

CHAPTER 3

'TODO SIRVE'¹: THE PASSIVE SELF AND THE GUATEMALAN MARKET

3.1 INTRODUCTION: IMMANENCE AND TERRITORIALISATION

In the previous chapter, lived time was naturally framed by the actual given. Tradition provided a frame for lived time to emerge passively. In this chapter, by contrast, there is no frame. Lived time appears unbound, in a state of 'immanence'² where all distinctions are gone and absolute movement is set free. Immanence is the absence of any kind of pre-given structure. Duration, the virtual, has gone actual. Space has become time. On the level of matter, everything appears to be in a general state of movement. While in the previous chapter, duration appeared as a mode of relating to the actual given, in this chapter the three characteristics of duration – simplicity, heterogeneity and continuity – characterize the material organisation of the actual given itself. There are hardly any distinctions between the virtual and the actual. There seem to be few overall principles that would allow for structure to emerge. There seems to be hardly any actual distinction between the human and the non-human or between waste and value.

In this chapter, the self within immanence shall be called a 'passive self'. The passive self is an example of the convertibility between time and desire. It relates to the time of the given through affection. Letting oneself be affected by the given also falls into the realm of desire. In Bergson, the passive self gets defined through time. Through relaxation, the self leaps from an active state in which it encounters the world on the actual plane of structure, into a passive attitude towards the given in which it encounters the given on the virtual plane of lived time. In the realm of lived time, everything is image. Images are in absolute movement. The self perceives its own body as an im-

1 Engl.: 'Everything is useful'. *Doña Toria* and *Doña Maria* used this expression constantly. When there is little money, improvisation is essential and nothing gets thrown away just so.

2 See Deleuze/Guattari 1987, pp. 266-7.

age, too. Implicitly in Bergson, the passive self relates to the world through affection. The body of the self is an affective image. Affection passively contracts impulses from the material world and the body of the self passively responds to these. The passive self gives resonance to the material given. The emphasis in Deleuze's reading of the passive self (with reference to Bergson among others) is on the dissolution of actual form in the virtual realm of time. In Deleuze, the passive self is a dissolved self. Underneath the self which acts, there are 'little selves which contemplate and which render possible both action and the acting subject'.³

In their collaborative work *A Thousand Plateaus*⁴, Deleuze and Guattari offer with the notion of territorialisation a concept of the passive self that is explicitly grounded in affection. In general, *A Thousand Plateaus* is much more about de-territorialisation than about territorialisation.⁵ De-territorialisation is productive dissolution. Affection passively contracts an image from the material given and thereby opens up the given territory toward somewhere else. This is reminiscent of Deleuze's reading of Bergson. The notion of territorialisation in the plateau of the refrain in the middle of *A Thousand Plateaus*, however, comes before the productive dissolution of the given. Where de-territorialisation refers to the given, territorialisation refers to the passive self that is the invisible condition needed for de-territorialisation to take place. Territorialisation is something existential. In that, the notion seems to owe more to the work of Guattari and to his background in psychoanalysis.⁶ In Guattari, in order to contract the images that in Deleuze's reading of Bergson become little selves, the passive self needs some kind of felt territory to start from.⁷ The self needs to feel an inner territory before and in order to let itself be attracted by impulses from images within the material world and to make something productive with these. Where the active self, the Ego, works via a logic of exclusion by defining what it is and what it is not, the passive self, the affective feeling of the given through one's own body, works via a logic of attraction by building up territory. To understand the self as passive self becomes in Guattari a perspective for living within the chaos of immanence. It is a perspective for internally build-

3 See Deleuze 1968a, p. 75.

4 Deleuze/Guattari 1987.

5 Compare *ibid*, pp. 594 & 609.

6 Psychoanalysis seems to suggest an opening up of the notion of the passive self towards desire, rather than time. Although Guattari generally refers to desire, (for example in Guattari: 'Ritornellos and Existential Affects', in Gary Genosko (ed) 1996: *The Guattari-Reader*, chapter 14), there is also a consideration of time (for example in Guattari 1992, pp. 16, 18, 30).

7 See Guattari 1992, chapter 1.

ing up territories on a singular basis in every given context anew as external, collective and long-term territories increasingly break apart.⁸

In his own work, Guattari explains territorialisation through the concept of the emergent self developed by child researcher Daniel Stern⁹. Stern, in Guattari's reading, describes the relation between the infant and the world from birth up to the age of two. He distinguishes four stages. First, there is an atmospheric fusionist relation to the world; second, there comes the exploration of the capacity for action; third there is the experience of affection which goes together with the realisation that there are both sharable and non-sharable affections. Finally there is the development of language, which goes together with representation as dominant mode of engagement with the world. In Guattari's reading, below the level of language, the self territorializes within the world according to an 'aesthetic paradigm'¹⁰: the self lets itself be affected by the world. Attraction of images from the world is initiated by a 'refrain'¹¹. A refrain is an affective motif, an interest that starts off a process of territorialisation. As a moment of unification, the refrain holds the emerging territory together:

"The refrain works as an attractor for territorialisation: the detachment of an existential 'motif' (or leitmotiv) installs itself like an "attractor" within a sensible and significational chaos. The different components conserve their heterogeneity, but are nevertheless captured by a refrain which couples them to the existential territory of my self."¹²

In the concept of territorialisation, aesthetic relationality with the world is not just an expression of a phase of early childhood.¹³ Rather, life-long, aesthetic relationality coexists as the working mode of the unconscious with representational relationality, the working mode of consciousness. Throughout life, the self can encounter the world both on the level of lived time and on the level of representation. Aesthetic relationality is not just a movement towards the actual given, but also differentiation from it. Through the passive selection of images from the actual given on the plane of lived time, the self distances itself

8 See Guattari: 'Toward a New Perspective on Identity', in Genosko (ed) 1996, chapter 19.

9 Daniel Stern 1985: *The Interpersonal World of the Infant*.

10 See Guattari 1992, p. 7.

11 See for example *ibid*, pp. 15-18.

12 *Ibid*, p. 17.

13 See for example *ibid*, pp. 10-13, 22, 28.

from the material given through building up its own territory within the given.¹⁴

The self, in Guattari's notion of territorialisation, is a heterogeneous reflection of dynamics that go beyond the individual. To approach the relation between the self and the world on the level of territorialisation is for Guattari not only a question of aesthetics, but also a question of ethics.¹⁵ It raises awareness both of relationality in-between people and of relationality in-between people and nature. To view the self passively related to the world, rather than as a closed entity, raises awareness of one's own impact on group-dynamics¹⁶ and of one's own impact on the depletion of natural resources such as the ozone layer, clean water or the rain forests. It also raises awareness of the impact of the social and the environmental on one's own well-being.

"Our survival on this planet is not only threatened by environmental damage but by a degeneration in the fabric of social solidarity and in the modes of psychical life, which must literally be invented. The refoundation of politics will have to pass through the aesthetic and analytical dimensions implied in the three ecologies – the environment, the socius and the psyche. We cannot conceive of solutions to the poisoning of the atmosphere and to global warming due to the greenhouse effect, or to the problem of population control, without a mutation of mentality, without promoting a new art of living in society."¹⁷

The following section will show in what way Deleuze and Guattari's theory of territorialisation in the plateau on the refrain in *A Thousand Plateaus* is an expression of Guattari's concern with what has been called here the 'passive self'. In this text, Deleuze and Guattari introduce a nuanced vocabulary for the dynamics that take place between processes of territorialisation and the affective environment:

The theory of territorialisation in *A Thousand Plateaus* is derived from ethology. To focus on processes of territorialisation among animals emphasizes affect, the domain of the passive self, rather than rationality, the domain of the active self. However, Deleuze and Guattari examine the dominant theory on territorialisation within ethology

14 This dimension of territorialisation is more emphasized in Jessica Benjamin's reading of Stern, see Jessica Benjamin 1988: *The Bonds of Love*, chapter 1, and chapters 5 & 6 of this book.

15 See Guattari 1992, p. 8.

16 See Guattari's concern with group therapy (ibid, p. 6); see also Guattari: 'Subjectivities: for Better and for Worse', in Genosko (ed) 1996, chapter 17; and more broadly Genosko 2002, introduction and chapters 1 & 2.

17 Guattari 1992, p. 20.

(set forth by Konrad Lorenz¹⁸) in order to reject it. Lorenz explains territorialisation as behaviour. For Deleuze and Guattari, a focus on behaviour leads to a linear and one-dimensional explanation.¹⁹ From a perspective on the self, behaviour is action. Action is the effect of the complex dynamics that take place before action, as a pre-condition for it. On this level of the active self, territorialisation is self-defence. Lorenz holds that every territorialisation goes back to the same cause – aggression. Lorenz argues that animals defend their territory against other animals of the same species or against natural enemies because this has proved to be an evolutionary advantage for the species. Then no one else takes the female, the newborn can grow up in peace and there will be enough food for every member of the group. The most aggressive male gets the best territory. Behaviourism explains territorialisation through the active self, as an evolution of the means for self-defence.

Although every territorialisation, according to Lorenz, goes back to aggression, there are various non-violent modes of defence because this can be an evolutionary advantage for the singular animal as well. If a straightforward fight among birds can be replaced by singing or the exposition of coloured plumage, or if dogs, cats and rabbits can display through urine or other odour-secretions the boundaries of their home turf, energy that would have been put into fighting can be saved and utilised for other activities.²⁰

Alternatively, the account of territorialisation that Deleuze and Guattari offer, builds on resonance. Resonance highlights the activity of the passive self. It is a term from the realm of music. Music as an alternative to aggressive self-defence emphasizes listening, reception and thus the openness of the self to the world. When territorialisation is grounded in resonance, action becomes an expression of the dynamic that the world passively sets free inside oneself. The activity of the singular being becomes an expression of the passively built up territory in-between the being and the world. Territorialisation takes place through expression. Activities that mark a territory express resonances to environmental vibrations.²¹ There is harmony between a territorialising expression and the collective dynamic within the given because everything vibrates according to the same sound. Territorialisation becomes a kind of making music with the world. Making music with the world and with others becomes a constant dynamic and a constant challenge of everyday life.

