figure out just how to obey. Once they learn, they find it difficult to change” (Zilboorg 2015, p. 2).

She underpins the skills the hand must learn to perform the movement correctly. Even though rationally understood what is to be done, it takes time and practice to get the hands to “become fluent” in knitting. In her book, she also stresses the fact that learners tended to adapt and to vary this “correct” way of knitting to their own hands: “When you look at what knitters’ hands are actually doing, you see a great variety of styles of knitting” (ibid.). There were many different manners to accomplish the “same thing.”

Knitting in general and crochet specifically can serve to understand the complexities and limitations of aiming at “textualizing” practices that anthropology has reflected on ever since the discipline’s “interpretive turn” (Bachmann-Medick 2016). Trying to explain with words what is to be done during the process of knitting is complex and cumbersome.

When teaching knitting, having a needle and thread at hand to show how to accomplish a certain pattern or structure is almost indispensable, at least when the person who is trying to understand is not an advanced practitioner. On the other side, understanding what is to be done seems to be impossible without *doing* it.

Knitting, in this sense, is also a beautiful example of what practice theorists refer to as "implicit knowledge": knitter's hands perform complex movements together with the thread and the needle(s). If not explicitly asked to do so, practitioners rarely reflect on the "way of doing" this activity verbally. Orally describing the precise movement of the hand and the different fingers is not only cumbersome but also misleading since there are different manners to achieve the transformation from thread to fabric.

In the actuality, however, there is a vast variety of instructive manuals on the market. In their effort of transmitting a practice, these generally include photography or schemes and sketches. These crafts—as much knitting as crochet—count with their own thematic vocabulary regarding the different types of stitches and techniques. This makes the written communication on "what is to be done" in a group of practitioners possible. Besides textual explanations using abbreviations of the respective vocabulary, there are also visual diagrams.

Learning how to knit, however, has become easier and broadly accessible with digital devices and the internet. Learners, as much as experienced practitioners, just need to know the right term to search for toaccess manifold explanations. Instruction and advice can be found on video-sharing platforms, in forums and blogs and even in specialized social networks organized around the craft[64]. Step-by-step videos for hours on end of entire projects from start to finish or short videos on one specific kind of stitch are just a click away. Additionally, videos—in contrast to teachers—can be paused and replayed and are potentially always available.

Repetition is a central aspect of knitting as well as crochet. A pattern emerges by repeating certain stitches in a particular order over many rows of the fabric. While crafting, the practitioner needs to pay attention to the work and to the number of stitches. There are more and less complex patterns, but all of them depend on repeating the same movement or sequence of movements. Once "the hand has learned" the movement, as Zilboorg puts

[64] "Ravelry" is one of these social networks in which practitioners of different levels find free and paid patterns, share images of their work, and comment on other's projects.

it, attention shifts from a very specific focus to a more general attention to "the hand's work," to an attitude of supervision rather than control. This repetitive character of the craft and its relation to paying attention makes it interesting to reflect on the de-stressing and even meditative effect that the craft might have on practioners.

In one of the street markets, namely *Feria del Altiplano*, some vendors offered products for handicrafts involving threads. Part of the assortment was a variety of wools and colorful yarns, the cheapest being offered for under four Peruvian Soles. Hooks in different sizes started at the price of one Peruvian Sol. Colors ranged from pastel tones to neon colors. The vendors of these materials, additionally to the typical balls of wools and yarns, offered small amounts of very colorful knitting threads for school students, which gave the market's "knitting corner" a particularly vivid appearance.

In this and the other street markets, knitting and crochet was omnipresent. Hooks, yarn, and some already-started project were integral part of many vendors' stall equipment. Knitting was thus an activity that I could carry out "behind the stalls" while having conversations and spending time at the markets. Crochet specifically had the advantage of being very portable.

Initially, the main idea was to alleviate the "pressure" to "entertain" me constantly. However, it turned out to be an excellent excuse to start conversations about family constellations and the respective relationships while exchanging experiences and tips and tricks regarding the craft.

When "showing off" the latest creation, generally a "work in progress," other nearby vendors often were curious, too. Bringing my foldable stool had the advantage that the typical "visitor's seat"—another *banquito* generally present near the vendor—was left unoccupied. Consequently, crochet in the street markets was also way to engage in communication with more than one person or to sit and crochet in silence while others engaged in interaction.

5.2 Sketching

Heath et al. (2018) introduce the topic of drawing in fieldwork by hinting at a growing interest in "non-textual approaches to exploring the social world" (p. 1) and the popularity of photography and film-making as part of the tools used throughout research. *In situ*

observational drawing, however, was "largely absent from the contemporary visual methods toolkit" (p. 1).

Kuschnir (2014, 2016) gathers some of the exceptions in her contributions. While some disciplines that had a long history of drawing as part of research in the field (such as architecture, geography, and archeology, for instance), it was not part of the standard social science methodological toolkit. The exception in this regard was anthropology.

In this field, some scholars contributed reflections on drawings and drawing and its use in fieldwork. For instance, Tim Ingold[65], stresses the potential it inherits as a tool for observation since it combined observation and description in one movement (Ingold 2010, p. 303). Even though he seems to be referring to drawing as an exciting tool for observation in a very practical sense, in this and other texts, he rather uses it as a metaphor.

He underpins its improvised and incomplete character, which made it partly incompatible with those ethnographic endeavors that instead aimed at "descriptive integration" (Ingold 2010, p. 303 citing Kroeber 1935) for "compositionality and totalization." The emphasis of the drawing—metaphorically in counterposition to the painting—lies in movement, emergence, and formation and not in the "complete description of what is already there, or has already come to pass" (Ingold 2010, p. 304). Ingold inscribes his article in the interpretive turn by highlighting the researcher's role regarding the unfolding of the research process and its results.

Other researchers, rather than using drawing as a further medium for capturing a scene, integrated drawings made by the participants into their data collection processes. In geography, asking for drawn representations of places, surroundings, or other spatial arrangements is a way of exploring people's "mental maps" and subjective perceptions of space based on their experience, for instance. These maps also serve as point of departure for further conversation, as narrative-generating material complementing interviews or group discussions. In other studies, the participant's co-creation of visual material that refers to the experience of interest for the research is another investigation strategy. The material finally used in the analysis, again, is mainly the interaction during and around the creation process.

[65] Texts of the same author more broadly related to the topic are, for instance, "Lines" 2007, "The Life of Lines" 2015, and "Art and Anthropology For a Sustainable World" 2019.

We follow Kuschnir (2014) regarding the notion that observational drawing throughout fieldwork is a worthwhile activity for researchers. Drawing forces one into being present in the moment and requires understanding the object or scene drawn; it depends upon slowing down and focusing selectively. Details that would otherwise not be noticed become central; the scene, people or objects drawn need to be not only *looked at* but also *seen*. Drawing activates the senses and alters time perception. Patience, alertness, and receptiveness are at the heart of the activity.

Given these particularities, the resulting pictures are a specifically valuable mnemonic device: more valuable than the drawing in itself is the memory attached to it. Looking at a drawing made during fieldwork facilitates remembering the sounds, colors, feelings, and atmosphere of the place and situation in which it was made. While one could oppose that drawing implies being distracted, specifically concerning vision and less capacity for conversation, the alteration of perception holds the potential for noticing sounds and smells that would otherwise have gone unnoticed.

Additionally valuable is the activity's interest in what concerns the people present in the scene. Drawing is an excellent excuse for others to start a conversation, and people are generally curious about drawing.

5.2.1 Field-Specific Remarks

The drawings elaborated during fieldwork in the three street markets were not made with the intention to become part of the documents analyzed. Instead, they were a measure taken to spend more time in the field, particularly behind the stalls, while talking less and observing more. Drawing gave my presence in the vendor's stalls a more autonomous character: there was a perceivable purpose and concrete result to my visits. Consequently, there was less pressure to constantly engage in conversation and more possibilities to follow the usual market dynamics.

At the same time, drawing positively affected the conversations. The picture in the making was a welcome excuse to engage in conversation. People were keen to comment on the drawing and its quality. The openness to further comment on the object drawn, experiences with the object, or one's own experiences with drawing were even more interesting. While drafting a *choclo*, for instance, I learned about its regional origin, some of the details concerning its cultivation and life cycle, and the social relationships behind its arrival in Tacna and at this particular stall. I was also instructed regarding possible

recipes, typical plates, and the characteristics of this kind of *choclo*[66] in comparison to others.

Drawing something manifests one's interest in something differently than quickly taking a picture with a camera. Sketching requires time and effort and transmits dedication to the subject. This leads us to another advantage of sketching during research: drawings are sharable.

Not only did those *in situ* have the possibility to comment on my drawings and elaborate on some ideas regarding these, but those pictures elaborated in one stall could serve as a starting point for conversation at another stall. This was particularly fruitful regarding objects such as the *triciclo*, which many vendors use to mobilize merchandise or the *muchacho,* an iron stick with a hook that helps vendors hang up merchandise or arrange the tarpaulins that form the stall's "roof." As recurrent objects in the street markets and quite context-specific, these drawings served as "inputs" to communicate market-related everyday topics more explicitly.

Once I noticed the advantages of drawing, I started to incorporate it more systematically. I aimed to sketch at least once in every stall I visited regularly. Some vendors were so interested in the sketches that I started digitalizing them to share a copy. I assembled the different drawings on a DinA4 page and, instead of giving each vendor the drawing made in her or his stall, prepared a little poster. The poster was a small gift and an opportunity to thank for the conversations shared (see Appendix 6).

5.3 Being There

"Being there" is central to ethnographic research and an essential aspect distinguishing it from other approaches. Sherry Ortner, for instance, offers a "minimal definition" of ethnography in one of her essays in "Anthropology and Social Research" (2006). In it, she states that ethnography was the attempt to comprehend another life-world "using the self (…) as the instrument of knowing" (p. 43). Consequently, experience stood at the heart of ethnographic research. She adds that this "kind of understanding" had been closely linked with fieldwork "in which the whole self physically and in every other way enters the space of the world the researcher seeks to understand" (p. 43).

[66] For the drawing see headlines of Part III.

In "praxeography," I suggest, physical presence and as much participation in the practices of interest as possible are also central. "Knowing" practices in a bodily fashion is critical for better grasping, describing, contextualizing, and analyzing them.

Additionally, Tacna's street markets and their itinerant character revealed a very field-specific importance of "being there" and of "showing up" on a regular basis in what concerns the vendors. Regularity—sticking to the assigned weekdays and times—is relevant for different interactions concerning the market dynamics. First, of course, regarding other merchants in the immediate surroundings. Second, in what concerns the clients. And third, regarding the local authorities.

This field-specific importance was palpable regarding the process of the qualitative interviews. It became clear that my "showing up" regularly was an important precondition for maintaining the conversation. Consequently, the vendors I regularly visited commented on the consistency of my visits. When I arrived in the afternoon, they asked where I had been throughout the morning. When I left early, I was asked where I was going from there. I often found myself explaining the following steps in the research process. When I did not come to a stall in a day, a common follow-up question during my next visit was "*¿Dónde te has perdido?*"

Since I usually introduced myself as a doctoral student with a particular interest in the economic dynamics during the first conversation with a vendor, "being there" and its regularity were a way of assessing my dedication and thus the quality of my work. Consistency and regularity were a matter of seriously working on the research that I claimed to be executing and that I would finally present to my university. At the same time, it was a gesture of attentiveness, a way of communicating awareness regarding presences and absences. It that way, it was also a demonstration of care and interest.

The questions furthermore opened possibilities for discussing non-market topics and activities. By asking about where one has been instead of being in the selling spot, conversation about other sections of the market or activities that take place outside the "business hours" becomes possible. Interlocutors can decide whether to respond in a detailed manner or to just recognize the gesture and answer in a general and unspecific manner.

"Being there" and the regularity of itinerant trade practices, which we will see later on, forms part of the "routines of justification" in which this thesis is interested. This idea

will be further elaborated in the fourth Chapter of Part V (see "Being There and Regularity").

In summary, the qualitative interviews further enriched the field notes, memos, and analytical notes. Observation and qualitative interviews were not two separate activities. The conversations took place during the hours in the street markets. The personal accounts allowed for complementing the newspaper revision and were the base for understanding how vendors individually had navigated the months of lockdown and the progressive reopening. As stated above, the resulting notes were later sorted and categorized regarding the research questions and contrasted with the topics identified in the document revision.

5.3.1 Specific Objectives

The following and last part of the thesis engages in answering the specific research questions. Consequently, each chapter corresponds to specific objectives (see Table 4 on the following page):

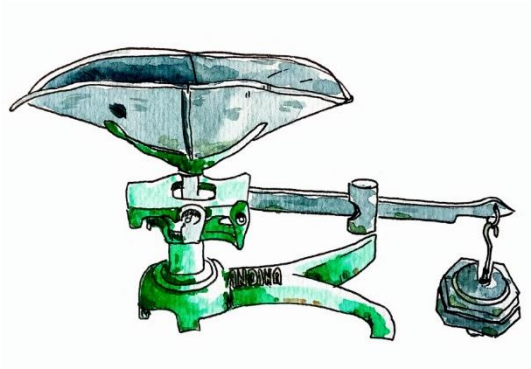
- O1.1. Identify the stakeholders involved and single out the principal topics of critique.
- O1.2. Examine which critiques were specific to the moment of crisis due to the pandemic of COVID-19.
- O2.1. Understand the individual ways vendors navigated the months of lockdown and progressive reopening.
- O2.2. Analyze the collective ways of staging protest and the corresponding patterns of justification.
- O3.1 Examine the "routines of justification" in the everyday market activities that relate to the identified critiques and justifications.
- O3.2. Link the identified critiques and justifications to the "orders of worth" framework proposed by Boltanski and Thévenot.

Table 4: The specific objectives, chapters, research techniques and material, analytical process.

Obj.	Chapter	Technique and material	Analytical Process
O1.1.	Part V. Chapter 2.	Technique: • Newspaper Revision • Qualitative Observation • Qualitative Interviews Material: newspaper articles, observational notes, interview notes, memos, analytical notes.	Qualitative content analysis: Identify the main conflicts ("Conflict Theme"). • Reconstruct the negotiation process between different actors and their diverging interests ("Stakeholders," "Critiques," and "Justifications") during COVID-19 and the relocation in 2006
O1.2.	Part V. Chapter 2.	Technique: • Newspaper Revision • Qualitative Observation • Qualitative Interviews Material: newspaper articles, observational notes, interview notes, memos, analytical notes.	Qualitative content analysis: Contrast the two negotiation processes ("Stakeholders," "Critiques," and "Justification"). • Discuss the continuities and the differences regarding both moments
O2.1.	Part V. Chapter 3.	Techniques: • Qualitative Interviews • Qualitative Observation Material: Observational notes, interview notes, memos, analytical notes.	Qualitative content analysis of the individual narratives. • Compare the vendors' accounts about the first month of the pandemic ("Situation," "Difficulties," and "Justification")
O2.2.	Part V. Chapter 3.	Techniques: • Newspaper Revision • Qualitative Interviews • Qualitative Observation Material: Newspaper articles, observational notes, interview notes, memos, analytical notes.	Qualitative content analysis focused on "Protest." • Discuss the main ways of staging protests • Compare ways of staging protests regarding relocation in different moments ("Conflict Theme," "Repertoires," and "Justification")
O3.1	Part V. Chapter 4.	Technique • Qualitative Observation • Qualitative interviews Material: Observational notes, Interview notes, and transcripts, memos, analytical notes.	Examine the "routines of justification" in the everyday market dynamics. • Analyze everyday practices in the street markets regarding their references to the main "Conflict Themes" and/or "Critiques"
O3.2.	Part V. Chapter 5.	• Chapter 2-4	Examine the patterns of "Justification," "Critique," and "Routines of justification" regarding the "order of worth" ("Domestic order," "Market order," "Industrial order," and "Civic order"). • Analyze: a) which of the worlds "Critiques" and "Justifications" evoke; and b) the continuities and differences regarding COVID-19 and the relocation in 2006

After presenting a chronicle of itinerant trade practices in Tacna based on the newspaper revision, "Critiques", the third chapter of the following part asks about the stakeholders

involved on the one hand and about the specific critiques regarding itinerant trade on the other hand. “Justification” examines vendors’ individual narratives regarding the months of lockdown and the progressive reopening and collective ways of staging critique. It is interested in the justifications regarding street markets. Finally, “Routines of Justification” looks at the elements of justification present in itinerant trade practices. The conclusions links the identified patterns of critique and justification to the framework presented in Part II.



Part V. “Routines of Justification” in Tacna’s Street Markets

1 Introduction: Tacna's Street Markets in Times of Crisis

This fifth part of the thesis takes the framework to Tacna's street markets. Overall, it draws on document revision, observations, and interviews to present a "praxeography" of itinerant trade, to outline patterns of critique and justification and their manifestation in ambulant trade practices. It sketches the continuities regarding critiques of the practices and the forms of protest taken in response.

It shows that it was not only during COVID-19 that vendors were under pressure to establish their practices' righteousness. Disputes concerning the "appearance" of ambulant trade are ingrained in the everyday market dynamics. However, during the pandemic, the fragility of the agreement concerning the relative stability of the street markets in the city became evident. Arguments had to be adjusted to the situation, and renegotiations took place.

This first chapter of the fifth part lays the groundwork for the following parts. The chronicle looks at trade practices throughout the first months of the pandemic and the progressive "economic reactivation." It aims to convey the overall situation of itinerant trade in the context of COVID-19, following the pandemic's evolution, the related changes regarding restrictions and norms, and itinerant trade practices.

Part of the negotiations and unfolding conflicts had been palpable in the news production of the local newspaper *Correo*. Ever since the beginning of the state of emergency, street markets in Peru, in general, and in Tacna, in particular, had been of public interest. Consequently, the newspaper regularly reported on the different market activities and commercial sites, which were mainly perceived as potential threats to biosecurity. The newspaper's digital edition allowed for following parts of the negotiation process "from afar."

The material used to construct the chronicle was mainly local newspaper articles published in the *Correo*. Radio reports and Decrees complemented these (for more detail, see "Document Revision"). The overall situation regarding market activities in the city mattered concerning ambulatory and later itinerant trade activities. Therefore, the chronicle includes events and instances that the local newspaper published about the three street markets and other indoor and itinerant markets, such as *Mercado Grau* and the *Cachina*.

Itinerant trade practices of one specific street market do not unfold independently from those in other similar sites in the city. On the contrary, vendors often sell their products in multiple markets and are members of different associations. Friendship and family networks span beyond precise commercial sites. Consequently, critiques and justifications refer not only to one specific selling spot but to an overall situation and previous experiences. Broadening the view and including the reports on other commercial sites—although in a less detailed manner—further contextualizes the negotiation process and makes understanding the arguments of the different stakeholders possible.

Relocation emerged as the central topic throughout the revision. During fieldwork, relocation as a "solution" for the emerging conflicts with ambulatory and itinerant trade was a critical issue in all three street markets. It crystallized as an effort to encounter compromise between the different groups and postures of conflict. The generalized threat of eviction was also a topic of interest in the *Feria Boliviana* and the *Feria de la Chacra a la Olla*.

Concretely, the *Feria del Altiplano* was the only street market substantially changing due to COVID-19. It had been "moved" to another site, from the street to a stadium. At the time of fieldwork, vendors of this street market took measures of concrete protest against the "solution" of relocation that their workplace had been subjected to. The point of departure for focusing on relocation was the observation that the vendor's ways of staging discord in this presumably exceptional crisis due to COVID-19 were highly routinized, even institutionalized, and consequently very well-coordinated.

Throughout my fieldwork, I learned that *Feria Boliviana* and *Feria del Altiplano* were once one. There had been a relevant moment of relocation almost 15 years earlier, concretely in 2006. "Relocation—2006" presents this instance in detail. The contrast of both instances of relocation will allow for identifying the stakeholders involved and patterns of critique and justification, explicitly in terms of protest or ingrained in everyday market dynamics.

1.1 Tacna's Street Markets during COVID-19—A Chronicle

In the middle of June 2020, thus over three months after the beginning of the strict lockdowns, some of the vendors of the *Feria del Altiplano* self-organized a possibility of

work notwithstanding the obstacles placed by the sanitary emergency[67]. Concretely, 300 of the vendors of so-called essential products achieved an agreement concerning the opening of a farmer's market, selling essential products on a plot that they would rent. They had repeatedly asked the Municipality of *Alto de la Alianza* to find a suitable temporary selling site for vendors of "essential" products without success.

Months earlier, at the end of March, vendors asked for permission to sell in a "controlled space." At that moment, the stadium *Héroes de Alto de la Alianza* was already mentioned as a possible alternative selling spot. However, this proposition was quickly discarded again. The *Correo* newspaper reported that the stadium was not considered an adequate site for profit-making activities, as it had been built to serve as a venue for the sports activities of the district's inhabitants. Additionally, the *Feria del Altiplano* was highlighted as a particularly critical issue because the products sold there came from "other places" without previous sanitary control[68]. Some vendors of essential goods of the *Feria del Altiplano* were allowed to start selling their products in a market in the district of *Pocollay*, where stalls had been unoccupied[69].

Even though the *Feria del Altiplano* indeed includes various vendors who sell essential goods, the offerings are generally varied. Finding a solution for *all* of the constituents of the street market was challenging. The authorities reorganized the food supply system for Tacna multiple times. *Mercado Grau*, the primary indoor market of essential goods, was a testing laboratory in this regard. Different security measures were implemented and collectively observed for their effectiveness. Restrictions on movement by group (see Part I, Chapter 4) were accompanied by disinfection devices at the entry[70] and minimum distance markers on the ground for clients. For vendors, wearing facemasks, gloves, and face shields was mandatory.

After the first weeks of the pandemic, the authorities made efforts to decentralize the offer of essential goods from *Mercado Grau* to the respective districts and additional itinerant markets where farmers and producers sold their merchandise. These new sites with

[67] See *Correo*, April 28, 2020, *Feriantes del altiplano se instalan en mercado 24 de Junio de Pocollay*; *Correo*, June 13, 2020, *Feriantes del altiplano se instalan en terreno de la Beneficencia*.
[68] See *Correo*, March 30, 2020, *Fiscalía conmina a no instalar feria en estadio*.
[69] See *Correo*, April 28, *Feriantes del altiplano se instalan en mercado 24 de Junio de Pocollay*.
[70] See *Correo*, April 14, 2020, *Comerciantes del mercado Grau bajan sus precios ante pocos compradores*; *Correo*, May 2, 2020, *MPT cambiará sistema de desinfección en mercados*.

commercial movement attracted individual ambulatory vendors[71]. In accordance with the vendor's accounts as described in Chapter 3.1, the local newspaper portrayed the local authorities' posture as initially ambiguous. While they highlighted understanding the problematic situation of individuals and families relying on daily incomes from selling, they were also in charge of enforcing the prohibitions and social distancing rules.

At the end of April, the first reports on "*caminantes*"[72] appeared. The term was used for people who started to travel to their regions of origin on foot. Due to the lack of working possibilities, many were unable to pay for their rented homes and, given the lack of public transport, decided to do so on foot. While Lima was at the center of the attention in this regard, in Tacna, some started to walk towards Lima—the capital over 1.500 km to the north—and others set off towards Puno—400 km of distance and over 4000 meters of height away. Eventually, after days of hiking, most of the "*caminantes*" were transported to their destinations by bus.

The first case of COVID-19 in *Mercado Grau*[73] was detected in the last week of April. The case led to aggravated insecurities and questions about how to handle the situation. The news covered the measures taken in response to this discovery. Given its importance to the city's food supply, the market could not be shut down entirely, and disinfection of people and stands was to be intensified. The vendors were mobilized to help with the task to thoroughly sanitize the market.

Additionally, in May, *Mercado Grau* was declared as one of the 380 national supply centers that were to be controlled by the Health Ministry due to it being a potential infection hot spot because of the high number of clients. This led to even stricter enforcement of the biosecurity measures[74]. For instance, controls at the entry regarding the maximum capacity of the space and the guarantee of aisles free of merchandise or other blocking objects were enforced.

---

[71] See, for instance, *Correo*, April 22, *Aumentan vendedores ambulantes debido a la necesidad*.
[72] See *Correo*, April 23, 2020, *Un centenar de personas inicia caminata para tratar de llegar a Lima por la vía Costanera*; *Correo*, April 26, 2020 *Obligan a caminantes de la vía Costanera a retornar a Tacna*; *Correo*, April 26, 2020, *Caminantes continuaron viaje a Puno en 10 buses*; *Correo*, April 30, 2020, *Unas 300 personas con sus hijos continúan caminata a Puno*.
[73] See *Correo*, April 22, 2020, *Comerciante del mercado Grau da positivo al COVID-19; Correo*, April 22, 2020, *Gerente pide no satanizar el mercado Grau y afirma que no se cerrará*.
[74] See *Correo*, May 11, 2020, *Mercado Grau será intervenido por el gobierno*; *Correo*, May 12, 2020, *Refuerzan medidas de seguridad en mercado Grau*; *Correo*, May 12, 2020, *Tomarán 200 muestras a comerciantes del mercado Grau*; *Correo*, May 14, 2020, *Decomisan mercadería y mobiliario que invadía pasillos en el mercado Grau.*

The subsequent official inspection in mid-March included controls of the space and compliance with the measures. Additionally, 200 quick tests for COVID-19 were made. Even though not all vendors showed up on the day of the controls[75], the results were considered satisfactory; none of the randomly taken tests had a positive result. The local newspaper highlighted that the *Grau* market was even positively referred to by the then-president Martín Vizcarra[76]. The negative tests showed that the vendors respected the norms to avoid contagion. People could feel safe because the personnel followed the current security indications.

At the end of May, the number of people who decided to sell on the streets of Tacna without permission, notwithstanding the biosecurity norms, increased. The *Correo* titled "*Ambulantes prefieren exponerse al COVID-19 que al hambre*"[77], reporting on the vendors and their situation of not counting with any capital. After over 2 months of the pandemic's start, even people who initially had some savings started to try to sell to subsist. Police officers and soldiers increasingly controlled, fined, and confiscated products[78]. Authorities, furthermore, demanded to maintain order and security to avoid further contagion.

Only some days later, the newspaper reported on "formal" vendors of non-essential products protesting for the reopening of their establishments considering the biosecurity protocols. After over 80 days of social distancing, *Correo* explained, "*ya no cuentan con dinero para el sustento de sus familias y han acumulado deudas*"[79]. Similarly, vendors of the *Cachina* market resumed their work during some hours of the afternoon, offering a variety of products such as clothing, electronics, and tools[80]. Other vendors followed[81].

---

[75] See *Correo*, May 16, 2020, *El 20% de comerciantes del mercado Grau no acudió a trabajar.*
[76] See *Correo*, May 20, 2020, *Conoce al único mercado en el Perú que no ha presentado casos de COVID-19.*
[77] See *Correo*, May 31, 2020.
[78] See, for instance, *Correo*, May 6, 2020, *Soldados conminan a no atender en "La Cachina"*; *Correo*, May 7, 2020, *Decomisan mercadería en mercados de La Natividad y Leguía*; *Correo*, May 8, 2020, *PNP y ejército retiran comerciantes en distrito Alto de la Alianza*; *Correo*, May 9, 2020, *Tacna: Sancionan a dos comerciantes del Mercado Grau; Correo*, May 9, 2020, *Tacna: Policía detiene 15 ambulantes en el mercado Grau*; *Correo*, May 12, 2020, *Impiden ingreso de 150 carretilleros informales al mercado Grau*; *Correo*, June 1, 2020, *Prefecto pide ordenar el comercio ambulatorio en la ciudad*.
[79] See *Correo*, June 4, 2020, *Con "cacerolazo" piden reinicio de actividades en las galerías comerciales de Cercado*.
[80] See *Correo*, June 6, *Más de 100 feriantes de La Cachina salen a trabajar.*
[81] See *Correo*, June 14, 2020, *Comerciantes de ropa toman la plaza Vigil*; *Correo*, July 8, 2020, *Reubican a feriantes de ropa en el campo Lorenzo Ortega*.

It is in this overall situation, in which various groups and associations were openly demanding a re-consideration of the biosecurity measures regarding their businesses, that vendors of the *Feria del Altiplano* tried to resume their itinerant selling activities in the *calle Unión*, their usual selling spot before the pandemic. The National Police, who insisted on respecting the norms given the state of emergency, however, prevented this from happening. Central in the incident were the neighbors of the area, who violently demanded the vendors to leave by throwing water at them and making noises with metal pots[82]. The incident was reported not only by the newspapers; videos of the situation also found their way into social networks.

Even though the return of the ambulatory markets could not be tolerated given the overall development of the pandemic, as the "*Concejo Distrital de Alto de la Alinaza*" finally decided, it also ruled that the stadium *Héroes del Alto de la Alianza*, commonly called "*Maracaná*," eventually would be made available for selling activities[83]. However, only those selling "essential products" could be allowed to work there under strict conditions and in alignment with the current situation.

Contrarily, only some days after the attempt of the vendors of *Feria del Altiplano* to build up their stalls in the *calle Unión*, the *Cachina* market in the *Ciudad Nueva* district and two days later in *Coronel Gregorio Albarracín* took place. Here, vendors set up the metal frames of their stalls and started to sell their second hand products "*tan igual como lo hacían desde antes del inicio del estado de emergencia por la pandemia del COVID-19*"[84]. The newspaper stated: "*Los comerciantes, para tratar de conseguir la condescendencia de las autoridades, instalaron lavamanos portátiles, personal con termómetros infrarrojos y cintas de separación, pero estas medidas eran evadidas por la mayoría de compradores*." Interestingly, ambulatory sellers had installed the same security devices as those places that counted with an official permit. They took the client's temperature at the "entrances" to the market tunnels, separated the "lanes," and provided each stall with disinfection gel. The problem the newspaper hinted at was the clients who mostly evaded the measures.

