

“Being in the wrong place at the wrong time”

Ethnographic insights into experiences of incarceration and release from a
Mexican prison

A thesis submitted to the University of Manchester for the Degree of Doctor of
Philosophy in the Faculty of Humanities

2013

Carolina Corral Paredes

School of Social Sciences
Department of Social Anthropology

Contents

List of figures	4
Abstract	5
Declaration	6
Copyright Statement	7
Acknowledgements	8
Introduction	9
<i>Narratives of incarceration</i>	11
<i>Individual trajectories and lived experiences</i>	14
<i>The “war on drugs”: research and lived experience</i>	15
<i>Modes of representation</i>	19
<i>From peace to imprisonment</i>	21
<i>Imprisonment as a stage in life</i>	23
<i>Methods and access to prison</i>	26
Chapter 1: Economic and social everyday in prison	43
<i>Ethnography of the job market in prison</i>	45
<i>The “Top Ladies”: charisma, privileges and wealth</i>	48
<i>Extortion and owning a business</i>	51
<i>Consuelo, a Colombian prisoner</i>	53
<i>Regaining status through hard work</i>	56
Chapter 2: Narratives of self	62
<i>Legal arguments</i>	65
<i>Gendered stories in a grey room</i>	69
<i>‘Reflections’ by La Enamorada.</i>	79
<i>La Enamorada after prison</i>	91
Chapter 3: The gaze and morality	95
<i>Introduction: vision and exposure</i>	95
<i>Women’s Day ceremony</i>	98
<i>Visiting the men’s prison</i>	101
<i>Secrecy and power</i>	106
<i>Theatrocracy amends the programme</i>	109
Chapter 4 Uncertainty in prison	115
<i>The uncertainty of prison time</i>	119
<i>Uncertainty as an emotional atmosphere</i>	124
<i>Coping with uncertainty</i>	126
Chapter 5: Time will Tell [film, 52’]	138
Chapter 6: Making “Time will tell”	139
<i>Filming with Sandra</i>	143
<i>Filming with Reynaldo</i>	147

<i>Filming with David</i>	151
<i>A finished film, unfinished lives.</i>	158
Chapter 7: Remembering prison	160
<i>The school of “re-entry” studies</i>	165
<i>Alex: remembering prison through memories and objects</i>	168
<i>Reynaldo: recognising the past through bricklaying</i>	178
<i>David: returning to prison for parole</i>	184
Concluding remarks	194
Bibliography	203

List of figures

Figure 1 The exterior of the women's prison.....	31
Figure 2 A shop	31
Figure 3 "Community area". A multipurpose space.....	31
Figure 4 The basket ball court.....	32
Figure 5 An event at one of men's patios.....	32
Figure 6 Yoga demonstration at	41
Figure 1. The poem of Águila del Mar.....	111
Figure 2. Alex selling crafts at <i>Cine Morelos</i>	169
Figure 3. Alex in his living room.....	170
Figure 4. The Christ.....	172
Figure 5. The iron nails in the Christ's feet.....	172
Figure 6. The atelier inside.....	175
Figure 7. Alex's atelier in the roof.....	176
Figure 8. The unfinished elephant.....	177
Figure 9. Reynaldo's work place.....	179
Figure 10. "I had to return to grabbing a shovel, and assembling bricks and stone."	180
Figure 11. "Some were good memories, others not so much.....	185
Figure 12. David and the prison's guard.....	186
Figure 13. David explains his tattoo.....	189

Abstract

The University of Manchester
Carolina Corral Paredes
Ph.D. Thesis: Social Anthropology with Visual Media, September 2013.

“Being in the wrong place at the wrong time”

Ethnographic insights into experiences of incarceration and release from a Mexican prison

This thesis explores the moral life worlds of people who have been imprisoned in Mexico, while considering how they incorporate the fate of imprisonment into the story of their lives through cognitive, discursive, sensory, affective, recollective and imaginary processes. The midst of a war on drugs in Mexico confirms that structural factors like political premises and poverty, as well as class backgrounds and racial discrimination largely determine who goes to prison. However, this research is not only confined to a structural analysis, since prisoners also explain their imprisonment in relation to other contingent encounters and coincidences occurring in their every day life. As such, imprisonment seems for prisoners like an unimagined possibility and a latent daily risk. Using a variety of ethnographic methods and modes of representation, this research sheds light on how imprisonment is related to stories of love, treason, memories and hopes. I draw from prisoners and ex-prisoners' personal sources of expression like their writings; I recur to eliciting their memories through their objects and crafts; I pay attention to the role of the gaze in crafting identities in prison; I also draw attention to prisoners and ex-prisoners' expressions of feelings and emotions. I argue that such sources and sensorial realms and methods offer relevant insights into their existential experiences. They are also important devices to represent stories from below. Through inmates' narratives and practices my work offers stories, explanations and effects of incarceration alternative to the official reasons legitimating incarceration.

Central to my work is my film *Time will Tell* that documents the lives of three ex-prisoners and represents their every day duties, and the sensory and corporeal implications of the aftermath of imprisonment. Film has been a central piece of my ethnographic research since it allows audiences to engage with realms of experience that go beyond the one offered by language and text; so as to also help evoke – and not only illustrate- the whole of the journey out of prison as an ontological and sensuous experience.

Declaration

No portion of the work referred to in the thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning

Copyright Statement

i. The author of this thesis (including any appendices and/or schedules to this thesis) owns certain copyright or related rights in it (the “Copyright”) and s/he has given The University of Manchester certain rights to use such Copyright, including for administrative purposes.

ii. Copies of this thesis, either in full or in extracts and whether in hard or electronic copy, may be made only in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988 (as amended) and regulations issued under it or, where appropriate, in accordance with licensing agreements which the University has from time to time. This page must form part of any such copies made.

iii. The ownership of certain Copyright, patents, designs, trade marks and other intellectual property (the “Intellectual Property”) and any reproductions of copyright works in the thesis, for example graphs and tables (“Reproductions”), which may be described in this thesis, may not be owned by the author and may be owned by third parties. Such Intellectual Property and Reproductions cannot and must not be made available for use without the prior written permission of the owner(s) of the relevant Intellectual Property and/or Reproductions.

iv. Further information on the conditions under which disclosure, publication and commercialisation of this thesis, the Copyright and any Intellectual Property and/or Reproductions described in it may take place is available in the University IP Policy (see <http://www.campus.manchester.ac.uk/medialibrary/policies/intellectual-property.pdf>), in any relevant Thesis restriction declarations deposited in the University Library, The University Library’s regulations (see <http://www.manchester.ac.uk/library/aboutus/regulations>) and in The University’s policy on presentation of Theses

Acknowledgements

My doctoral research was funded by the Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología (CONACyT) and Fondo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes (FONCA).

I am very grateful to my supervisor Andrew Irving for his invaluable and constant support and for encouraging me to read inspiring authors from interdisciplinary backgrounds. Many thanks to my co-supervisor John Gledhill for inviting me to do anthropology about Latin America from critical political perspectives. I am very grateful to Paul Henley, not only for his co-supervision, but for all the training I received during my five years at the Granada Centre for Visual Anthropology. Since I first arrived at the Granada Centre I have gained precious knowledge and made countless friends.

Many thanks to the personnel of the CERESO Atlacholoaya for allowing me to carry out my research. Special thanks to Lic. Gabriela Nava, Lic. Cristina Carlota López, Lic. Margarita Ríos Servin and Psic. Ana María for doing all what was necessary to allow this research to happen.

Special thanks to Elena de Hoyos, thanks to whom I was able to set foot in prison for the first time. Thanks to researcher and workshop facilitators Aída Hernández, Marina Ruíz, Elena and the women prisoners who form part of the Collective "Hermanas en la Sombra" (Sisters in the Shadow). Also thanks to Simon Rudin from Theatre in Prison and Probation (TIPP) from the Drama Department at the University of Manchester. Their work in prison has inspired my own work.

I am especially thankful to the members of my video collective EmergenciaMX for the technical knowledge I gained from filming with them during my fieldwork. Above all, I am thankful for sharing the experience of filming on so many stories of loss with such a sensitive creativity during the Movement for Peace with Justice and Dignity.

I wish to thank my parents Carlos and Aurea, and my brothers Gerardo and Alex for their unconditional support. Many friends have also offered the support needed for the completion of my Ph.D. - thanks to Christine Moderbacher, Ricardo del Conde, Laura Herrero, Sofia Kariotaki, Ben Clarke, Patricia Guerrero, Siobhan McGuirk, Dan Smith, Nick Austin, Pauline Dabrowski, Catherine Harte, Shane Fennelly, Thomas Barlow, Patrick Baxter, Areli Ramirez and Cynthia Pérez.

I am extremely grateful to the women and men I met at the prison of Atlacholoaya. Special thanks to Nora, Angélica, Consuelo, Alicia, Manón, Elizabeth, Enevelia, Alejandra, Mica, Sandra, David, Fredy and Redi. I hope this dissertation reflects some of your viewpoints and concerns.

Introduction

This dissertation explores the moral life worlds of people who were imprisoned in Mexico, and how they have incorporated the expected or unexpected fate of imprisonment into the story of their lives. The investigation is based on my fieldwork among people who have been imprisoned and then released during 2010–11 from the prison of Atlacholoaya, Morelos, in central Mexico. “Being a prisoner is a lottery game” is a saying shared among prisoners and volunteers in Atlacholoaya. They share and circulate the idea that a person goes to prison if he or she happens to be in the wrong place at the wrong time. This saying reveals how one of the most salient experiences of being and working in prisons is to acknowledge the randomness involved in imprisonment, and how our fate is decided by contingent encounters. The experience of arrest resonates with Sartre’s remarks that life-flow is constantly being threatened by sudden and abrupt ruptures (1960: 37). Recalling Sartre’s work, Jager remarks that “below the surface of a predictable, well-functioning, integrated person gapes the abyss of a transcendental impersonal freedom”, so that “the way things are” is “constantly and secretly undermined by a furtive indeterminacy” (Jager 1981: 6,7). The flow of life is accompanied by a “vertigo of possibility” and the groundlessness of our existence (Sartre 1960: 100). In this sense, the saying “imprisonment is a lottery” illustrates how arrests and pardons are not determined by the quality of evidence provided, as argued by the law. Rather, they are decided according to a “judicial culture” that consists of repetitive or random

encounters between police forces and those accused, where the respective outcome is determined by a collection of factors such as class, gender, ethnic background, economics, interpersonal relations, personal moods, interests and power that unfold during specific encounters with the law enforcement agents.

Consequently, volunteers are in agreement that “it could have been any of us”. However, “being in the wrong place at the wrong time” is not that simple. A key factor is having been born in a place where human beings are accorded less value than others (Irving 2012: 149), and another is having been imprisoned for several activities that are currently considered illicit. Activities that might not have been criminalised in the past or that might stop being illegal in the future.

That people are judged differently, and that similar actions bring about different interpretations and consequences for some than for others, was clear from the many events that occurred during the completion of the thesis. In July 2012 the world accepted the “apologies” of the HSBC bank executives for having participated in drug trafficking by laundering money from drug-cartels. Their “commitments to improve” were “welcomed” by U.S Senators Carl Levin and Tom Coburn who conducted the hearing (*The Guardian* 17/07/2012). French prisoner Florance Cassez, accused of participating in a kidnapping organisation, was released after seven years of imprisonment in Mexico, on the 23rd of January 2013, after political and international media pressure as well as tension between the French and Mexican governments. Cassez was released due to violations of her rights during the penal process, a complaint that would free the great majority of the prisoner population of Mexico, as Hernández (in *La Jornada* 2013) remarks. It is also likely that if faced with a similar situation, many of the volunteers at Atlacholoaya could also avoid prison. Similarly, the criminal organisations responsible for most of the serious violence in Mexico very often do not go to prison.

The great majority of the prison and ex-prisoners I met during my fieldwork period were not granted the opportunity to apologise, nor did they have sufficient money to negotiate with the police. For example, Karina and her family suddenly lost permission to run their drug business and María, an indigenous woman who transported drugs on a bus journey, received a ten-year prison sentence. María

was not familiar with the legal system and did not know how to pressurise the authorities to investigate her case. I also met Consuelo in prison, a single mother who flew an aeroplane loaded with marijuana to demonstrate to men that she was capable of flying a plane and to support her two daughters. Consuelo also spent ten years in prison. David and Alex received more than five years for possessing a few grams of cocaine for personal use.

Usually, imprisonment has a bigger impact on certain geographical locations, identities and class and ethnic backgrounds than others. However, for the inmates I met, imprisonment seemed to be both an unimagined possibility and a latent daily risk. Using different ethnographic methods, my work sheds light on how prisoners and ex-prisoners make sense of and react to the likelihood of their incarceration and liberation. I draw on the narratives, opinions, memories, desires, arts and crafts and emotions of prisoners and ex-prisoners as sources that can offer specific insights into their experiences. My work also explores some of the consequences of prisoners' decisions, as well as the responses of the security system. By focusing on the ordinary practices and reflections of the prisoners and ex-prisoners of Atlacholoaya, this work seeks to provide a broader understanding of the humanity, experience and identity of people who have been in prison than has hitherto been achieved by the reduction of their identities to "the poor".

To do this, I avoid viewing prison as an isolated condition or community; rather, I take imprisonment to be a temporal event in a persons' lifetime. Therefore, I not only examine the time people spend in prison but also their journeys of arrival and departure from prison.

Narratives of incarceration

A large body of literature has generated an analysis and understanding of how imprisonment specifically targets certain genders, class and ethnic backgrounds by looking at the criminalisation of poverty, the inefficiency of the penal system and historical processes such as the drug wars and the increase of violence during past decades (Wacquant 2010; Hernández 2010; Azaola 2009; Bergman

2004; Nuñez 2007; Lagarde 1993; Caldeira 2000; Sarre 2012). I engage with the analysis offered by this literature throughout my dissertation, however, I avoid restricting my work to a single class, gender, ethnic identity or type of crime. Instead I let these categories emerge in contradictory and complex ways in the subjective tales of ex-prisoners.

Wacquant (2010: 612) has shown that there is “an increasing interpenetration between prison and deprived neighbourhoods specially in the current regime of hyperincarceration targeted at neighbourhoods of relegation in the U.S.” Similarly, Hernández (2013) remarks that in Mexico imprisonment always affects poor people and those with dark skin; the few middle-class people encountered in prison are only there because other more powerful people sent them to jail. Half of the people sentenced are in prison for “minor offences”, and many of these serve time in prison because they could not pay a fine that would have allowed them to go on trial outside prison. Only 6% of the prison population is classified as a “great danger” (Patiño 2010: 88) and only 14% is said to have been involved in organised crime (Azaola and Pérez 2012).

Recent research has also focused on the impact of the war on drugs on the prison population and how the issues of a nation in conflict have influenced who goes to prison. Approximately 210,000 people in Latin America, the U.S. and Canada were condemned for drug-related crimes between 2007 and 2009 (OEA 2011: 56). In 1997, there were 21,000 reported drug-related offences in Mexico, and by 2010 the number had reached 55,000 (SEGOB 2012). Such numbers say less about the increase in offences committed and more about the *assumptions*, *values* and *practices* upon which current penalties are administered (Garland 2001: 8). Such changing issues have led to the penalisation of certain human practices across time and space (Garland 2001; Buffington 1993; 2000 and Nader 2003). In Latin America the fear of violence about the war on drugs has justified new techniques of exclusion by stigmatising certain groups as dangerous (Caldeira 2000: 2). In contrast to the arguments of former Mexican president Felipe Calderón, the people apprehended are not big-time drug lords and they often do not even belong to a particular criminal organisation. Half of the people sentenced in Mexico are “caught in the act”, that is during the moment of “wrong-doing”, rather than through a thorough investigation (Azaola and Pérez 2012).

There is a greater emphasis on prosecuting “street crimes”, and of the 55,000 drug-related offences in 2010, official reports indicate that 39,180 corresponded to the category of possession (14,577 of which are also considered offenses of consumption), and only 148 to trafficking and 737 to transport ¹ (SEGOB 2012). Similarly CIDE’s² survey finds that 33.5% of prisoners sentenced over the past six years were condemned because of drug possession, street distribution and consumption. Of those condemned for drug related crimes, 58.7% are related to marijuana and 27.3% to cocaine (Arellano 2011).

Gender focused investigations have also offered an understanding of how such assumptions impact on different gender identities. For instance, women’s criminality used to be associated with their body and sexuality, but the “new form of criminalisation” concerns their participation in the drug business (Azaola 2009: 166; see also Nuñez 2007; Giacomello 2009), to the extent that eight out of ten female prisoners, but only six out of ten male prisoners, are sentenced for drug related offences (Azaola and Pérez 2012).

The stories of the prisoners at Atlacholoaya are broadly mirrored in available literature. At Atlacholoaya prison, inmates often come from the same neighbourhoods, municipalities and rural towns in Morelos. This indicates that the selection for imprisoning people is not completely random, but involves people with poor education, those from deprived neighbourhoods and those who speak languages other than Spanish. However, such literature cannot tell us enough about the subjective experience of being in prison. Prisoners and ex-prisoners represent all or some of these categories in complex ways.

More specifically, prisoners claim to have been implicated in more offences than those of which they were originally accused or even that they are guilty of none of them. Therefore my focus is not on one particular type of offence. Moreover, I also avoided focusing only on men or on women prisoners because when focusing on studying female or male prisoners separately, women’s studies generally situate women at a disadvantaged position to men, for instance, in opposition to their husbands. This overlooks the notion that prisoners seem to act

¹ The remaining numbers are: 683 corresponding to production, 3,255 to commerce, 141

² Teaching and Research Centre in Economics

in opposition to or in solidarity with other gendered identities, and often as part of a mixed gender family or social network. Thus all of these broader categories of analysis unfold in different ways in the stories told by prisoners.

Individual trajectories and lived experiences

My ethnography aims to explore how the premises above and other assumptions of incarceration unfold in the actual life trajectories of the people I met and how they make sense of them. I offer an ethnographic analysis of how prisoners draw from legal, medical and moral discourses, as well as personal discursive, sensory and imagined processes to explain their imprisonment. Prisoners and ex-prisoners explained their routes in and out of prison in non linear ways, interweaving these large narratives of poverty and disadvantage with everyday stories of romantic love, treason, misunderstandings, mistakes, self-improvement and identity.

The prisoners' relationship to their imprisonment could be both lasting and ephemeral, in physical, mental, emotional and social terms. Some prisoners would react against their imprisonment or patiently wait for it to pass. For some the relationship to imprisonment and crime had begun before their imprisonment whilst working for the police for example, and for others it was their first experience. Some ended their relationship with prison after release, while others continued the relationship in different ways, either through their experience of parole, in their jobs, or through people they met in prison. For others, they pursued their desires and dreams, with a love for certain crafts such as knitting, woodcarving and writing.

I follow Jackson's view that the "anthropology of experience" involves "going back from the domain of anthropological theory to the dramatic settings of the life world" (Jackson 1996: 29). This entails a "shift from an emphasis on explanatory models to lived metaphors" (1996: 9). Ingold's view is that individuals are not finished beings but beings in the process of becoming (1991: 369). "It is in and through relationships that persons come into being and endure in the course of social life" (Ingold 1991: 221). Imprisonment is therefore only one of the many episodes in a person's life, an episode that an individual makes sense of and incorporates throughout life in various ways. While both the planned and

unplanned experiences of life shape us, we are not determined by any single episode. People's relationship to imprisonment is diverse and their lives following prison take many directions. Their lives are being reconfigured constantly according to their own intentions and the intentions of others.

"Phenomenology, "visual anthropology" and the "sensorial turn" have all been useful devices to narrate those everyday journeys of imprisonment in Mexico. They represent methodological, kinaesthetic and theoretical invitations to raise awareness of people's sensory and ordinary stories. Departing from such concepts, fieldwork involves not only undertaking "participant observation" but also "participant sensation" (Howes 2006: 121) of our world and the world of those we encounter. Our body also plays a part of the way we sense and understand fieldwork (Stoller 1997: 54), and the task of representing others entails attempts to embrace new forms of textual and audiovisual narratives that shed light on people's lived experiences. Thus, memories, stories, objects, a video, body movements, gazes, emotional atmospheres, existential accounts, beliefs and emotions, all contributed to the means to recollect, and act as departure points to tell the stories of men and women in the following chapters.

The "war on drugs": research and lived experience

My fieldwork took place during the most violent epoch I have ever experienced in my home country; it is where my relatives and friends live and where I am likely to return. These experiences played a key role in the way I discuss imprisonment throughout my investigation, insofar as all processes of understanding are closely intertwined with the researcher's life spectrum (Fabian 1983), and differentiated through specific bodily biographies and existential circumstances (Irving 2009b: 310). In 2006 ex-president Felipe Calderón declared a "war on drugs" and initiated a police and military deployment across the country in a ruthless attack on drug organisations. Since then, the country has experienced the greatest bloodshed since the revolution of 1910–21, without significantly affecting the flow of substances that are, to date, considered illicit. Instead, organised crime has multiplied and security forces have been corrupted, further complicating the picture and intensifying daily violence. This conflict is not only directly related to

the stories of imprisonment I encountered during my fieldwork period; it also represents a significant change in my home country due to the many forms of visual, aural and emotional violence that have become part of everyday life for my friends and relatives. As Hobsbawm says, history is not only a series of geopolitical events to be analysed as an object of study, but a set of circumstances unfolding in concrete lives (1980: 86). History includes an aesthetic dimension in terms of “how the world strikes the body on its sensory surfaces” and the thoughts, sensations and ideas which are bound up with our human life (Eagleton 1990: 13). In short, history involves personal experiences of events lived through the “primordial physicality of our being-in-the-world” (Eagleton 1990: 18).

These many forms of violence included the militarisation of our cities and the unleashing of murders of unprecedented sadism, amounting to 80,000 deaths. We are now familiar with other numbers: over a six-year period, 20,000 people have gone missing, and 250,000 have been displaced. While the conflict has erased the faces and individuality of many of these people, over the years these murders and violence have also affected family members or friends within my own social circles in Mexico (academic, artistic, distant relatives and current and past fieldwork locations). That many of these crimes remain unpunished has become a daily outrage.

Throughout my fieldwork, my local community experienced several cases of murder and disappearance in Morelos. On February 27th, 2011, we discovered that Juan Francisco Sicilia had been murdered. He was the son of Javier Sicilia, a poet and journalist who formed part of the academic and cultural community in Cuernavaca, the capital city of Morelos. A few hours after the death of Juan Francisco was confirmed we gathered in the main square in the city centre to offer each other solace, to try to understand what had happened and to protest against the inexplicable. His body was found in the boot of a car together with six other bodies; four were his friends and two were seemingly unrelated to him. The first press releases linked them to “drug trafficking”, a process that has acquired imaginary dimensions and is difficult to penetrate, yet to which all the latest violent deaths are related. The reporting of bodies found without names, histories

or biographies implies that “they must have been doing something wrong” and this has become part of daily news.

In the same year we experienced two prominent cases of disappearance; the scientific community to which some of my professors belong, confirmed the disappearance of Yadira Ávila, a researcher at the Institute of Genomics. Secondly, Jethro Ramsés Sánchez, aged 24, was seized by military personnel after an argument at a festival. Since Jethro was friends with the members of *Radio Chileno*, a community radio station with which I collaborated, we protested against his disappearance. It was later discovered that he was murdered at the 24th military base of Cuernavaca one month before his body was found on the outskirts of Morelos. Subsequently, the General on the military base where Jethro was murdered, was moved to a military base in northern Mexico to avoid public pressure and prosecution. During 2012 I received news that two of my colleagues in the Faculty of Arts at the Autonomous University of the State of Morelos (UAEM) had gone missing after a trip to the woods. Rusto’s body was found but Viridiana’s was not. Her parents and my friends in the arts department continue to look for her. Such searches have become the core activity of the people close to those who have gone missing. The parents who begin protesting for the disappearance of their sons and daughters receive threats. Very few of these cases are solved, and it is usually the wrong people who are imprisoned for them.

Kondo (1986) and Taussig (1999: 75) note that detachment seems to be the emotional condition and prose style advised when undertaking and writing research. However, as Abu-Lughod states, the anthropologist is never simply an outsider, for the “outsider self never simply stands outside; he or she always stands in a definite relation with the ‘other’” (1993: 40). Consequently, throughout the research journey the anthropologist not only looks, but also feels, questions and ignores (1993: 40) and this becomes an important part of our work. I personally cannot consider these stories of loss, violence and impunity as merely the “context” in which my fieldwork happened to take place, and which I can analyse with detachment back at my university in England. They are also visual, textual and acoustic experiences or stories that enter the body in the form of outrage, fear, sadness, impotence and eagerness to change the course of things.

All of these experiences give my “anthropology an accent”, to use Caldeira’s expression. Not only because anthropology in Latin America is considered to be part of public life and thus expects to deliver an opinion, as Caldeira implies (2000: 7), but because my fieldwork merges with my every day life and it is inevitably filled with affection. All words, according to Bakhtin:

[...] have the taste of a profession, a genre tendency, a party, a particular work, a particular person, a generation, an age group, the day and hour. Each word tastes of the context and contexts in which it has lived its socially charged life. (2006: 504)

The reflections and interactions recollected here are consequently ways of narrating, framing, thinking and morally interpreting what is implicated when someone’s path in life leads to a period in prison. This research encompasses my “biographically mediated way of seeing” and is informed by my specific states of being while doing this research (Davis 2010: 1). It is informed by my intellectual and emotional baggage that has accumulated and shifted throughout my life experiences and which has been particularly informed by the past six years of war. In common with the people we write about, researchers too are also not finished beings. We, along with our intentions, stances, affinities and understandings, as well as our textual and visual products, are also in constant mutation (Hollan and Troop 2008; Kondo 1986), both in synchrony and asynchrony with our academic, daily and visceral lives.

My work contests the ongoing emphasis on the polluting nature of affections, empathies and emotions on research, still argued by some; Hage (2009: 61) for instance argues that the very nature of participant observation requires him to distance himself from those emotions, because “ethnography-specific emotions” are “ethnographic vacillations” (Hage 2009: 61,62). I argue that such ethnography-specific emotions contain neglected realms of experience which are intrinsic not only to how anthropologists experience fieldwork, but to the lives of their interlocutors. I thus also give relevance to people’s own affective experiences of imprisonment and do not eliminate them by “anthropologising” them through the secular, historicist discourse and instrumentality of science (Chakrabarty 1993: 423). I hereby follow Lutz’s (1996: 523) view that emotions

are an inevitable part of our process of living and understanding. I depart from the idea that knowledge is not simply what we think of as “the intellect” (Kondo 1986: 85) but it involves the whole self, an “indissoluble relationship between minds, bodies and the environment” as Marchand writes (2010: s1; see also Ingold 1991; Howes 2005; Kondo 1986).

As Pink (2009: 8) suggests, ethnography entails a “reflexive and experiential process through which understanding, knowing and (academic) knowledge are produced”; one in which knowledge is not only equated to that confined to mental concepts and logical propositions expressed in spoken language (Marchand 2008). Knowledge can be “any state in an organism that bears a relationship to the world” (Plotkin 1993 in Marchand 2010). This concept of knowledge extends to domains that are not often considered to foster knowledge, such as emotional, sensorial, spatial and somatic representations (Marchand 2012: 257). Such domains of knowledge offer a diversity of insights into the experience of prisoners.

Modes of representation

Taussig asks:

How on earth can one create a language that can do justice to the passions and nuances of the Other, while at the same time refraining from revealing something absolutely crucial about one’s own life-world, prejudices, fears, values and enthusiasms?.
(Taussig 1999: 75)

Reflexivity has been a way to explain how knowledge is constructed in the field between the researcher and researched, in an attempt to substantiate the transparency of fieldwork relationships and methods used. However I argue that being textually present accounts more as a type of literary resource than for processes of transparency, as Clifford (1986) also argues. “It proposes a frame of reference within which we are to assess the work” (MacDougall 1998: 88). Further, it attempts to stand as the truth out of all the work:

This metacommunication becomes the new standard, the new (and real) point of reference for scientific truth, displacing the work itself. Because it frames the frame, so to speak, it is considered to be more accurate, more valid, more scientific. (MacDougall 1998: 88)

As MacDougall argues, our reflexive accounts cannot stand as a “structure exterior to the work” and explicit interventions are also a fragmentary construction. Robertson (2002: 786) highlights that “a mirror is not an inert device and can be deployed to contain or control differences and oppositions”. Often in ethnographic narratives the way in which we subjectively construct the life of others, an inevitable fact, becomes more important than the life of the people we are writing about. It becomes more important that our texts mirror what we ought to be studying and the affinities we are supposed to be having. In some of these mirrors, “it was no longer the relation between the look of things which mattered. What mattered was measurement and difference, rather than visual correspondences” (Berger 1982: 115).

I consider that the exploration of the affective and inter-subjective are not exhausted through reflexive exercises. “The author’s position is neither uniform nor fixed, and expressed itself through a multileveled and constantly evolving relation with the subject” (Mac Dougall 1998: 89). Thus reflexivity is not the sole way my work speaks to my concerns (Abu-Lughod 1993: 16). I also utilise styles of writing and filming that are not only useful ways to represent forms of knowing and feeling the worlds of others, but that speak to my empathetic exchanges without being always textually present. Authorship also relates to the way we write and what we choose to represent and evoke.

Therefore, accounting for the processes of intersubjective understanding of the world of others may also benefit from textual and visual evocations, including the atmospheres of the field as I intend to explain specially in Chapter 4: *Uncertainty in prison*, and also in my film *Time will tell*.

Kafka’s aim in *The Trial* was not so much to analyse or rationalise the process of criminal accusation and legal defence, but by describing it, he evoked and transmitted what it feels to be unfairly put on trial. This feeling is, in my view, an

intrinsic part of the judicial processes and of the experience of incarceration. Thus, the sensorial aspect of the explorations of experience do not only form part of the fieldwork, but are an intrinsic part of sensing, representing and evoking people's lives throughout the research (Howes 2005; Pink 2009). I intend not only making meaning but to make writing [and visibility] meaningful as suggested by Pollock (1998: 97).

From peace to imprisonment

In the midst of a drug war, "justice" and "incarceration" have become what many Mexicans are demanding, forgetting that many of the people involved in organised crime (be it civilians, government officials, police or military officers) do not go to prison. By representing the views of prisoners, my ethnography intends to highlight the contradiction between justice and incarceration.

After Javier Sicilia's son was murdered, the families of people murdered during the war, and civil society in general, consolidated into what later became known as the Movement for Peace with Justice and Dignity (MPJD). His status as a poet and as a journalist for *Proceso*, a journal critical of Mexico's political sphere, helped Javier's case to garner press interest. He soon had the support of many people in Cuernavaca, and this support spread across the country. Several families with similar stories seized on this as an opportunity to unite their voices and appeal to the security forces, as well as to the general public, to stop calling their murdered relatives "collateral damage"; and to stop assuming they were necessarily involved in drug trafficking. On April 6th, 2011, many of these families came from different parts of the country to join in a demonstration for "peace" in Cuernavaca, which resulted in a march of 40,000 people. On May 8th, 200,000 people marched to the main square in Mexico City demanding "*no más sangre*" (no more bloodshed).

Because "peace" was too ambiguous, people decided the second endeavour was to seek for "justice" and "dignity". We wrote "peace", "justice" and "dignity" on our placards, shouted them in our demands and heard them in their testimonies; they became part of our vocabulary. We travelled to other cities, encountered

more “victims”, marched again and again, and combined dancing with crying through the nights after travelling by caravan all day. We made videos, spread the word, met the president, and throughout it all, demanded “justice”. When history felt like an unstoppable giant, the most graspable solution to an overwhelming war found some solace in words such as “peace”, “justice” and “dignity”.

This language did not go unrecognised by the security project. Garland’s work has illustrated how “public sentiment” is a “recurring theme of the rhetoric that accompanies penal legislation and decision making” (Garland 2001: 9). Hence concepts previously associated with the struggle for social justice such as “freedom”, “liberty”, “choice” and “rights” are appropriated and mobilised by the neoliberal state (Harvey 2005: 119), making them part and parcel of its political project and turning their appropriated meaning into the only acceptable one (Gräbner 2012: 6). In appropriating words, they not only re-appropriate their meaning but they also turn them into “empty signifiers”, as suggested by Laclau (2006). This creates “[t]he absence of the signified, to the advantage of the referent alone” (Barthes 2006: 234). The signifiers become “a figural term to which no literal one corresponds”, or signifiers that do not signify. They only emerge if there is a structural impossibility, that is, when they can signify a “necessary totality which is literally impossible” (Laclau 2006: 107). A language that divorces “the word” from reality and experience, as Gräbner says:

When “war is peace”, as Arundhati Roy puts it in an essay of this title, then “peace” is also “war”, and the meaning of either “war” or “peace” becomes subjective not in an empowering, but in an arbitrary sense; when “justice” becomes “impunity” in the scenario of the Mexican drug war, then “justice” also becomes so oppressive that it would be better not to have it. In such a scenario, “war” and “peace”, and “justice” and “impunity” are no longer opposites. (Gräbner 2012: 65)

Since such words are no longer grounded in anything, the “content would just be a means of representation of something different from itself” (Laclau 2006: 108). As I stood amidst banners and shouts for “peace” and “justice”, I knew imprisonment was one of the answers of the justice system. In situations of

conflict, I could see how people's ordinary feeling for justice could be fulfilled by the act of imprisoning a person, despite knowing that violence in the country and incarceration rates and reasons for incarcerations are not correlated. It is reported that only 20% of "victims of crime" report the crime. Of the crimes reported, only 5% are prosecuted by presenting someone to the judges (see Shirk and Rios 2007: 12; ENSI 2010). That is, more than 90% of crimes remain uninvestigated, are not carried forward, or continue to be processed indefinitely. Moreover, many more people are falsely incriminated by using fake witnesses and evidence, as shown in the documentary *Presumed Guilty (2008)* which shows the trial of Antonio Zúñiga and how he was falsely accused of murder, using as evidence the testimonies of fabricated witnesses.

In spite of the widespread knowledge of the fabrication of criminals and witnesses, asking for justice (very often imprisonment) is one of the most important sources of vindication sought over the loss of a loved one. This happens especially in a context where it is becoming more and more difficult to establish who is to blame, or how to solve the case. Faced with the shock of never seeing a loved one again, it does not really matter who goes to prison, if it helps one recover a sense of wholeness.

In a context where many people are choosing to ignore the fact that incarceration relates less to actual offences than to the values, moods and personal needs, feelings and circumstances of the security forces at the moment of the arrests, ethnographies that offer portraits and voices of those who go to prison are highly relevant. My dissertation provides an ethnographic contribution to the anthropology of prisons in Mexico, offering the viewpoints of people who have been incarcerated.

Imprisonment as a stage in life

"Being in the wrong place at the wrong time", a common phrase used by prisoners, guards and volunteers in Altacholoaya, echoes Sartre's statement that our destinies are both "a pure event of transcendental origin and an ever possible accident of our daily life" (Sartre 1960: 103). I thus take the *randomness of imprisonment*, with its uncertain and contingent nature, as an important point of

departure for people to respond to imprisonment from their different moral worlds. Sartre's *Nausea* "bespeaks a reluctant radical break within our environment, a loss of what has been taken for granted, a sudden departure from known and trusted ways, an alienation from our ground as *soil* and as *basis*" (Jager 1981: 7). Jager understands Roquentin's attacks of nausea, as the "upsurging of his own contingency in situations where he is paralyzed by loss, where loss impedes his transcendence and locks him in" (1981: 6). It is from such loss of ground that prisoners find new grounds and inhabit imprisonment. They embrace it, endure it and find their ground to settle on and navigate. They dwell in it and retell it in response to everyday situations. In summary, the reasons for imprisonment and its duration and effects are not homogeneous, fixed or pre-determined, as will be revealed by the different chapters of this dissertation which is organised as follows:

Chapter 1: *Economic and social every day in prison* gives us an overview of life in prison through an exploration of the economic market developed inside Atlacholoaya women's prison. By describing these economic exchanges, this chapter reveals that inmates not only work to survive but they seek a certain social status and form their respective identity based on the remunerated work they undertake in prison.

Chapter 2: *Narratives of self*, explores the different kinds of narrative that are produced when a person is sent to prison. I specifically review fragments of ex-prisoner Karina's testimonies using three different forums of expression namely Karina's testimony for legal evidence, our interview and her autobiography. The narratives produced are all different redescriptions of her life created dialogically with others in an attempt to make them work within the power-plays of specific circumstances and relationships. Such opportunities for narrative permit her to tell the story of her arrest in different ways, thereby accomplishing different things.

Chapter 3: *The gaze and morality*, explores the gendered relationships of everyday life in prison. By exploring attitudes towards gender and sexual behaviour, I argue that life in prison is motivated by the administration of the

visible in order to maintain discretion. I argue that identities and practises – such as notions of womanhood, homosexual and heterosexual demonstrations of affection and sexual intercourse - are regulated on the basis of what can be shown publicly and what should be kept in private. As such, ceremonial spaces promote an idealised image of the feminine whereas every day life allows the unfolding of a diversity of beliefs and practices with regards to gender and sexuality. I argue that the politics of exposure versus discretion are based according to patriarchal standards of womanhood and that the Mexican security and justice system as a whole functions according to such politics of the visible.

Chapter 4: *Uncertainty in prison*, evokes the experience and emotional resonance of legal procedures. I look particularly at the feeling of uncertainty produced by the ambiguity and tardiness of case resolutions. I argue that the *institutionalisation of uncertainty* has become part of the intrinsic realm of everyday life in Mexican prisons, and I thus invite readers to reconsider it as an important daily experience, from which to understand the prisoners' ways of engaging with prison life and with life after prison.

Chapter 5: *Time will tell* is a film that depicts the stories of Sandra, David and Reynaldo when they leave prison. The film aims to represent different experiences of exiting prison and their mundane existential subtleties. In Chapter 6: *The making of time will tell* I expand on how I experimented with audiovisual media to capture and convey realms of experience in ways that words and text do not allow. All of the techniques used in the film, I explain, depended largely on the kind of relationship I was able to establish with each one of the protagonists. The instantaneity of human interactions and their transactions, their voices, tonalities, silences, emotional expressions and body language all work together to evoke experience in a certain way.

Chapter 7: *Remembering prison* is a journey to prison through the recollections of three ex-prisoners. I depart from the idea that the boundaries of our past life events reach and merge with the present through our memories. The experience of imprisonment does not begin when entering prison, nor does it altogether terminate when prisoners are released, but complex continuities and discontinuities are formed between prisoners' lives and prison itself. Prison is

remembered as a place of both pleasant and unpleasant experiences. I explore how the specific objects and embodied experiences of David, Alex and Reynaldo act as vehicles for multiple possibilities of acts of remembrance. Remembering becomes an act to vindicate their pasts in prison, make sense of their present and construct their desired futures.

This dissertation also draws attention to the fact that the lives of prisoners did not begin in prison, nor will they end there (at least for the majority of inmates). They have a background and pragmatic and imagined lives after prison. Prison is but one experience in their lives, which I took part in by encouraging them to remember, collect and depict this episode of their lives. My aim is to make a contribution to the depictions of imprisonment by giving relevance to the subtleties of that experience, which are overlooked by more “urgent” topics concerning imprisonment.

Methods and access to prison

It took me four months to be granted permission to access prison, during that period I began collecting the stories of ex-prisoners. I had initially met a few ex-prisoners that were part of the *Parinaama Yoga* project that they had joined whilst in prison but my network expanded when they introduced me to other people they knew. Throughout the year, I took part in their ordinary lives and jobs, engaged in their yoga classes in community centres, visited their houses- and became interested in the material souvenirs they preserved from prison (boats, crafted mosaics, pictures, frames and knitted bags)- and was often asked to carry out filming for them, for example recording their children’s birthdays or graduations, which allowed me to share more time with their families.

I also accompanied those on parole whilst they fulfilled their legal obligations in prison, for example signing the book of parolees every few weeks. People’s remaining links with prison, once freed, were not straightforward. Some ex-prisoners made new friends while others carried on socializing with people they had met in prison.

Their gatherings sometimes turned into sites of remembrance about prison. I was surely one of the reasons that prompted them to speak about prison and so my presence became a depository of thoughts and anecdotes. In the beginning, they expected me to be some kind of social worker checking up on their behavior and the type of job they had engaged in. Later they realized I was someone interested in mundane stories and reflections. I was interested on what it existentially meant for them to leave a place they had inhabited for years and, all of a sudden, be found outside again. I was attentive to the mundane sensation of exiting prison, and of arriving home. My camera became an invaluable tool to use as an excuse to register such “irrelevant” reflections. As opposed to my sound recorder, pen and questionnaires, the camera was not seen to “evaluate” people, but was instead understood as an “artistic means of expression”.

In the meantime, I would call prison every few days in order to find out if my research project had been accepted. I heard about papers going missing, broken promises and cancelled appointments. Finally one day I was granted permission to do research. This was facilitated by my affiliation to a foreign university as well as having my friend Elena, an influential feminist and volunteer in prison, speaking on my behalf to the prison directors. It is quite likely that none of the calls, nor the file I submitted that contained all of the documents the authorities had asked for, were responsible for granting me access to prison, thus reinforcing how prison is often accessed and exited by means of personal contacts or status and how this is not only a long process but unpredictable. And that this is not only a long process, but is also unpredictable. This is one of the reasons why I became interested in exploring and representing the uncertainty of the penal process as an emotional experience (Chapter 4).

I was granted permission to undertake research at both the female and male prison a total of four days per week. I gained greater access to the women’s prison, not merely because of my gender. Access to the men’s prison is generally harder for security reasons, but also what happens at a males’ prison of 2,500 men is something to try and keep out of the hands of researchers. Self-governance in there is more prevalent and it makes it a more difficult environment to secure, and therefore a more restricted space for researchers. For this reason, my description of the everyday life of prison more heavily favors

the women's experience. However, as I did manage to gain knowledge about the men's prison through the prisoners and ex-prisoners tales, I have included some of their experiences for comparative purposes. I also focus much more into men's experience in the life after prison, since I happened to meet more male ex-prisoners.

In the following section I will introduce some of the general characteristics and every day events of Atlacholoaya prison before discussing specific topics and experiences within the body of the dissertation. The table I use is intended to work as a comparative chart between the women's (left column) and men's (right) prisons.



Prison of Atlacholoaya. Women (left) and men (right) premises.

Women's prison

Men's prison

Access

I dedicated two days per week to interviewing the women inmates (this is how prison staff mainly understood my research) and spent another two days facilitating a dance class for them. These two activities provided with different kinds of insights into the prison life. Interviews allowed us to

The men's prison is a community of 2,500 inmates. I was granted two days a week of interviewing at the men's prison. However, it was a more restricted and controlled research context. I was only allowed to interview inmates under surveillance; the authorities argued that it was for

have an intimate space to talk about their lives, while the dance workshops provided a space to engage in group discussions about more mundane matters and meet prisoners who I was not interviewing.

Getting out of the classroom was essential in getting to know the women better and to build a social position there for myself. Be that of a teacher, a researcher, or ultimately a friend of some of the less than 300 women who inhabit Atlacholoaya. Eating at their restaurants and buying drinks from their shops also allowed me to gain more access to their every day life and to regularly engage in informal conversations. As time went by I became a familiar figure in prison and was able to move more freely around prison's spaces, including the basketball courts, shops, dining room and workshops spaces. The only place I was never granted access were the dormitories.

security reasons. They selected inmates from the ones I had chosen to interview (primarily those near to the end of their sentence that would be freed soon), and did not let me interview those classified as maximum security. They allocated me a desk at the pedagogy and psychology area. This was an open space with several desks where psychological and pedagogical tests were applied to inmates. Since it was an area of "examination" inmates disliked it and got bored every time they visited it. I explained to them that my interviews were part of my university research project and I was not coming from the part of the penal authorities. I also let them know I was not evaluating them. This information and the kinds of questions I asked, eventually built up some confidence between us. However, this environment never felt like a completely relaxed environment for chatting, and we were surrounded by many other workers. I did not have further access to the everyday life of men's prison with the exception of a few social events and a yoga class I could attend. Although it was a highly limiting experience in some ways, it was extremely informative in others. It got me close to experiencing the performativity of the area of "readaptation". I was able to spend time

with the prison workers and they shared their contrasting views with me. Some warned me that inmates were likely to lie and highly seductive, I was invited to be careful. I also met an energetic psychologist that strongly believed in her profession, and in the importance of “recovery” of inmates from drug addiction. She told me that she felt her efforts to help inmates overcome addiction were meaningless because the penal authorities allowed the circulation of drugs inside prison. How could inmates recover under such circumstances?, she asked me all the time.

The premises



Figure 3 The exterior of the women's prison



Figure 2 “Community area”. A multipurpose space



Figure 1 A shop

The kind and size of the spaces available at both prisons are one of the main differences between the living conditions of the men and women inmates. The women's prison is not only much more smaller, but has less ample spaces.

The only existing outdoor spaces are the two basketball courts they have in front of the dormitories. This is where public events are hosted. The other common spaces are two multipurpose indoor areas. They act as the dining spaces; the shops, small food

The men's prison has ample outdoors green areas and common spaces for events and gatherings. It also had a football field and a big outside theatre forum. The men's prison can therefore host big events with many visitors from the outside.

The men's premises also have a printing area, a water-bottling factory, tailoring and carpentry workshops, gym, school classrooms and a library.

and haberdashery businesses are located there. During the weekends it becomes the area where visiting families are welcomed.

The women's premises also had six multi-purpose classrooms. One of them was the schoolroom and one of its walls hosted a shelf of books, which was their library



Figure 4 The basket ball court.



Figure 5 An event at one of men's patios.

Dormitories and Classification

The women's prison has two buildings with three floors and every floor has 10 cells. One building is for sentenced women (*sentenciadas*) and the second one for those awaiting trial (*procesadas*). Women's dormitories were designed to host two people but the population fluctuated between four to six inmates per dorm. There is a separate area of five cells for the new entrants called COC (Observation and Classification

At the men's prison there are 12 dormitories of 28 cells each. Cells were built to host 5 prisoners, however there were up to 12 prisoners per cell. There is a 70% incidence of overpopulation in the State of Morelos' prisons, which is one of the ten most populated prisons in Mexico. David, an ex-prisoner, remembers having to wind his arms round the bars of the door in order to be able to sleep standing up while hanging from the door.

Centre). New entrants (*ingresos*) spent a few weeks in COC before being sent to the dormitories of those on trial.

The strictest division was enforced between the new entrants and the rest of the population. The division between the processed and the sentenced was not so strict and women were often mixed when special changes in living arrangements and concessions needed to be made due to fights, disputes, feuds or special privileges.

The dormitories separated inmates according to types of offense: rape, theft, murder, etc. There were also inmates put in separate cells with other labels: "maximum security", "inmates subject to protection", "physically and mentally ill".