18 See Deleuze/Guattari 1987, pp. 315-16.

19 See *ibid*, p. 333.

20 See for a summary of Lorenz's argument, drawn from his 1963-book *On Aggression*, Ronald Bogue 1999a: 'Art and Territory', in Ian Buchanan (ed): *A Deleuzian Century?*, pp. 86-88.

21 See Deleuze/Guattari 1987, p. 312.

The language of music seems to suggest an emphasis on the beautiful. However, resonance does not substitute aggression, it merely focuses in its explanation on a different domain. It focuses on the passive rather than the active self. Deleuze and Guattari introduce territorialisation in three sequences²². First, there is an unstable centre of intensity. Second, this centre encircles itself. Now it has become something like a felt home ground. Third, as soon as the home ground is stable enough, the circle will open up and a line of flight will depart towards somewhere else. These three images suggest the necessity of a felt territory in order to let oneself be affected by the world. As long as there is a necessity for a felt inner territory, there is also the danger that this feeling will disappear. Deleuze and Guattari describe how a 'territorial mark' is built up, for example, when there emerges a dynamic within the realm of time through which the 'critical distance'²³ of a territory is felt to be in danger of collapsing into a 'black hole'.²⁴ When something violates a territory from without or from within, the 'passive self' puts up a territorial mark as a 'poster'²⁵ to regain its inner balance. With a focus on resonance, aggression becomes an energy that expresses itself and that might come from many different impulses other than a perceived danger. Aggression loses its implication of destructiveness when it is seen as the force behind an expression.

Any action, when perceived as a resonance to dynamics within the realm of affect, turns out to be the result of complex processes of synchronisation. The affective environment is a 'milieu'. Milieus are intensive environments beyond the state of immanence.²⁶ If a plane of immanence is a plane of intensity where movement is unbound and all distinctions are gone, a milieu constitutes itself through the affective relation of a member of a given species to a selection of these intensities.²⁷ Some intensities matter more than others. Not the whole environment as it is objectively given matters, but only those components to which a given species relates itself. Thus, a milieu occupies a specific selection of frequencies within a given intensive environment. Another milieu will occupy different frequencies according to its different species' needs.

22 See *ibid.*, pp. 312-13.

23 See *ibid.*, p. 319.

24 See *ibid.*, p. 334.

25 See *ibid.*, p. 317.

26 See *ibid.*, p. 313.

27 I will use the term 'affect' when the focus of attention shall be the resonance between a self and an other. I will use the term 'intensity' when the emphasis is on the relative emancipation of the realm of lived temporalities from human engagement.

Milieus are in constant communication with each other. A milieu is held together through a 'code'.²⁸ A code is something that is similar among everything that belongs to a given milieu. Codes therefore are in a constant state of de- and re-coding. Codes have 'rhythm'.²⁹ A rhythm emerges at the border between milieus. 'Territories' emerge when rhythm becomes expressive.³⁰ While the milieu is virtual, the rhythm marks the process of actualisation and the territory is the actual expression of a rhythm. Territories emerge through taking up something from perceived resonances among milieus. The form of a territory is always only provisional. Territories transform whenever the tacit balance between ever-changing context-conditions tips beyond a certain critical limit of tolerance. Once a territory has emerged, it constitutes itself a 'polyphony',³¹ of environmental relations. It establishes inner milieus, external milieus, membrane milieus and annexed milieus.³²

In a theory of territorialisation grounded in resonance, formal impositions of values from a given environment and perceived intentions from within the passive self are on the same plane.³³ One acts as an external milieu component on the process of territorialisation and the other acts as an inner milieu component. Employing the vocabulary of music once again, Deleuze and Guattari speak of a 'territorial counterpoint' when an expression that marks a territory resonates to a component of an external milieu.³⁴ When a territorial mark resonates to a component of an inner milieu, it is a 'territorial motif'.³⁵ In the realm of ethology for example, if a bird call marks a territory, this may relate to a territorial motif when it expresses fear, hunger or mating disposition or to a territorial counterpoint if it expresses rain, danger or sunset.

The level of the active self works according to a rational principle grounded in need, while the level of the passive self works according to an aesthetic principle grounded in pleasure. The more the leap from the realm of the active self into the realm of the passive self succeeds, the more the territory expresses joy, rather than necessity. In order to transmit joy towards its environment, an expression has to have found a hold in itself. Joy is a criterion of whether something is expressive in its own right, independent from its functional context.³⁶ Following the

28 See *ibid*, p. 313.

29 See *ibid*.

30 See *ibid*, p. 315.

31 Heterogeneity expressed in a terminology of music. See Guattari 1992, p. 21.

32 See Deleuze/Guattari 1987, p. 314.

33 See Guattari 1992, p. 4 and Deleuze/Guattari 1987, p. 317.

34 See Deleuze/Guattari 1987, p. 317.

35 See *ibid*, p. 317.

36 See Ronald Bogue 1999a.

terminology of music, if there is joy, the territorial motif becomes a 'rhythmic character' and the territorial counterpoint transforms into a 'melodic landscape'.³⁷ It is a question of individuation of a self from its environment whether a process of territorialisation manages to emancipate itself from the actual, or whether the concern with need of the active self still expresses itself through the territorial mark. For example, a birdcall is an expression of something, while a bird song has become an expression in itself.³⁸

Guattari calls aesthetic territorialisation the 'machinic dimension of subjectivity'.³⁹ As explained in the section on methodology in the introductory chapter above, a machine is a productive unit within the realm of intensity. A machine produces as long as its working parts communicate with each other. In a perspective that escapes the implication of the human, one can say that territories open up to each other through 'machinic couplings'.⁴⁰ Any kind of intensity to which a passive self relates can produce a machinic coupling and then a line of flight towards somewhere else will take place. Various machinic couplings can take place at the same time. When a given territorialisation expresses itself through various dimensions, such as sound, colour, odour, gesture and position at the same time, Deleuze and Guattari speak of 'machinic operas'⁴¹ that get released. If machinism, the communication of intensities, has individuated itself both from the self that provided the resonance necessary for it to emerge, as well as from the material object in the given environment that provided the affective impulse to which the passive self related, 'consistency'⁴² emerges. Consistency is a feeling that affect has acquired its own dimension of materiality.

3.2 EMPIRICAL EXPLORATIONS

In the realm of passive time, there are constantly processes of territorialisation taking place. A concept of territorialisation grounded in resonance helps to understand these processes not in terms of defence, but in terms of communication. Resonance characterizes territorialisation on a Guatemalan market as highly provisional, highly heterogeneous and ever-changing in adaptation to ever-changing inner and outer context-conditions. The notion of the self opens up. The empha-

37 See Deleuze/Guattari 1987, p. 318.

38 See Ronald Bogue 1999b: 'Minority, Territory, Music', in Jean Khalfa (ed): *An Introduction to the Philosophy of Gilles Deleuze*, pp. 127-8.

39 See Guattari 1992.

40 See Deleuze/Guattari 1987, pp. 333-35.

41 See *ibid.*, p. 330.

42 See *ibid.*, pp. 327-37.

sis in territorialisation by resonance is on interaction, rather than on separation. The first part of the chapter will give an account of the market as a plane of immanence. Duration, the virtual, has gone actual. Everything seems to be simple, heterogeneous and continuous. The second part of the chapter will give an account of territorialisation through resonance. Territorialisation through resonance is grounded in immanence. Against a general background of virtual movement and affect, there emerge ever-provisional actual forms of territory. The third part of the chapter will give an account of territorialisation beyond the focus on the human. Affect emancipates itself from the object that produces it and from the self that perceives it. Affect produces some kind of form in itself. The market, in this third part of the chapter, appears as a plane of consistency. Vitalism has been found in this chapter in forms of conceptualising selfhood in the realm of lived or 'passive time', below the level of the subject and its identity.

The markets on which this chapter is based are the market at '*La Terminal*'⁴³, the market at '*La Democracia*'⁴⁴ and the '*Mercado de las Flores*'⁴⁵. '*La Terminal*' is the central market for Quetzaltenango. Vendors from other markets buy wholesale produce by the sack in this market, but individuals also shop there. The market at the place in Xela that is called '*La Democracia*' is the second most important market in Quetzaltenango, occupying the entire centre of zone three of the town. An important part of commerce takes place outside the market hall, in the surrounding streets. Many people buy products from '*La Terminal*' to sell them here more expensively. Both markets are open daily from seven o'clock in the morning to six o'clock in the evening. '*Las Flores*' is an open market close to where I lived. It is the fourth market in size in Quetzaltenango. The market is open daily, but finishes at lunchtime. On sale is mainly fresh produce for the daily consumption of the people living nearby. In addition, this chapter draws on notes from visits to the periodic markets in the highland towns Momostenango⁴⁶ and San Francisco de los Altos. Momostenango is a town about an hour's bus-ride away from Quetzaltenango. Momostenango has a market in the middle of the town every Sunday. The centre of the town really consists of three marketplaces connected to each other. San Francisco de los Altos is a small town about an hour distance by bus ride from Quetzaltenango. Every Friday, there is a market occupying the centre of the town and all the streets branching off from that. The market in Momostenango, the market in San Francisco de los Altos and the two bigger markets in Quetzaltenango, '*La*

43 English: 'La Terminal' means 'the final bus station'.

44 English: 'La Democracia' means 'democracy'.

45 English: 'Mercado de las Flores' means 'flower market'.

46 See map in appendix.

Terminal' and '*La Democracia*', are the most important markets in the southern highlands of Guatemala, both in terms of size and in terms of the range that people and products travel to the market.

3.2.1 The Market as a Plane of Immanence

In a first encounter, a crowded Guatemalan market, perceived through a Deleuzian lens, appears like a plane of immanence. Duration, the virtual, has gone actual. There are hardly any distinctions between interiority and exteriority. There seem to be few overall principles providing homogeneity. There is hardly any distinction between the human and the non-human or between waste and value at the market. There seems to be hardly any actual temporal structure. There is little reduction of complexity in the name of functionality. The threshold for becoming part of the market is very low. The given appears in terms of sensation, rather than rationality. In contrast to the previous chapter, though, duration here is not about depth, but about fleetingness and ephemerality. The following first section of the chapter will introduce the market as a plane of immanence by way of the three characteristics of duration⁴⁷: simplicity, heterogeneity and continuity.