---

[82] See *Correo*, June 29, 2020, *Policía impide vender a feriantes del altiplano*.
[83] See *Correo*, July 1, 2020, *Aprueban uso de tres espacios para 540 feriantes*.
[84] See *Correo*, July 2, 2020, *Comerciantes de "La Cachina" instalan sus puestos en Ciudad Nueva*; *Comerciantes instalan "cachina" en distrito Gregorio Albarracín*; *Correo*, July 6, 2020, *Población que acude a "cachina" se aglomera para comprar*.

At the beginning of July, some commercial sites were allowed to reopen after presenting an official request, including their biosecurity protocols[85]. This raised further questions regarding the city's ambulatory vendors, particularly those sites between "formal" and "informal" arrangements, such as the three street markets in question. Furthermore, the step revealed additional difficulties. Many of those vendors who usually rented stalls in one of the indoor commercial sites (as opposed to owning a stall) could not afford to do so given their circumstances and started selling their products on the streets[86]. Additionally, clients indicated that they preferred to buy outdoors given the perceived lower risk of contagion, further fostering that trend. The commercial center's representatives and their associations' spokespersons also highlighted the lack of Chilean tourists due to the closed border. Furthermore, those vendors who could afford it often decided to stay at home, notwithstanding the opening[87].

Finally, the ambulatory vendors of the *Feria del Altiplano* were partly relocated into the *Maracaná* stadium[88] in mid-July. Nine hundred stalls were offered to sell a wide variety of products. Only a day later, *Feria Boliviana* relaunched its activities at its usual site[89], notwithstanding the prohibitions. They did not encounter police or military personnel, which the newspaper ascribed to the district's sheer number of ambulatory vendors. Furthermore, it hinted to the current outbreak of COVID-19 inside the controlling institutions. In the case of *Feria Boliviana*, vendors stressed that they traded with new products—in counterposition to *Cachina*'s second-hand and often imported products. Implied in this statement was the supposedly lower risk regarding contagion.

This situation—hundreds of ambulatory vendors on the streets—was polemically discussed by the local authorities and consequently in the newspaper[90]. People selling in the streets was still against the norms. However, since there were so many ambulatory vendors, it was utterly difficult to enforce the rules, even more so when avoiding violence.

---

[85] See *Correo*, July 1, 2020, *Mercadillos abren sus puertas sin mayores expectativas*; *Correo*, July 3, 2020, *Hijos toman la posta a sus padres de avanzada edad tras iniciar labores comerciales*; *Correo*, July 4, 2020, *Tacna: galerías comerciales de la avenida Bolognesi reabrirán este lunes*; *Correo*, July 4, 2020, *Mercadillo* Polvos Rosados *reabre sus puertas este viernes*; *Correo*, July 9, 2020, *Mercadillo* Polvos Rosados *reabre sus puertas este viernes*.

[86] See *Correo*, July 7, 2020, *El 70% de comerciantes deja los mercadillos y retorna a las calles*.

[87] See *Correo*, July 9, 2020, *Comerciantes no salen por temor a contagiarse del COVID-19.*

[88] See *Correo*, July 12, 2020, *Tacna: vendedores ambulantes fueron reubicados en el distrito Alto de la Alianza.*

[89] See *Correo*, July 13, 2020, *Feria Boliviana vuelve a instalarse al lado del Instituto Vigil*.

[90] *Correo*, July 15, 2020, *Acuerdan elaborar una ordenanza que controle el comercio ambulatorio*.

Those vendors of the *Feria del Altiplano* who did not count with a spot in the stadium tried repeatedly to install their market in *Unión* Street on July 18[91]. This time, members of two neighborhood associations, *El Centenario* and *Vigen del Carmen*, took even more drastic measures. Additionally to blocking the street with their cars, they threw water at the vendors, insulting them loundly. Furthermore, they used banners with slogans such as "*Vecinos unidos, no COVID-19*," "*Vigilancia y control ¿Dónde está el alcalde?!*" or "*Emergencia sanitaria. NO al COVID-19, ¡NO a la FERIA!"* From one side to the other side of the street, meters above the ground, there was a banner saying *"¡No al COVID-19! ¡No a la feria, protege tu salud!*" and with smaller letters on the side "*¡Cuidarte está en tus manos!*"

The main argument for the neighbors' protest was the augmented risk of contagion directly in front of their houses. There already had been cases and seemingly also deaths in the neighborhood, and the congestion that the market would cause was unacceptable. They stressed the lack of control and enforcement of the current norms on the part of the authorities and accused the vendors of acting carelessly. On the other hand, the vendors stressed their implementation of biosecurity measures such as controlling the clients' body temperature at the entrance, respect for the distances, and regular disinfection. They, too, had a right to work. The colleagues of the *Cachina*, organizing protests, verbalizing claims, and presenting their situation, brought the same arguments forward[92].

Vendors asked those who criticized their commercial activity for comprehension: After four months without income, they had to start selling again to nurture their families. Regarding the fear of causing congestion, they stressed the biosecurity measures they were taking—just like other commercial sites with their permissions and protocols. In other sites with the same issues and conflicts, vendors organized for disinfecting those sites of public space they were occupying[93].

On July 21, the newspaper titled "*Retirar a feriantes no es función del Ejército*"[94]. The numerous cases of ambulatory traders without permission and the repeated disputes between them and other citizens had led the local authority of the *Alto de la Alianza* district—at that time Ángel Lanchipa Valdivia—to ask military personnel for help. In the

[91] See *Correo*, July 18, 2020, *Vecinos y comerciantes enfrentados por Chacra la Olla*.
[92] See *Correo*, July 18, 2020, *Olla común realizan comerciantes de la "cachina" en Tacna; Correo*, July 23, 2020, *Cachina se queda sin clientes por temor al COVID-19 y el frío.*
[93] See *Correo*, July 26, 2020, *Ambulantes desinfectan veredas de avenida Coronel Mendoza*.
[94] See *Correo*, July 21, 2020.

case of *Alto de la Alianza*, the district with most of the city's ambulatory traders—with the *Cachina*, *Feria del Altiplano*, and *Feria Boliviana*—the municipality did not have the means to control the hundreds of vendors—let alone to force them to leave.

The newspaper commented on flaws regarding the implementation of the rules and their enforcement[95] and later on the temporary closing of the *Mercado Grau* due to some cases of COVID-19 that had caused the death of two associate members[96]. The vendors and their associations, in accordance with the representatives of the "*Municipio Provincial de Tacna*" proposed the closing. The days of closure would be used to disinfect the market entirely and break possible chains of infection. The same happened in the *Mercado Central* some weeks later[97], and at the end of the month, there were reports of cases in street markets all over the city[98]. Cases of infection soared and markets were indeed one of the main sites where people met and interacted.

In August, *cuarentena focalizada* was declared in Tacna by *the Decreto Supremo N° 135-2020-PCM*, which was published on July 31. This meant a new lockdown in the city, where theoretically only essential workers and those working with a license were allowed to be mobile apart from the displacements necessary for *"la prestación y acceso a servicios y bienes esenciales*." This measure was prolonged for one month at the end of August[99] due to the peak in infection and mortality due to the virus.

Notwithstanding, various commercial sites in Tacna opened nevertheless[100], referring to their permits, and ambulatory traders continued their commercial activities[101]. Many were intervened by state officials[102], who aimed at "*reubicarlos a ambientes cerrados y*

[95] See *Correo*, July 20, 2020, *Comerciantes del Mercado Grau relajan medidas de bioseguridad.*
[96] See *Correo*, July 26, 2020, *Cerrarán el mercado Grau durante una semana*; *Correo*, July 27, 2020, *Tacna: comerciantes suspenderán actividades por siete días ante aumento de contagios de COVID-19*; *Correo*, July 29, *Mercado Grau permanecerá cerrado hasta el 4 de agosto*.
[97] See *Correo*, August 24, 2020, *Tacna: Cierran mercado Central por casos de COVID-19*.
[98] See *Correo*, August 26, 2020, *Realizarán tercer tamizaje de COVID-19 en el mercado Grau*.
[99] See *Correo*, August 29, 2020, *Amplían la cuarentena en Tacna y Moquegua*.
[100] See *Correo*, August 2, 2020, *Polvos Rosados seguirá atendiendo con normalidad*.
[101] See *Correo*, August 2, 2020, *Comerciantes de La Cachina desafiaron el Decreto Supremo 135*; *Correo*, August 4, 2020, *Feriantes de la cachina se instalan en calles de cono sur pese a emergencia sanitaria*; *Correo*, August 11, 2020, *Subprefecto denuncia omisión de función en municipio GAL.*
[102] See *Correo*, August 7, 2020, *FF.AA. y PNP retiraron a ambulantes que intentaron tomar calles de Gregorio Albarracín*; *Correo*, August 7, 2020, *Desalojan a ambulantes de la avenida Jorge Basadre.*

seguros"[103]. Also, different markets were regularly controlled[104] after the regional quarantine in Tacna.

The *Feria de la Chacra a la Olla* in the *Patricio Meléndez* Street was also prevented from taking place due to national restrictions[105]. The newspaper furthermore presented cases in which vendors of established commercial sites had taken care of the problem of unauthorized ambulatory vendors by not permitting their entrance or activities[106].

On August 3, the *Feria del Altiplano* was evicted from the *Jirón la Unión* Street for the third time. On this occasion, even though the neighbors still complained, it was "*Personal de la comisaría Alto de la Alianza, con apoyo de efectivos de las Fuerzas Armadas y agentes de Seguridad Ciudadana de ese distrito*"[107] who collaborated on impeding the vendors from installing. When they encountered resistance, they insisted and eventually confiscated products. The new normative situation made the street market impossible to tolerate from the authority's point of view—even more so under the eyes of the furious neighbors—and allowed for enforcement.

The disputes with the neighbors regarding the *Feria del Altiplano* did not start with in pandemic. Considerations regarding the relocation of the street market had taken place long before the start of the national emergency. At the center of these negotiations stood questions about possible alternative selling sites on the one hand and manners of financing a relocation on the other hand. Since the relocation in 2006, parts of the "Fundo Chololo" had been considered an alternative, which was discussed again in 2020[108].

After this third time of preventing the *Feria del Altiplano* from installing, the mayor finally announced that the street would be declared *zona rígida*. This measure would align with the neighbors' claims and fears regarding the risk of contagion and allow for future evictions. At the same time, vendors were offered to sell their merchandise in the nearby stadium. This offer was reluctantly accepted after meetings of negotiation. Otherwise,

---

[103] See *Correo*, August 8, 2020, *MPT retira ambulantes de avenida Coronel Mendoza; Correo*, August 11, 2020, *Municipio y fuerzas del orden recuperan avenida Coronel Mendoza.*
[104] See *Correo*, October 12, 2020, *Sector salud vigilará medidas sanitarias en 29 mercados*.
[105] See *Correo*, August 9, 2020, *Serenos evitaron que se instale la feria "De la Chacra la Olla"*.
[106] See *Correo*, August 7, 2020, *Comerciantes se enfrentaron a ambulantes que intentaron ingresar a mercado*; *Correo*, August 14, 2020, *Comerciantes exigen retiro de "cachineros" del mercado Héroes del Cenepa.*
[107] See *Correo*, August 3, 2020, *Impiden que comerciantes llegados de Puno instalen feria en calles del Alto de la Alianza.*
[108] See, for instance, *Correo*, July 29, 2020, *Feriantes temen "perder" el fundo Chololo.*

given the established temporary quarantine and the determination of the local authorities to enforce the ordinance, they would not be able to build up their stalls in public space[109]. The authorities and vendors collaborated to organize and prepare the space of the stadium, where vendors would offer their merchandise under more controlled circumstances.

One of the debated topics regarding this relocation of over 1,000 vendors was space and its distribution. The association *Gran Complejo Agrocomercial de productos de Primera Necesidad Directo del Altiplano* alone had approximately 800 active members. However, the stadium could accommodate only between 800 and 900 vendors when applying the biosecurity standards. Thus, who would be granted access to a selling spot in the stadium and establishing the criteria for such decisions were critical topics of discussion. The list of sellers available to the local authorities, which included 1,070 vendors and had been last updated previous to the pandemic, was contrasted with the association's current versions. The lists were updated, and eventually, the stadium was arranged to accommodate 1,100 vendors.

Consequently, on August 6, the *Jirón de la Unión* Street was declared *zona rígida* by a vote of the *Concejo Distrital de Alto de la Alianza*[110]. This decision, reached with four abstentions and three votes in favor, meant that any ambulatory trading activity in the street, including the *Feria del Altiplano* on Mondays and Tuesdays, would no longer be allowed. The police, therefore, received instructions to control and enforce the decision. The vote was a victory for the neighbors, who had organized and insisted on the risks the vendors and their activities posed for the people living in the street. Apart from COVID-19-specific complaints, they also highlighted the congestion and the resulting parking problems of the residents as much as the supposedly problematic hygienic conditions.

On August 11, the vendors of the *Feria del Altiplano* finally attended their clientele in the stadium *Héroes del Alto de la Alianza*[111]. The 1,100 selling spots were preferably given to members of one of the associations filed in the lists previously elaborated. Those who had started with ambulatory trade due to the pandemic were asked to coordinate the assignation of a spot with the municipality and the president of the respective association. On the same day, the "*Dirección Regional de Salud Tacna*," conducted sanitary and

[109] See *Correo*, Agust 4, 2020, *Feriantes del altiplano aceptan trasladarse al estadio exMaracaná*; *Correo*, August 11, 2020, *Reubican a 1,100 ambulantes en estadio municipal.*
[110] See *Correo*, August 6, 2020, *Feria del Altiplano ya no podrá instalarse en la calle Unión.* The respective ordinance was *"Ordenanza 009-2020-MDAA (Municipalidad Distrital Alto de la Alianza).*
[111] See *Correo*, August 11, 2020, *Reubican a 1,100 ambulantes en estadio municipal*.

biosecurity controls in the temporary marketplace[112]. Some insufficiencies were detected, which led to a call for a meeting with the respective heads of the associations. The "solution" found to these flaws was twofold. On the one hand, a second entry was made available to prevent congestion inside and in front of the stadium. On the other hand, vendors would start to pay between 1 and 1,5 Soles to employ personnel controlling the entries regarding clients' body temperatures and the correct use of the disinfection devices.

However, the *Alto de la Alianza* district still struggled with difficulties regarding the regulation of itinerant trade[113]. It was not only the vendors who "invaded" public space, ignoring the biosecurity measures, but also the clients who put themselves, their relatives, and more vulnerable citizens at risk. The local newspaper connected the high number of itinerant traders to the rise of infections[114]. Even though this district had a particularly high number of ambulatory traders, those in other districts also tried to sell their products[115]. The general idea regarding the problem was relocation: offering spaces where congestion could be handled and controlled more easily.

The issues concerning the *Cachina* market and its specificity of selling secondhand clothing imported from Chile were particularly complex. The mayor of the district highlighted its "illegality"[116]. Following *Correo*'s report, he questioned the work of the customs office and public prosecutors. As the district's mayor, he could not be held responsible to regulate this activity. Rather, given the fact that the products sold in the *Cachina* were imported into the country via Chile, he stressed the flaws in the controlling mechanisms and called other authorities to action. This opinion was not shared by all the local authorities[117].

Towards the end of September, the newspaper reported on flaws regarding the respect for the security measures at the *Feria del Altiplano*[118], warning about the market as being a "*potencial foco de contagio*." The main problems highlighted by the newspaper were that

---

[112] See *Correo*, August 11, 2020, *Salud observó bioseguridad en mercado temporal en Alto de la Alianza.*
[113] See *Correo*, August 29, 2020, *Pobladores arriesgan vida de sus familiares en La Cachina*; *Correo*, August 30, 2020, *Comerciantes instalan feria sin protocolos de bioseguridad en Tacna; Correo*, September 5, 2020, *Cerca de 200 ambulantes tomaron las calles del distrito Alto de la Alianza*.
[114] See *Correo*, September 11, 2020, *Alto de la Alianza es la zona más roja de COVID-19.*
[115] See *Correo*, September 7, 2020, *Más de 2,000 ambulantes ocupan las calles de la ciudad de Tacna*.
[116] See *Correo*, August 24, 2020, *"En la frontera deben controlar que no siga pasando ropa usada."*
[117] See *Correo*, August 24, 2020, *"Es trabajo del alcalde reubicar a los cachineros."*
[118] See *Correo*, September 21, 2020, *Desorden en feria en el Estadio exMaracaná*.

there had been no controls regarding the maximum overall capacity of the stadium at the entrance and that, consequently, the social distancing of two meters had not been respected.

With the lifting of the targeted quarantine at the end of September[119], the municipalities were reminded of their task to organize ambulatory trade in their territories to prevent congestion in the streets[120]. The state inverted by raising the number of controlling state officials and providing the municipalities with funds to better organize ambulatory trade on the local level[121]. At the end of October, the mobility restrictions on Sundays were also lifted[122].

Feria Boliviana relaunched its activities on October 6, 2020, after over six months of paralysis. Compared to the other two markets, *Feria Boliviana* had a higher contingent of visitors from Chile prior to the pandemic. Consequently, the ongoing border closure meant a significantly lower number of clients. Additionally, many of the remaining clients were from other Peruvian regions and were thus also affected by mobility restrictions. Therefore, vendors in the street market complained about the lack of clientele[123].

In this street market, just as in other sites, vendors installed new devices to comply with biosecurity measures and enabled their clients to do so, too. These devices included spatial reorganization, references regarding the correct walking direction and distances, water, soap, and disinfection gel. As everywhere, vendors were obliged to wear a facemask or a facial protector. The first article in the local newspaper that mentions the reopening highlights the idea of relocating this street market and hints at a concrete spot in question, namely a site referred to as "*Zanahorita*." This article stated that vendors had unsuccessfully asked for support from the regional and the local authorities regarding the issue[124].

The same place was suggested for vendors of the *Feria del Altiplano*. In May 2021, the newspaper reported on this latter street market—which at the time still took place in the

[119] See *Correo*, September 25, 2020, *Gobierno levanta cuarentena focalizada en Tacna*.
[120] See *Correo*, September 28, 2020, *Municipios tienen que implementar planes de contingencia*.
[121] See *Correo*, October 15, 2020, *Excluyen de transferencia de recursos al distrito que tiene más ambulantes; Galerías de la avenida Bolognesi no venden nada*.
[122] See *Correo*, October 25, 2020, *Pobladores acudieron de forma masiva a las "cachinas."*
[123] See *Correo*, October 6, 2020, *Vuelve la Feria Boliviana pero con poca clientela por cierre de la frontera con Chile*.
[124] See *Correo*, October 6, 2020, *Vuelve la Feria Boliviana pero con poca clientela por cierre de la frontera con Chile*.

Maracaná stadium[125]—and considerations of its repeated relocation. From the view of the authorities, "*Zanahorita*" could—after some minor construction works—accommodate up to 3000 vendors.

The *Feria de la Chacra a la Olla*, also lived through internal negotiations regarding the question of a possible market relocation. The idea in place, just as in the case of *Feria Boliviana*, was to rent a site where to sell collectively. Therefore, vendors would need the financial or at least organizational support of the local authorities. Consequently, associations called on the authorities' responsibility and referred to the officially assigned funds to regulate ambulatory trade in the area. One of the association's representatives stated that their vendors needed financial support to rent a site that counted with basic infrastructure to disappear from public space. In other districts, state funds were used to hire more police officers to control ambulatory trade[126].

1.2 On Relocation

"*Reubicación*" emerged as the central negotiation issue regarding ambulatory and itinerant trade during the article revision of the years 2020 and 2021. The centrality of the topic in the negotiations was confirmed during fieldwork. Relocation was generally treated as the "solution" to the "problems" that ambulatory trade in public space implied. Practically, it refers to removing the markets from one and installing them in another spot. Consequently, vendors are expected to build up their stalls on another site, reorganizing the spatial distribution and the infrastructural aspect.

The relocation of the *Feria del Altiplano* in 2020 was emblematic of the difficulties that the pandemic and the biosecurity measures meant for itinerant trade in Tacna and how these manifested. However, as I had learned in the street markets, it was not the first time that relocation had taken place. On the contrary, it was a recurrent topic in the street markets and a standard "measure" to "solve" conflicts related to ambulatory and itinerant trade. In the following part, we will briefly present the relocation in 2006 before discussing key stakeholders and commonalities and differences regarding the critiques brought forward in 2020 and 2006.

[125] See *Correo*, May 5, 2021, *Municipio alista terreno para reubicar a 3,000 ambulantes*.
[126] See *Correo*, October 17, 2020, *Feria plantean a municipio que les alquile un terreno*.

1.3 Relocation—2006

Specific information about the date of the previous relocation was difficult to find. Vendors who had been present during the negotiation processes only vaguely remembered the year of that change. Some vendors referred to the age of their children ("My son was more or less three years old") to estimate the year, and indications varied from 2001 to 2005. Consequently, the newspaper revision began with the edition of *Correo* on January 1, 2001. While itinerant trade was a recurrent discussion topic throughout these years, relocation occurred five years later, in 2006.

More precisely, according to *Correo*[127], the first day vendors finally did not build up their stalls on *Jorge Basadre* Street, as had been the case throughout 20 years, was September 26, 2006. The article laid out the respective spatial changes of the relocation. The vendors had been divided into three groups, finding their spots in three different areas broadly around the original location in the districts of *Alto de la Alianza* and *Tacna Centro*.

The first group moved to the proximities of the *Maracaná* stadium, to *Jirón de la Unión* Street and surroundings, where it still took place at the beginning of 2020. Following some of the vendors' memories, there were times between 2006 and 2020 when this itinerant market was moved to another site and back again. It was commonly referred to as *Feria del Altiplano*[128]. During the time of fieldwork in 2022, it took place in the *Maracaná* stadium due to the measures related to COVID-19 and the prevention of contagion.

Another group moved up the street very close to where *Feria Boliviana* regularly took place in 2022, more precisely between the educational institution *Instituto Superior Francisco de Paula Gonzalez Vigil* and the intersecting *Manuel Cuadros* Avenue. Already for that date, the *Correo* referred particularly to vendors of "*casacas de cuero, zapatos y prendas de vestir en general*," which was, as we have seen in previous parts, still the specialty of *Feria Boliviana* at the time of fieldwork.

The third group also moved "along the street," but in the opposite direction. They build up their stalls near the "*Grifo*" gas station of *Alto de la Alianza* just at the "border" to the district of Tacna Center. At the time of fieldwork, vendors still offered their merchandise

[127] *Correo*, 26 September, 2006, *Feriantes del Altiplano se ubican en tres zonas*.
[128] Other commercial sites, specifically agricultural markets with products from the highlands in Tacna, were given the same name.

in this third site, especially on Saturdays and Sundays. This market was usually referred to as *Feria Salida Tarata* and as part of the *Cachina*. Indeed, more than edible products, one can find second-hand items of all sorts here: from clothing and shoes to toys to electronics.

This relocation of the street market, including the definition of the new sites in the city's public space[129], resulted from years of ongoing conflict between the different parties regarding ambulatory trade in the area. Already in 2002, areas around the Plaza *José Abelardo Quiñones* were declared *zona rígida* by the authorities, prohibiting commercial activities. Notably, the neighbors' association of "*La Esperanza*,"—part of the district of *Alto de la Alianza*, the neighborhood surrounding the former location of the street market, and also the "new" sites defined in 2006—were eager to report on transgressions and problems related to ambulatory trade[130].

An editorial contribution titled "*Las ferias, otro dolor de cabeza*,"[131] published at the end of April 2006, resumed the conflict from the newspaper's perspective. In reference to the two biggest street markets in Tacna, *De la Chacra a la Olla* in *Patricio Meléndez* Street and the *Feria del Altiplano* in *Jorge Basadre* Street, the author stated: "*por un lado las ferias son beneficiosas para la economía de grandes sectores de la población; por otro, traen una serie de males como la delincuencia, desorden y la suciedad.*"

The neighbors, the article further stated, were most affected by these disadvantages. On the other hand, local authorities were inclined to tolerate the vendors because they were politically interested in this "*caudal electoral atractivo*," in their possible future voters. Concerning the vendors, it stated: "*Los comerciantes que laboran en estas ferias, que se suman miles, consideran aparentemente tener el derecho ganado para cerrar calles y avenidas.*" The merchants were not only causing the problems, they were also convinced to have the right to do so.

Temporarily, it is not random that the newspaper tackles the question of ambulatory trade and the biggest street markets of the city in April. The same month, the historical center had been declared *zona rígida* for ambulatory trade. Shortly thereafter, in May, the *Ordenanza Municipal No. 009-2006-CM-MDAA* also declared parts of *Jorge Basadre*

---

[129] See *Correo*, August 6, 2005, *"Comercio ambulatorio es un gran problema social."*
[130] See *Correo* March 7, 2002, *Exigen que comuna haga respetar plaza Quiñones.*
[131] See *Correo*, April 28, 2006, *Las ferias, otro dolor de cabeza*.

Street as *zona rígida*. Both decisions were based on the argument of the need for "development" and thus for improving the streets' look—especially for tourists. Ambulatory trading practices did not align with the image the city wanted to transmit.

Construction works were initiated on *Jorge Basadre* Street to improve the district's "*ornato*," its overall appearance[132], and to transform it into "*una atractiva Alameda*". Throughout the previous years, some steps had already been taken in that direction. Vendors of the *Feria del Altiplano* had been informed about the plans of the construction work and thus the need for relocation at the beginning of 2005[133]. As a consequence, the newspaper reported on the vendors' search for a new selling site[134] and their request for support[135].

Additionally, the new *Collasuyo* bus terminal with connections to Puno, Arequipa, and Cuzco was inaugurated after renovations in 2005[136], transferring the informal bus stops previously working on *Jorge Basadre* Street to the new facility in the *Alto de la Alianza* district. The authority's plan for the itinerant traders, who "interfered" with the newly initiated construction work, was a relocation to the surroundings of the same bus terminal.

Just as during the pandemic, a distinction was made between small producers of products of the highlands and vendors of other products. *Correo* reported in May that a small group of vendors moved from the street market to the *Mercado Zonal La Esperanza*, where 50 stalls were made available[137] for that purpose by the local authorities. A further *campo ferial* nearby the *Collasuyo* terminal for the same purpose followed[138]. The remaining vendors should be relocated in the streets of the surrounding area.

The over 3,500 vendors, however, were not convinced of the proposed site[139]. They asked for dialogue with the *Gobierno Regional*, *Municipalidad Provincial*, and *Municipalidad Alto de la Alianza*. The lack of space in that area was the main reason for the vendors'

---

[132] See Correo, September 3. *Feriante se quedarían hasta diciembre en vía*; *Correo*, August 25, 2005, *Comerciantes preocupados por futura reubicación.*
[133] See *Correo*, March 17, 2005, *Ambulantes permanecerán hasta agosto en Av. Jorge Basadre.*
[134] See *Correo*, March 21, 2005, *Feria del Altiplano tendrá su local propio en Pocollay; Correo*, April 5, 2005, *Feria del Altiplano busca nuevo terreno*; *Correo*, April 6, 2005, *Reubicación del Altiplano*.
[135] See *Correo*, April 13, 2005, *Con marcha informales exigen terreno a municipio y región*.
[136] See *Correo*, September 19, 2005, *Municipio pone en funcionamiento hoy terminal terrestre El Collasuyo*.
[137] See *Correo*, August 18, 2005, *Comerciantes de Feria del Altiplano piden ser reubicados a campo ferial*; *Correo*, May 8, 2006, *Habilitarán puestos en Mercado para feriantes del Altiplano*.
[138] See *Correo*, May 9, 2006, *Municipio inauguró campo ferial en terminal terrestre El Collasuyo*.
[139] See *Correo*, May 10, 2006, *Feriantes del Altiplano demandan mesa de diálogo para reubicación.*

opposition. Those who were transferred to the *Collasuyo* terminal were only a minority of the entire group. The "problem," thus, was not solved through the arrangement. Vendors acknowledged the need for relocation and the lack of a sufficiently spacious site in the district of *Alto de la Alianza*, hence the need for communication between stakeholders of the bordering districts and the region. They asked the local and regional authorities to collaborate to find a better site for relocating the whole market, showing their commitment to finding a solution and interest in durable and sustainable propositions.

While neighbors demanded the *ordenanza* to be respected, vendors asked to be relocated to a site where no neighbors would complain. The "solution" proposed by the authorities—the relocation to the streets around the *Collasuyo* bus terminal—was supported by the neighbors and rejected by the vendors.

The authorities argued that the relocation meant the creation of a "*nuevo polo de desarrollo en el distrito*"[140]. They emphasized that the street would be transformed into an "*Alameda para potenciar el turismo y el comercio formal en tiendas*." At the same time, in reaction to the vendors' concerns, they stressed that basic infrastructure would be offered and more public transport connections created. Additionally, in contrast to the situation at *Jorge Basadre* Street, the "new" neighbors supported the plans for the relocation. Overall, the measure would "*contribuir al ordenamiento del comercio del distrito,*"[141] and would also mean progressing toward "*orden y seguridad en el distrito Alto de la Alianza*."

Another editorial published at the end of May[142] lamented that vendors had not respected the authorities by not agreeing to the relocation. The text highlighted the incomprehension regarding the vendor's opposition, stressing the supposed positive aspects, primarily the better working conditions for the vendors and the "betterment" of the district for the villagers. It stressed that with their resistance, vendors did not only negatively affect "*el ornato, sino también la tranquilidad y seguridad de los vecinos de la zona donde se instala la feria, debido a la proliferación cada vez más agresiva de la delincuencia*" (ibid.). Vendors acted against their own interests and endangered the villagers.

---

[140] See *Correo*, May 22, 2006, *Desde hoy Feria del Altiplano en vías adyacentes del Terminal El Collasuyo*.
[141] See *Correo*, May 21, 2006, *Vecino de "Mariscal Miller" apoyan reubicación de feria.*
[142] See *Correo*, Maz 23, 2006, *Editorial: Comerciantes en rebeldía*.

