MILITARY SITES TODAY:

THE SYMBOLIC MILITARY

SPACE IN MEGAPOLITAN LIMA, PERU 1

LOS SITIOS MILITARES DE NUESTROS DÍAS: EL ESPACIO SIMBÓLICO MILITAR EN LIMA MEGAPOLITANA, PERÚ

GIOVANNA BALAREZO-ALBERCA 2

- 1 El artículo se ha realizado en el marco de una tesis doctoral en proceso titulada "La fragmentación urbana de Lima Megapolitana. Caso de estudio: instalaciones militares, 2024"
- 2 Magíster en Arquitectura y Sostenibilidad Docente Tiempo Completo en la Facultad de Arquitectura, Universidad Peruana de Ciencias Aplicadas (UPC). Universidad Nacional de Ingeniería, Lima, Perú. https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8130-1363 giovanna.balarezo.a@uni.pe



El estudio analiza el impacto de las instalaciones militares en Lima Megapolitana en la configuración del espacio físico, simbólico y social de la ciudad. Focalizándose en la Base Aérea Las Palmas y el Complejo Militar de Chorrillos, la investigación examina cómo estos sitios delimitan el espacio urbano y afectan las dinámicas sociales, percepciones simbólicas y las relaciones de poder. Se utilizó un enfoque cualitativo basado en entrevistas semiestructuradas, observación y análisis documental, se explora el papel de las instalaciones militares en la construcción de la identidad urbana, la memoria colectiva y la cohesión comunitaria en la ciudad de Lima. Los hallazgos revelan percepciones diversas: mientras algunos perciben estos espacios como símbolos de protección, estabilidad y orden, otros los ven como agentes de segregación y control. Esta pluralidad de opiniones indica que las instalaciones militares cumplen una función compleja y multifacética en la ciudad, influenciada por el contexto social y cultural de los diferentes grupos involucrados.

Palabras clave: espacio social, espacio físico, amurallamiento, habitus militar

This study analyzes the impact of military facilities in Megapolitan Lima, considering the city's physical, symbolic, and social space configuration. This research focuses on the Las Palmas Air Force Base and the Chorrillos Military Base, examining how these sites demarcate the urban space and affect the social dynamics, symbolic perceptions, and power relations. Using a qualitative approach based on semi-structured interviews, observation, and document analysis, the role of military bases is explored in constructing urban identity, collective memory, and community cohesion in Lima. The findings reveal diverse perceptions. While some perceive these spaces as symbols of protection, stability, and order, others see them as agents of segregation and control. This plurality of opinions indicates that the military facilities fulfill a complex, multifaceted role in the city, influenced by the social and cultural context of the different groups involved.

Keywords: social space, physical space, immured spaces, military habitus.

I. INTRODUCTION

Military facilities in urban environments have been of interest worldwide due to their significant influence on cities' physical, social, and symbolic structures (Bagaeen & Clark, 2016). Since the mid-twentieth century, Megapolitan Lima has experienced rapid population growth and urban expansion, contributing to an increasingly fragmented spatial development. In this context, military facilities predating the current urban configuration have notably influenced the city's spatial organization. An example of this phenomenon can be observed in Italy, where military installations played a crucial role in urban transformation during the country's unification process. As Camerin (2022a) highlighted in his analysis of the relocation of military facilities in Milan, these spaces not only modified the urban morphology, but also boosted the city's economic and social development. This approach illustrates how the evolution of military installations in Italy has influenced urban expansion and planning, similar to what is happening in Lima.

Despite their historical and physical prominence in Lima's urban fabric, military facilities have been consolidated as closed spaces restricted by perimeter walls. Since walls and cities have coexisted throughout history, it is essential to question whether these walls protect or separate. Walls not only represent belonging but also create it, intentionally structuring social relationships (Mubi Brighenti & Karholm, 2019). Consequently, this separation has led to the construction of physical barriers and the creation of symbolic divisions between the military and civilians. Jain (2023) emphasizes that symbolism is an essential part of human practice, pointing out that symbolic phenomena are not the result of the material and social environment where they develop, but also play a role in building it.