3.2.1.1 Simplicity

Immanence – duration that has gone actual – is the absence of any distinction between interiority and exteriority.⁴⁸ The open market is a space of extreme poverty. The means of territorialisation, of staking some ground out of immanence, are the most basic. There seems to be little difference between having a stall and not having a stall. There are only the most basic versions of professional tools such as balances or bags. There seems to be a strong tendency towards simply picking up what is around anyway. Improvisation seems to be essential.

Everyday shopping at '*El Mercado de las Flores*'

On Monday the first thing I do when I come to the market is to check the garlic that an old man is offering together with lots of herbs and spices in the front of the market, outside, at the wall. I ask for a *Quetzal* of garlic, and the seller *folds a bag out of a bit of old newspaper*. I fill one garlic more in, he agrees, I pay and I am off.

I ask for flour. The stall offers it per pound, from an open sack. I hesitate a bit. There is a higher risk of illnesses when buying from sacks of rice, pasta, flour, dried beans, dried sweetcorn, herbs or

47 See above, p. 21.

48 See Deleuze/Guatari 1987, p. 156.

sugar. It is said to be safer to buy the sterile pre-packed versions. But I agree and the selling woman fills some flour into a little red plastic bag.

After I agree to buy a pound of tomatoes, the woman takes out a balance. Two small plastic pots are held through four stripes to the respective ends of a straight wooden stick. The stick is held through two stripes as well at both ends. These are tight in the middle. There, the measuring woman holds the balance in equilibrium. Into the one pot, she puts bronze measures from a little set which together weights one kilo, but which consists of several measures of different weight that stick one in another, like the Russian babushka dolls. One weighs one pound, another one a quarter of a pound, another two ounces, another one ounce. You or she then fills up the other plastic pot with vegetables until the two plastic pots are in equilibrium.

Manuel characterizes in a conversation the attitude towards business at the market:

“You have two hands, two feet and a head. And you are going to use them.”

3.2.1.2 Heterogeneity

Immanence – duration that has gone actual – is the absence of any supplementary dimension to that which transpires upon it.⁴⁹ There are few abstract overall principles that would provide homogeneity. Commerce in the market is organised by individual short-term opportunity. There is a vast heterogeneity of things all in one heap. There is a vast heterogeneity of people coming through by whatever means, each one on their own terms. Everything is singular. Everything is multiple. There is one singular line of territorialisation next to the other, over and over again, in great density. The whole market appears like a quilt. New bits, similar to what was there already, have been attached whenever there was more need, space or clients. The limits of the market are fuzzy. The same products can be bought at various places. Various sellers are mobile.

De-centred spatial Organisation

The market at ‘La Terminal’ has moved the farthest away from the original market hall in Xela. There are two points of entry when coming from the main street. One leads into the open-air area. The other one is a paved street. It leads into the original centre of the market, the

49 See Deleuze/Guattari 1987, p. 266.

hall. The **open-air area** is dominated by *pacas*⁵⁰. These are huge heaps of second hand clothes from North America. They are piled up without order on the ground or on a number of tables for people to search through.

The path from the open-space area turns over into a **plastic- and tin-roof covered area**. This is the lower centre of the market. It is the most confusing part. Tin-roofs are installed provisionally. Paths are all over the place. I still get lost, feeling as if I cannot see the forest because of all the trees around me. I let myself be driven from the masses of people, trusting, by now, that I will come out somewhere. It feels like in a huge labyrinth. I leave brain-orientation aside and orientate myself by the objects and subjects that attract me on the way. In the middle of this area there is something like a quiet and traffic-less hole. There are a few *comedores*⁵¹, and some space to wash dishes. In its sudden quietness this part appears a bit like the inner side of a hurricane vortex.

The second point of entry to the market, when coming from the buses, is the **street**. It leads to the hall, the original centre of the market. The street is as long as the whole open part of the market. It is a centre of commerce in itself. Vegetables, textiles, batteries, plants, wooden chairs and tables as well as vegetables and fruits are on offer. This part of the market is still dominated by its function as street, though there is hardly space for a car to come through. People are sitting and selling along both sides. The street culminates in a place in front of the hall, which has become one more provisional market centre in itself. I would go there to look for spices, such as dried chili for example⁵².

The **hall** is dominated by its darkness and by an incredible density of objects and smells. Sweat, dust and objects such as meat or herbs intensify their odour in the closeness of the market hall. At some points, the alleys appear like avenues. Products from both sides of the way are stapled in a manner that they meet over the passers-by's heads. Those who are walking by go through a kind of forest of things and of smells –and of people, for usually it is very dense. On the right side, there is an entire row of butcher stalls. Some light comes through the wooden high roof and through the entrances from two sides. Nevertheless it is much darker than outside or than in the plastic-roofed area. One depends much more on one's sense of touch for orientation. No matter how dense it is, the women find space to balance the baskets full of objects on their heads.

50 English: 'Paca' means 'bundle'. See below the section on *las pacas* towards the end of this chapter for more introduction and photo 12 in appendix.

51 Open places where one can buy and eat hot food.

52 See photo 11 in appendix.

The **ends of the market** on both sides are dominated by the intermeshing of sellers, rubbish, traffic and some police officers. Towards the bus terminal, the margins of the market have become one more centre of commerce in itself. Here, mainly fruits from open sacks are sold. People are sitting in the dust behind their produce. There is no roof against the sun or against the rain. The heap of rubbish in-between that owner-less dogs are searching for bits of food is stinking away right next to the people who are selling. At the other end, the breezes of exhaust fumes from the main street are producing a similar kind of natural limit to business activity.

Objects (small selection)

Fruits: There are bananas, more than anything else. Twelve cost two European cents (translated). There are normal bananas, red *platanos*⁵³ and baby bananas; there are oranges and pineapples; there are coconuts and lemons; there are papaya and melons (watermelons and honey-lemons); there are clementines and *jacote* (tasting like apricots), grenadines, peaches apples, grapes and black currants. There are also various kinds of nuts, most of all peanuts. There are peanuts with shell, without shell, with chili, with barbacoa-sauce, with salt, and hacked into small bits.

Vegetables: There are black beans, red beans, green beans, thick beans and peas. After black beans maybe the most prevalent kind of vegetable are carrots, tomatoes, onions (normal size and small size, for salads), potatoes, cauliflower, broccoli and *huisciles*⁵⁴. Tomatoes and onions are here indispensable in nearly every kind of food, as basic as chicken. There are avocado, peppers, cucumber, lettuce and white cabbage. There is a whole area where leaves of '*machate*'⁵⁵ are sold in huge bundles. The leaves have the size of a rolled-up sleeping bag. They are used to envelop the traditional *patches*.

Bread: There are various kinds of bread on offer. The main distinction maybe is between sweet bread (with sugar) and bread without sugar. Of the breads without sugar, *pan frances*⁵⁶ is the basic form (long, hot-dog bread format). There are various kinds of variation of *pan frances* on offer and also lots of sweet breads. The sweet breads taste like sand-cake. '*Coronas*' (crowns) are maybe the most popular

53 Bananas for cooking. They look like a big sort of banana, but have a different taste.

54 A local vegetable. It is green and in texture and taste somewhere in-between courgettes and kohlrabi.

55 Leaves from a local plant that look in their huge size like banana-leaves. People use them for enveloping patches or *chuchos* (sweetcorn dumplings, filled with some spicy meat and gravy) to give them a better flavour.

56 English: 'French bread'.

of these. *Coronas* are served together with hot chocolate. Bread is a luxury here. Tortilla are basic; bread is additional. There is also a lot of toast bread on offer. It is packed in square packages and wrapped in plastic. People eat it with the traditional *patches*.

Spices: There are eleven kinds of chili on sale.⁵⁷ Basically there are red kinds of chili and green kinds of chili. The red chili is much hotter than the green one. Then there are dried and fresh kinds of chili. And there are big and small kinds of chili. The biggest one is the one that in Europe is known as peppers. It is called *chile pimienta*. The smallest sort of chili is the *chiltepe*. It has little more than peppercorn-size. *Chiltepe* is green. It is used for *chirmoles*, the salsa that goes with *tortillas*. The basic question is whether the chili is not so hot, hot or very hot. The hottest chili is the *chile siete caldos*. People talk of it with great respect. It is a proof of being *macho*⁵⁸ and being ‘washed with all waters’ if one dares to eat this one pure. I do not know anyone who would do this.

There is as well a considerable variety of technological and household objects on offer at the market. Everything is on sale at various places. In Momostenango at the market I have once counted 68 places where one could buy tomatoes.

Mobility

Many of the sellers of ready-made food are mobile. There are the taco sellers, the banana bread or sweetcorn bread sellers, the jelly sellers, the ice-cream sellers, the yucca-puree seller, and the *enchilada*-, *doblada*-,⁵⁹ cake-, or hot dog sellers. There are as well the sellers of various sweets that one can buy. The sellers enter the buses, or go through the streets. Being more mobile than others is a business advantage. The *ceviche*⁶⁰ seller has a bike, the ice-cream sellers have their ice-cream in a little hand cart in front of them, the jelly sellers have their offerings on a tablet in front of their stomach. Those who sell plastic flowers or balloons are equally better off if they carry their objects on their back.⁶¹

57 See photo 11 in appendix.

58 A ‘real’ man.

59 *Tacos*, *enchiladas*, *dobladas* are sweetcorn-based food that come with various toppings or fillings of vegetables, cheese, minced beef or spices.

60 A seafood cocktail.

61 See photo 8 in appendix.

3.2.1.3 Continuity

Immanence – duration that has gone actual – is the absence of any dualism.⁶² There is hardly any distinction between human and non-human, and between waste and value at the market. Everything is just de-territorialized matter, swirling around, side by side. The luxury of lace borders is separated just by the plastic bag in which it has been carried to the market from the rubbish heap on which it is being sold.⁶³ The exhaust fumes from the big street are on one plane with the nose of the seller. An Evangelical preacher and women's underwear are sending out their messages side by side.⁶⁴ Turkey-necks, girl-necks and bottlenecks from Coca Cola are swirling around on the same level.⁶⁵ There is a tendency towards human bodies being just bits of moving flesh, on one level with all other forms of matter.