The editorial furthermore accused the association's leaders of being responsible for this rebellious attitude. They manipulated the rest of the vendors and were often not even democratically elected but self-titled, "*y en función de sus intereses ponen a la autoridad en contra de los feriantes*" (ibid.). Facing this disobedience, the newspaper further reckoned, the Municipality of *Alto de la Alianza* could not remain hesitant: "*Tiene que adapter las medidas necesarias para hacer prevalecer el principio de autoridad y sobre todo velar por el bienestar de cientos de pobladores afectados por el desorden*" (ibid.). The newspaper encouraged drastic measures towards the disobedience of the vendors.

On June 7, 2006, the Municipality and over 200 vendors' representatives gathered to find solutions to the factors that discouraged vendors from relocating to the proposed site[143]. An ultimatum was established: vendors could stay in the *Jorge Basadre* Street until the last day of August. The precise site was yet to be defined since many vendors disagreed with the Municipality's plans. However, deciding and agreeing on the sites for relocation was difficult[144]. In addition to the variety of opinions, it was challenging to find a location that could accommodate the numerous vendors, counted with basic infrastructure, and was the Municipality's property.

Consequently, September approached without another location in sight[145]. On August 9, 2006, in a further meeting, vendors asked for an extension of the ultimatum, given the difficulties in finding another suitable site[146]. This request was rejected. Recalling the agreement, the local authority threatened with eviction from September 1 onwards, which the neighbors applauded. Vendors asked to be temporarily relocated in the *Unión*, *México*, and *Juan Velasco Alvarado* street instead of the proximities of the *Collasuyo* bus terminal.

They argued that relocating to different streets was not a solution to the problems of ambulatory trade in the district. Instead, they asked for collaboration for planning a relocation to a *campo ferial*. Consequently, for a future relocation, the "*Fundo Chololo*"[147], a plot of 92 hectares in the city's southeast, far from the center, was proposed. However, the plot's property situation would first have to change to start with the construction; in short, it was not an immediate solution but a long-term possibility.

---

[143] See *Correo*, June 7, 2006, *Feria del Altiplano debe abandonar avenida Basadre el 31 de agosto*.
[144] See *Correo*, June 13, 2006, *Feriantes aún no definen un terreno para reubicarse*.
[145] See *Correo*, August 3, *"Feriantes deben desalojar Av. Basadre el 31 de agosto."*
[146] See *Correo*, August 9, 2006, *Alcalde y vecinos piden a feriantes respetar compromiso*.
[147] See *Correo*, August 10, 2006, *Feriantes del altiplano serían reubicados en el Fundo Chololo*.

On August 28, 2006, a group of vendors selling textiles and clothing items built up their stalls at the side of the *Instituto Superior Tecnológico (IST) Vigil*. They respected the agreement and "obeyed" in so far as they left the site on which they had sold for over 20 years[148]. At the same time, they did not count with the Municipality's permit to sell in the new area on the same street. Consequently, the authorities reacted with rejection. The mayor stated that it was a dangerous area for commercial activities because of the high-voltage power lines in the area. Additionally, the newspaper stressed the disadvantages for the neighboring educational institutions. "Asimismo," the respective article closed, "*se atentaría contra el ornato del distrito que aspira a ser un eje comercial turístico*."

After repeatedly stressing the discord with the proposed new selling site[149], the relocation was postponed[150] for one week. The disagreement and indetermination regarding the eventual location of the over 3500 vendors were to be discussed. During these additional days, stakeholders would negotiate the new selling sites in the district to allow the construction works in the street to continue smoothly. The municipality, still opposing the chosen spot near the educational institutions, agreed to a relocation to the proximities of the *Maracaná* stadium, promising to collaborate with planning a definite relocation to the "*Fundo Chololo*" alternative. In the following days, the newspaper reported on the vendors hindering the construction work of the *Jorge Basadre* Street[151].

In sum, before the relocation of the vendors on September 26 finally occurred, stakeholders negotiated repeatedly about the details. Eventually, despite the neighbor's disapproval, the municipality agreed to one part of the street market being transferred *temporarily* next to the educational institution some blocks up the same street. As sketched out above, the other vendors moved their stalls to the proximities of the *Maracaná* stadium. The compromise envisioned a "real" relocation to an appropriate space, precisely at the "*Fondo Chololo*" once it was ready to serve that purpose.

Meanwhile, the municipality charged one Peruvian Sol per person per day for allowing the use of public space[152] at these new sites. The newspaper laid out the authority's plans

---

[148] See *Correo*, August 28, 2006, *Feriantes se trasladaron a inmediaciones de IST Vigil*.
[149] See *Correo*, August 30, 2006, *Municipio: Mañana feriantes deben abandonar Av. Basadre*; Correo, August 30, 2006, *Feriantes no aceptan traslado a inmediaciones de "El Collasuyo."*
[150] See *Correo*, September 1, 2006, *Comuna altoaliancista aplaza reubicación de feriantes*.
[151] See *Correo*, September 9, 2006, *Comerciantes se quedarán hasta diciembre en Av. Jorge Basadre*; *Correo*, September 13, 2006, *Feriantes frenan avance de obra en Av. Jorge Basadre; Correo*, September 20, 2006, *Reinician el diálogo con feriantes del Altiplano*.
[152] See *Correo*, September 29, 2006, *Municipio iniciará el lunes empadronamiento de feriantes*.

to register and interview the vendors individually to avoid irregularities concerning the stalls' occupation. Three months after the relocation, the vendor's representatives publicly claimed that the municipality was not meeting its agreed-upon responsibilities[153]. Given the lack of basic service, the vendor's labor conditions near the *Maracaná* stadium were precarious. The promises of the municipality included in the agreement between the parties, the "*acta de acuerdo*," concerned optimizing the streets for selling activities. Concretely, the local authorities had agreed to provide security, clean the streets of debris, provide garbage bins, and make toilets available.

As we have seen in Part I, this temporary "solution" to ambulatory trade in the district persisted over 14 years. It was still the spatial arrangement at the beginning of the Covid-19 pandemic. Before sketching the main conflicts and critiques, we will summarize the stakeholders involved in the negotiations and their general interests.

[153] See *Correo*, October 17, 2006, *Feriantes piden a municipio de cumplir con acuerdo suscrito.*

2 Critiques

In this second chapter of part V, we follow the specific objectives O1.1 and O1.2:

- O1.1. Identify the stakeholders involved and single out the principal topics of critique.
- O1.2. Examine which critiques were specific to the moment of crisis due to the pandemic of COVID-19.

2.1 Stakeholders

At the heart of the topic of relocation (*reubicación*) lies the question of the use and image of public space and, thus, the negotiation processes between different actors and their diverging interests. Borja (2014), as we have seen in the Introduction of Part I, names the state, its citizens, and economic actors central in this regard. From here and following the chronicle, we will draw more specifically on the different stakeholders that were relevant for the negotiation regarding itinerant trade practices throughout the first months of the so-called economic reactivation in Tacna and the relocation in 2006.

During the pandemic, ambulatory and itinerant vendors claimed the possibility of selling under "controlled" circumstances. From June onwards, street markets slowly returned to the city's public space, notwithstanding the prohibitions. Vendors stressed their need to return to work to subsist and referred to other commercial sites that were slowly reopening their doors to the public with official permission. However, it is vital to stress the heterogeneity of vendors.

Vendors' selling modalities vary; one of the most critical distinctions made throughout the pandemic was the differentiation between the commercialization of "essential" and "non-essential" products. While the former contributed to improving the supply distribution in Tacna and consequently partly started to sell already during the first months of the pandemic, vendors of the latter were not allowed to work. This distinction had also been critical during the relocation of 2006. For a minority of small producers and those selling "essential" products, stalls were made available in the district's supply centers even before reaching the ultimatum for using public space on *Jorge Basadre* Street. Consequently, in both situations, the vendors' claims and opinions were not homogeneous. During COVID-19, those who could stay at home, thanks to the support of their social networks and other resources, often did.

The local authorities had a contradictory role during both negotiation processes. On the one hand, they were held responsible for protecting the quarter's population. In 2006, the corresponding threats were disorder, unhygienic conditions, and proliferating crime in the street market. In 2020, these were redefined by referring to the "biosecurity" threat. What in 2006 metaphorically had been referred to as "*un foco infeccioso*[154]" was discussed as a possible hot spot of contagion due to the potential agglomeration of people in 2020.

On the other hand, the authorities were expected to support the ambulatory traders in finding another possible vending site large enough to accommodate all the members of the street market and to provide basic infrastructure. This was true in 2006 as much as in 2020. Ambulatory trade and the *Feria del Altiplano* were traditional markets that generated income for numerous vendors and their families. Apart from the municipality of *Alto de la Alianza*, the regional authorities were also asked to support the relocation by considering possible venues.

The district's organized neighbors initiated action against the street market in both moments. They held the municipality responsible for enforcing the rules and insisting on its authority, encouraging drastic measures. As the vendors, neighbors organized in associations. The coordination of their actions and the investment of energy and money made their claims hard to overlook. During COVID-19, *Feria del Altiplano*, was the only of the three street markets relocated. It was also the only one with direct neighbors who, in addition, were well-organized.

Unfair competition to formal vendors was a central argument against ambulatory trade, at least following the newspaper revision.

2.2 Conflicts

In what follows, we will present the main arguments brought forward against itinerant trade. These justified the measures taken regarding its "management". The subparts will consider both relocation processes presented above and draw on consistencies in the conflicts as much as on particularities.

We have seen that the constellation of stakeholders involved in the negotiations in 2020 was very similar to 2006. The first official step toward relocation in both instances was

[154] See *Correo*, May 21, 2006, *Vecinos exigen reubicación de comerciantes del Altiplano*.

declaring parts of public space "occupied" by ambulatory vendors as *zona rígida*. This made eviction, so much requested by the annoyed neighbors, legally feasible. The National Police was responsible for the enforcement of the "*ordenanza*."

2.2.1 Disorder

One of the main arguments was that itinerant trade caused "chaos." This was undesirable, particularly regarding the impression tourists got from the city. Consequently, this argument was central to criticizing the practice, particularly in the *zona monumental* in reference to *ambulantes*[155]. A common way to describe the rise in numbers concerning ambulatory vendors is the military metaphor of "invasion". Vendors "invaded" the streets of Tacna, "occupied" public space, and caused disorder. Therefore, it transmitted a negative image of the city. The high number of vendors made respective regulations and their enforcement imperative to safeguard Tacna's reputation.

A related argument claimed that, due to the chaos, congestion was a further problem caused by ambulatory trade. Not only were the stalls and the accumulation of people a hindrance for pedestrians but also for the circulation of private and public vehicles. This affected public transport negatively and made it difficult for residents to park. This was not only annoying but also a danger since, in cases of emergency, ambulances would have difficulties to pass. This argument was central during the pandemic since interpersonal contact was to be avoided, given the contagion dynamics.

"*Destrozan los parques*"[156] was a further common argument against ambulatory trade in 2006 and previous years. Building up the stalls on patches of grass led to its deterioration. The grass disappeared, given the stalls, merchandise, and vendors' and clients' footsteps. In 2022, vendors appropriated this argument in their protest in favor of leaving the *Maracaná* stadium. Their presence had deteriorated the once-green lawn, leaving the site covered in dust and making it less suitable for sports activities. In order to retake the district's regular sportive meetings, market activities needed to be transferred back to the streets. "*Lo estamos malogrando*" was one further good reason to abandon *Maracaná* (see Chapter 3.2 "Claiming Back the Street") that would favor not only the vendors and their earnings, but also the district.

[155] See, for instance, *Correo*, February 12, 2001, *Los vendedores ambulantes invaden el Paseo Cívico*.
[156] See *Correo*, May 21, 2006, *Vecinos exigen reubicación de comerciantes del Altiplano*.

Just as the *Collasuyo* project was a measure to make *Jorge Basadre* Street prettier for neighbors, clients, drivers, and tourists, the planned transfer of the itinerant traders to streets nearby this bus terminal aimed at "ordering" ambulatory trade in the district. The argument furthermore referred to the need of ordering the chaotic situation because of the alarming rates of crime. Security, consequently, was another fundamental argument against informal trade.

2.2.2 Security

Before the pandemic, a further argument upheld that the disorder caused by "randomly" placed stalls and the ambulatory traders' presence generally attracted crime. Pickpockets were operating in sites where people accumulated, transforming street markets into dangerous places. Again, mainly the neighbors of the *La Esperanza* district were active in pointing out the risks regarding ambulatory trade. The claimants expressed their worries about the visiting tourists and their security. The vendors' appearance in public space, their physical presence, and the form of their commercial activity were not reconcilable with a "developed" Tacna, in which visitors could feel safe.

From the neighbors' perspective, evicting vendors from public space meant "*apostar por el orden y la seguridad del distrito Alto de la Aliaza*"[157]. They were tried of the "*ambiente de inseguridad y suciedad, generado por la masiva presencia de comerciantes y este hecho aprovechado por los delincuentes que hacen de la suyas*"[158]. Street markets had to disappear to get rid of delinquency. In addition, there were regular complaints about the dishonesty of the vendors. Some of the ambulatory merchants, thus the accusation, fooled clients with low-quality products.

Vendors were also concerned about the criminal activities in the midst of their street market but framed their complaints toward the municipality differently. It was not the supposed "chaos" of their stalls but the lack of control and security personnel that encouraged criminals. Even when caught by state representatives, offenders were not held responsible for their crimes and often became repeat offenders. From the vendors' perspective, the municipality did not act with sufficient determination and consequently could not meet its responsibility of ordering and protecting the citizens.

---

[157] See Correo, May 21, 2006, *Vecinos de "Mariscal Miller" apoyan reubicación de feria*.
[158] See *Correo*, May 22, 2006, *Desde hoy Feria del Altiplano en vías adyacentes del Terminal El Collasuyo*.

In 2001, the situation of delinquency and organized groups operating in the *Feria del Altiplano* at the *Jorge Basadre* Street[159], caused the municipality to initiate negotiations with the vendors about security in the street market. The central issue throughout these negotiations was the question of responsibility regarding control. As part of public space, vendors held the municipality responsible for providing protection and sending security personnel. Contrarily, as a commercial entity that paid fees for the use of public space, the municipality located the responsibility for providing security in the vendors' associations. Additionally, it hinted at the financial limitations that the local authorities faced.

Correo reported[160] on these negotiations that the municipality had offered the vendors two possible solutions. Either they paid another fee so that the municipality could employ further city security personnel, or the associations organized the employment of private security on their own. The latter solution was already standard in indoor commercial sites such as galleries or markets. In either case, more visible vigilance and control were needed to provide the necessary security to the visitors of the markets[161]. At another commercial site nearby, *Polvos Rosados*, after repeated cases of stabbings between private security personnel and suspected thieves[162], the National Police offered training to the *guatchimán* employed at the center.

With the beginning of the pandemic, the security argument against street markets shifted. It was no longer the accumulation of people that transmitted an unfavorable image and attracted crime; the accumulation of people in itself was a possible hotspot of infection and, consequently, a danger in itself. The former argument of street markets as a possible threat to the security of clients, tourists, neighbors, and passersby could be upheld even more efficiently.

In another sense, security did not only refer to pickpocketing and the problem of thieves who took advantage of the crowds. For the yearly Christmas market—also a street market—*Correo* regularly identified two main problems, as much in the first revised period as in the second. The first problem was the danger of informal electric connections

[159] See *Correo*, May 17, 2001, *Comerciantes se organizan en contra de la violencia.*
[160] See *Correo*, May 18, 2001, *Dan ultimátum a comerciantes ubicados en cementerio chino.*
[161] See *Correo*, December 19, 2001, *Ferias en Circunvalación y Pinto sin vigilancia.*
[162] See *Correo*, November 27, 2001, *15 ladrones acuchillan vigilantes*; *Correo*, December 2, 2001, *Comerciantes marcharán contra protección a delincuentes*; *Correo*, January 28, 2002, *Comerciantes dieron dura paliza a delincuente*.

used for the temporary markets. Neighbors, in this case, informally sold their electricity during the weeks leading up to the holidays, and the respective connections were established without professional supervision. The second problem was the informal trade of pyrotechnics and the congestion of the streets. Consequently, the Christmas market was yearly evaluated as insecure.

Similarly, the lack of security was also highlighted regarding the quality of products sold in the street markets, particularly food and beverages. Here, the topic of security intermingled with the topic of hygiene, another recurrent cause for conflict regarding the street markets.

2.2.3 Hygiene and trash

A further concern regarding ambulatory trade and street markets was the lack of hygiene. This argument was regularly brought forward regarding food safety and affected mostly vendors selling "essential" products, food, and beverages. In the *Feria de la Chacra a la Olla* and the *Feria Boliviana*, during fieldwork, interviewed customers mentioned the sanitary danger that selling raw meat in the streets meant. The stalls, they stressed, although equipped with electrical saws to cut through skin and bones, had no cooling function and did not seem to fulfill basic sanitary standards. Fruits and vegetables sometimes were extended directly on the street.

Similarly, a standard critique of street markets related to garbage. Vendors left as much packages and plastic as organic waste on the streets they "occupied," making them ugly and unhygienic. This view of the street markets is intertwined with derogatory notions toward rural Andean population. An article published in the local newspaper on May 21, 2006, illustrates that view. Under the headline "*Vecinos exigen reubicación de comerciantes del Altiplano*," *Correo* printed opinions on the need for the street markets' relocation. Citing Imelda Rodriguez, it wrote: "*La presencia de la feria es antihigiénica, venden en el suelo, comen en el suelo"* Aurelio Díaz Díaz, another citizen, expressed that it was time to order the street: *"los lunes y martes se vuelve toda una selva de desperdicios*," he added. "*No es que se trate de eliminar su actividad sino ordenarla, para que a su vez se ordene también esta vía que tantos años permaneció polvorienta.*" Gladys Ticona Gamarra added: "*Los señores se ensucian, se orinan y no respetan lo que es de todos (…). Ellos dejan todo cochino. Por ejemplo, desparraman el agua con la que*

lavaron las vísceras y menudencias que venden y cuando se calienta es pestilente, nauseabundo, ni siquiera se puede caminar."

The newspaper, through printing these opinions without critically contextualizing them, contributes to the construction of a stereotype of the market vendors as opposed to the desired "development" and "progress." The article sketches the markets as rural sites, in which *los puneños*, "*ellos*," endanger the common goal of improving the city's appearance. The traditional markets were "*causa de deterioro de la infraestructura pública del lugar*."

2.2.4 Unfair Competition

Formal vendors and representatives of their associations and guilds criticized ambulatory and itinerant trades' as unfair competition, *competencia desleal*, to their own businesses. Not only did informal vendors have fewer expenses regarding the maintenance of the stalls and taxes, but they also sold the same merchandise in front of the official and established shops, stripping the formal vendors off their customers.

A related argument highlighted that many vendors of the *Feria del Altiplano* did not need a stall; many of those who sold their products in the street on Mondays and Tuesdays had their property or properties in other commercial sites[163]. The newspaper depicted taking advantage of the low commercialization costs on the street markets as scandalous. Similarly, during fieldwork, one of the arguments against the markets was that many of its vendors were not actually poor. On the contrary, some had made a fortune with their commerce and had much influence over other vendors and their associations.

Contrarily, vendors and those working in and around the markets generally stressed that the commercial activity and ambulatory trade attracted more people to the commercial sites. "Formal" vendors profited indirectly from this higher number of clients. Rather than "stealing" customers, ambulatory traders vitalized the city's commercial areas. Some were aware of their contribution to attracting foreign customers and fostering tourism.

[163] See, for instance, *Correo*, April 13, 2005, "*80% de comerciantes del Altiplano tiene puestos*." The article cites the then-president of the *Comisión de Mercados* of the district exclaiming: "*Incluso muchos tienen alquilados sus puestos y expenden en la vía pública como ambulantes, esto es el colmo."* Some of the vendors even rented their own stalls when they sold on the street market.

2.2.5 The Appropriate Site

As we have seen above, the question about the "adequate" site for vendors and their trade practices is at the heart of the negotiations. The differing opinions, as much in the street markets as regarding the neighbors and the authorities, were a hindrance to finding solutions. In both instances, relocation was the compromise between those who wanted to make ambulatory trade disappear entirely from public space and those who emphasized the long tradition of the street markets.

Evicting vendors from one site made the consideration of alternatives indispensable, not least because of the well-organized vendors' organizations who defended their right to work and insisted on the authorities' cooperation for finding another selling site. In 2006, the municipality saw the solution in other streets near the new *Collasuyo* bus terminal. There, neighbors were not opposing ambulatory trade, and the transfer would not mean any major investment.

However, neither vendors nor neighbors saw the solution for the "problem" of ambulatory trade in that option. While the neighbors ideally wanted ambulatory and itinerant trade suppressed entirely in favor of "development" and the "*ornato*" of the city, vendors' representatives saw finding a definite plot for relocation as a feasible option. This alternative meant the active implication of the municipality since space in the city was scarce and vendors' resources were limited.

In 2020, other public streets were not an option as an "official" solution due to the biosecurity measures at the national level. Consequently, in the case of *Feria del Altiplano*, an alternative site was made available, namely the *Maracaná* stadium. Since sports events were not taking place either, stakeholders took advantage of the space by organizing the stalls, planning their location and distances, and including other preventive measures aligned with the protocols in other commercial sites. However, neighbors stressed that the stadium had not been built for commercial use and should serve the residents and enrich the quarter. The vendors also questioned the stadium as an ideal solution. They highlighted the limited space and the unequal distribution of stalls regarding the client's access.

2.2.6 Costs

An essential part of the conflicts was—of course—financing questions. The municipality and the vendors stressed the lack of resources throughout the negotiation process. While vendors were willing to organize collective payment solutions for a sustainable relocation, they could not do so without the municipality's support. Partly given privatization efforts throughout the decades before the pandemic, the municipality stressed the lack of sites that were the municipality's property in the *Alto de la Alianza* district. Also, the "*Fondo Chololo*" solution aimed at in 2006 depended on a change in ownership structures.

The municipality also stressed its limited "eviction capacity" during the pandemic. The personnel at its disposition was insufficient to control the high number of ambulatory vendors. The associations' size was a powerful "argument" for not evicting, not only regarding the high costs of eviction but also regarding the number of people depending on the precarious daily income generated through the selling activity.

2.2.7 Politics

A different family of critiques aimed at the political role of essential stakeholders. Individuals in political posts were blamed for misuse of their influence. For example, in 2006, vendors' association leaders were accused of anti-democratic action and described as driven by personal interests. The newspaper depicted the rest of the vendors in terms of a "rebellious mass" influenced and manipulated by the leaders. Their voices and opinions were not reported upon. Instead, it opted for citing furious neighbors with their pejorative attitude.

The critique towards leaders, however, was not restricted to those opposing itinerant trade in the city. In 2022, internally, vendors also criticized the general lack of implication and the prevalence of personal interests regarding their associations' leading boards. However, leaders themselves stressed the fact that their position implied significantly more work and meant an organizing effort regarding the meetings and the tasks to be done. They also stressed the difficulty regarding implication in long-term projects—as would be a relocation—given the strictly defined rotation regarding the leading board of the associations. When the board changed, the plans did, too. Every leading board had to "start from scratch," and there was no compensation for this voluntary extra-work.

In a similar stance, the local authorities were suspected of being only interested in street markets and the topic of itinerant trade during the month before the next election. Neighbors and the newspaper were worried about the city's image of "progress" due to the vendors on the streets. Vendors, on the other hand, criticized the repeated promises made by mayor candidates regarding their relocation and neighbors' complained about the municipality not taking properly care of their district.

Street markets in Tacna are partly an educational project. Neighbors, hinting at the characteristics of the street markets that were incompatible with "development," demanded the local authorities not to tolerate the "rebellion" against authority. Drastic measures had to be taken to protect the city's image particularly regarding tourists. Markets had to be "ordered" and "punished" if they resisted.

2.3 Critiques and Justification

In this chapter, we drew on two relocation processes, one in 2006 and the other in 2020. The respective chronicles followed the negotiations around the relocations and offered a reconstruction following articles published in the local newspaper *Correo*. We identified the stakeholders involved and listed the main topics of conflict regarding itinerant trade practices. The contrast allowed us to ask about aspects that were specific to the crisis caused by the COVID-19 pandemic on the one hand and continuities regarding the conflicts on the other hand.

Formally, the municipality was the entity responsible for organizing and carrying out the relocations. It had to consider different positions and opinions. Consequently, during the negotiation processes that preceded and followed the relocations, local authorities suggested new sites either in terms of a promise or as a euphemism for eviction, threatening with the use of state violence in case of disobedience.

In the first case, it referred to offering a good—even better—option for vendors to install and sell. Generally, this proposition was mainly about alternatives concerning the space where the market can take place, about plots of land not too far from the current market. There, vendors might have their fixed stalls that would not need to be built and dismantled regularly, where they could store merchandise and where they would have access to basic infrastructure. This idea is not only promoted in political terms by municipalities and particularly in times of electoral campaigns. Different *presidentes* of the vendors'

associations also expressed their intention to find their vendors "*un campo ferial*," "*un terrenito.*"

In the second case, the authorities gathered the arguments against the markets, pointing out the need to evict the vendors from their current selling spot. If the parties in the negotiation process did not come to find a joint solution, there was always the theoretical possibility of forcing the eviction. Two of my elderly regular interlocutors stressed their family's experience with forced evictions and violent resistance. One remembered how she, in her hometown with her mother and many other vendors, decided to sleep in their stall instead of dismantling at night to prevent the eviction planned for the following morning. That municipality even mobilized water guns against the vendors to carry out the plans of "ordering" public space. Eviction was a constant latent threat in both moments of relocation.

Notwithstanding, the municipality had a political interest in finding a compromise that would appease the vendors and the neighbors. Both groups, represented by influential individuals, were potential future voters. "Relocation" was a way to offer a compromise between these different positions and interests.

However, resources—money and personnel—for implementing related measures were limited. In practice, thus, ambulatory trade was largely tolerated. In 2006, the municipality gave in to the vendors' propositions regarding the new temporary relocation sites. In 2020, it was unable—and arguably unwilling—to fully enforce the prohibition of ambulatory trade. Local authorities only took measures after loud and visible protests that insisted on taking action. This was also true for the *caminantes* in 2020.

Other "formal" vendors referred to ambulatory trade as problematic, too. Some of my interlocutors explained that, specifically during the pandemic, numerous ambulatory vendors had profited from the states' emergency help programs. Additionally, they were not burdened with regular costs as formal vendors. Finally, they profited from the clients' preference for open-air commercial sites due to the contagion dynamics. During the pandemic, ambulatory traders were perceived as unfair competition, but the formal vendors' objections were not as "loud" and "visible" as the neighbors'.

The 2005 transfer of the bus terminal of *Jorge Basadre* Street with connections to Puno, Cuzco, and Arequipa, to which then ambulatory vendors should move as well, was emblematic of projects of relocation in terms of an "improvement" of the city's image.

The new site was located in the midst of the district of *Alto de la Alianza*, founded in 1984 with a high percentage of migrant population from the highlands. The transfer of the buses meant an infrastructural betterment and the formalization of the businesses, arguments that were presented as advantages for those transferred.

At the same time, it aligned with the promises of "ordering" public space. Concretely, the "chaotic" parts were "removed" from a major transport artery and located at less visible sites in the heart of the aforementioned district. The final argument to relocate itinerant traders was construction works that aimed at embellishing the Avenue, not least for the tourists from the other side of the border. However, the neighbors' activism against ambulatory trade substantially pushed the final relocation.

The overview of the months of lockdown due to the COVID-19 pandemic and the progressive reopening, in contrast to the relocation of 2006, revealed similar patterns regarding the critiques presented and the measures taken.

In the first place, we learned that the first relocation that resulted in three novel selling sites instead of the street market at *Jorge Basadre* Street was not formulated as a definite "solution". On the contrary, the vendor's resistance to moving to the streets around the new bus terminal was partly tolerated because of the transitory character of this decision. A definite relocation to a "campo ferial" at "*Fundo Chololo*" was the long-term plan for "solving" the "problem" of ambulatory trade in the district. However, the street markets at the Unión street, *Feria del Altiplano*, and on the side of the educational institution, *Feria Boliviana*, still took place in public space.

Consequently, the pandemic brought old conflicts to the fore and made a re-formulation of critiques towards ambulatory trade possible. Most importantly, the pandemic allowed neighborhood associations and their members to express their rejection in terms of risks to their biosecurity. As citizens, they brought the idea forward that ambulatory trade—particularly but not only under the new circumstances given the pandemic—was a direct threat to their health and overall safety. As citizens, they were concerned about their own health and that of the elderly and other vulnerable people living in their area.

The congestion that, previous to the pandemic, was primarily criticized for impeding residents from parking properly now meant a direct health risk. Similarly, the supposedly questionable hygienic conditions, which had been regularly critiqued before the pandemic, became even more problematic due to the perceived risk of infection. Since

there was insecurity about the ways through which COVID-19 was precisely transmitted, people were not only afraid of other people but also the objects and sites "touched" by others. Even in their absence, street markets were still perceived as an immediate risk.

In a similar stance, citizens were particularly concerned about the *Feria del Altiplano* and the products that were brought to Tacna "from other places" since it was precisely movement that was responsible for the quick spread of the new and dangerous disease. The fact that the street markets "specialty" was precisely products from the Peruvian highlands fostered uncertainty. Vendors and their merchandise in this market were perceived as particularly dangerous. In the city context—and also in regard to the *Alto de la Alianza* district—only those vendors selling in the *Cachina* market dealing with second-hand clothing commonly imported via Chile received even louder critiques. Their activities were regarded as straightforward illegal since their selling was equated with smuggling in times of mobility restrictions and the closed terrestrial border.

