

“SMALL VILLAGE/LARGE HELL”
COCAINE AND INCARCERATION IN LIMA, PERU

By

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Abstract

“SMALL VILLAGE/LARGE HELL”: COCAINE AND INCARCERATION IN LIMA, PERU

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The *Establecimiento Penitenciario de Mujeres de Chorrillos* (commonly referred to by its previous name, Santa Monica) in Lima, Peru was built in 1952 as a reformatory to hold 300 women but by June 2012 it held over 3,500, many of them serving sentences for drug trafficking. This is the largest female prison in this Andean nation. An intersectional analysis of prisoners' narratives collected during fieldwork conducted from 2008 to 2009 demonstrates two inter-related processes. First, inequality was produced and reproduced inside this prison through the interconnections of race, gender, class and citizenship. Prisoners' daily lives and access to resources were constrained by the same inequalities that led to their incarceration. Multiple divisions among women mirrored national and globalized structural inequalities and citizenship in particular emerged as a dividing force. Santa Monica's stratification system was continuously reproduced as prisoners competed for life dependent resources.

Secondly, I show the ways in which women's labor was the linchpin between the transnational cocaine commodity chain and the prison. Santa Monica transformed into a place to “dispose of” low-level workers of the transnational cocaine commodity chain. Because the majority of these workers were women, their labor became the bond between illegal cocaine and the prison. Those who worked as drug couriers and minor retailers were laboring at the riskiest

and most visible jobs to police surveillance. They were arrested when they were no longer needed or once they become a threat to the day-to-day operation of trafficking drugs while the (mostly male) middle managers above them remained in the background. Women's labor therefore created a symbiotic relationship between the prison and this chain where each side helped the other grow and expand. Once incarcerated, these women faced a hierarchy that shaped options for survival as they served their sentences.

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I.

INTRODUCTION

I.1. Introducing the Santa Monica Prison

Figure I.1: *Peru*



Figure I.2: District of Chorrillos in Lima, Peru



It is the beginning of a typical workweek in Lima, the largest city and capital of Peru. This country, which will be discussed in detail in the next chapter, is located in the western half of South America and faces the Pacific Ocean. It is the fifth most populous country on the continent. On this winter day I get up and prepare my clothes, gather my notebook and pen, pack my snacks and kiss my daughters goodbye as I leave my grandmother's home. I am going to the Santa Monica Prison.

From my grandmother's house, I walk the four blocks to the bus stop and wait for a small bus to approach. I know it is mine because of the young man hanging out the window yelling, "Huaylas! Huaylas," as he slams his hand against the door. I quickly get on or else I risk being left behind. The trip is bumpy but not very long. We ride down the long avenues and a short highway to Chorrillos, one of the capital city's beachfront districts. Chorrillos is at the southern edge of Lima and buffers the northern middle class and upper class neighborhoods from the southern poorer district of Villa el Salvador. It is a mix of small homes built in the *serros*, the large dusty hills that surround Lima, and more upper class homes that sit closer to the beach.

As the bus winds its way through traffic I look out the window into the gray Lima sky and catch quick glimpses of a cemetery, the national police academy, a street full of car repair shops, a bustling market where people come in and out. Because it is morning, I see children in uniforms being hurried by their parents to school. Giggling teenagers get on and off the bus. I know we are coming closer to the prison once we reach a traffic circle with a large non-working clock in the middle. We pass the sturdy cement homes that make up much of Lima's architecture, a small playground and a couple of manufacturing plants. I prepare to get off once I see the new women's and children's clinic, a three story building built to provide low cost health services to the community. "Bajo!" I yell out and I wait for the bus to halt forcefully at the next

stop where I quickly hop off. On one side is a wholesale food store and across the street is a brand new supermarket that takes up most of the long block. From there I walk to where the prison is located.

The *Establecimiento Penitenciario de Mujeres de Chorrillos* (commonly referred to by its previous name, Santa Monica) is an innocuous flat green building sitting on the edge of the wide and busy Huaylas avenue in Lima, Peru. It is surrounded by restaurants, grocery stores, internet cafes and homes. You can walk past the prison and not know what it is unless you happen to look up and notice the barbed wires that sit on top of the building's high walls or the small gray iron doors that have the words INPE (Peru's *Instituto Nacional Penitenciario*, the federal agency that runs the prison) painted on them. Instead of heading directly to the prison, however, I first sprint to one of the grocery stores across the street. There I hand the person behind the counter my purse in exchange for a small piece of paper with my name handwritten by the salesperson. Visitors aren't allowed to bring purses or bags into the prison. Because there is no storage space inside Santa Monica for visitors to put away their personal belongings, these stores fill a need. Once my visit is over, I can pick up it in exchange for one sol. When I am done at the store, I run across the street again, trying to avoid being hit by a car or bus and stand in front of the thick gray iron door. I pound on it a couple of times with my fist and after a minute or two a rectangular peephole slides open and I see the top half of a woman's face peer out. I show her my pass and after the guard decides it is acceptable, she opens the door.

This front room is wide and large in order to make space for those who come on visiting days. But since today isn't a visiting day, it is mostly empty except for the one or two guards standing about. The sounds of cars and trucks rumbling and honking on the avenue and the voices of laughing and talking pedestrians are now muted. From the entrance I head straight to

the main desk where I show the guard there my pass and also my passport. After careful study of both, my arm is stamped. This labels me a visitor. From here I walk through the search area and wait to be called by another guard who leads me into a small closet-like space with curtains at either side.