*Immanence is the absence of any dualism. There is no outside. Everything seems to be allowed. Everything is in.*⁶⁶ *Nearly the whole range of subjects and activities that life consists of are to be encountered in the market. The threshold for becoming part of the market is very low. There is no exclusion in the name of functionality.*

Heterogeneity of Subjects inhabiting the Market not directly involved in Selling and Buying

Dogs. In every market there are huge owner-less dogs who brush around one's legs. They always imply the risk of being bitten and contracting rabies.

Preachers. Some of them have a microphone, some of them have a cassette recorder or a complete stereo-set, some of them are equipped with accordion – the music will make their message flow better into people's minds. They have their pocket Bible with them, standing there and preaching. Most people pass by and some stop, listening for a while.

Children are everywhere. They are selling, hanging around their mother's skirts, passing the time that they have to stay with their mothers selling at the market. In Momostenango I met a group of children who made a game out of catching *gringos*⁶⁷. The children were hanging themselves onto foreigners' legs and arms, asking for a bit of money. Then they run off to the next foreigner and the same procedure started again. ('There is another one!').

62 See Deleuze/Guattari 1987, p. 20.

63 See photo 7 in appendix.

64 See photo 10 in appendix.

65 See photo 9 in appendix.

66 See *ibid*, pp. 156-7.

67 Local pejorative term for European or US-looking foreigners.

Drunk people, usually men, lay around in the middle of the path. People make a curve around them when passing by and no one seems to bother. It happens about once or twice per market visit that one has to take care not to run over a drunk person.

Gamblers. Some people play for money on the market. There are three cards on a table. Then they change their position and the gambler has to guess the location of a particular card. If he wins, he gets 100 *Quetzales*; if he loses, he has to pay 100 *Quetzales*. A number of men stay around and watch.

Wide Range of Activities displayed at the Market

Manuel and I are having lunch with a friend of his. Federico has done a degree in sociology in Guatemala City. He asks from time to time on what I am currently working. I tell him that I am currently working on the market. I tell him that I am interested in finding out what the market means for the people who are selling there all day long. Federico replies: 'I can tell you what the market means for them. It's their life.' I was contemplating afterwards about what that could mean. One really has the feeling that the people are living at the open market. All age groups are represented. People are talking, playing and fighting. They are bored, they are eating, breast-feeding, sleeping and urinating. The whole range of life seems to take place at the market. There seems to be no exclusion. The dominant impression is time, rather than space. The market is a place where one is often better off when one lets time go off its own way, letting the hours pass by. Things tend to happen in a way one cannot control or predict. One can just accept the way things are and inhabit what is available. One is better off when being flexible enough to leave action-orientation a bit aside whenever the situation demands this. There is a tendency towards the disappearance of any kind of structure into lived time.

Getting lost

I take the path at the very right side of the market down to the bus-terminal in order not to get lost. I do not get lost on this way. I get lost, however, when I try to find a way back from the bus terminal. The bus terminal is located at the lower end of the market and I wait to go in the opposite direction, back towards the entrance of the Minerva⁶⁸. I drop somewhere into a plastic-roofed path between two wooden selling-huts. There is not much on offer on this way. There are male toilets, which I remember from smell and sight. Then there is a candle-and a music-stall. This is already a bit more right side. I find my way into more lively areas through the chaos of paths and huts. Today, I remember that even at that stage I was not really worried that I might

68 A Greek-style temple built by a former mayor.

get seriously lost. By now I have a feeling for the dimensions of the market. The previous times, however, the market was always like a world in itself. There are so overwhelmingly many impressions. There is so much immediacy. There is no space left in my mind for any kind of overview.

Getting stuck

The market is a slow-go-area. The flow of people passing by often gets stuck, because of men with their hand carts loaded with saleable objects, such as chicken or turkeys in baskets, covered with a net, just the heads of the animals looking through, watching around, probably scared.⁶⁹ Slowness is also due to carrier-boys with huge platforms on wheels...just barely fitting in the more spacious paths that lead through the market. The marketers pay these people to carry their produce from the place where one is selling to the street where a car should be waiting. The paths are already filled from the passers-by. And then there are these self-made carts, which, despite the density of the paths, take half of the width of a path just for itself. Although the paths are already crowded with people, these boys always find their way through. It is like in the second class buses⁷⁰, when people try to come through to enter or leave the bus: they manage to do so, although you think, ‘no, there is no way, every single centimetre is already filled with human flesh, sweat and noises’.

Waiting

I am with *Doña Toria* and Don Arsenio at the market at ‘*La Terminal*’. After the first five minutes of entering the marketplace, Don Arsenio has disappeared. *Doña Toria* and I sit down on some stairs and wait for him. We are looking around, chatting. Sometimes *Doña Toria* stops the sellers who are passing by to negotiate the prices and have a look at the products. I am amazed by her tranquillity. There seems to be something like the art of waiting. For the first fifteen minutes or so, my mind is focused on Don Arsenio. I get a bit tense, because he lets us wait there for such a long time. *Doña Toria*, by contrast, seems to me to be just sitting there. She seems to give herself into the times at the market, forgetting what we are waiting for. The more I imitate that from her, the less tense and bad humoured I am. The less I focus on what we are waiting for, the less this time is a lost time. After more than an hour or so, *Doña Toria* finally says: ‘I wonder where he is.’ She goes back to look for her husband. When she does not⁷¹ find him, we leave. By chance, we meet him at the next crossing of two paths.

69 See photo 9 in appendix.

70 See below chapter 5 of this book.

71 Sweetcorn-based food to go.

He declares that he was looking for us. It is only a few minutes that she seems to be angry with him.

3.2.2 The Passive Self: Territorialisation through Resonance

The market is a realm of action. There is a clear goal: marketers come to the market in order to exchange objects against money. In sympathy with Deleuze and Guattari one can say that doing business is grounded in movements of territorialisation. The market then is an assemblage⁷² of innumerable singular lines of territorialisation. Territories at the market are hardly separated from each other by material walls (as in shops) or by formal regulations. There is little actual territorialisation. This makes the dimension of virtual territorialisation particularly important. On the level of the virtual, prior to the realm of structure, the self passively negotiates its territories in resonance to affective impulses. It receives these impulses from the actual given. Everything is movement and affect. Through resonance to perceived intensities, the self stakes out some kind of home ground out of the immanence of movement and affect. Then, action can take place.

3.2.2.1 Milieus and Territories

Territorialisation grounded in resonance emphasizes vulnerability. The focus is on the communication between the self and the dynamics within given milieus. Form is improvised and ever only emerging – ‘todo sirve’.

3.2.2.1.1 Complex Synchronisations⁷³

Territorialisation consists in a complex synchronisation of global and local, actual and virtual movements. Many of the people to whom I speak receive their objects from far away. At the market in Quetzaltenango, second-hand clothes come from the United States, firewood comes from the Pacific Coast and vegetables come from Guatemala City. The movements of objects delineate a given business milieu. Rather than actively choosing what he or she would like to do, the marketer passively stakes out his or her business territory by connecting to what is available. In the third example, movements such as the ageing of food, appetite, heat, transport or wood show how the market territory communicates with various milieu-components.

72 A conjunction. See Deleuze/Guattari 1987, pp. 503-5 and in passim.

73 See Deleuze/Guattari 1987, p. 329.

Indigenous elderly woman, maybe sixty years old, selling second hand clothes at ‘La Terminal’

She is sitting under a plastic roof behind her heap of clothes on the floor with some younger people. She tells me that it is difficult to earn a living here at the market. Sometimes one can earn 50 *Quetzales* a day. The clothes are delivered from the US to Guatemala City. From there they come to Xela, where she gets them for 5-6000 *Quetzales* (can that be?). Then she has to sell them. Sometimes things just do not go out. She sells the clothes for five, ten or 20 *Quetzales*. (*Doña Toria* later holds that from 50 *Centavos* even, you get some good clothes there at times!) Sometimes at the end of a day, her stall has made 100 *Quetzales* deficit, the woman tells me.

Young indigenous woman, 20 years old, selling vegetables at ‘La Democracia’

I ask the woman whether she also takes part in the process of cultivating the vegetables. At first, she does not understand me. No, she buys them from the market at ‘*La Terminal*’. Every morning there the people come with their vans from Guatemala City and sell the vegetables to the *rescatones* (middlemen). They sell per sack or per case, and therefore the products at ‘*La Terminal*’ are at their cheapest. Around Xela, it is too cold to grow tomatoes, for example. At the coast, only tropical fruits are grown. This is why every morning the vegetables come all the way from Guate⁷⁴. The young woman is less involved in the life-process of the vegetable than I had assumed!

Doña Olga, about 60 years old, selling atol de arroz con leche and atol de helote⁷⁵

Doña Toria: ‘When *Doña Olga* sells all her *chuchos* and all her *atoles* in a day, then maybe in the end she has 100 *Quetzales* for a day’s work. But business is irregular. The food is her capital. The *chuchos*. The *atoles*. But the food is getting old quickly. And then no one wants to buy it anymore. Then it does not get sold anymore. In the afternoon already this is the case. Until twelve o’clock noon the *atoles* get sold. Thereafter people just want lunch. Business is discontinuous, difficult to plan. One day yes, one day no. Now, in July, no one wants to drink *atol*. It is too warm. Everyone just wants to drink *aguas gaseosas*, soft drinks. Besides, so much money has to be deducted, if you have to pay men to carry the big baskets. For the market stall maybe 100 *Quetzales* a month. The family has bought a new car recently, due to long-term health-problems of *Doña Olga*’s daughter and son-in-law. Now,

74 Local abbreviation for Guatemala City.

75 *Atoles* are home-made indigenous drinks from milk-rice (‘*arroz de leche*’) and sweetcorn cob (‘*helote*’).