Unofficially inmates were re-grouped together according to gang and drug cartel affiliation, in order to avoid confrontations and murders between rival cartels. Some areas of the prison were allocated to people of similar cartels.

Violence, hierarchies and punishment

Since there were less than 300 imprisoned women, the women's prison was calmer than the men's. Inmates had some freedom to circulate all over the premises until the women were locked in their cells at 19:30. With the exception of a few fights, there was no excessive physical violence; however other forms of violence existed and in the violence that authorities exercised over the women inmates was included an excessive use of antidepressants. When I was facilitating dance workshops a woman suffering from schizophrenia would

With 2,500 men living together, violent episodes are regular. Inmates regularly recounted that in the weeks after they arrive in prison it is very easy to get into fights. As time passes by, prisoners learn to avoid falling into the provocations of others who want to start a fight for whatever reason.

At the males' prison, power was highly related to drug dealing and money. Many inmates and guards consumed and distributed heroine and crack and both were involved in smuggling drugs into prison. A prisoner shared with me one of the ways the chain works: "our

struggle to wake up for the class because of the heavy medication she was on. When she managed to wake up for the class, she often seemed confused or high due to the pills. However, this is just one example of the abuse of antidepressants either prescribed or that inmates managed to steal from the pharmacy.

Sometimes other drugs like heroine circulate at the women's prison. Either guards or family smuggle them in; or women bring them over from the men's prison. Some women's punishment takes the form of not allowing them to go to the men's prison, due to the suspicion that they may be smuggling drugs. Before and after going, their bodies and clothes are carefully searched.

Amongst inmates, the hierarchies are given according to ethnic, racial, class and beauty criteria. As I explore in Chapter 1, the most influential and powerful inmates are white and urban women who regroup together and look down on others. While they obtain special benefits from authorities, the rest of prisoners make their day by day existence more bearable and in silence.

friend used to bring the marihuana to the OXXO (the nearest shop around prison), then the police would pick it up in their van and bring it near the prison entrance. They would enter prison and I would supposedly be putting the rubbish bins out. When I passed by their van, they would throw the marihuana packs inside my bins. What they did not know is that our friends also put heroin and crack inside the marihuana packs". Once inside, inmates worked for others to distribute it.

Regarding punishment, both prisons had cells for solitary confinement. Prisoners were sent in those cells when prohibited objects were found, such as knives or blades, or when they participated in a fight. Women could spend from a week to two months locked up on their own. Male inmates could easily spend up to three months in solitary confinement when misbehavior was recurrent. David, the ex-prisoner and yoga teacher I filmed, twice did three months in "las bartolas", as they called the punishment cells. Beatings by guards occurred in silence, but men could still hear them when carried out late at night. They often stay out of the public knowledge.

There is a considerable lack of solidarity and camaraderie between the women. Women tend to keep themselves to themselves or form small groups of tight friendships. There is a lot of criticism and dilatation of misbehavior with authorities. However, there are always some women that actively try to make the effort in getting to know the others and sidestep stereotypes as I also explore in Chapter 1.

The night

Every now and then a surprise check up by the military and federal police took place at both prisons. The military would enter at 2:00 a.m., when inmates were already sleeping, in search of weapons and drugs or to transfer inmates to other prisons. The purpose of one military visit I was aware of while doing fieldwork, was to transfer inmates to Las Islas Marías, a maximum-security prison located on an island off the Pacific Coast of the State of Nayarit in the middle of Mexico. On the 15th of December 2010, many prisoners were transferred to Las Islas Marías without previous warning or consent. When I arrived in prison on the morning after, I saw a lot of bags packed up in the entrance of the prison. I was informed it was the belongings and possessions to be sent to the prisoners taken to Islas Marías during the night. When I gave my dance class, one of the prisoners who had been keen on participating on my new class did not arrive that morning. The inmates let me know straight away she had been one of the women taken during the night. She did not want to be transferred and did not know about it. Many of their boyfriends and husbands at the men's prison had also been transferred by surprise. They knew the military was coming when the sound of the gates and locks opening began at night. Late at night is when a lot of clandestine activities begin, including those of the authorities. Revisions, transfers and exits from prison happened during the night. It was the time when the city slept and things could happen without alerting the citizens, as if that helped to avoid reminding them that their city hosted a prison.

A day in prison

For most of prisoners the day begun with the roll call at 8:00 a.m. They also had two more roll calls at around 14:00 and then 19:30 before closing their cells.

After every roll call prisoners were allowed to structure their day pretty much as they wanted. Food time was not even compulsory. If inmates were busy doing other activities at lunchtime, there would always be another way to get food throughout the day, be it by cooking, buying or getting food from a friend.

By the time of roll call, many women would have already showered and cleaned up their cell. Then they would clean other people's dorms and clothes. A couple of them also worked cleaning the kindergarten and the classrooms.

Other inmates would go and work at the hospital sweetshop assembling mouth covers. Others opened up their grocery shops and the haberdashery. The women that needed to work to make a living kept working all day and hardly attended other activities. Inmates with money and free time participated in a variety of workshops such as: sandal-making, make-up, jewelry, book binding, writing workshops and several dances like folklore and Aztec dance.

Some men started the day with the yoga class. They also had English, computer lessons and writing workshops.

Men also came up with a variety of jobs to earn a living. A few were in charge of the "tortillería". Since the kitchen staff could not keep up with the tortilla production, inmates ran the tortilla factory. Other inmates did the gardens and cut the grass for which they charged the rest of inmates.

During family visit many tables were put out in the patio area for families to sit down. Prisoners without visitors would work as waiters for other families and a greater amount of things to eat were sold that day.

All of these workshops were put on or terminated according to the volunteers available. There were some workshops that ran almost all year long such as the mosaic workshop where some women would spend the entire day. Since some workshops were mixed gender, such as theatre, computer and English courses, some women went to the men's prison for joint workshops. Their everyday activities could be interrupted if they had a legal requirement to attend, such as when their lawyer visited them or if they had to be taken out to court.

During the weekends, prisoners received family visits but for prisoners without visitors weekends were much like any other day. Some prisoners would have sporadic visits every few weeks or months, while others had recurrent weekly visitors. They could receive them in the "Community" area from 9:00 a.m. until 6:00 p.m., where they would buy food and share chats. Women having conjugal visits from the outside had access to private cells that they could use for three hours twice a week. If their partner was at the men's prison, then women would be taken to the private cells allocated over there. Male inmates never visited the women's prison.

Many more dealt drugs as I mentioned above. The men's premises had an addiction clinic inside, where people about to be released could spend some time in detox.

Religious beliefs

The majority of women were Catholics. A priest came every week to offer them mass. He also had donated music instruments and prisoners were able to put together a “ronda” or serenade band and would play and sing during mass and other occasions. Mass was usually a very emotional moment.

Groups of religious women also gathered underneath the shade of the Guamuchil, one of the few trees existing in the patio. Together they made their prayers and singing. In prison some women also converted to evangelical groups.

For both men and women it did not seem to matter much whether they would carry on with the beliefs they practiced in prison, after they left prison. What seemed to be important was the hope and strength that such beliefs gave them while doing time in prison. For instance, Beto, the husband of Sandra (both in my film), was very devoted to Christianity during his last months in prison. His devotion helped him to stay away from selling drugs and fights. However, when he left prison it did not take him long to leave this the commitment to God behind.

Yoga practice

One of the inmates, who also provided aerobic lessons for her compañeras, got trained in yoga and then became a teacher for her compañeras. The yoga project at the women’s prison had previously been abandoned for some time. The outside teachers were putting more energy into the men’s yoga project.

Often, the higher number of inmates attending workshops at the men’s prison, meant that facilitators found it

One of the few times I was able to enter a different activity in prison than my interviews was for a yoga class. At 7:00 a.m., as the sun rose, nearly 40 inmates dressed in their old yellow uniform gathered at the big central esplanade in the men’s prisons for the daily yoga practice.

While I was doing fieldwork in prison, yoga was an important activity for many inmates. It became a key activity for

more rewarding and fruitful to teach men than to give their time to the women. For some time, the yoga program at the women's prison was neglected.

However, nowadays it is the only prison where it takes place. In December 2013, the yoga program at the men's prison got suspended due to an increase in violence and heroine intake and the lack of guarantee of security for the yoga teachers.

two of the ex-prisoners I filmed and write about. Therefore, I will expand on its importance here, as a mode of contextualisation for the film that accompanies this dissertation.

Yoga practice was brought to Atlacholoaya in 2003 by teacher Ann Moxey. She started the Parinaama Yoga project that specialised in providing yoga for offenders in situations of stress, addiction and attachments. After she begun offering classes in Atlacholoaya, teachers of different yoga traditions joined her project, including ex-offenders. Together they offered yoga in Atlacholoaya three times a week.

Yoga has proved to be a very useful and effective program especially for inmates with addictions. Yoga's success is seen as being to do with the fact that yoga practice and drugs abstinence both require a daily discipline. Yoga is a discipline that promotes an everyday practice. Fighting addiction is also a daily commitment. Thus, yoga and detox work hand to hand. The daily yoga practice works as a daily reminder that they should stay away from drugs that day (as substance abuse groups actively state). This is not an easy struggle since, after yoga practice,

inmates go back to their cells where they are exposed to drugs.

The film *Doing Time, Doing Vipassana* (1997) demonstrates that the meditation exercises by inmates are also related to the control of time. When life is going to be spent in prison, one loses many things. One cannot go outside and yet one cannot stop thinking about going outside. What Vipassana teaches inmates is that they can decide to do something different with their time, different from getting desperate, angry and aggressive. What inmates of the prison of Tihar Prison in New Delhi discovered with Vipassana is that they possessed plenty of time that they could dedicate to meditation.

Furthermore, yoga in Atlacholoaya also served as an exercise to overcome strict ideas of masculinity. When inmates were invited to practice yoga for the first time, they normally answered that yoga was for women. It took inmates some time to be convinced that it can also be a men's practice. Once they tried yoga, they said they had broken with many ideas about womanhood and masculinity. Through yoga, they began experiencing the use of force and strength in a different way and not only for the purpose of demonstrating it to someone



Figure 6 Yoga demonstration at the men's theatre forum.

else in self-defense and protection. They realised that yoga required a lot of physical strength and equilibrium and it possessed a challenge to one's own bodily resistance.

Omar Rahmna, one of the participants at the Vipassana program in Alabama prison (captured in the film *The Dhamma Brothers*, 2007) says that in prison there are a lot of egos flowing around and that such egos disappear by the Vipassana meditation. Even where someone's ego is seen as not so easy to eliminate, there is a recondition that it can be channeled through yoga and meditation practices. In this sense, a "man" was no longer he who used strength to fight, but he who could remain in a posture for a long time. "The man" was he who could keep up the daily work and turn yoga into a discipline that not only produced internal realisations but also aesthetically pleasing bodily postures that could inspire others. As David says in the film: "to have another vision does not take manhood away from us. You may be able to twist your arms and feet, but the most difficult position is to stay still". David continued practicing yoga throughout his freedom. He teaches yoga at a young offenders' prison, in deprived neighborhoods and to street kids in Mexico City. Five other

ex-offenders also carried on teaching yoga, which has helped them to get a job and have an income, and it has helped o keep away from addiction. Yoga has also provided them with a social circle of friends to hang out with.

Chapter 1: Economic and social everyday in prison

Introduction

Mexican penal authorities cannot financially support the incarcerated population. As such, the circulation of money and the creation of an internal economy sustained by inmates is permitted. An economic market is more than a mere monetary exchange, it also contains social networks (Thompson 1971: 135); therefore, this chapter will use the economic system of Atlacholoaya prison as a means to explore a range of other sociocultural exchanges — between prisoners, and between prisoners and the authorities. Mauss (1954) noted, “what they exchange is not exclusively goods and wealth, real and personal property, and things of economic value” — emotional values are also being exchanged during such interactions (Mauss 1954:63). Likewise, in this chapter I will explore how prisoners use the economic system and job market in Atlacholoaya to negotiate social status, power and identity. Through such economic exchanges, inmates attempt to reposition themselves socially and attain recognition. They create bonds of solidarity or demarcate difference. Prisoners and authorities may reinforce their authority and superiority, extort one another and seek dignity. Through these exchanges, prisoners constitute their own “moral economy”, or as Thompson suggests, by instituting their own social norms and obligations to their market economies (Thompson 1971:79). This chapter thus also provides an overview of life in Atlacholoaya prison.

Before prison, inmates would have commonly worked as domestic employees, bricklayers, or temporary workers in formal and informal economies. The National Programme of Public Security (2001-2006) acknowledged that most inmates in Mexican prisons could not afford adequate legal defence (SSP 2003:10), two out of three prisoners have not committed what are typified as severe or violent crimes and as such, they are serving terms of less than three years (Patiño 2011: 88). If they could afford a better defence they might not serve time at all. Of the 230,000 prisoners in Mexico, only 6% are classified as “highly dangerous” (*ibidem*), 79% of those charged with Federal offences are first-time criminals, 18% are recidivists and 3% multi-recidivist (*ibid*, 90). In 2002, 50% of inmates in Mexico City were incarcerated for petty theft, 25% of the accused stole under 1000 pesos (£50) and 50% had taken less than 6000 (£300). Only 5% stole amounts above 75,000 pesos (£3700). Results in 2005 were similar — 40% of those accuse of theft had stolen less than 500 pesos (£25) and 50% had taken less than 4,500 (£225) (Azaola Bergman 2007: 81). Moreover, 70% of the accused said that they could have avoided a sentence by bribing an official, had they had the money. As such, Mexican prisons are primarily populated with poor people who have committed minor offences.

The inmates who need to source a means of economic sustenance in prison continue their pre-incarceration work and life conditions. As Scott (1985: 247) suggests, “the peasantry or the working class are granted no holiday from mundane pressures of making a living”. The most common economic activities in prison are running grocery shops, being employed in sweatshops, doing cleaning jobs, and selling handicrafts, as well as other sources of income. Beyond covering the costs of basic needs in prison (such as food and hygiene products), working becomes a means to create an identity and to secure a certain social position within a stratified environment. The mercantile dynamics are a way in which prisoners negotiate their different personalities, identities, and beliefs. The various jobs and their associated products and services have different meanings and values, associated with concepts of wealth, beauty, personality and dignity. White inmates seek recognition through their beauty, outspokenness and the products they sell, while the poorer, indigenous inmates seek dignity through their hard work.

Bourdieu's concept of social capital as an accumulation of cultural baggage is crucial for understanding prisoners' points of departure in relation to socialisation and forming an identity by which one is distinct from others. Every prisoner carries his or her background with them when they enter prison. They carry their respective pasts, places of origin, ethnicity, urbanity/rurality, nationality, social class, working class, and level of education, which in some cases is none at all. They also initially judge each other according to their stereotypes of people based on their social backgrounds. However, no identity is fixed, they are constructed through processes of individuation (Castells 1997:7), an idea that is reminiscent of Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital not as static baggage, but as a constant accumulation of new cultural learning. As such, interactions in prison create new bonds of similarities and differentiation. Irving (2014:14) suggests that face-to-face encounters are "critical sites of communication, action and evaluation, during which people reconfigure their senses of self and other and respond to new or changing social landscapes". In this sense, coexistence in prison involves inevitable sharing and learning about one another which leads to the reinforcement, change or recasting of ideas about the other. As Sökefeld (1999: 429) suggests, to be or not to be a person is less a question of cultural concepts than of particular ways of interaction between individuals positioned in a complex system of power relationships who struggle to maintain or to improve their position in relation to others.

Before describing this quest for recognition and respect, I will provide an overview of the prison's official and informal job market.

Ethnography of the job market in prison

The Penitentiary Industry of Atlacholoaya is the team in charge of integrating external enterprises to the prison landscape. These enterprises provide employment for the prisoners. The aim of such "industry" is as follows:

The objective of the penitentiary industry is to provide remunerated work to people deprived of their freedom. The penitentiary industry team provides entrepreneurs with the facilities for the installation and operation of sweatshops, workshops or any other form of industry. The work provided by

entrepreneurs will lead to inmate productiveness, providing them with a healthy means of preparing for reinsertion to the community. Inmate's work and efforts can also pay for the damage caused to others due to their imprisonment and allow them to contribute to their family economy (my translation, LFSP 2011/04/14).

A recent prison report detailed the creation of the following industries and jobs: Water purification — 10 jobs, printing press — 10 jobs, tailoring workshop — 100 jobs, hospital mask workshop — 100 jobs, mosaic workshop — 20 jobs, sweatshop — 100 jobs, and restaurants — 15 jobs. According to this report, external enterprises provided 355 positions in both of the Atlacholoaya prisons – the men's branch and that of the women. Apart from these official jobs, inmates create other sources of employment such as grocery shops, handicraft stalls and cleaning work. This economic system is similar to that outside the prison periphery, which consists of both formal and informal jobs. An informal economy is understood as the “economic activities that avoid state regulation” (see Portes and Schauffler 1993:47). However, this does not necessarily mean that an informal activity is completely independent from regulation and subjugation to the norms of the State. Rather, formality and informality are closely interlinked feeding and needing each other (Portes and Schauffler 1993, De la Peña 1996, Galemba 2008). The “informal sector in fact represents part of the routine operation of capitalism as it is presently organized in Latin America” (Portes and Schauffler 1993:47). This phenomenon is clearly evident in prison — the penal authorities benefit from non-official jobs as they charge rent from the inmates.

When president Calderon initiated the so-called war on drugs in 2007, the public security budget increased by 52%, costing 24 thousand million pesos (£1,000 million). This figure continued to increase by 17% each subsequent year. In 2010, it reached 43 thousand million pesos (£2,000 million) and it was up another 40% in 2011 (Arellano 2011:29). From this budget, between 14% and 31% is assigned to the penal system. One-third goes towards the prisons' maintenance. According to Patiño (2011:93), in 2009 approximately 11.5 m pesos was spent daily on the maintenance of 230,000 inmates across Mexico. This budget supposedly translates to a daily expenditure of 50 to 155 pesos (£8) per inmate, depending on the prison.

Despite the ever-increasing budget, it never completely covers inmates' basic needs such as hygiene product, bedding, clothes and food. Fondevila (in *Reforma* 2010) discusses this issue in relation to prisons in Mexico City, revealing that the institution provides bed sheets to 1.64% of inmates, covers to 3.52%, clothes to 1.38% and shoes to 1.07%. The remaining 42,000 inmates incarcerated in Mexico City obtain these items from family members or by paying prison guards. Inmates also pay to receive visits (62%) or for food and clothing (60%). Inmates and their families largely sustain prisons in Mexico economically. Despite the fact that products in prison are more expensive, the minimum wage is 20 pesos per day (£1), less than half of the minimum wage outside prison, which is of 56 pesos per day (£2.7) in the State of Morelos. As a reference, a bottle of shampoo costs around 40 pesos (£2).

More than half of the women in Mexican prisons do not receive economic support (INMUJERES 2006). Most female inmates have to find a means to economically survive in the early stages of incarceration as many of them are eventually abandoned by their families (see Antony 2007:77, Colmenares et al. 2007, Cisneros 2007, Pulido-Criollo et al. 2009). Furthermore, if the father of their household is also in prison, it is the woman who remains the main breadwinner for their children. According to Inmujeres (2006), 77.4 % of women in prison are engaged in a remunerated activity and 78.8% were involved in an economic activity before prison, usually as a commercial or domestic worker.

In Atlacholoaya, the women's premises with less than 300 inmates contains three grocery shops, two food stalls, one fruit kiosk and one haberdashery. These businesses usually belong to one to three people and depending on their needs and the size of the business, they employ one to three of their *compañeras*. Other inmates sell their handicrafts to prison guards, social workers or visitors, or they give them to their families to sell outside. Other inmates work as cleaners, tidying classrooms for example or washing other inmates' clothes. Prisoners also work as waitresses for family visits to other inmates. Traffic of illicit substances is also common, with alcohol, marijuana, crack and heroine as the most common goods. Some others create jobs such as selling telephone cards. Unlike in the men's prison, the women's prison does not have a telephone for incoming calls. If

the female inmates want to maintain contact with their relatives and friends outside, they have to pay for their phone usage.

Regarding the sweatshop for making hospital masks, it employs ten female inmates who work on an assembly line for 14 pesos (70p.) per one-thousand finished masks. Inmates cannot assemble more than 2,000 masks per day, so they earn a maximum of 28 pesos (£1.4) for a day's work, which can last up to ten hours. Literature analysing the changes in the administration of the job industry in prisons in the U.S. argues that prisons are becoming industrial complexes (Donziger 1996; Davis 1998; Schlosser 1998). They focus on the provision of cheap labour to enterprises through prison sweatshops and how these reduced costs give a kick to economies in crisis. However, Wacquant argues that prison sweatshops "remain negligible in terms of economic weight and thus non-existent as a vehicle for profit on a national scale—and a fortiori on the global stage" (Wacquant 2010: 608). However exploitative prison sweatshops are, the minimum wage for a similar position outside the prison periphery is just as badly paid. Furthermore, these sweatshops are no worse paid than the other economic activities undertaken by inmates. Lastly, prisoners in Atlacholoaya often choose to work to pass time and they are not bound to sweatshop work, they often leave the monotonous production line for other sources of income.

The Mexican penal economic system and its hierarchies are largely constructed by local penal culture, which is created by custodians and prisoners. I will now discuss prison hierarchies, where inmates and guards use their whiteness, beauty and assertiveness as a means to access certain privileges. For example, some women were allocated ownership of the prison fruit kiosk and they use certain products such as fruit to negotiate their position in the prison's social stratification.

The "Top Ladies": charisma, privileges and wealth

Owning a shop is possibly one of the most profitable but also scarce businesses in the women's prison. When a shop becomes available, women actively use their sociocultural capital to negotiate with authorities for ownership of the business. The "Top Ladies", as they called themselves (saying it in English),

managed to gain ownership of the fruit kiosk. The “Top Ladies” are a group of approximately ten friends who fit one or more of the archetypes of beauty, leadership and charisma. They have a strong presence in prison, displaying a tough, secure and assertive attitude. Considering Bourdieu’s suggestion that symbolic logic of distinction secures material and symbolic profit (1986:47), it was through certain positive attributes that the “Top Ladies” bargained for prison privileges. Such strategies of distinction helped them to gain institutional recognition such as diplomas (which gives them more leverage for pre-liberation) and stronger legal attention.

The prison staple is carbohydrates so many of the inmates gain weight while incarcerated. Health and fitness are rare in prison and any goods belonging to this field are highly desirable, particularly the selling of fruit. The “Top Ladies” promote their fruit by associating it with the idea of health and fitness. Their highly sought-after fruit is expensive and provides a decent income and a high status.

The “Top Ladies” not only run one of the most profitable businesses with desirable products, they also personify ideas of beauty, whiteness and education, profiting from these attributes with certain benefits. Gaby, for example, is a white woman with a diploma in Cosmetology. She sets herself apart from the rest of inmates. She filed a harassment complaint against other inmates and her close contact with lawyers soon brought her case to the attention of prison authorities. She was put in a separate cell with her own TV and was exempt from attending civic ceremonies held every Tuesday morning. Gaby also received money from her friends outside, which prevented her from having to work. With that money, she could access better food cooked by other prisoners. When the other inmates isolated her, she felt that this rejection was due to jealousy because of her beauty:

I won the hatred of many, why? Because I was different, when you arrive in prison, if you are pretty and different from all of the archetypes, well, they don’t like you.

Ideas of beauty are a common system of distinction in prison. As shown in other prison-based research, indicators such as skin colour, age (Paya 2006),

whiteness, race (Hernández 2010), and beauty (film *La Corona* 2008) are common means of differentiation, competition and the creation of hierarchy. In Atlacholoaya these attributes also serve as a means to achieve certain privileges from authorities including better jobs and better cells. The exaltation of beauty and notions of prettiness in Mexican institutional settings, which translates to white supremacy and non-white devaluation, is historically rooted in Mexico's past through the differentiation of skin colour. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Mexico constituted itself as an independent nation, with distinct people. *Mestizos* (mixed-race people) were deemed to have the desired phenotype through which the emerging nation could claim uniqueness. *Mestizaje* (mixture) demarcated a difference from Europeans but rejected the Indian phenotype (see Castellanos 2000 and Mallon 1996). At the beginning of the twentieth century, the idea of the "ideal race" was promoted by Mexican anthropological literature (see Vasconcelos 1925 and Gamio 1916). Today, these distinctions still exist and they are propagated by soap operas that are widely consumed by prisoners in their cells. Here, the white and light-coloured protagonists are more likely to be from the upper class, whereas characters with an Indian appearance play the roles of cleaners. In Latin America there is a cultural affinity for whiteness and a link between white appearance and class status (De Casanova 2004: 291). Whiteness may also be associated with a healthy and slim body, having light eyes and being well dressed. Moreover, De Casanova (2004: 290) found that according to teenage women, beauty may not only be indicated by physical characteristics but by a certain style and attitude. This is important in relation to understanding the women of Atlacholoaya's bargaining tools and how they discriminate and revere certain people and traits. Besides seeing herself as distinctly pretty, Gaby argued that she was "different". By this she meant that she had an urban education, was assertive, she was in regular contact with lawyers and journalists and her case was receiving attention. Reminding herself of such economic and cultural capital became a means to seek a higher social position in a place of bad reputations. Whiteness and concepts of beauty seem to be important sources of distinction and positionality in prison, where *mestizo* women have more privileges than their dark-skinned counterparts (as noted by Hernandez 2010).

Authorities participate in the valorisation and celebration of certain personalities over others, depending on the occasion. For instance, the “Top Ladies” were always given the main roles in theatre productions, dance shows and other public events. However, the authorities often liked to remind prisoners that regardless of their social status within the prison, they are all mere prisoners. A way in which authorities reinstate their power is by asking for revenues from inmates’ businesses.

Extortion and owning a business

While they have the most profitable businesses, prison shop owners are also subject to taxation or “rent collection” from prison authorities. The rate, formalisation and transparency of such taxes vary according to the authority in question. When Edalid, a new director at the women’s prison came into power, she changed the procedures concerning how products and raw materials were supplied to shop owners. She decided that prisoners would no longer order their products from retailers or family members but they would have to go through a “Penitentiary Industry” intermediary. This meant that authorities would acquire the products and charge prisoners an extra 10% for transactions. She also made shop owners pay weekly rent. These two examples highlight the symbiotic relationship between the State and informal sectors. The authorities, or “the official”, also make profit from inmates’ informal businesses.

Beyond economic profit, these broker roles allow authorities to reinstate their power. The introduction of Edalid’s rent and intermediary policies reminded inmates of the limits of their power in the face of authority. However, self-governance is more usual in the men’s prison, whereas the women of Atlacholoaya face more control.

Establishing the rent policy disrupted the privileges of the “Top Ladies”. Their shop was a source of power and social status but it was also their source of income, so they were ready to defend it. Their next game plan was to play the role of the victim, the disempowered prisoner. The “powerful” versus “weak prisoner” are two identities that prisoners are ready to play with when their interests are put at stake. As Sökefeld (1999:424) states, the ability to manage

different identities is an important aspect of the self. The “fluidity and many-sided” qualities of identities (Lifton 1993: 28) serve to negotiate different things. Once powerful, the “Top Ladies” later complained to me about their vulnerability in light of the changes: “the shops will now belong to those who have more money rather than to those who need to work to earn money”. This was already the case, even before they were stripped of some of their power, but it did put the women under economic pressure. Sökefeld argues (1999: 422) that prisoners can be powerful and vulnerable at the same time — two seemingly opposing identities are not necessarily separate and they do not compartmentalize the person. By drawing on both identities, prisoners try to maintain some of the rules of the economic market while preserving some power in their disempowered state. They raise their concerns with contacts such as the Human Rights Commissioner based in Atlacholoaya. This relationship between the “Top Ladies” and the Human Rights Commissioner and the attention they received caused an upsurge in output from the prison’s rumour mill.

At the men’s prison, guards reinforced their power by asking for money to cover up prisoner’s fights or bad behaviour. They also charged inmates for arranging and allowing clandestine visits. Apart from authorities, prisoners with more power charge rent from other prisoners. Paya (2006) illustrated that at men’s prisons, the amount of time the inmate has spent in prison and whether or not he controls the traffic of illegal substances leads to his position in the prison hierarchy. In Atlacholoaya, inmates can charge rent for supplying electricity to others’ cells and for more usual jobs like cleaning dormitories. David, a prisoner who spent seven years in Atlacholoaya, undertook several jobs in order to pay his debts to the prison shops and for electrical infrastructure provided by other inmates:

I was on the move. Collecting money for food and also to be able to pay what we have to pay in here. I mean the shop, the dorm and the electricity. Electricity in prison is deathly expensive. I don’t mean paying to the prison guards, but to the same dudes in prison. I had to come up with money from somewhere because I didn’t have anyone visiting and things in here cost. For example, if they clean your room it costs 15 pesos (75p), which is like gold inside. Also the grass maintenance, it costs 5 pesos (25p), then the electricity.

C: The electricity?

D: Yes, it is because when the guards turn off the lights in the night, and if you wish to continue having electricity the inmates provided it, but we had to pay them. The inmates install the infrastructure. The guards don't have control over that.

Paying and providing services are also a way to seek status and negotiate power in prison. For instance, the results of an inquiry made by Azaola (2008: 53) in prisons across three different cities showed that 12% of the inmates paid in order to avoid cleaning, 13% for their food and 27% to get their clothes washed.

Looking at the women's prison, commercial exchanges were also events where women talked to each other, exchanging points of view and forming ideas about one another. An example of prison as a place for exchanging worldviews and ways of being can be illustrated through the experience of Consuelo, a Colombian prisoner who held a diversity of encounters and perceptions with different Mexican prisoners.

Consuelo, a Colombian prisoner

Consuelo was caught piloting an airplane with marijuana on board. She says that she began her piloting career to prove to men that she was capable of flying. However, she went a step too far in proving herself when she agreed to transport marijuana. She was caught on her first trip. She and her co-pilot were caught when they landed in Morelos. Both were put in Atlacholoaya prison and given a sentence of ten years. Consuelo is a divorced mother of two and so when she arrived in prison she promptly asked the authorities if she could run one of the shops in order to send money to her dependent children in Colombia. Consuelo was given a shop to run and for ten years she continued to be the main economic provider for her daughters, paying for school fees among other expenses. She talks proudly about not having to depend on non family members in Colombia, which meant that she did not owe any "favours", such as transporting drugs upon release as a thank you. She explains,

Nobody went and gave food to my daughters. They never thought of that. I can step above them with greater pride and more dignity than anyone. After being a pilot, I am now running a shop. I learnt to cook Mexican food to earn money. It didn't matter who I was. What I needed was to work to feed my daughters. I said: "I don't ever want to receive a coin from anyone". You know why? Because I don't want to get there tomorrow and hear them saying: I want you to help me fly another airplane, remember I sent you money when you were in jail?

I stood up while I was in jail. I didn't cry, I didn't bend, I came forward. I ironed, I cooked, I sold. I worked in everything in prison, with no family and nobody. Here, whoever wants to succeed achieves it. Men are lazy, they only stretch their hands and want to extract from their wives and families.

Consuelo refers to some of the male inmates on the other side of Atlacholoaya. They typically depend on their mothers and wives to pay their living expenses and bribes. Consuelo, like her fellow female inmates, finds strength and self-confidence in being self-sufficient. Consuelo did not regret her past, yet imprisonment taught her that she did not need to prove herself to anyone, least of all to men. Prison had been both a failure and a success in the sense that she had the chance to demonstrate her dignity and independence to family, friends and acquaintances in Colombia. Furthermore, as opposed to the "Top Ladies", Consuelo believed that doing jobs such as cleaning, ironing and cooking did not lower her social status; rather it represented pride and dignity as a result of atonement.

Consuelo was not exactly underprivileged in Colombia, she had a university diploma in Graphic Design, along with a degree in Aviation. She had been able to afford a private education for her daughters. Consuelo was also in her fifties, white and outspoken. She never hesitated to speak frankly and directly to the authorities and they did not intimidate her. It seemed that Consuelo could leverage her charisma in the same way the "Top Ladies" did theirs, gaining privileges in her own right. Consuelo recounted that, upon being granted a shop

to run, other inmates said that she was receiving special concessions. They said: “how is it possible that they give a shop to the Colombian?!”.

Consuelo justified her privileges as she felt she had a certain ability, or “correct socialisation” as she called it. She knew how to speak to the authorities, she greeted them naturally and was not shy. Other prisoners did not have that ability.

I had a lot against me. Firstly because here, as you can see, there are many illiterate people. I spoke correctly and expressed myself correctly. Every time the director passed by, I said hi just for the sake of being polite. The other prisoners didn't like that, because the director did not notice them. But he didn't look at them not because he didn't want to, but because they didn't speak to him.

Consuelo believed other inmates' poor communication skills were due to a lack of education. She believed that her natural social skills and charisma helped her earn control of the shop. She also took others' hostility towards her as being rooted in the gap between their levels of education. Yet, unlike Gaby and the “Top Ladies”, Consuelo did not use these educational differences as a means to demarcate difference and superiority. Consuelo did not see other inmates' envy as a barrier, rather she felt that it could be surmounted with conviviality. Consuelo began to ignore those who criticized her and only shared with those who were open to knowing her deeply. During the opening hours of her shop, Consuelo would sit down and knit with other compañeras. Through such encounters, she grew closer to some of the other prisoners and learnt a lot from them. Eventually, she explained, the other prisoners started to realise that she was like them — a mother looking out for her children.

As a foreigner, Consuelo had an outsider's perspective on the prisoners' class relations. She could see that the various ethnic and class identities were at the source of the differentiations women made between each other. She remarked how indigenous people were discriminated by mestizo women mainly because of the way they spoke Spanish and because they came from “la Sierra” (the mountains). After ten years in prison, she had formed her own concept of what indigenous people were like. She constructed such a perception based on

interactions with indigenous women in Atlacholoaya — most of them Nahuas from central Mexico. She also learnt about indigenous groups from the State of Chiapas by watching television:

I have learnt many things from indigenous people. I have got close to their creativity. I enjoy watching all about Chiapas [on TV]. So one of the things I have been thinking is to make my textile designs more colourful...

The colourful threads that indigenous people use to decorate their serviettes became significant for Consuelo. She was eager to be released to begin a business in Colombia with Mexican-style knitted serviettes. Since the Colombian version of such knits are usually rather drab, she felt that bright Mexican colours would be well received. Such knitting gatherings were spaces where she had the chance to shape the identity of the others in her mind. Sökefeld (1999:427) noted that persons are constructs of relations and actions, which result in the transformation of persons. It was during such every-day encounters that prisoners rearranged their understandings of each other. For Consuelo, indigenous people were on the one hand vulnerable to mockery, but could also be admired for their creative work.

Many women in prison think of indigenous, poor and elder prisoners as women who have been abandoned by their families. They are seen as disadvantaged people who carry out the undesirable and less dignified jobs. Yet, as I will illustrate below, these women did not have the same view of themselves. They did not consider that their social value depended on economic revenues; rather they considered that it resided in the pride associated with being a hard worker.

Regaining status through hard work

Many prisoners make their living from activities other than shop-keeping. They usually clean the dorms or wash others' clothes. One indigenous inmate, Yola, described her jobs to me:

I don't have visitors from outside. I had to figure out how to sort out my expenses, how to buy my shampoo and soap. I began to work doing "talachas" [cleaning jobs].

These kinds of jobs are downgraded and considered as socially inferior and undesirable (Hart 1973: 78), especially by inmates who receive monetary support from family members. They believe that women only turn to cleaning jobs as they either don't have family or they have been abandoned their families, rendering them vulnerable and pitiful. Verónica explains that these jobs are often allocated to women who enter prison as a means of punishment:

As long as you buy a soda [for the guards] or some breakfast for them, they will treat you good. But if you don't have a family that protects you they treat you bad. I met Laura who did not have family or money or anything. She had to carry water tanks from the entrance and through the steps up. You have to do it otherwise you have to pay 50 pesos per month. She has to do whatever she is told to do.

De la Cadena (1991:11) suggests that the “definition and local valuation of work itself, is central to the frame of the structure of power”, and notes that the most powerful groups tend to control such definition. Veronica sees that she is in a lucky position as she receives help from people outside. Therefore she doesn't have to take on cleaning jobs and she looks down on this work. The definition of such jobs is resignified and re-evaluated by the inmates who undertake them. Yola explained that such jobs only provide enough money to get by, to buy soap or food for example, but there is nothing left over to save. Therefore, cleaning carries a different meaning than the jobs that lead to surplus. Along with providing a means for daily survival, cleaners earn respect and admiration for their hard work. Thus, as De La Cadena (1991:11) argues, “to control the definition of work is as crucial as controlling the process of work and its products”. Such definitions are not only controlled by wealthier inmates, but by the inmates who carry out these jobs with meaning.

In fact, the revalorization of cleaning work has been key for changing the way “wealthier” inmates perceive the job. The cleaning identity becomes a source of meaning through which they give symbolic meaning, purpose and relevance to their own actions (Castells 1997:7). Inverting the original sense of the oppressive discourse (Castells 1997: 9). So when economic capital cannot be accumulated through their jobs, dignity can be. Cleaners' tireless approach to work earns

them admiration and respect. Yola recounts some of the other more privileged prisoners' comments on her work:

I see a lot of women that just sit down and knit. They stay there, sitting. Eventually they tell me: "Get some rest Yola, what keeps you so busy?". Then I go past the kitchen and the cook would say: "don't you get tired? You are all over the place, you wash, you iron, you clean up". At six in the evening I am still cleaning a cell. They say: "How much is it?". I charge very cheap because that's how it is over here: two pesos per cloth [10p].

Cristina, a woman in her sixties answered that the key to keep up with 15 years of imprisonment was hard work:

I love my mates very much. I feel bad seeing them in bed all day. They tell me: "You have been here such a long time and you look very good!", I answer to them: "That's because every day I first shower and immediately after I begin working".

As Makowski (2010:15) noted, most female prisoners earn a living through "less visible and less noisy, quotidian, silent and opaque" routine activities. The women who do not want to be so visible (in loud roles where they seek leadership or fight for a shop for example) resignify their work through recognition and recollecting others' comments from their day's work. As Irving states, "neither conviviality nor mutuality are pre-given by phylogeny or by virtue of being human but are instead formed through an active process of negotiation between self and other" (2012: 3), as such, the revalorisation of their work is often a process learnt in prison.

Many women enter prison with very low self-esteem as they have often come from disadvantaged backgrounds or been subjected to physical and emotional violence. Many inmates expressed that they ignored their human rights. Many of them have learnt to revalue themselves in prison from their interactions and from the dialogues they overhear from other inmates. Inés describes this:

When I got here I felt, how can I say, more humiliated because we did not know how to talk well and all that. But now, I hear that I am well worth it, that we are all equal right? In this place we are all locked up and so we are all the same regardless of if one has more money than the rest. If I have some money, fine, if I don't, it does not matter. What is the most valuable is my good health and that my sons are fine. That's enough for me. Yet, I still enjoy making the effort [work] so that I am able to carry a little note on my pocket. So that if I want something I can buy it, right? I don't like asking for money. I'll rather be working, working, working and have my little money. So that if my mother comes I can say: "here, have some money for your transport on your way back to Mexico City. Also, take some money for my children".

During family visits, for many like Yola, it is more important to be able to give than to receive. They feel dignity when they can afford to give some money to their family and children so that they can spend it in the prison shops or use it to travel back home. A similar statement was made by Angelica, a white city girl with no interest in owning a shop or belonging to the leading groups in prison. She draws a difference between those who depend on their families and those who independently face survival in prison. Many inmates stop working when they are apprehended, but Angelica finds it disrespectful to ask for money when her family are facing their own economical pressures: "The situation is hard out there. So I don't ask my family for money", she says. Instead, she tries to work to be able to send money home for the sustenance of her son:

There are many girls that feel nobody deserves them. I would like to know if they would be able to act in the same way without the support they receive from the outside. I worked in a shop. When we closed it down at 18:30. I would still go and do washing and ironing for my boss at the shop. I cleaned her cell. And then, if I had some knitting to do, I would do it. The important thing is to make a bit more money than the salary one can earn at the shop. If

you also work Saturdays and Sundays then you've already earned 140 pesos [£7] from washing, ironing and other extra jobs. With all of that together, you are able to buy your little things. That's the way. The thing is that I've never needed to call home for help.

While for some, being without family support renders one vulnerable, for Angélica, being supported by family members makes one spoiled. After many months working in prison shops, Angélica had the idea to sell phone cards. She would earn more money this way and maintain her independence. Telephone cards are precious at the women's prison because, unlike the male prisoners, the women of Atlacholoaya cannot receive calls. Selling phone cards from TELMEX enterprise (the monopoly of telecommunications in Mexico and South America) is not so lucrative but it means that Angélica can work for herself and choose her working hours. She carried the phone cards in a bag around her hips so this allowed her to work at any time.

Conclusions

An overview of the most common economic activities at Atlacholoaya prison was useful to understand a number of systems of exchange of goods, ideas, reasons, values and ways of being. In a place with women from many backgrounds, where it is difficult to relate to one another and forge friendships, and where there is little money to be made from economic activities, everyday economic encounters are more significant in shaping each prisoner's identity. In the market place and elsewhere in the prison, inmates of different backgrounds and social pasts meet and reconstruct each other by reinforcing perceptions, breaking stereotypes and renegotiating identity. They constantly negotiate their place in prison and reposition themselves in relation to others, often to gain recognition. This may be achieved by reinforcing authority and superiority, or by seeking dignity and recognition.

Many of the prisoners like Veronica and Gaby acquire their leadership and privileges in prison thanks to the economic and moral help received from the outside. They also seek privileges through notions of beauty, charisma and

contacts, and search for a social position by assigning high value to certain types of wealth and products in prison such as fruit. Inmates regarded as dispossessed, such as Yola, seek dignity through the act of giving (or not asking for money/help), rather than receiving. The more wealthy inmates give them recognition by commenting on their hard work. During everyday encounters, they all form ideas about each other and appropriate incorporate these ideas in their own lives. Consuelo for example explained that she will use colourful Mexican patterns in her textiles, inspired by the indigenous people she met.

Managing their identities within the market place is a way in which prisoners attempt to gain space and dignity in a place of dispossession and lack of solidarity. Finally, the identities and stereotypes they reinforce or break will play a role in how they negotiate their job-seeking outside. When looking for a job, prisoners will need to negotiate their age and physical phenotype and to overcome certain barriers presented by jobs in the formal and informal sectors. The personal revalorisations attained in prison will continue to be negotiated, even after their release from Atlacholoaya.

Chapter 2: Narratives of self

This chapter explores the stories prisoners construct for themselves and others about their lives. Prisoners continuously deliver narratives throughout their stay in jail. They repeat their stories to the police, lawyers, judges, pedagogues, psychologists, feminist researchers and all those involved within the prison sphere. At each of these encounters they may need to confess, justify, seek help, denounce, contest, or simply try to make sense of their lives and voice their feelings. Their life stories are constantly reworked in the process of repeating them to a wide number of people.

“Prisoners are liars”, the jail staff members warned me when I first came to Atlacholoaya. I will hereby rephrase such so-called lies as “*redescriptions*”. As Ricoeur suggests, when people tell stories, instead of describing the world, they re-describe it (Ricoeur in Carr 1991: 15). Narratives are stories people tell about themselves and the world “as they see it and as they wish to have others see it” (Becker 1997: 25). These views remind us that narrative does much more than just “represent” the past, it is a means of reordering our lives by selecting events (Carr 1991), as a way of telling an appropriate, expected and satisfactory summary of past events in specific circumstances. Each occasion for narrative is an attempt to “transform the general past (everything that happened) into the significant past”, and as such the “significant past” is under constant review depending on its relevance to current life experiences (Jeffrey 2006: 233; Price 1983: 5).

Narratives are not whole and timeless, for people project multiple, inconsistent self-representations that are fleeting, context-dependent and these may rapidly shift (Ewing 1990: 251). Stories not only have a teller, but they are oriented towards “concrete listeners”, their specific worlds and their answers (Bakhtin 2006: 495). Narratives are also “modes of persuasion”, as Aristotle signalled, seeking to appeal to the rationality, emotions or ethics of our interlocutors. As such, they are “neither the pure creations of autonomous individuals nor the unalloyed expressions of subjective views, but rather a result of ongoing dialogue and redaction within fields of intersubjectivity” (Jackson 2002: 22). Jackson views story-telling as an intersubjective process of social construction (2002: 18). By following Jackson’s emphasis on *making-meaning* as an action rather than a finite product and a fixed meaning, the current chapter reviews a range of different scenarios and social contexts in which *Karina* (a 23-year-old woman imprisoned on drug dealing charges), narrated her life to listeners. I specifically review three different occasions for narrative: 1) her legal testimony, 2) our interview and 3) her written autobiography. I also analyse how both spoken and written mediums provided her with alternative possibilities for saying different things.

It is in narratives that prisoners imprint their moral views. Thus, in exploring narratives, this chapter also engages with how a prisoner explains her arrival to prison. According to *Karina*’s narrations, her past comes across as a seemingly contingent fate; it is a past she says that she sometimes expected and other times has been an unexpected fate. Her path to prison involves not only “legal facts” but also love stories, and contingent and unexpected encounters are also relevant. As such, narrative helps us understand how a prisoner subjectively understands her journey to prison and wishes to communicate it. As such, this chapter deals with the structural issues of ending up in prison but it also explores the imaginary perspectives of prisoners.

Each of *Karina*’s stories is situated within a transient process of narrative construction that gives meaning to her past and future; these constructions are tailored towards the specific encounters and respective people involved. At each forum, *Karina* shares ideas, talks about unresolved personal debates, and tactically or unconsciously discloses or withholds information. Each story is an

attempt to organise her life in ways that will make sense to her or that will be adequate for her interlocutors. I explore how through narrative Karina provided others with a temporal definition of herself (Ewing 2006) and gave coherence and continuity to her disrupted past (Becker 1997: 27). Narrative helped her reorder reality according to her personal views (Scheffler 1986: 5) and gave her the opportunity to have a voice. In telling a story people renew their faith that the world is within their grasp (Jackson 2002: 17).

Karina's narratives are processes and dialogic products of her conversations with several parties. Throughout her conversations with others, episodes of reciprocity, distortions, concealments and complementation of what was being said became part of the process of mutually constructing narratives (Rapport 2012: 54; Groark 2008: 433). Karina thus narrates her past according to her specific audiences. She does so through both repeating the *already uttered* (Bakhtin 2006: 495) as well as contesting discourses. Jackson meanwhile, identifies stories as products of journeying that sometimes depart from fixed itineraries, unsettle orthodox identifications, and open up horizons to new patterns of associations (Jackson 2002: 31).