She closes the curtain and proceeds to inspect my clothes, bra and underwear and asks me to take off my shoes. After looking inside them, I am given permission to put them back on. The guard asks who I am and why am I there. She instructs me to hand her my notebook and I wait silently while she flips through its pages. After this inspection is complete she opens the curtain on the other side and tells me that I am done. I walk into a small and tidy courtyard surrounded by the administrative offices. Staff workers, mainly women, walk busily from one end to the other. One or two prisoners go from office to office, delivering food and drinks for staff or cleaning up. I can tell that they are prisoners because they are not wearing the business suits or skirts worn by the staff. They are dressed in street clothes. Prisoners in Santa Monica don't wear uniforms but the dress code forbids skirts or shorts. I am largely ignored until I walk past these offices and reach a small gate squished between two buildings. Past this gate is where the prison population lives. On one side stands a female guard and on the other a few prisoners hang about waiting for their turn to speak to a lawyer or trying to convince a guard to let them speak to someone in administration about a complaint or request. Most are Peruvian but I notice a foreign woman or two in the group. I show the guard the stamp on my arm and she opens the gate door. I step through and finally enter into the prisoner's patio.

This is a large open-air patio surrounded by the administration wing, chapel, beauty salon, nursery, clinic, auditorium and one of the dormitory buildings. On the opposite end of this patio is another gate where the three dormitory buildings are located. A guard stands in front of

this gate. These dormitory buildings surround two smaller patios. I spend most of my time speaking with women in the main patio. On a typical day it is full of women walking, knitting, doing nails or hair, talking, gossiping, people watching and waiting for their turns to speak with a staff person or with their lawyers. A couple of women from the bakery workshop walk around selling empanadas. Another woman sits on a bench selling instant coffee or soda, depending on the weather. Some women hold infants in their arms but most of the children spend their days in the nursery. About fifty children under the age of three live in the prison with their mothers. The phones are also located in the main patio. These eight public phones only accept calling cards or coins and long lines form during the hours women are allowed to make phone calls. A guard or two walk around observing the women but for the most part, only a handful of guards can be seen in the patio. On a warm sunny day this area can get very crowded.

Santa Monica was built in 1952 as a reformatory to hold 300 women, but during the time of my fieldwork in 2008-2009, it held more than three times its capacity. In August 2010, there were 2,753 women incarcerated in Peruvian prisons (INPE 2010). This number had grown to 3,640 by June 2012. (INPE 2012) This is still small in comparison to the number of imprisoned men who number about 57,000 (INPE 2012). But women are overwhelmingly put into prison for drug related crimes whereas most men are in prison on charges of violent crimes. Women made up 3.6 percent of the total prison population in 1978, but today they constitute double that proportion. According to reports by INPE, between sixty to seventy percent of these women were arrested on charges of drug trafficking. They had been accused of either selling cocaine, transporting it within Peru and/or Lima, belonging to a drug trafficking organization, or smuggling cocaine into a male prison.

Almost all of the country's female prison population is located in the two women's prisons in Lima. Women from eighteen and older can be sent to Santa Monica and most prisoners range from their mid-twenties to their mid-forties. About half (fifty-two percent) are single, eleven percent are married and twenty-seven percent are categorized as cohabitating with male partners. Most are mothers (Monzón and Romero 2004) who worked as retail street traders or unskilled workers before incarceration (INPE 2012), both typical of the country's population of poor women and lived in Lima, although a number had migrated from Peru's rural regions before settling in the capital. Of the about nine-hundred women incarcerated in Santa Monica in 2008, approximately one-hundred were not Peruvian and came from countries such as Malaysia, Spain, South Africa, the Netherlands, Poland, the United States and the Philippines. Many had arrived not knowing any Spanish but they quickly learned how to speak and read it, as the prison did not offer any translation services. Mostly they kept to themselves and formed friendships with women of similar nationalities and languages. Foreign prisoners in Santa Monica ranged from young women in their twenties to a few who were in their late fifties and early sixties. They represented a variety of ethnicities and racial backgrounds. Almost all of the foreign women had been caught attempting to carry cocaine out of Peru's main airport. Some had been caught with cocaine inside the city borders.

At the time of my fieldwork prisoners were given a bed, three meals a day and not much else. They had to buy their own blankets, toiletries, medicine and clothes and pay for their own phone calls. No air conditioning was available during the hot summer months nor was any heat provided during the cloudy, damp and cool winters. Hot water was only available for an hour or so in the early morning. When women strategized to earn an income, they had to pay for their own materials such as yarn, knitting needles or thread. The nursery gave the children meals but

mothers were responsible for diapers, clothes and medicine. Prisoners also paid for the maintenance of the prison and were charged weekly fees for the cleanup of hallways and the patios. Roaches and lice were common in the crowded bedrooms that were built to hold up to three women but typically sheltered four to six. There was a constant battle to keep roaches off beds and stored food. Women also slept in the hallways of the dormitory buildings. In this setting of scarcity, personal belongings were valued and women kept a close eye on their things.

Visita (visitors) brought with them food, personal items and money. Visiting days were held three days of week. One weekday and a Sunday were for female visitors and Saturdays were reserved for male visitors. Visitors included mothers, children, grandmothers, sisters, husbands, church representatives, embassy workers (for foreign women) and every so often, ex-prisoners who came to visit old friends. Visitors poured into the main patio and they sat with the women around small plastic tables that had been set up. Some of the prisoners took out their wares to sell, from handbags to jewelry. Others walked around selling drinks and snacks. Children ran around and the patio would become very loud and crowded on visiting days. Prisoners without visitors either stayed in their dormitories or walked around the visiting area with a friend, observing who'd come to visit whom.