Mario (her son-in-law) collects *Doña Olga* from the market by car in the evening, and gets her there in the morning. So now it is easier. Before and if this does not work, *Doña Olga* is walking, with the basket full of *atoles* on her head. This is heavy! Sometimes the basket changes position and *atol* is running out. And it takes so much firewood, if one is selling *atoles* every day. Sometimes the wood does not start burning then, as in the old times, when it was fetched in the forests around Xela. Now the wood is coming from the Pacific coast. It is burning well.'

3.2.2.1.2 Chances for Territorialisation

People who sell on the Guatemalan market do not have professions, but formally unqualified jobs. This seems to make passive resonance to chances for territorialisation particularly important. Gender impacts the chances for territorialisation: it determines the degree of de-territorialisation from a given milieu that is available to one. In the following example a little boy speaks about chances of a different future through education, through different work experiences and through having control over a part of the money he earns. By contrast, a young woman is given far fewer chances to form her own territory on the market. She did not go to school. She can keep no money for herself. She works full time seven days a week. She sees her past, present and future as the same. Nevertheless, she still has some chances for territorialisation. These are characteristically different from those of a boy. Her perspectives are marriage and pregnancy.

Little boy, selling Jeans at the market at 'La Terminal', at a main path on the left side of the market. He is 11 years old, and has been selling at the market for one year. He is in the fifth grade at school. Now it is the holiday season, but he is working only half days, so that he can work and go to school at the same time. He started working at the age of eight. As a shoemaker! He did this for four years, until he started at the market. He has five siblings at home. 'Home' is somewhere in Xela. None of the others is working at the market. One is making *corte* (traditional indigenous skirts) and one is making *hilo* (thread). The others are still small. They all live together. He does not know many people at the market.

The boy is employed by the lady who has rented the stall in front of which he is sitting. He has to sell ten pairs of jeans per day in order to satisfy her. He earns 40 *Quetzales* a week. Q25 of that he gives for *gastos* (expenses) to his family. 15 are for himself. With that he buys 'his things' – not sweets, his clothes! The shoes and the trousers and the sweater he is wearing! It is enough for him, he says, he is getting along. He met the woman for whom he is working because she is his

neighbour. She asked him. The jeans he is selling cost 18 to 20 *Quetzales* each – the woman seems to make a good business with giving him Q40⁷⁶ a week!

Young indigenous woman, 20 years old, selling vegetables at ‘La Democracia’

A pound of tomatoes costs Q1.40, negotiable to Q1.25. The young woman earns about 20 *Quetzales* a day. None of this money is for herself. She has to give it to her parents. Her three siblings are selling at the market as well. By combining all their money, they can get by. The young woman never went to school. I ask her whether she can read and write and she vaguely says that she nearly taught herself how to do it. She is not married yet, does not have children. She is 20 years old by now, and for five years she has had this place at the market. She has always worked at the market, before getting her own market stall she has helped out at the place of her mother or elder siblings. She thinks that she will always do this job, maybe 40 years longer. Every day, seven days a week, from eight o’clock in the morning to six o’clock in the evening she is sitting there.

3.2.2.1.3 Territory Converters⁷⁷

A given territory passively changes when there is a change in the underlying dynamics of the milieu of which it is a product. Territorialisation of the two atol-sellers in the following examples consists of doing the same movements over and over again, for years and years. Thereby, a territory emerges. Various milieu-components impact territorialisation. These are given different power to convert the territory. In the following two examples, one of the two atol-sellers allows her body to become a relatively stronger territorial motif to her work activities than the other. When her legs started to hurt, Doña Toria responded: She stopped selling in the streets and set up a permanent stall at a market. Later still, she stopped selling at all. Through giving resonance to the intensity of hurting, there occurred a relative conversion of energy-flows. Territorialisation converted into a direction that seemed a more fitting expression of the dynamics underlying her current situation. Also in relation to the money she earns, Doña Toria manages to convert the given work-milieu in a way that allows her to decide where the money goes. By contrast, Doña Olga does not allow her tiredness to convert her working rhythms. Her body sets up tiredness as a poster⁷⁸. It signals: ‘Care for me. You have to sleep more or

76 Short for Quetzal, the Guatemalan currency.

77 See Deleuze/Guattari 1987, pp. 325-6.

78 See above, p. 103.

I will collapse. You are violating the critical amount of sleep that I need in order to support you.' But this poster is not allowed to become a territorial motif to the working activities. Doña Olga ignores it.

Doña Toria, about 60 years old, selling atol de arroz con leche and atol de helote.

'We have been suffering a lot', she says. *Doña Toria* had sold *atoles* from her 15th birthday onwards. *Atol de arroz con leche* and *atol de helote*. First in the street, with a carrying bag full of glasses and a can full of *atol*. She did not sell at the bus terminal to the bus passengers – that seemed her to be too dangerous, but she went through the streets and knocked at front doors. At some point, she did not want to sell in the streets anymore and started selling on the market. Later still, the legs hurt so much that she stopped doing this as well.

Now she helps out washing the glasses for *Doña Olga* from time to time. *Doña Olga* is selling *atoles* and *chuchos* at the '*Mercado de la Democracia*'. *Doña Olga* is paying *Doña Toria* ten *Quetzales* for washing the glasses. *Don Arsenio* does not know about this payment. He thinks she is doing the job for free. If he knew about it, she would have to give *him* the ten *Quetzales*. She keeps the money for herself. What is she buying with the money for herself? For what is she saving? The ten *Quetzales* that she earned last time, *Doña Toria* spent on a packet of sugar...there is always something!

Sometimes *Doña Toria* still thinks about selling on the close to home '*Mercado de las Flores*', but that would mean that everything at home would remain undone – most of all the washing. And there would be no one to look after her mother. It is easier to sell with a partner, having two people selling there. However, her mother is too old and too weak to accompany her. If her younger child had been a daughter, it would have come to the market with her. Since it is a son, this is not possible.

Doña Olga, about 60 years old, selling atoles de arroz con leche y de helote

Doña Toria: '*Doña Olga* goes to bed at one a.m. and gets up at four a.m., three hours later, to get herself ready for the market. In the morning, the *atol* has to be prepared; in the evening, glasses have to be cleaned.' 'Why does *Doña Olga* have to make her life difficult with such inconvenient working times?', I ask: 'Why can she not get up at seven o'clock in the morning, go to the market at nine o'clock, get her utensils together at three o'clock in the afternoon, go home, clean the glasses and at six o'clock in the evening end her working day?' 'No,' *Doña Toria* replies. 'At six o'clock in the evening the market closes down and only towards the end, between five o'clock and six o'clock, glasses are coming back. *If* they come back at all!'

3.2.2.2 Rhythm

Rhythm emerges at the border between milieus. Territory develops when rhythm becomes actual. Rhythm emerges through resonance. At the Guatemalan market, passive resonance is crucial due to the openness of a market-territory. There is no clear-cut differentiation of territories. Territories constantly open up, overlap and communicate in ways that one can just engage with. Rhythm expresses itself through nuances, such as looking away, through building up sound walls and through gestures. Passive territorialisation requires tacit perception, tolerance and attentiveness.

Mugging

The rhythm at the market receives impulses from mugging. The marketers are aware of the possibility of mugging. However, they passively have to live with this risk. The only way to protect oneself seems to be to give resonance to what is going on.

Luis, about 30 years old, selling herbs and spices. Good, he says, that he hasn't got to go to the capital himself, because it is so dangerous there. Robbery, assaults – in Xela it is dangerous as well, but not that much. Yes, of course, one has to take care, otherwise they steal one's money – or the spices. (After saying this, he himself tries to cheat me on the spices I buy from him. I receive about one third of what one usually gets for one *Quetzal*).

Doña Toria, about 60 years old, selling atoles de arroz con leche and atol de helote. 'This job is difficult. You turn around for a moment to give out some change, you turn your back to the bag with the atol and the glasses, and then someone nicks the bag with all the glasses.' Doña Toria stands up and performs the movements. 'Glasses disappear, glasses break, and one cuts one's finger with the broken pieces of glass.'

Competition

The rhythm at the market receives impulses from competition. Competition takes place between market sellers who offer the same produce and therefore occupy overlapping milieus. The atol seller in the following example passively has to live with the aggression of fellow sellers. There is not much she can do. The atol is the only way she can earn some money, but so it is for the other sellers as well.

Doña Toria, selling *atoles de arroz con leche* and *atol de helote*. ‘When I was selling *atoles* at the market, once there was this woman who was selling *atoles* near me. She pushed me when I passed her way, coming with all my *atoles* and glasses. All the glasses broke. By now, she is talking to me again, since I am no longer selling at the market. Often, people are making nasty remarks about you behind your back, or making nasty remarks to the clients behind your back when they return the glasses. “Her *atol* does not taste good,” for example. If one would sit down at the end of the market, maybe the marketers would not say that much, but there the police might ask one for the health certificate that most people do not have, although they are required to have it. The police and the *muni*⁷⁹ want to keep the market centralised. There are always problems, but I also made a lot of friends.’

Indigenous elderly woman, about sixty years old, selling second hand clothes. ‘In earlier times,’ she tells me, ‘things were different at ‘La Terminal’.’ There was only an open field. No plastic roofs, far less people. Then, afterwards, it became difficult to get a place. One had to rent a market stall for quite a bit of money.’ She did not want to tell me how much this was. At first, in those times, one of them had to come at 3 a.m. to defend the rented space, because other people would try to build up their produce as well at this good position. Now the market is closed at night and the stall is closed off. It is neither necessary nor possible anymore to negotiate one’s space in the middle of the night.

Manuel. ‘If you would sit down at the ‘Parque Central’ with some shoe-polish to join the row of shoe-shiners, you would get heavy problems with the boys already working there. They would probably hit you right away and make you leave their territory. The Parque Central is in strong hands. It seems to be informal work what is going on there, but no newcomer would be allowed in there. After all, shoe shining is a quite well regarded job here in Xela. The worst you can do to make a living is currently fire breathing. That is really low.’

Music

The rhythm at the market receives impulses from music. Music stakes out territories. Through music, rhythms in-between territories express themselves.