The concept of military facilities as *closed spaces* has been widely studied. At an international level, Camerin (2022b) describes these in Italy as *immured spaces*, highlighting how military facilities, with their physical barriers, reinforce the separation between civil society and the military sphere. This enclosure not only creates a physical barrier, but also contributes to symbolic segregation, shaping social and urban relations (Camerin, 2022b). The military bases' uniqueness in the context of Lima, with its intrinsic military history and contemporary urban challenges, offers a unique opportunity to look closer at these dynamics. Although spatial segregation has been addressed in military contexts, few studies have analyzed how these barriers affect identity and collective memory in an urban environment as complex as Lima's.

This study focuses on two emblematic and adjoining cases: the Las Palmas Air Base and the Chorrillos Military Complex, both located in the city under study. The main objective is to analyze how the physical and symbolic walling of the military facilities in Megapolitan Lima contributes to the configuration of the symbolic space and to examine the influence of these elements on the social relations between the military and civilians, as well as on the urban identity and the collective memory of the city.

It is hypothesized that the presence of military facilities in Megapolitan Lima plays a significant role in the configuration of the urban environment. These affect both the structure of the physical space and the social and symbolic dynamics, with effects that vary depending on the perceptions and experiences of different social groups.

II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The symbolic space

The key concepts for compressing symbolic space are considered from a theoretical point of view and the perspective addressed in the research. Wacquant (2023) conceives it as a network of mental classifications and categories that guide how individuals and social groups perceive and understand the world. This concept not only organizes physical reality but also reflects the hierarchies and social distinctions present in a given context. According to Bourdieu (1998), symbolic space is manifested and concretized in social and physical space, influencing interactions and power relations. In essence, symbolic space functions as a mechanism that maintains or transforms social reality by categorizing people, objects, and activities, which is somewhat essential in the struggle to establish and consolidate dominant worldviews (Wacquant, 2023).

Symbolic space manifests around military facilities through diverse social and cultural dynamics that reflect the relations of power and control in the urban context. Following Bourdieu's (1998) theories, space is not merely a physical scenario but is imbued with meanings constructed and negotiated through social interactions.

Military facilities' symbolic construction is evidenced in their spatial organization, cultural practices, and representation of military authority. Their layout and structure transmit hierarchies and exclusions, turning the military presence into an instrument of control and surveillance over the civilian population, reinforcing the idea of security at the expense of individual freedoms. According to Vidal (1997), symbolic fragmentation implies the dissolution of the city's identity and the fragmentation of its representation.

The symbolism of space is also reflected in the public perception of these places. For some sections of the

population, the setting may evoke feelings of oppression and fear; for others, it may symbolize order and stability. This game of meanings generates tensions, disputes, and resistance in how different social groups appropriate urban space, trying to redefine and re-signify it according to their needs and experiences.

The physical space

Physical space is understood as the built environment resulting from competitive efforts to acquire and control both material and ideal goods. According to Bourdieu (1998), this physical space is a tangible manifestation of social relations, where the hierarchies and distinctions in the social space are expressed concretely and symbolically. Thus, physical space is not simply an empty place, but a scenario formed by social actions and relationships, reflecting society's power dynamics and inequalities (Arizaga, 2021).

Spatial fragmentation refers to the physical separation or breakdown of the urban environment into fragments or small parts. This separation focuses on the physical barriers, obstacles, and boundaries that divide different urban areas (Landman, 2011; Kosak, 2018; Vidal-Koppmann, 2009). Walls are structures that fragment and demarcate spaces within urban environments. Their role ranges from protecting and securing certain areas to creating social and political divisions. Historically, walls have evolved from physical defenses for cities to instruments of social control and segregation. According to Mubi Brighenti and Karrholm (2019), urban walls in modern cities are closely associated with segregation, population control, and the search for security. Walls shape social interactions by establishing both visible and invisible boundaries that affect the flow of people and that, in this process, contribute to the creation of distinctions between public and private. Within the concept of "territoriality," walls are vital devices in the territorialization of space, influencing governance and power relations within cities (Mubi Brighenti & Karrholm, 2019). The ambiguity and duality of walls, acting simultaneously as instruments of protection and exclusion, make them key elements in understanding the complexity of urban life since they not only demarcate physical space, but also shape the dynamics of coexistence and social organization in contemporary cities (Stephenson & Zanotti, 2016).