Women who were serving a three to seven year sentence were allowed to work in a *taller*, an income generating workshop. These were also important because for every five days worked in a taller, one's sentence could be reduced by one day. These *talleres* were also feminized – work options included sewing, making wallets and purses, knitting, baking, making stuffed animals, working in the laundry room, the nursery taller, the cooking taller and finally training and working in the beauty salon. There was also a monthly fee for participating in a

taller and if a prisoner could not pay it, she was not allowed to work. Participants also had to purchase their own work materials.

In December of 2008, the Taracapa prison for women opened a couple of miles from Santa Monica. This new prison could house up to 616 women. My research was based in Santa Monica. When I returned to Lima in 2010 to visit some of the women I had met during my fieldwork, some of them had been transferred to Taracapa. Yes, it is newer, they told me, but it is also unfinished. Their biggest complaint was the loss of the small amount of privacy they had in Santa Monica. Unlike the old prison, all women in Taracapa slept in a one large room. There was also no clinic in this new prison. Although it had the potential to ease overcrowding in Santa Monica, it was also a sign of the government's commitment to the continued imprisonment of women.

I.2. The Reproduction and Reorganization of Inequalities Inside Santa Monica

Conversations

Carolina is sixty years old and Afro-Peruvian. *“I was one of sixteen children. I went to school until I was eleven years old and at twelve I started working for a family as a domestic worker. I got married when I was seventeen years old and started having my children – too soon, I think. My oldest daughter is forty and my youngest is eighteen. She got pregnant after I came here. I left my husband after my youngest was born because he treated me badly. I’ve always worked as a domestic worker and that’s how I ended up in here. I was working at a house that had drugs but I didn’t know that. The family was there and they escaped when the police came. I didn’t run away because I was innocent. I’ve worked all of my life and was never involved in drugs. Here in Santa Monica sometimes my daughters come to visit me and sometimes they*

don't. Sometimes they will bring me things but I don't ask because they're struggling outside, too. I make some money by doing pick up and cleaning in one of the wings but this is only for one week at a time. Life is hard here - everything is expensive. There is no one here to help us. I've been here for seventeen months and I still don't know anything about my case."

Jen, a white North American woman, complains to me about Teresa who is Peruvian: *"One of the guards was getting her hair done at the salon here and Teresa was talking bad about her, how the guard probably didn't have enough money to go to a real salon."* Glenda, a white South African woman, chimed in: *"Yeah, she thinks the sun sets and rises on her ass just because she lived in an expensive part of South Africa when she was there!"*

The above conversations illustrate the thesis of this study: the Santa Monica prison is a reflection of Peruvian gender, class, race and citizenship inequalities despite individual attempts to fight and reorganize them inside. For example, Carolina's poverty outside the prison was replicated inside as she tried to get cleaning jobs in order to buy the things she needed. How these inequalities are reproduced, the ways they intersect with one another to shape women's choices before and during incarceration and how women compete for life dependent resources within the stratification of the prison will be explored in this dissertation.

In the second conversation above, a middle class Peruvian prisoner looked down on a Peruvian guard, and her attitude was criticized by two white foreign women who did not need to work because they received money from family members. Teresa was a prisoner but believed herself superior to the guard, at least in terms of class. I questioned to what extent inequalities become reorganized by the women in Santa Monica, realizing finally, that while they don't necessarily become reorganized, there were women who tried to fight the replication of their

lives and create a different life inside the prison. They reveal themselves in individual stories and were the exceptions that proved the rule. Multiple marginalizations shaped the pathways of the women quoted above and of most of those included in this research. Their pathways led to the transnational cocaine commodity chain, a conceptual framework understood “as an end product of a global commodity chain” (Wilson and Zambrano 1994: 297) (also referred to below as TCCC) and ultimately into Santa Monica. Inside the prison, hierarchies were reproduced and influenced access to resources. But in some instances women in Santa Monica renegotiated the social factors that made up the stratification system of the prison. However, these instances were ultimately constrained by the same inequalities that led to their incarceration.

Various social categories exist in Santa Monica. Because not all of them can be included in this dissertation, I will focus on the four that appeared to be the most significant in understanding how and why women began working in the cocaine market, how they became incarcerated and finally, in influencing daily life inside the prison: race, gender, class and citizenship. I conceptualize each one below in relationship to its use in the following chapters. This attempt is not to imply that these categories are bounded and that there is only one way to use them; they are in fact fluid and multi-faceted. Rather, I concentrate on the particular aspects that relate to this ethnographic investigation.

Race

Sanjek’s (1994) claim that “race is the framework of ranked categories segmenting the human population that was developed by Western Europeans following their global expansion beginning in the 1400s” (1) is useful in this study because it provides a starting point for conceptualizing race in a Peruvian prison that holds both Peruvians and foreigners. The Peruvian

racial hierarchy was reflected in Santa Monica through a prison population made up overwhelmingly of non-white women. (Race in Peru will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter). In addition, foreign prisoners brought with them their own interpretations and meanings of race. Therefore, different beliefs and attitudes around this structure of ranked categories based on culturally constructed racialized markers such as skin color and other physical features existed in this one single space. Race as a social concept arranged prisoners within a hierarchy that privileged white women over non-whites.

Gender

Relevant to this dissertation is Acker's (2004) conceptualization of gender as "inequalities, divisions, and differences socially constructed around assumed distinctions between female and male" (20). The choices and experiences of prisoners in Santa Monica prior to and during incarceration were impacted by this social category. Because it is "socially produced and highly variable" (Acker 20), this happened in different ways depending on other status markers. For example, many had worked in sex-segmented labor markets, earning less income than their male counterparts. Other women entered drug trafficking through husbands or boyfriends. Also, mothers faced pressure to provide for their children on a limited income. During incarceration the prison system persisted in remaking gendered disparities which is perhaps best illustrated in the unequal treatment between men and women.