The critiques were shouted at the vendors directly but also officially aimed at convincing the local authorities to intervene and to assure the citizens' security. Furthermore, the neighbors reminded their authority of the duty it had regarding the national rules—notwithstanding the local specificities. Neighbors consequently used official "tools" accessible to them, such as writing a petition to the local municipality and expressing their protest with banners. They inverted not only energies but also economic capital for printing materials and employing private security in their neighborhoods.

3 Justification

In this third chapter of Part V, we follow the specific objectives O2.1 and O2.2:

- O2.1. Understand the individual ways vendors navigated the months of lockdown and progressive reopening.
- O2.2. Analyze the collective ways of staging protest and the corresponding patterns of justification.

3.1 Vendors Without Street Markets

Vendors I met in the street markets in 2022 all had their personal story regarding the months of lockdown and the process of progressive reopening. While a complete overview over the individual circumstances would exceed the text, this second chapter of the fifth part briefly presents some of these accounts in a condensed manner. They complement the chronicle presented in Part V, Chapter 1, by adding further perspectives on that time. The chapter examines the reports on how vendors individually dealt with the circumstances imposed by the biosecurity measures of COVID-19.

The imposed complete quarantine immediately after the declaration of the Sanitary Emergency had severe consequences for ambulatory vendors in Peru. Income-generating commercial activities in public space were prohibited. Vendors, their families, and households had to arrange their daily lives around the new biosecurity measures and the insecurities regarding the overall situation attached to the spread of the disease.

3.1.1 Vendor 1 (Doña KT)

Doña KT narrates her COVID-19 story with horror. While she sold comestible products at one of the markets where I regularly visited, her husband worked in transport. Both could not maintain their income with the start of the pandemic, "*pues la pandemia nos ha cerrado*," she said in our first meeting.

When I asked her if she was from Tacna, she pointed at her *Pollera*, slightly waving it by body movement, and explained that she was from Puno. She moved to the city of Tacna for two reasons. Even though she mentions the expectation of earning more money with commercial activities as the first reason, she emphasizes the complicated relationships with her community as the main factor for taking the decision.

The relationships, she further laid out, were difficult mainly due to money issues: "*soy más pobre que ellos*." Her relatives were entrepreneurs, producing and selling clothing. She furthermore stressed the negative memories regarding the social control she experienced in general but particularly regarding her child. Everybody had an opinion on her personal life and decisions. Here, she stated, "*camino fresco*."

When we met, she sold at her spot in one of the street markets for over ten years. After arriving from Puno, she explained, it was quite difficult for her to establish herself as a seller in the street markets. Her youngest child was two years old at the time. It accompanied her when she sold her merchandise at one "edge" of the street market. She highlights the difficulties she experienced throughout the first years in which she did not have an assigned spot ("*no hay sitio, pe*") and other sellers did not tolerate her working as an "*ambulante*."

When the pandemic hit, she and her husband decided to return to their village with the children, knowing that there would be no income during the following weeks. In the village, they counted on a place to stay. They went there with only 1000 Peruvian Soles (approximately 250 Euro), expecting the lockdown to take approximately 15 days. When the money was spent, they had to ask their extended family for help and worked in the chacras: "*a las chacras me he ido llorando ¿mi hija, qué va a comer?*"

The time her family spent in the countryside was very difficult, but returning to Tacna was also problematic. After over three months, most of her merchandise had long passed its expiration date; she had lost most of her capital. She explained how she started from scratch with a small amount of dry products still in a state to be sold. It was just recently, two years after the beginning of the pandemic and with much effort, she said, that they recovered their businesses.

3.1.2 Vendor 2 (Doña M)

Doña M is over 70 years old when we meet for the first time. She worked as a vendor in Tacna since the 1970s, when she arrived from her hometown near Cuzco with her husband. She started to sell in *Coronel Mendoza* Street and she was there when the mayor moved the marketers to the streets near *Polvos Rosados* and the *Quiñones* square. They stayed there until recently, she explained—it were only around 20 years that they were selling their items in the current location. This spot had been chosen since there were neither other vendors nor neighbors at the laterals of the market "tunnels."

She stressed that it were the street markets, which had made possible that many children *salieron adelante*, that they had received education and were now able to work in "regular" jobs. Her own three kids were just some few of various examples. When she remembered her then-toddlers, she glanced to a corner of the stall as if they were still playing there while she attended the clients. Her kids, she stated, had grown up next to her, they had always been with her. Even as babies, they had kept her company. She also remembered the time when, one generation later, she took her daughter's baby to the stall so that its mother could finish her education.

During the first month of the pandemic, the street market did not take place, she explained. In her case, that meant that she almost did not leave the house. She received 350 Soles from the financial state program "*Yanapay*" for citizens in poverty, extreme poverty, or previous members of other social programs, benefiting, for instance, the elderly under specific conditions. When she talks about the aid, she explains that the government had donated food and money for those who needed it. She uses the example to express her positive opinion regarding the current government of Pedro Castillo, which at the time already received sharp critiques. Those opposing the president, she explained, were the people with money who had to pay more now.

She and her husband, with whom she had been *encerrada*, received further financial and material support from her now adult children. She highlighted the worries and fears of that time, the rise in infections, and the rising number of deaths. In her account, there were various references to circulating ideas regarding the spread of the disease. The supposed involvement of the Chinese government, for instance, or the lower quality of food due to industrial production, which both had fostered the spread of the virus, are just two examples.

She explained how she engaged in crafts during the months of lockdown. The majority of the products she sells in the street market are products that she re-sells. However, she also offers some items, such as key rings, bags, and purses, that she crafts herself. While at home, she engaged even more in the production of these items. She focused on "playing" with her materials: "*ahí jugando, estoy jugando en vez de preocuparme. Porque sino… La preocupación también… Más preocupación te enfermas*." She thanked God that she had not gotten the virus. While most of the created items were stored in an enormous bag next to her, some laid on her "counter," ready to be sold: "*Así no perdía tiempo, seguía luchando*," she said.

3.1.3 Vendor 3 (Doña E2)

Doña E2 is one of the younger vendors. At the time we met, in June, she had only started selling in one of the street markets a few months earlier. She lived between different cities and worked in Tacna, where, due to a lucky circumstance, she could sell her products in the street market during two days each week.

During the lock down, she collaborated with one of her brothers, who dealt in haberdashery and sold fabrics. They took advantage of the fact that the demand for materials needed for the fabrication of face masks soared through the first month of the pandemic. She worked as "*jaladora*." This term is used in Peru for those in charge of persuading clients—often passers-by—to get interested either in a shop in general or regarding a specific product offered. They are generally standing in front of the respective commercial site, engaging people in conversation.

While usually a common income-generating activity in Tacna, trading with non-essential products was not allowed during the pandemic. The restrictions regarding the movement of people throughout the days of lockdown were quite strict. Not only the police but also military personnel controlled in the streets and fined those who were disobeying the rules. Part of what Doña E2 narrates is the constant fear of being caught while informing possible clients about the products being sold.

In exchange for the task, her family paid her a small amount. "*Así tuve para mi día a día.*" She has to care for young children and has construction-related debts. Throughout my visits, she also mentioned that she was in a problematic moment regarding her marriage. Given her regular traveling, she counted on others regarding childcare. The overall situation was extremely stressful throughout the months of lockdown and in 2022, when I regularly met her in the markets.

3.1.4 Vendor 4 (Señorita B)

B was the youngest of my interlocutors. At the time of fieldwork in her mid-twenties, she had started selling her products in two street markets four days a week and at another site on a further day only some months ago. She was born in Tacna, and her parents still lived in the city. Her father worked in transport, and her mother, an experienced vendor, helped her set up her stall. She cared for her younger relative on the days she did not attend her stall at one of the selling sites.

For her, working in the street markets was just another experience in income-generating activities. A few years earlier, after her schooling, she had started selling *chicha* in one of the markets. Then, she worked in Chile for a couple of years. She noted that she had even started to get her papers "in order" in the neighboring country, planning to work there for a few more years. However, during a holiday in Tacna, she got a job offer in textiles in Brazil through a close childhood friend. She accepted, and together with her friend, by bus they traveled to Brazil via Bolivia.

She commented that the convenience of these jobs was that the employers usually offered their staff meals and a place to stay, conditions that made saving possible: "*No gasta*s." Rather than the height of the paycheck, it was the modality and the intensity of work that attracted personnel from Peru and Bolivia. She had only worked over a month in that job—still learning about the working procedures—when the pandemic hit. Everything stopped for three months, she explained. The owners of the enterprise provided food supplies that the workers then prepared for consumption for themselves and the owners. "*Tuvimos suerte*," she says in consideration of their employers. After three months, they started to produce facemasks and returned to being paid.

Shortly after her friend had returned to Tacna due to severe illness, she too headed back to the Peruvian city one year after the start of the pandemic—unofficially since the borders were still closed. She started selling on the street markets because traveling was still very difficult. She stated that working on the other side of the border had become complicated after the pandemic. She explained that she did not meet the requirements for traveling to Chile. Furthermore, she had a partner who often visited her at her stall. Particularly on the weekends, when he did not work, these visits allowed them to spend time together. He did not help with the selling directly but sometimes also engaged in conversations with clients.

Both were interested in the news and well-informed about the city's current debates and important events. B, compared to other interlocutors, explicitly emphasized the importance of focusing on the client's needs. She explained that she greets her clients enthusiastically, "*con ánimo*." They, her clients, were searching for "*lo bueno, lo bonito, y lo barato*"; additionally to friendly service, they wanted quality, beauty, and low prices. Even though they had less money due to the crisis, they still wanted all three. It was her task to attend respectively.

Instead of searching for an income-generating possibility in another country, she decided to take classes again and signed up for a professionalizing course. Given the pandemic-related restrictions, she could combine her work with the training since she attended her classes virtually. Only occasionally, she explained, her educational organization set up face-to-face meetings, particularly for the practical parts of the program. Consequently, on weekdays in the afternoon, she sat at her stall with white earplugs in her ears, staring at her phone. We spoke about her challenges with keeping up in class and her thoughts about the options for returning to Chile.

3.1.5 Vendor 5 (Doña KT)

Doña KT is over 70 years old. She does not live in Tacna but in a village that is over a two-hour bus drive away. She is a small producer who, together with her family, works the land she owns. On their *chacra*, where she and her husband work and live, they keep some animals and grow different regional products. They have been married since she was 20 years old. She often talks about the hard work that the *chacra* and their animals demanded.

Since the 1980s, Doña KT has traveled regularly to the city to sell some of the products she produces in the highlands, such as potatoes, corn, and fruits. She remembered that in the beginning, there had been fewer vendors. She herself sold the products she brought at the side of a truck, and the road had not been paved yet. She usually arrives the afternoon before the first market day and stays for three nights. In the early morning hours after the second day of the market, she leaves again, heading home without any heavy merchandise to carry and the money she made hidden in her clothes.

During the pandemic, due to the mobility restrictions and her belonging to a high-risk group, she could not personally visit the street markets. However, she found intermediaries who transported and sold some of the merchandise. In the beginning, she explained, it was a connection to the *Grau* market that made selling from a distance possible. As her products belonged to the "essential" goods, they were officially allowed to be sold. In her case, it was her belonging to a risk group and the fears and recommendations associated together with the mobility restrictions that hindered the business.

The first time we met was her first day working on-site and in person in the street markets again. Many people greeted her enthusiastically and expressed relief and pleasure about

seeing her back on the markets. Most asked for or brought information about others, mutual friends, family, or acquaintances. They praised the high quality of her products and their excellent taste. Often, they went on ordering or reserving a certain quantity of the products for the upcoming week. Working with orders implies that the amount of products Doña KT usually carries to her stall is often more than is for sale. In a small notebook, which she keeps in a plastic bag, she jots down orders and holds the accounts.

During the pandemic, she explained, she was at home. In one of my visits, she asked, lowering her voice: "Was it really that bad?" In the countryside, she explained, nothing had changed. They still worked the land and took care of the animals as usual. The news had updated them regarding the evolution of the pandemic and the high rates of infection and deaths. She found it hard to believe that so many people had died due to the illness. Doña KT was suffering from a painful medical condition that started to limit her mobility. That worried her since she needed strength and mobility for the *chacra*, the animals, and the selling.

3.1.6 Vendor 6 and Vendor 7 (Doña Z and her neighbor)

During the lockdowns, narrated Doña Z together with a stall neighbor, they could not sell anything, theoretically. Nobody was allowed to step on the street, let alone sell their merchandise. Both sell clothing items. They commented on the financial hardship they experienced during the pandemic "*Vivíamos de nuestras bolsas, de nuestros ahorros*," they commented. The benefit and aid programs that the state launched during these first months did not arrive in their households. These programs were designed to help people in the condition of extreme poverty; they stated, "*pero los que normalmente estamos así, no nos caía*."

Both have more than one child who is not yet independent. They live in the same households and are in different phases of their education. Both explain that before the pandemic, they had earned well. They did not only go sell "*para vivir*," but their incomes even allowed for saving up some money. "*Teníamos para ahorrar incluso, o para comprarnos alguna cosita*," they remember. On the contrary, over two years after the beginning of the pandemic, their income was still very low. They worked for their food and the general costs of living. Only together with the income of their respective partners were they able to cover the household's costs.

During the pandemic, and consequently, informally, they regularly took a small amount of their products to the places where people bought essential products to sell some items. "*Con miedo salíamos*," they say, covering their mouths with their hands. They were afraid of the illness and the possibility of infection, transforming them into a risk for their families at home, as well as the controls and the fines that state officials were imposing when discovering cases of disobedience regarding the current regulations. "*Aunque vendíamos cuatro, cinco piezas, nos íbamos contentos, porque ya nos daba para la semana.*" Besides their savings, the few clothing items they could sell in this manner were the primary source of income available to them in the first months of the lockdown.

Doña Z, previous to working in different street markets in Tacna five days a week, worked together with her sister. They bought clothing items from wholesalers in Chile "*recién sacadas*," novel models of clothing, to resell them in Tacna. She remembered how she regularly traveled to Santiago—a 33-hour bus drive—to wait for the wholesalers with the products, choose and acquire the latest models, and then return to Tacna with the merchandise. Later, they had to adapt their ways of operating since the selling process was not as quick as in the beginning. Everything happened there, in Santiago: "*no había Whatsapp, no podíamos pedir con el móvil, ver los modelos antes. Claro, íbamos ahí*."

When she got pregnant with her second child—a girl—they had to reconsider their business dynamics again, she explained. Doña Z did not want to leave her daughter in the care of others. Consequently, with her sister, they agreed on her taking care of the children—hers and her sister's—so that the latter could remain in Chile, go ahead with the business, and finally apply for residency there. While the initial plan was to maintain the family business, the result of the agreement was that she was in charge of care work in the following years, while her sister went on with the business. Finally, when the children were old enough, she started selling in the street markets.

3.1.7 The Individual Accounts

The vendors' accounts regarding their ways of maneuvering the months of lockdown and the progressive reopening were as diverse as the group itself. The manners of reacting to the new circumstances depended on many different factors. Relevant, for instance, was whether vendors belonged to a high-risk group regarding COVID-19 and particularly their age, whether they had dependent family members, and whether other members of the household were contributing to the overall income. It depended on their own and their

family's financial situation, particularly regarding debts and the related commitments of repaying the loan. The intensity and quality of family ties to rural areas were decisive in deciding whether to stay in Tacna. The amount of savings and other resources were central to the individual manner of dealing with the situation.

In short, individual ways of navigating the situation depended on the resources available. Those who counted on social networks and the emotional and financial support of relatives could face the insecurities of the situation differently than those who relied on income to meet the basic needs of their household, for instance.

While some vendors engaged in informal practices of selling, others spent months in the countryside helping with the work on the *chacras*. For some, the market was just a temporary "station" between other ways of generating income in either employment or other projects of entrepreneurship. For others, the street market had been their workplace throughout their whole working life. The thread that connected these disparate accounts was that the pandemic—even though recognized as an unprecedented circumstance—meant just another hurdle on the individual path of experiences in income-generating activities.

The vendors were very transparent about their activities during the months of lockdown, even if these had been officially prohibited. They shared their particular living circumstances and stressed the inevitability of leaving their houses and the need to provide their households.

The majority of the elderly interviewees were also parents of adult children. They highlighted that their children, who once depended on the selling activity, now had their own professions and often their own families. Instead of the vendors caring for their children, the children—particularly throughout the pandemic—were now caring for their parents, helping with the tasks related to the management of selling or material needs throughout the months of lockdown.

The vendors' associations— crucial for the organization and defense of the street markets—did not play a role in these individual accounts.

3.2 Claiming Back the Street—*Feria del Altiplano* in 2022

This chapter takes a slightly different approach than the former. Instead of examining vendor's accounts regarding the situation at hand and the "solutions" found individually,

it looks at a specific site of dispute. It describes the ways in which stakeholders staged disagreement, analyzing the critiques and the justifications brought forward in the midst of this dispute.

3.2.1 Situation: the Reopening of the Terrestrial Border for the Transport of People

From April of 2022 onwards—a time still characterized by biosecurity measures regarding the pandemic caused by the SARS-CoV-2 virus—vendors of the *Feria del Altiplano* were actively protesting for a change concerning the current location of their marketplace in the *Héroes de la Alianza* stadium. The protests were embedded in the general rising discontent with the perceived disproportion between the maintenance of the biosecurity measures and the evolution of the sanitary situation. The repeated postponement of the reopening of the terrestrial border for the transport of people was contested not only by vendors but also by other affected sectors.

At the beginning of April, the reopening, which had been foreseen for the first day of that month, was postponed yet again due to Chile's refusal. This time, the community's comprehension for the prolongation of that measure was extraordinarily low: people hinted at the fact that the borders with Ecuador and Bolivia[164] were already open. Additionally, they stressed that there had been gatherings in the Chilean bordering city of Arica due to the yearly carnival *Con la Fuerza del Sol* and other steps towards loosening the strict COVID-19 regulations on the other side of the border. Voices affirming that it was economic and political interests that had guided the neighboring country's decision got louder and made it ever more difficult to convincingly present the sanitary emergency as the main reason for maintaining the border closure. Tacna, strongly depending on Chilean tourism regarding its income, felt it was time to reactivate the border-crossing economic dynamics between the neighboring states and the city of Tacna and Arica.

Consequently, as a response to the communication of the repeated suspension of the border's reopening, representatives of associations of the different sectors severely affected by the biosecurity measures regarding the border's impermeability started to announce protest actions. Workers active in transport, vending, health services, gastronomy, and tourism services agreed on the public staging of their discord. Precisely, the ensemble of associations decided to organize a protest first at the "*terminal terrestre*

[164] *Decreto Supremo N° 015-2022-PCM*, published on 13 February, 2022.

internacional de Tacna," a bus station at the center of the city, and later at the border checkpoint *Santa Rosa*—getting there in buses and cars—to block the *Panamericana Sur* highway for Chilean trucks and other vehicles.

The Regional Government supported this protest. It officially urged the Central Government to increase its diplomatic efforts concerning the situation at the southern border and the neighboring country's rejection, hinting at the economically precarious circumstances many people and families were facing due to the pandemic and the associated measures. The protest finally took place on the morning of April 7. That day, there was no public transport, and the police presence in the city and at the border was high.

The protest led to a new announcement by the Chilean authorities: the new expected day for the border's reopening was May 1. In the respective official statement, the new sanitary protocol for the transport of people was partly presented. Meeting the vaccination criteria, agreeing to the COVID-19 tests that would be carried out randomly, and filling out a declaration would be the new requirements for crossing the border. As the local newspaper *Correo* stressed the same day of April[165], this was the third time that the reopening of the border had been rescheduled. As described in detail Part I, Chapter 4, the first projection had been December of the previous year, which was postponed to January 1, due to the Omicron variant of the SARS-CoV-2 virus. The so-called "third wave" of high infections reached the city in mid-January and developed throughout the first half of February 2022. These infection rates, together with the difficult situation concerning migrants in the neighboring country[166], made the reopening of the terrestrial border increasingly complicated.

However, given the general expression of discontent and protest from April onwards, two years after the Sanitary Emergency, protest regarding the biosecurity measures became finally conceivable. What previously would have appeared as a serious infringement regarding the "new" norms of caring for each other by respecting the social distances and the biosecurity norms was now largely accepted by representatives of different sectors. This was not least due to the high rate of vaccinations on both sides of the border.

---

[165] See *Correo*, April 7, 2022, *Chile anuncia para el 1 de mayo la reapertura de frontera terrestre con Perú*.
[166] *Correo*, February 27, 2022, *Tacna: Generales de Perú y Chile se reúnen en el hito 9 de la frontera*.

3.2.2 Contesting Relocation—Protest in 2022

In the context of this general rising discontent regarding the biosecurity measures in 2022, vendors of *Feria del Altiplano* presented their critiques and claims in a routinized way. Given the exceptional nature of the pandemic and the hazardous conditions it implied for itinerant trade, this was rather surprising. This market place, as elaborated above, was the only one of the three markets that had been relocated as a consequence of the conflicts around the progressive reopening of the different commercial sites in the city of Tacna in 2020. During fieldwork, it became evident that this relocation was still a topic of conflict.

The 1st of April, the local newspaper *Correo* titled: "*Proponen instalar a comerciantes en terreno 'La Zanahoria*.'" To that date, the vendors had already been selling over one and a half year in the stadium "*Héroes del Alto de la Alianza*," often colloquially called "*Maracaná*."

The article, taking the mayor's point of view as its main perspective, explained that the vendors located in the stadium asked for a return to their former selling spot, the *Jirón de la Unión* street nearby the stadium. The demand, the article highlighted, would be treated in the upcoming plenary session of the district's authorities. However, the mayor stressed, under the current circumstances, a relocation was not yet feasible. The stadium was very convenient as location for itinerant trade given the possibility to control the number of people entering the market and thus to avoid congestion during the still ongoing sanitary emergency.

The same article referred to the neighbors of the *Jirón de la Unión* street as well. The newspaper cited the mayor, who, interested in acting in a satisfying manner for all the groups involved in the conflict concerning the market's assigned site, referred to the claim of the vendors who wanted to "*regresar a las calles*" on the one hand and the concerns of the inhabitants' of the street on the other hand. The newspaper thus stressed that there would not be any measures taken without previously conferring with the neighbors about the topic. In short, the claims would be heard, although without guaranteeing any quick solution.

The authority's idea for reaching a "solution," the article further laid out, was the trade-off of indeed relocating the vendors again, but not back to the same street in which neighbors still loudly mobilized their protest. Rather, the market could find a new location in the part of the city that people colloquially referred to as "*La zanahoria*" or "*La zanahorita*"

("the carrot" or "the little carrot"), an area in the *Jorge Basadre* Street between "*la ladrillera Matorell y el colegio Guillermo Auza Arce*"[167]. Before vendors could work there, he admitted, the place would need mayor refurbishments. The ground would need to be evened out, for instance, and provisional toilets would need to be installed. This would take at least a month, the time before which vendors should not count with a relocation.

On Tuesday, April 12, during the afternoon, the different associations of the *Feria del Altiplano* called for a meeting. Representatives of the associations walked along the lines of stalls in the stadium, shouting "*¡Reunión!*" thereby informing the other associates. Vendors started to talk to their neighbors, to stand up, and eventually headed—more or less reluctantly and not without looking back uneasily on their now unattended merchandise—towards the central part of the stadium. There, in a void area between the stalls, they gathered in a circle to listen to a man at the center presenting the plans for protest for the following day, while weaving energetically with a notebook. This gathering took only 10 minutes, after which vendors hurried back to their selling sites.

During the gathering, vendors were informed about the plans for the protest that would be carried out the following day, Wednesday 13, from 04:00 o'clock in the morning onwards. Instead of starting their workdays of selling or other related activities, they came together in front of the municipality of the *Alto de la Alianza* district that day. Vendors insisted on the urgency of their claims, making themselves heard and seen. Impossible to ignore by the mayor, they delivered their message through their bodily presence, shouting, and well-prepared protest signs (see Appendix 4).

Associations do not organize many activities outside the street market. Exceptions are the plenary assemblies and the associations' yearly anniversaries. The assemblies theoretically take place regularly. In practice, however, the reason for calling for a general meeting it is often a specific topic or problem. Examples that vendors mentioned were internal conflicts, often between stall neighbors, or money issues. Decisions were taken collectively and democratically and then put into practice either by the managing board or by the respective commission put into place for that purpose.

[167] *Radio Uno*, April 1, 2022, *Proponen instalar a comercinates en terreno "La Zanahoria*." (see https://radiouno.pe/noticias/126070/proponen-instalar-a-comerciantes-en-terreno-la-zanahoria/).

The protest that took place that day and its organization can be understood in terms of such complementary market activity. Just as in the case of the regular meetings, those members who could not participate had to excuse themselves convincingly and ideally organize a representative for them to attend the activity. Members not showing up without being excused were assigned a fine into the association's treasury. Instead of speaking about an obligatory character of the meeting, vendors generally used the term "*pasarán lista*," thus referring to the assistance control.

One week later, on Monday, April 18, there were rumors in the *Feria del Altiplano* market that some vendors planned on building their stalls in their former location, along the *Jirón de la Unión* street the following day. The municipality had not reacted to the protest with any solution. Consequently, and as a clear signal of disagreement, installing the stalls in the street, notwithstanding the prohibition in place, was considered.

The following day, however, this did not happen. Many vendors were not willing to jeopardize the current permission to sell in the stadium, despite sharing complaints about the site. Although there was a general tendency to criticize the biosecurity measures as being disproportionate, violent protest was unlikely to be well-received by other city dwellers. Vendors depend on the support of the rest of the population to effectively argue for the market's continuity.

The vendors' associations are the cornerstone for collective organization and protest action. Consequently, we will examine the figure of the association in what follows, before looking at other ways of staging protest that vendors relied on.

3.2.3 Associations

Street markets are neither a firm nor are they a mere accumulation of individual sellers that happen to be in the same places at the same time. Coordination is necessary for the markets to take place. The vendors' associations are central in this regard: they are vital not only for the internal coordination between vendors; the leading board is also the mediator between vendors and other actors that are relevant to the street markets. Furthermore, the markets are by no means very clearly defined entities. They are the outcome of negotiation between the different parties involved and rely on the concrete conditions that these have agreed upon. This includes, for instance, the specification regarding the allowed time and location of their appearance.

An association, *asociación*, is a legal figure that is defined in the Peruvian Civil Code (*Código Civil*) as "*una organización estable de personas naturales o jurídicas, o de ambas, que a través de una actividad común persigue un fin no lucrativo*" (*Libro I, Sección Segunda, "Personas jurídicas," Artículo 76 a 98*). The organization of people in these terms is common in the city, particularly what concerns housing and commerce. Consequently, there are abounding neighbor's associations and the merchants of the diverse commercial sites in Tacna are usually grouped into different associations, too.

The legal text mentioned above further elaborates on the preconditions for officially constituting an association. For registering as such, one of the requirements is the elaboration of a statute (*estatuto*) that contains information on the aims, properties, and internal organization—including roles and proceedings of memberships—, between others. Each association thus counts with a leading board constituted of a president, a vice-president, a secretary, and a treasurer. Further roles are the spokesperson, the fiscal, and the social assistant. The text highlights the importance of the role of the *consejo directivo* of the association and the *asamblea general*, which is considered the *órgano supremo* of the entity. It also establishes the importance of the member's attendance to these general meetings in order for decisions to be valid.

The three street markets are constituted of different associations, which distribute spatially, as mentioned earlier. In some cases, the sections that are part of one association can be visually distinguished from others due to variations in the color of the underlying fabric, for instance. This is because each of the associations has its own rules and proceedings, which can be more or less rigidly defined. One of the associations even prescript vendors to use a "corporate" apron, but that is rather the exception. Generally, if not very attuned to these commonalities and differences, street market visitors would not notice them.

In addition to the organizational unit of the association, there are attempts to organize across the markets through the formation of federations. This is the case in all the three street markets. However, in practice, this form of coordination proved challenging. According to the interviewees, one of the difficulties was the regularly changing governing boards. The dates for voting for new representatives varied among the groups, and when combined with the deferring levels of commitment to their political roles, this was perceived as a hindrance to pursuing common goals. For the representatives, the federation meant yet another responsibility requiring valuable time.

3.2.4 Organizing Boycott

Another possibility of staging protest is to deny the payment to the city for the use of public space. In 2006, after the relocation of the *Feria del Altiplano* at *Jorge Basadre* Street to the three new selling sites, vendors claimed that the municipality was not fulfilling its part of the mutual agreement of providing basic services. This led vendors to temporarily suspend the payment[168] of at that time 0.5 Soles.

The fee at the time of fieldwork was one Sol per market day. In the case of the protests in 2022, this way of protesting failed. Even though delegates had decided and informed about the measure, many vendors payed the fee. In the first place, this can be explained by referring to fears of jeopardizing the permission for the vendors to sell in the stadium without implying having to find a new solution. In general, opinions in the markets regarding the measures varied greatly. As heterogeneous as the products sold were the positions towards the situation within the marketplace.

While some vendors were convinced of the necessity to deny the payment, others preferred to just pay to guarantee their right to the current selling place. At the time of the recollection of the money for the payment regarding the use of the stadium, there were even people who had only heard rumors of the plan of denying the payment but were not certain about its execution. Consequently, there was not a coherent boycott and the protest measure was not effective. Even days later, there were expressions of discontent with vendor colleagues who paid and thus compromised the efficacy of the action.

3.2.5 On Claiming Justice and Comparison

Claims are regularly presented as a question of justice and equal treatment. A specific claim—for instance, selling on more than only two days—is presented in comparison to other street markets and their vendors who already count with that condition. In the case of the *Feria de la Chacra a la Olla*, for instance, the request for the assignment of a plot brought to the local authorities by the seven different associations was justified by hinting at the need of selling during more than two days, in this case Saturday and Sunday. The street market's rights, in this instance, were compared to those of the *Cachina* market, in which sellers could work five times a week in different locations, almost every day.

[168] See *Correo*, October 26, 2006, *Feriantes suspenden pago de uso de vía pública a municipio*.