79 Colloquial abbreviation for ‘municipal authority’.

Young indigenous woman, 20 years old, selling vegetables at ‘La Democracia’ In the background there is music, from a big loud-speaker on the street. This music is playing as loud as it currently does all day long. I ask her whether she likes the music that is playing now (techno). She does not like it. But at other times, she likes the music. Her favourite is Dido⁸⁰ and she also likes *Vincente Fernández*⁸¹, *Los Tigres del Norte*⁸² and *Los Bukis*⁸³.

3.2.2.3 Formal Impositions

*Milieus and stratifications intermesh.*⁸⁴ *Milieus build up through dynamics within the realm of lived time. They express themselves through affective vibrations. Impositions, by contrast, are stratifications. They capture. They are static. The imposed stratifications at the open market, however, are likely to be encountered through affective resonance, as if they were milieu. At the open market, people seem to have very little means to meet imposed stratifications in a formal way, be these political, economic or natural. Informal rules and local knowledge seem to be important in order to know what is really going on, what one really has to expect and what one can really do in order to come through. Improvisation and risk-taking seem to substitute for mechanical rule-fulfilment.*

Political Impositions

Manuel. ‘Working at the market is tough. Some weeks ago, when I was buying salad at the market, there were these two women fighting. They nearly hit each other. The one was shouting: “I am older, I am far longer here at this place – for so many years. This is my place!” The other countered, as well shouting: “I have got the papers that show that this place is legally my place. I have got the ticket!”’

Doña Toria on the question: ‘What are the requirements for entry to selling at the market?’ ‘Formally, one needs a ticket from the

80 A contemporary British pop star.

81 The most famous interpret of Mexican *ranchéras*-music, a genre that is concerned with facts and fantasies surrounding the everyday life of Mexican ranch owners.

82 A *rancheras* band whose music expresses specifically the culture of those Mexican people who live close to the border between the United States and Mexico – on both sides of the border. This type of *ranchéras* is called *TexMex*, a mixture of the words Texas and Mexico.

83 A Mexican band specialised on romantic songs. The band was most famous during the eighties. By now, the singer of the band, Marco Antonio Solís, has embarked on a solo career.

84 See Deleuze/Guattari 1987, p. 337.

market administrator, and a health certificate by the *municipalidad*. The latter states that one got one's lungs checked and got done other tests to rule out the possibility of introducing serious illnesses to the market. People often do not have these papers. It is too expensive to achieve them, given the small amount of money that they earn.'

Economic Impositions

Everyday shopping at 'El Mercado de las Flores'

I want to cook these ready-made chicken breasts from 'Pollo-Rey'⁸⁵ that I found three days ago. The 'Mercado de las Flores' offered them for 14 *Quetzales* and the supermarket 'La Despensa Familiar' had them for 19 *Quetzales*. At the open market, they are lying outside the refrigerator, for clients to watch. When I ask the seller, she admits that they have to be chilled and usually she has them in the refrigerator, just now they are out for prospective clients to watch. This means that they could not be frozen again?

On Friday, I am searching for a stick of margarine 'Mirasol'. On the shelf of the place I stop by, I discover only a large pack of this brand, so I think the stall does not have what I am looking for. But the selling woman opens the pack and takes out one of the sticks, closes the pack again and puts it back onto the shelf.

Impositions by Nature

Everyday shopping at the 'Mercado de las Flores'

I go to the market to get some lime for a carrot salad. When I enter the hall, there is still a slight shock of excessive colour and nature acting on me from all sides. The seller to whom I go this time is the one where I bought cauliflower yesterday. She smiles at me and seems to recognise me. *She is breast-feeding a kid*. I ask for four limes for a *Quetzal*. We agree on three. She stands up from her seat, holding her kid to her breast that goes on drinking. She leans over her vegetables while stretching out her hand towards me to put the three limes into a plastic bag. Then she receives her *Quetzal* and sits down again.

I also want to get some 'Salsa Natura'. This is a popular brand of a ready-made tomato sauce with different flavours, added vegetables or meat. At the stall where I ask I am served by an elderly, nearly deaf lady who seems to be illiterate. She holds to me a plastic pot with some 'Salsa Natura'- packages. All have 'Ranchera'-flavour (tomato with hot chili). I tell her that I am looking for cheese-flavour. It takes

85 Local brand of plastic-wrapped chickens.

some time until she understands the difference. I read out to her the labels on the packages that she offers me.

3.2.2.4 Joy

According to Deleuze and Guattari, territorialisation can be differentiated into different degrees of individuation. The more expressive a particular act of territorialisation is, the more individuated is the territory. When there is joy emerging from within, territorialisation transforms from an expression of something through territorial motifs and counterpoints, into an expression in its own right through rhythmic characters and melodic landscapes.

Playfulness

The two shoeshine boys in the following example express an intense urge to do something by all means available. Often in the street-kid-working milieu that they inhabit, sniffing glue seems to be the only means available to come through the miseries of daily life. One of the two boys in fact quit sniffing glue only a year ago. In the encounters I had with the two, they seem to express a line of flight from the miserable milieu of the street towards somewhere else. This energy seems to express itself in relation to religion in the fifth paragraph, in relation to education in the fourth paragraph, with regard to reliability in the first paragraph, in relation to solidarity and leisure in the third and sixth paragraph, and regarding childhood play in the seventh paragraph.

The two boys seem to earn far more money from their energetic and joyful encounters with tourists than from shoe shining. Their begging seems to me to express itself in an incredibly playful way. It looks as if the two have managed to build up home ground for themselves. There seems to be some kind of distance from the everyday misery of life in the street. From their own territories, it seems to me, they launch their own actions. Because they launch their own actions, rather than clinging to the actions of others, the two boys do not appear as if they were begging.

There are several stages of territorialisation present here: in the first and third paragraph, the setting up of posters demonstrates the possessiveness of a territory. In the third, fifth, sixth and seventh paragraph there is communication of territorial marks with internal motifs and external counterpoints. In paragraphs three and seven expressiveness emancipates itself from its functional context. It seems to me as if there is joy in its own right, not just making fun in order to motivate people to give more money.

Today I have lunch with the shoeshine boys that I have met recently, Ricardo and Pablo. I meet Ricardo in front of 'Tecún'⁸⁶, the place where I write my emails. He offers to shine my shoes and I accept. We first met about half a year ago. I was having a pizza outside 'Tecún', and he and his friend Pablo came along and wanted to have some money. I gave the first five *Quetzales*, which was a lot. I told him to share with the second one, but *he said that would not work*. So I told the second one, Ricardo, next time he would get something. Some months later, I met Ricardo again, and he asked me for money. I said 'No.' This was again at 'Tecún'. *He reminded me of my promise to give him something next time*. I said, 'Yes, you are right,' and gave him five *Quetzales*. Then we met twice in the 'Parque Central'. He asked me for a *Quetzal* and I gave him one.

Then I met him once with Manuel at 12 December, the *Día de la Virgen de Guadalupe*⁸⁷, in the 'Parque Central' when this was very crowded. I told him, I would invite him for a Coke to 'Tecún'. He suggested, I could do so right now. I said, 'No, not now, at the moment I do not have time.' He suggested, I could give him the money for the Coke and he would go and get it himself. And I replied, 'We could go together and talk a bit.' And that was where he seemed to get scared. He looked at me suddenly with much more distance. Then I gave him a *Quetzal* and off he went. Since then I have not seen him again. When I come through the *Parque Central* just then he is not there. Before the 12th of December he was always there, somehow.

Four days ago I met the two of them in the 'Parque Central', and I had already been looking to see whether or not I would see him. He recognised me and came running over, his friend behind him. Ricardo was *fencing me off from his friend*. I was *his* contact. *He asked for two Quetzales, one for him and one for his friend*. It felt to me as if we were both glad to meet again. Today we sat down in front of Tecún. He is shining my shoes. He offers *to teach me some Quiché*⁸⁸. *I invite him for a Coke and a pizza*. Then his friend comes. He gets a Coke as well and we all have one third of the pizza. They borrow a pencil from a man at another table and ask me for some words in *Quiché* that I would like to have written down in my notebook. I tell them that I have to see the words in front of me; otherwise they would not stick in my head. The taller and probably older one, Pablo, is writing and the other one is pronouncing the word in *Quiché* that I ask for in Spanish. That is funny!

86 Read [tɜ:kʉ:n]. A local pub, called after Tecún Umán, the Maya emperor who fought and lost the battle against the Spanish conquistadors.

87 An event in the catholic year-cycle.

88 One of the 23 Indian languages in Guatemala, spoken around Quetzaltenango.

Many of the shoeshine kids dope themselves with *pegamento* (glue), but my two companions seem to be both very clear. They say that maybe they will go to school in Cantel⁸⁹ in some weeks, at the beginning of February. Ricardo, the smaller one, will go into the third grade of primary school. He is from Momostenango, where everyone speaks Quiché all day long. But from beginning on he has learned to speak Spanish as well. Ricardo tells me about the classes that he is going to have. Today he has to buy *cuadernos* (exercise books). For his maths, Spanish, *Quiché*, social study and natural study classes - seven altogether. Each of them costs Q3.50. He has to earn this money all by himself, through shoe shining! The other one, Pablo, tells me that one could earn 20 *Quetzales* a day through shoe shining. I am very impressed. But it is already about twelve o'clock noon and Ricardo has, including the 2 *Quetzales* from shining my shoes, made only 4 *Quetzales* so far.

Then, Ricardo *starts humming along with the music by Bronco*⁹⁰ that emerges in the background. I ask him whether he likes it and he nods. Then I ask whether he also likes the music by *Los Bukis*. He tells me that he is Evangelical and that he is not allowed to listen to such music, just to other music. So, I ask for his favourite bands. He replies that his favourite music is *music that is about God, about the love of God and for God*.

Then he asks me whether I have been to the swimming pool in Almolonga. I tell him that I have, but that this is already half a year ago. Ricardo tells me that he goes there once a month. He asks when I will be going next time, and whether Manuel and me could not cross the 'Parque Central' so that he could come with us! This Sunday he would be *helping to build a wall of a house*, but maybe next Sunday?