Class

Important to the discussion of class in this research is the labor that the women performed inside and outside the transnational cocaine commodity chain. Also key are the various economic advantages and disadvantages that emerge in their stories. Because of this I use class as

“enduring and systematic differences in access to and control over resources for provisioning and survival” (Acker 2006: 444). In capitalist economies, these resources are principally monetary. Thus factors like work, income-generating strategies, labor hierarchies in licit/illicit organizations and accumulation of capital shaped women’s trajectories into the prison. There they were confronted by another system where women had unequal access to money and the protection and security it provided.

Citizenship

For the sake of clarity, I will use citizenship rather than nationality when addressing global inequities among women in Santa Monica. McCrone and Kiely (2000) state that nationality and citizenship “belong to different spheres of meaning and activity” (25). Nationality is a “cultural concept which binds people on the basis of shared identity...while citizenship is a political concept deriving from people’s relationship to the state” (McCrone and Kiely 2000: 25). Citizenship was important in Santa Monica because it unevenly granted rights, privileges and means of obtaining life dependent resources among prisoners. Like Kipnis (2004), I argue for the use of this concept “as an independent axis for the analysis of both social differences and inequality” (258). For example, it moved women into particular types of work in the drug chain such as transportation. It also increased their surveillance by police forces as they attempted to smuggle cocaine across and within national borders. Finally, citizenship contributed to reproducing globalized inequalities inside this local prison.

I.3. Methodological Approach

This dissertation is based on nine months of ethnographic fieldwork conducted in the Santa Monica prison from 2008 to 2009 with fifty incarcerated women. I also visited the prison

for periods of one to two months from 2004 to 2010. I used participant observation as a way to understand daily life inside Santa Monica. This method consisted of me sitting on a bench in the prison's main patio and "hanging out" with several women whom I saw and spoke with regularly during fieldwork. I listened to their conversations, asked questions when I didn't understand something about the prison, chatted about Santa Monica's daily life, as well as other topics such as food, music, movies, children, pets, men, and any number of other things. It was after two months of doing this that I finally began to request formal interviews. I conducted participant observation first because this allowed some of the women to get to know me better and to become familiar with my research goals. This contributed to building trust. Privacy was a valued luxury inside the prison and I purposely did not ask for interviews until I felt that at least some of the women there were comfortable with me as an anthropologist and as a person.

The selection criteria for interviews included participants who 1) were in prison on charges of drug trafficking or drug consumption 2) were 18 years old or older 3) had been sentenced or were still waiting for sentencing 4) were not pregnant. Sampling methods used included snowball sampling, which "asks people who possess specific characteristics to identify others known to them who share those characteristics" (Schensul et al. 1999). This method is useful for research with populations that are difficult to reach or when dealing with sensitive questions. After interviewing a participant I asked her if she knew of another woman in the prison who might agree to participate in the study. Convenience sampling, a method that that selects from any group readily accessible to the researcher, was also used (Bernard 1998). I approached different women in the prison, described the project and criteria for participation and gave them my contact information in the event that they would want to participate in the project. With both sampling methods I emphasized the voluntary nature of participating in the study.

Throughout my fieldwork, I also used life history narratives from women in Santa Monica in order to bring out the sequence of events and to form probable explanations of why and how informants came to work in the drug trade. These also evoked the “multiple dimensions of women’s lives” (Alcalde 2010: 6). As women spoke to me about their childhoods, families, relationships, children and work, I was able to piece together a multi-faceted picture of those who had worked or were accused of working in the drug trade (Alcalde 2010). Life history narratives helped to elicit basic demographic information and informed me of the general circumstances of the lives of my research subjects (Maher 1997). Through these narratives, which recorded “information from the informant’s perspective from beginning to end” (Schensul et al. 1999), I tried to document the nature and conditions of their lives before incarceration and their motivations for undertaking criminalized work (Owen 1998) or, if they were not involved in this kind of work, how they nonetheless came to be imprisoned for it. This gave participants the option of providing only the information they were comfortable giving.

Because of the nature of life history interviews, I asked few leading questions and none of those inquired into the details of work in the drug trade. This was one way in which to ensure that privacy was respected. As a way to begin the interview I asked participants to tell me about their lives. As they told me their life stories, I noted the work that they performed in both the criminalized and non-criminalized job sectors and how they came to do that particular job. These interviews provided data about the ways in which options for criminalized work were shaped. Further information that I tried to record (provided it was volunteered by the participant) was about education, migration patterns and changes in households. These interviews lasted about one to two hours and informants could choose to end the interview at any time. In order to help maintain confidentiality I did not audio or video record conversations. All interview notes were

hand written by myself only. After spending a day in Santa Monica I would immediately rush to the internet café across the street where I would type up my fieldwork data and then save onto a USB.

One problem with any ethnographic research is that the anthropologist cannot be privy to every nuance and indirect communication in the field. Although the stratification system of this prison reflected global and Peruvian inequalities, some incarcerated women attempted to transform these hierarchies. But these attempts were few and individualized. Ultimately the reality of Santa Monica wasn't reorganized. There may have been, however, more subtle transformations that were invisible to me due to restrictions in time, access and other limitations.