Comparison was also paramount in the protests regarding the relocation of *Feria del Altiplano*. One of the main arguments for changing back to the street again was hinting to the other street markets that indeed did take place in public space already. These had an advantage that was not fair. "*En la calle se vendía bien*," in the streets the business was going better than in the stadium, particularly for those who had a selling spot on the edges of the stadium and far away from the entrances, thus the idea. Consequently, one of the messages on the vendors' placards during protest was "*Igualdad para todos los comerciantes*."

Vendors of *Feria Boliviana* stressed the advantage of earlier being able to sell again in reference to the relocated street market *Feria del Altiplano*. Those selling in the *Maracaná* stadium, who were currently complaining about their location and disadvantage, had returned to their professional activity under controlled conditions and even with the collaboration of the municipality. In their case, they could only really return some weeks later. Luckily, there were no immediate neighbors in their surroundings, which had allowed for a less problematic return.

One vendor explained: "*Si tienes siete hijos, no los debes tratar diferente*." If a rule applied to one street market in the district, it should apply to all the street markets in the city. It was unjust to have different, individual rulings for each. Claims are often formulated as a call for justice and equal treatment. Ambulatory trade was an issue that concerned Tacna in general. Overall, comparison was an essential part of the arguments regarding the markets' rights. Therefore, communicating well between the different associations at the various sites was a means that effectively pressured the local authorities.

3.2.6 Using Official Channels

Vendors depend on the municipality's permission. Before staging a protest, there are generally attempts to negotiate. Requests are expressed and brought forward through official procedures, exploiting the bureaucratic possibilities of claiming. Vendors and authorities call for meetings and political negotiations to find solutions. Commissions with representatives of the different interest groups are created and assigned to find a compromise. In the case of disagreement regarding the ongoing relocation 2020 of *Feria del Altiplano,* the associations collaborated with the municipality regarding the ordering

and preparation of the stadium for the market, distributing stalls, and considering biosecurity.

In short, vendors are aware of and well-informed about their rights and the rules of the negotiation process. In 2022, the main message regarding the claim to return to their street was—as we have saw in Appendix 4—the removal of the *Ordenanza 009-2020-MDAA (Municipalidad Distrital Alto de la Alianza).* The majority of the banners that vendors' brought to the protest referred directly to this ordinance, displaying the precise normative frame in dispute. When the municipality did not react to the vendors' disagreement regarding their remaining in the stadium, these collectively organized and financed legal advice. Vendors were asked to contribute two Soles each in order to pay the lawyer the leading board hired. Direct protest action is only a measure when the "official" channels of negotiations fail.

3.2.7 Collective Ways of Staging Discord

Generally, the measures of protest vendors opt for have to be perceived as legitimate by a broader public for their effectiveness. In 2022, protest became conceivable again due to the more general context of the city and other groups' complaints about the postponement of the opening of the border and the disproportion of biosecurity measures. The change in the overall situation regarding the spread of COVID-19 and the slow and progressive removal of some of the biosecurity measures allowed the vendors to display their claims. In the specific situational context, protest action that a few months before would have been interpreted as inappropriate and harmful could be carried out under the benevolent look of the other city dwellers.

The concrete ways of staging explicit protest were similar at the different moments of conflict; they are part of a "repertoire," as proposed by Tilly. The most common way of protesting collectively regarding restrictive measures is by building the stalls notwithstanding prohibitions. The disproportion between vendors, on the one hand, and the controlling state officials, on the other hand, is a strategic advantage for the vendors. The lack of resources for effectively controlling public space became particularly evident during the pandemic. The lack of security personnel, however, had been a recurrent dispute in the former relocation, too.

However, vendors depend on the municipality's permission. In 2022, coordination between vendors was complex. Opinions on staging protests with more insistence, such

as building up the stalls in the street or boycotting the payment for using the stadium, varied. The risk of losing the stadium as a selling spot, in addition to not being allowed to return to the *Unión* street, was too high for many. Jeopardizing the municipality's collaboration in the search for an alternative selling site was not an option.

Assembling in front of the town hall, presenting their claims verbally and on banners, vendors made themselves "visible." The mayor should not be able to ignore their claims any longer. Justice was at the heart of the vendors' argument; just as other street markets, *Feria del Altiplano* should have the right to return to the streets.

As we have pointed out above, convincing others of the legitimacy of their claims was vital in all of the protests. Therefore, vendors argued in terms of needs, rights, and justice. Although this is true for all of the presented moments of explicit protest—the relocation in 2006, the relocation in 2020, and the desired relocation in 2022—during the latter, vendors had to be even more cautious regarding their protests. Assembling in times of COVID-19 was an attack not only to the "*ornato*" of a street, but the health and even lives of co-citizens.

3.3 Justification

Street markets grew together with the city throughout the second half of the 20th century. Some of the elderly marketers remembered their work places when they were still smaller. They stressed the changes that they had witnessed and expressed their astonishment about this remarkable growth. Since people kept arriving from other Peruvian regions and often from the highlands, they became particularly "visible" in public space with their trading activities. Markets regularly took place at specific sites in the city.

At the time of the first relocation in 2006, the street market had taken place there for over 20 years. The biggest street markets belonged to the city and some vendors had worked there their entire life. A central argument for the markets' righteousness was this long "tradition", the habit, and the regularity with which it took place.

In this chapter, we looked at the individual accounts of some of the vendors of the three street markets. Their ways of maneuvering the complex situation of COVID-19 depended on the resources available. Those who worked throughout the first months presented their stories with an emphasis on the lack of choice. They needed to work in order to subsist. The transgressions of the norms were contextualized with details about family needs and

the difficulties experienced under the new circumstances. Vendors were transparent about their own fears regarding contagion and risking their own and their family’s health. Even though against the norms, their behavior had been honorable. While some vendors at the time of fieldwork were still very affected by the situation, others presented their story as another hurdle overcome on the path to generating income. Necessity and honorability were crucial in the narratives.

On the contrary, for the collective protests, coordination and organization were key. Marketers, represented through associations, claimed their right to work. They expressed their awareness regarding the seriousness of the pandemic and stressed their willingness to take the respective measures—just like other commercial sites. Maneuvering the circumstances in reference to the norms in place and presenting well-informed arguments at the markets’ favor.

4 Righteousness in Practice: "Routines of Justification"

This fourth chapter of Part IV follows the fifth specific objective:

- O3.1 Examine the "routines of justification" in the everyday market activities that relate to the identified critiques and justifications.

The chapter examines how the elaborated patterns of critique and justification manifest in the everyday practices of itinerant trade. It is the last part of the "praxeography" concerning the negotiation processes of stakeholders regarding the continuation of itinerant trade. Consequently, its focus is vendors' itinerant trade practices and the elements of justification they contain.

4.1 Street Markets' Righteousness and "Routines of Justification"

Marketers, this chapter argues, are aware that their work entails the task of convincing other vendors, the markets' neighbors, and their clients—in short, as many *Tacneños* as possible—of the righteousness of the markets as such and of their selling practices in particular. They need the city's inhabitants to perceive their street markets as useful and legitimate. This is not specific to the situation caused by the SARS-CoV-2 virus and the measures taken in response.

As we have seen in the previous chapters, the street markets are neither "formal" nor entirely "informal." The administrative permission for selling at specific times on specific weekdays is transitory in character and thus fragile, as has become clear with the process of relocation of the *Feria del Altiplano*. This is not only true in times of severe crisis, as the pandemic has been, but it is part of the constitution of the street markets.

Markets—and their vendors, respectively—depend on the decisions of local authorities. These are often taken on the background of political interests regarding the maintenance of power. Local authorities need to be attentive to those demands that are either directly brought forward by groups that are relevant for future elections or to claims that show to be broadly supported by the city's inhabitants.

In this chapter, we look at "routines of justification" before connecting them with the "orders of worth" in the fifth and last chapter. We examine the different arguments that are used to ascribe legitimacy to the street markets. We will flesh out how vendors and other actors constantly reaffirm and construct "righteousness" through everyday

practices. These entail verbal expressions and explicit explanations as much as the itinerant trade practices and their "form." Righteousness is constantly affirmed and produced in the markets' "routines of justification."

4.2 Being There and Regularity

As we have already touched upon in the methodological part, "being there" is not only crucial regarding ethnographic research methods but also a central aspect of Tacna's street market dynamics.

In its most general understanding, "being there" is essential for the market in a merely physical way. Occupying the same location in the city's public space is the precondition for the emergence of a "marketplace." Without the vendors building their stalls, the market sites are just ordinary streets. Consequently, regularity is key regarding the whole group of merchants: as many members of the associations as possible have to "show up" at the assigned spots at the assigned places to make the street market a street market.

In fact, to be considered for membership in an association, one is expected to have shown up regularly prior to admission. Different interlocutors commented on the long time they spent selling in the market without actually counting with an assigned spot and an official membership in one of the organized groups. "*No hay sitio*" was a common difficulty. The evaluation of their appearance and behavior on the part of the already established vendors was generally an important factor for considering their participation. When remembering the time before counting with an assigned selling spot in one of the street markets, regularly showing up was presented as essential.

For many vendors, participation in Tacna's street markets was not the first income-generating activity they carried out in their lives. Often, they had worked as internal housekeepers when they were younger or helped out in service-related activities. Some of my interviewees shared their experiences with employment, too.

One of the sellers, for example, remembered how she previously sold *Chicha* as a "real" *ambulante*, meaning without an affiliation. Throughout some years, while two of her children were still quite young, she set herself up in one of the intersections of the long rows of the *Feria de la Chacra a la Olla*. Only after a long period of time could she access membership to an association, changing as much the mode as the products of her selling activity. She got a stall and started to sell textiles.

Other accounts stressed the difficulties that occurred due to other vendors not tolerating the consistent presence of the *ambulantes*. Here, what was highlighted was perseverance in the face of hostile selling conditions.

On the other extreme, some vendors narrated that they "inherited" their selling spot and consequently did not have the same waiting period. In these cases, however, consistency and presence were still remembered as essential regarding the relationships with the neighbors and for holding the spot. In more than one occasion, vendors shared episodes of hardship due to the challenging character of their relationships with other vendors, often their immediate stall neighbors.

Being late or later than usual or not showing up will not only be noticed by the person responsible for checking the attendance but also by stall neighbors. When this happens, comments and jokes are common. In cases when there is no further notice on the part of the missing vendor, those sympathetic to him or her usually try to find out more about the cause of the absence, contacting the person directly or his or her family members respectively.

In short, vendors "establish" themselves through "showing up" regularly, through consistency regarding their selling practices. They become part of the dynamics with time and patience. Once established, there are mechanisms that assure their regular assistance, such as direct social pressure or assigning fines for not showing up without having asked to be excused or provide further information.

Regarding the clientele, consistency is also vital. Vendors in the street markets often have regular clients. These may be *Tacneños*, Chilean citizens, or people traveling from other Peruvian regions. Often, vendors have known their clients for years, not rarely do they know further relatives and details about family constellations. Particularly wholesalers depend on stable relationships for their business. Stability concerning the precise location of the stall and the offer of merchandise form the base for such durable relationships.

Some authors have referred to the specific figure of the *casera*[169]. It is a reference for the regular vendor as much as it is for the regular buyer. *Mi caserita*, consequently, might refer to a loyal client when used by vendors or to a vendor of reference when used by buyers. It is commonly associated with consistency regarding the relationship, implying

[169] For more reflections on the topic see, for instance, Müller 2021 p. 265 and Jiménez Cala and Barbosa Gonçalves 2023. A critical assessment of the term's romanticized use see García 2021, p. 108.

loyalty and a certain degree of preferential treatment. As many vendors as buyers commonly drop the term throughout the everyday interactions. Even though it implies a personalized relationship, it is also generally used as a respectful form of addressing the so-far unknown interlocutor.

In the everyday negotiations involved in the selling activity, particularly of clothes, many vendors assure their clients—their *caseritas*—the right to return or to change items, which would not be possible without this essential regularity. In order for clients to find the right stall and vendor between all the others offering similar products, the precise location of the stalls should not vary too much from week to week.

The offer of taking back items after the transaction often happens to make the decision for buying the product easier. In some cases, clients are indecisive because of the lack of changing rooms. Since they cannot try the item they consider for purchase, there is insecurity about the right size. Additionally to the vendors' well-trained eye regarding their products and client's sizes, devolution is often a solution offered for "solving" this indecision. This also holds true in moments in which the buyer of the item is not the future owner of the piece. During my visits to the stalls, however, I have not seen a devolution taking place. In order to make that offer, regularity and a fixed location are crucial.

Contrarily, there were various situations in which *caserita*-buyers (Jiménez Cala and Barbosa Gonçalves 2023) made very specific "orders," asking for a particular item with a particular color that the vendor then promised to obtain for the next encounter. Also in these cases, regularity and trust were the base.

As we have seen in the second empirical chapter, one of the main arguments defending the street market's right to take place is its regularity. One of the first aspects stressed by vendors in the markets, as well as by those who report on the topic of relocation, is its historicity. Street markets are then referred to as part of the city's usual dynamics. They are seen as consolidated institutions that long precede the local authorities of the moment.

4.3 Associations' Activities

As we have laid out in Chapter 3.2.3, the markets are composed of different associations. They are the organizational base on which street markets occur. In addition to managing the official communications between the vendors and other stakeholders, they also coordinate internal communication.

Each of the associations have their own yearly anniversary party. It is generally the leading board that is responsible for collecting the agreed amount of money from the members, de "*hacer el chancho*," that serves for the organization of the yearly event. The leading board is expected to rent a place, and managing the rest of the necessary arrangements regarding food, drinks, and music. Often a band is hired for the party. The resources available for these parties vary from association to association, which makes them more or less elaborate.

The "tradition" of organizing the anniversary creates stability through fostering member's possibilities of identification. People dress up for the occasion and it is a time in which association members meet beyond the working hours. The events usually start in the late morning with an official opening, with the national anthem and speeches of different people. After this institutional and official opening, there was food and the band prepared to start the musical program. It is common to remember and refer to the party's highlights, such as bands or dancing groups that performed remarkably well or food that was noticeably delicious. These events are usually very positively referred to, and people highlight the common effort for the organization as much as they remember specifically well-organized celebrations. The preparation of the anniversary starts months ahead of the date.

Apart from this "leisure" activity, associations normally manage some of the issues that effectively communicate the vendors' caring for their clients and neighbors. They were the entity that implemented COVID-19 biosecurity in 2020 and organized the employment of a *guatchimán*—security personnel—, both signs of care and respect.

4.3.1 COVID-19 Biosecurity Measures

In 2022, all of the three street markets, different devices made the "caring" for security on the part of the vendors transparent and visible from the entrance onwards. The different associations collectively implemented the provision of different tangible biosecurity measures.

In *Feria Boliviana*, for instance, directly in the "entrance" to the market "tunnel" on the side that points toward the commercial center *Polvos Rosados*, vendors had installed a sign that indicated the different "*medidas de protección COVID-19*" to be taken into account before entering the market. There were six instructions listed on it: The sign indicated that wearing a facemask was obligatory, that body temperature was to be

controlled, that shoes were to be disinfected and that hands were to be washed before entering. Furthermore, the security distance of one meter and the waiting times to be attended should be respected. These messages were written in white capital letters on blue rectangles. They were accompanied by respective white symbols on red circles.

"*Yo te cuido, y tu me cuidas*" was the final message at the bottom of the sign. "I take care of you and you take care of me," printed under the instructions, seemed to be the slogan that released the visitor into the space between the two rows of stalls. It stressed the reciprocity necessary for the instructions to have a protecting effect as much for the visitors as for the vendors. The motto's "I" and the "you" are generic; as we don't know who is speaking, a possible way of understanding the phrase is that "I" refers to the vendors and "you" to the clients. At the same time, it hints at every interaction that takes place. The direct appeal of the phrase personalizes the responsibility of "taking care." At the same time, it is a promise: "I take care of you" as much as an affirmation of the thoughtfulness of the vendors towards their clients.

Similar signs were also present in the *Feria de la Chacra a la Olla*. Here, the fact that it depended on the respective association working at a specific part of the market whether there were signs regarding biosecurity measures or not, was more evident. One of the most prominent signs was provided at one of the intersections by the "*Asociación Siglo XXI*." In this case, the symbols regarding the specific instructions and due to their size and position were more noticeable than the text. However, it were the same biosecurity measures that were made explicit.

In all of the markets, there were traffic cones, set up in a long row between the stalls and thereby splitting up the client's "tunnel" into two sides. Supposedly, they indicated the centerline, which should be respected while strolling through the variety of products: Clients were supposed to look at the stalls build up on their right so that the counter flow of people could orderly pass on the other side of the cones to their left. This measure thus aimed at enabling clients to effectively respect the security distance. Just as in traffic, the cones indicated the "lanes."

Finally, in all the markets vendors provided the means for people to wash their hands. In the line of traffic cones, every five meters one of the cones was replaced by a bucket turned upside down, a plastic stool or some other "platform." On it, vendors placed a canisters filled with water. At their bottoms, these canisters had taps through which the

water could flow when opened. Sometimes there were further basins placed on the dusty ground right under the tab. Together with a bottle containing a soap-water mix, these improvised and portable sinks enabled clients and vendors to regularly wash and disinfect their hands.

In practice, however, almost two years after the outbreak of the virus, these visible signs and artifacts served more like gentle reminders of the situation. The only measure that was still more or less taken into account was the wearing of a facemask, which was still obligatory in Tacna. The instructions did not correspond with people's behavior. Notwithstanding, they constantly emitted the message that vendors "cared," that there was a shared consciousness regarding the need to respect and care for each other.

4.3.2 El Guatchimán

In the last paragraphs, we have seen how "care" and "consciousness" regarding the danger of contagion manifested in the concrete arrangement of the stalls and other elements in the markets. This section will draw on previous situations in which vendors directly responded to particular critiques regarding their appearance in public space. Just as in pandemic times, instead of only "answering" verbally, vendors incorporated the critiques into their selling practices and the structure of their markets.

As we have seen above, in Part V, Chapter 2.2.2, one of the central accusations toward ambulatory trade was the lack of security. The newspaper reported not only on the cases in which neighbors or other stakeholders referred to the lack of security in the markets as an argument in favor of their disappearing. It also drew on the vendor's claims towards the municipality regarding its task of ordering and protecting. Vendors accused the authorities of not fulfilling its responsibility in this regard.

In 2022, some vendors' associations employed private security personnel. All members paid a quote—in addition to the municipality's fee and electricity costs—to cover the *guatchimán's* salary. The employed guard had to walk around in a uniform, showing presence and occasionally blowing a whistle. His appearance should prevent crime. In an interview, the *guatchimán* described his main task as "*circular*", making rounds. In this way, he took care that clients could shop reassured and that no one misbehaved. His task was to transmit "*no molestes, entonces no te molestamos*." Personally, he avoided confrontations. Vengeance, he stated, would be directed against him personally and not

against his employers. The payment was not the best and he was aware of the limits of his possibilities of preventing criminals from operating.

4.3.3 Self-Justice

Regarding the accusation of a lack of security in the markets, vendors generally ascribe responsibility to the local authorities. They did not provide sufficient personal to guarantee the vendors' and the clients' safety. Additionally, the respective sentences were not drastic enough since they did not prevent the criminals from committing the same crimes repeatedly. Consequently, besides the private security personnel employed by the associations, self-justice was a recurrent topic in the newspaper articles between 2001 and 2006[170]. Regularly, groups of vendors captured individuals who had been caught in the act of committing an infringement in the market.

In these cases, physical violence and humiliation were part of the perpetrator's punishment[171]. The affected individuals were then "rescued" by state officials. While self-justice was officially condemned, occasional reports also stressed the "help" of the vendors for capturing suspicious individuals[172]. During fieldwork, vendors occasionally referred to their own experiences in this regard. Theft in the street markets was unacceptable, but state officials were often absent. Consequently, in cases of witnessing a crime, vendors collectively captured the individuals until the arrival of the police. They had the telephone number of the respective officers at hand. "*Lo agrarramos y lo entregamos*," stated one of the vendors.

4.4 On Necessity and Honorability

As has become evident in the last chapter, one of the main arguments that makes the street markets "tolerable" in the view of the rest of city dwellers is the "necessity" of their merchants. We have seen already throughout Part III that street markets in urban centers are not only explained by the transformations that "modernization" and "development" brought about; street markets from the economic angle are either thought of as a

[170] See, for instance, *Correo*, January 28, 2002, *Comercinates de Polvos Rosados dieron dura paliza a delincuente*; *Correo*, Februrary 20, 2001, *Enfurecidos comerciantes denudan y rapan a una ladrona*; *Correo*, March 29, 2006, *Comerciantes capturan a dos asaltantes en feria*.
[171] See, for instance, *Correo*, February 2001, *Enfurecidos comerciantes golpean, desnudan y rapan a una ladrona*.
[172] See *Correo*, March 29, 2006, *Comerciantes capturan a dos asaltantes en feria*.

possibility for the "urban poor" to engage in activities that result in making subsistence possible. Alternatively, they are framed as "promoters" of economic "growth" and in Tacna a factor for attracting tourists, too. In either case, the street markets are legitimate, because their vendors are in a situation of need and precarity.

On the other extreme of perspectives, as we have seen, are those that criminalize ambulatory trade. As part of the "informal sector" and the unclear relationship that the commercial activities have with the state and its legal system—particularly regarding import and taxes, for instance—, it is framed as a dubious and illegitimate part of the informal economy. If not directly referred to as criminals themselves, street marketers are described as attracting crime and fostering chaos and disorder.

This debate finds its manifestation "on the ground." As much vendors as clients often refer to these ideas in the daily interactions taking place in the street markets.

One of the main arguments presented by the vendors is the "correctness" of their selling in contrast to other *really* "illegal" income-generating activities. Working in the street markets, particularly for elderly citizens or persons with low educational levels, is one of the few possibilities to subsist, as vendors often stress. Interestingly, it is often in "representation" of other vendors that the argument is made. Vendors then state that "they"—in reference to the elderly, particularly poor vendors, or those with low formal education—could not work anywhere else since they could impossibly meet other job's requirements. Some of them did not speak or write Spanish. They would have no choice but to engage in harmful activities was it not for the street markets or ambulatory trade in general.

Vending is often referred to as an honorable activity that did not cause harm to other citizens but, on the contrary, contributed to the accessibility of products for the local population. Don K., for instance, referred to his own choice to earn his money by selling. He had lost his partner and had been responsible for the children and their maintenance. Instead of "getting carried away" by the sad situation and becoming—in his words—"*un alcoholico inútil*"—that there were many who ended up like that—he sold his products on the street market. He is very open about the informal manner in which he imports his merchandise. His commercial activities served those who needed these products that were difficult to acquire elsewhere for the same price.

In Don L.'s case, primarily other vendors around him talk about the importance of his commercial activity for his family. He is over 60 years old and not as mobile as his younger colleagues are. For him, the relocation of the *Feria del Altiplano* from *calle Unión* to *Maracaná* implied a major change: from where he stored his merchandise to the stadium there is a steep slope. For him with his charged tricycle this was an unsurmountable obstacle, which led him to change the market altogether. He "moved" to another street market, altering his working days respectively. As he did not count with a selling location or with an association membership there, he had difficulties finding a spot in which he could stay regularly. Vendors who told the story and thereby made his difficulties transparent also hinted to the difficulty he had with vendors of their own market who were not in favor of his joining them. They were another factor that added to his difficulty.

As the vendor's necessity is one of the main arguments that endow the street markets with legitimacy, it is common to make difficult situations transparent. Often, this is realized in conversations in reference to other vendors nearby. The difficulties regarding complex family constellations or old age, for instance are drawn upon. The participation in the street markets in the examples brought forward in these situations is stressed as the only possibility for earning an income.

4.7.1 Engaño

A recurrent accusation towards the street markets and their vendors is fraud. Primarily clients but also some vendors explained that one needed to be careful when buying weighted products. Some marketers were using manipulated scales, which displayed more grams than actually put on the scale-pan. When the warning was formulated by vendors, they were often careful to stress that these were a minority of the group, that they could not represent the street markets.

One afternoon when I was sitting with a vendor, a client purchased a variety of products. She inspected the products critically, weighting them in her hands. A small bag of cinnamon that the vendor sold for two Soles called her attention. She asked for the weight, paused, and then demanded the vendor to weight the bag in front of her eyes. When the scale showed a number slightly under the promised amount, the open discussion started. The client, furious, accused the vendor of fraud, stressing the irresponsibility. The vendor, recognizing the exceptional error that occurred, argued in response that the small bags

had been prepared by her children, who sometimes helped her to prepare the bags late at night. The client finally left the stall, loudly cursing. The disproportionate amount of emotion in the encounter revealed the relevance of the issue for the street markets.

Regarding this common accusation, vendors, in anticipation of the critique, often reference the impeccable state of their instruments. It is also common to express contempt towards those merchants who made use of manipulated scales. Sometimes, *ambulantes*, committed fraud. Associated vendors, on the contrary regularly stressed awareness about the problem. Fraud was not only bad for the betrayed client but also the reputation of the street markets.

In vendor-client conversations, "*no le estoy engañano*" makes direct reference to the common accusation. The phrase is usually followed by an explanation of the qualities and character of the product, hinting at the entrepreneurial spirit of the vendor. This was specifically the case for leather products, still thought of as typical for the *Feria Boliviana.* While clients payed relatively low prices, they often doubted that the leather of the *casacas* offered was real leather. Much to the chagrin of the vendors, clients use their nails to check the authenticity of the material, scratching its surface. In addition to this gesture being an explicit accusation of fraud, it also damages the product. No wonder that vendors react with irritation.

Vendors are under a constant pressure to prove their righteousness. One late afternoon, one of the interviewees elaborated on a problem that she had encountered during the day. A client, after already having paid, had forgotten the bag with the acquired merchandise. "*Aún no vuelve, ya volverá ¡si ya lo ha pagado!*," she exclaimed after explaining the situation. "*No puedo hacer nada*," she states, "*me va a decir que soy un ladrona*." She narrates that she turned around and when the client was gone, she had noticed the bag on the stall between the other products. She worried about the client coming back and accusing her of not having handed over the merchandise properly. By telling me the story loudly, she also informed her stall neighborhood about the situation, anticipating her defense in case of an accusation.

The *prestamo* of small amounts of money is common between stall neighbors. The need to ask others for money normally arises when the client wants to pay with bank notes when the vendor does not dispose of sufficient change. To pay the client back, small amounts of money are borrowed. Vendors are extremely careful with paying their

neighbors back, often doing so very perceivable for others. To borrow makes the accusation of not paying back and unreliability possible. Similarly, when witnessed, vendors mutually commented on transgressions regarding a colleague's selling behavior. Once the client had left the stall, the incorrectness and possible consequences were explained and debated.

4.7.2 Womanhood

Ødegaard (2018), interested in the intersection of class, race, and gender in commercial activities carried out by women from the Andes, highlighted the "enactment" of a particular form of "womanhood" by market vendors. More precisely, the "notion of womanhood as mother, and more specifically, the poor mother's suffering and sacrifice" were partly aiming at making it "more difficult for public functionaries to interfere" (p. 200) in the market dynamics.

In reference to Carsten (2007) she stressed the idea that income-generating activities were usually understood as "legitimate" when it was related to household subsistence. In the moment of the pandemic of COVID-19, this emerged as the central conflict between national legislation on the one hand and local practices on the other hand. Even though "illegal," income-generating activities were regarded as "legitimate" with what concerned the economic hardship of Peruvian households. Consequently, the local authorities often tolerated ambulatory trade.

However, references to humbleness and to motherhood were present in the street markets more generally. Vendors often referred to the fact that it was ambulatory trade that had made their childrens' education possible. Just as Doña M. in our example above, many of the vendors remembered times in which they cared for their toddlers at the same time as they sold their merchandise in the street markets.

Doña M. was one of many vendors who spoke proudly about their children, and particularly their childrens' current professions. Some had acquired important positions in the municipality, as lawyers, or doctors. Vendors also regularly referred to other mothers in the markets, who had brought up their children partly in their stalls, stressing that they were not exceptions but that ambulatory trade had been fundamental for the well-being of many.

The fact that commercial activities in Tacna are often carried out by rural migrants or their descendants implies that many of todays "formal" vendors often started out as itinerant vendors in the city. Notwithstanding the—often harsh—critiques brought forward by "formal" vendors towards their "informal" counterparts, there is also comprehension and empathy regarding itinerant trader's situation.

Interestingly, one of the strong arguments against the street markets formulated by more established vendors is precisely their counterparts "insufficient necessity." While they would not blame those who nurtured their families and secured subsistence, it were those who had various successful stalls who should not be entitled to work on the street markets. There is a differentiation between those who "really need" to work in ambulatory trade and those who have the means to access more "formalized" spaces.

Additionally, particularly elderly vendors were very open about their low levels of formal education. They highlighted that the knowledge they had needed for their commercial activities, they had learned through their own effort.

4.7.3 Knitting and Needle Works

As has been laid out in Part IV, Chapter 5, the crafts have a particular presence in the market dynamics. Working with wool, for instance, is a very common pass-time in all of the three street markets. Many of the vendors that I regularly met had some half-finished project in one of the giant plastic bags generally used to store the material before and after setting up the stall. Even vendors that I had not seen engaged with a handicraft project during previous visits shared some more or less advanced needlework with me once we started talking about the topic.

As much as doing crochet has been important for the methodological part, it is also relevant for reflecting about the "routines of justification" in itinerant trade practices, which stand at the center of this chapter. The focus on knitting and other needle works will be complemented with reflections on the other "crafts" observed in the street markets.

Needle works are a highly gendered issue. The vendors that I observed knitting or crocheting were exclusively women. Knitting, in the first place, is a constant reference to relationships. When asked about the process of acquiring the necessary skills, most of the vendors referred to female family members who had taught them the craft in the past. Some mentioned school projects, which had served as a starting point for their learning.