The social space

Social space refers to how individuals' positions are organized and distributed within a hierarchical and complex social structure (Gutiérrez, 2012). This space is conceptualized as a system of differentiated social positions where power relations and inequality are evident (Cerón-Martínez, 2019). According to Bourdieu (1998), the social space can be

understood as a set of autonomous fields that are grouped or distanced depending on their possession of different types of capital (economic, social, and cultural, among others) (Wacquant, 2017). It is not an empty place; it is produced and reproduced through social interactions and establishes different degrees of distance between social positions, which reveal hierarchies and power relations. These distances can be materially linked to the physical environment (physical space) and reflect individuals' mental classifications about their environment (symbolic space). Thus, social space is a field of struggles where the unequal distribution of capital determines who approaches or moves away from different goods and opportunities within society (Wacquant, 2017). In the context of military facilities, the social space is clearly observed in the internal organization of these institutions, where power hierarchies and social relations in the military sphere define the positions of its players (Giddens, 1986). These hierarchies also influence how military personnel interact with the adjoining civilian environment, generating symbolic and social distances reinforcing their authority and position in urban space (according to Bourdieu,1998; Giddens,1986). In addition, the surrounding civilian communities experience different degrees of inclusion or exclusion, depending on how they perceive and relate to these military spaces, which evidences the interconnection between the social. symbolic, and physical spaces. In this sense, the theory of the "weak ties" of Granovetter (1973) offers a valuable perspective to understanding these interactions between the players. Granovetter suggests that fragile bonds between individuals from different social groups, albeit weak ones, can play a fundamental role in generating interactions and information exchange, which contributes to the construction of social capital (Granovetter, 1973).

The habitus: the military sociology

Studies in military sociology approach military organization from two main perspectives (Villanueva, 2022). One of them, developed by Huntington (1981), considers the armed forces to be an independent and differentiated entity from civil society based on the specific nature of their profession and their training in the legitimate use of force. This approach examines the interactions and relationships between the civil and military spheres and will be the perspective adopted in this research. On the other hand, Janowitz (1960) proposes a different vision, where the military is seen as an integrated player within society, without being separated from the dynamics and analysis that affect the social whole. This view suggests that the armed forces do not operate in isolation, but are an active and participatory part of society (Villanueva, 2022). The Peruvian army has undergone two transformation processes. The first began with the arrival of the French mission, which involved significant changes in organizational culture, i.e., changes in beliefs, habits, values,



Figure 1. Military Facilities: Las Palmas Air Base and the Chorrillos Military Complex. Source: Preparation by the authors based on Google Maps 2023

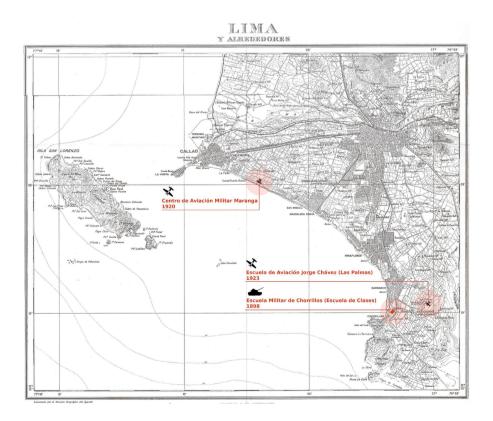


Figure 2. Plan of Lima and surroundings with the military facilities of the study in 1935. Source: Based on Plan #26 - The Lima Plans 1613-1983 of Gunther Doering (1983).



Figure 3. Streets around the Las Palmas Air Base. Source: Preparation by the author/author's archive

attitudes, and traditions (Sánchez Velásquez, 2023). Masterson (2001) showed that the French officers sent to Peru had vast colonial experience, reflected in Peru's military training. For Toche Medrano (2023), the Peruvian military adopted and operated under a paternalistic sense toward the indigenous population, undermining civil-military relations in the country from the beginning. Escalante (1995), for his part, states that the Armed Forces were an imported creation and disconnected from the Peruvian reality, which has, to a certain extent, continued over time.

III. CASE STUDY

This study analyzes two emblematic and adjoining cases: the Las Palmas Air Base (Peruvian Air Force) and the Chorrillos Military Complex (Peruvian Army). These cases encapsulate the complexity of the relationship between military and urban space in a historical, cultural, and strategic context. These cases offer a deep understanding of military spaces' inherent interactions and tensions in growing urban areas (Figure 1).