Karina's stories, like the stories of all people, "reveal themselves to be not distortions of, denials of, or escapes from reality, but extensions and configurations of its primary features", as Carr (1991: 16) suggests regarding any story. I begin with an excerpt of Karina's statement delivered to the court, as a strategic piece of self-identification, that is, thought-out and constructed in order to gain a benefit. I explore legal testimonies as a way for groups of people (lawyers, judges, and those in the legal system) to narrate, frame, interpret and judge based on a series of facts. Accordingly, Karina needs to adjust her speech within the legal *code* and its pre-determined technical system of oral dictation, which necessitates someone transcribing the statement. Secondly, I review the story she shared with me at the interview, as a story constructed from the foundation of our mutual belief in the advocacy of women's rights. This support of women's rights is a specific task that external visitors assign to themselves in order to build a coherent argument. Finally, I explore a written piece Karina submitted to a competition, as a means for her to provide another version of her imprisonment. Her written autobiography represents an opportunity to deliver

herself and others an “alter-testimony” of her life, a *creative counter speech*, borrowing from Pollock (1998: 74). Without having to adhere to the way an academic argument is constructed, the textual journey of her life includes multiple contradictory views.

I argue that written biographies are not only an important means of expression for prisoners (Scheffler 2002), but that their importance resides also in what Bakhtin (2006: 482) calls the “*social tone*” of the novels and the “*social life* of their discourse”. Bakhtin locates the relevance of novels beyond language and style and examines how they “cannot fail to become an active participant in the *social dialogue surrounding them*” (2006: 493). In this sense, the value of prisoners’ writings resides in that, like material culture, they become the containers of alternative views of narrating, framing, thinking and morally interpreting that which has been implicated when a person’s life leads to prison. This information is undermined by the legal production of evidence and narrowed by the specialisation of information conducted by researchers.

Moreover, in spite of their circumstantial context of production, prisoners’ stories have affects on their lives and on the world, be they great or small. The nature of prisoners’ narratives helps determine their length of sentence, their mental status, and the likelihood of their early release. Other stories may become a coherent testimony and form a dossier that will serve to prove their guilt or innocence, while others provide prisoners with an explanation of events that satisfies them. Some of these stories become coded into academic accounts, while others are published as part of “prisoners’ memoirs” remaining in the world as moral lessons drawn from a person’s temporal examination of their past, independent of the aftermath of prison.

Legal arguments

Karina was 18 years old when she was imprisoned for drug-related offences. Over the course of the investigations, Karina and her brother had to decide whether or not to declare themselves as “addicts”. Article 199 of the *Penal Code* and the *General Health Law* states that drug-dependency is a physical and

mental sickness rather than an offence. “Drug addicts” are, according to the law, people who are not fully conscious of their acts, and therefore, an “acquittal excuse” may take place providing them with a shorter sentence (see Esqueda 2007: 176). Karina and her brother took opposite decisions; she declared herself a non-addict while her brother stated that he was indeed drug-dependent:

I declared I wasn't an addict and that they had planted drugs on me. My brother declared himself an addict but I didn't, and then our trial began. In such moments all I wanted was to be freed and see to my son's well being, but our lawyer only fooled us and took money from us and we were sentenced even when we proved that the federal police had not found drugs at home. Then I found out I had committed a mistake, because my brother Juan Carlos had been sentenced to five years because he declared himself an addict, and I received eleven years because I said I wasn't an addict. Even when I stopped consuming drugs in prison, the sentence made me depressed so I begun taking antidepressants.

Whether to declare addiction or not is one of the first strategic decisions prisoners have to make by considering its potential consequences within a limited time frame and circumstances. Prisoners listen to their lawyers and collect opinions while weighing up their two options, both of which are related to rather simplistic identities to which they will then become bound. On this journey, lawyers guide their clients on how to retell “things of importance” to penal authorities. They encourage them to fit their narrative into accepted legal codes, and every code, as Bernstein explains, requires a selective organisation of linguistic features into styles of speech (Bernstein in Hymes 1973: 76); in this case personal concerns are transformed into a legal language which limits the capacities and possibilities that the expressive forms could take (Hastrup 2003: 22-24). The legal descriptions thus become standardised (Jeffrey 2006: 234).

The law itself is a particular way of representing facts and a particular way of reading the world (Hastrup 2003: 26). It is expected that “eyewitness testimonials” mirror past events. Eyewitness narratives, describing a short span of time in the first person singular, become equated to legal evidence (Jeffrey 2006: 228), reducing the truth to the instantaneous (Berger 1982: 100). However,

this is not instantaneous in terms of the photographic frozen instant to which Berger refers, since the instantaneous in a trial means the instants which the prosecuting officials ask the accused to remember.

When such *recalled instantaneity* is considered a fact, the highly dynamic context of production, reception and interpretation of legal testimonies is overlooked. That is, it denies that the *remembered* and *pronounced* is accomplished under specific pressures, moods, time constraints, and the presence of information and misinformation. Testimonies are produced in a short time-span, under emotional turmoil and the pressure to deliver an immediate answer. Oral testimonies are constructed after taking last-minute advice from the surrounding team and often they are not even constructed by the person giving the testimony but written up by someone else after the accused is asked to sign a blank document. Written testimonies may be fabricated under pressure and torture. Or they may well be constructed many years after “the events”. In spite of their uncertain construction, the testimonies produced at the preliminary investigation constitute an important part of legal and medical evidence, and they are used to assess, judge and sentence people.

In anticipation of the justice system’s answers, the accused structure their speeches according to the directions provided by the world of the law. According to Bakhtin:

[...] the speaker strives to get a reading on his own word and on his own conceptual system that determines this word, within the alien conceptual systems of the understanding receiver; he enters in dialogical relationships with certain aspects of this system. The speaker breaks through the alien conceptual horizon of the listener, constructs his own utterance on alien territory, against his, the listener’s, apperceptive background. (Bakhtin 2006: 497)

Expecting a positive response from their interlocutors, Karina and her brother summarized their complex individual histories with drugs (condemning them, selling them, consuming them and leaving them) by choosing one of the two legal options, namely whether or not to plead addiction. Such narratives required by

the law are particularly reductive (Hastrup 2006: 22). Law is constructed by social realities rather than merely reflecting them (Geertz 1983: 232). While Jeffrey (2006: 235) argues that “law is not too simply a system of rules but a normative universe held together by experts’ interpretations of the laws, which may be reinterpreted according to paradigmatic shifts in moral discourse” (see also Cover 1983: 44; Kennedy 1997: 23–70; Singer 1989).

Legal statements generally deny ambiguity, and what Berger (1982: 100) calls the “social function of subjectivity”. The extensive field of moral agency left out the explanation of justice and ethics in legal terms (Hastrup 2003: 16) is reconstructed by prisoners and others. I review the following two forms of expression, my interview and her autobiography, as spaces that allowed Karina to provide alternative narratives to those of the trial, thereby moving beyond eyewitness episodic memory to a narrative in which she was able to inscribe personal moral analogies between past events and her current situation. In doing so, Karina reinstated what the law forgot, that is, how life-paths are not only built from what we have seen, heard or done in a given time period, they are also forged by what we could not see or hear, and by what was planned and believed to be right. Such life trajectories are formed by our participation in actions, decisions, policies and negotiations, some of which take place in our absence, and often outside of our social, historical and geographical sphere.

Karina was able to reformulate her plea as a mistake in one of the interviews we held in the grey classroom, where she told me that in the end “things had not been that bad”, since the reforms to the *Penal Code* had shortened her sentence to five years meaning that she would now leave prison sooner than expected:

No way! Thinking that you’ll be here 12 years is tough! I did the maths and my son would be 18 years old. He wouldn’t love me anymore. He would forget about me. Many things crossed my mind. First of all, when they sentence you, you feel like they’ve thrown a bucket of freezing water at you. You say: “it can’t be true”. It can’t be possible that I have to pay for someone else’s mistakes [referring to her husband at the time]. I don’t excuse myself, but who knows, this is the life that I have to live.

Gendered stories in a grey room

Many kinds of narrative were produced during my interviews in Atlacholoaya's austere classrooms. Each classroom consisted of grey cement walls, square windows, a teacher's table, school chairs and a pad-locked book shelf along the back wall. One of those grey rooms became the space that produced the greatest amount of "data" for my research in the prison. I arrived in the morning, opened the blue metal door, placed my belongings on the table, got the recorder ready and went out again to let the prisoners know I was there. I arrived at one of the "*curtains*" (check points) where the guards would ask me: "*¿a quién le mandamos traer maestra?*" (who do you want us to bring teacher?). Although it was initially unsettling to be treated as a figure of authority who was allowed to 'order' prisoners at my will, over time, I grew accustomed to this unwanted and undue designation.

Whenever I arrived, the inmates were ordered to meet me in the classroom. I then juggled with gestures and questions to make sure that they were available for a chat that day and not busy with other tasks. It was one way to offset my alleged authoritarianism, since I was given the right to "order" prisoners into "my" classroom. Yet, despite my attempts to avoid the teacher's table and chair, sitting "with them" in the students' area, we were always set apart by our identities and the reasons we were there. Those reasons inevitably had an impact on the way narratives were mutually produced in that room, in that "an interview is not a normal conversation: the rules are different and so are the expectations" (Jackson 1987: 89). Interviews are conversations with a purpose (Robson 1993: 28). They are non-routine conversations with a design which at least one of the talking partners has previously determined (Rapport 2012: 55), where "the interviewer naturally brings to a study a set of interests and background which both inform and skew the research agenda, the questions asked, and the framework within which data is interpreted (Godin 2006: 4; see also Caplan 1988a; Wilson 1992).

In this sense, research in prison not only unfolds under institutionally restricting circumstances, including the strict supervision of researchers' work, given that institutional gatekeepers see it as a threat to the control of information (see

Hernández 2010; Waldram 2009), it is also true that access is gradual, partial and easily revocable (Rhodes 2009: 6). Research in prison is the product of zigzagging conversations, to use Rapport's phrasing, between researcher and prisoner. As Ewing (2006) points out, interviews are spaces for the negotiation of identity between interlocutors. They are processes of *transference* and *countertransference* through which accountable questions and answers are produced (Ewing 2006: 94). In that grey classroom we thus produced narratives based on what I considered relevant to ask and what inmates deemed useful to tell a hopeful and helpful researcher, all in the limited amount of time allotted for us to share our experience.

I visited the prison almost every day, attending festivals, organising cultural events and providing a dance workshop. After months of work in Atlacholoaya, I had become a strong presence in the prison. It was only after forming such recognisable identities that narratives were produced. I was somehow identified as part of the group of external volunteers who brought activities to the prison; one of the "better-off" women with spare time to provide dance workshops, conduct research, listen and "care" about prisoners' situations. I was also probably ascribed a feminist identity, similar to that allocated to the other external volunteers. One of my volunteer friends, Elena, publicly identified herself as a "feminist" and liked to label her activities in prison as "transgressive". This entitlement gave the rest of us a similar identity in the imagination of the prisoners.

Positionality cannot be defined in "simplistic categories of identity that can invoke a kind of cultural relativity" (Robertson 2002: 789). I was not simply a "white, middle-class anthropologist"; my identification with each of the inmates I encountered was different. I bonded and identified differently with each of the inmates. Yet, in spite of our similarities or differences, this "womanly" framing identity provided the base from which we could mutually construct stories. It played an important part in the weighting prisoners gave to the gendered tailoring of their stories as they shared them with us. Sawyer suggests that, "we do not speak from a script", and:

[...] our conversation is collectively created and emerges from the actions of everyone present. In every conversation, we negotiate all of the properties of the dramatic frame where the conversation will go, what kind of conversation we are having, what our social relationship is, when it will end. (Sawyer 2000: 155)

By referring to her incarceration as “somebody else’s mistakes” (meaning her husband’s illegal activities), Karina was touching upon the issue of gender inequality around which we could build a conversation and could likely agree upon. Karina and I carried on talking about her upcoming release and the recuperation of her son:

C: How long have you been here?

K: I've been here four years and three months. I came here on the 18th April 2006. They grabbed me when my son was 5 years old. He's nine now. He is growing up.

C: Who did he stay with?

K: My mum. Although he's with his father right now. I need to get out and reclaim my son.

C: Is he going to give him back to you easily or do you have to fight for the custody?

K: Somehow I think that he doesn't care, so I feel that if I go and ask for my son he will give him to me. In a way it is good that he stays with him because my mum is getting old. Anyway I'll be free in three months. So I will get him back soon.

C: Did you split up in prison or before?

K: In fact, I wasn't married. I was living with him. When I ended up here, he began seeing someone else six months later. Imagine, after six years of living together. How can they shake off someone so easily?

C: At the male's prison they get visits from their wives more often.

K: Yes, but they didn't arrest my husband, although they went looking for him.

C: Yeah, why are you here? Do you want to talk about it?

K: *Daños contra la salud* (danger to health) with the aim of distribution, in the category of commerce. In fact, they had given me a 12-year sentence but the new reform shortened it to four and a half [...] He was selling drugs, but because I was his

partner, I became his accomplice as well. And because he wasn't there when they came looking for him, they took me and my brother.

C: Was the stuff at home?

K: No! That day they didn't find anything at home. In truth, they didn't even find anything. But the police planted 6 grams of cocaine on us and a marihuana spliff.

Our chat had led us to talk further about her ex-husband's involvement in illicit activities. In the *life of speech* "every word is directed towards an answer and cannot escape the profound influence of the answering word that it anticipates"; speaking is "indissolubly merged with response" (Bakhtin 2006: 494-497). The living conversation is constructed in what Marchand calls "shared utterance":

[...] whereby one interlocutor interrupts the verbal utterance of another in order to complete a statement or, more saliently, an 'idea' (i.e. mental representation) that both speaker and hearer are incrementally constructing in the real time of dialogue. (Marchand 2010: S11)

"*Many stories are similar*", I expanded on Karina's comment by remembering that in every story of a female dealer there was a story of a husband, a boyfriend or a father; of an order given by them or an act of love committed on behalf of them. "*Was your name on the apprehension order as well?*", it occurred me to ask. She answered:

No. They asked me: "where is your husband?" I answered that he wasn't there. And he really wasn't there. He was in another city. They did not believe me. And so they arrested me.

When they arrested me he went into hiding. He went away to Chiapas, then Tijuana. He did not come to see me straight away. He only visited me four months later. When he came he was fearful.

It is quite unbelievable that somebody who said he loved you so much suddenly stops visiting you and restarts his life. I was told

that he will be a father again. At some point you envy that, because he is the one that should have been in prison, not me. It was his mistake, not mine. But in the end, as I tell my mum, this is not so bad.

Many of the stories recollected in that classroom described men as having a key role in the women's imprisonment. The women I interviewed also commonly described the cases of domestic violence they endured. Put in a wider context, my interviews mirror how the women in the female prison (authorities, volunteers and prisoners) welcome gendered discourses that hold men as responsible for women's fates. Jackson suggests that stories take shape after they have been replayed, recited, reworked and reconstructed in the process of the intersubjective (2002: 22). In communicating, we do not only perceive but we also begin to generate similarities (Benjamin in Csordas 2008: 114). Moreover, the ethnographer acts but is also acted upon (Kondo 1986: 76), and these interviews were places whereby inmates deemed it useful to structure their narratives around gendered frameworks through which they could seek benefit, or possibly gain the attention of and be supported by journalists, writers, feminists, anthropologists, and representatives of women's rights. Such spaces were used as forums where they could deposit certain kinds of concerns, denunciations and worldviews precisely because they would be welcomed, acknowledged and appreciated. At such encounters they opened up about episodes in their lives where they had been subject to male violence, and they discussed their own desires as women. The collaborative online compilation by anthropologists, feminists and prisoners in Atlacholoaya, "Bajo la sombra del Guamuchil", is one such example of this (see http://servindi.org/pdf/bajo_la_sombra.pdf).

"Through its recitation", Ricoeur further remarks, "a story is incorporated into a community which it gathers together" (1980: 176). Academic stories of imprisonment are commonly given a gendered frame. This is a continuation of the feminist project, consolidated as such in the 1960s to emancipate "women" from the anthropocentric scientific narratives (see Lamphere 1991: 282). Within the realms of criminology there was a reaction to male criminological interpretations about the discourse of "criminal women" predominant throughout the 20th Century. Buffington reviews the work of criminologists such as Roumagnac, produced during the Mexican political period called *El Porfiriato*

(1876-1911). Roumagnac explained criminality in women through moral value judgements regarding social behaviours he considered problematic. Criminal women were normally those who did not attach themselves to moral predominant codes, and whose personalities resembled those of men. Roumagnac's "profile" of criminal women highlighted that criminal women were single, from the lower classes and with no education (in Buffington 2000: 68).

The reactions to patriarchal and masculine explanations of female behaviour have resulted in a recent wave of publications about women's imprisonment. They have become narratives interested in shedding light on the differential treatments people receive by the justice system, depending on their gendered identities, and on their expected behaviours and differentiated tolerance to disobey them. Latin American scholars have been engaged in showing how women receive harsher judiciary sentences than men. Azaola's gendered analysis of files, trials and sentences regarding people who committed homicide in 1994 in Mexico City, showed that women's sentences were on average one quarter longer than those of men. While men were sentenced to 18.6 years for homicide, women were given 23 years of prison (1996: 48). The analysis of archive files allowed Azaola to argue that what was at the core of being sanctioned, besides the homicide itself, was *El delito de ser mujer* (The crime of being a woman).

Azaola's later work focuses on numerically illustrating the variations of incarceration during the war on drugs. She begins by showing that even though women only account for 5% of the prison population, their incarceration rate has increased by 19.89% over the past six years, in contrast to a 5% increase in the male prison population (Azaola 2010). She argues that this is due, in large part, to women's increasing participation in small-time trafficking. Such growth has also intensified academic efforts to make sense of women's participation in the drug business. Hernández for instance has been concerned with stressing that differentiated access to justice is not only gendered but responds to issues of class and ethnic origin. By focusing on stories of indigenous women in prison, Hernández discovered that, among women prisoners in general, indigenous inmates are given the longest sentences in terms of drug-related offences in Atlacholaya (Hernández 2010).

Lagarde's book *Los cautiverios de las mujeres* (The captivities of women), summarises the core socio-cultural reasons for women being oppressed by men in Mexico and elaborates on five female identity types that have been created on the basis of their relationship to men. According to Lagarde, these identities ("mother-wives", "fools", "saints", "bitches" and "jailed" women) are the "synthesis of the patriarchal world, of its norms and prohibitions, its obligations and pedagogic mechanisms" (Lagarde 1993: 43, my translation). They represent the circles of oppression and subjugation in Mexican patriarchal culture (Lagarde 1993: 17). Lagarde considers women's motherly, daughterly and wifely identities as the roles that captivate them as well as the point of departure for transgression (1993: 66).

Lagarde's work provides a relevant springboard to discuss women in Mexico and Latin America. In such narratives women are considered to have different possibilities for agency. Largely, they have been depicted as women who are sent to prison due to their relationship to men (see León and Roldán 2007: 100; Carrillo 2012; Noel 2009). Some work has focused on women's intentions as an explanation for their decisions to offend. In relation to Colombia, Ramos (2003: 116) explains that to commit illicit acts is a fast and easy way for women to achieve economic retribution. Other researchers have reconsidered the reasons for offending and the nature of their participation in crime. For example, focusing on Mexico, Carrillo found that women are more likely to be involved and caught drug trafficking because of their drug use rather than their participation in drug dealing (Carrillo 2012: 65).

Many works have focused on differentiating between the intellectual and material responsibility for the crimes. They have shown that women normally occupy transport and distribution roles in the drug-trafficking chain rather than intellectual positions (see Nuñez 2007: 200). By interviewing female prisoners in Brazil, with regard to the role they played in drug trafficking, Soares has provided statistics showing that 78.4% of the respondents said that they occupied secondary positions, undertook small-scale tasks, or had been involved accidentally. A great number of women defined themselves as "*buchas*" (persons apprehended for having been present at the site of the offence), or as consumers, "*mules*" or

“airplains” (people undertaking transportation roles). Others called themselves “vapor” (meaning steam, referring to small-time dealers) and some identified themselves as vendors without specifying their position in the traffic chain. Lastly, Soares found that 7.5% used expressions that assigned them to more central roles as suppliers, money holders or managers (Soares 2002: 87).

These studies have importantly situated women’s participation within drug commerce, and examined the effect of their gendered identity on their incarceration. Yet, they have also created a narrative that reproduces a binary male-female opposition, by appealing to a female-centric experience (Mohanty 1998: 67). Such “forms of we”, borrowing from Moore (1994), have also been incorporated into institutional agendas and state discourses of punishment. They are commonly shared by prison authorities (Moffat 1995: 136; Brown 1995: 23), as illustrated by the welcome speech delivered by the female director of Atlacholoaya to a group of women visiting from the *Instituto de la Mujer* (Women’s Institute). Before entering the prison, the director commented:

[...] women are normally subject to longer sentences. They usually enter prison for crimes considered serious and, normally after following a man, after following their sons. Women are abandoned as they enter prison. They are not visited often. They lose their sons and remain alone. This is why the help of all of these institutions is very important [...]

As a reaction to highly-structured views of women, a large body of prison study has focused on resistance and empowerment, drawing on Judith Butler’s work (see Bosworth 1999; Bosworth and Carrabine 2001; Makowski 2011; Arford 2010). Bosworth (1999) for example, argues that women at a Scottish prison negotiate power by performing and playing their gendered identity. She argues that women resist with the same notions of femininity that oppress them, by diversifying and contesting them. Similarly Arford argues that women resist a compulsory heterosexual position by parodying their sexual identity. For instance, “women who become men in prison adopt a hyper-masculine way of being, both in body and action” (Arford 2010: 9). These works form part of a series of publications concerned with emphasising that people’s lives are not determined by structures of oppression, but that they are agents of their own destinies and

have the capacity to generate forms of resistance to overcome situations of subjugation. However, Ortner noted that “the question of adequate representation of subjects” has come to be “purely a matter of providing better portraits of subjects in and of themselves” (1995: 187); she equates agency only to an enabling capacity and as a resource tied to positive notions of liberation (Mahmood 2005: 285; Ortner 2006; Tihanov 2012). The study of agency has also overlooked the notion that people can either affirm or reject oppression, but not necessarily *escape* it (Gledhill 2010: 8). Urged to focus on the *heroic* instead of the *antiheroic* nature of our subjects (Escobar 1993: 380), resistance has been presented only as a final outcome forgetting that “emancipation from one form of hierarchy or oppression can lead to new forms of hierarchy and oppression” (Gledhill 2012: 8); this can lead to the creation of new sets of power relations (Abu-Lughod 1990: 50).

Much has been discussed about the “*poetics and politics*” of the writing process in the analysis of anthropological fieldwork (see Clifford 1986; Geertz 1975; Rosaldo 1989). Authors have emphasised that texts are temporal constructions about other people but they also speak volumes about those who have written them. Texts contain the authors’ concerns, the historical and theoretical context, institutional support and restrictions; as with all stories, they are partial and their narration involves motivation (Abu-Lughod 1993: 15; Tyler 1983: 124; Carlen 1983: 133). Our narrations are produced within theoretical and political contexts (Hastrup 2004; Josephides 2012: 89), under institutional and academic contexts of production (Geertz 1993; Escobar 1993), and they are limited by the need to be ideologically sound (Carlene 1983: 134) with textual coherence and homogeneity (Abu-Lughod 1993: 9; Clifford 1986; Hastrup 1990). The many contradictions, conflicts, and doubts expressed by researchers do not enter the written realm, “even discourses about doubts must be cast in a discourse that cannot be doubted” (Bakhtin 2006: 500). Our narrations are ultimately shaped by historical “forces ultimately beyond the control either of an author or an interpretative community” (Clifford 1986: 25).

The gender focus has created a *poetics* for the stories about women in prison. These are narratives whereby *the other* is generally conceived as “patriarchy” (Strathern 1987: 287) and which locate men as the object from which they must

be emancipated. Patriarchy is an important symbolic concept embraced by all women “in sisterhood”, as Mohanty outlines (1988). The subjugation and emancipation of female prisoners is explored in the production of discourses about them. The stories I was able to collect, therefore including Karina’s selected fragments, the director’s speech and the body of literature, all highlight the way women’s situations have been shaped by locating common interests and shared experiences. They have come to cast a common narrative that interacts with the world in creating “institutions to help women”, woman-centred prisons (see Moffat 1995), and ambitions, ideals and ways to be a woman.

Karina expected to be released before the end of her sentence since she had taken part in many activities in prison. She had participated in dance, theatre, chorus and flamenco groups, all of which promised to grant the prisoners pre-release benefits. “I have numerous awards”, she said as we conducted a conversation in that classroom. “I even won the national award for the contest, ‘Women who dare to tell their story’, convened by DEMAC”. The only copy of her autobiographical novel was at her mother’s house. She made arrangements for her mother to bring it to prison and share it with me. Her novel became the third type of narrative about Karina’s life with which I became familiar. I found in it a stylistic account of her life, which differed from her legal and academic narratives, yet it was not completely disparate from them.

Writing provided new challenges, restrictions and liberties for illustrating her story. Unlike speech, where dialogue is mutually constructed by the immediacy of those physically present, writing has a different relation to time, Berger compares it to drawing: “it contains the time of its own making” (Berger 1982: 95). Writing from her cell entailed constructing a story not precisely withheld from the conversations in the world, but from the immediacy of spoken dialogue. It entailed drafting, stepping back, erasing, rephrasing and writing again. “Shaping, shifting, testing language”, as expressed by Pollock (1998: 75). Writing allowed Karina to ask her boyfriend for advice and proofreading; he was also a playwright in prison. Writing is meaningful not only for the meaning within the texts, “they become meaningful in the material, discontinuous act of writing”, that is, “writing as doing” (Pollock 1998: 75).

Prisoners understand writing as an artistic endeavour, a creative process they hold in high esteem. They use writing to unburden, experiment, break boundaries, feel gifted and be inspired. In writing they can safely express their opinions. Writing in prison is a practice of autonomy and pride, as Scheffler (1983) has pointed out. It is a forum for expression where they can “maintain some control over their world by ordering reality according to their own perceptions and organizing principles” (Scheffler 1983: 21; see also Johnson and Chernoff 2002). In so doing, their writings “not only resist political domination; they resist, or anyway evade, textual domination as well”, as suggested by Ortnor (1995: 189, also see Behar 1990: 233).

Karina’s novel embeds shifting points of view and unlike the work of a scholar, she has no obligation to abide by rules surrounding grammar and coherence. Her writing is not unitary, but it is laden with contradictions and inconsistencies, just like her life. Since it was written for numerous imaginary and potential audiences, Karina includes a wide number of purposes and accomplishes a great deal.

Because writing is never fully in control of its effects (Pollock 1998: 79), in the journey of reading Karina’s text, one is tempted to guess which sentences were written with calculated intentionality, while also spotting the ungovernable aspects of communication, i.e. those which give off information about herself beyond her awareness (Goffman 1990). Texts contain the “ludic capacities of language and language encounters- the interplay of reader and writer in the joint production of meaning” (Pollock 1998: 80). Since “to tell and to follow a story is already to reflect upon events in order to encompass them in successive wholes” as stated by Ricoeur (1980: 178), the following analysis is only one way of reading Karina’s textual representation of herself. Ultimately her writing exists to be reinterpreted by anyone who encounters it.

‘Reflections’ by La Enamorada.

Karina decided to write her autobiography when she saw a call for stories displayed in the corridors of Atlacholoaya. “*Para mujeres que se atreven a contar su historia*” (*For women who dare to tell their stories*) is a yearly contest

organised by DEMAC (Women Studies and Documentation), an NGO encouraging writing amongst vulnerable groups of women. DEMAC focuses on women's "disadvantaged" position in society, which suggests a point of departure for the participants' writing. On the other hand, DEMAC does not provide writing support. This gives prisoners the chance to find their own space and writing style. Karina explained that she decided to take part in the contest and commenced writing from her cell. She opens her story entitled *Reflections* with a brief introduction that works as a modest warning in relation to readers' expectations:

To tell my story I will have to begin by recalling many episodes I no longer remember, despite having lived them through my own skin. Especially episodes where recollections no longer exist and where memory has vanished, just like the smoke of the fire to cook tortillas gets lost to the immensity of the sky. This is why my story is difficult to put down on paper and be retold. I would have preferred it if DEMAC had called for women's fiction-writing stories, in which the abuses and situations lived by women could be denounced through literary fiction. I would have thus been able to show a heroine, created by my longing and imagination; through whom I would have been able to express the many silenced voices due to fear and repression in its many forms. I know it is easier to reconstruct a story using great narrative and literary resources, where a happy ending can exist. Something like a soap-opera melodrama where good triumphs over evil, and where everyone may live happily, as in a fairy tale.

Yet my story is not like this, even if I would have wanted it to be or dreamed it. My life is full of fears, of huge happiness and sadness. It bears the mark of having been born with a pride of being. In spite of it all, it has been shaped by many nuances and it does not have a happy Hollywood ending, because it is written everyday, every second and in every breath that traverses my body.

I have relished the best delicacies and desserts offered by life, yet I also have felt the bitter draft of defeat and prison. It is those stumbles that shaped my character and tuned my soul, making it unbreakable. My story is not pleasant like Cinderella's, nor does

it conjur gasps like in the soaps, it is rather full of mistakes and assertions that only I could have committed. It is hereby where the difficulty of DEMAC's contest lies; because telling my story means to live it again through my recollections [...] Thus, the story hereby will not portray the heroine that I would have loved to create, seeking the approval of a feminist audience. On the contrary, I will narrate my personal history expecting to be read by other women and hope that eventually a girl, young adolescent, or a woman can avoid arriving in a place like this: prison (La Enamorada 2009: my translations from Spanish).

Under the nickname *La Enamorada*, Karina began writing with hesitance and shame, although at the same time she was eager and proud. An apologetic introduction develops into a story that earned her the first prize in the DEMAC 2009 contest. She succeeded in pleasing the audiences that she had feared she would not be able to satisfy, as expressed in her introduction. The opening of her story, on the one hand, asserts that fictions exist, but that hers is a real life story. Her textual *redescription* departs from the fact that her referents are not abstract but drawn from the experience of having lived them. Reaffirming her presence and reminding us that she has been there, this becomes the sufficient principle and authority from which she speaks and through which she asserts her credibility (Barthes 2006: 233). This is an experience that all “experts on prison” lack but which they nevertheless incessantly ask about. She reminds the audience that her text is precisely what she didn’t want to write: her own life. And since she has been invited to write it, she cannot promise to please her readers with happy endings. Her experience, she warns us, is more complex than accounts that try to depict life through either tales of subjugation or emancipation alone.

She declares that hers will not be a coherent story, and forewarns us of the uneasiness, ambivalence, risks and suppositions embedded not only in terms of real life, but implicated in the act of story telling. She tells us that some episodes have been forgotten and others are approximate versions. Her last remarks echo Ricoeur’s view that forming a plot is a particular way of recollecting time, and the plot construes significant narratives out of scattered events (Ricoeur 1980: 178). According to Carr (1991: 59) “the real difference between ‘art’ and ‘life’ is

not organisation versus chaos, but rather the absence in life of that point of view which transforms events into a story by telling them". Carr (1991: 19) remarks that in telling stories we are attaching meaning to certain events. Similarly, for Jackson writing seems to work at a "proto-linguistic level", changing our experience of events that have befallen us by symbolically restructuring them (2002: 16). Thus, prefaced with humble apologies, Karina's novel contains more than a description, it unfolds as a past retold with diverse meanings and from distinct points of departure and positioning. *Reflections* is a plot that contains segments which make apologies and justifications, while other sections contest, denounce, vindicate and reveal. Some passages of her past embrace confessional modes while others advocate social reform. Textuality therefore speaks to and about pleasure, possibility and pain in order to create an effect (Pollock 1998: 77). As Scheffler (1986: 19) and Harlow (1983: 23) state, female prisoners' writings display a number of styles, purposes and reasons for writing. For Bakhtin, in every novelistic prose:

[...] the word breaking through its own meaning and its own expressions across an environment full of alien words and variously evaluating accents, harmonizing with some elements in this environment and striking in dissonance with others, is able, in this dialogized process, to shape its own stylistic profile and tone [...] (2006: 494).

Karina chose to target her story at women whom she wished to prevent from undergoing imprisonment, although unfortunately her explicit audience is not likely to read her work given that *Reflections* is a publication distributed amongst the public surrounding DEMAC. In spite of this she addresses, in different tones, a multiplicity of imaginary readers denoted as "feminists". Even though she claimed that she does not seek their approval, she welcomed their interest by entering into feminist reflections concerning the role of women in society:

In a patriarchal society where machismo has for centuries subjugated women, we as girls cannot escape the roles that society has prepared for us [...] Since I was a girl, my sister and I were trained to be mothers while we played with dolls, the tea and dinner. That's what we played at.

Since I was very little I learnt how to take care of a baby with my dolls. I understood a mother needed to be tied to home to be good, or at least to pretend to be good. At the kindergarten I play-acted as a mother with my first friends. I learnt I had to make great efforts to not fail and be abandoned like mama Chucha was [her mother].

I still didn't understand why my father had done that. The only thing I knew is that women were born to be mothers, care for their husbands and children with devotion. And that they did not need to work because that is what men were there for. Women that worked were bad, because they had not taken good care of their husbands, or they might simply had bad luck, like my mother.

Karina explains that her mother also had to take on the role of father when her husband abandoned her, and that this was an important event in the destiny of her family. However, *La Enamorada's* account is far from solely a complaint about *patriarchal* culture. In fact, the introductory critical reflections regarding women's roles in society are contrasted with episodes, put across as a sort of "proud confession", of how she fell in love several times and how she had a deep desire to be a wife. Thus, her romantic nickname *La Enamorada* (the woman "in love"), and her constant references to fairy tales may lead readers to expect a romantic biography; however, one soon realises that *La Enamorada* is just the nickname she acquired when she was young. Even if it was a nickname given to her by the men (her brothers and father), she does not seem to pay too much attention to what some of her readers would find very relevant.

Overall, her autobiography is not focused on her figure as a woman but on the story and everyday life of a family who got involved in selling illegal drugs. In questioning feminist portrayals of other women, Abu-Lughod (1993: 16) points out that many women simply "define themselves in terms of their families and are interested in matters that concern those to whom they are close". In her view, "particular events become part of the history of the family, of the individuals involved, and of their relationships" and not only of woman as individuals (Abu-Lughod 1993: 14-15). Similarly, Karina introduces her readers to a portrait of a

family, thus highlighting that prisoner's autobiographies can produce something quite unlike the binary gendered division that feminist writings have constructed. The portrait of the dynamics of a whole family is essential to Karina in making sense of her current imprisonment:

Even though I no longer remember many episodes of when I was a baby, my origins are very clear to me. I am proudly originally from the State that jubilantly adopted the last name of the Nation's servant [Morelos]. That small tlahuica region in the middle of the country.

All of my mother's births had intervals of two years in the following order: Juan Carlos, Celso, Reyna and Isabel. When they found out that the last member of their brood had been a female, they decided to call her "La Enamorada". The family was thus complete, even when I didn't have enough time to enjoy it. Hence, on such a historic date, in the old Valley of Cuauhnáhuac [ancient name for Cuernavaca], in the same year in which the country was shaken by tremendous earthquakes on September the 19th and 20th, and half way through President Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado's term [1984], I saw the light of day for the first time. Due to the economic crisis that caused the monetary crisis, which in turn was caused by the big mistakes made by ex-president José López Portillo, my family was hit by the situation, as were many other Mexican families [...]. In the same year the World Cup was celebrated in Mexico for the second time, Tomás [her father] could no longer tolerate the economic pressures and abandoned his family. This situation tested Mama Chucha's survival skills by turning her into both mother and father. I was only a one-year-old when Argentina conquered the world football championship with the controversial Armando Maradona and "the hand of God". That was when my father left his family and my brothers took on the functions that he previously held, contributing to the family's economy.

The moment of her birth in the context of an economic crisis and a family break-up becomes the episode that Karina locates as the beginning of the life of a woman writing from a prison cell. Stories contain only what it is necessary for

their readers to know. As Carr notes (1991: 58), only a small minority of events find their way into the plots. By the time Karina wrote her biography, she had already turned 23. Of all of those years lived, La Enamorada pondered the episodes above as being relevant to her current state of affairs. She then entwined them with political, historic, sporting, and geographical portraits of the country and the world where she grew up. As one passes through the pages of *Reflections*, one finds an account of Mexico's economic crisis, presidents and the many earthquakes witnessed by her family. She reminds us that she is therefore an important part of that world and that equally, the world takes a part in the formation of her life story, as Jackson suggests:

In bridging the gap between private and public realms, story telling enables the regeneration and celebration of social existence, without which we are nothing. Re-presenting traumatic events as a story is a kind of redemption, for one both subverts the power of the original events to determine one's experience of them, moving beyond the self into what Buber calls an essential 'we' relationship, opening oneself up to the stories of others and thereby seeing that one is not alone in experiencing pain. (Jackson 2002: 59)

In this sense, by entwining the significant events of the country's history with those of her own family, Karina begins what, in my view, seems to be one of the most crucial endeavours of her biography, the task of making her audience aware of how inextricably linked are the world and her family life.

Written in solitude, yet not alone, La Enamorada lets us explicitly or implicitly read the multiple sources of inspiration, people and experiences that have played a part in putting her narrative together; namely, her boyfriend, dialogues with feminists and with substance abuse support groups in prison, her relationship with the police, and people with different and changing moral views on drug taking, drug-dealing and punishment. She went far back in time and included as many people as she deemed important. In her writing she included not only her husband, (as she mostly did during our interview) but also her neighbours, distributors, the police, and other actors such as "the youth", "consumers" or "addicts". Karina granted all of these actors key roles in the journey of her life:

My family couldn't escape the general crisis. Money was scarcer everyday and tied to inflation, this rendered it impossible to complete the basic food basket. So one of my brothers goes away to try his luck in the U.S. My brother Celso was absent from home for longer periods of time because he became a "diablero", a carry man, at the Adolfo Lopez Mateos food market. This resulted in my brothers not carrying on with their studies. It is only today, in my adult life, that I understand how they started taking drugs.

It wasn't common to see gangs in Cuernavaca. We normally saw groups of children playing football, basketball or volleyball. I remember my brothers came back sweating along with other children, their shoes full of mud in order to drink mama Chucha's delicious lemon water.

They [her brothers] also began taking drugs and hanging out with friends who also used drugs [...] They kept using the streets, but no longer with the aim of playing football, but to smoke marijuana and steal from unknown people [...].

Moreover, cocaine consumption grew stronger in universities and neighbourhood social circles. [The State of] Morelos soon stopped being a drugs' crossing point and became a place for production and consumption. Consequently, the demand for drugs amongst the youth increased this situation and paved the way for the Ministerial and Federal Police to install narcoshops under their protection, in order to supply the growing demand. Very soon, civil society raised its voice claiming greater security. Demands which the governor Jorge Carrillo Olea answered by fabricating kidnappers and offenders in order to silence claims. One could see on the news how kidnapping bands were apprehended and everyone applauded the great work of the police.

As the number of addicts augmented my brother Celso saw an opportunity to make business with drugs. Mama Chucha bluntly opposed at the beginning. She even threatened him with kicking him out of home. Yet she later felt it removed us from many daily

preoccupations, thus my mother tolerated my brother's new venture [...].

I was studying in sixth grade and I sadly saw how Celso's addiction became worse. Indeed, the anguish about money disappeared and the certainty of being protected by the police gave us the reassurance of impunity.

By implicating different people in her story Karina was able to recreate a *relation of points of view* concerning specific events (Carr 1991: 62; Scholes and Kellogs 1966). By considering her mother, brothers, the police, producers, universities, consumers, and young people; as well as the old times of playing football, in contrast to the later times of gang regrouping, *La Enamorada* recreates "indeterminate and ambiguous situations that involve contending parties, contrasted locations, opposing categories of thought, and antithetical domains of experience" (Carr 1991: 25). In implicating what seem to be *contending parties*, she is also keen to illustrate the changing moral perceptions of characters, places and actions throughout their journey. For instance, she is careful to explain that the mother, who at first held stereotypical conceptions of people who smoked marijuana, and who opposed her son's new endeavours, was the mother who later embraced the earnings from such a business. A written explanation provided her with the space, time and format to narrate the path of a family that had made a series of decisions with serious consequences. A description that would have very likely been irrelevant to the logic of law.

Later Karina tells us that she met her future husband and gave birth to her son. Her husband also began participating in supplying Karina's clients. At first she moved in with him, but later he begun being violent and abused drugs, so Karina kept coming back to her mother's house continuously for different lengths of time. Karina explains that her husband was unreliable, and so was her brother who was imprisoned for some time, so Karina and her mother acquired more active roles concerning the preparation and selling of crack. Along similar daily lines, she explains the restructuring of permissions and the monitoring of the illegal drug trade by the security forces. The complicity of the police force in her illegal activities was part of the story that was clearly pointless to tell to law enforcement

bodies, yet one that Karina thought would be welcomed by readers of her autobiography.

With the new government many things occurred; the power of the drug trade had infiltrated the highest spheres of power. The number of addicts had increased scandalously, and thus had the demand for drugs. So the mafia had to regroup. Esparragosa “El Azul”, took the territory of Morelos, with the help of the governor. “Mariano Matamoros” airport was the place where cocaine entered, protected by the Ministry police. We, the narcoshops, had the obligation of only selling the product of ‘El Azul’ while Sergio Estrada Cajigal [ex-governor of Morelos] put someone in his complete trust at the head of the Ministerial Police”.

There are “things known”, which are not quite eyewitness accounts, and as such, are not considered by the law, but which nevertheless shape people’s lives. Those things not seen but yet known, find a home in textuality. Karina narrated how the ex-director of the police force in Morelos, Agustín Montiel, was eventually detained and imprisoned at *La Palma* jail in 2008. His arrest lessened the protection that small drug distributors like Karina’s family received from the police, and new drug cartels became more powerful. At this point Karina introduces in the story the fact that she began abusing drugs. The readers do not exactly know why, how and for how long she abused drugs but she explains it as the reason that led her to become irresponsible with her business. She began running up debts with her suppliers and her business carried on decaying until one day she was arrested. Karina explains her substance abuse and the restructure of drug distributing permits as her final path to imprisonment:

I got myself deep into drugs, even though Juan Carlos and my mother told me off. I kept on sinking. The new suppliers threatened me with taking away business. I even came up with the fact that I had suffered an assault. They suggested I look after my kid and to not fuck it up again. I wasn’t able to keep my word, so my suppliers got tired of me. On October 16th 2006, a group of the AFI [Federal Investigations Agency] came to search my house accompanied by three of my suppliers. [...] When I used drugs I used to say that prison was for stupid people who

were not friends with the police, or who could not pay the justice system. Now I was a step away from prison. I felt deeply betrayed by those who handed me in.

Karina's writing, in its creation and meaning, became a space for her to retell the story she wanted, including those things that she considered to be crucial coincidences and contingencies in her life. In reference to her many potential audiences, she denounces some of her characters and possible audiences, while supporting others. Karina's narrative is another example of how storytelling allows people whose lives have been disrupted by past events to find a place to demonstrate "how attempts to live up to expectations about *normalcy* often fail despite protracted efforts" (Becker 1997: 17). In this sense, through the intended or unintended use of poetic experiments, doubts, reveries, affirmations, condemnations, apologies and contradicting views, *La Enamorada* provides her readers with an alternative how and why. For Jackson (2002: 16) narrative's primary purpose is precisely to provide us with the feeling that our voice has an effect on the world. *Reflections* materialises a third *redescription*, that of a counter-testimony, right of reply, and mode of alternative explanation to others and to herself. A place for depositing moral reflections and statements unwelcomed in other legal territories of expression, and in which research interviews have sometimes already been framed through their own agenda. Her autobiography is more than a chronological account of "what happened"; it may be seen, like all narratives as Carr (1991: 61) suggests, as an "extension and refinement of a viewpoint inherent in action itself". It is her personal description of *normalcy* and her moral interpretation of the state of affairs.

La Enamorada provides her readers with a final statement concerning drugs administration, use and prohibition:

I have nothing more to add, but to define my position with regards to what I have experienced in prison and in my own life. [...] I do not think that what the government is doing against drug trafficking is the correct thing. The World Health Organisation has declared that addiction is an illness, not a problem between police and thieves, good and evil. Rather, it is a public health issue. It is about inhibiting the consumption of drugs, since the

addicts that use them motivate their consumption, in other words, it is about demand and supply.

Karina's final conclusion is both a repetition and a contestation of the "already uttered", (Bakhtin 2006: 495). It is a product of and a voice for the many audiences she wishes to address. Her statement condenses her viewpoint at that time and in those circumstances, it enters, as Bakhtin (2006: 493) suggests:

[...] a dialogically agitated and tension-filled environment of alien words, value judgements and accents, weaves in and out of complex interrelationships, merges with some, recoils from others, intersects with yet a third group.

Illness, police and thieves, good and evil, public health issues, addicts, supply and demand are all existing debates that Karina draws on, reaching her own conclusions. She appeals to medical discourses regarding the substance abuse that prisoners ordinarily come across in prison. She sides with a similar rhetoric held by the *Penal Code* and *World Health Organisation*, from which she had earlier distanced herself during her legal testimony, while denying she was an addict. Her biography repeats statements and formulates "*clichegenic statements*" illustrating "stories that are approved or made canonical in any society tend to reinforce extant boundaries" (Rapport 2012: 55).

In an endeavour to construct her own story, *La Enamorada* engages with public, medical, moralistic, media and academic discourses, while questioning, opposing and rewriting them. There are too many audiences to please, therefore, she includes things her audiences would like to hear and she also voices the prohibited and possibly dangerous. By providing an alternative version of how drug distribution works, she challenges the narratives of media and law enforcement agencies, whose dichotomical rhetoric is the premise required for sustaining the need for a war. In this sense, "storytelling also questions, blurs, transgresses and even abolishes these boundaries" (Jackson 2002: 25). Hence, it is "allowing the emergence of a new reality" (Min-ha in Pollock 1998).

Narrative time is a time of its own, an "existential time" (Ricoeur 1980: 172). Karina's conclusion speaks of her historic times. I read her story and previous

statements as attempts to make sense of what many people are currently trying to collectively and individually resolve in Mexico. Her closing words move away from her personal life and current state of affairs, in an effort to formulate a convincing speech to communicate that something is not right in the wider context of her home country. Karina's biography closely resonates with other people's lives and times. Her readers granted her public recognition and the first prize in the DEMAC competition.