I.3.a. *Intersectionality*

Inequality was produced and reproduced inside Santa Monica through the interconnection of race, gender, class and citizenship. There was some renegotiation in the daily remaking of disparity and uneven access to resources, but ultimately these social categories interacted in ways that stratified the prison population. Multiple divisions among the women ended up mirroring national and globalized structural inequalities. I used an intersectional analysis to trace how these categories related to one another and how they became rearranged. This framework became an important form of analysis in feminist research with Crenshaw's (1991) discussion of "how the experiences of women of color are frequently the product of intersecting patterns of racism and sexism" (1243). Patricia Hill Collins (2000:18) took this one step further by delineating the concept of a matrix of domination: "how these intersecting oppressions are actually organized." Why intersectionality? The incarceration of women transnationally is an example of Western capitalism organizing its relations of production racially and by gender (Brodin 2000). As

poverty has become racialized (Harrison 2002, Sudbury 2004), it becomes important to understand the increasing incarceration rates of women as a form of structural violence that stems from global apartheid (Harrison 2002). Because the majority of women in the Santa Monica prison are not white, understanding how race contributes to structuring their pathway to incarceration (Twine 2008) is vital. For example, the racial hierarchy of Peru has limited the income earning opportunities for many of the women in the Santa Monica prison. In addition, the transnational business of cocaine trafficking reflects the gendered and racial segmentation that exists in the global labor force. Harley (2007:1) writes that “women of color...serve as a racialized, gendered, and sexualized base of cheap labor that is indispensable to the maintenance of a system of global capitalism.” They are also disposable labor for the TCCC and therefore more at risk for incarceration. Intersectionality is one way to comprehend how these dynamics are constructed. This framework “emphasizes the interaction of categories of difference” (Hancock 2007: 63) and

considers the interaction of such categories as organizing structures of society, recognizing that these key components influence political access, equality, and the potential for any form of justice (Hancock 2007: 64).

Nash (2008), while acknowledging the contribution of intersectionality to academic scholarship, critiques it on several fronts. She notes that it is still missing a defined methodology and that there is a wide “gap between conceptions of intersectional methodology and practices of intersectional investigations” (Nash 2008: 89). The vague definition of this concept contributes to the challenges to its application. In addition, Nash questions its empirical validity. She writes: “The overwhelming majority of intersectional scholarship has centered on the particular positions of multiple marginalized subjects” (Nash 2008:10). Is intersectionality then “a theory

of marginalized subjectivity or a generalized theory of identity” (Nash 2008:10)? Furthermore, scholarship that has applied this framework has generally not included “identities that are imagined as either wholly or even partially privileged” (Nash 2008: 10). In other words, how do privilege and oppression intersect?

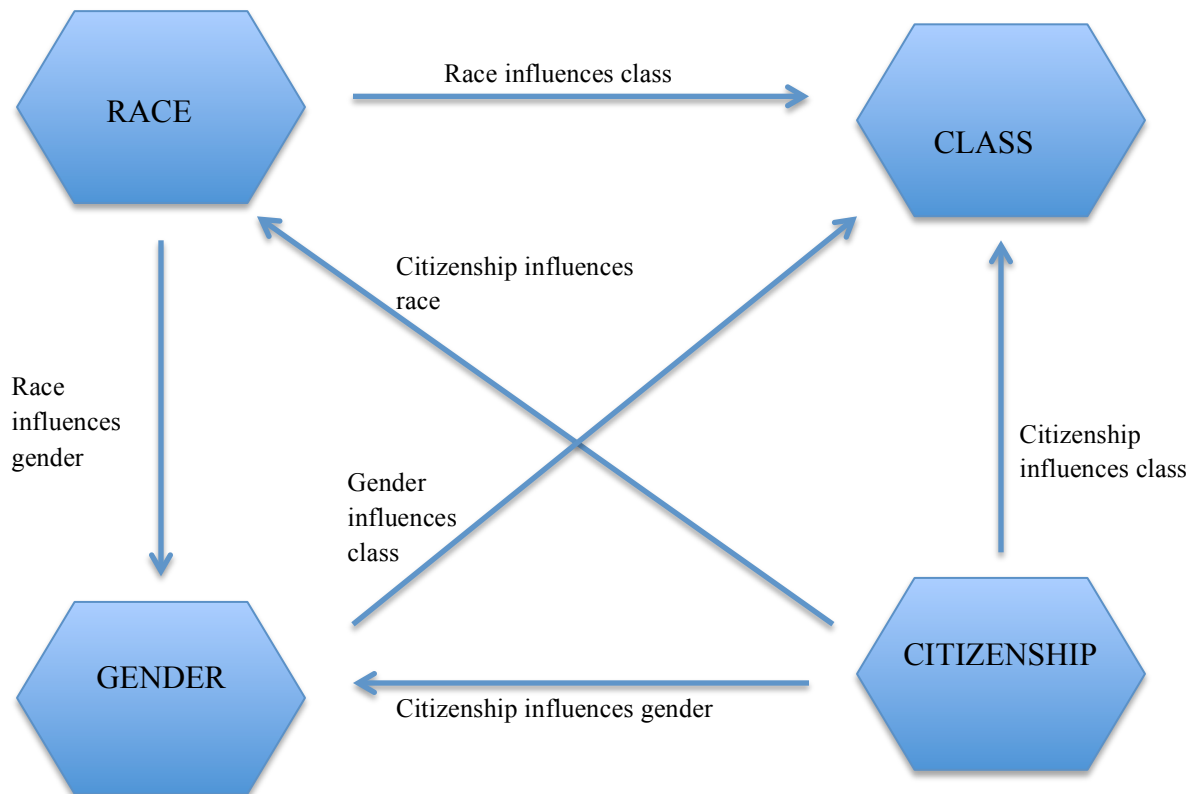
Because this research focuses on the relationships and strategies of survival that are formed inside the prison, I find McCall’s (2005) methodical approach of intersectionality particularly useful, one which she calls “intercategorical complexity.” She explains that this approach “begins with the observation that there are relationships of inequality among already constituted social groups, as imperfect and ever changing as they are, and takes those relationships as the center of analysis” (McCall 2005:1785). The goal of this approach is to explain these relationships. Throughout this work I analyze relationships among incarcerated women that are in many ways unequal but at the same time also converge at specific times and places. This approach “begins with a unified intersectional core – a single social group, event, or concept – and works its way outward to analytically unravel one by one the influences of gender, race, class, and so on...” (McCall 2005: 1787). As I explored the ways in which Santa Monica was a site where inequalities based on gender, race, class and citizenship were reflected and/or reorganized, I attempted to tease out the varying ways in which these inequalities contributed to the formation of uneven relations among the women in the prison and between them and other individuals who were included in their narratives. I began with the women themselves, their stories and experiences and as McCall (2005) puts forward, worked my way outward to understand how each form of inequality has influenced the other.