Ricardo has been working for one year by now as a shoe-shiner, he tells me. But when he goes to school, he will stop doing so. 'No more shoe-shining', he says. We are making collapsible hats and boats from paper. The two boys can fold a ship into a shirt (of the captain from a drowned ship that was hit by a lightning), and then fold this shirt into a pistol. Ricardo can even fold a camera out of paper! I ask them if it has been difficult to start work at the 'Parque'. Ricardo says 'no', the other says 'yes'. I ask them what they think would happen if I would come to the 'Parque Central' with shoe shine equipment...as a new competitor! They laugh, but do not really reply. Then I say that I have to go to write my email. I pay and we are leaving. When I return from the Internet-café, Ricardo is still there, looking for clients. We smile and greet each other.

89 A village a distance of about 20 minutes bus-ride from Quetzaltenango.

90 A Mexican rancheras band that was very popular during the eighties.

Idleness

Market sellers seem to just sit there a lot of the time, passive, in-between their objects. When a client comes, he is directly addressed and served. There is little aggressiveness in the approaching of clients. Despite the pressure to make money by any means, sometimes the functional seems to change towards just enjoying oneself, sitting there and letting time pass by, seeing what happens. This kind of joy seems to be deeper than the functional. It inhabits the time at the market through the giving of one's own time. These moments of idleness are reminiscent of the depth of duration in the traditional home.⁹¹ Among this idleness, communication easily takes off. Then, territorialisation seems to emancipate itself from the necessities of daily misery. Through the joy that the idleness expresses, territorialisation seems to become something in itself.

Young indigenous woman, 20 years old, selling vegetables at 'La Democracia'

Here at the market everything takes a lot of time. The young woman is sitting there under a sunshade between raffia baskets and wide trays. The tomatoes are placed on a colourful cloth; the *huisciles* are bedded on *machate*.

There is a lot of communication. Market women are passing by, greeting in *Quiché* or Spanish, then for a short while we are 'alone' again. I sit down at the steps beside the seller and start writing some notes down. Then the young woman starts talking to me and I realise that all the market women around are observing what I am doing. One of them says, '*jno se va!*' (she is not going away). I raise my head to the seller and ask her whether I am sitting at her place. She says, 'No, don't worry. Keep sitting there, it is all right.' All around are laughing. Then the young vegetable seller starts talking to me, asking me what I am doing, and we start a conversation.

Doña Olga

I go over to *Doña Olga*. She is selling in the row where all the *comedores* are offering food-to-go: *Enchiladas*, *dobladas*, *chuchos* and *atoles*. She is standing on a turned over case. In front of her, on the counter, different clay pots with *atoles* are lined up. The *chuchos* are in a raffia basket, wrapped in-between woven cloth to keep them warm. Then there is a bucket with water to wash the used glasses and plastic mugs. Behind her there are staples of big raffia baskets. In

91 See chapter 2 above.

these the cans of *atol* are carried to and from the market on *Doña Olga*'s head. Along the half-high wall that separates *Doña Olga*'s stall from her neighbour's place is a bench where her clients can sit while eating and drinking. As well in front of the counter there is a bench. Maybe altogether six people find place there at a time. In front of the place people are passing by. *Doña Olga* is greeting many and many are greeting her. Now, in the afternoon at about 4:30 p.m. there are still a few people around, eating her *chuchos* and drinking her *atoles*. A young girl is sitting there when I arrive, then a middle-aged couple is coming along and an elderly man with some electric equipment that he is carrying around. *Doña Olga* is cleaning big leaves of *machate* with a leafstalk. This is to wrap the *chuchos* she will be preparing tonight for tomorrow. She seems tired, yawns often. She appears very calm, somehow wise as she is sitting there, inviting people, chatting with each one a bit about personal occurrences. She appears smiling, tired and friendly. She seems happy to see me. She offers me one of her *atoles de helote* and an *enchilada* from a neighbour's *comedor*. I tell her what my research is about and she seems interested.

3.2.3 Territorialisation and Consistency

From a machinic point of view, the passive self is dissolved. On the plane of immanence, territorialisation starts as an affective impulse from the given and then carries this away towards somewhere else. Territorialisation takes place out there, in the given. There is a strong feeling of being sucked up by the affective mass of a market. One is touched by a sensual complexity that goes far beyond the tacit range of the actual objects. There is a constant bodily alert. One orientates oneself by vibration. The entire body becomes a registering surface when moving through the intensity of a market. Intensities have individuated themselves from the material contexts out of which they emerged. Out of the machinic coupling of intensities there emerges a plane of consistency. Objects as well as subjects seem to dissolve into one affective mass through their communicating territorialising expressions.

3.2.3.1 Vision

Green-ness⁹²

Vegetables and fruits on the market are openly lying there, just so, in huge heaps on the tables or on the ground. Their colours and smells come to you, instead of you coming to them. They address you from all sides, often also from the ground where people are sitting in front

92 See photo 11 in appendix on red-ness.

of what they have on offer. The intensity of colour is amazing. The green of broccoli, carrot- and onion-weeds, huisciles, cucumbers, avocado and lettuce. Of course, on one level there is the heap of green and here are you, clearly separated. But more dominant is the intuitive engagement with the market's manifold durations through my duration. I pay attention to the dynamic of merging that takes place on an affective level between the greenness and me. On an affective level, one becomes green. When one enters the market hall in Zunil⁹³ green is everywhere. It is not just a visual encounter. It is much more. It seems to transgress limits of different levels of sense-impressions. Green seems to be 'loud', occupying frequencies. It seems to be big and strong. It is an active movement of sensation that goes far beyond the actual limits of the material form of the objects. In this elusive form, the colour of the vegetables merges with their smell, with the silencing movement of dust and with the yelling and chatting of people. All becomes one, opening up towards each other.

Intimacy

Brassieres are displayed in a way that goes clearly beyond need-fulfilment and into the realm of desire and fantasy. Big sizes with big cups in skin colour are lined up. Men's underwear by contrast is not displayed that openly, but rather packed in plastic and sold in packs of three. When I take a photo of lined-up brassieres, the two men who are selling them are laughing. It seems to me that they would not have laughed in the same way if I had taken a photo of a vegetable stall. Manuel found the photo to be in bad taste. To his mother I would not even have shown it. At home, *Doña* Toria and *Doña* Maria dry their brassieres behind the chicken hut, out of sight of the patio. Although there is no sun and the washing takes two additional days to dry. There seems to be something shameful surrounding the intimacy of brassieres. This intensity is made productive when they are displayed like posters in the market stalls. Once at the market in Guatemala City, I observe two boys, about nine and 11 years old, selling brassieres. They obviously have great fun with these things, despite all their business-orientation. It is about imagination. At stake seems to be flesh, pleasure, rawness and adulthood. It also looks to me, however, like a disrespectful sell-out of female sexuality that attacks or attracts the passer-by from afar. Colour comes in here as well. If the brassieres would have been black or coloured, they might look like fashion, like bikinis. But these huge skin-coloured ones just look scary.

93 A village a distance of about 15 minutes bus-ride from Quetzaltenango.

3.2.3.2 Smell

Meat Odours

Meat is sold openly, as are so many other things here on the market. It has a very strong odour, hanging or lying around in long rows. During my first market visits, I thought that I would fall over unconscious from the smell if I walk too slowly through this row. I cannot imagine how anyone could sell this produce all day long! When I tell *Doña Toria* about this impression, she says that she does not even notice the smell of the flesh. Another impression is the view of so many bloody cadaver-bits lying around this row...and the people in-between the displays seem to be walking through a forest of dead flesh. In the back of the stall, behind the seller, cow cadavers hang on hooks. On the counter cow-feet are displayed, which people here use for soup. Then there are all kinds of different sausages: *salchicha*, *chorizo* and *longaniza*.⁹⁴ The various kinds of sausages are hanging in long strings like a kind of ornament from a rod above the heads of the people who are selling at the counter. Then there are the inner organs of the animals – heart, liver and kidneys. These are on offer at the counter as well. A wave of odour merges with the sight of rawness and pure nature, forcing one into a momentary assemblage with the product when passing by. Flies increase the sensation of disgust from the odour as well. They alight on the same meat parts that are soon sold.

Nice Odours

Many odours work like sensual advertisement – like perfumes. This goes for things that are sold in slices, such as watermelon, pineapple and coconut. It goes also for the things that are sold from sacks, such as the various kinds of chili. The fresh leather from the shoe stalls transmits waves of odour passing by. Then there are the perfumed candles and the dried medicinal plants such as leaves from the rose of Jamaica, Camomile or leaves from the fig tree.

Sweat Odours

From time to time (actually rather frequently) one gets touched by a wave of odour of cold sweat. This happens when someone who has not taken a bath recently passes close by. Diego⁹⁵ says that it is not just scarcity of water, but really culture that makes people in the highlands often wash themselves only once a week, or once every fortnight. People think that their skin would peel off if they would bath themselves more often. The ‘one-day-in-the-week-is-washday’-rule of thumb seems to go for quite a lot of people here on the market. It does

94 Frankfurters and different types of local pork sausage.

95 Someone with whom I conducted an interview at the Spanish school.

not go for people in formal social institutions like for example universities.

3.2.3.3 Sound

Negotiating

Prices are not displayed as fixed in written form on the open market. One has to ask for them and then negotiate. Shopping without fixed prices requires communication. Sellers establish two price categories, one with negotiation, the other without, in order to make their produce more attractive. I receive a shopping list from *Doña* Toria and instructions from Manuel on how much one usually spends on each product. Then I go to the weekly market at San Francisco de los Altos. At mid-day the market is already over. People come from far away and participate from 4 a.m. onwards. While at the market, they buy stuff themselves and later they sell it again right there for a higher price. Prices are context-dependent. You are quoted higher prices if you are a man or if you are a tourist. In those cases, people think you are not so informed about what one really would pay for the objects on sale.

Chatting

Everywhere the market women are chatting: *Doña* Blanca⁹⁶ serves me while chatting to someone else, but smiles at me and signals that she recognizes me. By the time I put the change in my purse, she already is addressing another person passing by: ‘¿*Qué busca?*’ (What are you looking for?), ‘¿*Qué le damos?*’ (What do we give you?).