La Enamorada after prison

Karina wrote *Reflections* in response to a call for entries during her imprisonment. Texts may position people and situations permanently (O'Connell 2008: 57). However, if narratives have a life of their own and they exist in the world independently of their authors (Carr 1991), Karina's novel, or any account of her life, cannot encapsulate her entire history, for "life is no text, and is not reducible to one" (Hastrup 1990: 53). Her life is a different entity that moves beyond the grasp of her written autobiography. Scheffler (1986: 14) and Olsen (2003: 39) point out that memoirs written in prison very often have no place in the aftermath of imprisonment, for women prisoners become distracted with every day demands or others' needs. Likewise, for *La Enamorada*, writing was a vehicle for expression and dissemination, a benefit for her in prison, where she had ample free time, a reason to write and encouragement from others to do so. Prison is a place where many female prisoners undergo a productive writing period (see Harlow 1983: 507). Little is known of what happens to these women after release, and there is no account of their lives beyond their prison memoirs. The lives of former prisoners move on in many planned or unplanned directions, as Karina expressed before release:

I'll be free on the 18th of April this year. They tell us we should have long and short-term goals, but those goals sometimes are not accomplished. Things happen more spontaneously. So I haven't thought about what I'll do, because I can say something and then do something else. I will see what happens.

I have asked my self: “Am I ready?” I don’t think so. There are too many things in my head; I don’t want to screw it. I did things here I’ve never done outside. Imagine, I got together with my husband when I was 15, so I have lived many more things in prison than outside. I can’t tell if I am ready, but what I do know is that I want to be with my family.

A few days after Karina was released, we met and sat in a park to have a chat. We were not longer in the grey classroom. Her conversation no longer needed to be only about prison, since other narratives and every day preoccupations had gathered more importance. We talked about life, love, children and jobs. She had ended her relationship with her boyfriend in prison and begun dating a former friend. She started looking for a job and became busy and concerned with raising her child from whom she had been separated for six years. On that day Karina was above all troubled by the fact she had lost authority over her son, who obeyed her grandmother more than his mother:

My son is happy that I am out, but it is not the same, it is not like you can come and be the boss, he has his own life. I try to tell him: “Jonathan come to the table the food is ready”, and he just shouts: “yes mom, I’ll come later”. The other day my mom, my son and I were eating in silence and my son tells his grandma: “mom tomorrow I am going...” somewhere. His grandma didn’t pay attention because I was there already, but he didn’t address me. I remained staring at my son, and my son stared at my mum. I thought: “oh gosh!” You kind of lose authority and it feels horrible! I was supposed to be present at the table now huh? So he could have asked me for permission. In the end I didn’t say anything, it was his grandma who responded to him: “we’ll see if you can go out”. I do understand him, he hasn’t spent these past years with me, so it’s good that I am finally outside.

Conclusions

In this chapter I reviewed fragments of Karina’s testimonies using three different forms of expression that accomplish different things. Karina’s testimony for legal evidence, our interview and her autobiography are all different *redescriptions of*

her life created dialogically with others in an attempt to make them work within the power play of specific circumstances and relationships. Each of these testimonies emerged from the restrictions and possibilities given by each of the legal, academic and literary forms of expression. The written or spoken platforms of expression hold different relations to time and social interaction, and as such produce different realities and ways in which stories may be presented. The social presence and distance they permit allowed Karina to express herself differently.

I approached legal testimonies as pieces belonging to specific ways of framing, thinking, judging, interpreting and thus narrating a series of “eye-witnessed” daily facts. Legal testimonies are not only produced within a narrow and technically descriptive style, but they also, as Karina’s decision illustrates, demand that people box themselves into fixed and dichotomist identities, such as that of the addict or non-addict. Their decisions are based on weighing up their options to determine which would have a more adverse or beneficial effect. The legal settings, as pre-arranged moral spaces that produce fixed types of narratives, are considered “evidential accounts”, but they restrict the inclusion of different kinds of events during a person’s life and their moral interpretations. They limit trajectories to that which prisoners, or others, are said to have *seen, heard, done* within a limited time frame. The moral interpretation of such accounts by another group of people determines prison sentences, and the diagnosis of states of mind and help offered in determining culpability or innocence.

At our interview Karina favoured a narrative that implicated her husband as responsible for her incarceration. I have found her standpoint, and the conversation we then weaved together, mirrored in the body of literature about women in prison. This suggests that prisoners and their female interlocutors privilege stories framed around issues of gender inequality that become accounts emphasising that men are the oppressors from whom women inmates must be emancipated.

In these two sites of spoken utterances, Karina’s narrative is conditioned by the need for an immediate response in conversation, and is constructed on the feedback she receives from her interlocutors in varied forms (motivational,

physical, argumentative, resistive, objective and supportive). Her narrative is constructed in an alien territory in which the beliefs and evaluating systems (Bakhtin 2006: 497) of experts, be they lawyers or anthropologists, hold the final diagnosis.

Finally, I explore Karina's written piece to argue that her distance in physical terms allowed her to speak to many imaginary audiences. It allowed her the necessary distance to rework an argument that could please those audiences and that earned her empathy and support. A novel is after all, a platform where prisoners are allowed to speak beyond the illusion of eyewitness reality and away from that which justice officials ask them to remember. Their writings express their beliefs and include reflections on how such beliefs are constantly being reconsidered throughout their lives. Karina navigates the "already uttered", while also constructing her own utterances. I argue that *Reflections* represents a space that gave Karina the chance to tell a more complex version of her story and to reach a moral interpretation of her imprisonment. Her autobiography is a selection of episodes of her past that she explores and seeks to explain as a series of crucial coincidences in her life before prison.

People's paths in life are constructed from many more facts than those we are capable of assimilating. Prisoners find, in writing, another space of expression to provide their moral interpretation of normalcy and of the conditions that incarcerated them. Prisoners' writings, therefore, are not only an important means of expression, but they also represent material culture containing alternative modes of narrating, framing, viewing, thinking and morally interpreting the official rhetoric of the epoch they are embedded in. They constitute alternative redescriptions that both repeat and creatively counter-narrate. Consequently, they inevitably become active participants in the social dialogue surrounding them, which, as Bakhtin remarks, is attempting to question the obsolete rationale for incarceration and the reasons for carrying out a war on drugs in Mexico.

Chapter 3: The gaze and morality

Introduction: vision and exposure

This chapter is concerned with the gaze as an important regulator of life in prison. The analysis of the gaze in prison has been dominated by the relationship that Foucault highlighted around the role of vision in enforcing discipline. In his analysis of Bentham's Panopticon penitentiary design in the 18th Century, Foucault called attention to the key role of the gaze in the constant supervision of prisoners and in making the prisoners feel observed. I now wish to draw attention to how nowadays, the role of the gaze in prison is also concerned with the administration of morality. I explore how the prison community's concern for public opinion is an important driving force when deciding what to consider moral or immoral, and when deciding which attitudes and practices can be made public or kept private. I specifically explore how gender and sexual practices in Atlacholoaya prison were encouraged, tolerated or forbidden according to the gaze of those observing them. I argue that such a gaze was mostly held from a heterosexual and patriarchal standpoint. As such, paradigms of conformity with institutional patriarchal models of womanhood were endorsed publicly, while gender and sexual diversity were tolerated or ignored in the private life of prison. I examine three different settings in prison that accorded different treatments and values to different expressions of heterosexuality and homosexuality: 1) a public ceremony commemorating Women's Day, 2) the visits made by female prisoners to the men's prison on several days a week, and 3) the arguments and "revelations" of Ruth, a lesbian inmate.

When looking at the prison ceremonies, I examine how what was important in Atlacholoaya was not so much to allow or forbid practices but rather to regulate

their degree of exposure and visibility. Sontag has previously examined how the worry of exposure is an important driving force in the contemporary politics of life in prison. In her article "*Regarding the torture of others*", concerning the publication of pictures exposing the torture of Iraqi prisoners by U.S. soldiers in Abu Ghraib prison in 2003, Sontag addressed how the comments of U.S. authorities with regards to such events showed less concern about the perpetuation of the acts of torture themselves, than about the fact that the publication and dissemination of the pictures would affect the image of U.S. citizens across the globe (Sontag 2004). In a similar vein, I explore how Atlacholoaya's authorities were concerned with their public image and with administering and guiding the nature of the gaze by visitors. Among the visitors were human rights commissioners, representatives of women's rights institutes, volunteers and researchers, all of whom could be returning or first time guests. An important concern of the authorities was to portray a good image of prison for their guests during public ceremonies. The administration of morality, gendered practices and sexuality at such ceremonies was "characterized by the interplay of presences and absences, the visible and the hidden" (Foucault 1978: 153).

If it was important to be discreet about prison life, not everything in prison was about constant supervision and overexposure. As Alford (2000) suggests it is also important to study what is not looked at. In some prisons, "not only are the disciplinary practices absent but what is, in effect, the opposite principle reigns: if you control the entrances and the exits, you do not have to look" (Alford 2000: 127). In prison, the gaze is intermittent, and the imperceptible also forms part of the circuits of control (Bratich 2007: 53). Reed (2003: 29) has also signalled how prison "blocks the exchange of gazes" with people outside the prison, it admits certain acts to the realm of what is visible and condemns many other acts to obscurity (Reed 2003: 99). With regards to morality, in Atlacholoaya the external gaze of visitors mostly accessed heterosexual speeches while the gaze of the internal community (prison authorities, guards, prisoners and social workers) accessed a diversity of gender and sexual practices.

I also explore how during non-ceremonial times, prisoners looked at each other and the gaze gave meaning and value to the gender and sexual practices of the every day. Seeing and being seen is central to prison's daily life as Van Hoven

and Sibley point out (2008: 1001). To examine the social role of looking at each other, I draw from Sartre's (1996) remarks on "the look" and Casey's ideas about the "glance". For Sartre, gazing is essential to who "*I*" and "*the other*" make each other become; he called this interaction "being-for-others". For Sartre, identities and practices are mediated by looking at each other: "My apprehension of the other in the world as probably being a man refers to my permanent possibility of being-seen-by-him" (1996: 257). For Sartre and Casey, the gaze is not unidirectional; on the contrary, it is essential that the gaze returns to the subject who is looking. The responding glance contains the other's beliefs, history, prejudices, and momentary whims (Casey 1999: 175). Considering that gazing is a two-way exchange, I examine how both male and female prisoners weighted and evaluated women's behaviour when they visited the men's premises. The concept of the gaze, although partly literal, is also used metaphorically to analyse a whole assemblage of acts, including verbal comments and rumours that delineated the borderline of the appropriate and the inappropriate.

Given that keeping up appearances is important for the authorities, the exposure of life in prison becomes an act of empowerment for some prisoners. I explore exposure through the views of Ruth, a lesbian inmate who, when chatting to prisoners, put into perspective the contradictions at the heart of the public and private moral façades of prison life. I explore how Ruth used the different possibilities for concealment, disclosure and access to information to voice her opinion and vindicate her sexuality.

This aim of this chapter is to be a metaphor of the whole of the justice system, beyond the gender issues explored in here. By exploring this game of the exposed and the invisible, this chapter illustrates how each prisoner learns to enter into the games of the authorities differently, and the possibilities and barriers that these negotiations bring to them. These negotiations with the legal system thus become a life learning experience and a practice they will carry on using every time they meet the justice system once they have exited prison. As such this chapter shows the experiential and imagined realities of the prisoners and authorities, as well as exposing the explicit structural world of the prison.

Women's Day ceremony

On the morning of the 8th of March, the women's prison basketball court became the setting for celebrating Women's Day. Prisoners and guards pulled out plastic chairs, they fired up the sound system and unfolded green tablecloths over the tables allocated for the penitentiary authorities. The female prisoners were easily distinguished by their yellow clothing. The rest of the women present, namely the schoolteacher, prison guards, invited guests and other prison representatives, sat separated from the prisoners as they arrived. We all waited under the burning sun until the general director of the prison finally arrived two hours late. Upon arrival, an unforeseen event interrupted the solemn state of the celebration: a cacophony of accusing whistles spread throughout the crowd, in objection to the director's lack of punctuality and his disrespect for the people waiting. The whistling was instigated by two of the guests who had been invited by Elena (a feminist volunteer at the prison) to perform music and poetry. She had invited them under the request of Ana María, the social worker organising the programme. The director Luis Ramón Hernández Sabás, who was also the Sub-Secretary of Security for the State of Morelos, angrily took the microphone and chided the prisoners, making excuses and referring to his busy schedule. He said that they should be respectful and understand that he had many things to do before the ceremony. Once order was restored, events continued as planned. Workers and prisoners read out speeches praising the value of women's existence in the world, and the fact that they were the pillars of their households. They particularly emphasised motherhood, which is widely considered to be a woman's most vital role and her mission in life. Different participants recited poems and speeches that could be heard in the entire patio along with the crackling interference of the poor sound system. After the speeches, the inmates took to the stage where they performed dance routines for the rest of the audience.

The celebrations were highly emotive moments enjoyed by most of the inmates. Performances have the power to produce a vigorous impression of reality, affecting the sensibility of participants, while awakening intense emotions that may not be experienced in daily life (Schechner 1985; Young 1965). For the inmates, such celebrations were especially emotive because, as women

undergoing punishment, they were the subjects of celebration only a few times a year. Women's festivities were the special days when prison authorities and visitors celebrated the inmates' motherly and womanly identity, momentarily putting aside their criminal identity.

As the literature analysing ritual ceremonies suggests, these civic celebrations worked as events through which a gathered community reflected upon and dramatised its collective myths and history, and defined itself (MacAloon 1984: 1). In the prison's ceremony, such dramatizations constituted important events to reinforce moral values of womanhood through the emotiveness of the ceremonial. The ceremonies celebrated an innumerable set of ideas, practices and social expectations fictitiously coherent that human beings possessing a womb are expected to follow (Butler 1993: 31). Women's Day set out the ideal gendered and sexual behaviours for women including being domestic, humble, tolerant, heterosexual, and a sacrificing mother. Such attitudes outlined the idea of decency and excluded from the ceremony other behaviours that would suggest a lack of gender decorum and sexual extravagancies. Other social performances in prison such as Mother's Day, the day against violence to women and Valentine's Day served similar purposes. These were occasions to reinforce and emphasise narrow gender roles. They were "models that mirrored" one version of living in the world, abstracted, selected, simplified and presented in relatively coherent ways (Handelman 1990: 15; Diaz 2008). The performances were an opportunity to make sense and regroup women and men into coherent sexual beings according to their differentiated anatomy (Ortner 1972) and the myth of "heterosexual coherence" (Butler 1990: 136).

The preoccupation with morality by prison authorities has drawn the attention of some researchers. Liebling has explored how moral values and sensibilities have been central to life in prison especially during recent years (2005: 51). Liebling argues that the official rhetoric of justice at the heart of penal life in the U.S. was mainly concerned with punishment and efficacy. However this priority more or less ceased between 1993 and at least 1999, at which point a new internal discourse and agenda pointing towards 'decency' emerged, shaping and continuing to shape life in prison in important ways (Liebling 2005: 6). Garland has similarly emphasised how the pursuit of values such as tolerance, decency,

humanity and civility have become “intrinsic and constitutive aspects of its role” (Garland 1990: 292). However such research has mostly analysed the authorities’ moral interests as constant and homogenous concerns instead of paying attention to how such beliefs are enforced intermittently.

In Atlacholoaya as well the basketball court performances partly seek to delineate the parameters of women’s morality, as shown above. However, I argue that this was not the only purpose; insofar as such concerns mostly gained relevance when the public gaze reached life in prison. Consequently, I argue that such ceremonies are also performances directed at the visitors who are observing the dynamics of prison life. The authorities can use such occasions to demonstrate publicly the ideas of womanhood they officially legitimate and supposedly enforce, regardless of the implementation of such ideas in the everyday life. Ceremonies are also an opportunity to showcase the inmate’s level of discipline and deliver some positive results to the community surrounding prison because, as Fiddler (2007: 192) points out, nowadays prison drama represents the interface between the public and the prison.

During Atlacholoaya’s ceremonies everyone present gazed at each other, while also being aware of being looked at. The prison staff looked at the prisoners while being looked at by the general director. The prisoners receiving the authorities’ gaze also scrutinised their peers and their own performance. We, the visitors, could look at the dynamics between the various ranks of the authorities. I could see this performance on different levels: that of the celebration of Women’s Day and that of the spectacle put on for us. And yet, in the reciprocation of glances, Martinot (2005) signals “each individual is a limited and limiting consciousness for the other”. Visitors could only have a fragmentary idea of everyday life in prison. Visitors were only invited to observe the ceremony and not to ask questions or inquire further about prison life. And since façades project as much as they occlude (Fiddler 2007), looking at and being looked at felt like a preordained practice. Ceremonies therefore, constituted the legitimate but partial façade of prison.

Most of the time, the inmates collaborated in maintaining such a façade of prison life. Throughout their stay in jail prisoners learnt that ceremonies were not the

appropriate time or place to voice public discontent if they wanted to avoid being punished. This became apparent in the director's public chastising of the inmates after the whistling incident. He had made clear again that male authorities must not be questioned, at least not openly, publicly or collectively, and less so in front of visitors. At such events, a "conventionalized positive politeness" was played out, "which on its surface appears to be based on empathic responsiveness and attunement to another's utterances" (Groark 2008: 436). As long as they "feigned conformity" (Simon 2005: 7), women could also be cynical about the performance, failed to pay attention and undertake other activities such as knitting while pretending to be attentive spectators. The prison community knew that face saving was an important pre-established agreement between all parties providing a better result for all concerned.

While under public scrutiny there was little possibility for contesting authorities and disrupting the idea of decency; the prison community respected that because they knew that when the performance was over, the authorities permitted the diversification of behaviour, opinions, worldviews, attitudes, styles and sexuality. Thus, respecting each other's boundaries was to the benefit of everyone: "by not challenging the self presentation of others, one hopes to prevent others from doing the same" (Groark 2008: 436). During daily life at the prison, the authorities tolerated, turned a blind eye or participated in a wide range of events that were excluded from the ceremonies. If external gazes (such as human rights bodies or the press) happened to view practices deemed illegal or illegitimate, the authorities could always argue that they were unaware of these and that they did not legitimise such practices.

Visiting the men's prison

Once the solemnity of the performances had terminated, prison life resumed in its normal way. The gender and sexual practices ceased being a fixed ideal and behaviours diversified within the realms of feasibility. The women embodied and performed womanhood in different ways. It was in the everyday practices that the concept of women itself ceased to be a fixed term and appeared to be "a term in

process, a becoming, a construction that cannot be rightfully said to originate or to end” (Butler 1990: 33).

I will explore such changing views and practices of womanhood especially as they occurred when the women visited the men’s premises. The men’s and women’s prisons were connected through a series of doors and halls. This permitted female inmates to be taken to the men’s prison for official and unofficial arranged visits. Officially, women attended joint workshops and ceremonies, visited their partners and went for their official “intimate visit” (private conjugal encounters granted to heterosexual couples a number of days per week). It was rumoured that unofficial and undisclosed events such as hidden sexual encounters or women’s nocturnal visits to the men’s prison also occurred. Many external visitors only had access to such information through rumours, as I will discuss later.

Many women valued being able to go to the men’s area highly and for a number of reasons: they greatly appreciated having mixed-gender activities, it gave them the chance to make male friends, to flirt, meet a partner and to escape the daily routine at their own premises. Being seen could help in gaining status in the prison (Hoven and Sibley 2008). To be seen by men encouraged women to wear make-up. When it was time to go to the men’s premises, for official purposes, women queued and waited for a warden to escort them there. They made themselves up and wore their best clothes. To wear mini skirts and sleeveless shirts was forbidden, even on their own premises. Yet since the institution did not provide prisoners with an official uniform, within the monotony of their compulsory yellow clothes, the women became resourceful with what was allowed. They could wear tight-fitting clothes and as much make up as they wanted. In this sense, the body in prison was a vehicle through which they proliferated and varied their corporeal styles (Butler 2003: 312). The every day seemed to involve a “fluidity of identities” where the idea and enactment of womanhood was open to intervention and resignification (Butler 1990: 33).

The proliferation of corporeal styles and practices of womanhood were not free from assessment by others. Visiting the men was an activity that awakened various comments and reactions especially towards women. As Van Hoven and

Sibley further point out, the daily coping mechanism of prison “involves making frequent visual assessments of others as a part of the process of avoiding or associating with other inmates” (2008: 1001). Women’s displacements to the men’s prison unfolded under the gaze of the prison community who generated all kinds of evaluations and defined personal or collective codes concerning gender and sexual behaviours. Instead of the gaze of the visitors, the gaze of other prisoners and “what people said”, demarcated the boundaries of the appropriate and the inappropriate. Many women and men inmates considered that going to the men’s prison was shameful and this affected the women’s reputation. Many men believed that the women only visited to flirt or for economic interests; women prisoners then individually considered whether to accord importance to what people said. Some women avoided going to the men’s quarters altogether.

Other women decided to go, and when establishing coupling relationships, women and men mostly took for granted that the men would be responsible for the economic needs of the couple. For some couples this agreement reproduced gender roles that both had experienced before entering prison, so it was unquestioned and was not much of a problem. However, for other men, women’s economic dependency gave them a motive to pass judgements on the female inmates. Jose Luis spoke poorly about female prisoners, suggesting that they were only eager to meet someone or to have sex in order to obtain economic support. Jose Luis felt insulted that women would see him as an economic source:

¡nah!, excuse me for what I am going to say, women from “*the femeni!*” are not worth it, they have introduced me to two of the best ones supposedly. The hottest and better body ¿huh? X and Y. These women told me straight away: “I owe this much in the shop, are you going to help me?”, and I said: “Ok, how much is your debt?”. That was the first day we met, our first date! [...] I gave her \$500 [£25]. I don’t pay for love, I don’t like paying for sex. (Jose Luis)

While he was insulted by being seen by women principally as an economic provider, he was in no doubt about the ranking of the women he was offered according to their physical appearance. While prison authorities located women’s

worth in their reproductive capacity, some inmates such as Jose Luis assessed them according to their aesthetics.

Some women, such as María, were torn between the issue of staying in her own premises and avoiding being the subject of judgemental looks and comments, versus the desire to go to the men's prison. María had avoided going to the other prison for a long time, but since her husband had abandoned her some time after she was jailed, María reconsidered the option. She evaluated her own personal gains and losses and finally decided to take part in the visits. She stopped caring about what other people said because she wanted to meet a man:

I began going to the men's prison, I stopped caring what people said. Then a man started talking to me. We got to know each other little by little. So now I am seeing him. We have been together for three years. He supports me with my daughter.

To stop caring about the judgemental looks and comments of others is also an important coping mechanism in prison. As an alternative to being seen, "avoidance" and "blinking-out" the prison environment are also part of "the business of looking" (Van Hoven and Sibley 2008: 1002). Like María, many women decided to overcome these looks in order to meet men for different purposes: to marry them, to fall in love, to make friends, to have sex, to feel accompanied or to seek economic support. Ultimately, male and female inmates paired up in several ways in relationships that established different kinds of affective, sexual and economic agreements and gender roles, according to their changing needs and beliefs.

Prison legitimately approved of all pairing attempts and relationships, although they mostly officially legitimated and regulated the sexual practices of "formal" and "stable" couples by providing them with the right to an "intimate visit". As established in Morelos' penal regulations, the aim of the conjugal visit is "maintaining inmate's marital relationships in a healthy and moral way" (Art. 95). To have access to such a right, couples needed to submit a legal document proving their marriage or courtship. In Atlacholoaya, couples able to prove that they were in a relationship of at least three months in duration could petition a cohabiting civil status and then apply for "intimate visit" permission.

The rest of the unofficial heterosexual couples were not given spaces for intimacy but they were permitted public forms of affection, like kissing and hugging, which contrasts with many prisons in the U.S. where a display of physical affection is restricted even among legal couples (see Comfort et al. 2005). Couples in Atlacholoaya then managed to find places to have clandestine sex while attending mixed gender activities.

Dirsuweit (1999: 75) suggests that smuggling acts in prison are transgressions seeking the “reclamation of space”. However, often all of the prison community (prisoners, wardens and social workers) knew or took part in such undisclosed exchanges, therefore I will consider them as “public secrets” instead of transgressions, that is, as obvious truths that are generally known but cannot be articulated (Simmel 1906). Simmel suggests, “the first internal relation that is essential to a secret society is the reciprocal confidence of its members”:

[...] this element is needed in a peculiar degree, because the purpose of maintaining the secrecy is, first of all, protection. Most radical of all the protective provisions is certainly that of invisibility. (Simmel 1906: 470)

Such “willed concealments”, as Simmel also names them, “secure the possibility of a second world alongside of the obvious world”, protect the material and symbolic interests of a community (1906: 449-476) and produce a sense of collectivity (Bratich 2007: 50). Concealed practices in prison were kept within the prison community and rendered invisible for the community external to prison.

A threat to the concealments that are part of prison community was exposure, as I will review next through the story of Ruth. Disclosure was the tool of some prisoners, like Ruth, who either disagreed with such practices, or wished to vindicate their beliefs in spite of the efforts by the prison to render them invisible. Secrecy also gave them power and was “sustained by the consciousness that it might be exploited” (Simmel 1906: 466). Ruth’s rumours contained her individual opinions and adjectives that gave shape to the invisibilised practices in prison. In the first place, I explore how Ruth voiced to me her disapproval of female

inmates' unofficial visits to the men's prison. Secondly, I examine how she exposed and legitimated her lesbian sexual life, often under scrutiny.

Secrecy and power

Over the course of my meetings with Ruth, she told me that her girlfriend had got pregnant and given birth to a boy in prison because the guards used to take her to the men's prison during the night for prostitution. The nocturnal traffic of women into men's prisons is an event that is often disclosed in the press but that does not constitute extraordinary news. According to Gilbert, "it is only the act of disclosure, surveillance or confession which constitutes any particular piece of the continuum of experience as 'a secret' (Gilbert 2007: 26). Precisely because the external community can often only access such "secrets" about prison in the form of rumours, voicing them gives prisoners a sense of empowerment in the face of the authorities. Ruth angrily voiced to visitors many of prison's incongruent practices, such as women's nocturnal trafficking. She talked to me about it just before being put in solitary confinement for having taken part in a fight with another inmate, so as to feel she still held some power over prison in spite of being about to be segregated.

Ruth not only disclosed such nocturnal displacements, but she evaluated them. As suggested by Blundo, when people reveal occluded practices, they never show themselves neutral: "either they denounce and perhaps complain at the same time, or justify themselves, or they dodge the issue" (2007: 32). Ruth believed that such displacements were undertaken for purposes of prostitution where male and female wardens, plus women prisoners, profited from the price male inmates paid for having sex with them. If the secret is not destroyed through exposure (Bratich 2007: 46), what is relevant to its exposure is how it is revealed (Benjamin in Taussig 1999: 2). "It is not skilled concealment that characterizes the power of secrecy, but the skilled revelation of skilled concealment" (Taussig 2003: 273). Ruth not only exposed the public secret but condemned the fact that her girlfriend had been willing to prostitute herself to fulfil her drug addiction.

Besides denouncing what her girlfriend had experienced, Ruth also spoke about such trafficking to highlight the fact that the prison community allowed certain sexual practices to occur in secret, while her lesbian identity and affections were selectively restricted. Through such comparisons she made evident that “similar physical acts have different subjective meanings” (Vance 1991: 877), and also different public faces. Unlike heterosexual couples, the authorities did not grant same sex couples an “intimate” space. Ruth also often pointed out that lesbians did not have “the right to have sex” and so they had to do it covertly. Ruth described that she had to conceal her cell bed with blankets to have sex, while complicit *compañeras* would keep an eye out to let them know if anyone that would mind was approaching.

In my view, Ruth’s transgression did not lie in having covert sexual intercourse, as some of the literature of lesbianism has emphasised (see Mejía 2010), but in voicing her own choices with regards to such hidden practices, which supposedly constituted public secrets only shared by the inner prison community. By communicating her concerns to external visitors with different degrees of familiarity to prison life, she not only subverted heterosexual practices in secret, but inserted her lesbian identity into the public light, “disrupting the regulatory fiction” and weakening the “descriptive force” of the heterosexual model (Butler 1990: 136). In verbally revealing what was occluded, Ruth “carved out a space in the institution to express an identity which transgressed the feminised and heterosexual identity enforced by the institution” (Dirsuweit 1999: 76).

Homosexual sex in prison was not necessarily always clandestine. Homosexuality in Atlacholoaya was another public secret shared and accepted by the prison community. As Dirsuweit pointed out from her research in a female penitentiary in South Africa, lesbianism in prison has a dual status:

[Prison] is a place where lesbianism between women is actively discouraged and even banned in some spaces. On the other hand, it is also a place away from homophobic social structures in broader society. (Dirsuweit 1999: 78)

In Atlacholoaya, lesbianism also seemed to have this dual acceptance, and whether lesbianism was targeted, tolerated or ultimately ignored depended on

the sympathies or enmities developed between inmates. Ruth's homosexuality was selectively regulated according to the flow of her relationships with wardens or other prisoners, that is, to situational empathies or disagreements with them. For instance, Ruth complained that a female warden who liked her girlfriend constantly targeted her. Moreover, Ruth had conflicts with authorities more than other inmates because of her rebellious conduct. Ruth expressed: "If they attack me, I defend my self. I've never allowed them to bother me, this is why they punish me, because I am rebellious". So wardens monitored Ruth's sexuality more closely when she was being rebellious, involved in a dispute or if they did not like her personally. On the other hand, the acceptance or rejection of lesbianism was based on the degree of public exposure of the show of affection by lesbians. Like clandestine sexual acts, lesbianism was tolerated, but publicly sanctioned. Ruth and her girlfriend were not allowed to kiss or hug each other during family visit days.

Furthermore, Ruth was at odds with other women in prison in the way that she repeated some schemas of womanhood, masculinity, and heterosexual relationships. As Butler noted, all gender performativity is ultimately "always a reiteration of a norm or set of norms" (Butler 1990: 12-15). Ruth wanted to replicate a heterosexual family model; she assumed the role of father to her girlfriend's one-year-old son and became the main economic provider for both of them. Moreover, she believed that a long-lasting relationship like hers was proof of taking a relationship seriously, and she considered that many of the other lesbian relationships in prison were only ephemeral and thus temporary relationships:

For me it's not only a hobby, I see it for the future. We have fought to be together, we have faced the authorities. For other *compañeras* it is a pastime. They see a girl and then they leave her and go out with another one. I've spent the three years I've been here with my partner. And they don't leave us alone because of our lesbianism. We have plans to get married in Mexico City, outside of this place. She will not be here for very long either: two more years. (Ruth)

Ruth was about to be released and she planned to maintain the relationship with her incarcerated girlfriend. She expressed being eager to defend her right to legal access to sexual intercourse, which she considered a fundamental part of her relationship. Foreseeing that, once outside prison, the concrete walls would separate her from her girlfriend and would no longer permit her to hide underneath the bedding, Ruth began to plan her legal fight for the right to an “intimate visit”:

I am leaving soon and we want to demand a “V.I.” [intimate visit]. Because if I leave, what are we going to do?! We want our own space. That also counts in a relationship. So we are considering that, but I don’t think we will be allowed because it’s not contemplated in Atlacholoaya’s rules. Who knows...

When exiting prison, a new set of normative practices comes into being. Ruth ceased belonging to the enclosed community that could share her public secret. Like the prison walls, rules become concrete under public scrutiny. The authorities could no longer turn a blind eye to Ruth’s sexual and emotional needs. Under public scrutiny, the relationships established between the outside and the inside not only needed to be acceptable, they also needed to acquire a legal status. And in the rare event of being granted unofficial and clandestine access, a woman seeking access to the men’s prison was more likely to be allowed, as opposed to a woman wanting to be with a woman.

Theatrocracy amends the programme

In spite of what was discretely allowed every day, no alternative views of women were welcomed in any public ceremony. In these, all of the possible enactments of gender and sexuality examined above were narrowed under one simulated model of a woman. The prison community was aware of this and feigned conformity. However, the guests sometimes ignored the “willed concealments” and breached the prison community’s “carefully arranged divisions between the public and private” (Fiddler 2007: 196). The guests invited to the Women’s Day celebration to recite poems and songs brought the performance to a “confused and embarrassed halt” (Goffman 1990: 22), by engaging in the whistling.

Moreover, one of the poets recited a poem making allusion to the existence of a saint and a whore in every woman. She screamed the word *puta* (whore) several times, and her general repertoire planted the idea that women should be free to exercise their sexuality. In making public what should only happen in private, the visitors unsettled implicit agreements.

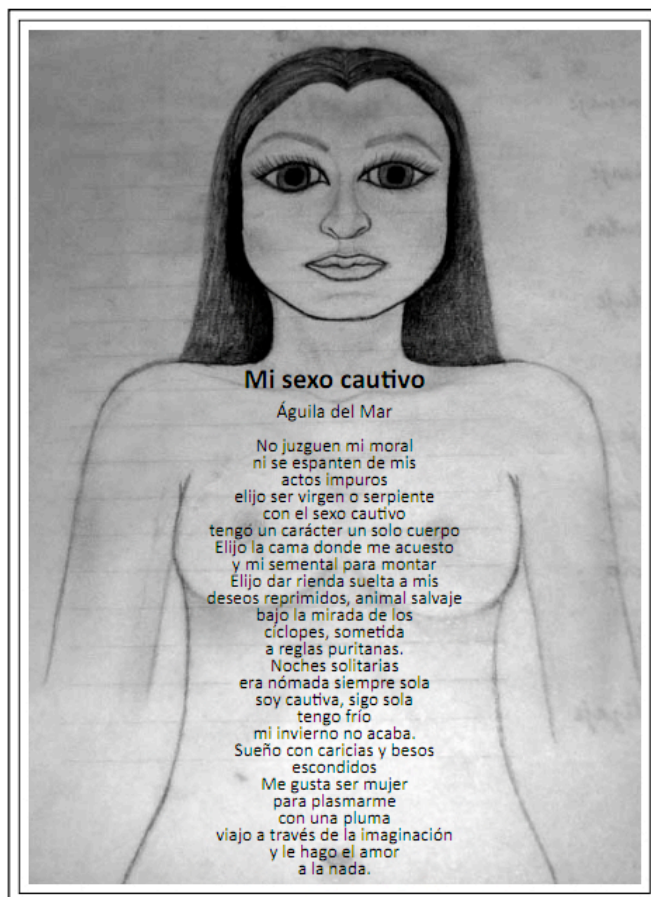
The prison authorities did not instantly react to the use of the word *puta* but later, the director ordered amendments to the festival's programme, which was to be repeated the following day for different guests, including the Human Rights Commission. He reprimanded Edalid, the principal of the women's prison, who then scolded Ana María, the social worker who had organised the event. Some time after, Elena, the feminist volunteer who had invited the poets, asked Edalid if she had truly felt insulted by the word "*whore*" contained in the poem. The principal answered that it had not offended her but the male director had felt unsettled by its use.

Hoping to make it a diverse and progressive ceremony, Ana María, the social worker and organiser, had originally asked Elena to suggest some guests who would like to take part in the first ceremony. Yet, when things went wrong, Ana María lamented that the festival she had once organised enthusiastically had ended in such a tragic way. She therefore reconsidered her choices and restructured the programme for the following day under the gaze of many different actors who expected many different things from her.

Ana María went through a personal reflection process to resolve her doubts. She juggled her beliefs with her desires and needs, her knowledge of the diversity of womanhood in prison, and what was required of her. While she leafed through the prisoners' writing in a classroom to choose the appropriate ones, the prisoners accompanying her made sexual jokes, testing her limits of embarrassment regarding sex talk. Ana María smiled, slightly embarrassed by their jokes. Despite their attempts to tease her, she tried to find her own position concerning such affairs. She questioned whether or not she should include poems of a sexual nature, keeping her superiors' requests in mind. Hesitant decisions, Turner implies:

[...] may be the essence of sincerity, the commitment of the self to a line of action for ethical motives perhaps to achieve 'personal truth', or it may be the essence of pretence, when one 'plays a part' in order to conceal or dissimulate. (Turner 1982: 102)

Of all of the reasons possibly involved in personal decision making, on ceremonial days, the glance of the director became a strong gaze through which prison staff looked at things and made choices. Ana María experienced how in attempting to welcome a variety of views she had trespassed the limits of what her superiors could publicly handle. She ultimately decided against poems with very explicit sexual allusions. She withheld the poem of an inmate nicknamed *Águila del Mar* ("Sea eagle", see poem below) and expressed that it was better to exclude it from the programme as it had inappropriate content.



My captive sex
Águila del Mar

Don't you judge my morals
 or get scared of my
 impure acts
 I choose to be a virgin or a serpent
 with a captive sex
 I have a character, only one body
 I choose the bed where I sleep
 and the stallion I mount
 I choose to unleash my desires repressed,
 wild animal
 under the eye of the Cyclops, subjected
 to puritan rules.

Lonely nights
 I was a nomad, always alone
 I'm captive, still alone
 I am cold
 my winter never ends.
 I dream with hidden
 caresses and kisses
 I like being a woman
 To express myself
 with a pen
 I travel through my imagination
 and make love
 to nothing.

Figure 7. The poem of *Águila del Mar*.

The production of poems with sexual connotations was a big part of the writing production of women prisoners. This was well known and accepted by the female authorities, and was even welcomed to be performed in smaller scale events where the higher ranking male authorities were absent. However, when male authorities were present, material containing what they saw as indecent sexual extravagancies was omitted from public events. At such occasions, “the logic of power exerted on sex is the paradoxical logic of a law that might be expressed as an injunction of nonexistence, nonmanifestation, and silence”, as Foucault suggests:

[...] one must not talk about what is forbidden until it is annulled in reality; what is inexistent has no right to show itself, even in the order of speech where its inexistence is declared; and that which one must keep silent about is banished from reality as the thing that is tabooed above all else. (Foucault 1978: 84)

The staff of the women’s prison were content with the original programme until the male director voiced his disdain. From then on, the female staff adopted the male dominated view of the higher authorities of the public security secretary of the State of Morelos. On that afternoon, the diverse perceptions of womanhood and sexuality of the female staff were temporarily rendered irrelevant. Their biggest concern during these ceremonies was that the content of the programme fulfilled what the male authority considered appropriate for a public audience.

Commemoration days are events that jeopardize the personal and ordinary beliefs of the women present. They are events where the prison’s close community (prisoners, guards and social workers) join in a “team performance” (Goffman 1990: 85), “simulating the kind of world the superior is thought to take for granted” (Goffman 1990: 30). Be it as a disciplined prisoner or an obedient staff member, everyone plays a part in what Balandier (2006: 19) refers to as “*theatrocracy*”. In such political performances, it was not important to represent who they were but who they should be according to what their superiors expect from them (Balandier 2006: 26).

The prison community had to accommodate the demands of the public façade of prison showing their women in a light suitable to patriarchal standards. If prison

life was judged by what the external visitors were allowed to see during the ceremony, the prison community's charade was a success. The prison community tolerated the narrow views included in the ceremony programme, since they knew their beliefs and practices could diversify once again during their daily lives. A diversity that despite being subjected to gazes and measured against patriarchal standards, allowed the community to engage in a range of gender and sexual practices both official and clandestine.

Conclusions

In this chapter I suggest that the authorities' concern for exposure is an important driving force for selectively allowing and forbidding gender and sexual practices in prison. I showed that Atlacholoaya's authorities are not preoccupied with endorsing a homogenous model of morality at all times. Instead, moral codes are selectively administered on the basis of what can be made visible and what should remain invisible to visitors. Behaviours which are considered decent are granted a public character, and behaviours considered inappropriate, or illegal, are tolerated as long as they remain part of the private life of prison.

Heterosexual demonstrations of love are permitted and encouraged in public festivals. However, the diversity of ways of pairing, the economic agreements and nocturnal traffic of women are unspoken or neglected. They are only public secrets shared by the prison community. Similarly, in the domestic life of prison lesbianism is accepted. However, if lesbians demonstrate physical affection in front of families visiting prison, they lose the support of the authorities.

A threat to concealment is exposure, so disclosure is a resource which some prisoners, such as Ruth, use when their interests are ignored or under threat. Disclosure is a resource used in the low-key conversations with visitors, because it is best not to contest the authorities' views in public in order to avoid punishments. It seemed that it was not so much the ideal of womanhood that could not be contested, but rather it could not be contested openly in ceremonies, nor in front of the highest male authority. Ceremonies were opportunities to

present an ideal and coherent image of decency, heterosexuality and discipline to the public.

In spite of what the female prison authorities think and practice, the parameters defining the boundaries of the correct and the incorrect are very much dictated by patriarchal standards. This applies to the public ceremonies endorsing mainly values of motherhood, in the clandestine practice of nocturnal traffic or in the assessment of the numerous ways of bonding.

As I mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, the concern with the administration of glances is not restricted to issues concerning gender and sexual practices in prison. I suggest that this principle can be extended to the functioning of the Mexican penal system as a whole, where ideas and practices about discipline, morality and legality are enacted according to the eyes of those watching them. One of the scenes in my film "*Time will tell*" is an example of this. The scene involves a prison official dealing with ex-prisoner David who had come back to prison because he was required to sign the book of parolees every month. This secretary did not notice that the camera was already rolling when she jokingly said to her boss: how will I ask him [David] for my little "refresher" if the camera is on? She was referring to the fact that government officials ask for bribes for the services provided to the public. She knew that although bribes are publicly acknowledged and tolerated, they are outlawed and therefore there could be no visual records of this. The scene serves as a metaphor that illustrates that in the prison system, what actually happens is not as important as what people are told. In this sense, this chapter provides a base to further understand how prisoners need to deal with the games of the justice system. It shows how prisoners learn to negotiate with power, either by playing its game or confronting authorities. This is a game they have had entered into since their arrest and will continue to play until they fulfil their legal obligations after prison. It is also a game they play all through their legal process as the next chapter further deals with.

Chapter 4 Uncertainty in prison

“When he started talking on in this way the lawyer was quite tireless. He went through it all again every time K. went to see him. There was always some progress, but he could never be told what sort of progress it was. The first set of documents to be submitted were being worked on but still not ready, which usually turned out to be a great advantage the next time K. went to see him as the earlier occasion would have been a very bad time to put them in, which they could not then have known. If K., stupefied from all this talking, ever pointed out that even considering all these difficulties progress was very slow, the lawyer would object that progress was not slow at all, but that they might have progressed far further if K. had come to him at the right time. But he had come to him late and that lateness would bring still further difficulties, and not only where time was concerned.

— Franz Kafka, *The Trial*

This chapter explores how prisoners in Atlacholoaya live with the feeling of uncertainty accentuated by the duration and ambiguity of judicial processes. Unlike the case of “K.”, Kafka’s character in *The Trial*, the indicted under consideration in this chapter lived through their judicial process whilst in prison. In Mexico, the constitutional right to a “presumption of innocence” (article 20) is obsolete insofar as many people suspected of involvement in a crime are put in “preventive prison” for many years whilst the judicial investigation is taking place. Throughout these waiting periods prisoners undergo cycles of hope and hopelessness over the expectation of being released, as I illustrate in the following case of Claudia.

Early in my fieldwork in Atlacholoaya prison, following the habitual body search and after filling in the registration sheet, I descended the stairs of the prison to be greeted by one of the female prisoners. Claudia came down from the dormitories very excited, with a tingling feeling on her skin and immediately said she had good news. Her lawyer had told her that those accusing her had not appealed so she was expecting news in four months time, according to what the lawyer promised her. Claudia sensed the possibility of being released; she could hardly believe it and was very excited. Eighteen months later, Claudia was still in prison awaiting more news. She had been in preventive prison for five years, that is, there had not been a legal resolution as to whether she was going to be found guilty or innocent. I realised that Claudia's situation was extraordinarily common in Mexico. Hence the vernacular use of the phrase, "in Mexico one is guilty until proven innocent" distorted from the original phrase "innocent until proven guilty", that appeals to the right to the presumption of innocence. Although it is considered an international human right to have an effective penal process (CIDH 2011: 90), and Mexican law states that a person cannot remain in preventive prison for more than two years³, 42% of the overall prison population in Mexico has been under preventive prison for an average of five years during the last decade (ASILEGAL 2011: 3; Patiño 2010: 1; Azaola 2009: 111). In 2011 these figures reached new heights due to the increase in the number of prisoners, in line with the advent of the "war on drugs". During the past year, from the population imprisoned for federal charges (mostly drug related), those in preventive prison have outnumbered the population sentenced. They constitute 53% of the population imprisoned under a federal jurisdiction according to the Secretary of Public Security (SSP 2011).

³ *Art. 20, Sec b. Parag. VII.* "He/she will be judged before four months when it comes to offences with a maximum penalty of two years of prison, and less than a year if the penalty surpasses that time, unless more time is requested for legal defence". "Preventive prison cannot exceed the maximum time that the law allocates to the offence that started the process and in no case will be superior to two years, unless its prolongation occurs due to the process of defending the defendant. If by the end of this time a sentence has not been announced, the defendant will be granted freedom immediately while the process continues [...]" (my translation). The statement "unless more time requested for legal defence", legally justifies the continuation of people under preventive prison for as much as 5 years.

The large numbers of prisoners awaiting court verdicts has been signalled as one of the major problems of the penal system in Latin America (see Carrión 2006; Posada and Díaz-Tremarias 2008; Azaola 2009; Benítez 2009; Patiño 2010). This situation is especially critical when penal systems maintaining preventive prison schemes are not equipped to guarantee the security and well-being of the burgeoning prison population. In 2012, the problem of preventive detention was brought to the fore in the Comayagua prison tragedy in Honduras where a fire killed over 300 inmates (60% of whom were preventative prisoners). This is an extreme example of the consequence of overcrowding, and of the excessive use of preventive detention. Not only should this catastrophe question the logic of preventive prison, but it should lead us to question its implications for the everyday life of prisoners.

Some studies about Mexican prisons – and prisons elsewhere on the continent – have mentioned with different emphasis the characteristics of these very processes of awaiting a verdict while incarcerated, specifically the bureaucracy, ambiguity, tardiness and irregularity involved in trials (see Lagarde 1993; Faith 1993; Duce y Pérez 2005; Cavazos 2005; Shirk and Ríos 2007; Nuñez 2007; Azaola 2009; Benítez 2009; Hernández 2010; Makowski 2010; Crawley 2004). Yet they have not gone deeper into the exploration of such experiences as lived by prisoners. There are notable exceptions such as the work of Makowski (2010), who describes in detail the period of uncertainty women in Mexico undergo before being sentenced; Reed (2011) has also explored the hope among prisoners on remand in Bomana prison in Papua New Guinea. However apart from their work, the experience of being trialled has as a rule played a marginal role in scholarly analysis. This chapter attempts to fill that gap and reflects on uncertainty as a central experience of imprisonment in Mexico. By paying attention to inmates' descriptions of their trials, I hereby aim to reconstruct how inmates live through their judicial process. I also explore their individual and collective reactions during such a waiting process. Throughout the chapter, I investigate the role of other actors in giving hope or hopelessness to prisoners. Unlike Makowski and Reed, I will not solely focus on people under preventive prison, since in Atlacholoaya many already sentenced prisoners also have the possibility and hope of being released.