Others, however, even pointed at their vendor colleagues. Helping each other with projects, with new stitches or with complicated sections of the fabric is part of knitting. Even sharing instructional videos on one of the various available platforms was a manner of collaborating.

This is aligned with the reflections that Joanne Turney elaborates in her first chapter of "The Culture of Knitting" (2009) regarding the place of needlework in the family and education. In the family, the skills were often passed on, fostering intergenerational bonds. In educational systems, the aim of teaching girls needle works was, on the contrary, regarded as "useful" "for both, employment and leisure" (p. 13). While useful, it was also an "a means of instilling discipline and obedience" (ibid).

While Turney's geographical point of reference is the US, in Peru, handcrafts and artisan activities more generally have been part of different programs aiming at fostering "rural development." Forstner (2013) stresses the plurality of actors who engaged in elaborating interventions directed at rural communities or specifically at women and their structural disadvantages: "NGOs, political organizations, religious institutions and indigenous rights organizations" (p. 47).

Particularly in the Southern Andes, projects strategically incorporated handiwork. These made "use of local materials, people's existing skills and accessible, low-cost technology," the same author stresses in reference to Robyn Eversole (2006). Crafting was generally perceived as "a flexible income-generating activity" (p. 47f) that allowed for diversifying "rural livelihoods." The different actors and programs had also increased economic connections regarding "regional, national, and global markets" (p. 47).

As a result, in the region, artisan production is intertwined with discourses on development and progress. Additionally, the creation and establishment of the national brand "*Marca Perú*" in 2011 (Hirsch 2022; García 2021; Hirsch 2020) further fostered the trend. Financed by the Peruvian government and developed by *PromPerú* with the help of a US-American advertising firm, the campaign aimed at reinventing Peru's image to foster tourism, export, and international investment. Promoting "diversity" and the "country's multicultural heritage, sensuous gastronomy, bountiful geology" (Hirsch 2022, p. 4). Typical fabrics and artisan products became part of this larger project, manifesting "authenticity" and thus the "value" of "tradition."

At the first glance, seen from the other side of the stall, knitting is a display of housekeeping skills. The activity has concrete and often very useful outcomes. The pieces produced in handwork are often items of warm clothing. While being in the market, women—even in times in which there are not many clients buying products—contribute to the well-being of the members of their families or households. The vendors indeed generally created the items with somebody particular in mind, a child or grandchild, a husband, or nieces, for instance.

Following Turney (2009, p. 28) the usefulness of the created items, which were generally offered as a gift, were not only a contribution to the general well-being of the recipient. The personalized gift also strengthened the relationship and made room for recognition regarding skills, intentions, and dedication for the producer. Knitting, in this understanding, is a tangible form of care and investment in relationships.

One group of three vendors, on the contrary, was engaged in a project regarding the production of key pendants in the form of little bobble hats. Throughout their working day, they produced several of these little items before one of them would send them off to Chile together with a larger transport of merchandise. Another vendor produced crocheted clothing items and accepted personalized orders. The third example is a vendor who offered self-produced “Amigurumi” items, miniature dolls of animals, flowers, or other creatures. She displayed these alongside the other products she mainly sold. Similarly, another vendor showcased her handmade macramé bags, sachets, and moneybags besides her general offer.

In one of our regular conversations, a vendor shared that she had been involved in an artisan production project while living in her hometown in the highlands. Her entire family participated in the work, spending many hours crafting and slowly filling up the large bags for the intermediaries with international trading connections. They were paid—poorly, as she added—per bag. At the time we met, she sold textile products, often sitting in her stall together with her husband. She explained that she missed crafting, notwithstanding the hard work that it implied. She preferred that production over selling textiles, but having their own stall allowed for more independent work.

From this perspective, crafting activities also evoke the market world. In all of these examples, knowing the skill and being “fluent” in knitting or crocheting provided an additional way to potentially earning money at the same time as working in the street

market. Although crafting is generally associated with "leisure," for the vendors, it was often another form of work. One of the interviewees, when I asked her about the knitting project she exceptionally was not working on in her stall—a vest for her husband—, smiled and explained that her niece had told her "*no hay que trabajar el domingo*." Therefore, as it was Sunday, she was not working on her project. Despite the irony, the idea of knitting being part of work is not far-fetched in this specific context.

Notwithstanding the principal cause for handicraft production—earning money with the crafted items,—vendors generally also referred to the relaxing effect that the activity had on them. They enjoyed it and it brought distraction as well as challenges to their market day.

As mentioned in Part IV, Chapter 5, caring for the stall additionally involved handiwork. This included repairing broken or damaged items to preserve an overall tidy impression or to restore functionality. In short, also regarding usual market tasks, crafting activities were common. For example, writing prices on pieces of cardboard to improve product presentation, sewing a torn plastic bag with a smaller recycled one, or taping up holes in the tarpaulin. Additionally, for vendors selling foodstuffs or herbs, the weighting and preparation of little bags sold for one or two Peruvian Soles required repetitive yet creative manual engagement.

4.5 On Tidiness and Hygiene

Vendors are constantly worried about tidiness. As we have seen in the description of the street markets (in Part I, Chapter 2), it plays a vital role from the start of a working day. Stalls are carefully build and then lined with tarpaulins and fabrics. These protect vendors from the weather conditions and the merchandise from dirt. The products are unpacked least and not after thoroughly washing hands.

Particularly on windy days, dust and sand are one of the main difficulties concerning the selling activity throughout the day. Vendors adjust tarpaulins and the position of the merchandise respectively. To appease the effect of the wind, they regularly "water" the ground around their stalls, at least in the sites in which it is specifically dusty. "Watering" regularly, however, is a cumbersome matter.

Firstly, water is a scarce resource in the marketplace and must be transported individually. It is heavy and not easy to carry around. Additionally, since the pandemic, the water

brought to the market area is intended not only for vendors but also for customers to wash their hands. With the implementation of biosecurity measures, street markets now require more water, which is not part of their basic infrastructure. Secondly, the "watering" of the areas around the stall, intended to "fixate" the dust particles on the ground, has to be repeated constantly since the water dries quickly—more so on sunny and slightly windy days.

The orderly presentation of the products offered is crucial. When an item or an area of the stall is messy, stall neighbors might point out the issue; it is key to keep not only one's own display neat but also those of the other association members. Depending on the group, the degree of "correction" regarding transgressions through messiness varies.

The focus on tidiness has different reasons. The first is a practical one: generally, households do not count with a washing machine and washing cloths is a time and energy intense activity. To be attentive to not muddy one's cloths and belongings is a manner to keep the need to wash lower.

The second, however, is related to the common critiques that street markets receive. As we have seen in the former part, hygiene is one of the most present topics regarding the arguments against street markets and ambulatory trade. Leaving an excessive amount of trash and thus contaminating the city's public space is a common reproach. For associations and their members it is essential to constantly "prove" the importance of hygiene in their markets.

Throughout fieldwork, these enactments were part of everyday market life. After sharing something to eat or to drink, the offer to take care of the leftovers—be it plastic bags or fruit peels—was a gesture of attention. Vendors made explicit that a trash bag was part of their stall's equipment anyways. In different occasions, vendors explained that they collected the garbage throughout the working hours to dispose it properly at the end of the day.

In some conversations, the connection between garbage and the claims of those against the street markets was made explicit. Vendors then explained that it was not true that they, the marketers, left dirt behind. On the contrary, the associations organized the cleaning process. Of course, there were always individual outliers, but these were really exceptions. The associations had many members, and one could not speak for all—and less for the *ambulantes*— but most vendors took care of their garbage.

When helping with tasks regarding the arrangement of the stalls, either setting it up in the morning or moving some parts throughout the day, vendors worried about me getting dirty. For others to hear, they informed me about the risk and quickly offered the stall's water to wash my hands after having moved something dusty, for instance. The tidiness, one of the main issues of conflict, is an aspect of the street markets that is constantly reaffirmed.

María Elena García (2021), referencing Mary Weismantel (2001), stresses the fact, that street markets had long been central for "civilizing" projects regarding Andean population in urban settings. The regular promise of "ordering" the markets made by local authorities did not aim at improving the markets' infrastructure but rather were interested in "controlling" them with violence. She sums up: "Cleaning up markets, then, has been part of Andean histories of racial cleansing and of 'civilizing' and 'modernizing' projects" (p. 107).

4.6 Entrepreneurship

Another way of fostering the markets' legitimacy and arguing in favor of their righteousness are constant references to the figure of the hard working entrepreneur. Just as other commercial agents, thus the central idea, ambulatory vendors were working in the advancement of their business—being diligent and ambitious just as their "formal" colleagues in other commercial sites.

Ødegaard (2018) elaborated on the expansion of the "neoliberal rationality" in Peru from the 1990s onwards. She states: "[…] small-scale businesses among the poor were increasingly encouraged by the state, NGOs and commercial enterprises through the provision of micro-credit arrangements and training in marketing skills" (p. 183). As we already have touched upon above, trade and entrepreneurship had been specifically promoted for the poor of the country.

As the same author states, the inequalities in the distribution of wealth consisted notwithstanding the economic growth that the country experienced at the beginning of the 21st century (see ibid. p. 184). Many Peruvians still depended on "precarious forms of work at the margins of the formal economy" (p. 185). She thus refers to the figure of the "perfect neoliberal citizen" which she describes as "hard-working and self-made, and

accommodating her own quest for social mobility to growing demands of growth, flow and consumption" (ibid.).

The presence of this figure is palpable in interactions in the street markets. Vendors are transparent about the hardships their work entails. Detailed explanations regarding their daily routines, including the extremely early waking hours and the discipline and perseverance needed to work in the street markets, are very common. Vendors are aware of the precariousness of their work and are inclined to openly and thoroughly discuss the difficulties they face. From building the stalls, assembling and setting up the steal scaffold, organizing the products, taking care of them, to packing up in the late evening hours, the various steps during a market day are challenging. It involves a lot of work for only a small amount of money and a fluctuating, unpredictable income.

When clients try to achieve a lower price for a product or express doubts about the adequacy of a specific price, vendors often elaborate on the original prices and the already low prices they set for resale, concluding with a remark on the impossibility of further lowering their profit. In fact, bargaining, "*el regateo*," is not very common in the three street markets. Typically, it is the vendors who offer a slightly lower price or an additional small item to clients who buy more than one product or are regular customers.

Younger vendors often speak about their elderly stall neighbors whom they admire for still being able to accomplish the everyday tasks of selling. Even though collaboration is common especially in the early hours of building the stalls, vendors are still responsible for their own business. The elderly vendors often reflect about the changes regarding the energy and force available for the market activities. With every year, one of the interviewees said, it got more physically challenging to work in the street markets—even the weather was more difficult to endure. "*Cuando era más joven no pensaba en la enfermedad, en la muerte*," one of the vendors shared. Now, she stated, she thought about it often. To be reduced in mobility, due to age related health issues, for instance, is a condition that makes ambulatory trade very difficult. Not only regarding the moving of the material but also regarding the long hours in a similar position and without a lot of movement.

Presenting oneself as an excellent entrepreneur in client-customer-interactions is further stressed by emphasis of the expertise regarding one's offer. Performances of knowing the products very well, either regarding the specific properties or in comparison to the same

product but acquired elsewhere etc. are part of these interactions. In the case of food, this refers to the possible nutritive values of the products, regarding herbs it is their effects, regarding cloths it is the quality of the fabric or the novelty of the models, just to name a few.

4.6.1 The Biography of Markets

The concept of a "growing business" and "successful entrepreneurship" are inscribed in the different "forms" that trading practices take. We will briefly sketch out the "stages" through which markets and respectively their vendors supposedly "evolve" to understand the transitory and ephemeral character ascribed to street markets in particular.

As we have learned above, street markets are not designed as durable entities. They are in a space in-between the ambulatory practices of trade on the one side and the established in-door market sites on the other side. They count with partial permits but are always threatened by common critiques.

Ambulatory trade is the first "stage": A person starts to sell small amounts, searching busy parts of the city and selling as much as possible. This person generally does not count with a relevant starting capital and is often imagined as a poor person in need with low formal education. Individual vendors might sell near to others in a common space and, exposed to various critiques, they might start to organize. These are the first steps towards coordinated street markets such as *Feria Boliviana*, *Feria del Altiplano*, and *Feria de la Chacra a la Olla*.

The character of the permits and the constant negotiations, however, indicate that street markets are not regarded as the "end" of the "career." If "successful," the following ideal working situation is located within a build environment that provides basic infrastructure. Ultimately, being a stall owner, and eventually a multiple stall owner—possibly with employees or sub-rent opportunities—is regarded the high point of the commercial career.

In practice, vendor's biographies and related working contexts vary significantly from this ideal "career path," as we have seen above. However, if we focus on the market as the entity in question, at least in the city of Tacna it is possible to trace the "biography" of different indoor markets in these terms. *Polvos Rosados*, a very well-known indoor market, exists because of ambulatory vendors organizing, negotiating, and financing. It is an example of a closed market that emerged as a project by merchants without a place

to sell. According to a newspaper article, its initial purpose was to offer "safety and stability" for the merchants and their sales[173]. In the following part, we will discuss a further, more recent example, namely the Centro Comercial Bolivia.

4.6.2 Centro Comercial Bolivia

Not far from *Polvos Rosados* and the *Feria Boliviana,* in *Calle Industrial*, there is an enormous new building. The white facade with its yellow and green highlights is very bright, standing in contrast to the brown and dusty ground underneath. "*Centro Comercial Bolivia*" says a banner on one top corner. On the same banner, there are enlarged photographs of different products, such as trolley bags in different sizes, underwear, watches and electronic devices. At the main entrance in spring-green, it says the same in silver letters, the three portals beneath closed with shutters. Besides the plane surface around the building, there is another shutter, indicating the short and steep ramp leading to the parking lot.

Ascending a few stairs, one enters the center and moves into the artificial lighting of the parallel hallways lined with green columns and glass walls and doors. In April 2022, these doors were locked with heavy padlocks, but one could glimpse into the stalls through the glass. The majority was empty—they looked like freshly renovated rooms. Others already counted with some furniture, such as a counter, shelf, and clothes rails. There were even some spaces where the owners had already installed some of the merchandise that would be sold there. On the ground of some of the stalls, there is still confetti from the inauguration ceremony months ago.

The center, at the time of fieldwork, was not yet in use. However, its inauguration ceremony, had taken place in December 2021. In November of that year, the authorities on both the Peruvian and the Chilean side of the border had started to announce a possible reopening of the terrestrial border at the beginning of December, installing hopes for a restart of tourism from the "*ciudad hermana*" and thus for an acceleration of the "*reactivación económica*."

Indeed, the *Centro Comercial Bolivia* is the result of a construction process that took over ten years, its initial planning dating even further back in time. In 2009, the newspaper *Correo* reported that, after years of selling in the streets of the *Alto de la Alianza* district,

[173] See *Correo*, June 1, 2002, *Polvos Rosados cumple 20 años de su fundación.*

merchants from the "*Antigua Feria Boliviana*" had bought a plot of land in the *Avenida Industrial* to build a modern "*local*" to "*mejorar la atención a sus clients*." Further official advantages were the creation of work for many citizens.

The significant capital investment was managed collectively, with each participating party in the project contributing a substantial amount of money, often taking out loans and incurring debts. The elected directory board was in charge of realizing the management and informing the collective. Throughout the years, the project encountered manifold difficulties. These speak also to other commercial sites and are emblematic for the organization of trade in the city.

The first aspect mentioned as a major difficulty in conversations on the street markets was corruption. An important member of the directory board had committed a misappropriation of funds. Apart from blaming the individual and stressing the devastating consequences for those involved, interviewees also hinted to the importance of regularly changing the directory board to prevent individual actors to become irreplaceable and more difficult to control.

Further problems related to permits and to the work of the hired construction enterprises. Due to mismanagement in these firms and their work, important parts of the recent construction were considered as deficient. This situation further pushed up the prices and delayed the construction process[174].

Even though not directly part of everyday market activities, the project is related to the ideas of "entrepreneurship" and also hints at the different financial situations of vendors in the market places. The discussions evolving around the new commercial site were connected to the disputes about the markets' associations, their management, and the internal difficulties of organization.

4.7 Politics in the Street Markets

Collective management and organization is essential in the street markets. As laid out above, the figure of the association is at the heart of street market's continuity and coordination. Market politics are interwoven with the city's politics. Street markets influence public debate and shape political decisions.

[174] See *Correo*, March 12, 2021, *Nueva directiva encontró graves deficiencias en centro comercial Bolivia*.

Since the *Centro Comercial Bolivia* debacle, there is no way that one same leader stays in place for over one of the determined terms of office. While this prevents individuals from gaining disproportionate influence, it also makes sustainable planning burdensome. Once by a leading board initiated projects might not be followed-up by their succsessors.

The different people in leading positions had quite ambiguous feelings for their role: "*A mi nadie me paga por esto*," stated one of them and thereby expressing the general conflict regarding the activity. Vendors in leading positions are expected to invert time into meetings and processes of negotiation. This is time they cannot invert into their business; often, a substitute or at least somebody having an eye on the stall and the merchandise has to be organized. Leaving the stall with somebody else is stressful: it is capital that is not sufficiently attended. Contrarily, occupying a position on the leader board requires reliability. Vendors are voted into their offices, which makes the position also a symbol of social recognition and trust. Some members expressed that they enjoyed the tasks attacked to their role.

5 Critiques, Justification, and the "Orders of Worth"

This last chapter of Part V follows the last specific objective:

- O3.2: Link the identified critiques and justifications to the "orders of worth" framework proposed by Boltanski and Thévenot.

The material it refers to are the former chapters that fleshed out the stakeholders involved in the renegotiations, their critiques and justifications, the individual accounts, collective protest, and arguments as part of everyday market practices. The chapter maps these different perspectives in terms of "orders of worth" that they evoke (see Table 5).

Stakeholders' interests and the patterns of critique and justification long preceded the crisis due to COVID-19. What changed fundamentally were the critiques directed at the street markets from the civic order of worth. Instead of being a "threat" to the aesthetic appearance of public space and a potential breeding ground for crime, street markets were now displayed as a threat to the citizens' biosecurity.

Vendors were themselves the criminals since they broke the official rulings. In this case, the infringement was not only undesirable in terms of representing development and progress; it was intolerable since it was a life threat to co-citizens. In addition to the accumulation of people in the markets and thus possible infection hotspots, vendors were also recognized to mobilize their merchandise "from other places." The street markets not only caused congestion and defied the new rules of social distance but also indirectly contradicted the mobility restriction on the interregional level.

Necessity—evoking the market order instead—continued to be one of the main arguments in favor of ambulatory trade practices, particularly during the first months. Marketers made their comprehension of the rules and the risks transparent and expressed their own fears and losses. They highlighted that they were not criminals but honorable entrepreneurs. They depended on the income from their commercial activity (Market Order). Additionally, they claimed their right to work (Civic Order).

Table 5: Orders of worth, critiques, and justification.

Order of worth	Critiques		Appeasing Critique and Justification	
	Critiques 2006	**Critiques 2020**	**2006**	**2020**
Market order	• Hindering "development" and tourism • "Illegal" import of products • Unfair competition • Not "really" poor	• Unfair competition	• Necessity, no other working possibilities • Entrepreneurship • Contributing to the citizen's provision at fair prices	• Necessity: after the first months of lockdown • Entrepreneurship
Civic order	• Not taking care of public space (trash) • Disorder • Security (attracting crime)	• Vendors as criminals (not respecting the norms) • Biosecurity, endangering co-citizens • Merchandise from "other places"	• Association • Tidiness • Security personnel • Self-justice • Right to work • Contributing to the citizen's provision at fair prices	• The right to work • Contributing to the de-centralization of commerce • Implementing biosecurity measures just as other commercial sites • Security-personnel and control of biosecurity measures • Regularity • Association
Industrial order	• Lack of control • Scams	• Lack of control • Scams	• Association and organization • Regularity, predictability • Internal rules	• Association and organization • Internal rules
Domestic order	• Vendors did not respect the authority • Lack of hygiene • Undesirable conducts • Not favoring the community in the district	• No respect for authority • Lack of hygiene • Undesirable conducts • Not favoring the community in the district	• Tradition, habit, regularity • Honorability of the commercial activity • Need to provide the family • Competent family providers	• Respect for the authorities and co-citizens • The need to provide the family • Competent family providers

In addition, the domestic order of worth was evoked by vendors when they explained their often complex family constellations and their responsibilities for providing for their households. Even though they transgressed the norms, they expressed respect toward the authorities. Ambulatory vendors did not defy the legitimacy of the authority's arguments but rather proposed another world for assessing their action.

Even though "tradition"—one of the most powerful arguments in favor of the street markets in 2006—was not the main argument in the explicit conflicts regarding the relocation in 2020 and later in 2022, "being there" and "regularity" are arguments ingrained in the market practices from their emergence to their disappearance. Enacting regularity transmits value in the industrial as much as in the domestic order. On the micro-level, the predictability of actors' behavior is crucial in social situations such as street markets in which strangers meet and interact (industrial order). "Being there" also implies enacting reliability, a value in the "industrial world." This is true for the local authorities as much it is for the clientele. Regularly showing up and commenting on other's regularity makes a set of performances that hint at one being not only reliable but also well-informed about the other's reliability. It makes stable market relationships possible.

When used in reference to the "order of worth" of the domestic world, regularity remits to tradition and interpersonal relationships. This is the case when regularity is to argue for the street markets' right to exist. What makes it "valuable" is the fact that its execution dates back many years, that it is part of "tradition." This is also the case regarding personalized relationships with clients over the years, in which mutual familiarity and loyalty are highlighted in interaction. What counts here is the engagement with each other with references to build trust. This order is evoked, for instance, when one part asks the other part about family issues or other topics unrelated to business (domestic order).

Associations are crucial for the construction and implementation of "routines of justification." As legal representatives of the group of vendors, associations are mainly oriented in the civic order of worth for coordination. They organize measures that respond to the main critiques connected to street markets that evoke this civic order, namely disorder and the negative effect of ambulant trade on the "*ornato*" of the city, hygiene, and security. Associations, faced with these critiques and under pressure regarding the institutionalized precarity of street markets and consequently the constant threat of eviction, organize the spatial order of the stalls on market days, establish internal norms for their appearance, count and list their members, and check their regular attendance.

For "ordering" ambulatory trade, the municipality coordinates with the associations' representatives who then organize the measures. This holds true for cleaning measures after market days and for employing private security staff, for instance. Both of these measures are designed to be "visible" and experiencable for clients, passers-by, and critics. The *guatichimán* has the task to be perceivable in the market. He constantly walks his rounds, blows his whistle, and wears a heavy uniform that unequivocally identifies him as security personnel. Similarly, during COVID-19 elements that visibly referenced respect for the biosecurity measures in place were integrated into the street markets.

Relevant internal and external critiques regarding the misuse of power of those in representative positions also evoke the civil order. More concretely, the most common critiques are self-interest and corruption. The first is a critique directed at the principles of the common good (a6) and the investment formula. Those who temporarily represent the association are expected to act in favor of the group, for the "common good." Therefore, they are expected to put these collective interests before their own. In practice, current leading boards are often questioned due to the suspicion of exacerbated self-interest. This is not a coincidence. In the past, vendors made negative experiences with corruption and power abuse. One example was the *Centro Comercial Bolivia* described above.

The same critique is also regularly directed at the local authorities. Authorities were only interested in the issues of the population in times of elections or re-election. Even the protests at the beginning of April in 2022 presented a similar structure of argument. The Chilean official explanation of keeping the border closed due to biosecurity risks and to protect citizens was suspected of being false and of covering selfish economic interests ("*no quieren que salga la plata*"). Chile was accused of "breaking" the rules of the civic world. In the civic "order of worth," the orientation of action in maximizing benefits is not legitimate. Consequently, together with high vaccination rates, the overall interpretation of the border closure changed, opening negotiation space for those who were experiencing the consequences of the closed border.

However, associations also draw on the domestic order of worth regarding their internal stabilization. This is for instance the case in the organization of the yearly anniversaries. The association's name and the small markers of differentiation from other groups, such as the color of the fabric used for the inner "walls" of the stall, for instance, are further aspects that foster a team spirit between the association's members. As it refers to

standardization, these little measures of unification reference the industrial order of worth.

Associations are only important in the street markets. Without the regular activity of the vendors, there are no associations. During the protests in 2022, coordination of action was cumbersome, specifically given the diversity of opinions, the high number of new members and the perceived major risk of losing the selling-spot altogether. In the vendors' protest in front of the municipality, the order evoked by their banners was the civic order. In the name of justice, they claimed back their former selling spot on the street by referencing the respective ordinance and asking for its annulation.

Before the pandemic, vendors argued also referring to the contribution of their work to the city. Their labor made a variety of products at fair prices available. This argument referred as much to the market as to the civic order. During the pandemic, the contribution would be to help de-centralize commerce and thus to less inter-district movement of people.

Vendors chose the moments of their protests carefully regarding shifts in the overall situation. They only took the streets again when shops were allowed to reopen—always under the condition of incorporating the new and constantly changing security measures. Although not "formal" as their colleagues, they should have the same rights. As a site which is located between the "formal" and the "informal," participants have developed a sense of when claims can be brought forward and which precise form they must take to have a chance of being perceived as righteous.

In short, to present a claim as a legitimate claim requires a specific context, a particular situation, which participants have to first recognize and then actively refer to. Making claims involves more than just organizing a group—it behooves integrating elements and situation-specific arguments to construct righteousness. Vendors, in their everyday market activities, constantly reference and counterargument the common critiques.

Although some of the itinerant trade practices are not entirely "legal" regarding the civic order of worth, they are still righteous in the domestic world. As outlined above, the same practice might reference different orders of worth, as we have seen with knitting. When referencing personal relationships and care, they evoke the domestic order with its emphasis on cultivating interpersonal relationships and loyalty regarding the community. However, the same practice might also evoke the market order, emphasizing economic

gain. Depending on the situation, the same person can evoke different “orders of worth” verbally and through practice.

Conclusions

The thesis grew partly out of astonishment about the plurality of perspectives on street markets. As presented in Part III, these urban sites and ambulatory trade in Latin America caught the attention of various scholars who developed manifold approaches.

Some understood street markets primarily as economic phenomena. Their focus was urbanization processes in the "Global South" and new forms of work. This became evident in discussions regarding the (mis-)conception of street markets as part of the "informal sector." Reflections usually revolved around development, progress, and entrepreneurship.

Others pondered about ambulatory vendors and street markets regarding the state, moving between ideals of progress, development, and neoliberalism on the one hand and hinting at the crucial role of resistance on the other hand. Finally, there were those perspectives that stressed the local specificities of the markets and their practices—often highlighting cultural particularities. Scholars pinpointed the high participation of women in the markets and the importance of social categories such as ethnicity, class, gender, and their intersections.

Although all these perspectives were internally coherent, they seemed disparate or even contradicting. The stunning plurality of topics raised questions. How can we reconcile perceptions of vendors as activists who organize, occupy public space, and claim specific rights with those who understand vendors as entrepreneurs guided by ideas of progress and growth, for instance? Is the predominance of women in the street markets in the first place a sign of structural labor market inequalities and women's disadvantage, or is it instead a sign and outcome of female autonomy and empowerment?

The thesis proposed to complement the perspectives by highlighting that the street markets' position between "formality" and "informality," their institutionalized precarity, implies an imperative of justification. Stakeholders constantly negotiate about the righteousness of itinerant trade. While some question their legitimacy, particularly vendors are constantly engaging in "routines of justification" that argue in favor of the markets. Justification is ingrained in street markets, referencing the constant critiques towards ambulatory and itinerant trade in the city and manifesting the imperative of justification that these imply. In short, "routines of justification" are part of the market's dynamics.

Regarding the questions above, this means that none of the options is "truer" than the others, but that the answer one "chooses" belongs to different ways of structuring the justification, to different "orders of worth" (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006). These ways of justifying exist simultaneously and manifest in concrete situations. Vendors are activists as much as they are entrepreneurs. Women's engagement in itinerant trade is both an outcome of structural disadvantage and empowerment. The point is that it depends on the specific social situation and the "order of worth" being evoked. In other words, righteousness is "challenged" and "proven" regarding differing ideas of what is "good" and "right."

Consequently, street markets were conceptualized as "composite situations," as constellations, in which different "orders of worth" structure the coordination of action simultaneously. The respective "routines of justification" are embedded in the tensions between these orders.

The crisis of COVID-19 revealed the fragility of the agreements regarding the continuity of street markets, which had previously been relatively stable. The new "situation" forced stakeholders to adapt their arguments of critique and justification. Even though the pandemic meant a serious rupture for ambulatory trade, the "routines of justification" were rapidly adapted to the novel constellation of accusations.

Contributions

Regarding the theoretical contribution of the thesis, we will draw on "The Meaning of Theory," an article written by Gabriel Abend (2008) published in "Sociological Theory." In this text, the author hints at a central problem that he observed regarding debates in the

discipline, specifically the broadly discussed questions “What is theory?” (the ontological question), “What is good theory?” (the evaluative question), and “What is theory for?” (the teleological question). He maintains that the difficulties of finding a consensus between diverging views on these former questions were at least partly due to dissimilar understandings of the meaning of theory. In other words, what really was at the heart of the debate was disagreement on the answer to the semantic question, “What does theory mean?”

In his article, he identifies seven different “meanings” of the word “theory” as employed by sociological scholars of different disciplinary currents of thought. Following his argument, this section will draw explicitly on what “theory” meant for the present research and how the word was used throughout the text. This makes rendering the “theoretical” aspirations of this thesis transparent and further contextualizes the developed perspective.

Regarding the “theoretical” contribution of the thesis, we refer to Abend’s third “meaning” of theory. Consequently, it aspires to present an “original ‘interpretation,’ ‘reading,’ or ‘way of making sense’ of a certain slice of the empirical world” (p. 178). These theories, the author further explains, “may shed new light on an empirical problem, help one understand some social process, or reveal what ‘really’ went on in a certain conjuncture” (ibid.).