Race, gender, class and citizenship shaped the options of women included in this project. These categories certainly influenced one another but none was reducible to the other. Before

incarceration, for example, gender “mediated” (Mullings and Wali 2001) class for some women as single motherhood and domestic violence limited income-earning options. For many members of racially subordinate groups, race closed off pathways to upward mobility through licit work opportunities. The limitations of being a citizen of a poor country moved several women towards sex-segmented transnational labor. One social category may have been negotiating others at various points in the lives of prisoners, but all them were present in their narratives as they spoke about the choices they had faced.

These inequalities were reflected and reshuffled inside Santa Monica. In some instances citizenship mediated race. A woman who belonged to a stigmatized racial group was partially protected from racism if she was a citizen of a wealthy nation. In other cases, gender influenced labor strategies. For example, income-earning labor in the prison was largely feminized. For many, class affected daily life during confinement as poor women continued to struggle to make ends meet. These categories were reproduced into a stratification system inside Santa Monica that was an extension of the hierarchies that existed outside its walls. At particular moments, in response to the realities of prison life, one social category was central in shaping choices and then another took its place. But the system of inequality remained the same. I have traced out how this these categories interacted with one another in the following diagram:

Figure I.3: Intersectionality inside the Santa Monica Prison



The above model illustrates how these categories interacted inside this particular prison. Citizenship influenced how gender, race and class were experienced. Race affected class (in other words, class is raced in Peru). Race also influenced gender (for instance, white women had more access to resources than women of color). Gender influenced class (for example, women experienced poverty in different ways than men). Class (economy) was dependent on the other three variables. The lack of arrows coming out of class is interesting, in the prison everything else affected it, especially citizenship.

I.4. Prison Literature in the Social Sciences: A Brief Review

As the following chapters introduce the women interviewed, it is important to ground this ethnography within past approaches of anthropologists and sociologists who have also done research inside prisons and point out how I will contribute to and expand this body of work. Prison literature within anthropology has been limited over the last two decades (Rhodes 2001). Anthropological ethnographies of the prison went into decline just as prisons began growing exponentially in the 1970's (Wacquant 2002). Rhodes sees four trends within the larger prison literature. The first trend includes work that is anti-prisons; the second trend is heavily influenced by Foucault and looks at the history of prisons; the third focuses on prison life itself and the fourth trend "addresses women as prisoners and problematizes the predominance of masculine perspectives in and on the prison" (Rhodes 2001: 66). Rhodes only very briefly notes the work done on the prison industrial complex and also claims that this literature is less theoretical than most of the postmodern influenced work that she cites. Stressing the importance of the role of discourse and postmodern reflection as Rhodes has done is important, but disregarding a perspective that emphasizes the relationship between capitalism, race and gender makes it harder for global connections to be made. Complementing her emphasis on subjectivity and modernity is an approach that looks at prisons through political economy, a view that "brings the intersections of gender and race, colonialism and capitalism, into view" (Davis and Dent 2001: 1237).

Another view rejects Rhodes' admonition of the prison industrial complex as a concept, but instead sees it as vague and as something that encompasses both everything and nothing. Little can be understood from the concept and is therefore brushed aside as well (Wacquant 2002). More important is an ethnography of the prison that recognizes how prisons serve as a "template or vector of broader social forces, political nexi, and cultural processes that traverse its

walls” (Wacquant 2002:386). Anthropologists are also urged to study prisons themselves, the larger social field in which they exist and to expand the discussion of ethnography of prisons outside the U.S. While this view moves prison research forward to connecting them to larger structural forces, the link between crime and punishment remains fixed.

Social science research on prisons up to the 1970’s was conducted by mostly white middle-class men who until then also represented males and females in penal institutions as racially and ethnically homogenous (Diaz-Cotto 1996). Research on women in prison has suffered from a “double invisibility” in social science research: women prisoners have largely been ignored and prisons have been masculinized (Rhodes 2001). Social science researchers studying female prisoners have also tended to view them through concepts such as prison family groups and kinship networks, thus reinforcing an assumption of the traditional gender roles of women (Diaz-Cotto 1996). Research on incarcerated women has also contributed to stereotyping them— motherly prisoners, drug addicts, and hypersexulized in their relationships with other female prisoners (Davis and Shaylor 2001, Diaz-Cotto 1996).

Another trend is to link the rising rates of incarcerated women to their increased participation in criminal activities. This behavioral perspective posits a relationship between the growth of female prisoners to changed gender roles that resulted from the women’s movement of the 1960s and the entrance of women into previously male-dominated jobs (Diaz-Cotto 1996, Heitfield 2002, Sudbury 2004). Freda Adler’s influential 1975 study claimed that women were committing more crimes because the women’s movement had opened up the possibility for both employment and crime in the white-collar job market. Women had gained more personal independence and also increased aggressiveness (Diaz-Cotto 1991, Sudbury 2004). Although many feminist researchers have argued against her study, this framework of the criminality of

women remains in place. Contemporary feminist criminology continues to naturalize the link between crime and punishment and views female prisoners first as women and then as women of color, poor women, etc. (Sudbury 2004). Researchers looking at women's incarceration globally have continued to associate the rising rates of women's imprisonment to advanced economic development and equality between men and women both in and outside the workforce (Chernoff and Simon 2000, Heitfield and Simon 2002).