Due to the ambiguity and tardiness of trials, I argue that this time in prison is permeated with a state of uncertainty, which has been considered as normalised institutional violence. This normalisation, on the part of authorities and inmates, of waiting periods that endure for years, and the intermittent and imprecise provision of information, has cast uncertainty as *normalised institutional violence*. A violence that is crucial to the cultural processes of routinisation, legitimation and normalization through which the social world orders the flow of experience within and between prisoners (Kleinman 2000: 238; see also Bourgoise 2000). I draw attention to how uncertainty is a condition with which prisoners learn to live.

Moore (2000: 39) pointed out that rules and codes operate “in the presence of areas of indeterminacy or ambiguity, of uncertainty and manipulability”. Additionally, Pink and Harvey (2012) have suggested that the State’s norms and technical regulations are both consolidated and “undone”, and they are in a continuous process of determination. Apart from uncertainty being a quality of the law, I here approach uncertainty as a lived experience. Uncertainty has to do with “what is unpredicted in life, the odd possibilities and irregular occurrences” (Boholm 2003: 168). More over, I hereby explore uncertainty not only as a set of probabilities but as a state of being, as Penrod (2001) suggests. The feeling of uncertainty is closely related to people’s existential realities (Heidegger 1962) and with their decision-making (Boholm 2003). In this chapter I aim to show why uncertainty is an important conceptual and ethnographic frame from which to make sense of how inmates engage or disengage with their judicial process and also of their motivations during daily life in prison. I first reconstruct uncertainty as a temporal realm and as an emotional and existential experience shared by inmates. Thereafter I make sense of the responses of prisoners to such experience. I emphasise that their decision-making takes place in the light of the alternatives they are presented with, as suggested by Makhoulf (2000: 194). I emphasise that decisions are made whilst inmates are embedded in the reality of their cases; they cannot be distant and rational observers. Therefore, their reactions are inscribed in cycles of hope, disillusion, waiting, keeping faith, dealing with their papers and engaging and disengaging from prison activities.

The uncertainty of prison time

There are many ways to approach the study of time as it is concerned with people's lives, that is, as a "constitutive dimension of social reality" as Fabian (1983: 24) says. There is a body of literature on the politics of power embedded in the administration of time by institutions (see Elias 1989; Greenhouse 1996; Herzfeld 1991; Rabinow 1989; Vargas 2007; Vesperi 1985; Munn 1992; Fabian 1983). Some of these studies approach time in terms of a socially distributed resource (Gell 1992) that seeks the synchronisation of people's temporalities (Munn 1992: 111) to control the diversity of agencies (Greenhouse 1996; Gell 1992). From this perspective, spending time in prison, in its literal sense, has largely been understood as one of the ways in which people can be socially and physically punished. Spending time in prison in Munn's view is the punishment in terms of time of those who fail to comply with the synchronisation of temporalities, by using time in a non-legitimate form (Munn 1992: 109). Similarly, according to Hardt, the length of a sentence is the cost of this time translated into years:

Prison takes our time in precisely determined quantities. Like the equations between labour time and value, our society sets up an elaborate calculus familiar to all of us between crimes and prison-time. Theft of a car equals six months; sale of illegal drugs equals five years; murder equals ten years. The concrete crime is abstracted, multiplied by a mysterious variable, and then made concrete again as punishment in a precise quantity of time. (Hardt 1997: 64)

Time in prison has also been explored in terms of the form it takes through routines, disciplines, commands, schedules and regimentations to which prisoners have to submit (Foucault 1991; Hardt 1997; Paya 2006). However, I draw attention here to another realm of time in prison; I suggest that prison time is not only concerned with the length of the sentence and with the meticulous schedulisation of people's lives, but also with its *duration*, that is, with how it is individually and socially endured (Bergson 2001). According to Fabian, if time is recognised as a dimension of human activity, instead of only a measure of movements, its social relevance lies in the quality of states it produces (Fabian 1983: 23). Time is perceived and experienced differently by inmates according to

the information and promises they receive about their cases. Such information provides them with feelings of expectation, uncertainty, hope and hopelessness, causing time to be experienced in various and subjectively felt rhythms.

Reed, for example, has explored how those inmates who have reached the end of a judicial process experience time differently from those still with possibilities for appeal. Reed indicates that “the relationship of present to past and future is acknowledged to be qualitatively different” in different stages of the judicial process (2011: 530). For those convicted, Reed continues, “the past is now defined as the period before incarceration, the present as the period of incarceration, and the future as the period after incarceration” (Reed 2003: 95). Receiving a sentence provides prisoners with the opportunity to regain control of their time inside, to some extent. On the other hand it makes time boring and leads them to consider the length of their sentences not just as measurable years, but as “units that bear weight” (Reed 2003: 93). As for those on remand, Reed suggests that time is experienced rather differently, “for the anticipation of the *wetkot* [remandee] is informed by the knowledge that some sort of result or conclusion will occur in the near future”; therefore the rhythm of the day is completely dictated by these concerns (Reed 2011: 532).

I likewise argue that experiencing time in prison, for any inmate with a chance to appeal, relates to the feeling that one can potentially be freed in two weeks or, equally possibly in ten or twenty years. The future becomes the possibility of living two contrasting lives: freed or incarcerated. The experience, therefore, of time in Atlacholoaya is about not having knowledge of your own tomorrow; of what is coming next and how long certain events will take. In my experience, time in prison is also punished by rendering it unpredictable and subject to fluctuation. In Atlacholoaya’s prison time has to do with another of Foucault’s (1991: 104) contributions to understanding of the “modern way of punishment”: one invested onto the *mind* and the *soul*. This “gentle way of punishment” (Foucault 1991: 104) echoes Reeves’ following observations concerning the effects of law on the lives of refugees:

[...] “the law” acts on bodies not simply through what it permits or prohibits, but through the way in which it reproduces affectively

charged spaces of indeterminacy around where the domain of the legal extends. (Reeves 2012: 6)

As with the lives of refugees, such unpredictability of law's time is also lived by prisoners and normalised by prison's authorities. In a conversation with the prison director, Luis Hernández Sabás, I mentioned how ill-informed inmates were about their day of departure, and he seemed to view such indeterminacy as the norm in prison bureaucracy:

They don't know when they're coming out. We have a list of possible candidates, but they don't know with certitude. They don't know if they'll be granted benefits or not, because they have to undergo several examinations. They imagine it [their day of departure] and some keep an account of the days. (Hernández Sabás)

The director not only took such misinformation for granted, but also signalled it as an advisable measure. He thought that if they informed inmates about their possible day of departure they would begin to give away their belongings, or other prisoners would turn on them with jealousy over their impending freedom and harm them. The director was especially referring to inmates already sentenced and who were undertaking examinations, expecting to gain pre-liberation benefits. This is an example of how not only the prisoners in preventive prison lack an assurance of their date of departure.

Uncertainty and hope are fed by the many "chances" prisoners potentially have to be freed. Prisoners in preventive prison and those sentenced, have various "resources" or "legal remedies", which are opportunities made available by law to correct, modify, revoke or nullify judiciary resolutions. Some of the most common resources for those in preventive prison are as follows: "revocation", a resource that requests the total or partial modification of the judicial resolution to the same judge who dictated it; "appeal" which seeks to ask a higher court to amend the resolution of the previous one; "incidents" are minor procedures carried out parallel to the main trial (i.e. provision of new evidence) and can grant freedom. Prisoners sentenced to certain crimes can also draw upon the resource of "appeal post-sentence". Or they can request "pre-release benefits" (parole) once

they have served 3/5 of their sentence and if they can prove good conduct and constant engagement in prison activities, alongside achieving favourable results in a series of behavioural tests. At this point they become candidates hoping to be granted “pre-release”.

If a resource has been neglected, they have three to five days to apply for the next one. Resolutions concerning each resource normally take months and sometimes years to be reached. This is partly because there are innumerable steps, both small and large, that must take place in order to fulfil the requirements of each resource. Requirements include: paperwork, photocopying files, reuniting documents, awaiting signatures, tracking down new addresses and finding and losing files. Additionally, the holiday season leads to long pauses in the advancement of legal processes and prisoners do not expect any progress on their cases during those dates. Progression in legal cases is also commonly frozen due to prisoners’ lack of economic resources to keep their cases moving. Lawyers demand from prisoners an initial fee of \$3,000 (£150) to complete all photocopying they need to be able to begin reviewing their case. Money is not only needed for photocopying, but for *mordidas* (bribes) or “tips”, which are institutional extortions commonly requested at all stages of the trial by prison workers, lawyers or magistrates (see Duce and Pérez 2005: 10).

Moreover, certain constitutional changes can also influence the progression of prisoners’ trials. That is, some of the reformations to the penal code become retroactive for prisoners even when the project of law was non-existent at the time of their arrest. If they happen to be judged during times of reform this can be a blessing or curse: their original sentence could be reduced or lengthened. Times of reform are one of the occasions when prisoners use the phrase “law as a double-edged sword” to explain the contrasting outcomes of legal situations. In 2008 the length of sentences for “crimes against health” (drug-related crimes) were reduced and the sentences of many people in Atlacholoaya were shortened. In contrast, since the 1994 reformations to the Penal Code have continued labelling more crimes as “severe” and resulting in harsher sentences (Azaola 2009: 113).

The legal resolutions mentioned above drag the legal processes on for long periods of time and render them unpredictable. “The process is pure uncertainty, day by day”, I am told by Gaby, a prisoner, “you just have to be patient, because you don’t know when you will come out, they don’t tell you”. Like Gaby, many of the prisoners’ descriptions refer to an uncertainty that “implies recognition of change and awareness that states of affairs are not static”, states that “can alter drastically, for better or for worse” (Boholm 2003: 167). The unpredictability of time means that the “*may* happen” becomes the compass of prisoners’ lives insofar as anything has the possibility of possibly happening (Crawley 2004: 418). The “*may*” is the *everydayness* through which inmates make sense and reflect upon their judiciary processes:

Silvia: The Director says she’s going to offer me ‘*benefits*’ [...]. My lawyer says that I could go free in February. But I don’t know. It can all happen. Everything can quickly change in here [...]. My freedom can come at any time.

Julieta: My lawyer used to say: “You’ll go in less than a month”, and other prisoners would tell me: “They all say that, and we have been here for years”. And I said: “Oh God! What is going to happen to me? When am I going to leave?” Months and months went by. There is a very accurate saying here: days feel like months and months like years. That year for me was an eternity”.

Mica: I asked my lawyer “when am I going to go free?” He responded: “Well you see. It normally takes one month, two or even three months, but with you it will be quicker”. Yet he did not specify how quickly. He only said: “It will be quicker for you”. Well I even had trouble sleeping because I was excited about being freed so soon.

Bureaucratic discourses have a “hope-generating capacity”, as signalled by Nuijten (2004: 52), insofar as “high expectations are raised and huge promises made”. Each one of the prisoners is promised by their lawyers that their case will be different. Lawyers point out the “limitations and failure of past experiences” while indicating to their clients “the new way forward” (Nuijten 2004: 52). The *hope-generating machine*, explains Nuijten, suggests that now the “missing

factor” has been found, that the right procedures are being taken and that things will be different from now on. Such processes create a cycle of high expectations followed by disillusion (Nuijten 2004: 52). It is likely that the time of the trial is constructed around long intervals of waiting broken by pleasant or unpleasant news, both of which rarely lead to progress. This cycle is experienced individually and also collectively, since the prison atmosphere is impregnated by the experiences of each inmate. Uncertainty and hope create, in my view, one of the imperative “emotional zones” shared in prison (Crawley 2004: 420).

Uncertainty as an emotional atmosphere

When one enters prison, its inhabitants (guards and prisoners) make sure you become familiar with the phrase that “en la cárcel, los sentimientos están a flor de piel” (in prison feelings are worn on your sleeve or feelings are out in the open). With such phrase prisoners attempt to convey that in prison, they not only experience their own lives but also the emotional roulettes of their *compañeras* at close hand. In prison, inmates have to hear, overhear and experience the news of other people regarding family deaths, births, love letters and legal procedures. Such collective dwelling reminds us of Ahmed (2004: 9), who says that “the crowd has feelings”, suggesting that emotions are not simply something “I” have but something that circulates among bodies. While Leavitt (1996: 527) points out that feelings and emotions “operate through *trans-individual* experiences or *feeling-tones*, that is, through common or similar experience among members of a group living in similar circumstances”. Such ideas of the circulation and trans-individuality of emotions seem to be relevant descriptions for places of enforced cohabitation, such as prison, where emotions are omnipresent.

In the following account about the resolution of Reina’s trial, I explore how the unexpected news of the revocation of her release, provoked concerns and angry responses in other prisoners. Reina was 60 years old and had been in prison for 15 years for charges of kidnapping. Reina’s release had long been scheduled for the 25th of January 2011, and all of the prisoners and guards were well aware of her impending freedom. Reina was in prison with her mother, now an old woman who had gone blind and depended on Reina. Her mother was not going to be

freed since she had a different lawyer who had filed her case differently, and therefore the judges had reached different resolutions. Some years before, the courts had found her mother guilty while Reina's lawyer won the appeal of her second verdict, reducing Reina's sentence by seven years. Yet two days before her expected release, rumours circulated that the "sentence notifier" said that Reina still had to serve those seven years. As she explained to me: "Yes, I was sure I was coming out this year, I don't know why they are telling me this now". She called her lawyer to inform him about it, and he reconfirmed her release:

I called the lawyer in the morning, I tried to find him and I did. He told me: "Reina, you are leaving tomorrow, thank God", and I answered: "But they are now telling me this". He reaffirmed: "I will go there and double check". So I am not sure, because he says I am leaving and that the appeal of the seven years is valid.

I don't know. I can't believe it. He [the lawyer] can't come right now because he has a lot of work. But he says: "If they don't release you tomorrow you call me. I will go to see why they are not letting you go".

The commander also told me: "Indeed, your release is on the 25th". I was already thinking how life was going to treat me out there.

The next day when I arrived to prison, I asked about Reina's release but the guards did not know anything. I sat with a group of inmates at a table in one of the prison's shops. I asked again about Reina's release. They looked at each other, held their opinions for a few instants and then the comments began to flow. They informed me that Reina would not be released. Among the inmates present was Consuelo, a Colombian inmate who said that it was an injustice. She also pointed out that had Reina been somewhere else, she could have taken legal action. She asked incredulously how it could be possible to inform her only two days before her release that she still had to serve seven years. The owner of the grocery shop labelled it as "psychological punishment". Reina's situation created a tense environment and added pressure to some of her *compañeras'* cases. Consuelo's release was due in three weeks time with no apparent possibility of change as it was the end of her ten year sentence. However, Reina's news made

her dubious and anxious about the reliability of her own release. She decided therefore to make a phone call to the jury to re-confirm that her release was scheduled as expected.

Reina's case was an example of how the cases of other inmates not only animated their discussions, but also provoked feelings among many of them. The co-experiencing of others' trials, alongside their individual periods of waiting, were both intrinsic to the way prisoners variously decided to engage or disengage with their judicial processes. As will now be explored, prisoners went through cycles of hoping, waiting, losing and regaining faith; and of speeding up their papers or expecting others to help them.

Coping with uncertainty

These previous sections aimed to reconstruct the uncertainty evoked by inmates while describing their legal processes. It is useful to bear this in mind when understanding how inmates make their decisions concerning their trials whilst entrenched in the experience of their legal process and unable to predict the future. They take action according to their previous experiences, their knowledge of the law, and the suggestions of their lawyers and people around them. Their engagement or disengagement with their trials also depends on the mood swings to which they are subject.

Decisions by inmates cannot simply be understood as fully conscious and rational, and apparently leading them to the quickest way out of prison. As Boholm suggests, rationality "presupposes that people make decisions in an idealised, isolated context where every new piece of information will be undisturbed by associations with contradictory knowledge" (Boholm 2003: 161). Penrod (2001: 242) argues that "the belief that uncertainty demands a focused response is incompatible with its pervasive and dynamic nature". Thus, rationality has "limited value in explaining understandings and management of risk in situations where outcomes and probabilities are fairly unknown" (Boholm 2003: 168).

It has been suggested that hope can lead to “action” and/or to “paralysis” (Crapanzano 2003: 17), or to “deteriorating initiative” (Jager 1981: 8). Dewey (1960) highlights that people may be able to “deny” or “transcend” different situations. However, defining people’s actions from the degree of mobilisation is an analytical problem derived from our failure to consider that people make decisions from their understanding of events, which comes from immersion and experience. When looking at issues of uncertainty and hope, it is fundamental to consider that there is a level of spontaneity, immediacy and lack of calculation involved in the process of decision-making (see De Certeau 1984: 29). In uncertain situations:

[...] the ground on which trust in every day life is built seems to disappear, revealing the ordinary as *uncanny* and in need of being recovered rather than something having the quality of a taken-for-granted world in which trust can be unhesitantly placed. [...] As faith in trusted categories disappears, there is a feeling of extreme contingency and vulnerability in carrying out everyday activities. (Das and Kleinman 2000: 8)

What a theoretical frame that contemplates the experience of living with uncertainty offers is a more unsettled ground from where to look at and understand prisoners every-day actions as undertaken on unpredictable ground. From these ideas, I intend to make sense of the many ways prisoners respond to the unpredictability of the penal system. Prisoners undergo cycles of living patiently while also mobilising resources, and they have different reasons and purposes for doing so.

Keep the faith and carry on working

For many women, their personal and constant engagement with their own cases seems a complicated affair. Such was the case for María, an indigenous worker who had been in prison for seven years for carrying marijuana on a bus journey. The language of law is foreign and unfamiliar for her. Since she did not understand much of what was happening with her case, she left it all in the hands of her lawyer. Her family lived far away in a rural community in the neighbouring state of Guerrero, so they could not come by to help with the paper work. María was not incessantly engaged with her case, which sometimes determines the

timeline of a prisoner's release. She preferred to wait and trust in the institution and God to resolve her case. In some situations of uncertainty, "withdrawal is a safer strategy than exposure, and silence a better language of control" (Knudsen 1995: 26).

In December 2010, after seven years in prison, the time came for her to apply for "pre-liberation benefits". She submitted herself to the psychological tests and calculated that the result might take up to five months according to the experiences of others. Yet, ten months later she was still waiting for the results of the "studies they were making of her":

They are "making studies of me", supposedly to gain benefits, and see if they will give me my anticipated freedom, so this is what I am telling you: I am waiting. I have been here for seven years... My faith and hope rest on what may be, *only God* knows [...]. That day will come, why should I get desperate about time or the days not flowing and all that [...]. Many feel the days heavily; I don't, because I trust in God. He gives me strength so that I don't feel all of this time.

Maria found it better to wait it out without becoming overwhelmed by desperation. Makhoul (2000: 194) argues, people's hold different notions of risk and uncertainty, and "these are a function not of their inability to conceive of risks but, rather, of their alternatives for controlling them". In this sense, because María did not understand much about law, she preferred to put her hopes in God's will while awaiting the advancement of the trial. She knew that, as an indigenous woman, her voice would hardly be heard anyway. Everyone in prison, including indigenous people, grows to realise that indigenous prisoners are considered less important among the general prison population. The legal system fails to address their judicial processes and they have to wait even longer than other inmates. During my year of fieldwork, I witnessed the release of two of the urban young white leaders in prison by absolution of their charges, whilst none of the indigenous people were absolved. The sentences of indigenous people in Mexico are normally longer than those of other prisoners (Hernández 2010). The prioritisation of trials is similarly racialised in Brazil where Adorno (1995: 149) remarks that normally more white than black people are absolved.

While waiting, María occupies herself with cleaning the prison kindergarten and other inmates' dormitories for some money. Some of their strategies for dealing with such a lack of grounding may render prison life endurable for these prisoners, even when release is not speeded up. Inmates may wait patiently or eagerly mobilise themselves depending on the available resources (legal, personal, economic, symbolic, religious and human), and depending on the subjective will of others. Prisoners constantly witness how some *compañeras* suddenly “achieve” freedom regardless of their guilt or innocence (legal or morally conceived); and they also witness how other inmates “inexplicably” stay for long periods of time in spite of an intense mobilisation of their resources. In prison, there is no formula for determining freedom, which is why it is worthwhile to try anything, whether this implies being patient or putting pressure on the authorities. This is why in prison life, “acceptance coexists with hope” (Faith 1993: 172).

A cycle of defeats and attempts

Waiting is the main focus of life in prison. Reed has pointed out that in Bomana prison, the expectation of an outcome by inmates “is captured in their vernacular name for a remandee” and a sentenced person (Reed 2011: 529). They assign each other identities based on their waiting periods. For convicts, the designated purpose of life is to “wait” (*wet*) for the date of discharge, while those on remand call themselves “wait courts” (*wetkot*) because they are said to be waiting for the day in court (Reed 2003: 94). Besides waiting for freedom, prisoners in Atlacholoaya wait for information, news, misplaced papers, or for a signature, as is the case with Liz’s example:

L: This is just another step... another step. Maybe this takes place and gets solved. I am just waiting for a signature. I have been waiting for that signature for eight months.

C: Whose signature?

L: The signature of a criminologist. The case would have been closed eight months ago otherwise, but this man moved out of his house and they couldn’t find him. He supposedly lived here and moved to Toluca.

Lagarde (1993: 684) refers to this condition of waiting in prison as “*la espera*” (the wait), a phrase that encompasses the experience of waiting and hoping. While waiting, Liz tried to kill time at a mosaic workshop, spending hours piecing together the profile of an African woman with tiny shards of glass. Similarly Knudsen has observed that refugees enduring waiting periods battle frustration and hopelessness by shifting the focus from the limitations of camp life to a simple goal: the shortening of the waiting period and the uncertainty of the future (1995: 21). Makowski (2010: 36), however, views prison activities as catalysers of anxiety and anguish. I similarly suggest that Liz’s detailed dedication to her craft for entire days at the mosaic workshop helped take her mind off legal worries, which came back at night when she had less to do:

I get lost. When I realise it’s already six in the evening. I come back from work, I arrive at my cell to do what I have to do and make dinner. And then reality comes back at eight. Then they close the door, it’s like that.

Liz had spent four years and three months in preventive prison. With some degree of security, she foresaw the long wait for the signature as the event that would put an end to her case and dictate her freedom, given that there was not enough evidence to prove her guilty of murdering her ex-husband. She had high hopes that they would find her innocent. Four months later, she was sentenced to 27 years in prison, news that triggered intense emotions. Leder (2000: 93) illustrates this: “hope and expectation in prison are a castle ready to collapse” and as Carr (1991: 40) points out, intentions stand “vulnerable to the real future which can intrude on the action in the rudest way”. Yet Liz had to combine moments of devastation with holding on to hope, because the hope of freedom could not run out until she had used every last legal resource at her disposal:

You hope that a miracle will happen and that the authorities will properly check your file and be conscious of the place you are going to be. The petitions that follow are: appellation, sentence revision and injunction. That’s what I have: three. I hope it can be done in a federal court; they are more difficult to corrupt. (Liz)

Due to all the irregularities⁴ embedded in her case and the discrepancies of power between herself and the judges taking it on, she was still left to hope for the good will of higher courts. As Crapanzano suggests, “hope can never be fully divorced from hopelessness any more than hopelessness can be divorced from hope” (2003: 17). Liz then entered another phase of the trial to be experienced in a new light; a 27-year sentence notification and a new set of moods and emotions infiltrated her mosaic work. This was a state of being that would continue to fluctuate over time and last until the arrival of the next trial result. Hope is not lost because, as Reed (2011: 532) remarks:

The point is not just that the experience of waiting for court is cumulative; it is that for *wetkot* [remandee] it appears to be indeterminate at every stage. Remandees [and certain convicted prisoners like Liz] know that it is perfectly possible that when they next go to court their charge will be dismissed.

Following their own experiences and those of their *compañeras* (such as those of Reina or Liz), some prisoners in Atlacholoaya became reluctant to make big plans for the future. As Reed observed “the practice of waiting is said to teach them to consider the future as an interval of time set-apart, that period after their release” (2003: 94)⁵. Knowing that disappointments are rife, planning the outside future is a futile task. They would rather focus on daily activities, on waiting for news or on the preparation of the next “legal remedy” as Angelica explains:

⁴ Liz’s exfather-in-law accused her of murdering her ex-husband. Her case was full of irregularities and corruption according to her, such as that when the murder happened she wasn’t at the site. Then her husband’s family moved the corpse before the forensics team arrived, which is a criminal offence in itself. She was arrested by the ex-coordinator of the ministerial police in Morelos, who is now imprisoned at La Palma accused of connections and protection to drug dealers whilst in office. She says that he showed her the money he received in return for having her sent to prison: “He showed that to me, the \$25,000 pesos [£1250]. He said: look at the bonus I got for having solved the murder of your husband. That’s the money he got from the Attorney”.

The economic power of her exfather-in-law and his connections with the judiciary, as well as support from the media, all set the case unfavourably against her.

⁵ In contrast to what Reed and I have observed, Leder finds that inmates in Maryland’s prison in the U.S. often think of the future as a way to escape their present, she sees “hope for future” as a “strategy for redeeming time” (2000: 96).

You don't live here or there, you can't plan anything. How are you going to plan if you don't know the day you will be free? You can't make plans with your family. You live day by day [...].

The first eight months were the most difficult because you don't know if you'll stay or go. So you live day by day. When they sentenced me, it hurt a lot, but at least you say: "ok". I then knew it would be five years that I would stay here.

The announcement of a sentence, while painful, also dispels uncertainty. So seemingly opposing sentiments coexist. For Angélica, knowing the amount of time to be spent in prison hurt but it also brought certainty.

Calculating and trying

Claudia was for the most part continually working closely with her lawyer in the presentation of evidence that would absolve her charge of planning to extort her friend's husband. As I illustrated when I opened this chapter with her case, Claudia continuously made calculations about her remaining legal remedies after five years of preventive prison:

Right now I live under the uncertainty of whether I will go or stay; we have submitted more evidence. Laws are very, very, very slow, even if my lawyer wishes to hurry. Now they have to notify the offended, the Public Ministry. Then they go on vacation, also absurdly long weekends. All of these delay the whole process of every inmate. Then December is almost here and they don't come to work, January arrives and they miss work. All that makes time go away from us, time, time...

Right now I am putting my hope on that new evidence. If it comes out in my favour, they will grant me immediate freedom. And if not, my crime would have to be changed from extortion to concealment. Concealment is an offence for which you can get bail, so I have the possibility to go, if it is not this year it will be at the beginning of the next one.

For inmates who have completed their sentence, the appeal comes after, and then injunction⁶. It is then that your resources run out. It is not until that moment that you know if you will go or stay for the length that they give you. Everything can happen, can't it? As I told you yesterday: the law is a double-edged sword. In the appeal, they can lower it [the sentence] or raise it [...] After, you obtain your sentence and they let you know if you can get any benefits of pre-liberation or not. (Claudia)

Claudia made constant calculations, generated ideas, perceptions and potential decisions whilst being immersed in the experience of her trial. Always keeping faith that the next option would turn out favourably. Hoping and trying seemed feasible actions while the future remained unforeseen; thereby making the projected tomorrow on the outside still a possibility.

Reed argues that “conceiving the experience of waiting for court as a form of not-yet consciousness may then be one way of taking seriously the notion of hope on remand” (2011: 529). Hope, according to Reed is “a method of knowledge and mode of action” that is future-oriented. Reed returns to Miyazaki, who approaches the notion of hope as “modes of anticipation that continually redirect attention to the fact that something has still to happen or become” (Reed 2011: 528). It may be useful to understand that inmates channel their decisions, actions and desires on this basis that things are still to happen.

Inmates who have left prison make sense of their waiting differently. Angélica, who once she was set free and at a distance, was able to comprehend that times between every attempt to obtain freedom can in the end equal a year of waiting:

He told me [her lawyer]: “This is nothing. You can leave in the appeal”. They sentenced me in December [2008], and the appeal took up until June 2009! It didn't turn out favourably [for me]. So he tells me: “don't worry, we knew we could lose it. But there still remains the injunction!” However, they didn't give me an answer

⁶ Injunction is the closest term in English for “amparo”, a resource that exists solely in the Mexican Justice System. An “amparo” seeks to protect the accused of the abuse or unconstitutional application of Laws on the part of the Authorities. It does not change the challenged resolution and only serves to claim damages from the respondent judge. Ley de Amparo, art. 103, Constitución de los Estado Unidos Mexicanos (CEUM).

about the injunction until January 2010! So a year passed in between each of these processes.

Similarly, in hindsight, Alex realised that potential opportunities for freedom made illusions a mode of survival for him:

The first year you just keep surviving on illusions: the appeal, the injunction [...] and well, all the possibilities of coming out run out [...]. When I finally realised it all, when my trial finished and I was finally sentenced, two and a half years have already gone by...so then you're already "in the middle of the race" so you tell yourself: "I can do the other half". So I began working with wood.

Hope for release fluctuates as prisoners' legal processes change. After two years of judicial procedures, Alex realised he was going to be in prison for longer than initially expected. It was then that he decided to engage with prison life and get involved with woodwork. Alex's reflections highlight that prisoners decide how to spend their days depending on their ever-changing beliefs regarding the likelihood of their release. At the beginning of their time in prison, some prisoners do not see a strong reason to engage in prison activities.

Why engage?

Some prisoners and their families do not invest time in prison activities since it feels like a transient place. Julieta, now free, remembers: "I never wanted to study, I had the idea I was only going to last one month or two in here and that's all". Julieta remained in preventive prison for over a year. When she thought to maybe start studying and asked her mother to bring in her documentation, her mother refused replying: "Are you crazy? Are you planning to stay here?!" for which Julieta reflected back: "When one begins making plans such as studying, family members take it wrongly".

Thus, with pressure from her family and lawyer-fed notions of an imminent release, Julieta decided against engaging in prison activities right from the beginning of her sentence. Many other prisoners follow Julieta's choice not to engage. A 2002 survey of 1,600 prisoners in different prisons around Mexico showed that only 37% of the prison population was involved in work activities and 55% in education (Azaola 2009: 119).

Conclusions

“The trial will have entered a stage where no more help can be given, where it's being processed in courts to which no-one has any access, where the defendant cannot even be contacted by his lawyer. You come home one day and find all the documents you've submitted, which you've worked hard to create and which you had the best hopes for, lying on the desk, they've been sent back as they can't be carried through to the next stage in the trial, they're just worthless scraps of paper. It doesn't mean that the case has been lost, not at all, or at least there is no decisive reason for supposing so, it's just that you don't know anything more about the case and won't be told anything of what's happening”.

— Franz Kafka

Overpopulation, poor living conditions, and physical violence are the most depicted atrocities of Latin American prisons. These adversities mainly acknowledge the spatial and bodily dimensions of violence such as disease, death, overcrowding, lack of education, hunger, thirst and bodily pain (Farmer 1992; Scheper-Hughes 1992; Bourdieu 1993). The tangibility of such physical violence remains the main focus of scholars and Human Rights reports (see CIDH 2011), often overshadowing less visible but just as alarming forms of institutional violence, such as the uncertainty of bureaucratic processes within trials.

Even though a diverse range of work has covered the tardiness and bureaucracy of the Mexican legal processes, it has not been central to the study of the prison sentence experience. This chapter aimed to situate uncertainty as a central constituent of experiencing imprisonment in Mexico and as a form of emotional violence. Starting from Reeves' (2012) remark that the law operates in bodies through the feelings it creates, I explored how preventive prison, and in particular the lack of certainty surrounding its duration, has institutionalised the sentiment of uncertainty in Mexican prisons. The majority of Mexican prisoners endure uncertainty and they do not acknowledge their anticipated release date. This includes 40% of the prison population who are undergoing preventive detention

as well as those sentenced who await the benefits of pre-liberation. This institutionalisation of uncertainty extends beyond prisoners insofar as refugees and immigrants suffer a similar plight, often waiting ten years for legal decisions. With the pervasiveness of the punishment of time of those considered less valuable, it is all the more important to consider the realm of uncertainty as an important temporal, moral and existential dynamic framework, from which to understand the decision-making process and reactions concerning their trials. Further, to comprehend their willingness to engage or disengage with everyday life events.

Often the emphasis is put on what people do and how they react and overcome situations of disadvantage. However, in this chapter I also aimed to reconstruct uncertainty as a state of being by drawing on the vagueness embedded in prisoner's descriptions of their legal processes. I highlighted that time is punished not only in terms of its length and in scheduling people's lives but by its unpredictability. I aimed to highlight that uncertainty is the ignorance of what is going to happen next, and the feeling that everything can happen whilst in reality, there is little progress. This unpredictability is such that one piece of news can bring hope of instant release or the extension of a sentence by 27 years. Following Crawley's (2004: 420) idea that institutions have "emotional zones" and that places and settings can be understood in terms of particular emotions, I suggest that uncertainty produces one of the most encompassing of the emotional atmospheres in prison. An atmosphere shared by prisoners in their *everydayness* through the circulation of emotions in intercorporeal encounters (Ahmed 2004: 31).

Inmates demonstrate different ways of engaging with the monitoring of their cases, that is, different ways of insisting, waiting, calculating and trusting that lawyers, God, or someone or something comes up with a legal resolution or some news. I suggest that scholars can make sense of prisoners' decision-making by understanding their choices as coping tactics undertaken according to the limits of circumstances (De Certeau 1984). I underline their responses as momentary reactions made from within the degree of clarity they experience whilst immersed in prison life, unable to step back and see what the outcome of every decision will be. Therefore I make sense of their decisions and actions

beyond conceptions of paralysis or action. Their decisions are made from personal histories, possibilities, and the temporality of their moods and hopes. Such choices also depend on their own knowledge of the legal system, on the advice of others around them, and on the results and emotional impact of the arrival of news.

The day time being the most secure unit of time and space they possess, women engage in all sorts of activities considered to be suppressors of anxiety and anguish, according to Makowski (2010: 36). Reina focused on knitting and taking care of her mother; Claudia decided to engage in a sandal-making workshop; María kept busy by cleaning the school and dormitories; Liz distracted her mind with mosaic art, while Julieta realised, in hindsight, that she did not do much with her year there. Finally, their decisions have an effect on their lives in different ways: they are ways to deal with uncertainty and they sometimes have a direct impact on the duration of their sentence. I signalled that occasionally their decisions reduce uncertainty while prolonging permanence in prison. Many more prisoners achieve freedom unexpectedly. Uncertainty, therefore, is also an introduction to understanding the following chapters and film on the prisoner's experience of release, bearing in mind the abrupt reintroduction to life outside for some ex-prisoners.

Chapter 5: Time will Tell [film, 52’]

* Please watch DVD of film before reading the following chapter

Chapter 6: Making “Time will tell”

“*Time will tell*” documents and interweaves chronologically the life stories of Sandra, Reynaldo and David after their release from prison. The film approaches the process of release as an affective, thoughtful and social journey. My film style focusing on people’s everyday actions and their moral reflections draws from the Italian Neorealism film movement of the 1943-55. This movement addressed Italy’s post-war social changes, not by looking at society from above, but by placing the moving camera or *kino-eye* into people’s everyday situations (Bazin 2005: 25). Inspired by the Neorealist films, *Time will tell* attempts to examine and represent the experiences of release, including the social, perceptual, sensorial and affective dimensions of life on the outside, and also including the reengagement with work. The film focuses on the different stages of the prisoners’ journeys after release and attempts to divert attention away from the analytical categories of rehabilitation, recidivism and desistance that preoccupy the scholarly literature of reentry (see Travis 2005; Petersilia 2003; Uggen *et al.* 2004). An ethnographic focus on people’s lives suggests that release is also concerned with the nascent beginnings of new searches, struggles, plans and desires. If “to look is an act of choice”, as Berger (1973: 8) states, my aim in the film is to draw attention to a variety of quotidian experiences of release, namely: how ex-prisoners engage with thoughts about how they wish to carry on with their lives; how ex-prisoners are also concerned with the people they left behind in prison; how reengaging with their new jobs requires bodily efforts and triggers reflection; and how the people they meet, or the addictions they have, may bring them new forms of freedom as well as new forms of captivity.

Time will tell, as the title of the film suggests, is both a finished product in its own right, independent of my analysis, and to some extent fixing the identity of the protagonists permanently, yet it is also an unfinished and open representation of the three stories. For as Bakhtin points out, whereas an aesthetic event or representation may be finalized to some extent, a person's life cannot be finalized except in death (Bakhtin in Haynes 1995: 52). "Even as a film is being shot, its subjects are in transition, moving toward a future the film cannot contain" (MacDougall 1998: 33). *Time will tell* thus makes a concerted effort to suggest that the lives depicted are ultimately open-ended: they unfold beyond this film in ways that are not predictable and only time can bring about the answers.

In this chapter that accompanies the film I reflect upon the way the story of the protagonists emerged and is represented. This resulted from the type of relationship I established with each one of my protagonists. I specifically reflect on how the combination of the protagonists' unfolding lives, the nature of our relationship and the aesthetic film styles used, all interacted with one another to shape the content and character of the film. As such, the filmic ideas and techniques I had planned before meeting them had to adjust to each of the protagonists' different personality, disposition of being filmed, and to their ideas of what a camera/film can do. The relationship I created with each informant made different filmic styles possible and allowed me to tell different stories about re-entry in to social life. Moreover, since the overall filming process relied on the fact that I was filming lives whose fates were unknown to each of the protagonists themselves, the journey that is filmed involved a mixture of predictable and unpredictable outcomes.

This chapter also offers an overview of the different aesthetic and observational styles I used. I explain why particular techniques were used in specific scenes of the film, including the editorial decisions taken to represent the lives of each person. The primary filmic and editing styles I draw from are observational cinema (see Henley 2004; Grimshaw and Ravetz 2009; MacDougall 1998 and 2006); staged performances (Irving 2011; Sjöberg 2009; Rouch in Taylor 1991); and interviews and elicitation techniques (Markus 2001). In the editing I mostly adopted the organic montage style of the American school of the 1960s to evoke

the chronological sense of the releases. Such chronological sequences are intercut with pieces of montage that juxtapose images, voices and sound in order to highlight the affective and sensorial aspects of ex-prisoners' lived experiences.

Here I often used the direct-cinema style that became popular in the 1960s when film equipment became lighter and gave filmmakers more freedom to follow their subjects (see Rouch 2003). Since the lives of people after prison entailed a degree of unknown expectation as to how their fates would unfold, direct-cinema allowed me to document their life events as they occurred. I thus filmed emerging episodes, such as Beto and Sandra during their first days after release in their new empty house; Reynaldo's first days of work, and David's yoga sessions. In doing so I used observational or participatory cinema not as a truer cinema, but as a way to represent people's lives in their intimate, spontaneous and quotidian dimensions (Grimshaw and Ravetz 2009).

Some of the shooting sessions resulted in performative encounters made possible by the camera's potential to elicit and enable particular types of performative truth that Rouch labelled "cinema-verité" (Rouch 2003, see also Henley 2009: 150). Likewise, for Irving (2011: 27), "ethnography is a particular type of performative activity that can be used to craft contexts of experience, dialogue, memory, and reverie that are already lived in daily life but would not otherwise be externalized or made public". He suggests that collaboratively planned ethnographic encounters, carried out in the actual locations in which important events and experiences occurred to participants, have the potential to capture "the often unvoiced but sometimes radical changes in being, belief and perception that can occur while carrying out every day, routine activities" (Irving 2011: 26-27). Such performative truth emerged when I revisited prison with David and he told me a story about the last time he saw his father. Another collaboratively planned ethnographic encounter is the imagined reconstruction Reynaldo and I made about his day of release wherein he externalised the thoughts and feelings in the moment of release. With these two examples I wish to illustrate how David and Reynaldo not only showed a disposition for getting involved in experimental film practices, but to some extent they actually provoked them.

Observational cinema has often neglected the use of talking-head interviews and thus posited what people do above of what they say. However, capturing the experience of being released is not only about “observing people’s actions” but also listening to their emerging thoughts and opinions on such process. My everyday conversations with Sandra accumulated in a sort of diary whereby she reflected upon her state of affairs. Thus I also privileged the representation of some of our conversations since they characterise important sites of deeper reflection, thought and concern (Collier and Collier’s 1986: 25). Such “low-key dialogues offer an accretion of comments, disagreements, and speculations” (MacDougall 1998: 118). As our relationship took the form and nature of the confidant and confessional, so I chose to represent that filmically.

Finally we also learn about David’s life trajectory through the method of photo-elicitation in which he explains and elaborates on events in his life that were photographed. Photo-elicitation techniques have been used as a window into the subject’s significant relationships, feelings, and perceptions of self (Frohmann 2005: 1400), and filmed events can also provide us with valuable information about the place and dynamics where the elicitation is taking place. As such, film captures the multidimensionality of thinking and remembering including “spontaneous and sharp recollections, voluntarily and blurry attempts to remember revivals” (MacDougal 1998: 237). The film captures the tone of David’s voice and the way he remembers and recounts his life along with his mother sitting beside him. It shows the performative dimensions of memory and interpretation at work in the field, including the value they place on events such as his first communion, his time working in the U.S. or as part of the police force. Eliciting in his house we also briefly learn about his relationship with his mother. Together they recount how David fell off his bicycle and had his arm plastered during his first communion. His mother also explains to us that she could not always go to visit David in prison because she did not have her birth certificate, one of the requirements for visitors, and so David’s cousins rendered him visits.

After briefly introducing some of the approaches used I will next expand on how such film-making methods were adapted and/or emerged in response to the ways in which people’s lives unfolded. This reveals how the making-process is shaped by the protagonists’ self-perception with regards to filmmaking. Sjöberg

(2009: 7) notes how the performance of the people in front of the camera often rests on their cinematic imagination and experience. In terms of his own protagonists, Brazilian travesties, he observed how their performance while being filmed was very much informed by Brazilian *soap-operas*. Similarly, Sandra, Reynaldo and David's engagement with my film project varied greatly according to their personal awareness about what a camera is and does. I will expand on how Sandra initially used our interview in prison as a means of exposing her imprisoned situation and how after she got used to being filmed and paid less attention to the camera, her everyday worries out of prison acquired more relevance. I will also explain how Reynaldo recalled his first days of release with a psychological vocabulary concerning re-adaptation that he had adopted after a close relationship with his psychologist. I filmed Reynaldo not long after we met and so we got to know each other while the filming sessions happened. While he at first talked to me as if I was part of a rehabilitation team, later he perceived me as a kind of journalist seeking stories of release and consequently adopted my approach and interests. Finally David thought of this project as a documentary that could be shown on big screens, just like the documentary that was made about his incarcerated friends who practiced yoga. He also embraced it more as performative practice. The unfolding of my relationship with each one of my protagonists illustrates how conceptions of being filmed changed as my relationship with them developed over time and in relation to different emotional circumstances.

Filming with Sandra

Camera's changing qualities

Through the story of Sandra I will talk about how her interest in being filmed while a prisoner changed after she was released. The relevance she gave to being filmed after prison varied according to her daily worries and changing moods. This highlights how the experience of filming disturbs the normality of events and suggests that the camera does not produce objective knowledge of the type claimed by earlier anthropologists such as Mead (1995). Nor does it produce purely performative behaviour as emphasised in the latest approaches to experimental anthropology (Rouch in Taylor 1991; Irving 2011; Sjöberg 2009). Instead my experience with Sandra suggests that whatever the camera provoked

or did not provoke often depended on the changing awareness and relevance she gave to the camera on each occasion of filming. Sometimes the camera was not the centre of her attention. All of these facts reinforce how the consent to be filmed is built through the development of close relationships and over a long-term immersion in field-work situations. However, such agreement is not stable as the participants and researcher have changing ideas about what researching/filmmaking is.

Like other prisoners that agreed to be filmed for an hour-long interview, Sandra used the opportunity to expose the legal irregularities that permeated her case. The prisoners used the camera as a tool for channelling their complaints, clarifying their cases and representing their point of view to a wider society. During the interview, Sandra talked about many things: including how she had been accused of kidnapping her kids because she has darker skin than them, and about having managed to avoid taking drugs during her time in prison despite their open circulation. A prison warden was supervising us and observing our interview, but this did not intimidate Sandra as she was about to be released.

During the first weeks after the release from prison of Sandra and Beto, I filmed and discovered their new life alongside them. We filmed some of their laughs about having to sort out small things, such as having to find a gas tank in order to have warm water and be able to cook. They made tours for me showing how their house was slowly being transformed from an empty shell and gradually acquiring pieces of furniture. This amusing beginning was also filled with doubts for Sandra. These doubts had begun before she was released but she had been careful not to make them too evident while I filmed or when I was around. The last week that Sandra was in prison her future changed unexpectedly. The guards announced to her that Beto, the man who she had met and married in prison had also been unexpectedly granted freedom a few days before her (he had been absolved at the last minute from one of his crimes). During our conversations over the last days of her imprisonment, Sandra told me she had already made her mind up about saying goodbye to Beto, and was glad about it as their relationship had been going through ups and downs. Sandra recounted how she had planned to ask the prison priest for asylum in order to avoid asking her father and stepmother for favour. She spoke about her desire to work hard

and overcome hardship as she had done on many occasions in the past. Yet, the release of Beto took her by surprise and added pressure to the already uncertain nature of her release. She felt she had to restart her life outside with Beto.

After their release the anxiety of Sandra increased when Beto changed his attitude. Beto began to leave the house all day to look for work and would take the only set of keys they had, as he thought that it was not a good idea that she left the house. During the weeks that followed, Sandra seemed to be slowly falling into a depression. When I knocked on the door, she would open sleepily and announce that she had been sleeping all day again. I became the person that she saw most regularly as she had not established her past relationships and only left the house with Beto. Our conversations sitting on her bed revolved around the same themes of her imagining, planning and wondering about the jobs she would like to be doing, and about the day when it would be appropriate to visit her children in the neighbouring state of Veracruz. She continued sharing her doubts about her relationship with Beto, yet mostly when the camera was off.

When I was filming these conversations she sometimes was careful to never be too explicit about her deteriorating relationship with Beto, or go into detail about his faults. However it was also possible that Sandra downplayed the presence of the camera in many of my visits. As we engaged in filmed and non-filmed conversations she also expressed half finished thoughts and tried to organise her moral values and make plans as she talked. The camera was no longer a useful tool for her. It became an apparatus that I carried sometimes but which had ceased to be her priority, and at times her awareness of the camera was overshadowed by other more urgent preoccupations.

From my experience of filming Sandra, it seemed that the usual account of how people consciously perform in front of the camera overlooks how cameras can also be appliances that people cease to care or make constant calculations about. Even when “informed consent” is “constantly negotiated” (Esparza 2006; Frohmann 2005: 1403), the awareness of our protagonists about the purposes of our research/film is not always active, it is unlikely that our protagonists bear in mind at all times the potential destiny of all of their words. Previously unawareness was a condition that filmmakers who believed in the representation

of truth aimed for. Later the protagonists' awareness of being filmed became a practice supported by filmmakers seeking the active collaboration of their subjects in their films. However, the various forms of awareness in our filmed or research practices suggest that the nature of collaborative practices is more complex, highly relative, dynamic and fluid, and thus constantly raises ethical issues.