The Las Palmas Air Base

This belongs to the Peruvian Air Force (FAP) and is located in the districts of Surco and Chorrillos, to the south of Lima. The base

was preceded by the Maranga Aviation Center in 1920 and moved to its current location in 1922. In 1923, it was founded together with the Jorge Chavez Aviation School (Figure 2) (Cárdenas Brou, 2019). The base occupies an approximate area of 281.22 hectares, spread over the districts.

Geographically, it borders to the north with Santiago de Surco Ave., the south with El Sol Ave., the east with Los Próceres Ave., and the west with República de Panamá Ave. Its strategic location within the city, 72 meters above sea level, is an important intersection between Lima and the main routes to the country's south.

The Chorrillos Military Complex

This is located in the Chorrillos district alongside the Las Palmas Air Base. This complex includes the Chorrillos Military School, the Army Education and Doctrine Command, and the Army Technical School. The Chorrillos Military School, founded on April 24th, 1898, during the government of Nicolás de Piérola, is one of the military institution's fundamental pillars within this complex. Over the years, its role and location have experienced significant changes until 1945, when its move to its current site next to the Army Instruction and Doctrine Command in the Chorrillos district took place. The military complex is connected to



Figure 4. The walls of the Las Palmas Air Base and the Chorrillos Military Complex. Source: Preparation by the author/author's archive

main avenues, such as Escuela Militar Ave. and Huaylas Ave., covering an approximate area of 190.78 ha.

Walling and physical separation

Both military installations' walls and physical barriers represent the control and delimitation they exercise on urban land (Figure 3). Figure 4 highlights the walling in its diverse manifestations, emphasizing how these elements act as physical and symbolic barriers, reinforcing the separation between military and civilian spaces.

IV. METHODOLOGY

The research addresses a qualitative methodology based on interpretative methods to understand people, groups, and phenomena contextually. This methodology explores how individuals give meaning to their experiences, interpreting themselves, others, and their social environment (Ravitch & Mittenfelner Carl, 2020). It has a descriptive nature and uses techniques that support the objectives: the interviews capture the perceptions of the military, neighbors, and experts about the physical, social, and symbolic space of the military facilities; the observation records interactions and dynamics between the

military and urban environment, identifying complementary patterns to the interviews; and the documentary analysis examines historical and urbanistic documents to understand the development and role of these spaces in the city and their current symbolic impact.

The interpretative orientation of the research focuses on the particular analysis of the symbolic space of the Las Palmas Air Base and the Chorrillos Military Complex from the perspective of local players to understand the existence of an external and internal reality that is valuable to be analyzed. The analysis unit comprises internal players-military personnel (3); and external players -the surrounding neighbors (8) and experts on the subject (3).

The delimitation of the study focuses on the immediate surroundings of the military facility. The sampling was conducted in the Surco district sector, specifically in the San Roque, San Gavino, and La Cruceta urbanizations, where military and civilian housing and cultural, educational, and commercial urban equipment predominate. To organize and analyze the data from the interviews, a map was made that visualizes the structure of the categories: physical, social, and symbolic space, along with their respective analysis categories, which can be seen in Figure 5, helping to identify relationships and emerging

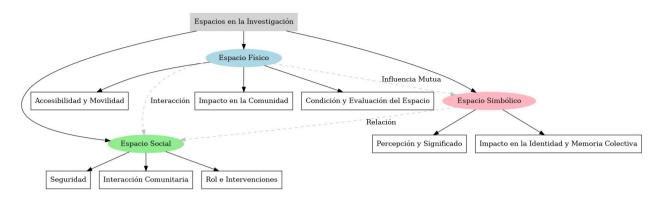


Figure 5. Structure of the categories and subcategories addressed in the research. Source: Preparation by the author