Congruent with an ethnographic understanding of the aims of research, rather than finding out some essential “truth” or some generalizable social mechanism, this thesis focused on a situated social phenomenon. It explored a particular perspective on itinerant trade and contributed to understanding it in terms of complexity. The thesis offered *one* particular way to look at the phenomenon, widening the possibilities of thinking and speaking about Tacna’s street markets but also ambulatory selling practices more generally.

Consequently, the quality criterion for this research is located in its intersubjective comprehensibility. In other words, and following Breidenstein et al. (2015, p. 211), it aspires to accomplish experts in the field to say: “That is true, but I have not seen it like this before.”

Regarding Part II, the text used the word “theory” in the fifth meaning identified by Abend. It elaborated on the “theoretical perspective” of research, defined as the “overall perspective from which one sees and interprets the world” (p. 179). In this sense, “theory”

is not "about the social world itself, but about how to look at, grasp, and represent it" (ibid.). Practice theory approaches and French Pragmatism were presented from this viewpoint. Understanding "practices" to be at the heart of "the social"—social science's subject matter—was fundamental for all steps in the research process.

This overall theoretical perspective was relevant for elaborating the initial research questions and guiding decisions concerning the methodological design. Because of this centrality to the study's design, the thesis elaborated on the theoretical framework from which the social phenomenon was looked at even before further contextualizing it in academic knowledge production.

The thesis concluded that justification is a crucial aspect of the market dynamics. It proposed the concept of "routines of justification" that brings together practice theory approaches and the "orders of worth" framework. It offers a novel perspective for examining street markets and their dynamics.

We identified the main "arguments" against the street markets, the central "critiques." Subsequently, we asked how these manifested in the "routines of justification" in individual accounts, collective protests, and everyday market dynamics. Said differently, we drew on how righteousness was simultaneously questioned and (re-)produced in and around Tacna's *ferias*, opening new possibilities for a more nuanced debate about the legitimacy of ambulatory trade in general and street markets more specifically.

It pinpointed the simultaneous presence of different "orders of worth" in the street markets that are evoked in social situations. Identifying these different "orders" and the coordination that makes them possible also called attention to the relationship between different stakeholders and the current distribution of responsibilities regarding management. In this sense, the thesis contributed to better understand the dynamics of itinerant trade.

The thesis complexified former descriptions of street markets as nodes in which "strangers" of diverse backgrounds meet, in which "class," "gender," and "ethnic" differences interact. Following Thévenot (2001), the thesis stressed the plurality of roles that individuals inhabit. Participants in the markets are competent in maneuvering through the different situations and respective legitimate "orders of worth" to justify their work. They are experts in navigating the street markets understood as "composite situations,"

in which at least four different orders exist simultaneously, each implying a specific set of ideas about proper conduct.

"The social" happens in precise places at certain times. The street markets of Tacna are situated social phenomena with local particularities. However, actors share scripts that guide behavior and interaction. These include ideas about what is "good" and "right." These might vary in specific situations and are not attached to individuals. On the contrary, actors are experts in navigating situations and referring to these scripts. The implicit rules are constantly negotiated in everyday interaction as orientation for action.

Methodologically, it incorporated crafts into the toolkit of techniques and offered some reflections about the advantages of using drawings and crochet during fieldwork.

Limitations

As mentioned in the third chapter of Part IV, ideally, when "routines of justification" emerged as a conceptual proposition to refer to elements of justification in everyday market dynamics, another block of fieldwork should have taken place. The abductive research design would have led to further observation in the field to expand the understanding of "routines of justification". Even though it is a restraint for this thesis, it is also an opportunity to think about future research propositions.

Future Research

Future research propositions could include comparing the here observed three street markets and the itinerant market *Cachina*. As the vendors of this street market deal primarily with second-hand clothing imported "informally" from Chile, patterns and arguments in favor of the practice and against it, one could suspect, might vary from those observed in *Feria de la Chacra a la Olla, Feria del Altiplano,* and *Feria Boliviana*. Furthermore, the conceptual proposition could also be taken to other street markets, for instance, to *mercadillos gitanos* in Spain (Dallmann 2022).

The conceptual proposition of "routines of justification" generally opens possibilities for further exploring justification as an element of practice in everyday life, not only in street markets and ambulatory trade. The methodological reflections could lead to research designs that include drawing or crafting in a more structured manner from the beginning.

The disputes about street markets are ongoing instances where stakeholders negotiate about common "values" and their hierarchies. Under which circumstances is it acceptable to transgress legal norms, and for whom? How to draw these boundaries, and who is responsible for enforcing them? Looking at the arguments and the "orders of worth" in detail allows for a more nuanced debate on the community's perceptions about what is "good" and to be valued. Street markets are certainly enriching for the urban landscape, not only because of their vibrant appearance, but also because they allow for negotiations about shared values.

Publication bibliography

Abend, Gabriel (2008): The Meaning of 'Theory'. In *Sociological Theory* 26 (2), pp. 173–199. DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-9558.2008.00324.x.

Abolafia, Mitchel Y. (2011): Markets as Cultures: an Ethnographic Approach. In Michel Callon (Ed.): The Laws of the Markets. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 69–85.

Acevedo, Christian (2017): El comercio informal en el centro de Barranquilla: una aproximación desde el paradigma cualitativo. In *Pensamiento y Gestión* (42), pp. 187–214. DOI: 10.14482/pege.42.10471.

Albert, Victor; Davidenko, Maria (2018): Justification Work: The Homeless Workers' Movement and the Pragmatic Sociology of Dissent in Brazil's Crisis. In *European Journal of Cultural and Political Sociology* 5 (1-2), pp. 194–217. DOI: 10.1080/23254823.2018.1452622.

Alkemeyer, Thomas; Buschmann, Nikolaus (2017): Learning in and across Practices. In Allison Hui, Theodore Schatzki, Elizabeth Shove (Eds.): The Nexus of Practices. Connections, Constellations and Practitioners. London, New York: Routledge, pp. 8–23.

Alvites Baiadera, Angélica Paola (2019): Migraciones internacionales, fronteras y Estados. ¿Cómo interpretar el régimen de frontera desde América del Sur? In *DESAFÍOS* 31 (1), pp. 123–156. DOI: 10.12804/revistas.urosario.edu.co/desafios/a.6231.

Amilhat Szary, Anne-Laure (2007): Are Borders More Easily Crossed Today? The Paradox of Contemporary Trans-Border Mobility in the Andes. In *Geopolitics* 12 (1), pp. 1–18. DOI: 10.1080/14650040601031065.

Azzati, Santiago; Bernal, Martha; Bustos, Ana Julia; Castillo, Víctor Miguel; Castronovo, Alioscia; Cielo, Cristina et al. (2021): Economías populares en la pandemia. Cartografía provisoria en tiempos de aislamiento y crisis global. Edited by Grupo de trabajo economía popular: mapeo teórico y práctico. CLACSO.

Babb, Florence E. (2008): Entre la chacra y la olla. Economía política y las vendedoras de mercado en el Perú. Lima: IEP Inst. de Estudios Peruanos.

Babb, Florence E. (2018): Women's Place in the Andes. Engaging Decolonial Feminist Anthropology. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Bachmann-Medick, Doris (Ed.) (2016): Cultural Turns. New Orientations in the Study of Culture. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter.

Bahrdt, Hans Paul (1998): Die moderne Großstadt. Soziologische Überlegungen zum Städtebau. Wiesbaden, s.l.: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Barua, Padmaja; Haukanes, Haldis; Waldrop, Anne (2016): Maid in India: Negotiating and Contesting the Boundaries of Domestic Work. In *Forum for Development Studies* 43 (3), pp. 1–20. DOI: 10.1080/08039410.2016.1199444.

Bayat, Asef (2000): From 'Dangerous Classes' to 'Quiet Rebels'. In *International Sociology* 15 (3), pp. 533–557. DOI: 10.1177/026858000015003005.

Berganza, Isabel (2014): La migración peruana en zonas fronterizas. In Marcela Tapia Ladino, Adriana González Gil (Eds.): Regiones fronterizas. Migración y los desafíos para los estados nacionales latinoamericanos. Santiago de Chile: RIL editores, pp. 153–175.

Berganza, Isabel; Cerna, Mauricio (2011): Dinámicas migratorias en la frontera Perú-Chile. Arica, Tacna e Iquique. Lima: Fondo Editorial de la Universidad Ruiz de Montoya.

Berger, Peter L.; Luckmann, Thomas (2010): Die gesellschaftliche Konstruktion der Wirklichkeit. Eine Theorie der Wissenssoziologie. Frankfurt am Main: Fischer-Taschenbuch-Verl.

Bijsterbosch, Erik (2007): Peruvian Cross Border Commuters in the Chilean-Peruvian Border Region. A Study on Peruvian Cross Border Labour Commuters. Master thesis. Radboud University Nijmegen, Nijmegen. Faculty of Managementscience.

Boltanski, Luc (2011): On Critique. A Sociology of Emancipation. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Boltanski, Luc; Thévenot, Laurent (2006): On Justification. Economies of Worth. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Borja, Jordi (2014): Prefacio. In García i Ramon, María Dolors, Anna Ortiz Guitart, María Prats Ferret (Eds.): Espacios públicos, género y diversidad. Geografías para unas ciudades inclusivas. Barcelona: Icaria Ed.

Bourdieu, Pierre (1977): Outline of a Theory of Practice. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre (1992): The Logic of Practice. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford Univ. Press.

Breidenstein, Georg; Hirschauer, Stefan; Kalthoff, Herbert; Nieswand, Boris (2015): Ethnografie. Die Praxis der Feldforschung. Konstanz, München: UVK Verlagsgesellschaft mbH.

Brooke, Larson; Harris, Olivia (Eds.) (1995): Ethnicity, Markets and Migration in the Andes. At the Crossroads of History and Anthropology: Duke University Press.

Brunet-Jailly, Emmanuel (2015): Bolivia - Chile - Peru: Sea Access. In Emmanuel Brunet-Jailly (Ed.): Border Disputes. A Global Encyclopedia : Positional Disputes. Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-CLIO, 53-68.

Burns, Pippa; van der Meer, Rosemary (2021): Happy Hookers: Findings from an International Study Exploring the Effects of Crochet on Wellbeing. In *Perspectives in public health* 141 (3), pp. 149–157. DOI: 10.1177/1757913920911961.

Buscatto, Marie (2018): Doing Ethnography: Ways and Reasons. In Uwe Flick (Ed.): The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Data Collection. Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore, Wahington DC, Melbourne: SAGE reference, pp. 327–343.

Carsten, Janet (2007): After Kinship. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Cielo, Cristina; Gago, Verónica; Tassi, Nico (2023): Introducción. Mapear las economías populares como apuesta analítica y política latinoamericana. In Verónica Gago, Cristina Cielo, Nico Tassi (Eds.): Economías populares. Una cartografía crítica latinoamericana. Ciudad de Buenos Aires: CLASCO, pp. 11–54.

Cloutier, Charlotte; Gond, Jean-Pascal; Leca, Bernard (2017): Justification, Evaluation and Critique in the Study of Organizations. An Introduction to the Volume. In Charlotte Cloutier, Jean-Pascal Gond, Bernard Leca (Eds.): Justification, Evaluation and Critique in the Study of Organizations. Contributions from French Pragmatist Sociology. Bingley: Emerald Publishing, pp. 3–29.

Contreras, Yasna; Tapia, Marcela; Liberona, Nannette (2017): Movilidades y prácticas socioespaciales fronterizas entre Arica y Tacna. Del sentido de frontera a la transfrontericidad entre ciudades. In *Diálogo Andino* 54, pp. 127–141.

Corcuff, Philippe (1995): Les nouvelles sociologies. Constructions de la réalité sociale. Paris: Nathan.

Cortes, Geneviève (2002): Migrations et mobilités circulatoires dans les Andes boliviennes. La face cachée d'une ruralité « en résistance ». In *carav* 79 (1), pp. 93–115. DOI: 10.3406/carav.2002.1372.

Creed, W. DouglasE.; Langstraat, Jeffrey A.; Scully, Maureen A. (2002): A Picture of the Frame: Frame Analysis as Technique and as Politics. In *Organizational Research Methods* 5 (1), pp. 34–55. DOI: 10.1177/1094428102051004.

Dallmann, Janna (2022): Contact Zone Mercadillo: Roma and Public Space in Valladolid (Spain). In *IJRS* 4 (3), pp. 204–217. DOI: 10.17583/ijrs.11352.

DeHart, Monica Christine (2010): Ethnic Entrepreneurs. Identity and Development Politics in Latin America. Stanford, Calif: Stanford Univ. Press.

Della Porta, Donatella (2013): Repertoires of Contention. In David A. Snow, Donatella Della Porta, Bert Klandermans, Doug McAdam (Eds.): The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Denning, Michael (2011): La vida sin salario. In *New Left Review* 66, pp. 77–94.

Deux Marzi, Maria Victoria; Hintze, Susana; Vazquez, Gonzalo (2020): Argentina: políticas y organizaciones de Economía Social y Solidaria en la pandemia. In *Otra Economía* 13 (24), pp. 201–215.

Díaz Araya, Alberto; Tapia Ladino, Marcela (2013): Los aymaras del norte de Chile entre los siglos XIX y XX: Un recuento histórico. In *Atenea (Concepc.)* (507), pp. 181–196.

Dilla, Haroldo (2015): Los complejos urbanos transfronterizos en América Latina. In *Estudios Fronterizos* 16 (31), pp. 15–38.

Dilla, Haroldo; Álvarez, Camila (2018a): Arica/Tacna: Los circuitos económicos de un complejo urbano transfronterizo. In *Diálogo Andino* 57, pp. 95–105.

Dilla, Haroldo; Álvarez, Camila (2018b): Economía e intercambio desigual en una región transfronteriza: Arica, Chile - Tacna, Perú. In *Estudios Fronterizos* e009 (19), pp. 1–20.

Dilla, Haroldo; Álvarez, Camila (Eds.) (2019): La vuelta de todo eso. Economía y sociedad en la frontera chileno/peruana: el complejo urbano transfronterizo Tacna/Arica. Universidad Arturo Prat. Santiago: RIL editores.

Doherty, Brian; Hayes, Graeme (2019): Tactics and Strategic Action. In David A. Snow, Sarah Anne Soule, Hanspeter Kriesi, Holly J. McCammon (Eds.): The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Social Movements. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley Blackwell, 271-288.

Dürr, Eveline; Müller, Juliane (2019a): Introduction: (In-)Formality, Materiality, and Gender in Latin American Cities. In Eveline Dürr, Juliane Müller (Eds.): The Popular Economy in Urban Latin America. Informality, Materiality, and Gender in Commerce. Lanham, Boulder, New York, London: Lexington Books, pp. 1–20.

Dürr, Eveline; Müller, Juliane (Eds.) (2019b): The Popular Economy in Urban Latin America. Informality, Materiality, and Gender in Commerce. Lanham, Boulder, New York, London: Lexington Books.

Edwards, Gemma (2014): Social Movements and Protest. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Eisenstadt, Shmuel (2000): Multiple Modernities. In *Deadalus* 129 (1), pp. 1–29.

Entman, Robert M. (1993): Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm. In *Journal of Communication* 43 (4), pp. 51–58. DOI: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.1993.tb01304.x.

Eriksen, Thomay Hylland (2005): Economies of Ethnicity. In James G. Carrier (Ed.): A Handbook of Economic Anthropology. Cheltenham, U.K, Northampton, Mass: Edward Elgar, pp. 353–369.

Eversole, Robyn (2006): Crafting Development in Bolivia. In *Journal of International Development* 18 (7), pp. 945–955. DOI: 10.1002/jid.1297.

Federici, Silvia (2014): Caliban and the Witch. Women, the Body, and Primitive Accumulation. Brooklyn, NY: Autonomedia.

Federici, Silvia (2018): El patriarcado del salario. Críticas feministas al marxismo. Madrid: Traficantes de Sueänos.

Fernández Álvarez, Maria Inés (2018): Más allá de la precariedad: prácticas colectivas y subjetividades políticas desde la economía popular argentina. In *Íconos* (62), pp. 21–38. DOI: 10.17141/iconos.62.2018.3243.

Flick, Uwe (2007): El diseño de la investigación cualitativa. Madrid: Ediciones Morata.

Forstner, Kathrin (2013): Women's Group-based Work and Rural Gender Relations in the Southern Peruvian Andes. In *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 32 (1), pp. 46–60.

Fraser, Nancy; Honneth, Axel (2003): Redistribution or Recognition? A Political-Philosophical Exchange. London: Verso.

Freitag, Ulrike; Oppen, Achim von (Eds.) (2014): Translocality. The Study of Globalising Processes from a Southern Perspective. Leiden, Boston: Brill.

Freud, Sigmund (Ed.) (2012): Das Unbehagen in der Kultur. Stuttgart: Reclam.

Fuentes Castro, Hugo Javier; Zamudio Carrillo, Andrés; Soto Romero, Jorge Mario; Mendoza García, Jorge Alberto (2012): Determinantes de las ganancias de los vendedores ambulantes en México. In *El Trimestre Económico* LXXIX (3), pp. 693–723.

Gago, Verónica (2014): La razón neoliberal. Economías barrocas y pragmática popular. Buenos Aires: Tinta Limón Ediciones.

Gago, Verónica (2019): La potencia feminista. O el deseo de cambiarlo todo. Madrid: Traficantes de Sueños.

Gaonkar, Dilip Parameshwar (Ed.) (2001): Alternative Modernities. Durham: Duke Univ. Press.

Garcés, Alejandro; Moraga, Jorge (2016): Ground Transportation and New Interconnections between Aymara Society and the Economy. In *Chungará* 48 (3), pp. 441–451. DOI: 10.4067/S0717-73562016005000010.

García, María Elena (2021): Gastropolitics and the Specter of Race. Stories of Capital, Culture, and coloniality in Peru. Oakland, California: University of California Press.

García i Ramon, María Dolors; Ortiz Guitart, Anna; Prats Ferret, María (Eds.) (2014): Espacios públicos, género y diversidad. Geografías para unas ciudades inclusivas. Barcelona: Icaria Ed.

Geertz, Clifford (1973): Thick Description. Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture. In Clifford Geertz (Ed.): The Interpretation of Cultures. Selected Essays. New York: Basic Books.

Gherardi, Silvia (2017): Sociomateriality in Posthuman Practice Theory. In Allison Hui, Theodore Schatzki, Elizabeth Shove (Eds.): The Nexus of Practices. Connections, Constellations and Practitioners. London, New York: Routledge, pp. 38–51.

Giddens, Anthony (1985): The Constitution of Society. Outline of the Theory of Structuration. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Goffman, Erving (1959): The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books.

Goffman, Erving (1971): Relations in Public. Microstudies of the Public Order. London: Penguin.

Goffman, Erving (2010): Frame Analysis. An Essay on the Organization of Experience. Boston: Northeastern Univ. Press.

Golte, Jürgen; León Gabriel, Doris (2014): Alasitas. Discursos, prácticas y símbolos de un "liberalismo aymara altiplánico" entre la población de origen migrante en Lima. Lima, Perú, Cusco: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

González, Sergio (2008): La llave y el candado. El conflicto entre Perú y Chile por Tacna y Arica, 1883-1929. Santiago: LOM Ediciones.

González Miranda, Sergio; Rouviere, Laetitia; Ovando, Christián (2008): De "Aymaras en la frontera" a "Aymaras sin fronteras". Los gobiernos locales de la triple-fontera andina (Perú, Bolivia, Chile) y la globalización. In *Diálogo Andino* 31 (agosto), pp. 31–46.

Greiner, Clemens; Sakdapolrak, Patrick (2013): Translocality: Concepts, Applications and Emerging Research Perspectives. In *Geography Compass* 7 (5), pp. 373–384. DOI: 10.1111/gec3.12048.

Grillitsch, Markus; Sotarauta, Markku (2020): Trinity of Change Agency, Regional Development Paths and Opportunity Spaces. In *Progress in Human Geography* 44 (4), pp. 704–723. DOI: 10.1177/0309132519853870.

Güell, Berta; Parella, Sònia; Valenzuela, Hugo (2015): La economía étnica en perpectiva: del anclaje a la fluidez en la urbe global. In *Alteridades* 25 (50), pp. 33–46.

Guha, Puja; Neti, Annapurna; Lobo, Roshni (2021): Merging the Public and Private Spheres of Women's Work: Narratives from Women Street Food Vendors during Covid-19 Crisis. In *Gender Work Organ*, Article gwao.12772. DOI: 10.1111/gwao.12772.

Guha, Puja; Neti, Annapurna; Lobo, Roshni (2023): Reclaiming Their Place in the City: Narratives of Street Food Vendors of Bengaluru During the COVID Crisis. In Arash Fazli, Amitabh Kundu (Eds.): Reimagining Prosperity. Singapore: Springer Nature Singapore, pp. 237–257.

Guizardi, Menara (2018): When Borders Transnationalize People: Reframing the Migrant Transnationalism in the Andean Tri-Border Area. In *Etnográfica* 22 (1), pp. 169–194.

Guizardi, Menara; Nazal, Esteban; Valdebenito, Felipe; López, Eleonora (2017a): Sincerar los trucos. Una etnografía comparada sobre la migración femenina peruana en Arica, Iquique, Valparaíso y Santiago (Chile). In *Etnografías Contemporáneas* 3 (5), pp. 26–63.

Guizardi, Menara; Valdebenito, Felipe; Nazal, Esteban; López, Eleonora (2017b): Hyper-Border Spaces: Peruvian Migrants in the Arica Bus Terminal (Chile). In *Migraciones internacionales* 9 (1), pp. 151–178.

Guizardi, Menera L.; Garcés, Alejandro (2012): Mujeres peruanas en las regiones del norte de Chile: Apuntes preliminares para la investigación. In *Estud. atacam.* (44), pp. 5–34. DOI: 10.4067/S0718-10432012000200002.

Guizardi, Menera L.; Garcés, Alejandro (2013): Circuitos migrantes: itinerarios y formación de redes migratorias entre Perú, Bolivia, Chile y Argentina en el Norte Grande chileno". In *Papeles de Población* 19 (78), pp. 65–110.

Gundermann Kröll, Hans; González Cortés, Héctor (2008): Pautas de integración regional, migración, movilidad, y redes sociales en los pueblos indígenas de Chile. In *UNIVERSUM* 23 (1), pp. 82–115.

Habermas, Jürgen (2019): Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit. Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.

Hart, Keith (1973): Informal Income Opportunities and Urban Employment in Ghana. In *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 11 (1), pp. 61–89.

Heath, Sue; Chapman, Lynne; Centre Sketchers, The Morgan (2018): Observational Sketching as Method. In *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 21 (6), pp. 713–728. DOI: 10.1080/13645579.2018.1484990.

Hirsch, Eric (2016): Mediating Indigeneity: Public Space and the Making of Political Identity in Andean Peru. In *PoLAR* 39 (1), pp. 95–109. DOI: 10.1111/plar.12133.

Hirsch, Eric (2018): Remapping the Vertical Archipelago: Mobility, Migration, and the Everyday Labor of Andean Development. In *The Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology* 23 (1), pp. 189–208. DOI: 10.1111/jlca.12260.

Hirsch, Eric (2020): Hidden Treasures. Marca Perú (PeruTM) and the Recoding of Neoliberal Indigeneity in the Andes. In *Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies* 15 (3), pp. 245–269. DOI: 10.1080/17442222.2020.1798077.

Hirsch, Eric (2022): Acts of Growth. Development and the Politics of Abundance in Peru. Redwood City: Stanford University Press.

Hui, Allison; Schatzki, Theodore; Shove, Elizabeth (Eds.) (2017): The Nexus of Practices. Connections, Constellations and Practitioners. London, New York: Routledge.

Hummel, Calla (2017): Disobedient Markets: Street Vendors, Enforcement, and State Intervention in Collective Action. In *Comparative Political Studies* 50 (11), pp. 1524–1555. DOI: 10.1177/0010414016679177.

Hummel, Calla (2021): Why Informal Workers Organize. Contentious Politics, Enforcement, and the State. Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press.

Ikemura Amaral, Aiko (2018): Identity, Work, and Mobility amongst Bolivian Market Vendors in El Alto and São Paulo. Doctoral Thesis. University of Essex.

INEI (2019): Producción y empleo informal en el Perú. Cuenta Satélite de la Economía Informal 2007-2018. Lima.

Ingold, Tim (2007): Lines. A Brief History. London: Routledge.

Ingold, Tim (2010): Drawing Together: Materials, Gestures, Lines. In Ton Otto, Nils Bubandt (Eds.): Experiments in Holism. Theory and Practice in Contemporary Anthropology. Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell, pp. 299–313.

Ingold, Tim (2015): The Life of Lines. London: Routledge.

Ingold, Tim (2019): Art and Anthropology for a Sustainable World. In *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* (25), pp. 659–675.

Isaak, Barry (2005): Karl Polanyi. In James G. Carrier (Ed.): A Handbook of Economic Anthropology. Cheltenham, U.K, Northampton, Mass: Edward Elgar, pp. 14–25.

Isin, Engin F. (2008): Theorizing Acts of Citizenship. In Engin F. Isin, Greg Marc Nielsen (Eds.): Acts of Citizenship. London: Zed Books, pp. 15–43.

Isin, Engin F.; Nielsen, Greg M. (2008): Introduction. In Engin F. Isin, Greg Marc Nielsen (Eds.): Acts of Citizenship. London: Zed Books, pp. 1–13.

Jagd, Søren (2011): Pragmatic Sociology and Competing Orders of Worth in Organizations. In *European Journal of Social Theory* 14 (3), pp. 343–359. DOI: 10.1177/1368431011412349.

Jagd, Søren (2013): Criticism and the Emergence of Novelty in Organizations. Paper for the Fifth International Symposium on Process Organization Studies. Roskilde University. Crete.

Jiménez Cala, Tania Estefany; Barbosa Gonçalves, Chryslen Mayra (2023): Mujeres domesticando la vida, los espacios y los territorios Las caseritas, sarjiris y tiendanis en la economía popular de los Andes. In Fundación Cultural Banco Central de Bolivia (Ed.): Mujeres. Resistencias, culturas, memorias y luchas. La Paz, Bolivia: Fundación Cultural Banco Central de Bolivia.

Jiménez Palacios, Ricardo (2019): Historia de dos ciudades: fronteras, informalidad y globalización en Tacna (Perú) y Ciudad del Este (Paraguay). In Fernando Carrión, Francisco Enríquez Bermeo (Eds.): Dinámicas transfronterizas en América Latina. ¿De lo nacional a lo local? Quito, Ecuador: OLACCIF, pp. 107–126.

Joas, Hans; Knöbl, Wolfgang (2009): Social Theory. Twenty Introductory Lectures. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Joas, Hans; Knöbl, Wolfgang (2013): Sozialtheorie. Zwanzig einführende Vorlesungen. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.

Karp, Cary (2018): Defining Crochet. In *Textile History* 49 (2), pp. 208–223. DOI: 10.1080/00404969.2018.1491689.

Kroeber, Alfred (1935): History and Science in Anthropology. In *American Anthropologist* 37 (4), pp. 539–569.

Kuhn, Thomas S. (1996): The Structure of Scientific Revolutions. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press.

Kusakabe, Kyoko (2006): Policy Issues on Street Vending. An Overview of Studies in Thailand, Cambodia and Mongolia. International Labour Organization. Bangkok.

Kuschnir, Karina (2014): Ensinando antropólogos a desenhar: uma experiência didáctica e de pesquisa. In *Cadernos de Arte e Antropologia* 3 (2), pp. 24–46.

Kuschnir, Karina (2016): Ethnographic Drawing. Eleven Benefits of Using a Sketchbook for Fieldwork. In *Visual Ethnography* 5 (103-134).

La Cadena, Marisol de (1995): "Women are more Indian". Ethnicity and Gender in a Community Near Cuzco. In Larson Brooke, Olivia Harris (Eds.): Ethnicity, Markets and Migration in the Andes. At the Crossroads of History and Anthropology: Duke University Press, pp. 329–348.

Lagos Carmona, Guillermo (1966): Las fronteras de Chile. Santiago de Chile: Zig-zag.

Lefebvre, Henri (1996): Writings on Cities. Oxford: Blackwell.

Lefebvre, Henri (2008): The Production of Space. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell.

Leigh Star, Susan (2010): This is Not a Boundary Object: Reflections on the Origin of a Concept. In *Science, Technology, & Human Values* 35 (5), pp. 601–617. DOI: 10.1177/0162243910377624.

Maldonado, José Rodrigo; Aguirre, Johvanna; Valdivieso, Alex; Cuenca, Whinzon; Reyes, Betti; Carrión, Beatriz et al. (2017): Las ventas ambulantes desde una perspectiva holística. In *CEDAMAZ* 7, pp. 24–38.

Maldovan Bonelli, Johanna (2018): La economía popular. Debate conceptual de un campo en construcción. Edited by Emilce Moler, Emanuel Ynoub, Lucio Fernández Moujan, Mariana Melgarejo. Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires, Argentina: CITRA, Centro de Innovación de los Trabajadores.

Mathews, Gordon; Alba Vega, Carlos (2012): Introduction: What is Globalization from Below? In Gordon Mathews, Gustavo Lins Ribeiro, Carlos Alba Vega (Eds.): Globalization From Below. The World's Other Economy, pp. 1–16.

Mathews, Gordon; Ribeiro, Gustavo Lins; Alba Vega, Carlos (Eds.) (2012): Globalization From Below. The World's Other Economy.

Matos Mar, José (1984): Desborde popular y crisis del Estado. El nuevo rostro del Peru en la década de 1980. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

McLuhan, Marshall McLuhan, Marshall, (1996): Comprender los medios de comunicación. Las extensiones del ser humano. Barcelona: Paidós.