After a while, Beto began cancelling our appointments to film him in his new job driving a taxi and I felt I stopped having a relevant and unproblematic role in their lives. The camera was no longer a useful instrument of expression, nor an uncomplicated machine that accompanied our conversations: rather, it and my presence in their lives were possibly beginning to be intrusive for Beto. The relationship Sandra and I had built over months while she was in prison had to terminate, and from the material available, I tried reconstructing a story that could have resonance with the relationship I built with her.

Her expression

I lived the uncertainty and hesitation surrounding her relationship with Beto on and off camera. I lacked the material to tell a clear story, and it was also indiscreet to enter into details about their relationship, so instead of using imprecise and indiscrete material I resolved to conclude Sandra's story with a silent shot of her that could visually articulate her emotional state. I intended to cut and edit the shot of Sandra in her bed, silent and watching T.V., in such a way that revealed an unexplained but seemingly drastic change in Sandra's emotional state. The audience does not know what exactly happened but if "appearances themselves constitute language" as suggested by Berger and Mohr (1982: 111), her thoughtful face alone in that room transmits something about her state of affairs and the passing of time. The technique of jump-cuts and the associated play with temporality and sequencing has been formerly used in depicting the people's changing moods across their stay in prisons (see *Relatos desde el encierro* 2004) and orphanages (see *Gandhi's Children* 2008).

In broader terms, Beto and Sandra's story illustrates that some of the relationships ex-prisoners establish in prison are important in the aftermath of imprisonment. Their story complicates the variables of research focusing solely

on the type of offence committed by offenders to explain their life paths. The story of Sandra and Beto shows that in prison, inmates fall in love with each other and find partners regardless of each other's offences, and so they do not consider that a type of offence may stop them from interacting with other prisoners.

Filming with Reynaldo

Evoking release

The first recordings I did with Reynaldo were aimed at reconstructing the journey of his release and first days of freedom. In previous interviews I came to realise that ex-prisoners rarely described their release and rather jumped straight into "important affairs" and "redemptive scripts" that summarized what they thought was important for me to know. Reynaldo for example, continually expressed a desire of self-improvement, which had been inspired from his close relationship to his psychologist in prison. He spoke of himself as previously being too "neurotic" but that he had gladly become more "humble"; he only fleetingly mentioned feeling disoriented and out of place and did not expand on such feelings. Instead of ignoring Reynaldo's brief but emotive comments regarding his release I actively contributed to evoke them in detail. Reynaldo had a particularly sensitive perception of his surroundings upon his recent release and this became an important film topic.

Many of the sensorial and affective perceptions produced early after release are elided as irrelevant data in the literature of reentry or are understood as a psychological disorder named "post-incarceration syndrome" (see Liem and Kunst 2013). Such quotidian experiences of release are best documented in authored films like *La Chirola* (Chile, 2008), *Lo que quedó de Pancho* (Mexico, 2003), *A Cárcere e a rua* (Brasil, 2005) and some scenes from the Mexican T.V series *Capadocia*. They are also found in prisoners' biographical accounts. For instance, in her biography of after release called "*A partir de mi libertad*" (From the moment of my freedom), ex-prisoner Carmen explains: "My biography continuously changes moods, from the curiosity of being released and rediscovering the colour and the senses to the problem of re-socialising and re-

commencing a life”, she then dedicates a few pages expressing the first impression of her experience of release:

The news took me by surprise, I told my close ones, we expected this event for years, and every time we mentioned it we planned what we would do when it finally happened. However, my release caught us devoid of ideas of what to do.

I knew the way home by heart; I went about it over and over again thirteen years ago. Sometimes I travelled it by foot, sometimes in the car, other times I was flying. Even so, everything seemed new. The trees of the avenue kneeled in front of me and welcomed me. In the streets, I could breathe a different air: it was the air of freedom.

I had my first picture taken in my house, there I was, dressed in white, bare foot, with a mild smile in my face, it was calm like the sea after the storm. Like when the wildest winds have calmed down after having tired out everything they found in their wake. Such was the change I lived as I traversed an all too simple green gate. It was only a step, but it was as big and important as walking the distance that there is from the sky to Earth. (My translation)

Carmen’s biography became in fact a source of inspiration and invited me to think of ways in which I could evoke such metaphors of release audio-visually. I invited Reynaldo to recall the experience of release by breaking it into different episodes. This not only allowed more information to emerge, but it showed him that he did not have to summarize his experience as I was interested in listening to his story in detail. I suggested he expand on a few things: the announcement of his freedom, the lasts hours before departure, the walk through prison until he reached the last of the prison’s doors, the journey home in his brother’s car, and his first days after release. Breaking up the trajectory of his release allowed him to elaborate upon significant moments and events. Pausing in each of these events allowed Reynaldo to expand on those fleeting experiences, which had been overshadowed by his speech about his intentions to be a good person.

My aim in the edit suite was then to make his story emerge through a montage that would represent the story and journey of release through visual metaphor and metonymy. While for Rouch a cinematic truth emerges while filming with the protagonists, for Vertov it emerges in the cinematic rearrangement of lived time and space through montage. As suggested by Piauxt (2007: 16), “a fictional mode of production deliberately chosen and clearly expressed allows us to make evident specific levels of social realities that expand the classical field of anthropology”. My intention in the representative reconstruction of release through montage was to engage the audience with realms of experience that go beyond language so as to evoke the whole of the journey as an ontological and sensuous experience. In doing so, I juxtaposed fragments of Reynaldo’s recollections upon the experiencing of release with images of the path outside prison and into the city:

After spending five years there, I felt a bit bad for my mates. I feel I tried to be good to them, to be a good friend. So at the same time, I felt bad, because the majority of them have sentences above 20, 25, 15, 30 years, the people I was living with.

I felt the air, the air of the freedom they are giving you, another chance. I wanted to run, to say, to shout to the four winds: It’s great to be free again, another opportunity.

I got in the car, I had no words. On the way, I was thinking: “What am I going to do?” I kept repeating to myself, I kept thinking. I was kind of nervous... I have nowhere to go. I have no money. I got myself thinking: “I have no clothes, I have no shoes. I have nothing”. I mean, I left prison wearing the prison vest, and I arrived like that. (Reynaldo)

In the film, we listen to Reynaldo’s story while also staring at the road and eventually coming back to his face speaking to us. Such juxtaposition of different two-dimensional pieces “recreate a variety of multispatial and multitemporal viewing experiences” which multiply the perspectives from which filmic subject matter is perceived and appeals to other dimensions of the ethnographic reality (Suhr and Willerslev 2012: 288). This combination of audio-visual and linguistic metaphor becomes an invitation to “seeing-as” that ensures “joining the verbal

meaning with imagistic fullness” (Ricoeur in Kearney 2004: 52). The work of montage, like the act of poetic reading, suggests the possibility that “seeing-as” not only implies a “saying-as”, “hearing-them” or “viewing-them”, but also a “being-as” (Kearney 2004: 53). We do not only hear the description of the journey home, we also perceive the ambivalence that is felt upon being released. My montage invites the audience to perceive the city through the eyes of an inhabitant who left five years ago and when he comes back he notices the cost of transport has gone up and people have ceased to inhabit the city at night due to the increase of violence. His words are intended to resonate and connote the feeling-thinking engagement (Wikan 1992: 474) and produce effects rather than solely being entities that have or convey intrinsic meaning (Rorty 1989: 15).

When watching a film there are a range of sensorial elements that intrude into our imagination. In film, “truth is extra-linguistic and revealed through expression, performance, material culture and conditions of embodiment” (Seremetakis 1994: 6). It is a medium that also offers the full visual and auditory range of verbal expression” (MacDougall 1998: 263). As such, audio-visual metaphors are a visual as well as a tactile and linguistic experience (MacDougall 1998: 53). Reynaldo’s voice and tenor, his rhythm, emphasis, pauses, silences and gestures all contain an evocative layer of their own (Marks 2000: xv) and as such they all become “potent conveyors of meaning” (Stoller 1997: 59). Montage thus enables us to engage with those other dimensions of ethnographic reality rather than the purely linguistic or visual ones (Suhr and Willerslev 2012: 285). It engages us with a haptic visuality (Marks 2000), axiological properties and emotional-volitional tones of intonation and recollection (Bakhtin in Haynes 1995: 65).

Film “realism”, wrote Bazin (2005: 26) “can only be achieved one way – through artifice”. Such artificial realism favours an experiential understanding over explanation (MacDougall 1998: 84) and allows a “shift from an emphasis on explanatory models to lived metaphors” (Jackson 1996: 9). Such metaphors create new meanings by confronting the literal with the figurative (Kearney 2004: 52). Reynaldo’s reconstruction of his release draws attention to other realms of experience than the ones we see in the scene of Sandra, which is represented through a more observational style. In her release we can observe her and Beto

as they walk out of Atlacholoaya's premises, possibly overshadowed by the camera. We see her making a phone call and announcing her freedom to her stepmother but we do not know what she is possibly thinking. In the simulation of Reynaldo's release the audience can also engage with his thoughts and how such moments entail the coexistence of a multiplicity of emotions. Such creative artifices, "do not negate realism but suggest a supplementary, more liquid and sensuous reality", and "ways of capturing truths that seem to exist beyond what is empirically seen or said" (Irving 2008: 146). The work of montage thus, is a "complementary and resourceful means of making us imagine other people's worlds" (Suhr and Rane Willerslev 2012: 293).

Other parts of the film are constructed using a similar device. I continuously use Reynaldo's and David's voices over the images of their activities. For instance, the images of David walking in the corridors of the young offenders' prison are accompanied by his impressions about re-entering prison for the first time since he was released. Even when such images do not correspond to his thoughts of such specific moment, they convey that our dwelling in places and events is also accompanied, not only by imagery, but also by thoughts and presentiments. In this case it evokes a sort of feared myth that is shared by prisoners wherein one has to be careful when returning to prison because "prison drags you back". Likewise, his recollections about his troubles with guards in Atlacholoaya are placed as voice over of one of his filmed yoga session with women. In such a scene we visually engage with the peacefulness that yoga demands from him while we hear about his violent reactions to clashes with inmates and guards. Such juxtapositions create a tension between what we see and what we hear and bring together two of his contrasting ways of being.

Filming with David

Performance and relief

David found my documentary an exciting opportunity to be the character of a film. I think one of the reasons for his enthusiasm was the recent release of the film *Interno*, a documentary about yoga as practiced by his friends imprisoned in Atlacholoaya. The shooting of this film took place while David was incarcerated, however he was at the time split from the rest of the inmates and was spending time at the drug rehabilitation area in order to achieve pre-liberation. Being that

he was one of the pillars of the yoga group, I sensed he deeply resented not having been part of the feature-length film that would soon begin to tour in festivals. His friends had become film protagonists and were widely applauded by the audiences at the screenings we had attended. It is likely that all of these events contributed to his eagerness in taking part in my film.

Further more, unlike Reynaldo or Sandra, he had a strong sense of his own public image in front of the camera. David thought of the camera as something that needed to be entertained while it was on. He felt the need to over explain what and where we were filming. While I never felt a sense of intrusion being around him, I at times longed for silent moments and breathing space. However, his highly performative character allowed for other kinds of stories to emerge. I felt less intrusive in embarking in experimental projects with David than with Reynaldo or Sandra. His personality provoked situations that resulted in rich sources of performative thoughts.

Performances induced by the camera were central to Rouch's preferred methodology and film practice (see Henley 2009: 152). He considered them a state that could bring out a person's "home of the imaginary where dreams, reveries and reflections lie" (Rouch 2003: 96). According to Rouch, this way of creating film offered actors a space for creativity. Likewise, Irving has suggested that "ethnographic staged performances" evoke particular types of mood and experience in ways that allow people to redefine the existential experience of an intense experience in the present (Irving 2007: 194). Irving (2007) has used ethnographic performances as a method for exploring people's inner life-worlds and feelings by inviting people to revisit certain places where important life events occurred to them and to photograph these places while simultaneously narrating their thoughts and feelings about their past, present and future life.

Improvisation and collaboration are two important principles in ethnographic filmmaking for Rouch (in Feld 2003). The achievement of these principles does not only depend on the filmmaker's plans, but in the people we meet, their own interests and their life situation. In *Time will tell* many performances were not only methodology elicited or provoked by myself but were episodes that David made emerge. The scene where David is looking down at the penitentiary from a

distance is a good example of this. Cut as it is, David tells us about the last time he saw his father, and what such a loss meant for him. David had told me that story before but there it was suddenly emerging again while we observed Atlacholoaya prison from the distance. He needed to retell it for his audience and in doing so he put himself in a specific mood that permitted him to re-engage with the full emotional range of the story; achieving a moment of what Rouch called “cine-trance”.

The scene was motivated by our re-visitation of the prison, but also by his recent past in a rehabilitation clinic. Due to a crack relapse, David had spent the past three months in a rehabilitation centre and had only just come back to Cuernavaca that morning. We met in Atlacholoaya since he had to attest to his presence as part of his parole duties. Up on that hill, David began telling me that he was troubled by the contradictory approach between the drug rehabilitation clinic and the prison with regards to the externalisation and suppression of emotions. He said that in prison they were not encouraged to express any feelings and had to learn to keep emotions to themselves while coming across as tough men. In contrast, in the therapeutic community he had been encouraged to do the contrary. He was constantly pushed to open up and express his feelings:

In prison one survives with strength and with fists. You have to earn the respect of others, so that they don't step on you. You survive through violence, and you don't say many things. One learns to not express any feelings. Then, when I went to the therapeutic community they tell me the contrary. They tell me I have to open up and that I have to express myself. Then they begun hugging me and I got all confused. I struggled but I externalised many things, especially with my therapist, because I didn't feel as confident with others. My therapist made me even cry.

The clinic experience was not the sole motivation for talking. As I look back, such description was necessary to make me understand why he was going to retell a story I had already heard. To some extent, he was also using the experience in the clinic as the context that allowed him to enter in a specific set of moods and could help him convey the story about the last time he saw his father in an emotive way:

...in the clinic they encouraged me to be talking about it all the time. In talking about my father I felt a sort of guilt. Guilt because of the state he was in while I was doing things that immature people do; to take drugs, and to end up in prison as a consequence. My father was sick, and I saw him that Sunday. The first day I remember they called me up, I was in my dorm, with the new entrants. They told me I had a visitor and I came out. As I descended the stairs I saw my dad, he looked tired, sick and thin.

In this sense, David's performed recollection seemed not only to be a representation of somebody else's life or a pure enactment or "trance", but a performance that entailed going back between a performative act and a resignification and re-experiencing of past experiences in the present in order to represent them to an audience. David conveyed such recollections in such a way that they became more than dry informative speech, they were filled with emotional-volitional tones. Emotional-volitional tone for Bakhtin means "the moment of my activity in experience, the experience of mine as mine" (in Haynes 1995: 56) because "to think thought, means not to be absolutely indifferent towards it [but] to assert its emotional-volitional form" which becomes inseparable from both the content and the meaning of the event (Bakhtin in Haynes 1995: 56). This spontaneous performance emerged from our filmed session as we looked at Atlacholoaya from above and afar. It went beyond the formal moods of the interview setting and instead produced moments of "cinema truths" that were provoked by the combination of the camera and his lived experiences. It merged fiction and truth insofar as it was simultaneously a performance and an act of relief and alleviation. David then closed the story about his father and continued by elaborating on his experience at the clinic:

So in prison you can't talk to anyone or express your feelings, or tell them what's happening to you. Over there everyone deals with their own problems. So inside is about closing the feelings; about swallowing all of that. Whereas in the therapeutic community they told me: "open up, say, talk, connect with your own feelings".

Feedback

David and I kept in touch after my fieldwork and I was able to show him the progress of the documentary by sharing it with him on my computer screen. I wanted to see what he thought of the film and find out if he felt fairly represented or if he had comments or concerns. I was drawn by the responsibility of exercising a “collaborative” editorial process with the only one of my protagonists with whom I could remain in touch. However, David did not seem interested in the film as a work in progress that needed his feedback in order to be completed. As Ruby remarked, protagonists sometimes respond uncritically when they see themselves on the screen (Ruby 1991: 55). David was rather keen on seeing the film because it was about him and because, like photos or family videos, it contained a narrative about him. “Documentaries are often regarded as elaborated home movies by the people in them” (Ruby 1991: 55). As he watched the film, David further elaborated upon the experiences depicted by scenes of the film. His comments taught me new things and complemented what I had already grasped from the scenes I filmed. One of his comments concerned the implications that filming had on his parole obligations in Atlacholoaya.

When David watched the scene about him signing the book of parolees he told me: “Do you know what? That was the last time I had to go and sign, and that was because you were filming”. David had for long been attempting to negotiate the suspension of his parole obligations. He argued that he had met all his appointments, had demonstrated good behaviour and had also obtained a job in Mexico City. This meant that having to return to Atlacholoaya was getting in the way. Every time David spoke with them about this, he was told that the person in authority to make a decision was not there on that day, or was otherwise simply denied his request. On the day we went filming the personnel were keen on showing their best service to us. The assistant of the reinsertion bureau told the secretary to treat us well, as if the result of this shot was going to be an advertisement. When the scene finished David asked the assistant about his situation while I kept filming:

D: I asked Mr. P who told me I could possibly get a benefit; I haven't failed any of my signatures.

X: How often do you come and sign?

D: Every month. I am also working at the young offenders prison in Mexico City and can't come every Monday.

X: The thing is that we need to stick to the law. Which is that prisoners need to come every month. But if Mr. P told you that he can help you, he will tell me and I will let you know. If you are telling me this let's go and talk to the secretary. You can ask her and she'll be able to go through your documents. If it is true that you can get a benefit we can grant it with pleasure. That's what is important, that we support each other.

Next time David revisited prison he was told they had reviewed his documentation and he no longer needed to come back. This event calls attention to how prison administrators listen and address to prisoners' voices and petitions differently when they are likely to be publicly exposed. David's demands were addressed once a researcher with a camera accompanied him. Otherwise, prisoners' voices are often unheard and unimportant. This event also recalls the argument explored in Chapter 3 whereby exposure and invisibility define much of the state of affairs in prison. This is why prisoners also use communication devices while in prison (including journalists, cameras and radio stations), if they have access to them.

Access to prison

This is obviously one of the reasons why cameras are highly restricted and unwelcome in prison. When allowed inside they are encouraged to see and film a specific, highly constructed side of prison. I had two different kinds of access to filming in prison: the first time I entered as part of a tour in prison organised for the Women's Institute, whereby Elena obtained permission to film through the Institute. For this tour, the gaze of the women's organisation (and thus of the camera) was selectively re-directed to what authorities were keen on showing us. Inmates compared these visits to a zoo visit. My camera then was able to see female prisoners' handcrafts on display in the dining room, classrooms and library, as well as the workshops and the children's day care room. However, as a researcher my permission to film was denied the first time. I reapplied a second time a few months later and obtained permission to film interviews in a classroom accompanied by a guard.

Obtaining permission to film David's yoga sessions at the young offenders prison in Mexico City was quicker than Atlacholoaya's. This is probably because the young offenders prisons in Mexico City were undergoing a project of renovation seeking to reengage the youngsters into a series of new workshops. They also envisaged changing the deteriorated image of prison held by the public imagination. The director mentioned that journalists played an important part in helping them change their public image, and would invite me to stop calling the place "Tutelar de Menores" (Young offenders Tutelary is the common name for a young offenders prison). He said their name had now changed to "Centro de Tratamiento de Menores" (Therapeutic Centre for Youngsters). And so they invited me to film the new project including their bakery, a big football field and a vegetable-growing plot alongside the yoga practice. As I was filming David's yoga session the prison director asked us to move from the patio of concrete cement into the garden area since the garden would give less of a prisonlike feeling.

Audiences

As argued, film has the capacity to transmit and evoke sensuous aspects of every day life through images that effectively address "subtle issues of social agency, body practice, and the role of the senses and emotions in social life" (MacDougall 1998: 259). However audiences' perceptions of films are situated. Viewers perceive the purpose and meaning of film from a broad range of different perspectives (Bakhtin in Hynes 1995: 86) and from what it is in their interest to perceive (Deleuze 1989: 19). Audiences establish different visual affinities with the appearances quoted by the film (Berger and Mohr 1982: 8).

Film invites reflection on the lives of people and allows for the emergence of "subjective" experience and commentaries without the pressing need for theorising or "unpacking" them. Comments made about *Time will tell* provided new insights that made me reflect further on my filmic and editorial choices and how these had created foreseeable and unforeseen audience responses. For instance, a couple of peers referred to Sandra's episode as being a very sad story, which made me ask myself a personal question: to what extent was Sandra's story mimicking my own "troubled gaze" (MacDougall 1998: 48); and to what extent are academic stories discouraged from being "sad stories".

Another comment by a filmmaker observed that the way I portrayed the three stories had the effect of making David come across as a successful ex-prisoner and a hero. This also made me reflect on how the juxtaposition of lives and stories (especially whose fates have been contrasting), may unintentionally lead audiences to accord different values to some stories over others.

A further comment picked up on how quickly after release Reynaldo had to re-engage with such a demanding job like bricklaying. While I had concentrated my editorial attention and priorities in portraying Reynaldo's ontological process of reentry, the observational aspect of film had also captured his embodied reality and prevented it from being overlooked. Film thus also reinserts corporeal and affective realms of fieldwork back into academic spaces and discussions.

Cinema and literature are, as Irving points out, "two of the world's most important and influential sites through which characters and audiences encounter, learn about and form moral opinions about other persons and cultures" (Irving 2012). Similarly MacDougall thinks of ethnographic films as "site[s] of convergence and conversation across disciplinary lines", which weaken the boundaries between adjacent disciplines (MacDougall 1998: 1). In this sense, making a film has permitted me to diversify the means of publishing my research results and will allow me to further enter into dialogue with different kinds of academic and non-academic audiences as I show my film in different events. Showing the film in documentary festivals and events in Mexico will encourage debate about who goes to prison and what happens in the aftermath.

A finished film, unfinished lives.

MacDougall has stated, "if film adds movement and transiency to still photography, it has never resolved the deeper transiency of the subjects escaping from the work" (1998: 33). Film can thus suggest the "unfinishedness" of destinies and *Time will tell* is a film that both finalises and unfinalises the lives of its protagonists. On the one hand, it brings them together through their shared identity as ex-prisoners, while on the other it tries to suggest that their lives do not end there.

“*Time will tell*”, is a phrase used by Sandra, and suggests the open-endedness of their destinies. “*Time will tell*”, as her closing statement, is a realisation that she does not and cannot know what the future might bring. It is a way to suggest that time brings along answers and indicates the way. Only time would indicate to her when she could engage in a job and meet her children again.

Reynaldo’s story was interrupted by the news that his appeal for injunction (that would allow him to spend the rest of his sentence outside of prison) was denied, and meant that he needed to return to prison. The continuation of his life outside was interrupted by the revocation of legal petitions. This took him by surprise because his lawyers had told him revocation was very unlikely to occur. His new job, girlfriend, and life were again put on hold while he finished the remaining year in prison. He embraced this and described it as the last effort he needed to make: “It will be short, one has to face it and deal with it. My girlfriend will wait for me”.

Finally, David closes the film with a metaphor that destabilises the notions of freedom, captivity and addictions:

I will carry on walking, and see what I find in the way. That’s my spirit. I am a wooden Tiger. Tigers like to be free, I am free, I am *Libra*. I am like the wind. I love freedom. I love internal and physical freedom. I have for long experimented being physically captive, and also mentally because of drug addiction, which also incarcerates us. So to taste all sorts of freedoms is cool. So that’s what I am trying.

David’s final reflexion draws attention to how leaving prison means engaging with new forms of social and personal prisons and freedoms. As such it points towards the every day construction of destinies and how these continually entail obstacles and possibilities. Their final reflections echo Bakhtin’s idea of “*unfinalizability*”, that is, the impossibility of giving a definite ending to an aesthetic piece and to the lives of ex-prisoners.

Chapter 7: Remembering prison

Emancipation from prison is not the end of a story but the continuation of a life trajectory sometimes linked and sometimes not linked to an ex-prisoner's life in prison. I now explore memory as a remaining link to prison. Criminology and policy-making literature has increasingly begun to pay attention to the aftermath of imprisonment; however, the focus is usually on how ex-prisoners reintegrate to society in a useful way (through marriage, work and citizenship). The aforementioned studies of re-entry have looked at prisoners' "reintegration to society", departing from the expectation that ex-prisoners begin a law-abiding life and ideally keeping a distance from prison (see Travis 2005; Petersilia 2003; Uggen *et al.* 2004: 264). This is based on the idea that the moment prisoners are released, they embark on a "new beginning". However, assuming that people can completely distance themselves from a place they inhabited for years, and so soon after their release, is difficult to sustain. It overlooks the fact that we all often maintain links with places, people and experiences that we encounter throughout our paths in life, be it childhood, working life, school, births, deaths, lovers, friends, enemies, family relationships and so forth. It also denies the multiplicity of life experiences they gain in prison and how these impact on their present and future. The criminologists and policy makers, who draw a link between prison and ex-prisoners, do so by looking at the likelihood of reoffending after prison. Their research efforts have concentrated on investigating how long people take to re-offend and return to prison (see Blumstein *et al.* 1986 in Visher and Travis 2003).

I hereby offer a critique to the “reentry” body of literature and argue that the continuities and discontinuities between prison life and the aftermath of imprisonment are more complex and more diverse than has been hitherto portrayed. I argue that prison stays or vanishes from people’s lives in multifaceted and discontinuous ways. I specifically explore memory as one of the realms of experience that tie ex-prisoners to their prisoner past. Ex-prisoners remain surrounded by people, objects and circumstances that remind them of prison, or that they use to remember prison. I follow Casey’s (1977: 193, 206) argument that remembering and imagining are “fundamental, not merely adventitious, forms of mental life”. Building upon the centrality of memory in our lives, I look at how *crafts, embodied experiences, premonitions, places* and *legal obligations* act as sources of voluntary and involuntary reminiscences about prison. All of these events and experiences act as points of departure for ex-prisoners to retell their story of imprisonment, to compare their current and future situations, and to carry on an imaginary or physical relationship with the prison world.

Yet, what is memory and where does it reside? Is memory merely a mental image? (Aristotle in Casey 1977); a bodily perception? (Seremetakis 1993; Stoller 1997); a reconstructed episode of the past? Or an elusive manifestation of imagination? (Connerton 1989; Crapanzano 2003). A memory may also be an antagonistic vision of the past (Berliner: 2005) or, when recounted, a performed expression of our inner, incessant and ever-changing recollections of the past (Irving 2011). Or perhaps the process of remembering encompasses all of these ideas. Memory is a difficult concept to pin down due to its abstractness and the wide array of sources, motives and temporalities embedded in the process of remembering. As MacDougall suggests, “memory is often apparently incoherent, and a strange mixture of the sensory and the verbal. It offers us the past in flashes and fragments” (1998: 231). The way we remember our pasts entails episodes, mental flashes, and bodily awareness, which we then turn into stories that we tell someone else. Memories can take the form of “well-rehearsed trajectories of thought with spontaneous interruptions and improvisations” (Irving 2011: 29); some are ambiguous, unfinished staccato reveries, summoned by random urges and unfinished thoughts (Irving 2011: 22). What we remember

coincides with the purpose of the occasion of remembering, but memories can also be spontaneous and emerging from unintentional and accidental elicitation.

This chapter explores the processes of recollections with three ex-prisoners and the unstable features and triggers of their memories: 1) an encounter with Alex who remembered through his art-work crafted in prison, 2) a journey to prison with David who returned because of his parole obligations 3) a visit to Reynaldo's work place where I learnt about how his bodily readjustments to his work made him reflect on his past, present and future.

Alex worked as a carpenter as one means to make a living after his release from prison, which was two years before we met. He also considered woodwork a hobby and he made wooden sculptures based on whatever he admired and was inspired by. He improved his wood sculpturing abilities inside prison on his own, and some of the objects created in prison became part of a collection exhibited in his mother's living room. Crafting wood had been his activity in prison, was now his current hobby, and it had become a vehicle for him to reconstruct his recollections to me.

David had been released two years before we met. He was on parole and still had to return to prison every month to deliver his signature. One of these trips provided an occasion for undertaking a sensorial and memory-provoking journey together, with regard to what it meant for him to return in person back into the place that had been his home and confinement for seven years. David also learnt yoga in prison, and adopted it as a way of life after jail. He became a yoga teacher at a young offender's prison. I explore how his contact with prison remained but his opinion of the place fluctuated as was his tolerance and conversation about his workplace.

Finally, I recall the experiences of Reynaldo. "I am still readjusting to life outside", he commented when we met two weeks after his release. By accompanying him in the early stages of his release, I was able to explore his stories of physical readjustment to the outside. I followed him to his new construction job, which for Marchand (2008: 257), is essentially an embodied form of learning, thinking and communicating. I explore how at his new workplace, his body and muscles had to

readjust and how his previous posture and muscle memory reflected his experiences in prison. Reynaldo also dreamed of becoming a yoga teacher (like David), a discipline he also learnt in prison.

To make sense of their stories I draw from a wide body of literature approaching a multiplicity of ways of remembering. I initially explore the story of Alex through material and sensorial ways of remembering. Seremetakis' work invites us to consider the role of objects in remembering. For Seremetakis, memory is not only a mental representation of past images, but it may be elicited through a sensual cross-communication between body and object (Seremetakis 1994: 3). Memory is "stored in specific everyday items that form the historicity of a culture, items that create and sustain our relationship to the historical as a sensory dimension" (Seremetakis 1994: 3).

Besides the memory inscribed in objects, a wide body of literature has been built on the body as a bearer of somatic memory itself (Stewart 2005; Stoller 1989; Seremetakis 1994; Connerton 1989; Strathern 1996). Connerton (1989: 72) defines such *incorporated or embodied memory* as the capacity for the body to remember, for instance, through bodily habits, postures and other learnt abilities. Embodied approaches to remembering proved central in making sense of how ex-prisoners' bodies, jobs and arts and crafts are an important source and vehicle for memories. Marchand's work on masons and woodworkers draws attention to the importance of such crafts as ways of creating knowledge of the world for our selves, and also as forms of communication (2008: 262). Ex-prisoners' crafts were important vehicles to share their stories. Furthermore, when exploring the experience of prisoners who had to go back to prison for parole obligations, I consider Casey's understanding of place as sites that "gather experiences and histories, even languages and thoughts", and that are constructed according to individual experiences of bodily emplacement (Casey 1996: 24). When looking at the story of David, I also consider Irving's methodological contribution that entails walking with informants and understanding the walk as a performed ethnographic event, which provides us with people's internal and multi-coloured *dialogues, moods* and *reveries*, corresponding to the specific moment of the enactment (Irving 2011: 23).

Besides embodied experiences I also examine the cognitive processes involved in remembering. In Aristotle's view remembering is "the having of an image regarded as a copy of that of which it is an image" (in Casey 1977: 187). Those copies do not correspond to exact pictures of the past, "only as traffic through intersections, invaded by noises, and interrupted by other conversations" as Klein states (1997: 8). Remembering is intrinsically *imagistic* in nature (Casey 1977: 187). Similarly for Crapanzano, imagination is a "creative act" that "permits fiction, the game, a dream, more or less voluntary error, pure fascination" (2003: 20). Sensory memory is thus not an act of mere repetition but of "interpretative reconstructions" (Antze and Lambek 1996: vii). In this sense, ex-prisoners' memories provide possibilities to re-signify their experience in prison through their own reinterpretations. People give stature to what they have lived through acts of "*memorialization*", as coined by Crapanzano (2003: 159). Ways of recalling are thus deeply implicated in concepts of personhood and accountability (Antze and Lambek 1996: xxv). Forgetting and remembering here are part of "an active process of creating a new and shared identity in a new setting" (Carsten 1996). He concludes that "remembering is essential to our very sense of personal identity" (Casey 1922: 194), and that narrating their recollections about prison was both an exercise in self-understanding and an attempt to reconstruct their identities in the present according to different sources of elicitation and the questions I posed.

During our encounters, Alex, David and Reynaldo shared anecdotes tinted with different moods and accentuations that I ultimately came to understand as sensory experiences, stories of surviving prison, and details about the experience of past imprisonment. These processes of remembering and imagining are inherently shared and mutually constructed. Klein (1997: 8) remarks that people often change their memory to be helpful to their interlocutors. Thus, their memories not only reflect experiences of imprisonment, but also retell versions of such experience that will encourage shared meanings and purposes. The memories I invited them to reconstruct were recounted in ways that would make sense and be of importance to my research. Remembering with others is an exercise of "imagined mutuality", that is, an intersubjective reconstruction between people with specific biographies, morals, beliefs, aesthetic forms and idiosyncratic bodily experiences of the world (Irving 2009b: 292).

By recollecting mundane stories about the experience of release, I aim to reinstate the relevance of such sensorial and imaginary episodes experienced in the midst of such an abrupt, and at the same time enduring, change of environment. I further aim to shed light on how such processes of remembering and forgetting are part of prisoners' everyday exercise of assigning an identity to themselves in their lives after prison. "Time is undone", suggest Berger (1982: 106):

[...] not only by being remembered but also by the living of certain moments which defy the passing of time, not so much by becoming unforgettable but because, within the experience of such moments there is an imperviousness to time. They are experiences which provoke the words *forever*, *toujours*, *siempre*, *immer*. Moments of achievement, trance, dream, passion, crucial ethical decision, prowess, near-death, sacrifice, mourning [...].

Stoller suggests that the relevance of the histories provoked by sensuous modalities of remembering is that they are personal memories of existential content, and as such, histories "from below" (1997: 47). Imaginative and bodily ways of remembrance have otherwise been absent from the prevalent body of literature about the transition of inmates from prison to society. I will further review the problems attached to such literature before delving into more sensuous modalities of remembering.

The school of "re-entry" studies

While there is a lack of studies in Mexico with regards to what happens to people when they are released, a wide body of literature concerning "re-entry" has been developed mainly by U.K. and U.S. based criminologists and or policy-oriented evaluators. The literature on re-entry studies is framed around the expectation of reinserting people to the job market and successful familial relationships. They are mainly interested in observing and understanding the paths ex-felons take to achieve "successful reintegration" (Travis 2005: 26), and their ability to live as "law-abiding citizens" (Petersilia 2003: 3). Foucault (1977: 122-124) argued that

penalty only makes sense in relation to possible correction, in that prisoners need to be re-established morally and materially into the strict world of the economy and spirituality (Foucault 1977: 122-124). The points of departure of the “re-entry literature” come from a hope and need to find positive affirmations for prison’s function as a transformative space. However, their approach only leads to a reductive dichotomy of successful versus unsuccessful re-entries.

The “success” of re-entry has been measured against pre-established moral standards concerning factors such as family ties, stable jobs, staying away from crime, and being the “productive citizen at work, the responsible citizen at home and the active citizen in the community” (Uggen *et al.* 2004: 264). Their hypotheses closely link desistance from crime with a person’s transition into what they call “adult roles”. For instance Uggen *et al.* (2004: 258) conclude that “offenders who establish a stable work history and a strong marriage appear to have better post-release adjustment than those who have yet to enter such work and family roles”.

Others studies depart from the preconception that individuals “are at very high risk for crime” at the moment of re-entry (Bushway 2006: 552). This premise makes an *a priori* link between ex-prisoners and the possibility of reoffending, regardless of individual stories of imprisonment. Recidivism figures are one of the central indicators of unsuccessful re-entry. It has mainly been measured by incidents of re-arrest, re-conviction, and re-incarceration or with other factors that predict recurrence (see Blumstein *et al.* 1986 in Visher and Travis 2003; see also Fandiño 2002 in Brasil). The belief in the recurrence of reoffending was a view shared by the director of Atlacholoaya. Before initiating my research in Atlacholoaya, Dir. Hernández Sabás called me for an interview so he could get to know me and my research aims. At this meeting he also confided in me about his lack of faith in people’s endeavours after prison. He began to explain that some years ago the incarcerated population mainly consisted of those who committed robbery. Upon hearing this relevant information, I pulled out my notebook to make notes, but he stopped me, saying that I should not consider this encounter as an interview; he said that he was merely making me aware of the situation as he perceived it. He continued saying that previously convicts committed petty theft or minor offences, but nowadays offenders linked to organized crime,

kidnapping, drug dealing and possession of weapons increasingly populated the prison. He said the population nowadays was not so easy to handle. He did not believe in inmates' rehabilitation and he thought the prison was currently a place to administer inmates' lives. Out of 3000 inmates they would only free 100 that year, he concluded.

Whether academically stated or discretely disclosed by the director, these perspectives are narratives produced from above. Trimbur offers a criticism saying that desistance and recidivism, "while of obvious importance, tells us little on its own about the range of ways people interpret their place in the world and the spectrum of their interpretive approaches" (2009: 276). These "studies have not examined how newly-released prisoners feel about their ability to re-enter their communities" (Trimbur 2009: 260). Fewer still have examined how former prisoners define success and what successful re-entry means for them" (Trimbur 2009: 260). Trimbur considers it important to "conceptualize their political, social, and economic futures" (2009: 259). Such voices have been considered by Eaton in the U.K. (1993) and are contained in autobiographical accounts by ex-prisoners in the U.S. (see Dombrowski 2010; Wheeler 2010; Starling 2010; Oliver 2010). Ex-prisoner's testimonies describe how sometimes prison does not facilitate, but rather obstructs re-entry. They point out that leaving prison entails a deprivation of rights in the short and long term due to the stigma of a criminal record. This affects ex-prisoners' access to housing, welfare support, educational grants, and voting.

Maruna's (2001: 92) criminological work has also been concerned with voicing ex-convicts' views in the aftermath of prison. He looked into the common *redemption script* that ex-prisoners develop when they leave prison. According to Maruna, many former prisoners differentiate the person who committed mistakes in the past, from "the real me" of the present. Maruna suggests that such a script is developed in order to make sense of their lives and to "successfully maintain this abstinence from crime" (2001: 7). However, Maruna again reinterprets ex-prisoners' redemptive scripts as another weapon against reoffending. His conclusions follow criminology's need to ascertain how people give up a life of crime. In making sense of ex-convicts' speeches, Maruna does not analyse the performative nature of research. That is, that such redemptive discourses, or any

other, also shed light on how ex-prisoners' speeches were produced for researchers and with their specific research interests in mind.

In looking at the significance that a group of HIV-positive people give to the use of colour in their art work, as they traverse different stages with the virus, Irving signals that "the story of colour is located as much in the conditions under which colours are imagined and made" (Irving 2009b: 311). This is partly a metaphor to indicate that every act of giving meaning entails an act of "mutual remembrance" that speaks of and acquires meaning from a specific interpersonal encounter. This chapter also contains stories that Alex, David, Reynaldo and I elicited together. In trying to look beyond recidivism and successful re-entries, but also beyond stigma-only and welfare-inclined analyses of the aftermath of imprisonment, my interest in ex-prisoners' ordinary and mundane experiences of release allowed for, and encouraged, specific recollections to emerge and be told.

Alex: remembering prison through memories and objects

When I first met Alex, he was standing outside a film screening on prisoners of Atlacholoaya, eagerly waiting to sell his wooden figures to those who had seen the film. He did not sell many of his figurines that afternoon. He explained that woodcarving was rather his hobby, and that he actually made a living from carpentry, a craft he had learnt from his father. He mentioned having bigger sculptures to show me at his home. We kept in touch and I went to visit him to hear his story. His living room was full of wooden artwork, a large wooden crucifix, virgins and small bull terrier dogs. I soon discovered that those pieces contained plenty of stories from his past, many had been carved in prison.

Before leaving prison, Alex packed a few belongings but gave away a lot of his tools, some frames, and clothing to his prisoner peers who needed them. Thus, even before Alex was released from prison, he had already begun to select which souvenirs held memories to keep and those of which he could happily rid himself. Marcoux (2001: 70) suggests that things people decide to carry with them are "at the heart of the constitution of a memory which often resists displacements". And

yet, in the moment of release, spontaneity and emotionality intervene in such decisions. Alex not only had to make quick decisions but he also had to leave some items as a gesture of good will. On the other hand, he was sure of certain objects that he wanted to take with him. While the old prison uniform stayed, Alex kept objects symbolising personal achievement such as his artwork and put them at home. As Marcoux suggests, in the material refurbishing of his new space, a “refurbishment of memory” also took place (2001: 70).

When I saw Alex’s bigger sculptures, I asked why he did not make more of them as they would probably sell well among the middle-class public he was targeting that evening at the cinema. He replied that there was a lot more work involved in making them, and few people appreciated it. I later discovered that those big wooden pieces also contained embedded symbolic meaning and a lot of effort; they were worth far more than their market value and could not be exchanged for money.



Figure 8. Alex selling crafts at *Cine Morelos*.

Artefacts acquire personal value as they become “entangled with stories about their sources” and from their association with an individual’s biography (Thomas 1991: 103, see also Hoskins 1998: 8). Thomas remarks that such “intrinsic and attributed properties of objects have an impact upon their exchangeability” and this even renders them incompatible with exchange altogether at times (Thomas 1991: 3, 20). Appadurai suggests that the significance with which human actors encode things may be “inscribed in their forms, their uses and their trajectories” (1986: 5), rather than in their economic value. People’s artwork is interconnected

with their life in a deep way through elective affinities (Irving 2009). Thus, beyond the invested labour, Alex's crafts at home were not on sale because they were unique pieces tied to specific sentiments and memories. They did, however, serve as a door to Alex's memories and biography.

The material world has long been considered an important vehicle for understanding the identities of individuals and societies (Tilley 2006; Miller 2001; Thomas 1991; Hoskins 1998). Its relevance goes beyond visual perception. Bergson (2004) suggests that memory creates a special relationship between matter and the body. Objects accumulate layers with *sediments of memory* (Seremetakis 1994; Marcoux 2001). Thus, objects can be devices for the production of social and historical reflexivity (Seremetakis 1994: 7). In this sense, the exploration of Alex's crafts became elicitation of material, sensory and symbolic associations, like the story of the sculpted Christ that follows.



Figure 9. Alex in his living room.

The wooden Christ: a mutual reshaping

Alex lives with his mother and his sister; the latter is a single mother with a daughter. The wooden pieces that furnish the living room reflect the family's love and devotion to Catholicism and bull terriers. As we sat down, Alex recounted the story of the large wooden Christ carved in prison and hanging in the living room. For Alex, woodwork fulfilled his search for a new occupation in prison while keeping him distracted from smoking too much marijuana. Besides using carving to suppress his craving, by making a Christ he also found a symbolic force to reduce his smoking abuse, which had been troubling him:

Back then I was smoking too many drugs inside, marijuana more than anything. I smoked and smoked desperately. I began getting a pain under my ribs. Every time I smoked I had to put my hand on my ribs so I realised I had to quit smoking. I suddenly said: "I want to make a huge Christ." I thought: "I know what I'll do, I will make a Christ and promise him I will stop smoking. It will be a big one." I had a friend who was with me all the time. He was a gardener there, one of those people nobody visited. We exercised together and I gave him food, because my family always came to see me and brought me food, toilet paper and all of what's needed inside. So I told my friend: "Help me make a Christ". We began piling up wood. If you look carefully, you can see that the Christ was assembled together, from feet to arms. Stand up and look how I joined the wood together. (Alex)

We stood up to take a closer look at the Christ while Alex continued the story. From then on, Alex's recollections entailed a combination of ways of remembering, involving tactility as we held the wooden pieces, and conjuring anecdotes by composing fragments of past episodes. Remembering through objects has largely been explored from the cognitive or visual representation objects may provoke. Literature on photo-elicitation exemplifies this approach (see Banks 2001; Hoskins 1998; Geffroy 1990; Chiozzi 1989; Thomas 1991). Yet, visual representations are not the sole elicitations that can be drawn from an object. The past can be remembered from our relationships to objects and from embodied exchanges. Alex's recollected episodes came to be a "non-synchronic montage", borrowing from Pink (2009: 7), that still held some shape two years after his release. Alex continued the story of a mutual transformation with intensity and passion:

Each day that passed I said: "One day less, I want to finish it soon!" Because you realise that the more the days passed, the more I smoked. Probably out of desperation and impotence. So I smoked and worked really quick to finish it. That day came. It was a Friday and we had a family visit on the Saturday. My mother and niece always came to see me. On those days, I took the opportunity to tell her everything that was going on with me. The week before she had asked how I was doing. I said: "I am

good, but I feel some sort of weight on my back and I can't hold it anymore".



Figure 10. The Christ.

The night before, I requested the two iron nails but still they hadn't delivered them to me. So I told the guard: "Go to this guy's dorm and tell him to send me the items I need". He went and came back with some very thick nails saying: "He couldn't make them thinner". I then told my friend to help me. I held a joint up and said: "Look, this is the last joint I offer you. I won't smoke tomorrow".

So we smoked it while we slimmed down the nails with grit. We sanded all night until they were ready and I could put them on the crucifix. We finally inserted the first nail, then the second. Then a third at around 2 a.m. The nails were the only thing missing. So when I finished you can imagine that the burden on my back disappeared. I knew I wasn't going to smoke anymore. I can promise I didn't.

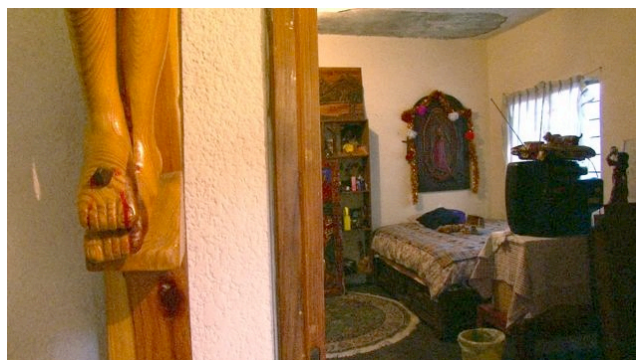


Figure 11. The iron nails in the Christ's feet.

The

next day I showered and went to Saturday mass taking the Christ with me. I put him right in front. Everybody stopped and crossed themselves as they passed in front of it. It was something really cool. My mother was very happy with her Christ, because, to be honest, one cannot say it's perfect, but more than anything it feels pure. It is all my feelings entangled: desperation and love. I imagined that the wood was guiding me, because I had never made a Christ before.