Space	Category	Experts	Military personnel	Local neighbors
Physical	Impact on the community	Perceive a moderate effect on mobility and access.	Consider that it provides security and order in the neighborhood.	It affects accessibility and local traffic.
	Condition and evaluation of the space	Point out limitations on access to surrounding areas.	Restricted access is necessary for security reasons.	They complain about the access limitations and noise of the training.
	Accessibility and mobility	They consider that the place affects urban mobility.	They believe that physical separation is crucial for safety.	They perceive physical barriers as obstacles to integration.
Symbolic	Perception and meaning	They see the facilities as symbols of defense.	They see the barracks as historical symbols of defense, emblems of sovereignty.	Mixed: Some see the barracks as symbols of exclusion and control, while others feel proud of their history.
	Impact on identity and collective memory	They believe they contribute to the place's local identity and collective memory.	They consider that the barracks strengthen the military and civil identity.	Mixed perceptions about their symbolic value in the city.
Social	Community interaction	They consider that there is little interaction with the civilian environment.	They mention limited community integration events.	They perceive the lack of activities that include civilians.
	Security	They believe that it increases the perception of security.	They believe the facilities deter criminal activity.	Mixed: Some feel safer, others feel isolated.
	Role and interventions	They suggest possible additional educational and cultural uses.	They consider it essential to maintain the military approach.	They propose converting parts of the facilities into common recreational spaces for the military and civilians.

Table 1. Results of the interviews with the different players. Source: Preparation by the author

patterns in the interviewees' answers and facilitating the process of interpreting the qualitative data.

The scientific rigor used in this research is based on interpretative validity. Most authors agree that it is vital that the case study design is done considering the criterion of triangulation (Stake, 1998). Triangulation is the possibility of contrasting different sources to make the information collected or interpreted less susceptible to error. The quality of qualitative research depends

on the rigor, organization, and systematization with which it is carried out (Izcara, 2009).

V. RESULTS

Table 1 shows the players' perceptions (experts, military personnel, and local neighbors) on the impact of military facilities on physical, symbolic, and social spaces. In the physical

Space	Category	Participant observation
Physical	Impact on the community	Gated communities, residential segregation (they self-exclude), military and civilian walls, a city without attributes.
	Condition and evaluation of the space	Restriction spaces, physical barriers (walling), cul de sac, surveillance, deterioration.
	Accessibility and mobility	Fragmentation, breaks in the urban fabric and flow, little accessibility, and difficult mobility between roads and adjoining districts.
Symbolic	Perception and meaning	Perceptions of power, exclusion, and control; perception of fear, distrust, and insecurity.
	Impact on identity and collective memory	The collective memory of military and defense historical space, linked to national history, is diluted in everyday life due to a lack of social interaction between the military and civilians.
Social	Community interaction	Very sporadic activities of social activation with the surrounding communities. Players share territories but not common issues. Indifference between the military and civilians.
	Security	The use of blind walls in military bases generates insecurity, and restricted access impacts social segregation.
	Role and interventions	Improve the perimeter of the enclosure, optimize the spatial quality and outreach, and promote dialog and joint solutions with neighbors.

Table 2. Results of the participant observations. Source: Preparation by the author

Space	Documents	Observations
Physical	Historical urban maps	The Las Palmas Air Base and the Chorrillos Military Complex were founded in agricultural areas. Rapid urbanization was consolidated around and/or on the edge of the facilities' walls.
Symbolic	Music, Military Narratives, Photos.	Stories of the military heroes of both the Air Force: José Abelardo Quiñonez (FAP), and the Peruvian Army: Francisco Bolognesi (EP), the Military March Music, and the National Anthem bring fond memories about the project under construction that is called Peru.
Social	Regulations Military Housing & Social Activities	Archives of the Military Magazine provide photos of social activities and military housing programs as a commitment to those who commit to military training.

Table 3. Documentary analysis. Source: Preparation by the author.

space, it is seen that experts perceive a moderate impact on mobility and accessibility, while military personnel consider these restrictions necessary for security. On the other hand, the neighbors express concern due to the limited access and the noise. Experts and military personnel see the facilities in the symbolic space as symbols of defense and sovereignty. However, neighbors have divided opinions: some see these places as elements of historical pride, while others perceive them as exclusionary. As for the social space, perceptions about security are mixed; although some consider that the facilities increase security, others perceive a lack of community interaction and suggest possible interventions to improve the relationship between the military and civilians. This diversity of opinions reflects

the tensions and complexity of integrating military facilities into the urban fabric.