Anthropological research, including research from a feminist standpoint, on women and globalization has largely overlooked imprisoned women (exceptions include Rhodes 2001, Angel-Ajani 2003, 2004). Feminist anthropologists have written about women and labor in transnational corporations and settings and have located gender and race as central to global capital accumulation but little work has been done on the "repressive penal regimes that underpin these processes" (Sudbury 2002: 14). The issue of women of color and incarceration – especially in non-Western nations - remains largely invisible in spite of the global intersections that can be made across race, gender, class and citizenship. My research attempts to fill this void.

I.5. Overview of Chapters

My own trajectory to explaining how different inequalities helped form the paths to illegal cocaine and subsequently to Santa Monica is planned out in the following way:

Chapter Two: Mapping Out Peruvian Inequalities contextualizes the prison within Peruvian society. It provides a brief overview of the racial, economic and gendered inequalities that structure this Andean nation and how they influence life in the prison.

Chapter Three: Bad Women (But Some are Worse): Gender and Punishment positions the Santa Monica prison historically and within a gendered context. The first half of this chapter

traces the broad history of prisons in Latin America and more specifically in Peru. I argue that the goal of the prison was to help maintain hierarchical divisions in colonial, and later, independent Latin American societies. The second half of this chapter demonstrates why and how women were punished in early Latin America. Their punishment was a gendered project in that it helped reproduce patriarchal power and control that was at the same time class-based and racialized. Women experienced punishment in different ways and this depended on their social positions in highly stratified Latin American nations and cities.

Chapter Four: Two Parts of a Whole: The Prison and the Cocaine Trade continues my attempt to contextualize the prison. In this chapter I locate the prison within the field of the global neoliberal economy. I explore the role it plays in propping up processes of neoliberalization. In addition, I discuss the linkages between the exportation of the United States war on drugs and incarceration, including how poor non-white women of Latin America are caught at the center of this relationship. Because the prison and the transnational cocaine commodity chain are intimately tied together through labor, the last part of this chapter focuses on labor within this chain and traces the movement of people and cocaine.

Chapter Five: Interlude sets the stage for the following ethnographic chapters. It addresses issues particular to doing research inside a woman's prison such as "truth" and the interview process. In addition, I discuss how an ethnographer's own racial, class and gendered identities affect fieldwork.

Chapter Six: Where I come From: How Citizenship Stratifies Santa Monica is about the foreign women incarcerated in Santa Monica. Citizenship emerged as a dividing force inside the prison and I illustrate this through the narratives of four non-Peruvian women who were serving

sentences at the time of my fieldwork. Although foreigners had certain advantages that Peruvians did not, not all foreign women were the same. These differences depended on the position of one's country in the global political economy. I also explore in this chapter how citizenship worked with other inequalities to shape options for resources.

Chapter Seven: Peruvian Prisoners: On the Margins yet in the Center focuses on women in Santa Monica who were citizens of Peru. I attempt to show in this chapter how citizenship intersected with other systems of unequal social relations to shape the pathways of these women into transporting or selling cocaine. Through their narratives, I try to bring out the different ways that gender, class and ethnicity intersected to form choices around informal and illicit work, motherhood and intimate partner violence. I also discuss their options and strategies for survival in the prison and how these were constructed.

Chapter Eight: Crimes of Survival: Health, Disease and Neglect brings together foreign and Peruvian prisoners under the concept of neglect. I show how the neglect of national health care systems helped move them into the transnational cocaine commodity chain and later, Santa Monica. First I explore how national health systems are affected by a neoliberal global economy and then I point out the ways in which this is gendered. The narratives of three women are included in this chapter and I illustrate how different forms of oppression impacted their choices when they were faced with crises of disease.

Chapter Nine: Conclusion summarizes my thesis and arguments, discusses the significance of this project and lastly, suggests future areas for research.

II.

MAPPING OUT PERUVIAN INEQUALITIES

Peru's stratified society is the context in which privilege and oppression are reconstructed inside Santa Monica. The prison reflects the country's racial, gender and class hierarchies. In spite of broader access to education, land distribution and increased democratization over the last half-century, Peru still has one of the highest levels of social disparity in the world (Jaramillo and Saavedra 2010). In this section, I will discuss how race contributes to this inequality and examine economic and gender inequality, as well. I then consider the effects of racism and economic and gender disparities inside Santa Monica and what is done inside the prison to maintain hierarchies of wealth and power.

II.1. Race in Peru

Boesten (2012) states that in Peru, “the intersection of race, class and gender informs structural violence in Peru, and determines individual’s and groups’ access to resources, served, political voice and justice” (366). It is therefore important to understand how race has contributed to inequality in Peru, in this case, the role of race in women’s imprisonment. Other questions to consider include how it contributes to racial oppression inside Santa Monica and how it intersects with other forms of power and difference. But before addressing these issues I first explore the Peruvian construction of race. In later chapters, I will analyze how this construction was altered or reproduced inside Santa Monica.