Alex had not made the outright decision to bury his episode in prison, it was ever-present in the Christ that loomed over his living room, exposed to guests' questions. The Christ we faced cemented many motivations, stages of creation, trajectories and meanings, ready to be elicited and told to those who visited him and asked questions. As Irving signals, "the potential of an artwork to transcend its frame by acting through the imagination and into the world is what creates its power, effect and meaning" (2009b: 296). Each of Alex's stories was "a temporary aggregation of meaning and materiality" (Irving 2009: 296). The polysemy of the Christ spoke of Alex's multiple interests, purposes, ends, and means (Turner 1967: 20), and it embraced religious significances. Religious figures represent one of the few forces prisoners can really rely on. The Christ was a positive force that provided inspiration for Alex to abandon his vice. In this sense it also acted as a visual reminder of a promise well kept. The Christ was ultimately a gift to his mother, not solely a material gift, but a sign of his redemption, proof of his spiritual and personal transformation. Mothers of male prisoners support their sons economically, morally and spiritually, often with little reward and in spite of recurring worrying news. Gifts and signs of promises kept are ways to thank them. Moreover, gifts such as the Christ contain hours of physical, mental and spiritual work.

Finally the story of the Christ was a story shaped in a tone that engaged my own interests. I was drawn to the detailed descriptions of sleepless nights spent battling against himself. They were offered to me as a story of victory over imprisonment, echoing the redemptive script prisoners offered to researcher Maruna (2010). I looked at this wooden object and imagined it as it was before, a simple amorphous piece of wood, chosen by a prisoner and transformed into a Christ by personal urges, emotions and motivations. By being the witness to a

story I also became the architect that assisted in the construction of the story, providing motives and demanding ways for each anecdote to be told, providing inspiration, just as his mother and the Christ had done before. The Christ, his mother and I had taken an active part in the process of selecting what was to be remembered and what to be forgotten from his imprisonment.

Alex's craft designs were all the more significant for him since they were born from self-inspiration. They did not follow the usual forms of other prisoners' crafts. Other male prisoners constructed wooden boats and in the female premises, mosaic frames were commonplace. If, as Seremetakis (1994: 11) suggests, matter is both "the terminus of human actions and the carrier of surplus meanings of those actions", the Christ held special meaning because it had also involved a different engagement of his body and force than that demanded by the flat-pack style, ready to assemble boats. In this sense, the Christ was a symbolic force to rely on and more importantly, a material piece on which to infringe force. In other words, the Christ was not only a finished object containing and symbolising inscribed reminiscences, but from Alex's narration, the process of making had also been significant. The particularities of his corporeal engagement with the wood during production were central to the creator's own bodily and symbolic transformation. The Christ had been the motivation, strength, goal, matter and product altogether.

The Christ and his other figures continued to act as vehicles to facilitate imagination and ways to share experiences. This happened not solely by looking at them, but by touching them, given that as memory awakes from a cross-communication between objects and senses (Seremetakis 1994: 7). That is, through wood's materiality, and Alex's tactile reengagement with it, the crafts provided a platform for him to perform his story to other people, just as he did for me that evening.

Embodied wooden exchanges

At one point Alex took me up to his workshop, which he had constructed on the roof of the house. He kept more personal pieces there, most of which would not suit the religious decor of his mother's living room. For instance, he kept the Hindu gods he sculpted, inspired by David, his *yogi* friend in prison. There were also unfinished pieces, paint, tools and sawdust. All of that work represented

different stages of his life. He pointed out a 40-year-old wooden table that he inherited from his dad, who had also been a carpenter. The walls and tables displayed pieces with stories of real and imaginary women. He picked up a wooden woman, through which he linked the story of love and substance abuse with his arrival to prison:

When I came back from working in the U.S. a girl had moved in front of my house. I fell in love and we went out for some time. But her dad was a doctor and I was a nobody, so he didn't allow the relationship. We escaped and lived for four months together. When she went back to visit him, he did not let her come back to our house. I was very disappointed because somehow I felt she did not try hard enough to come back. I relapsed into drugs. I began taking so many drugs. One day my brother-in-law invited me to see a cock fight. I decided to take four grams of coke. On the way there the police stopped us and searched us. I had already been pointed out by her father. He had already pointed his finger at me. They stopped me and found the drugs. That's how I ended up in prison for five years.

His imprisonment and wooden art were laden with stories of love, which seemed to be one of his main driving forces. He made sense of his arrival in prison not in terms of offence, re-offense, crime and violence, but due to encounters of love and treason. The girl still lived in the house in front, and the wooden woman sat in his workshop with other fragments of his past.



Figure 12. The atelier inside.



Figure 13. Alex's atelier in the roof.

Then he grabbed his tools and explained: “Over there you get creative and you have to come up with your own iron tools and self-made chisels”. He placed an unfinished elephant on the table and said: “I began this elephant in prison, but I don't know why I am never able to finish it”. He grabbed his chisel and began to hack the elephant with great strength. I backed up in fear of a missed blow. The harsh sound and movements were imposing. When Alex reengaged with the wood to illustrate the process of sculpturing, the corporeal interaction with the wood was becoming central, not only to the constitution of his figures, but also to the process of remembering and telling the story. It was through the wood that he re-enacted “how it had been in prison”.

He continued to beat the elephant with his chisel and in between blows, new episodes arose to embellish his story. He said: “You see? When you feel hate and rage and you want to pull something out, you hit the wood harder”. Through this demonstration, he illustrated the strength needed to reshape the wood, and used the exercise to release stress. The blows added intensity to the telling. The lack of words gave me space to reflect on a common comment from prisoners: prison was a continuous fight. Time in prison entailed a constant fight to avoid trouble, depression or substance abuse. Alex and his friend only managed to win this battle by supporting and inviting each other to engage in activities such as religion, sports, running and indeed wood working; by keeping busy, as they said.



Figure 14. The unfinished elephant.

He then asked me to get closer and pointed out his work-worn hands; he showed the scars on his left hand, the hand that held the wood when the right one aimed the chisel. The amalgamation of place, time, materiality and feeling were made manifest in the form of permanent scars. Building on that, he recalled that the prison infirmary had not done a decent stitching job so he decided to stitch his wounds himself. He described how he had asked a friend for a thick needle, held his breath and stitched the wound three times. He pointed with pride at the traces of the perfect and symmetrical stitch scars on one finger and contrasted them with the botched attempt of the infirmary nurse, as seen in his other finger. If “the flesh” is also a depository of cultural memories (Stoller 1997: 63), focusing on the “memory of the skin” allowed for other stories and other ways in which prison was inscribed in the body of Alex. His bodily and cultural process of scarification in prison remained on his hands and could be readily compared and rated. The physical traces permitted him to report on the incident from his own point of view and give it meaning. Remembering offered the chance to recast those moments in his favour (Connerton 2008: 67).

Paying attention to the stories embedded in people’s art is especially important in crafts which imply an embodied learning and a way of communicating, and an embodied way of making sense about the world. Marchand suggests that crafts such as masonry and carpentry:

[...] like sport, dance and other skilled physical activities, are largely communicated, understood and negotiated between

practitioners without words, and learning is achieved through observation, mimesis and repeated exercise. (Marchand 2008: 245)

Marchand further states that “it is with bodies, and not merely words, that people learn, express, interpret, improvise and negotiate” (2008: 266). Thus, other than words, there is relevance in feeling, touch, and muscles in gaining knowledge about the self and the other. By signalling the bodily ways of apprenticeship in masonry as a model of education, Marchand invites us to consider it as a path for an anthropological understanding about the importance people assign to knowing through the body.

Such ways of knowing were key to the way I could make sense, reconstruct and give relevance to another story. I next explore the story of Reynaldo’s first construction job after prison and the memories that were born and recollected shortly after his release. Through Reynaldo’s story, I wish to draw attention to the role of time in eliciting specific memories of the recent past, as well as forgetting. The ethnographic literature on embodied ways of remembering has dealt little with how time is implicated in remembering and forgetting. Time and the contents of remembering became key when looking at the recollections of the different stages of release. By following Reynaldo in his early weeks after release, we were able to make a comparison between his past, present and future from the kinaesthetic and bodily reactions at work.

Reynaldo: recognising the past through bricklaying

Two weeks after his release, Reynaldo returned to a full-time construction job. He was hired to build a house on a hot and quiet plain, which he reached after a bus journey of a few miles out of the city. I used to accompany him and in one of our lunch break conversations, he shared some reflections about the bodily implications of getting back to physical work after five years in jail:

I am a bricklayer, that was my job before prison and it is today as well. I need to make the effort in order to pay the money for the bail, and work more than ever. I felt the pressure to quickly find a

job. But I began going to work a bit disoriented. I had to return to holding tools, pasting bricks and stone. I came back to paste earth and do what I know how to do. The body is used to it, but you no longer have the rhythm of work. And you feel how it affects you because it is a heavy work. And in five years, you don't really have a heavy workload inside [prison]. It's rather easy, simple. So when I began the heavy work I had difficulties. I came back home only to immediately go to bed and sleep. (Reynaldo)



Figure 15. Reynaldo's work place.

Connerton suggests that our bodies retain “the past also in an entirely effective form in their continuing ability to perform certain skilled actions” (1989: 72). Moreover, it seems that bodies also retain the past through our awareness of having forgotten the skilled actions we used to know, as Reynaldo’s reflections show. On that lonely plain, while re-engaging with his once-familiar craft, his body informed him he had forgotten how to perform it. His body had learnt a different language in prison. Casey suggests, “different places actively solicit different bodily motions” (1996: 24). Thus, even when Reynaldo played football and practiced yoga in prison, it seemed that bricklaying demanded a different kind of effort and movement that had got lost at some point after five years in prison. Prison was remembered by a body unable to recall a working rhythm, a rhythm forgotten in prison. Prison had precisely made him forget those work abilities that are intended to be the means of “rehabilitation”.



Figure 16. "I had to return to grabbing a shovel, and assembling bricks and stone."

While he reengaged with bricks, stone, sand and concrete, I could not do much but observe him working from the shade of a tree. Because “vision does not process motor information” (Marchand 2008:263), I was subject to our conversations during his work breaks to be able to grasp what he had been going through during his first week of work. My visit to his work-place and my interest in the first implications of life after prison, allowed space for Reynaldo’s personal reflections on his bodily recognitions. It allowed me to pay attention to ways of remembering that were also about kinaesthetic motor experiences.

Especially in a craft like masonry, which Marchand studied, the notion of knowledge “exceeds propositional thinking and language and centrally includes the body and skilled performance” (2008: 245). Memories might not always be all about intentional reconstruction but reminders triggered by our bodily recognition of the environment. That is, an awareness triggered by Reynaldo’s incorporated habitual skills, recognised through muscle mobility. “Motor-based understanding constitutes a knowing how from the body, as differentiated from merely knowing

that about the body” (Marchand 2008: 263). The knowing how from the body is an experience I could not possibly share with Reynaldo. Yet, he could experience modes of awareness he then needed to translate for me.

It is only those mutually elicited recollections that can be shared sources for re-interpreting memories. I was particularly interested in eliciting the mundane stories of the experience immediately after release. This gave him the reassurance that it was actually relevant to share such supposedly fleeting experiences; they happened to intrigue his interlocutor. The first encounters with Reynaldo reflected a particular sensitivity and kinaesthetic awareness of the exigencies that masonry, in contrast to prison, demanded from the body. His recent release held a different relationship to remembering and forgetting than that of Alex and David, who were released some years before. This highlights that temporality acts as different vehicles for remembering. Thus, focusing on the different stages in the process of release proved to be important in understanding how such stages are related to the dynamic process of remembering and forgetting. It called attention to how memories emerge, vary and vanish from prisoner’s lives.

Reynaldo’s story suggests that the post-imprisonment experience might be composed of different stages, where the initial stage, even when transitory, is an important sensorial life experience. Eaton’s (1993) study on the life of women after prison in the UK includes former prisoners’ accounts of how simple acts become a great deal for ex-prisoners. For instance women say that in their early days of release, they worried about not being able to get the change right in the supermarket, and they had a constant fear that they may take the wrong bus or train. There was also a fear that their hesitation for such simple tasks will reveal to others their criminal identity (Eaton 1993: 57; see also Wheeler 2010). This echoes the worries of many newly-released prisoners when it comes to everyday tasks such as leaving their houses and engaging with the daily demands of socialisation. Using the analogy of a traveller’s experience of a new place, which consists of various stages, Irving describes a person’s experience of arrival in a new place as a visual and sensory-dense experience:

The new arrival's nervous system is immersed in a vast array of previously un-experienced sights, sounds and smells. No longer surrounded by familiar buildings, each street is an aesthetic and sensory discovery, rather than a familiar route. Disorientation and displacement affect the habitual "*from-to orientation*" of the human body.

Arrival is framed by a series of initial sensory impressions, moral judgments and cultural (mis)understandings, whereby an unfamiliar topography merges with emotions such as romance, enchantment, displacement, trepidation, fear and excitement. Differences in language, climate, and a lack of familiar reference points combine to produce uncharacteristic sensations, the description and strangeness of which has long been the staple opening gambit of travelogue and ethnography. (Irving 2009: 154)

Even when former prisoners have previously been in the city of release, they have re-socialised to adapt to a specific and constructed environment, and they have been away from the city for a long time. Furthermore, the emotions of a traveller and a newly-released prisoner may also be similar, there is a sense of excitement or nervousness and these emotions produce a particular way of experiencing the place, whether new or once-known. Inside prison people are introduced to certain smells, colours, spatial dimensions and restricted movement. After being imprisoned, the whole body works as a vehicle for understanding and acknowledging the city in a particular way. Irving (2008) points out the importance of first impressions, which are often dismissed because people get used to a place quickly, and there is a tendency to deny, forget or mistrust initial impressions experienced upon first arrival:

The sensory impressions of the initial encounter soon give way to reveal another mode of perception: buildings are recognized; places are revisited; streets are re-walked; and the city takes a different shape [...]. As places become more familiar, the body tends to recede from consciousness [...]. As the person becomes accustomed to its social rhythms, cultural life and practical activity. New forms of "understanding" become incorporated within a person's nerves and muscles. (Irving 2008: 154)

His remark echoes Goffman's (1970: 70) notes regarding people exiting asylums:

[...] and yet it seems that shortly after release the ex-inmate forgets a great deal of what life was like on the inside and once again begins to take for granted the privileges around which life in the institution was organized.

In a similar way to the anthropologist quickly losing sight of their first impressions in the field, ex-prisoners adjust to the city, regaining the ability to live and travel there. Although this stage may be transitory, it is significant to ex-prisoners.

Imagining the future with yoga

As time passed, Reynaldo got back into his nine-hour shift under the sun, his body got used to the routine, and his thoughts gave way to other preoccupations triggered by economic needs and dreams for the future. One such quandary was whether he should do what he had to do or what he wished to do. Reynaldo learnt yoga in prison from a group called *Parinama Yoga*. Reynaldo wished to carry on practicing yoga after his release. A few ex-prisoners like his friend David were able to make a decent living from yoga. Reynaldo attended one of David's invitations to his yoga class, from where Reynaldo drew some conclusions: "It's better to be a yoga instructor than a bricklayer, because bricklaying is hard work". Yet Reynaldo did not have the funds to stop working and embark on a yoga venture, especially considering its instability. However, when expectations are awakened in us by past experience" (Carr 1992: 28) money is not a limitation to imagination (Irving 2010). Through acts of imagining-how, that is, by projecting possibilities, Reynaldo pictured a situation in which he could be actively involved (Casey 1977: 193, 201). Yoga became Reynaldo's desire for a future. Those potential lives are intrinsic to people's present, as suggested by Irving:

The alternative, imagined life they could have lived offers a type of ever-present moral framework for interpreting their current life circumstances (Irving 2009: 146). Imagining, daydreaming, and fantasizing about living another life are not abstract or trivial enterprises but are constitutive of [their] embodied experience and understanding, illustrating how the reality and residue of one life constantly merges and inheres in the other (2011: 36).

Reynaldo waited for the time he could earn enough money so that he could start a yoga class and live his friend's life style. The revalorisation of yoga practice in prison is an aspiration of many prisoners. Similarly, for Reynaldo, prison presented the possibility of undertaking a different job to that he had been doing his whole life. In this sense, prison may not be viewed as a past irrelevant to their current lives, but as a framework for ex-prisoners to make sense of certain aspects of their present and potential futures. For some, the skills learnt in prison provide real possibilities and give shape to the imagined futures of others.

David: returning to prison for parole

Reynaldo and David were on the parole scheme and were required to go back to Atlacholoaya's premises every month to provide their signature and fingerprints. Placing the body back into the prison grounds represented another remembrance experience. Departing from Casey's approach that one acquires knowledge and memories according to where the body is placed (Casey 1996: 18), I reconstruct one of David's revisit journeys. David has been on parole for two years since his release.

Many works have touched on parole and its implications in ex-prisoners' current lives and plans. Wacquant illustrates it as highly bureaucratic "simulacrum of rehabilitation after custody" (2010: 615). He argues that parole programmes are not an antidote to but an extension of punitive containment, which "extends penal sanction far beyond prison walls and long after sentences have been served" (2010: 614). Lingering legal obligations with prison had implications for David, such as the need to spend money for the journey and having to miss a day of work. Also, being an ex-convict, he did not have the right to have an ID, which in turn did not allow him to fully participate in the working world; he could not open a bank account or register in the taxation system.

Beyond such bureaucratic implications, I aim to draw attention to the parole system as a sensorial journey back to the exteriors of the place David inhabited for seven years. Revisiting prison with David served the purpose of exploring his imaginary construction of such an environment. Irving suggests that, "walking

down the street provides a particular kind of voice, declaration of experience, and specifiable evidence” (Irving 2011: 36). It can help understand how the “inner speech, random urges, unfinished thoughts, unarticulated moods” that emerge may be “linked to objects, surroundings, and bodily movement” (Irving 2011: 23).



Figure 17. "Some were good memories, others not so much.

I accompanied David on a journey that began early in the morning. After a 45-minute bus ride, we got off at the gates of Atlacholoaya. David and I greeted the guards and continued to walk the 300 meter road that led us to the second gate. As we gained some distance from the first gates, David began to recognise the place through his past experiences of it, and to comment on his relationships with the different guards: “that guard is a bastard, he is part of the assault group inside prison. He used to kick our ass”. We arrived at the second gate, where

visitors are expected to identify themselves and state their intentions during the prison visit. We were granted access and continued walking. For the purposes of this visit we headed to the right where the offices are, and not to the left where the prison is. Before entering the offices, David spotted another guard and went and sat down with him. They saluted each other as two old friends and began a conversation updating each other about the life inside and outside prison. The guard asked him how life was outside; David asked how life was inside. David commented: "It's more chilled to be working out here right?". "Indeed", the guard answered. "There are some tranquil people inside, but there are others that give us so much work!" he commented. When they had said everything they needed to say they also shared silences and remained in each other's company for a moment. Eventually David stood up said goodbye. He walked towards the offices where he was to "give away his signature", as he called it.



Figure 18. David and the prison's guard.

People walked within Atlacholoaya's premises with different purposes, destinations and thoughts. Officials arrived at their workplace, lawyers visited to offer a defence to prisoners or victims, volunteers came to provide workshops and so forth. Each person used the prison premises according to their own history and needs. To me, that walk felt different under the burning sun of May compared to the fresh air of December, there was also a difference between my walk to the offices on the right, to fulfil some bureaucratic task, or to the left to enter the women's prison for my fieldwork. I ignored the lives of many guards and their lives beyond the entrance gates. I also ignored the thoughts, moods and reveries of other prisoners who had just been released or of those who came back every month. To me the experience of entering the first gate of Atlacholoaya lasted about as long as the car journey there. David and I departed from different perceptual and imagined fields, which gave way to different configurations of the same place. We both recognised faces that we associated with different events and with different roles outside and inside Atlacholoaya. The place had an impact on him and he in turn left his mark on the place, in ways that I could not experience.

David's perception of place was also dependent on his feelings, changeable moods, premonitions, and his performances. On that day David expressed that he strongly feared re-arrest because he had not provided his signature for the last three months (David had been in a rehabilitation centre to address a crack relapse). Although he spoke to prison authorities and obtained permission for this absence, he feared the possibility of re-arrest. Half joking, he quipped that he was ready to run if he sensed that things were going wrong. According to Casey, people form impressions of a place based on sensing and perceiving:

[...] rather than being one definite sort of thing -for example, physical, spiritual, cultural, social- a given place takes on the qualities of its occupants, reflecting these qualities in its own constitution and description and expressing them in its occurrence as an event: places not only are, they happen.
(Casey 1996: 26)

Thus, visiting Atlacholoaya with David entailed experiencing the place in a range of ways. Our mutual reconstruction of his experiences of place elicited comments

about his old friendships and enmities and drew out some of his doubts and fears regarding his compliance with the law. He imagined having to run away from the guards if they were to re-arrest him. If essential to a place is its very personal mode of containment (Casey 1996: 24), by accompanying him I was able to grasp his shared perceptions, thoughts, remembrances, sympathies, enjoyments, fears and reveries specific to that day. David's constant dramatisation of the situations and stories he shared with me were closely related to police and criminality, that is, to a topic that concerned us both. These anecdotes opened Pandora's box, his imaginings came from a life of contact with the authorities, a trajectory that began long before his first imprisonment, as it is the case with many more prisoners.

The Tiger: yoga, police and prison over the course of a life

One day, as David prepared to teach yoga to young offenders I asked about the tiger tattoo on his arm. He explained that he got it done when he was part of the Police Academy of Cuernavaca,

C: And that tattoo?

D: It's a Tiger. In the Chinese calendar I am a Tiger. I am a wooden Tiger, this I why I have it. I got it done when I was in the Academy.

C: Which Academy?

D: In the State Police Academy of Cuernavaca. I belonged to the *Panther* group, I spent some time there. In the assault group. The shock troop. Our task was to jump in when the police could not accomplish their task. Then we jumped in, and took control. I had several experiences. I had to deal with armed assaults. On one occasion, at *The Station* neighbourhood a shooting was taking place. Two guys had broken into a bank and they went to hide in the neighbourhood. So we went along, I arrived fiercely, jumped out, but suddenly I hear: *bum bum bum!* And at that very moment you can only wish that the earth would open up to hide you. That day was tough.

My friend Gomez was there. His 9 gun had gotten stuck. He stood up and ran across while he was changing shells. His gun then got stuck and he went white. So I threw him my *MP5* gun

and he was able to shoot. That was at around 9 a.m. the guy he gunned did not die until around 11 p.m. at the hospital.

I went through a lot. They did things I didn't like. I entered when I was young, back then I held a particular image of that profession. When I got there it was the opposite. There were things that weren't nice and I didn't like that. And sometimes you better cooperate otherwise you get in trouble.



Figure 19. David explains his tattoo.

Many stories were ingrained in the tiger tattoo, some come from the choice of design, colours or symbolism or the circumstances that led to the art. We decided to expand on the tattoo's links prison, police, arms, discipline, violence, and prosecution. It then emerged that he had been part of the police force, which he had left because he was disappointed about such way of life. The link of his former life to the police forces suggests that only focusing on "recidivism" as a potential and latent bridge between ex-prisoners and prison overlooks the fact that the link between some of the ex-prisoners' lives and the prison world begins long before their incarceration. Some ex-prisoners have also belonged to law enforcement agencies. On the one hand, the diversity of David's past and present opportunities of occupation draws attention to the porosity of the boundaries between so-called "security forces" and "criminals", between "prison" and the "outer world", between "violence" and "peace". His life path also calls attention to David's individual valorisation of such agencies, where he felt he could follow a more "righteous" life away from the police force.

His life in general and his contact with the prison premises continued to fluctuate over the course of that year, and so did his tolerance for it. His performed enthusiasm when talking about his job differed according to his beliefs, perspectives, will, economic necessity and access to work. Not only did he currently have parole duties, but also later on that year he obtained a job as yoga teacher in a young offenders prison in Mexico City. In the first months, he expressed enthusiasm about being able to help the youngsters. During his first yoga session he told them: "I've spent a lot of my years in the place where you are at now. And I can tell you it is possible to overcome it". As months passed he expressed his tiredness of always being in the prison environment: "It's always prison, always prison", he told me. Months later, he was offered a place teaching yoga to his former peers in Atlacholoaya, and his excitement resurfaced as he was able to see his old friends. Soon after, he started teaching yoga at a rehabilitation clinic, zealous again about helping other "addicts".

Conclusions

Memory and imagination, "far from being the mere marginalia of mind, its *disjecta membra*, [they] emerge as absolutely central in any appraisal that attempts to do justice to human experience in its full variety and ramifying richness" (Casey 1977: 209). Taking imagination and memory to be central features in people's lives I hereby reconstructed the way in which the remembered and imagined past and futures of ex-prisoners are key to their current lives. In this chapter I looked at ordinary episodes of memorialisation implicated, in fleeting or enduring ways, in the lives of three of the approximately 1,200 prisoners who leave prison every month in Mexico, be it in the form of "total freedom" (approximately 80%) or some kind of restricted freedom (20%)⁷. The exploration of memories sheds light on how prison stays in or vanishes from people's lives in multifaceted and discontinuous ways.

⁷ The exact numbers will vary every month. This number corresponds to the freedoms granted on April 2008. Source: SSP, OADPRS, *Coordinación General de Prevención y Readaptación Social*, SSP, *Organo Administrativo Desconcentrado Prevención y Readaptación Social*; Mexico City, May 2008.

Focusing on sensory bodily ways of remembering contributes to the literature currently arguing against a total rupture between prison and the newly released prisoners. The imprisoned past is another experience people accumulate throughout a lifetime, leading to the understanding and perception of their present. Prison is not everything prisoners remember, nor something they evoke at all times or that automatically and homogeneously shapes the aftermath of imprisonment. Yet, as with any other stage in life, prison now and then interrupts the present, recasts it and informs ex-prisoners' perceptions and actions.

Alex, Reynaldo and David's stories demanded different types of ethnographic active awareness in the field and whilst writing. This was in order to make sense of the different modalities and intensities of their recollections, and to consider how time impacts on the processes of mental and bodily ways of remembering. Such processes give way to a variety of shapes of memory: conscious, unconscious, fragmented, intentional, accidental, intersubjective, imagistic, fleeting and enduring remembrances.

By giving relevance to muscle memory and the body, Alex's hobby acted as a vehicle via an embodied bridge to the past occurring through corporeal reengagement with the wood. In reconstructing such experiences, Alex transmitted them as struggles against prison and its temptations for getting into fights, falling into depression and using drugs. His stories were laced with the mockery of the unprofessionalism of the prison's medical team, also highlighting his personal victories (in relation to stitching his own wound). Tactility led to the process of recalling an opportunity for an embodied and emotional performativity of memories.

Reynaldo's new job provided an occasion for comparing his imprisoned past, bricklaying present and imagined yoga future, departing from the different demands of places and certain crafts in terms of his body. Focusing attention onto the experiences of the body as he re-engaged with physical work just after exiting prison, permitted an insight into how past, present and future amalgamated in his body, ready to provoke contrasts and comparisons. This suggested that the body is also a vehicle for remembering prison, especially in

the early weeks after release. Moreover, his reflexions later became a nostalgic comparison between what he wished for and what he ought to be doing, constantly planning to leave bricklaying in order to become a yoga teacher. This also signals that certain ex-prisoners' reveries are born from the crafts they learnt in prison.

Finally, David's physical placement in prison was an opportunity to reconstruct his sensorial and imagined experience as he returned to the place he inhabited for years. I was able to grasp how he looked at the faces and the place in a different way to me. He felt empathy or enmity towards different guards according to the relationship they had sustained inside prison. During our journey David also uttered fears of re-apprehension, sharing his imagined and adventurous escape from the guards. Finally, we elicited from his tattoo the story of his time in the police force and learnt about his current intermitted connection with the prison perimeter through yoga. This highlighted that the realms of ex-prisoners' experiences within prison are not as fixed, they can come from a range of professions, actions and moral choices. Finally ex-prisoners' form their own valorisations of their experiences in supposedly contrasting job realms.

In sharing their remembrances Alex, Reynaldo and David reinvented places, histories and people. Each way of remembering entailed links to memories with different affective processes, as well as with intersubjective encounters (Antze and Lambek 1996: 182).

These explorations of ordinary memories showed that experience in prison is not always stored away, but it hangs on ex-prisoners' walls, often literally; it is relived through their old and new crafts; and their muscles, scars, tattoos and legal obligations evoke it. Because prison is part of old individual journeys against substance abuse, job seeking and parole obligations, amongst others, they sometimes have to return to it, either physically or in the imagination. What has been learnt, exercised and developed in prison (be it wooden carving, yoga, football, or immobility), beyond being technical skills and sources of employment after prison (as prison's rhetoric likes to maintain), they are sources of memories and points of departure for the imagination.

Such material and imagined worlds do not solely represent an obsolete past but a dimension of it, in “powerful and active relation to persons in the present” (Tilley 2006: 64). As Irving (2010: 146) suggests, “imaginative life narratives are not abstract or wishful fantasies but are constitutive of people’s material lives, embodied experiences and being-in-the-world”. In this sense, ex-prisoners’ recollections and reconstructions impact in different ways on their present lives, be it by a sense of responsibility, a feeling of nostalgia, a departure for desire, a victorious feeling and enjoyment, or fear. Therefore, “reinsertion into society” is not simply the beginning of a new life but the continuation of the past, fused with artefacts, people and sensorial memories, and through material and imaginative processes.

Concluding remarks

My thesis provides insights into the moral worlds and affective experiences of incarceration and the release of people who have spent time in the prison of Atlacholoaya, Morelos. By using different ethnographic methods, I have shed light into a diversity of ways through which inmates and ex-inmates incorporate the expected or unexpected fate of imprisonment into the story of their lives.

My work has both engaged with and critiqued classic topics of imprisonment while also touching upon other personal concerns of the prisoners and ex-prisoners I met. I have avoided exploring the notion of stigma, one of the most commonly studied impacts of prison on ex-prisoners' lives (see Combessie 2002). I have also critiqued the studies of "re-entry" which mainly look at prisoners' behaviour and identities in relation to crime, and which focus on who is likely to go back to prison by reoffending, or who is likely to have a successful reintegration (see Travis 2005; Petersilia 2003; Uggen *et al.* 2004). Instead, I found studies looking at the criminalisation of poverty and inefficiency of the penal system insightful in terms of how the dynamics of incarceration in Mexico operate. However, I also avoided only making sense of prisoners' lives from meta-narratives that speak about citizens from certain class, crime, ethnicity, gender and neighbourhoods, without providing further insights into prisoners' thoughts and practices.

My thesis has sought to look for prisoners' experience elsewhere and provide a more subjective understanding of their points of view. I have argued that such points of view are the containers of alternative views of narrating, framing, thinking and morally interpreting all of that which has been implicated when a

person's life path leads to prison. They contain their personal descriptions of normalcy (Becker 1997: 17), and the moral interpretation of the conditions and the premises that incarcerated them. Through their writings, opinions, and memories, and through this work, they become active participants in the social dialogue surrounding them, as Bakhtin (2006) remarks, and consequently critical of the political context of the war on drugs as experienced in Mexico.

By looking at life paths, in terms not only of imprisoned lives, my thesis approaches imprisonment not as a fixed identity but as an experience concerned with coincidences in life and personal stories. In the introduction I drew on how our existences seem to unfold "between the possible and the real, between appearance and being, between the willed and the undergone" (Sartre 1960: 101). In Sartre's *Nausea*, Roquentin is both a victim tossed about by a mysterious fate and a hero on a journey of fundamental discovery, according to Jager. In Sartre's view, life is ceaselessly spontaneous and defined in movement (in Jager 1981: 3). "Being in the wrong place at the wrong time" thus speaks of "pedestrian utterances" (De Certeau 1986: 130), understood here as the fortunate or unfortunate everyday interpersonal encounters in the places where we have been predestined to be born. It is in this space of daily life where the characteristics of the context and the subjective experience meet. Life and fates unfold through concrete relationships and events. From this perspective, I showed that life trajectories are formed by actions, decisions, policies and negotiations in which the people I encountered took part, some of which took place in their absence, and often out of their social, historical and geographical reach.

To explore how prisoners explain such believed contingency, I resorted to a variety of planned and unplanned sources of elicitation, as well as audio-visual and ethnographic methods such as: prisoners' writings, artefacts, bodily traces and sensory, material and cognitive memories. I also resorted to understanding their moral standpoints, affective states, gender identities, imaginative processes and legal and economic obligations. All of these sources and events became, in my investigation, the points of departure for ex-prisoners to retell their story of imprisonment, to compare their current and future situations, and to carry on an

imaginary or physical relationship with the prison perimeter. These different sources resulted in the emergence of different stories about imprisonment.

I discovered Karina's writing as a source that allowed her to express her moral point of view. Through her writings she was able to tell a more complex tale than her legal testimony or our interview had enabled her to do. A written platform provided her with the space, time and format to narrate the path of a family that had made a series of decisions with her imprisonment as a consequence. Her autobiography is a narration that welcomed points of view and contradictions in more interconnected ways than some of the feminist literature in prison was able to do. For instance, Karina does not portray herself in opposition to the men in her household but implicates many actors in her decision for taking part in the drug business: her family, brothers, husband, the police force and civil servants of high rank in the state of Morelos. By doing so she also contradicts and offers for scrutiny the national discourse of security which maintains that the state is combatting drug traffickers.

Additionally, while I mostly argue that there are several remaining links between ex-prisoners and prison, Karina's story illustrates the contrary, that some prisoners decide to put such experience aside when they are released. Prison was no longer an important part of Karina's discourse after she left prison. She also stopped writing, which was an activity that she exploited in prison, where she had time to write and her word acquired meaning for her and her audience. When she was released she became concerned with her child's needs and with finding a partner. Her story shows that prison does not determine ex-prisoners' lives permanently, for they also may forget about it and move on.

My work also shows the relevance of examining and representing the affective and emotional aspects of experiencing a trial while being in prison. I looked at uncertainty as one of the emotional components of the contingency of life. Being on trial means both the possibility of hopefully living a life outside prison or of remaining incarcerated. Hope for release is maintained by the indeterminacy of legal processes. I showed that life in prison is also not only experienced as a monotonous and scheduled experience, but it is experienced as an unsettled and unreliable time. I argued that when seeking to understand the experience of

incarceration, it is important to use an analytical theoretical framework that considers the unreliability of prison time and that conveys the hidden nature of such experience. My work proposes that the realm of uncertainty is an important temporal, moral and existential dynamic framework, from which to look at and understand that prisoners' everyday actions and decisions are undertaken on unpredictable grounds. Their decisions may be viewed as momentary reactions undertaken from within the degree of clarity that they possess whilst immersed in prison life, unable to step back and see what the outcome of each one of their decisions will be. Such points of departure suggest that there is a lack of calculation, and a spontaneity and immediacy involved in the processes of decision-making by prisoners (Penrod 2001: 242). These ideas can guide future research and help understanding better prisoners' engagement or lack of engagement with prison life.

I also draw upon the furniture in the homes of ex-prisoners, their crafts and professions as vehicles to explore different ways in which they remembered prison. Such a diversity of objects, people and circumstances showed that memories of prison are not a homogeneous and stable realm. Ex-prisoners used such pieces and experiences to remember prison differently, and to assign meaning to remembering. For instance, Alex's wooden pieces rested in his house and bore the "sediments of memory" (Seremetakis 1994). The scars on his hands that resulted from accidents in prison resulted in an indelible memory of prison. Alex's scars became ways to tell stories from his own point of view and to give such accidents his own meaning. Alex mocked the unprofessionalism of the prison's medical team when he showed me the bad stitching they had performed on one of his fingers, showing me that the self-made stitching on his other finger was more symmetrical; he showed it as a personal victory. Furthermore, when taking a look at a wooden sculpture shaped into a woman, Alex explained his arrest as part of a love story interrupted by his father-in-law. His father-in-law did not like Alex and so he told the police that he might be carrying drugs on that day. His story reveals a common tale in that the law is enforced according to personal relationships and influences and for personal purposes. People in prison are often incarcerated following personal issues with other people who have a relationship with the police force.

David's story partly emerged from revisiting prison and eliciting meaningful stories about the times when he had his tattoo done. As we revisited the prison, David's re-experiencing of the prison premises emerged as forms of empathy or enmity towards different guards according to the relationship they had sustained inside prison. My conversations with David about his tiger tattoo and the photo elicitation exercise we did helped me to gain a deeper insight into David's life and worldview. These two sources of elicitation demonstrated the relevance of exploring an ex-prisoners' past and imagined futures. Through his tattoo, I discovered that David, like many prisoners, began his relationship with the prison world not through offending, but by being part of the security forces. This draws attention to two things: on the one hand, that suffering from drug addiction and being part of the police force are not contradictory life experiences. This demonstrates again the illusory narrative implied in the security rhetoric that emphasises that the police fight social drug consumption. On the contrary, some police officers have to personally fight with their own addiction. On the other hand, as an ex-police officer, David had a negative image of such group. David's own sense of ethics led him to realise that the police force did not meet his expectations of what justice and peace keeping should be. He perceived such police work as too violent. David deemed it unethical to shoot people and left the police force. Later on he was incarcerated for consuming and possessing drugs. Finally both in prison and out of prison, David kept trying to keep away from relapsing into crack through finding personal routes. His last resource was yoga, the new skill he learnt in prison. Such skill created a new bridge between him and prison and he is constantly invited to become a yoga teacher at the young offenders' prison. So his links with the prison world are complex and far from only being related to criminal behaviour, they have to do with police endeavours, drug addictions and seeking personal healing and the healing of other prisoners.

When Reynaldo was released from prison and re-employed in a bricklaying job, he realised that his body and muscles were unaccustomed to such a job. His story draws attention to prison not only as a place that teaches crafts to prisoners, but also a place that leads to previously learnt skills being forgotten. His new job demanded a different kind of effort and movement that had been forgotten after five years in prison. In contrast, prison had taught him a new craft, yoga, which became an important skill for his future. For, as Irving signals,

“imagining, daydreaming, and fantasizing about living another life are not abstract or trivial enterprises but are constitutive of embodied experience and understanding” (Irving 2011: 36). Prison is also a place where prisoners learn new crafts freely offered by volunteers. A craft such as yoga, not affordable for everyone, made Reynaldo consider the dilemma of who he could afford to be and who he wished to become. After prison, ex-prisoners’ efforts concentrate on trying to negotiate and make these two possibilities meet. For David, such a possibility was easier because he did not have the economic responsibility of paying back his bail, as was the case with Reynaldo.

My work also sheds light on the sensory experiences involved in entering and leaving prison and how they are altered by time. Sensorial methods and their invitation to maintain kinaesthetic attentiveness in the field (see Seremetakis 1994; Howes 2006; Stoller 1997 Taussig 1991; Marchand 2008) had proved useful devices for exploring the different stages involved in the process of release. Reynaldo’s recent release brought with it a different relationship to remembering and forgetting than that of Alex and David, who had been released some years before. His early days of release revealed a particular kinaesthetic awareness and emotional sensibility to his past in jail and his imminent present. This was revealed in his voice that contained a particular sense of excitement and nervousness as captured in my film *Time will tell*.

One of the achievements of the film is that it reinstates the relevance of such existential experiences of being released. Through a montage that juxtaposes images of the journey of release (from prison into the city) and Reynaldo’s voice over, I reconstructed a simulation of his thoughts when being released. The reconstruction aimed to recall the worries about the near and distant future and the material and existential needs of someone who has just been released. Film proved to be a successful medium for transmitting such sensibility and highlighting the different experiential stages of exiting prison.

Also in the film, the story of Sandra reveals how the people they romantically met in prison may suddenly become an important and determinant part of the aftermath of their imprisonment. This can happen suddenly due to the indeterminacy of prisons’ trials. Many couples decide to end their romantic

relationships when they are released. Sandra had considered this option, however Sandra's expectations of starting a life on her own changed with the unexpected release of Beto. Sandra had to suddenly embrace the fact that she had a husband. Whilst things were going well at the start, later on the relationship became a new sort of prison for her, at which point my presence and the camera also became a problem.

I hope to have shown that prisoners and ex-prisoners do not make sense of their arrival in prison solely in terms of offence, re-offense, crime and violence, but through encounters of romantic love and treason, of lack of luck and of mistaken decisions. Further, that prison is also tied to stories about friendships, enmities, life experiences, old and new skills and desires. One of the contributions of my work is showing how the experience of imprisonment does not begin when entering prison, nor does it altogether terminate in the aftermath of imprisonment, but complex continuities and discontinuities exist between prison and prisoners/ex-prisoners.

With all of these experiential and material realms, my work sheds light on imprisonment as both recurring and transient (physically, mentally, emotionally and socially speaking). The reasons for imprisonment and its lengths are fluctuating and contradictory. As an extreme human condition imprisonment encompasses suffering, coping, resisting and questioning by means of *everyday practices* (De Certeau 1984), and of prisoners providing themselves and others with meanings (as explored in Chapters 1-4). Prison is an experience of negotiating who you want to be, who you think it is good to be and who others want you to be (as seen in Chapter 3). I also argued that prison endures for different lengths of time, measured in months or years, but is also lived through personal subjective feelings of *duration* (such as uncertainty, hope, faith and waiting as explored in Chapter 4). I showed that prison sometimes vanishes, becomes hidden or is made manifest in different material and immaterial forms after imprisonment (such as iron bars, prisoners' writings, tattoos, bodily movements, memories, storytelling, wooden crafts, legal requirements and visits to prison). Prison was arguably also present in social interactions, for its experiencing and elicitation are a result of ongoing intra and interpersonal interactions (a result of talking, seeing and living the legal processes of others,

engaging romantically with another prisoner, and of being interviewed and asked about it, as explored in Chapters 4-6). For all of them it is an experience that they make sense of by drawing on their past, present and imagined futures, along with the experiences of fellow inmates.

My work has mainly explored how prisoners made sense of their imprisonment, drawing from Jackson's view that the stories people produce offer them and others a self-satisfying explanation of events and the feeling that in talking they are casting for themselves a place in the world (Jackson 2002: 16). However, I have attempted not to analyse only the imaginary and practices of the people I met, but to give relevance to the foreseen and unforeseen consequences of their decisions. Thus, I have drawn attention to how such decisions have emotional, legal, or other, direct effects on their bodies and fates. Several contrasting consequences may take place parallel to their own intentions. For instance, in Chapter 2, I demonstrated how the legal team made a particular reading of Karina's testimony of drug addiction regardless of her intentions when delivering such a confession. Her story shows that prisoners' narratives determine their arrest, guilt or innocence, length of sentence, their mental status, and thus the likelihood of their early release. Moreover, in Chapter 3 I argued that women prison's staff and prisoners may be punished or told off when trying to put forward alternative views of women than those promoted by the prison director. In Chapter 4, I highlighted how while inmates sometimes decide to wait patiently for a trial in order to reduce uncertainty, their trials may be prologued indefinitely when inmates do not put pressure on them. In Chapter 7, I illustrated how their way of remembering prison created different effects on their persons, be it through a sense of responsibility, a feeling of nostalgia, a departure for desire, a victorious feeling, enjoyment, fear or new desires. With their memories they reinvented places, and histories and they provided themselves with an identity. My film *Time will tell* documents the story of Sandra who happened to enter a new form of captivity by initiating life after prison with the man she met in prison.

In summary, by engaging in the moral life worlds of people who were imprisoned, my work signals that they did not hold a single relation to prison, for they redefine, rethink and reconfigure their link to prison according of who they meet, their options, their recollections, imagination and the consequences that all of

these bring. Finally, if research practices are responsible for making certain recollections survive and others fade away, my elicitations consolidated certain stories of prison, preventing them from oblivion, while also positing them above others. Instead of looking at stories regarding *recidivism*, *stigma*, *well being* or *obstacles to citizenship*, this work foregrounded reimagined memories and maintains that other kinds of links or dissociations to prison exist. In doing so, my encounters with ex-prisoners also operated as one of the ways in which their imprisoned past interlaced with their current lives, resurrecting what had been forgotten and giving way to remembering.

Bibliography

- Abu-Lughod, Lila, 1993, *Writing women's worlds. Bedouin stories*. University of California
- Abu-Lughod, Lila. 1990. "The Romance of Resistance: Tracing Transformations of Power Through Bedouin Women". *American Ethnologist*. Vol 17. No.1: 41–55.
- Adorno, Sergio. 1995. "Discriminação racial e Justiça criminal". *Novos Estudos Cebrap*. Nº43, 11, pp. 45-63.
- Ahmed, Sara. 2004. "Collective feelings or, the impressions left by others". *Theory, Culture & Society*. SAGE: London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi, Vol. 21(2): 25–42.
- Ahmed, Sara. 2004. *The cultural politics of emotion*. Routledge: Nueva York.
- Alfonzo, Luis, Francisco Cumsille and Rafael Franzini Batlle. 2011. "Problema de drogas: consumo y criminalidad". *Informe sobre seguridad ciudadana en las Américas*. Secretaría de Seguridad Multidimensional. Organización de los Estados Americanos.
- Alford, Fred. 2000. "What would it matter if everything Foucault said about prison were wrong? Discipline and Punish after twenty years". *Theory and Society*. 29: 125-146.
- Antony, Carmen. 2007. "Mujeres invisibles: las cárceles femeninas en América Latina", *Nueva Sociedad*. No 208. Marzo-abril.
- Antze Pauk and Michael Lambek. 1996. *Tense past: cultural essays in Trauma and Memory*. New York: Routledge.

- Appadurai, Arjun. 1991. "Global Ethnoscapes: Notes and Queries for a Transnational Anthropology". *Recapturing Anthropology: Working in the Present* (ed. by R. Fox). Santa Fe, N.M.: School of American Research Press. Pp. 191-210.
- Appadurai, Arjun. 1986. *The Social life of things: Commodities in cultural perspective*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Arellano, Efrén. 2011. *Impacto de la reforma constitucional en el sistema de ejecución de sentencias*. Centro de Estudios Sociales y de Opinión Pública. Documento de Trabajo núm. 104.
- Arford, Tammi. 2010. "Performativity, Parody, and Possibilities: Gender in the Context of Women's Prisons" Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association Annual Meeting. Hilton Atlanta and Atlanta Marriott Marquis: Atlanta.
- Aristotle. *Aristotle's treatise on rhetoric*. Aristotle; Buckley, Theodore Alois, 1825 1856; Hobbes, Thomas. 1588-1679. London : Henry G. Bohn 1850.
- ASILEGAL et al. 2001. *Informe sobre la situación de las personas privadas de libertad en México*. Document elaborated by Asistencia Legal por los Derechos Humanos A.C. (ASILEGAL). Documenta A.C. and Instituto de Derechos Humanos Ignacio Ellacuría SJ de la Universidad Iberoamericana Puebla Mexico.
- Azaola, Elena y Cristina José Yacamán. 1996. *Las mujeres olvidadas*. CNDH. El Colegio de México: Mexico.
- Azaola, Elena. 1996. *El delito de ser mujer: hombres y mujeres homicidas en la ciudad de México: historias de vida*. Plaza y Valdés, CIESAS.
- Azaola, Elena. 2009. *Crimen, castigo y violencias en México*. CIESAS-FLACSO: México.
- Balandier, Georges. 2006. *Le pouvoir sur scenes*. Fayard: Paris.
- Banks, Markus. 2001. "Research Strategies". *Visual Methods in social research*. Sage: London.
- Becker, Gay. 1997. *Disrupted lives, how people create meaning in a chaotic world*. University of California Press: Los Angeles.
- Behar, Ruth and Deborah A. Gordon (eds.). 1995. *Women writing culture*. University of California Press: Berkeley and Los Angeles.
- Behar, Ruth, 2003, "Ethnography and the book that was lost", *Ethnography*, 4;15, SAGE. Publications.
- Behar, Ruth. 1995. "Introduction; out of exile ". *Women writing culture*. Ruth Behar and Deborah A. Gordon (eds.). University of California Press: Berkeley.
- Behar, Ruth. 1996. *The Vulnerable Observer. Anthropology that breaks your heart*. Boston: Beacon Press.