Table 2 presents the results obtained by participant observation. Closed communities and physical barriers (walls) were identified on both the military and civilian sides, contributing to spatial and social segregation in the urban environment. In terms of accessibility and mobility, a fragmentation of the urban fabric is evident. Symbolically, these facilities evoke perceptions of power and national defense, although this image is diluted in everyday life by scarce social interaction. The lack of integration activities reinforces the indifference between the military and civilians, suggesting the need to improve the relationship and foster meeting spaces.

Table 3 summarizes the documentary analysis, providing a historical and cultural context for military facilities in Lima. In the physical space, historical maps show how rapidly urban expansion surrounded the facilities, which previously were agricultural areas. Symbolically, documents such as narratives and photographs highlight national symbolism and heroic figures. In the social field, archives provide evidence of military housing programs and activities designed to strengthen commitment within the military community rather than with the general population, evidencing a limited integration into the urban social fabric.

VL DISCUSSION

This research reveals diverse perceptions among the players about the impact of military facilities in Megapolitan Lima.

The physical space

There is tension between the perception of safety and accessibility restrictions. While military personnel and some experts consider physical restrictions are needed to maintain order and security, neighbors perceive these measures as obstacles that limit community integration. This finding coincides with those proposed by Mubi Brighenti and Karrholm (2019), who suggest that walls and physical barriers in urban environments not only provide a protective role, but also act as devices that reinforce power relations and social segregation. In this context, the walls or the walling of the military facilities in Megapolitan Lima significantly influence the organization of the surrounding urban space. They act as territorializing devices that not only delimit access to different areas of the city, but also affect social dynamics by creating both a physical and psychological barrier between "the civilian" and "the military." These visible and imposing structures reinforce a perception of insecurity or control, limiting the possibilities of interaction and social cohesion between the military and civilians.

The symbolic space

The mixed perceptions of the neighbors about the case study, ranging from seeing them as symbols of defense to considering them elements of exclusion, reflect the inherent tensions in the signifying of the space. These contrasting perceptions show how the symbolic space is a field of struggle where different social groups try to impose their vision of the world (Bourdieu, 1998). Military facilities, as symbols of authority and military power, not only reinforce established hierarchies, but also generate a duality of feelings ranging between pride and exclusion in the local community. Similarly, in the collective identity and memory of the city, the research reveals a division in how different

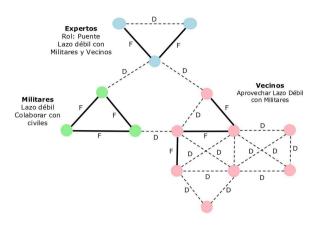


Figure 6. Weak and strong relationships between players: experts, military, and neighbors. Source: Own preparation based on the Strength of Weak Ties theory of Granovetter (1973).

social groups relate to these spaces. For some groups, such as neighbors who value the military presence for its sense of security, military bases are seen as symbols of sovereignty and national defense. However, for other sectors of the population, especially those who reside in their surroundings and experience access restrictions and limitations on their mobility, these facilities represent barriers of exclusion and control. This aligns with Bourdieu's (1998) notion of social space, where hierarchies and power relations are manifested through the physical structures that condition social interaction. This diversity of perceptions suggests that military facilities play a complex and multifaceted role in shaping Lima's urban identity.

The social space

The results indicate a mixed perception of the impact of military facilities on security. While some perceive that military sites increase security by deterring criminal activities, others feel these structures generate social isolation that limits community interaction. This reinforces the idea that the control of physical space by the military forces affects not only perceived security but also the possibilities of social cohesion and coexistence between the military and civilians, as suggested by the "theory of territorialization" (Mubi Brighenti & Karrholm, 2019). At the same time, the "strength of weak ties theory" of Granovetter (1973) also echoes in the results, showing how the links between the players - experts, the military, and neighbors - are limited but strategic to facilitate interaction. Experts, acting as bridges, allow a connection between military personnel and civilians, while weak ties between military and neighbors generate perceptions of distance and exclusion. However, these weak ties offer opportunities to develop new forms of interaction and cohesion, which could mitigate social isolation and improve coexistence between both groups (Figure 6).