Advertising

Sound is an important medium to build up territory on the market. The absence of built walls in the market space and the many alternative possibilities to buy the same product, suggest attracting the attention of the passing people by sound. Music stalls have their cassette recorder running to attract passers-by. Usually attraction is sought not through high-tech advertisement, but with the seller’s own voice. The higher the pitch of the voice, the more variation between high-low or crescendo-decrescendo, the quicker the words or the more repetitions there are – everything potentially increases the degree of intensity that can attract passers-by. Rather frequently something playful enters in when men are competing with each other for the most effective repetitions.

96 A market woman who is acquainted with the family I live with. So we address each other by name and chat a bit when we meet.

- ‘Veinte por cinco, veinte por cinco, veinte por cinco!’⁹⁷
- ‘Papas, papas, papas, papas, papas, papas!’⁹⁸
- ‘Achiote alQuetzal, al Quetzal, al Quetzal, al Quetzal!’⁹⁹

Sounds not directly related to buying or selling

What does one hear at any one moment in a crowded market? Many uncoordinated lines of sound move next to each other and produce an impression of intensive oneness. Many of the sounds are not directly related to selling. At stake are spirituality, nature and childhood. Diverse sound sources accumulate in any given impression.

- ‘La palabra de Dios; Dios oiga a usted!’¹⁰⁰
- Chicken cheeping
- ‘Clacker’, a children game where two balls on a string have to be moved in a way that they meet downward once and upward once. So many kids have it here, everywhere one hears clack, clack, clack.

3.2.3.4 ‘Machinic Operas’

Selling from Open Sacks¹⁰¹

Sweetcorn, black beans, flour, rice, pasta and sugar are sold from open sacks. From a machinic point of view, the open sack provides an entire ‘opera’ of expressions. There is the intense sound of emptying the product from the big sack into smaller packages to be taken away, the intense vision of natural colour (the yellow of the sweetcorn, the black of the beans, the white of the rice), the smell of fresh and open products and the word-exchange of negotiation about the price.

However, people I have spoken to and lived with in Guatemala tend to perceive what Deleuze and Guattari call *machinic opera* much more in the artificial than in the natural. The artificial is the special, the exciting. The natural is the normal. There is an attraction to the flatness of the artificial, to the mass product.

Plastic

Plastic is a relatively recent achievement here in Guatemala. *Doña Toria* emphasizes that it has improved the life of women doing home-work immensely.¹⁰² It is lighter to carry, it does not break, it is available in all kinds of colours, and it is cheaper. For a long time, the tra-

97 English: ‘twenty for five’ (*Quetzales*).

98 English: ‘Potatoes’.

99 A local, red spice, here announced to be sold for 1 *Quetzal*.

100 English: ‘The word of God; God will listen to you!’

101 12.11.2007 See photo 11 in appendix.

102 See above, chapter 2, pp. 63 f.

ditional alternatives – glass or clay – looked much more attractive to my European eyes. But while in the market or in the street selling *atoles*, or when carrying home water on one's head or when washing the dishes, glass or clay must be really horrible. It can break and it can leave splinters in one's hands. A second example for the advantage of plastic are brushes. The besom made from natural materials constantly sheds the brushwood from the wooden stick that makes up the brush. Therefore the plastic broom is better from a practical point of view. Then there is the colour. The besom comes in natural brown tones, while the plastic version comes in all imaginable colour combinations, the brush part and the stick usually in different colours. People here seem to prefer the bright joyful colours of the plastic broom. A third example for the popularity of plastic are flowers. There are more plastic flowers on offer than real ones. Cut flowers, potted flowers and climbing plants are available as plastic imitations.¹⁰³ So are dahlia, aster, and even pansies. Most real flowers are symbolically linked to the cemetery. People buy real flowers only during the first two days of November, the 'Days of the Dead'¹⁰⁴. On the level of lived time, the colour of real flowers envelops the obscurity of death. Plastic flowers are more colourful and they are indefinitely durable.

Christmas Light Strings

It is December and all imaginable variations of Christmas lighting are now available at the market. The strings of a hundred or more little lamps usually come in colour and blinking, and often even with music, playing a Christmas song when they light up. These strings of lights are used here in Guatemala most of all for the nativity plays that are built in houses for Christmas.¹⁰⁵ These *nacimientos* often take up half a room. This is a Catholic tradition, representing the Holy Night with Joseph, Maria and the little Jesus Child in the crib in the stable, the animals, the shepherds, the angels and the rural area around Bethlehem. The Christmas light strings contribute in the most impressive way to the impression of affective density (Deleuze and Guattari: 'consistency') at the Guatemalan market. They seem to give all they have, the more action and effect the better. The various colours blink in different rhythms and sequences to Christmas-melodies. At the market at 'La Terminal' there is a whole table full of these light strings! They are all bleeping along in their various technical and one-dimensional melodies and in their various uncoordinated rhythms. Also with regard to Christmas cards, the tendency seems to be 'the more electronic the better'.

103 See photo 8 in appendix.

104 See above, chapter 2, p. 80 ff.

105 See above, chapter 2, p. 86 f.

'Las Pacas'

The basic distinction concerning clothes in Guatemala is between '*ropa americana*' and '*ropa típica*'. The former are second hand clothes from the United States. The latter are *huipiles*¹⁰⁶ and *cortes* that the indigenous women are wearing. The second hand clothes from the United States are sold at '*las pacas*'. As mentioned above, clothes can be so cheap here, from 50 Centavos onwards. The indigenous clothes by contrast start from 300 *Quetzales* for a simple everyday *huipil*, 150 if you do the adornments yourself, and 800 *Quetzales* for a really splendid and special one. It is said to be often difficult for an indigenous woman to stay with her '*ropa típica*' tradition due to a tension between a generally discriminated-against position in society, the costs for the traditional clothes and the attraction by Western products. *Doña Toria* therefore buys the *huipiles* new, but without decoration. She makes the decoration herself, to save money. But she loves looking through the *pacas*. I ask her, if she ever felt seduced to wear '*ropa americana*', because it is so much cheaper. She shows me her apron which is made from a shirt from the *pacas* that her husband re-tailored for her. She tells me that she would feel ashamed with wearing trousers. Her sons keep telling her that she should wear trousers, to have warm legs, but she does not want to.

The clothes that are on offer at '*las pacas*' are cheap, indifferent, purely functional and in terms of intensity, compared to the indigenous clothes, to me they appear 'flat'. There is no singularity, no individual handicraft, no woven-in spiritual meaning and no deep identity. However, this emptiness gets its own dimension of territorialisation at the market: kids enjoy themselves by 'taking a bath' in the clothes.¹⁰⁷ They de-territorialize the clothes from the US from being clothes to being toys. Due to the flatness of the clothes, the children can joyfully build-up territories on the market in a way they would never be allowed to do with the hand-woven indigenous clothes.

3.3 CONCLUSION AND LINE OF FLIGHT

The Guatemalan open market, as it has been presented in this chapter, works according to a logic of passing rather than perfection.¹⁰⁸ Improvisation is essential – coming through on whatever terms available, with hands and feet – territorialisation through resonance. Orientation takes place through lived time, rather than through pre-given

106 Traditional indigenous blouses with symbolically-loaded colourful adornments.

107 See photo 12 in appendix.

108 Ronald Bogue characterized the logic behind territorialisation in the plateau of the refrain as 'passing, not perfection'. See Bogue 1999a.

structure. The supermarket, by contrast, works according to a logic of perfection. There is planning and standardisation of structure. Structure, rather than lived time, is the dominant impression. The open market, when brought together with the supermarket, appears as a social formation based in duration. It is a context-dependent, heterogeneous, sensually rich plane of immanence. The supermarket, by contrast, appears as measured-time environment – characterized by regularity, rational planning and independence from context-conditions. The open market expresses a relation to the supermarket. It is that which gets excluded from the supermarket. The open market might be the more long-standing social formation and it might dominate in terms of quantity. But supermarkets are there, at least in bigger towns. Among the people I lived with and talked to, there is a strong line of flight of desire towards supermarket working- and shopping-conditions as well as towards supermarket products.

The supermarket is a centralised space, organised through imposed structures. There is one ‘perfect’ solution for the entire market, and even for other markets of the same chain. Rhythms and intensities in the supermarket are maximally homogenised. They are set up according to plan by the management. There is one brand. There is one type of bag, one type of basket and one type of clothes for the sellers. There is one place where all the Coca-Cola bottles are placed. Every employee in the supermarket is paid by the same person. There is one music in one volume. There is one temperature. There is one building. There is one starting-time and one stopping-time.

The supermarket seems to be an elitist space in Guatemala. The majority of the population is excluded from both selling and shopping there. This is due to the lack of economic, social and cultural capital. In the end, though, it is due to the lack of money. The majority of the Guatemalan people do not have the money to pay eight *Quetzales* for a tin of black bean purée when you can get a big pack of the same produce for Q2,50 at the open market and cook them yourself, or grow the beans in your own field. The supermarket is the space for tinned, plastic and global products. There is a strong line of flight on the open market towards these products. In the plastic products and in the second-hand clothes at the open market there expresses itself a strong line of flight towards the supermarket.¹⁰⁹ In Xela, the majority of the Guatemalan population does not have the background of formal diploma- and certificate-based education from nine years schooling necessary for an employment as seller in the local supermarket ‘Paiz’. There is a strong line of flight, though, towards such employment. According to Manuel, an employment in supermarkets, banks and McDonald is the

109 See above.

favourite job perspective of the majority of young women in Guatemala. Moreover, people who buy at the open market go on Sunday afternoons for a walk with their families through the local Hypermarket (an over-size supermarket, built four years ago around the corner from the open market at *La Terminal*).

The supermarket in various respects seems to provide a 'perfect' way while the open market works by the logic of 'passing'. In pragmatic terms, passing is less than perfect. For shopping, this includes hygiene (independence from bacterial contextual conditions), independence from climatic conditions, order and security. For selling, this includes regularity of income, regularity of working times, security of pension and emergency income. In terms of lived time, however, the open market produces a joyful, bodily feeling of absolute presence. In terms of lived time, passing is more than perfect. Again, the Deleuzian focus on lived time helps to bring to light a dimension of passive existence that seems to me to be everywhere present in Guatemalan everyday life, but that in the action-orientated relation to the market that those I lived with in Guatemala tend to adopt, remains invisible and silent.