Mintz, Sidney W. (1960): Peasant Markets. In *Scientific American* 203 (2), pp. 112–123.

Mintz, Sidney W. (1986): Sweetness and Power. The Place of Sugar in Modern History. New York: Penguin Books.

Molina, José Luis; Valenzuela García, Hugo (2007): Invitación a la antropología económica. Barcelona: Bellaterra.

Mondaca, Carlos; Gairin, Joaquín; Muñoz, Wilson (2018): Estudiantes migrantes peruanos en el sistema educativo de la región de Arica y Parinacota, Norte de Chile. In *Interciencia* 43 (1), pp. 3–6.

Morales, Alfonso (2011): Marketplaces: Prospects for Social, Economic, and Political Development. In *Journal of Planning Literature* 26 (1), pp. 3–17. DOI: 10.1177/0885412210388040.

Müller, Juliane (2020): Webs of fiesta-related trade: Chinese imports, investment and reciprocity in La Paz, Bolivia. In *Critique of Anthropology* 40 (2), pp. 238–263. DOI: 10.1177/0308275X20908297.

Müller, Juliane (2021): The Limits of Corporate Chains and Brand Management: "Loyalty" and the Efficacy of Vernacular Markets in the Andes. In *Cult. Anthropol.* 36 (2). DOI: 10.14506/ca36.2.04.

Murra, John V. (1974): Los límites y las limitaciones del 'archipelago vertical' en los Andes. In *Segundo Congreso Peruan del Hombre y la Cultura*, pp. 93–98.

Nachi, Mohamed (2006): Introduction à la sociologie pragmatique. Paris: Armand Colin.

Nargi, Lela (2011): Knitting Around the World. A Multistranded History of a Time-Honored Tradition. Minneapolis: Quarto Publishing Group USA.

Ødegaard, Cecilie Vindal (2010): Mobility, Markets and Indigenous Socialities. Contemporary Migration in the Peruvian Andes. Florence: Taylor and Francis.

Ødegaard, Cecilie Vindal (2016): Border Multiplicities: At the Cross-Roads between Improvisation and Regulation in the Andes. In *Journal of Borderlands Studies* 31 (1), pp. 23–38. DOI: 10.1080/08865655.2015.1115733.

Ødegaard, Cecilie Vindal (2017): 'Made in China'. Contraband, Labour and the Gendered Effects of 'Free-Trade', China-Peru. In *The Journal of Development Studies* 53 (3), pp. 346–360. DOI: 10.1080/00220388.2016.1184249.

Ødegaard, Cecilie Vindal (2018): Market Liberalisation and the (Un-)making of the 'Perfect Neoliberal Citizen': Enactments of Gendered and Racialised Inequalities Among Peruvian Vendors. In Margit Ystanes, Iselin Åsedotter Strønen (Eds.): The Social Life of Economic Inequalities in Contemporary Latin America, vol. 65. Cham: Springer International Publishing, pp. 183–204.

O'Learly, Brendan (2000): El diagnóstico de Gellner sobre el nacinoalismo: una versión general crítica, o ¿qué sigue vivo y qué está muerto en la filosofía del nacionalismo de Gellner? In John A. Hall (Ed.): Estado y nación. Ernest Gellner y la teoría del nacionalismo. Madrid: Cambridge University Press, pp. 64–126.

Ortner, Sherry B. (2006): Anthropology and Social Theory. Culture, Power, and the Acting Subject. Durham, London: Duke University Press.

Ovando Santana, Christián; González Miranda, Sergio (2018): El papel de la paradiplomacia entre el norte de Chile y el sur del Perú. Antecedentes históricos, limitaciones institucionales y nuevos desafíos 'posfallo de la Haya'. In *Diálogo Andino* 55, pp. 79–91.

Papadopoulos, Dimitris; Tsianos, Vassilis S. (2013): After Citizenship. Autonomy of Migration, Organisational Ontology and Mobile Commons. In *Citizenship Studies* 17 (2), pp. 178–196. DOI: 10.1080/13621025.2013.780736.

Páramo Morales, Dagoberto (2004): Marketing, su esencia conceptual. Barranquilla, Colombia: Ediciones Uninorte.

Páramo Morales, Dagoberto (2005): Ethnomarketing. The Cultural Dimension of Marketing. In *Pensamiento y Gestión* 18, pp. 177–206.

Parella, Sònia; Tapia, Marcela (2015): Las regiones fronterizas para el estudio de la migración y la circulación. Un análisis a partir de dos casos ilustrativos. In Menara Guizardi (Ed.): Las fronteras del transnacionalismo. Límites y desbordes de la experiencia migrante en el centro y norte de Chile. Santiago: Ocholibros, pp. 173–206.

Park, Robert E. (1940): News as a Form of Knowledge: A Chapter in the Sociology of Knowledge. In *American Journal of Sociology* 45 (5), pp. 669–686.

Pastor, Marly M. (2017): Construcciones y persistencias identitarias en Tacna (1940-2017). La tensión entre 'tacneños' y 'puñenos' por su afirmación cultural en la ciudad. Dissertação. UNILA, Foz do Iguaçu. Instituto Latino-Americano de Arte, Cultura e História (ILAACH).

Patton, Michael Quinn (2001): Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage.

Picó, Josep; Sanchis, Enric (1996): Sociología y sociedad. Madrid: Tecnos.

Polanyi, Karl (2010): The Great Transformation. The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time. Boston, Massachusetts: Beacon Press.

Polanyi, Michael (2016): Implizites Wissen. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.

Prieto, Mercedes; Miranda, María Isabel (2018): Travesías del cuidado de la niñez en Ecuador. In Cristina Vega Solís, Raquel Martínez Buján, Myriam Paredes Chauca (Eds.): Cuidado, comunidad y común. Extracciones, apropiaciones y sostenimiento de la vida. Experiencias cooperativas en el sostenimiento de la vida, pp. 189–210.

Quijano Obregón, Aníbal (1998): La economía popular y sus caminos en América Latina: Mosca Azul Editores.

Reckwitz, Andreas (2002): Toward a Theory of Practice. A Development in Culturalist Theorizing. In *European Journal of Social Theory* 4 (2), pp. 243–263.

Reckwitz, Andreas (2003): Grundelemente einer Theorie sozialer Praktiken. In *Zeitschrift für Soziologie* 32 (4), pp. 282–301.

Reichertz, Jo (2007): Abduction: The Logic of Discovery of Grounded Theory. In Antony Bryant, Kathy Charmaz (Eds.): The SAGE Handbook of Grounded Theory. London u.a.: Sage, pp. 214–228.

Ribeiro, Gustavo L. (2006): Economic Globalization from Below. In *Etnográfica* 10 (2), pp. 233–249.

Rivera Cusicanqui, Silvia (2018): Un mundo ch'ixi es posible. Ensayos desde un presente en crisis. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Tinta Limón.

Rosenthal, Gabriele (2011): Interpretative Sozialforschung. Eine Einführung. Weinheim: Juventa-Verl.

Rutt, Richard (2003): A History of Hand Knitting. Loveland Colo.: Interweave Press.

Ryle, Gilbert (2009): The Concept of Mind. New York: Routledge.

Sánchez-Hernández, José Luis; Moro-Gutiérrez, Lourdes (2019): Los órdenes de justificación como marco analítico para el estudio de las prácticas económicas alternativas. In *Reis* (167), pp. 107–124. DOI: 10.5477/cis/reis.167.107.

Schäfer, Hilmar (2016): Praxis als Wiederholung. Das Denken der Iterabilität und seine Konsequenzen für die Methodologie praxeologischer Forschung. In Hilmar Schäfer (Ed.): Praxistheorie. Ein soziologisches Forschungsprogramm. Bielefeld: transcript, pp. 137–162.

Schatzki, Theodore; Knorr Cetina, Karin; Savigny, Eike von (Eds.) (2001): The Practice Turn in Contemporary Theory. London: Routledge.

Schauffler, Richard; Portes, Alejandro (1993): Competing Perspectives on the Latin American Informal Sector. In *Population and Development Review* 19 (1), pp. 33–60.

Schmidt, Robert (2012): Soziologie der Praktiken. Konzeptionelle Studien und empirische Analysen. Berlin: Suhrkamp.

Scott, James C. (2008): Weapons of the Weak. Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Seligmann, Linda J. (1989): To Be In Between: The Cholas as Market Women. In *Comp Stud Soc Hist* 31 (4), pp. 694–721. DOI: 10.1017/S0010417500016169.

Seligmann, Linda J. (1993): Between Worlds of Exchange: Ethnicity among Peruvian Market Women. In *Cultural Anthropology* 8 (2), pp. 187–213.

Seligmann, Linda J. (2004): Peruvian Street Lives. Culture, Power, and Economy among Market Women of Cuzco. Urbana, Ill.: Univ. of Illinois Press.

Seligmann, Linda J. (2014): Markets. In Donald M. Nonini (Ed.): A Companion to Urban Anthropology. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, pp. 120–141.

Shove, Elizabeth; Pantzar, Mika; Watson, Matt (2012): The Dynamics of Social Practice. Everyday Life and How it Changes. Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore, Washington DC: Sage.

Siebel, Walter (2016): Die Kultur der Stadt. Berlin: Suhrkamp.

Skuban, William E. (2007): Lines in the Sand. Nationalism and Identity on the Peruvian-Chilean Frontier. Albuquerque, NM: Univ. of New Mexico Press.

Smith, Michael Peter (2016): Translocality: A Critical Reflexion. In Ayona Datta, Katherine Brickell (Eds.): Translocal Geographies. Spaces, Places, Connections. London: Taylor and Francis, pp. 181–199.

Soto, Hernando de (1989): The Other Path. The Economic Answer to Terrorism. New York, NY: Basic Books.

Soto Lara, José Julián (2022): El conflicto entre Chile, Perú y Bolivia por Tacna y Arica (1879-1929). Una propuesta interdisciplinaria, local y global. Tesis Doctoral. Universidad Autònoma de Barcelona, Bellaterra.

Spradley, James P. (1979): The Ethnographic Interview. Orlando: Hartcourt Brace Janovich College Publishers.

Star, Susan Leigh; Griesemer, James (1989): Institutional Ecology, 'Translations' and Boundary Objects: Amateurs and Professionals in Berkeley's Museum of Vertebrate Zoology, 1907-39. In *Social Studies of Science* 19 (3), pp. 387–420.

Steed, Josephine (2016): Hand Knittig in a Digital Era. In Nithikul Nimkulrat, Faith Kane, Kerry Walton (Eds.): Crafting Textiles in the Digital Age. London, New York, London, New York: Bloomsbury Academic; Bloomsbury Visual Arts, pp. 139–152.

Steger, Manfred B. (2017): Globalization. A Very Short Introduction. Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press.

Swanson, Lee A.; Bruni-Bossio, Vincent (2019): A Righteous Undocumented Economy. In *J Bus Ethics* 160 (1), pp. 225–237. DOI: 10.1007/s10551-018-3878-2.

Swidler, Ann (1986): Culture in Action. Symbols and Strategies. In *American Sociological Review* 51 (2), pp. 273–286.

Tapia, Marcela (2012): Frontera y migración en el norte de Chile a partir del análisis de los censos de población. Siglos XIX-XXI. In *Revista de Geografía Norte Grande* 53, pp. 177–198.

Tapia, Marcela (2018): Prácticas sociales fronterizas entre Chile y Bolivia, movilidad, circulación y migración. Siglos XX y XXI. In *Intus-Legere Historia* 12 (1), pp. 66–86.

Tapia, Marcela; Chacón, Fernanda (2016): Vínculos transfronterizos: vida, movilidad y comercio en el barrio boliviano de Iquique, Chile. In *REMHU* 47, pp. 131–152.

Tapia, Marcela; Contreras, Yasna; Liberona, Nanette (2019): Cruzar y vivir en la frontera de Arica y Tacna. Molvilidades y prácticas socioespaciales fronterizas. In Haroldo Dilla, Camila Álvarez (Eds.): La vuelta de todo eso. Economía y sociedad en la frontera chileno/peruana: el complejo urbano transfronterizo Tacna/Arica. Santiago: RIL editores, pp. 99–152.

Tapia, Marcela; Liberona, Nanette; Contreras, Yasna (2017): El surgimiento de un territorio circulatorio en la frontera chileno-peruana: estudio de las prácticas socio-espaciales fronterizas. In *Revista de Geografía Norte Grande* (66), pp. 117–141.

Tapia Ladino, Marcela (2015): Frontera, movilidad y circulación reciente de peruanos y bolivianos en el norte de Chile. In *Estudios Atacameños* (50), pp. 195–213.

Tapia Ladino, Marcela; Chacón Onetto, Fernanda (2016): Vínculos transfronterizos: vida, movilidad y comercio en el barrio boliviano de Iquique, Chile. In *REMHU* 24 (47), pp. 131–152.

Tapia Ladino, Marcela; González Gil, Adriana (Eds.) (2014): Regiones fronterizas. Migración y los desafíos para los estados nacionales latinoamericanos. Santiago de Chile: RIL editores.

Tapia Ladino, Marcela; Ramos Rodríguez, Romina (2013): Mujeres migrantes fronterizas en Tarapacá a principios de siglo XXI. El cruce de las fronteras y las redes de apoyo. In *Polis, Revista Latinoamericana* 12 (35), pp. 229–257.

Tarde, Gabriel de (2017): Die Gesetze der Nachahmung. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.

Tassi, Nico (2017): The Native World-System. An Ethnography of Bolivian Aymara Traders in the Global Economy. New York, NY, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Tassi, Nico; Arbona, Juan Manuel; Ferrufino, Giovana; Rodríguez-Carmona, Antonio (2012): El desborde económico popular en Bolivia. Comerciantes aymaras en el mundo global. In *Nueva Sociedad* 241, checked on 6/16/2021.

Tassi, Nico; Hinojosa Gordonava, Alfonso; Canaviri Paco, Richard (2015): La economía popular en Bolivia. Tres miradas. La Paz, Bolivia: CIS Centro de Investigaciones Sociales.

Tassi, Nico; Medeiros, Carmen; Rodríguez-Carmona, Antonio; Ferrufino, Giovana (2013): "Hacer plata sin plata". El desborde de los comerciantes populares en Bolivia. La Paz, Bolivia: Fundación PIEB.

Tassi, Nico; Poma, Wilson (2020): Los caminos de la economía popular. Circuitos económicos y reconfiguraciones regionales. In *Temas Sociales* 47, pp. 10–35.

Tavory, Iddo; Timmermans, Stefan (2014): Abductive Analysis. Theorizing Qualitative Research. Chicago: London; The University of Chicago Press.

Thévenot, Laurent (2001): Organized Complexity. In *European Journal of Social Theory* 4 (4), pp. 405–425. DOI: 10.1177/13684310122225235.

Thompson, Edward Palmer (1971): The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century. In *Past and Present* 50, pp. 76–136.

Tilly, Charles (2003): The Politics of Collective Violence. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tilly, Charles (2004): Social Movements, 1768-2004. Boca Raton, FL: Taylor and Francis.

Tironi, Manuel; Bacigalupe, Gonzalo; Knowles, Scott Gabriel; Dickinson, Simon; Gil, Magdalena; Kelly, Sarah et al. (2019): Figuring Disasters. An Experiment on Thinking

Disruptions as Methods. In *Resilience* 7 (2), pp. 192–211. DOI: 10.1080/21693293.2019.1567013.

Tsing, Anna (2013): La selva de las colaboraciones. In Monserrat Cañedo Rodríguez (Ed.): Cosmopolíticas. Perspectivas antropológicas. Madrid: Trotta, pp. 266–298.

Tsing, Anna Lowenhaupt (2015): The Mushroom at the End of the World. On the Possibility of Life in Capitalist Ruins. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Turney, Joanne (2009): The Culture of Knitting. Oxford: Berg.

Tutino, John; Melosi, Martin V. (Eds.) (2019): New World Cities. Challenges of Urbanization and Globalization in the Americas. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Valdebenito, Felipe; Guizardi, Menera L. (2014): Espacialidades migrantes. Una etnografía de la experiencia de mujeres peruanas en Arica (Chile). In *Gazeta de Antropología* 31 (1), -.

Valles, Miguel S. (2009): Técnicas cualitativas de investigación social. Reflexión metodológica y práctica profesional. Madrid: Síntesis.

van Dijk, Teun A. (1990): La noticia como discurso. Comprensión estructura y producción de la información. Barcelona: Ed. Paidós.

Verd, Joan M.; Lozares, Carlos (2016): Introducción a la investigación cualitativa. Fases, métodos y técnicas. Madrid: Síntesis.

Vicuña Undurraga, José Tomás; Rojas Valenzuela, Tomás Eugenio (2015): Migración en Arica y Parinacota. Panoramas y tendencias de una región frontera. Santiago de Chile.

Wacquant, Loïc; Akçaoğlu, Aksu (2017): Practice and Symbolic Power in Bourdieu: The View from Berkeley. In *Journal of Classical Sociology* 17 (1), pp. 55–69. DOI: 10.1177/1468795X16682145.

Walters, William (2008): Acts of Demonstration: Mapping the Territory of (Non-)Citizenship. In Engin F. Isin, Greg Marc Nielsen (Eds.): Acts of Citizenship. London: Zed Books, pp. 182–206.

Weismantel, Mary (2001): Cholas and Pishtacos. Tales of Race and Sex in the Andes. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.

Wonders, Nancy A.; Jones, Lynn C. (2018): Doing and Undoing Borders: The Multiplication of Citizenship, Citizenship Performances, and Migration as Social Movement. In *Theoretical Criminology* 23 (2), pp. 136–155. DOI: 10.1177/1362480618802297.

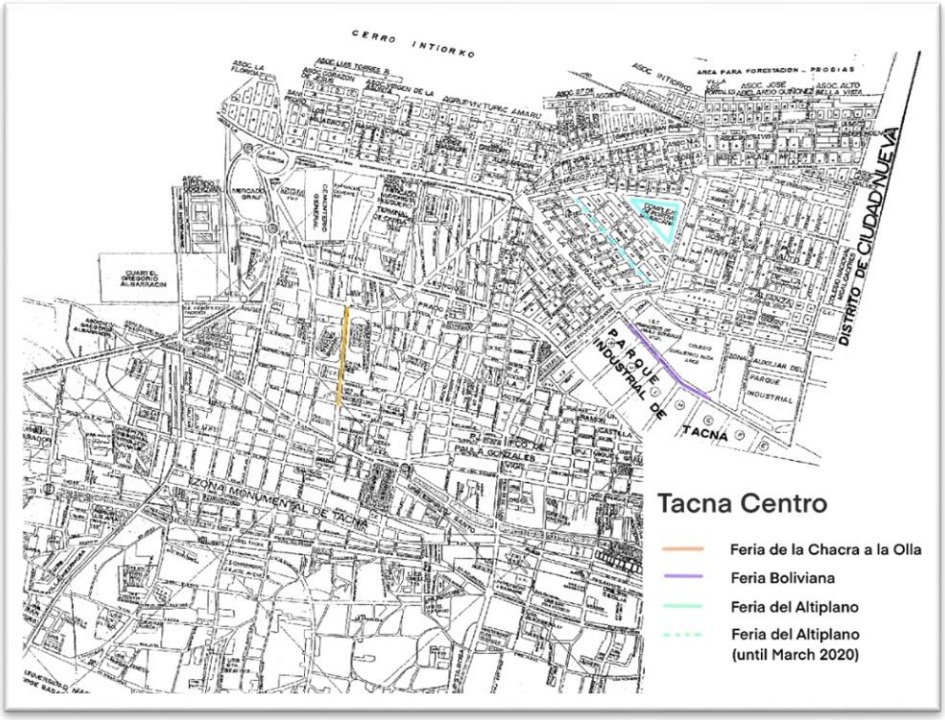
Wongtada, Nittaya (2014): Street Vending Phenomena: A Literature Review and Research Agenda. In *Thunderbird Intl Bus Rev* 56 (1), pp. 55–75. DOI: 10.1002/tie.21596.

Zilboorg, Anna (2015): Knitting for Anarchists. The What, Why and How of Knitting. Mineola New York: Dover Publications Inc.

Appendix

1 Map on the Location of Tacna (by the author for illustrative purpose)

2 Map of Tacna



Assembled by the author from copied maps acquired in Tacna (unkown author).

3 Pictures of the three street markets in 2022

Feria del Altiplano. Abril 2022.

Feria Boliviana. April 2022.

Feria de la Chacra a la Olla. April 2022.

4 Vendors' Protest 2022

Feriantes se apostaron en las afueras del municipio de Alto de la Alianza reclamando que se deje sin efecto la ordenanza 009-2020 que declara zona rígida la calle Jirón de la Unión. (Foto: Adrian Apaza)

Actualizado el 13/04/2022, 09:58 a.m. ADRIÁN APAZA DÍAZ

Retrieved from https://diariocorreo.pe/edicion/tacna/tacna-feriantes-del-altiplano-exigen-derogar-ordenanza-para-regresar-a-la-calle-jiron-de-la-union-noticia/ on January 14, 2024.

5 Consent Form

Informaciones para el consentimiento

Mi nombre es Janna Dallmann. Actualmente estoy cursando el programa de doctorado en sociología de la **Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona** en España. Mi proyecto de tesis es sobre el comercio en la frontera entre Perú, Chile y Bolivia durante la pandemia. El título preliminar es: **"Las ferias de Tacna en tiempos de COVID-19: la venta ambulante en la triple frontera entre Perú, Chile y Bolivia"**.

Me interesan específicamente las ferias de Tacna. Converso con ustedes - feriantes de la Feria de la Chacra a la Olla, la Feria Boliviana y la Feria del Altiplano - para entender qué experiencias hicieron durante la pandemia, cómo vivieron el cierre y la reapertura de la frontera terrestre entre Perú y Chile y otras temáticas relacionadas.

Es así que les hago preguntas, a veces acompañándoles durante los días de feria. Las informaciones que obtengo de esta manera formarán la base para poder escribir mi **tesis doctoral** y otros posibles escritos relacionados (informes y artículos científicos, por ejemplo).

Estoy guardando estas informaciones de manera **segura** y **confidencial**. A la hora de escribir sobre las ferias —ya sea en informes, en la tesis o en publicaciones relacionadas— anonimizo a quienes entregaron informaciones, es decir su identidad se mantendrá confidencial (no se mencionará su nombre u otros datos que le pueden identificar).

Una vez defendida, la tesis será publicada en el **TDR** (Tesis doctorales en Red) y en el **DDD** (Depósito Digital de Documentos) de la Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona en acceso abierto, es decir, se podrá acceder a la tesis a través del internet. La fecha prevista para terminar la tesis es el 1 de octubre de 2023.

Quiero informarle que **no hay ningún tipo de obligación de participar**, es decir, a conversar conmigo, y que puede decidir de ya no participar en cualquier momento. Además, quisiera decirle que usted me puede hacer cualquier pregunta relacionada a la investigación durante y posterior a nuestras conversaciones.

¡Muchas gracias!

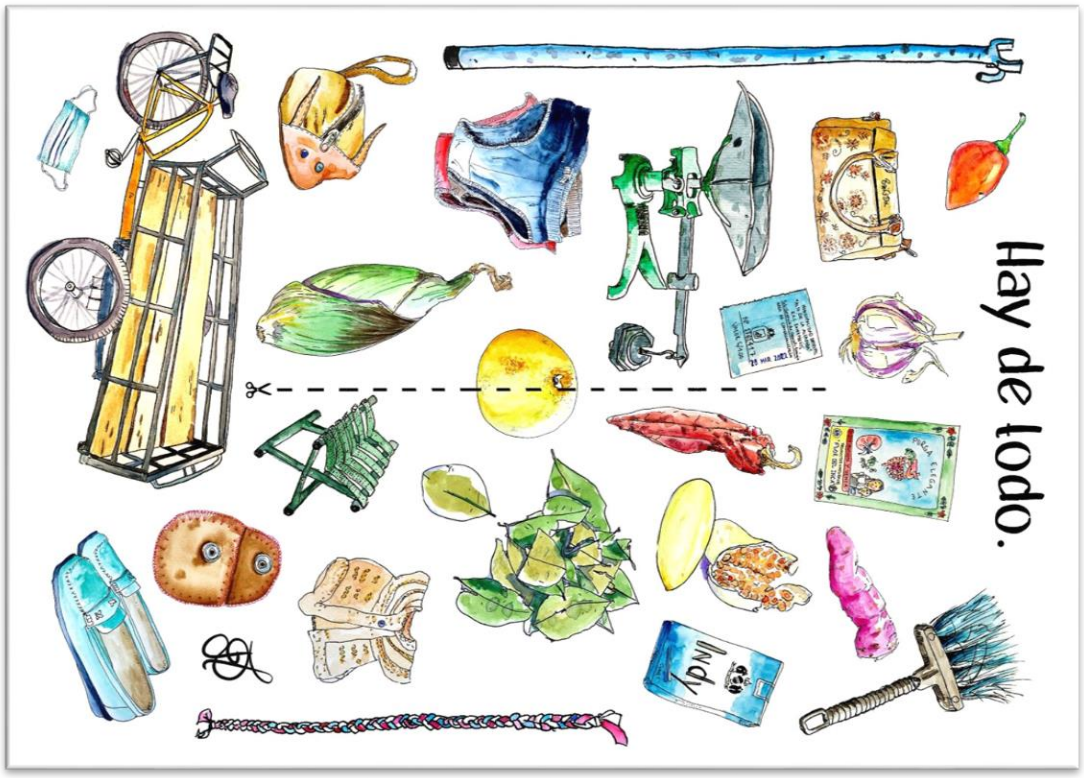
Lugar, fecha: _____ Firma: _____

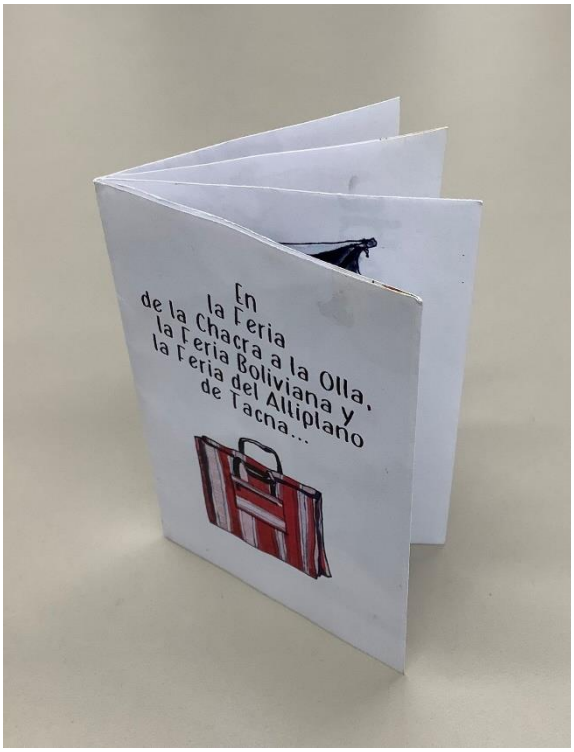
Contacto:
Celular (solo llamadas hasta agosto 2022): [redacted]
Celular (solo mensajes WhatsApp):
Correo electrónico: janna.dallmann@uab.cat

6 Zine

Front

Back




En
la Feria
de la Chacra a la Olla,
la Feria Boliviana y
la Feria del Altiplano
de Tacna...

Folded

7 Chat GPT and Grammarly During the Writing Process

The final writing process of the thesis took place when OpenAI launched the first versions of ChatGPT in November 2022. From 2023 onwards, I used the tool occasionally, testing different functionalities and learning about its uses. As a novel user exploring this astonishing tool, I managed the conversation threads in a very unstructured way. They were not ordered by topic but by session. A single thread was inconsistent regarding language, topic, and query aims.

In 2023, these first "conversations" were broadly related to ideas I was reading and thinking about, tackling topics of social movement research, contentious politics, bordering, collective action, and so forth. I also asked general questions about legitimacy and practice theory. The idea behind these queries was to learn about the tool's capabilities and limitations and how to create adequate and precise prompts. The generated text was not used in the thesis.

From March 2024 onwards, I started to explore the possibilities of using the same tool to improve and correct English written text. In addition, learning about prompt generation was key. Here are some examples of the prompts used in chronological order:

- "Please correct grammar, orthography and whatever error you find in the paragraphs that follow."
- "Please correct and improve the text that I will give you. Think yourself as a professional sociologist (sic)."
- "Please revise grammar and ortography (sic) of the text that I will give you. Write the new version including your propositions. Imagine you are writing for scholars in the field of sociology."
- "As an esteemed English professor at a prominent university in the United States, please meticulously review the following text for any grammatical and spelling errors. In the first part of your response, provide a comprehensive list of identified errors. Subsequently, in the second part, integrate these corrections into the text. Ensure the revised text aligns with the high standards expected in scholarly publications, particularly within the field of social sciences."

In the beginning, the prompts were very general. They got more precise after different workshops on questions regarding AI and its (mis-)uses. Together with the prompts, the output improved. The final prompt that I am still working with is:

- "Please meticulously review the following text for any grammatical and spelling errors. Also, revise for orthography, punctuation, and coherency of the use of time. Integrate these corrections into the text, ensuring it stays as close to the original as possible. Align the revised text with the high standards expected in scholarly publications, particularly within the field of social sciences. Avoid repetitions and redundancies."

I provided my written paragraphs and compared them to the output, deciding whether to adopt the propositions for modification. Contrasting my initial writing with the tool's generated text was helpful to improve the text. I always introduced the modifications I agreed upon "manually," avoiding copying and pasting the provided content. It was important to me that the corrected version of the text stayed as close to my wording as possible, so I explicitly included it in the prompt.

In the last phase, I worked with "Grammarly," an "AI-powered writing assistant"[175]. In this case, too, I always manually decided on whether a correction was included or not. I used the program to correct spelling, grammar, and punctuation.

[175] https://www.grammarly.com/ai-writing-assistant.