- Benítez, Víctor Hugo. 2009. "Dicotomía dogmática y semejanza institucional". *IX Encuentro de la Asociación Argentina de Profesores de Derecho Penal*. Corrientes. 26 de Agosto.
- Bennett, Jamie. 2008. "Reel life after prison: Repression and reform in films about release from prison". *The Journal of Community and Criminal Justice*. NAPO. Vol 55(4): 353–368.
- Berger, Harris M. and Giovanna P. Del Negro. 2002. "Bauman's Verbal Art and the Social Organization of Attention: The Role of Reflexivity in the Aesthetics of Performance". *Journal of American Folklore*. 115: 62–91.
- Berger, John and Jean Mohr. 1982. *Another way of telling*. Vintage International: New York.
- Berger, John. 1973. *Ways of Seeing*. London: BBC Books.
- Bergman, Marcelo. 2004. "Cárceles en México: *Un Estado de Situación*". Informe presentado para el proyecto: *Prisons in Crisis: Understanding Latin America's Most Explosive Problem*. Submitted by the Law, Jurisprudence, and Society Section of LASA CIDE: México, 30-9-2004.
- Bergson, Henri. 2001. *Time and free will: an essay on the immediate data of consciousness*. Dover Publications: Mineola, N.Y.
- Bergson, Henry. 2004. *Matter and memory*. Dover Philosophical classics: London
- Berliner, David. 2005. "Social Thought & Commentary: The Abuses of Memory: Reflections on the Memory Boom in Anthropology". *Anthropological Quarterly*. Vol. 78. No. 1, pp. 197-211.
- Blundo, Giorgio. 2007. "Hidden acts, open talks: How anthropology can "observe" and describe corruption". *Corruption and the secret of law: a legal anthropological perspective*. Edited by Monique Nuijten, Gerhard Anders, Ashgate: Hampshire.
- Boholm, Åsa. 2003. "The cultural nature of risk: Can there be an anthropology of uncertainty?". *Ethnos*. 68: 2, 159-178.
- Bosworth, Mary and Eamonn Carrabine. 2001. "Reassessing Resistance : Race, Gender and Sexuality in Prison". *Punishment & Society*. 2001 3: 501.
- Bosworth, Mary. 1999. *Engendering resistance: agency and power in women's prisons*. Dartmouth: England.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1986. *The forms of Capital*. In J. Richardson (Ed.) *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. New York, Greenwood, 241-258.
- Bratich, Jack. 2007. "Popular secrecy and occultural studies". *Cultural Studies*. 21: 1, 42-58.
- Brown Wendy. 1995. *States of Injury. Power and freedom in Late Modernity*. Princeton University Press: New Jersey.

- Brown, Marilyn and Barbara Bloom. 2009. "Reentry and Renegotiating Motherhood: Maternal Identity and Success on Parole". *Crime Delinquency*. 55; 313.
- Buffington, Robert. 1993. "Revolutionary Reform: The Mexican Revolution and the Discourse on Prison Reform". *Mexican Studies*. Vol. 9. No. 1, pp. 71-93.
- Buffington, Robert. 1996. "Revolutionary reform: Capitalist development, prison reform, and executive power in Mexico". *The birth of the penitentiary in Latin America: essays on criminology, prison reform, and social control, 1830-1940*. Ricardo Salvatore and Carlos Aguirre (ed.). University of Texas Press Institute of Latin American Studies: Austin.
- Buffington, Robert. 2000. *Criminal and citizen in modern Mexico*. Lincoln. University of Nebraska Press.
- Bushway, Shawn. 2006. *The problem of prisoner reentry*. Contemporary Sociology. 35,6, University of Maryland.
- Butler, Judith. 1990. *Gender trouble, feminism and the subversions of identity*. Routledge, Chapman and Hall: London.
- Butler, Judith. 1993. *Bodies that matter: on the discursive limits of "sex"*. Routledge.
- Butler, Judith. 2003. "Variaciones sobre sexo y género: Beauvoir, Witting y Foucault". *El género la construcción cultural de la diferencia sexual*. Marta Lamas (comp.). PUEG, UNAM: México.
- Calhoun, Craig. 1994. "E. P. Thompson and the Discipline of Historical Context". *Social Research*. Vol. 61. No. 2, pp. 223-243.
- Caplan, Pat. 1988a. "Engendering Knowledge: the Politics of Ethnography I". *Anthropology Today* 4(5): 8-12.
- Carlen, Pat. 1983. *Women's imprisonment. A study in social control*. Routledge and Kegan Paul: London.
- Carr, David. 1991. *Time, Narrative and History*. Indiana University Press: Indianapolis.
- Carrillo Hernández, Edith. 2012. "¿Vinculadas al narco? Mujeres presas por delitos contra la salud". *Desacatos*. Núm. 38. Enero-abril, pp. 61-72.
- Carrión, Fernando. 2006. "La recurrente crisis carcelaria en Ecuador". *Ciudad segura. Programa de estudios de la ciudad*. Enero no. 1. Ecuador: FLACSO. 1-3.
- Casey, Edward. 1996. "How to get from space to place in a very short time". *Senses of place*. Steven Feld and Keith Basso eds. Santa Fe: school of American Research Press.

- Casey, Edward. 1999. "The Time of the Glance". *Becomings: Explorations in Time, Memory, and Futures*. E. Grosz In (ed.). Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.
- Castellanos, Alicia. 2000. "Antropología y Racismo en México". *Desacatos*. Num. 004, CIESAS, México.
- Castells, Manuel. 1997. *The power of identity*. Blackwell, oxford.
- Cavazos, Irma. 2005. *Mujer, etiqueta y cárcel*. México D.F. UAM/Instituto Nacional de Ciencias
- Chakrabarty, Dibesh. 1988. "Conditions for knowledge of working-class conditions. Employers, government and the jute workers of Calcutta, 1890–1940". *Selected subaltern studies*. , Ranajit Guha and Gayatri Cakraoorty Spivak (eds.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Chakrabarty, Dipesh. 1993. "Marx after Marxism: History, Subalternity and Difference". *Meanjin*. 52 (3): 421-34
- Chiozzi, Paolo. 1989. "Photography and anthropological research: three case studies". *Eyes Across the Water*. Amsterdam: *Het Spinhuis*. Boonzajer Flaes (ed.). Pp. 43-50.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2012. "Intencionales, las fallidas consecuencias de la lucha contra el narco: Noam Chomsky". *La Jornada*. May 13th.
- CIDH. 2011. "Informe sobre los derechos humanos de las personas privadas de libertad en las Américas". Inter-American Commission on Human Rights. OEA.
- Clifford, James and George Marcus. 1986. *Writing culture: The poetics and politics of ethnography*. University of California Press: Los Angeles.
- Clifford, James. 1986. "Introduction: partial truths". *Writing culture: The poetics and politics of ethnography*. Clifford, James and George Marcus (eds.). University of California Press: Los Angeles.
- Collier, J., Jr., & Collier, M. 1986. *Visual anthropology: Photography as a research method*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Colmenares, Eduardo et. Al. 2007. "Female depression and substance dependence in the Mexico City Penitentiary System". *Salud mental*. Noviembre-diciembre. Año/vol. 30, número 006. Insituto Nacional de psiquiatría Ramón de la Fuente, Distrito Federal, México.
- Combessie, Philippe. 2002. "Marking the Carceral Boundary: Penal Stigma in the Long Shadow of the prison". *Ethnography*. 3; 535. Translated from the French by Richard Nice and and Loïc Wacquant
- Comfort, Megan. 2002. "Papa's House: The Prison as Domestic and Social Satellite". *Ethnography*; 3; 467.
- Comfort, Megan, Olga Grinstead, Kathleen McCartney, Philippe Bourgois, and

- Kelly Knight. 2005. "‘You Can’t Do Nothing in This Damn Place’: Sex and Intimacy Among Couples With an Incarcerated Male Partner". *The journal of sex research*. Vol. 42. No. 1, Feb. 3-12.
- Connerton, Paul. 1989. *How societies remember*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Constitución de los Estado Unidos Mexicanos* (CEUM). Last reform DOF 10-06-2011. Cámara de Diputados del H. Congreso de la Unión.
- Cover, Robert M. 1983. *The Supreme Court 1982 Term, Foreword: Nomos and Narrative*. Harvard Law Review 97(1): 4–68.
- Crapanzano, Vincent. 1992. *Hermes' Dilemma and Hamlet's Desire*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Crapanzano, Vincent. 2003. "Reflections on Hope as a Category of Social and Psychological Analysis". *Cultural Anthropology*. Vol. 18. No. 1, pp. 3-32.
- Crapanzano, Vincent. 2003. *Imaginative horizons: an essay in literary-philosophical anthropology*. University of Chicago Press: London.
- Crawley, Elaine. 2004. "Emotion and performance. Prison officers and the presentation of self in prisons". *Punishment & Society*. Vol 6(4): 411–427.
- Csordas, Thomas J. 2008. "Intersubjectivity and intercorporeality". *Subjectivity*. 22, pp. 110–121.
- Das Veena and Arthur Kleinman. 2000. *Violence and subjectivity*, University of California Press: Los Angeles.
- David, Carr. 1991. *Time, Narrative and History*. Indiana University Press: Indianapolis.
- Davidson, Donald. 1984. *Inquiries into Truth and Interpretation*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.
- Davis, Angela. 1998. *What is the prison industrial complex? Why does it matter?*. Colorlines: Race, Culture, Action.
- De Casanova, Erynn. 2004. "‘No Ugly Women’: Concepts of Race and Beauty among Adolescent Women in Ecuador". *Gender and Society*, Vol. 18 No. 3. June, 287-308.
- De Certeau, Michael. 1984. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- De Certeau, Michael. 1986. "Practices of Space". *Signs*. M. Blonsky (ed.). Oxford: Blackwell.
- De la Cadena. 1991. "‘Las mujeres son más indias’: Etnicidad y género en una comunidad del Cusco". No. 1, Julio,. Estudios y Debates.

- De la Peña, Guillermo. 1996. "Corrupción e informalidad". *Espiral*, septiembre-diciembre, año/vol. III, número 007. Universidad de Guadalajara. México, pp. 109-127.
- De Piña, Rafael. 1992. *Diccionario de Derecho*. Porrúa-México.
- Deleuze, Gilles. 1989. *Cinema II: The Time-Image*. Continuum: London.
- Desjarlais, Robert. 2005. "Movement, stillness. On the sensory world of a shelter for the Homeless Mentally ill". *Empire of the senses. The sensual culture reader*. David Howes (ed.). Berg: New York.
- Dewey, John. 1960. *The Quest for Certainty*. Capricorn Books.
- Díaz Cruz, Rodrigo. 2008. "La celebración de la contingencia y la forma. Sobre la antropología de la performance". *Nueva Antropología. Revista de Ciencias Sociales*. Número 69. Sección de Previa.
- Dirsuweit, Teresa. 1999. "Carceral spaces in South Africa: a case study of institutional power, sexuality and transgression in a women's prison". *Geoforum* 30 (1999) 71-83.
- Dombrowski, Kirk. 2010. "Re-entry: a guide to success?". *Dialectical Anthropology*, 34: 477-481.
- Donziger, Marc R. 1996. "The prison industrial complex". In *The Real War on Crime*, 63-98. New York: Harper Perennial.
- Douglas, Mary and Aaron Wildavsky. 1982. *Risk and Culture*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Duce, Mauricio y Rogelio Pérez Perdomo. 2005. "La seguridad ciudadana y la reforma del sistema de justicia penal en América Latina". *Crimen y violencia en América Latina*. Hugo Frhüling and Joseph Tulchin (eds.). Fondo de Cultura Económica: México.
- Duranti, Alessandro. 1993. "Truth and Intentionality: An Ethnographic Perspective", *Cultural Anthropology*. 8(1): 214-245.
- Duranti, Alessandro. 2010. "Husserl, Intersubjectivity and anthropology". *Anthropological Theory*. 10: 16.
- Eagleton, Terry. 1990. *The ideology of the aesthetic*. Blackwell: Oxford.
- Edwards, Elizabeth, Chris Gosden and Ruth Philips. 2002. *Sensible objects. Colonialism, Museums and Material Culture*. Berg: Oxford.
- Elias, Norbert. 1989. *Sobre el tiempo*. Fondo de Cultura Económica: Mexico.
- Esparza, Marcia. 2006. "Expanding the Frame: The Role Visual Research Methods Played in Documenting the Lives of Incarcerated Indigenous Women in Oaxaca, Mexico". *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice* 2006; 22; 113.
- Esqueda, José de Jesús. 2007. "Artículo 199, primer párrafo, del Código Penal

- Federal, ¿Excusa absolutoria o excluyente del delito?”. *Revista del Instituto Federal de la Defensoría Pública. publicación semestral*. Poder Judicial de la Federación, pp. 171.
- Ewing, Katherin. 1990. “The Illusion of Wholeness: Culture, Self, and the Experience of Inconsistency”. *Ethos*. Vol. 18. No. 3 (Sep.) pp. 251-278.
- Ewing, Katherin. 2006. “Revealing and Concealing: Interpersonal Dynamics and the Negotiation of Identity in the Interview”. *Ethos*. Vol. 34. No. 1, pp. 89–122.
- Fabian, Johannes. 1983. *Time and the other-how anthropology makes its object*. Columbia University Press: New York.
- Faith, Karlene. 1993. *Unruly women: the politics of confinement and resistance*. Vancouver: Press Gang Publishers.
- Fandiño, Juan. 2020. “Análise comparative dos efeitos da base socioeconômica, dos tipos de crime e das condições de prisão na reincidência criminal”. *Sociologias*. Porto Alegre. ano 4. Nº 8. jul/dez, p. 220-224.
- Feld, Steven. 2005. “Places sensed, senses placed: Toward a sensuous epistemology of environments”. *Empire of the senses. The sensual culture reader*. David Howes (ed.). Berg: New York.
- Fiddler, Michael. 2007. “Projecting the prison: The depiction of the uncanny in The Shawshank Redemption”. *Crime Media Culture*. Vol 3(2): 192–206. SAGE Publications: Los Angeles.
- Fondevila, Gustavo. 2012. “El problema de los penales”. *Reforma*, 5 de abril.
- Foucault, Michael. 1978. *The History of Sexuality, Volume I: An Introduction*. Pantheon Books: New York.
- Foucault, Michael. 1991. *Discipline and punish, the birth of the prison*. Penguin Book: London.
- Galemba, Rebecca. 2008. “Informal and Illicit Entrepreneurs: Fighting for a Place in the Neoliberal Economic Order”. *Anthropology of Work Review*. Volume XXIX. Number 2.
- Gamio, Manuel. 1986 (1916). *Forjando Patria*. Porrúa, Mexico.
- Garland, David. 2001. *The culture of control: crime and social order in late modernity*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.
- Geertz, Clifford. 1976. *The interpretation of cultures*. Basic Books: New York.
- Geertz, Clifford. 1983. “Local Knowledge: Fact and Law in Comparative Perspective”. *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology*. Pp. 167-234. New York: Basic Books.

- Geertz, Clifford. 1984. "Culture theory, essays on mind self and emotion". Richard Shweder and Robert Levine (eds.). Cambridge University press: Cambridge.
- Geffroy, Yannick. 1990. "Family photographs: a visual heritage". *Visual Anthropology*. 3(4): 367-410.
- Gell, Alfred. 1992. *The Anthropology of Time: Cultural constructions of temporal maps and images*. Oxford : Berg.
- Godin, Marie, Jennifer Kishan, David Muraskin. 2006. RSC Working Paper No. 37. "The Medium of Testimony: Testimony as Re-Presentation". *Working Paper Series*. Queen Elizabeth House. Department of International Development, University of Oxford.
- Goffman, Erving. 1990 [1959]. *The presentation of self in every day life*. Penguin Books: New York.
- Gordon, Deborah. 1995. "Border Work: Feminist Ethnography and the dissemination of literacy Behar". *Women writing culture*. Ruth Behar and Deborah A. Gordon (eds.). University of California Press: Berkeley.
- Gould, Deborah. 2009. *Moving politics, emotion and act up's fight against AIDS*. The University of Chicago Press: Chicago.
- Gräbner, Cornelia. 2012. "From the Intersection of Pain and Hope: Poetic Disruptions of the Neoliberal Etiquette in Public Letters." In Burghard Baltrusch & Isaac Lourido (eds.). *Non-Lyric Discourses in Contemporary Poetry*. München: Martin Meidenbauer, 212.
- Greenhouse, Carol. 1996. *A moment's notice: time politics across cultures*. Cornell University.
- Groark, Kevin. 2008. "Social Opacity and the Dynamics of Empathic In-Sight among the Tzotzil Maya of Chiapas, Mexico". *Ethos*. Vol. 36. Issue 4, pp. 427-448.
- Hage, Ghassan. 2009. "Hating Israel in the field: on ethnography and political emotions". *Anthropological theory*. 9: 1, pp. 59-79.
- Handelman, Don. 1990. *Models and mirrors*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Hannah-Moffat, Kelly. 1995. "Feminine Fortresses: Woman-Centered Prisons?". *The Prison Journal*, 75: 135.
- Hardt, Michael. 1997. "Prison time". *Yale French Studies*. No. 91. *Genet: In the Language of the Enemy*. Yale University Press, pp. 64-79.
- Hart, Keith. 1973. "Informal Income Opportunities and Urban Employment in Ghana". *The Journal of Modern African Studies*. Vol. 11, No. 1 (March), pp. 61-89.

- Harlow, Barbara. 1986. "From the Women's Prison: Third World Women's Narratives of Prison". *Feminist Studies*. Vol. 12. No. 3 (Autumn, 1986), pp. 501-524.
- Hastrup, Kirsten. 1990. "The Ethnographic Present: A Reinvention". *Cultural Anthropology*. Vol. 5. No. 1. Feb, pp. 45-61. American Anthropological Association.
- Hastrup, Kirsten. 2003. "Representing the Common Good: The Limits of Legal Language." *Human Rights in Global Perspective: Anthropological Studies of Rights, Claims and Entitlements*. Richard Ashby Wilson and Jon P. Mitchell, eds. ASA Monographs (vol. no. 40). Pp. 16–32. London: Routledge.
- Hastrup, Kirsten. 2004. "Getting it right. Knowledge and evidence in anthropology". *Anthropological Theory*. SAGE Publications. Vol 4(4): 455–472.
- Haynes, Deborah. 1995. *Bakhtin and the Visual Arts*. Cambridge University Press.
- Hearn, J. 1993. "Emotive subjects: Organizational men, organizational masculinities and the (de)construction of "emotions"". *Emotion in organizations*. S. Fineman (ed.). Pp. 142–66. London: Sage Publications.
- Heidegger. 1962. *Being and time*. SCM Press LTD: London.
- Heidegger. 2001. *The concept of time*. Black well: Oxford.
- Henley, Paul. 2004. "Putting film to work: observational cinema as practical ethnography." *Working Images: methods and media in ethnographic research*. Sarah Pink, Laszlo Kurti and Ana Isabel Afonso, eds. Routledge: London
- Hernández, Aída (comp). 2010b. *Bajo la sombra del Guamúchil*. CIESAS: Mexico.
- Hernández. Aída. 2011. "Del Estado Multicultural al Estado Penal: Mujeres Indígenas Presas y Criminalización de la Pobreza en México". (A publicarse en Sierra, María Teresa, R. Aída Hernández y Rachel Sieder. Estado. Derecho(s) y violencia: Pueblos indígenas frente a la justicia en México y Guatemala. CIESAS. México D.F en imprenta.
- Hernández, Roberto. 2012. El caso Cassez y la decisión de la Suprema Corte . *Este País*, 252, 01.04.2012.
- Herzfeld, Michael. 1991. *A place in History, Social and Monumental time in a Cretan Town*. Princeton; New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Hinton, Alexander. 1993. "Prolegomenon to a Processual Approach to the Emotions". *Ethos*. Vol. 21. No. 4.

- Hobsbawm, Eric. 1980. "The Revival of Narrative: Some Comments". *Past & Present*, No. 86 Feb, pp. 3-8.
- Hoffmann Elizabeth. 2007. "Open-Ended Interviews, Power, and Emotional Labor". *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*. Vol. 36. No. 3, pp. 318-346.
- Hollan Douglas and C. Jason Throop. 2008. "Whatever Happened to Empathy?: Introduction". *Ethos*. Vol. 36. Issue 4, pp. 385–401.
- Hoskins, Janet. 1998. "Agency biography and objects, Biographical objects". *How things tell stories about people's lives*. Routledge: London.
- Howes, David. 1991. *Varieties of sensory experience*. University of Toronto Press: Canada.
- Howes, David. 2005. "Introduction". *Empire of the senses: the sensual culture reader*. Oxford: Berg.
- Howes, David. 2005b. "Skinscapes". *The Book of Touch*. Oxford and New York: Berg.
- Husserl, Edmund. 1989. *Ideas Pertaining to a Pure Phenomenology and to a Phenomenological Philosophy*. Second Book: Studies in the Phenomenology of Constitution (trans. R. Rojcewicz and A. Schuwer). Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Hymes, Dell. 1973. "Speech and Language: On the Origins and Foundations of Inequality among Speakers". *Language as a Human Problem* (Summer). *Daedalus*. Vol. 102. No. 3pp. 59-85.
- Ingold, Tim. 1991. "Becoming Persons: Consciousness and Sociality in Human Evolution". *Cultural Dynamics*. 4: 355.
- Ingold, Tim. 2000. *The perception of the environment. Essays in livelihood, dwelling and skill*. Routledge: Londond.
- Irving, Andrew. 2008. "Journey to the end of the night: Disillusion and Derangement among the Senses". *Journeys*. Volume 9. Number 2, pp. 138-160(23).
- Irving, Andrew and Glick-Schiller, Nina, 2014, ed. *Whose Cosmopolitanism? Critical Cosmopolitanism, Relationalities and Discontents*. Oxford and New York: Berghahn. (working paper).
- Irving, Andrew. 2011. "A strange distance". *Medical Anthropology Quarterly*. Vol. 25. Issue 1, pp. 22–44.
- Irving, Andrew. 2010. "Money, Materiality and Imagination: Life on the Other Side of Value." In *Human Nature as Capacity: An Ethnographic Approach*, ed. Nigel Rapport, 130-153. Oxford and New York: Berghahn.
- Irving, Andrew. 2009. "The color of Pain". In *Public Culture* 21:2. Duke University Press.

- Jackson, Bruce. 1987. *Fieldwork*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Jackson, Michael. 1996. *Phenomenology, radical empiricism and anthropological critique*. Indiana University Press: Indianapolis.
- Jackson, Michael. 1998. *Minima ethnographica: intersubjectivity and the anthropological project*. The University of Chicago Press: Chicago.
- Jackson, Michael. 2002. *The politics of storytelling. Violence, transgression and intersubjectivity*. Museum Tusulanum Press: Denmark.
- Jager, Bernd. 1981. "Sartre's anthropology: a philosophical reflection on *la nausee*". *The philosophy of Jean-Paul Sartre*. Paul Arthur Schilpp ed. Southern Illinois University-Carbondale, p.477-494.
- Jeffery, Laura. 2006. "Historical Narrative and Legal Evidence: Judging Chagossians' High Court Testimonies". *PoLAR: Political and Legal Anthropology Review*. Vol. 29. No. 2, pp. 228–253. *American Anthropological Association*.
- Jeremy, Gilbert. 2007. "Public Secrets". *Cultural Studies*. 21: 1, 22-41.
- Johannes, Fabian. 1983. *Time and the other-how anthropology makes its object*. Columbia University Press: New York.
- Johnson, Robert and Nina Chernoff. 2002. "Opening a Vein: Inmate Poetry and the Prison Experience". *The Prison Journal*. 82: 141.
- Josephides, Lisette. 2012. "Finding and mining the talk: Negotiating knowledge and knowledge transfer in the field". *The Interview. An Ethnographic approach*. Jonathan Skinner (ed.). ASA Monographs. Berg: London.
- Kearney, Richard. 2004. *On Paul Ricoeur: The owl of Minerva*. Ashgate Publishing Company: Burlington.
- Kennedy, Duncan. 1997. *A Critique of Adjudication: (Fin de Siècle)*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Kleis, Kathryn. 2010. "Facilitating Failure: Parole, Reentry, and Obstacles to Success". *Dialectical Anthropology*. 34: 525–531.
- Knudsen, John Chr. 1996. "When trust is on trial: negotiating refugee narratives". *Mistrusting Refugees*. Co-edited with E. Valentine Daniel. University of California Press: Berkeley.
- Kondo, Dorinne . 1986. "Dissolutions and reconstitutions of self: Implications for Anthropological Epistemology". *Cultural Anthropology*. 74-88.
- La Enamorada. 2010. *Reflexiones. Fragmentos de dignidad*. Tomo I, 9-42. DEMAC: México.
- Laclau, Ernesto. 1996. *Emancipation(s)*. Verso New Left Books: London.
- Laclau, Ernesto. 2006. *Ideology and post-Marxism*. *Journal of Political*

Ideologies. 11: 2, 103-114.

- Lagarde, Marcela. 1993. *Los cautiverios de las mujeres: madresposas, monjas, putas, presas y locas*. UNAM: México.
- Lamphere, Louise. 1991. "Feminismo y antropología". *El género en perspectiva: de la dominación universal a representación múltiple*. México, UAM.
- Leach, Edmund. 1971. "Two essays concerning the symbolic representation of time". *Rethinking Anthropology*. The Athlone Press; University of London: London.
- Leavitt, John. 1996. "Meaning and Feeling in the Anthropology of Emotions". *American Ethnologist*. 23(3), 514–539.
- Leder, Drew. 2000. *The soul know no bars. Inmates reflect on life, death and hope*. Rowman and Littlefield publishers: Maryland.
- León, Myrna Erendira and Mara Angelica Roldan Gonzalez. 2007. "Una voz en silencio: condición social de las mujeres en prisión". *Nuevas y viejas formas de la penalidad en America Latina*. José Luis Cisneros et. al (comp.). Buenos Aires: Elaleph.com. 19-44.
- Levy, Robert. 1983. "Introduction: Self and emotion". *Ethos*. Volume 11. Issue 3. Society of Psychological Anthropology. P.p. 128-134.
- Levy, Robert. 1984. *Culture theory, essays on mind self and emotion*. Richard Shweder and Robert Levine (eds.). Cambridge University press: Cambridge.
- Liebling, Alison. 2005. *Prison and their moral performance. A study of values, quality, and prison life*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.
- Lifton, Robert. 1993. *The protean self: Human resilience in an age of fragmentation*. New York: Basic Books.
- Lutz, Catherine and Geoffrey White. 1986. "The Anthropology of Emotions". *Annual Review of Anthropology*. Vol. 15, pp. 405-436.
- MacAloon, John. 1984. "Rite, drama, festival, spectacle". *Rehearsals toward a theory of cultural performance*. Philadelphia. Institute for the Study of Human issues Philadelphia.
- Mahler, Julia. 2008. *Lived Temporalities. Exploring Duration in Guatemala. Empirical and Theoretical Studies*, Transcriptions: Bielefeld.
- Mahmood, Sara. 2005. *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject*. Princeton University Press: Princeton, NJ.
- Makhlouf, Carla. 2000. "Risk, uncertainty, and agency: Culture and safe motherhood in Morocco". *Medical Anthropology*. 19: 2, 173-201.

- Makowski, Sara. 2010. *Las flores del mal, identidad y Resistencia en cárceles de mujeres*. UAM: Mexico.
- Mallon, Florencia. 1996. "Constructing mestizaje in latin america: authenticity, marginality, and gender in the claiming of ethnic identities". *Journal of Latin American anthropology* 2(1)170-181. American Anthropological Association.
- Marchand, Marchand. 2010. "Making knowledge: explorations of the indissoluble relation between minds, bodies, and environment". *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* (N.S.). S1-S21.
- Marcoux, Jean Sébastien. 2001. "The refurbishment of memory". *Home possessions: material culture behind closed doors*. Daniel Miller (ed.). Berg: Oxford.
- Marieke, Liem and Maarten Kunst. 2013. "Is there a recognizable post-incarceration syndrome among released "lifers"?" . *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry*. Volume 36. Issues 3–4, May–August 2013, pp. 333–337.
- Marks, Laura. 2000. *The skin of the film. Intercultural cinema, embodiment, and the senses*. Duke University Press.
- Martinot, 2005. Steve. "The Sartrean Account of the Look as a Theory of Dialogue". *Source: Sartre Studies International*. Volume 11. Numbers 1-2. Spring 2005, pp. 43-61(19).
- Maruna, Shadd. 2001. "Making good: how ex-convicts reform and rebuild their lives". American Psychological Association: Washington, D.C.
- Mauss, Marcel. 1954. *The Gift. Forms and functions of exchange in Archaic Societies*. Cohen and West LTD. The University Press Aberdeen.
- Mead, Margaret. 1995. "Visual anthropology in a discipline of words". *Principles of Visual Anthropology*. Paul Hockings (ed.), 3rd edition. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter, pp.3-10.
- Merlau-Ponty, Maurice. 1978. *Phenomenology of perception*. Routledge and Kegan Paul: London.
- Miller, Daniel. 2001. "Behind closed doors". *Home possessions: material culture behind closed doors*. Berg: Oxford.
- Mitchell, Jon. 1997. "A Moment with Christ: The Importance of Feelings in the Analysis of Belief". *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 3: 79–94.
- Mohanty, Chandra Talpade. 1988. "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses". *Feminist Review*. No. 30 (Autumn), pp. 61-88.
- Moltmann, Jiirgen. 1967. *Theology of Hope: On the Ground and the Implications of a Christian Escha-tology*. London: SCM Press.
- Moore, Henrietta. 1994. *A passion for difference*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

- Moore, Sally. 2000. *Law as process, an anthropological approach*. James Currey Publishers: Oxford.
- Munn, Nancy. 1992. The Cultural Anthropology of Time: A Critical Essay, *Annual Review of Anthropology*. Vol. 21 (1992), pp. 93-123.
- Nellis, Mike. 2009. "The aesthetics of redemption, Released prisoners in American film and literature". *Theoretical Criminology*. SAGE: London.
- Noel Rodríguez, María. 2003. "Investigación y análisis: esfuerzos regionales". *Mujer y cárcel en América Latina. Violencia contra las mujeres privadas de libertad en América Latina*. Comisión de Derechos Humanos del Distrito Federal: Mexico.
- Nuijten, Monique. 2004. "The 'hope-generating machine' and the positionality of the anthropologist". *The development of religion/The religion of evelopment*. O. Salemink, A van Harskamp, A. Kumar Giri (eds.) Eburon, Delft.
- Nuñez, Concepción. 2007. *Deshilando Condenas, Bordando Libertades. Diez Historias de Vida. Mujeres Indígenas Presas por Delitos Contra la Salud en Oaxaca*. Tesis de Doctorado en Ciencias Sociales. Mención honorífica en el concurso de tesis Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz. INMUJERES.
- O'Connell, Davidson. 2008. "If no means no, does yes mean yes? Consenting to research intimacies". *History of the human sciences*. 21: 4, pp.49-67.
- Oliver, Brian. 2010. "My Sentence Is Over But Will My Punishment Ever End". *Dialectical Anthropology*. 34: 447-451.
- Ortner, Sherry. 1972. "Is Female to Male as Nature Is to Culture?". *Feminist Studies*. Vol. 1. No. 2. Autumn, pp. 5-31.
- Ortner, Sherry. 1995. "Resistance and the Problem of Ethnographic Refusal". *Comparative Studies in Society and History*. Vol. 37. No. 1, pp. 173-193.
- Ortner, Sherry. 2006. *Anthropology and social theory. Culture, power, and the acting subject*. Duke University Press: USA.
- Patiño, José. 2010. *Nuevo modelo de administración penitenciaria. Fundamentos históricos, situación actual y bases*. Porrúa: México.
- Paya, Victor. 2006. *Vida y muerte en la cárcel: Estudio sobre la situación institucional de los prisioneros*. Plaza y Valdez, UNAM: Mexico.
- Penrod, Janice. 2001. "Redefining the concept of uncertainty". *Journal of Advanced Nursing*. 34(2).
- Petersilia, Joan. 2003. *When prisoners come home: parole and prisoner reentry*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.
- Piault, Marc Henri. 2007. "Real with Fiction". *Visual Anthropology Review*. Volume 23 Number 1.

- Pink, Sara. 2009. *Doing sensory ethnography*. SAGE: London.
- Pinker, Annabel and Penny Harvey. 2012. "Negotiating Uncertainty: Neoliberal statecraft in contemporary Peru". Paper presented at *Affective states: Exploring emotion in Political Life*. 17-18 May: University of Manchester.
- Pollock, Della. 1998. "Performing writing". *The ends of performance*, 73-103.
- Portes, Alejandro and Richard Schauffler. 1993. "Competing Perspectives on the Latin American Informal Sector". *Population and Development Review*. Vol. 19, No. 1 (Mar., 1993), pp. 33-60.
- Posada, A and M. Díaz-Tremarias. 2008. "Las cárceles y población reclusa en Venezuela". *Rev Esp Sanid Penit*; 10: 22-27.
- Presunto culpable*. 2009. *Diecter* by Roberto Hernández and Layda Negrete.
- Purcell, Clarke and L. Renzulli. 2000. "Menus of Choice: The Social Embeddedness of Decisions". *Risk in the Modern Age: Social Theory, Science and Environmental Decision Making*. M.J. Cohen (ed.). Macmillan Press: London.
- Pulido-Criollo Frank, Rodríguez-Landa Juan Francisco and Colorado-Martínez Martha P. 2009. "Factores sociodemográficos asociados con los síntomas depresivos en una muestra de mujeres reclusas en dos prisiones de México". *Rev. Panam Salud Publica*. 2009;26(3):209–15.
- Rabinou, Paul. 2007. *Reflections on fieldwork in Morocco*. University of California Press: Los Angeles.
- Rabinow, Paul. 1989. *French Modern norms and forms of the Social Environment*. The MIT press: Cambridge.
- Ramos Rodríguez, Patricia. 2003. "Diagnóstico de la situación de las mujeres encarceladas en Colombia, Mujer y cárcel en América Latina". *Violencia contra las mujeres privadas de libertad en América Latina*. Comisión de Derechos Humanos del Distrito Federal: Mexico.
- Rappaport, Roy A. 1996. "Risk and the Human Environment". *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. 545: 64–74 (May).
- Rapport, N. & M. Harris. 2007. *A discussion concerning ways of knowing*. In *Ways of knowing: new approaches in the anthropology of experience and learning*. M. Harris (ed.), 306-30. Oxford: Berghahn.
- Rapport, Niggel. 2008. "Walking Auschwitz, walking without arriving". *Journeys, the international Journal of Travel and Travel writing*. Vol. 9. No. 2. Berghahn Journals: Oxford.
- Rapport, Niggel. 2012. "The interview as a form of talk-partnership: Dialectical, focussed, ambiguous, special". *The Interview. An Ethnographic approach*. Jonathan Skinner (ed.), ASA Monographs, Berg: London.

- Rebughini, Paola. 2010. "Critique and social movements: Looking beyond contingency and Normativity". *European Journal of Social Theory*. 13: 459.
- Reed, Adam. 2003. *Papua New Guinea's last place: experiences of constraint in a postcolonial prison*. Berghahn Books: USA.
- Reed, Adam. 2011. "Hope on remand". *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* (N.S.) 17, 527-544.
- Reeves, Madeleine. 2012. "Living from the nerves: deportability, indeterminacy and the feel of law in migrant Moscow". Paper presented at *Affective states: Exploring emotion in Political Life*, 17-18 May: University of Manchester.
- Rhodes, Lorna. 2009. "Ethnography in sites of total confinement". *Anthropology News*. Volume 50. Issue 1, pp. 4-5.
- Ricoeur, Paul. 1980. "Narrative Time". *Critical Inquiry*. Vol. 7. No. 1. On Narrative (Autumn), pp. 169-190.
- Robertson, Jennifer. 2002. "Reflexivity Redux: A Pithy Polemic on 'Positionality'". *Anthropological Quarterly*. Volume 75. Number 4. Fall 2002, pp. 785-792.
- Robson, Colin. 1993. *Real World Research*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Rorty, Richard. 1989. *Contingency, Irony, and Solidarity*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Rosaldo, Michelle. 1984. *Culture theory, essays on mind self and emotion*. Richard Shweder and Robert Levine (eds.). Cambridge University press: Cambridge.
- Rosaldo, Renato. 1989. *Culture and Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Rosaldo, Renato. 1991. "Introducción: La aflicción y la ira de un cazador de cabezas". *Cultura y verdad*. México. Grijalbo- CNCA. Pp. 15-31.
- Rouch, Jean. 2003. "The camera and man". *Cine-Ethnography*. Steven Feld. (ed). Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press.
- Rubenstein, Lenny. 1978. "Deal: Behind the Scenes on "Let's Make A Deal."" An Interview with E.J. Vaughn and John Schott. *Cineaste*, Vol. 9: 36.
- Ruby, Jay. 1991. "Speaking For, Speaking About, Speaking With, Of Speaking Alongside- An Anthropological and Documentary Dilemma!", *Visual Anthropology Review*. Volume 7. Number 2.
- Sarre, Miguel. 2012. "Carta imaginaria que una supuesta nieta escribe a su abuelo ministro de la Corte. desde el secuestro". <http://www.miguelsarre.com/>.

- Sartre, Jean Paul. 1996. "The Existence of Others". *Being and Nothingness*. London: Routledge.
- Sawyer, Keith. 2000. "Improvisation and the Creative Process: Dewey, Collingwood, and the Aesthetics of Spontaneity". *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*. Vol. 58. No. 2. Improvisation in the Arts Spring, pp. 149-161.
- Schechner, Richard. 1976. "From ritual to theatre and back". *Ritual, play and performance*. Richard Schechner and Mady Shcuman (Eds.). The Seabury Press: New York.
- Scheffler, Judith (ed). 2002. *Wall tappings*. Northeast University Press: Boston.
- Schlosser, Eric. 1998. The Prison-industrial complex. *The Atlantic Monthly* 282: 51-77.
- Scholes, Robert and Robert Kellogg. 1966. *The Nature of Narrative*. Oxford University Press.
- Scott, James. 1985. *Weapon of the weak. Every day forms of peasant resistance*. Yale University Press, New Haven.
- SEGOB. 2012. Incidencia delictiva nacional. fuero federal 1997-2012. [HTTP://WWW.SECRETARIADOEJECUTIVOSNSP.GOB.MX/EN/SECRETARIADOEJECUTIVO/INCIDENCIA_DELICTIVA_NACIONAL_FUERO_FEDERAL](http://www.secretariadodejecutivosnsp.gob.mx/en/secretariadodejecutivo/incidencia_delictiva_nacional_fuero_federal)
- Seremetakis, Nadia. 1993. "The Memory of the Senses: Historical Perception, Commensal Exchange and Modernity". *Visual Anthropology Review* 9. No. 2, pp., 2-18.
- Seremetakis, Nadia. 1994. *The senses still. Perception and memory as Material culture in modernity*. Westview Press: Oxford.
- Shirk, David A. and Alejandro Ríos. 2007. "Introduction: Reforming the Administration of Justice in Mexico", *Reforming the Administration of Justice in Mexico*. Wayne A Cornelius and David A. Shirk (eds.). La Jolla and Notre Dame: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies and University of Notre Dame Press.
- Simmel, Georg. 1906. "The sociology of secrecy and of secret societies. the American journal of sociology". number 4. VI XI, pp. 441-498. The University of Chicago Press: Chicago.
- Simon Bart. 2005. "The return of panopticism: supervision, subjection and the new surveillance", *Surveillance and Society*. Vol 3. No. 1.
- Singer, Joseph William. 1989. *Persuasion*. Michigan Law Review 87(8): 2442-2458.

- Sjöberg, Johannes. 2009. "Ethnofiction and beyond: The legacy of projective improvisation in ethnographic filmmaking". Retrieved from: <http://antoine.czech.free.fr/textes-colloqueJR/Sjoberg.pdf>. 1-13.
- Soares, Bárbara y Lara Ilgenfritz. 2002. *Prisioneiras. Vida e violência atrás das grades*. Río de Janeiro: Garamond.
- Sökefeld, Martin. 1999. "Debating Self, Identity, and Culture in Anthropology". *Current Anthropology*. Vol. 40. No. 4 (August/October), pp. 417-448.
- Sontag, Susan. 2004. "Regarding the torture of others". *New York Times Magazine*. 23.05.2004. New York.
- SSP. 2011. "Estadísticas del Sistema penitenciario Federal". OADPRS. Septiembre.
- Stageman, Daniel. 2010. "Re-entry, revisited". *Dialectical Anthropology*. 34: 441-446.
- Starling, Lawrence. 2010. "Re-entry programs, from an anti-unconventional ex-offender". *Dialectical Anthropology*, 34: 491-495.
- Stephen A.Tyler. 1986. "Postmodern Ethnography: from document of the Occult to Occult document". *The poetics and politics of ethnography*. Clifford, James and George Marcus (eds.). University of California Press: Los Angeles.
- Stewart, Susan. 2005. "Remembering the senses". *Empire of the senses. The sensual culture reader*. David Howes (ed.). Berg: New York.
- Stoller, Paul. 1989. *The taste of ethnographic things*. University of Pennsylvania Press. Philadelphia.
- Stoller, Paul. 1997. *Sensuous Scholarship*. University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia.
- Strathern, Andrew. 1996. *Body Thoughts*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.
- Strathern, Marilyn. 1987. "An Awkward Relationship: The Case of Feminism and Anthropology. Signs". Vol. 12. No. 2. Reconstructing the Academy (Winter), pp. 276-292.
- Sutton, David. 1998. *Memories cast in stone. The relevance of the past in every day life*. Berg: Oxford.
- Taussig, Michael. 2002. *Defacement*. Stanford University Press: Stanford, CA.
- Taussig, Michael. 2003. 'Viscerality, Faith, and Skepticism. Another Theory of Magic'. *Magic and Modernity*, eds. B. Meyer & P. Pels. Stanford University Press: Stanford, CA, pp. 272-306.
- Taussig, Michael. 1991. "Tactility and Distraction". *Cultural Anthropology*. Vol. 6. No. 2 (May), pp. 147-153.

- Taylor, Lucien. 1991. "A Conversation with Jean Rouch", *Visual Anthropology Review*. Volume 7 Number 1.
- The Guardian. 2012. "HSBC 'sorry' for aiding Mexican drugs lords, rogue states and terrorists". July 17th
- Thomas, Nicholas. 1991. *Entangled objects. Exchange, material culture and colonialism in the pacific*. Harvard University Press. Massachusetts.
- Thompson, E.P.. 1971. "Anthropology and the Discipline of Historical Context." *Midland History*. Vol. I. No. 3. Chichester. Phillimore: England.
- Tilley, Chris. 2006. *Handbook of material culture*. SAGE: London.
- Travis, Jeremy. 2005. *But they all come back: Facing the challenges of prisoner reentry*. The Urban Institute Press: Washington.
- Treacy, Mary Jean. 1996. "Latin American women's prison memories". *Hypatia. Women and Violence*. Vol. 11. No. 4. (Autumn), pp. 130-145.
- Trevor, Marchand. 2008. "Muscles, morals and mind: craft apprenticeship and the formation of person". *British Journal of Educational Studies*. 56: 3, 245-271.
- Trimbur, Lucia. 2009. "Me and the Law is Not Friends": *How Former Prisoners Make Sense of Reentry*. *Qual Sociol* 32: 259–277.
- Turner, Victor. 1967. *The forest of symbols: aspects of Ndembu ritual*. Cornell University Press.
- Turner, Victor. 1982. *From ritual to theatre. The human seriousness of play*. PAJ Publications: New York.
- Uggen, Christopher and Jeff Manza. 2004. *'Less than the average citizen': stigma, role transition and the civic reintegration of convicted felons*. Cullompton Portland OR. Willan Publishing.
- Van Hoven, Bettina and David Sibley. 2008. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*. Volume 26, p.p., 1001-1017.
- Vance, Carole. 1991. "Anthropology rediscovers sexuality: a theoretical comment". *Soc. Sci. Med*. Vol. 33 No. 8, pp. 875-884.
- Vargas, Gabriela. 2007. "Tiempo y poder: La Antropología del tiempo". *Revista Nueva Antropología*. Mayo. Año/vol. XX. Número 067.
- Vasconcelos, José. 1997 (1925). *The cosmic race*. Johns Hopkins University Press, London.
- Vertov, Dziga. 1984. *Kino-Eye: The writings of Dziga Vertov*. Ed. Annette Michelson, trans. Kevin O'Brien. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Vesperini, María D. 1985. *City of Green Benches. Growing old in New Downtown. Ithaca*. Cornell University Press.

- Vincent, Joan. 1991. "Engaging historicism." *Recapturing anthropology* 49.
- Visher, Christy and Jeremy Travis. 2003. "Transitions from prison to community: Understanding individual pathways". *Annual Review of Sociology*. 29: 89-113.
- Wacquant, Loic. 2001. "Deadly simbiosis. When ghetto and prison meet and mesh". *Punishment and Society*. SAGE publication: London, vol. 3, pp. 95-134.
- Wacquant, Loïc. 2010. "Prisoner reentry as myth and ceremony". *Dialectical Anthropology*. 34: 605–620.
- Waldram, James. 2009. "Challenges of prison ethnography". *Anthropology News*. Volume 50. Issue 1. pp. 4–5.
- Weiner, James. 1996. "GDAT" Debate 'Is aesthetics a cross-cultural category'.. *Key Debates in Anthropology*. Tim Ingold (ed.). London: Routledge.
- Wheeler, A. M.. 2010. "Response: an impending release". *Dialectical Anthropology* (2010) 34: 473–475.
- White, Hayden. 1972. "The Structure of Historical Narrative". *Clio* 1.
- Wikan, Unni. 1992. "Beyond the Words: The Power of Resonance". *American Ethnologist* 19: 460-482.
- Wilson, K. 1992. "Thinking about the ethics of fieldwork". 179-199 (Chapter 12) in Devereux, S. and Hodinott, J. eds. *Fieldwork in Developing Countries*. Harvester Wheatsheaf: New York.