VII. CONCLUSIONS

This study provides an opportunity to reflect on the role of military facilities in the urban fabric, not only in Lima but in a global context. These spaces' favorable physical conditions, such as their vast areas in densely populated cities, offer new perspectives on rethinking them as strategic pieces in sustainable urban development and social cohesion projects. The findings show that military facilities in Megapolitan Lima, such as the Las Palmas Air Base and the Chorrillos Military Complex, generate a multidimensional impact on the urban environment.

In the physical space, these facilities act as barriers that fragment the city and limit the interaction between the military and civilians, affecting urban mobility and accessibility to specific resources and services. This suggests the need to reconsider integrating these spaces into the urban fabric to promote greater social cohesion.

In the symbolic space, military facilities project an ambivalent message: for some, they represent security and protection, while for others, they symbolize exclusion and control. This duality reflects broader tensions in collective memory and urban identity, posing challenges to developing inclusive policies that recognize and negotiate these contrasting perceptions.

In the social space, the limited interactions between the military and the civilian community perpetuate symbolic and real distances, reinforcing social hierarchies. To improve social cohesion, it is vital to promote spaces for dialogue and shared activities that facilitate the integration of the military and civilians in a shared environment.

This study contributes to the international discussion on the role of military sites in urban areas, underlining the importance of considering both their physical integration and their impact on social cohesion and collective identity. The research raises the need for urban planning that contemplates not only the physical development but also the symbolic and social integration of these spaces, allowing military facilities to evolve in their role and adapt to contemporary urban realities. Regarding the future of these facilities, the Las Palmas Air Base has been publicly debated for its possible conversion to civilian use due to its limited role. However, the Peruvian Air Force defends its importance for natural emergencies. As for the Chorrillos Military School, there are no questions about its permanence, given its strong historical and urban roots in the city.

VIII. CREDIT AUTHOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Conceptualization, G.M.B.A.; Data Curation, G.M.B.A.; Formal Analysis, G.M.B.A.; Funding Acquisition, G.M.B.A.; Research, G.M.B.A.; Methodology, G.M.B.A.; Project Management, G. M.B.A.; Resources, G.M.B.A.; Software, G.M.B.A.; Supervision, G.M.B.A.; Validation,

G.M.B.A.; Visualization, G.M.B.A.; Writing - original draft, G.M.B.A.; Writing - proofreading and editing, G.M.B.A.

IX. BIBLIOGRAPHIC REFERENCES

Arizaga, C. (2021). La Ciudad en la Sociología de Pierre Bourdieu. En Sociología y la Vida Urbana. De los clásicos a los problemas actuales. Teseo Press Design.

Bagaeen, S., & Clark, C. (2016). Sustainable Regeneration of Former Military Sites. En Routledge.

Bourdieu, P. (1998). *Practical Reason: On the Theory of Action* Stanford University Press.

Camerin, F. (2022a). Opening the barrier of military immured spaces in Italy: Is their regeneration going beyond the threshold of boundaries? en B. Yapicioglu, K. Lalenis (eds.), *Boundaries and Restricted Places* (1 ed., pp. 264-277). Elgaronline. https://doi.org/10.4337/9781800884083.00029

Camerin, F. (2022b). Quartering as an aspect of Italy's post-unification urban development: The case of Milan's parade ground. *Planning Perspectives*, 38(2), 353-373. https://doi.org/10.1080/02665433.2022.2095297

Cárdenas Brou, Cnel. F. R. (2019). FAP: Un siglo en el aire. *El Peruano*. https://elperuano.pe/noticia/75043-fap-un-siglo-en-el-aire

Cerón-Martínez, A. U. (2019). Habitus, campo y capital. Lecciones teóricas y metodológicas de un sociólogo bearnés. *Cinta de Moebio. Revista de Epistemología de Ciencias Sociales*, 66, https://doi.org/10.4067/S0717-554X2019000300310

Escalante, M. A. (1995). Las Fuerzas Armadas en la estructura del Estado peruano del siglo XIX. *Pensamiento Constitucional*, 2(2), 169-201. https://revistas.pucp.edu.pe/index.php/pensamientoconstitucional/article/view/3382

Giddens, A. (1986). The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration. University of California Press.

Granovetter, M. (1973). The Strength of Weak Ties. American Journal of Sociology, 78(6). https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/abs/10.1086/225469

Gunther Doering, J. (1983). Planos de Lima, 1613-1983 Municipalidad de Lima Metropolitana [Archivo PDF]. https://www.scribd.com/document/601454615/262507606-Planos-de-Lima-1613-1983-Juan-Gunther-Doering

Gutiérrez, A. B. (2012). Las prácticas sociales: Una introducción a Pierre Bourdieu. Eduvim.

Huntington, S. P. (1981). The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil—Military Relations. Harvard University Press.

Izcara, S. (2009). *La praxis de la investigación cualitativa: Guía para elaborar tesis*. Editorial Plaza y Valdés S. A.

Jain, S. (2023). Practising the Symbolic: Pierre Bourdieu's Contribution. Routledge.

Janowitz, M. (1960). The professional soldier, a social and political portrait. Free Press. https://archive.org/details/professionalsold00janorich/page/n5/mode/2up

Kosak, D. (2018). Revisitando el debate sobre la fragmentación urbana: Una década y media después de "Splintering Urbanism". *Revista Iberoamericana de Urbanismo, 14, 1-8.* https://upcommons.upc.edu/bitstream/handle/2117/130389/14_03_RIURB_kosak.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

Landman, K. (2011). Urban fragmentation:different views on its causes and consequences. En H. S. Geyer (Ed). *International Handbook of Urban Policy*, (2°ed., Vol.3 pp. 1-338). *Issues in the Developing World*.

Masterson, D. (2001). Fuerza Armada y Sociedad en el Perú Moderno. Un estudio sobre relaciones civiles militares 1930-2000. Instituto de Estudios Políticos y Estratégicos.

Mubi Brighenti, A., & Karrholm, M. (2019). *Urban Walls. Political and Cultural Meanings of Vertical Structures and Surfaces*. Routledge.

Ravitch, S. M., & Mittenfelner Carl, N. (2020). *Qualitative Research: Bridging the Conceptual, Theoretical, and Methodological.* SAGE Publications, Inc.

Sánchez Velásquez, L. David. (2023). Influencia de las Reformas Francesa y Estadounidense en la Cultura Organizacional del Ejército del Perú. *Revista Seguridad y Poder Terrestre*, 2(1), 157-172. https://ceeep.mil.pe/2023/02/09/influencia-de-las-reformas-francesa-y-estadounidense-en-la-cultura-organizacional-del-ejercito-del-peru/

Stake, R., E. (1998). *Investigación con estudio de casos*. Ediciones Morata [Archivo PDF]. https://www.nelsonreyes.com.br/LIVRO%20STAKE.pdf

Stephenson, M. O., & Zanotti, L. (2016). *Building Walls and Dissolving Borders*. Routledge.

Toche Medrano, E. (2023). Guerra y Democracia. Los Militares peruanos y la Construcción nacional. Desco.

Vidal, R. (1997). Metrópolis en recomposición: Elementos para una teoría de la fragmentación urbana [Archivo PDF]. http:// observatoriogeograficoamericalatina.org.mx/egal6/ Geografiasocioeconomica/Geografiaurbana/254.pdf

Vidal-Koppmann, S. (2009). Fragmentación Socio-espacial en la Periferia de la Región Metropolitana de Buenos Aires. *Journal of Latin American Geography*, 8(1), 79-97. https://dx.doi.org/10.1353/lag.0.0038

Villanueva, C. (2022). El Desafío de un Proyecto Nacional en Perú. La Primera Fase del Gobierno Revolucionario De Las Fuerzas Armadas 1968-1975. Manoalzada Editores.

Wacquant, L. (2017). Bourdieu viene a la ciudad: Pertinencia, principios, aplicaciones1. *EURE*, 43(129), 279-304. http://dx.doi.org/10.4067/S0250-71612017000200013

Wacquant, L. (2023). Bourdieu in the City. Challenging Urban Theory. Wiley.

X. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This article was developed as part of the "Research Development I" course in the Ph.D. program in Architecture of the National University of Engineering (UPG FAUA UNI) in Lima, Peru, 2024. I especially appreciate the advice of the architects, José Carlos Hayakawa Casas Ph.D. and Luis Elías Rodríguez Rivero Ph.D., who provided invaluable guidance during the process.