Race matters in Peru. This is exemplified by the Peruvian women I met and spoke with in the prison. They did not speak about race directly nor did they note racism as a reason for their incarceration. In fact, race was largely a silent character in the stories they told me about their

lives. This silence was extended to the prison system itself – none of the official statistical breakdowns of the prison population included race and/or ethnicity as a category. There were various other categories of information on incarcerated women such as work, motherhood, marriage, and the crime committed, but none on race or ethnicity. In spite of this erasure in both the official discourse of the prison and the unofficial dialog of incarcerated women, I noted during my fieldwork that the population of Peruvian women in Santa Monica was overwhelmingly non-white. They could have fallen into one or more of the many other Peruvian racial/ethnic categories: *chola*, *serrana*, *mestiza*, *morena*, *trigueña*, *negra*, etc. In other words, the prison teemed with women who would not be considered white by Peruvian standards. A racial hierarchy was at work in Peru that was insidiously helping to move non-white Peruvian women into the prison through labor in the drug trade.

On one occasion I was speaking with Michelle at her home a few weeks after she had left Santa Monica. She had recently been released from the prison with her almost three year-old daughter. Michelle was Peruvian with long black hair and big brown eyes. Her daughter, Rose, was a beautiful girl with dark curly hair, even bigger brown eyes, full lips and darker brown skin. Michelle had explained to me that Rose's father was Nigerian. Rose had been born in Santa Monica and had spent the first two-and-a-half years of her life there. Early on in my fieldwork, I noticed that some of the Black American and Dutch women (Dutch by citizenship but African by birth), had taken Rose into their circle – they did her hair, babysat when Michelle was busy, played with her, taught her English and called her “our baby.” Michelle and these women shed many tears when the mother and daughter pair left the prison. Rose had started going to preschool. *“At the beginning some of the girls called her names, they called her negra. But Rose just said to them: (as Michelle put her hand on her hip to mimic Rose), I may be negra but at*

least I'm beautiful.” I immediately thought of the Black American and Dutch women who had most likely imbued this sense of beauty to Rose as they fussed over her and often articulated Rose’s beauty to her through their own ideas and experiences of what it meant to be Black and female in the United States and Western Europe. Therefore, other forms of differences in the prison such as citizenship worked to change the Peruvian understanding around race. In the following section, I will provide a brief overview of constructions of race in Peru in order to contextualize the points made in the above vignette.

Speaking about race in Latin America, Weismantel (2001) writes that, “race naturalizes economic inequality and establishes a social hierarchy that spans the continent” (30). The Peruvian racial structure, like much of Latin America, is a legacy of colonization by the Spanish. Soon after the conquest of Latin America a hierarchy based on assigning groups to racial categories emerged. In Peru, this caste-like system (*casta*) was an attempt by Spanish rulers and elites to maintain power over the large Andean population that survived the conquest and Africans who were brought as slaves to work on the coastal haciendas. Across colonial Latin America, including Peru, Spaniards were located at the top of this system with other groups ranked below them according to their percentage of Spanish blood. Because of sexual relationships (rather than marriage) largely between Spanish men and indigenous or African women, there were many children born who did not fit into just one *casta* category. Soon there were *casta* designations for these groups such as *mestizo* (people with Spanish and indigenous parents) and *mulatto* (those with Spanish and African parents). The *casta* system eventually fell apart partly because of the overwhelmingly large number of mixed race descendants of earlier generations of Spanish, indigenous, African, *mestizo* and *mulatto* men and women. It became too difficult to determine a person’s ancestry and the *casta* system could not keep up. The racial

project of the *casta* system did not develop in the same way across Latin America as racial categories and relationships were also shaped by region and localities. For example in colonial Peru “indigenous people – as Indians – were awarded more legal access than enslaved people” (O’Toole 2012: 2) and “Africans and Andeans shared legal agency but were not considered as equals within all permutation of the law” (O’Toole 2012: 2). Although Indians and Africans were both oppressed groups in colonial Peru, Indians had more rights than Africans.

After independence, Peruvian politics and economy were dominated by *criollos* – whites of Spanish descent who were born in Peru. Scarritt (2012), for example, writes that, “independence remade the dominant group, with *criollos* reasserting their control” (29). The question in the decades after Independence became what to do with the Indian population of this new country. Several strategies were debated and there were attempts to put them into action: assimilation of Indians through civilizing programs (Golash-Boza 2011), extolling miscegenation (De la Cadena 2000), and dominance over highland Indians through the privatization of native land leading to the “massive growth of haciendas as a private means to control native labour” (Scarritt 2012: 30). These white land owners had almost complete control of indigenous people through labor and tribute. It was in this way that that the Peruvian ruling class dealt with their Indian problem. Peru’s slaves, who mainly worked either in Lima or on the haciendas, did not receive emancipation until 1855 and afterwards worked on coastal haciendas as tenant farmers. An important point here is how closely race became tied to labor in post-independent Peru. As Gotkowitz (2011) says about racial formation in post independent Bolivia: “There could be no rural laborers who were not Indians, and there could be no Indians who were not rural laborers” (17). A similar process was occurring in Peru, although this applied more to indigenous Peruvians than the much smaller Black population. This observation is true today when

investigating how race has become tied to the country's drug trade, especially why many women who work as traffickers and sellers of cocaine are not white.

The war between Peru and Chile (1879-1883) proved disastrous for Peru as it lost major territories to Chile. The Indian problem presented itself once again. The country's ruling class argued that it could have won the war had the indigenous population been more integrated into the Peruvian nation. Some believed that the Indian's natural degenerative state prevented them from assimilation. Others posited that Indians could be assimilated through education which would serve "as a nation-building and race homogenizing tool" (De la Cadena 2001: 16). Education implemented in the country's rural provinces through various reforms. The goal here was to transform Indians to mestizos. In another vein, Scarritt (2012) argues that *mestizaje* occurred as a way to control workers' rights – the only way to attain any kind of gain as workers was as a mestizo rather than Indian. On the other hand, Black Peruvians during this time period were "imagined out of the nation over the course of about one hundred years (Golash-Baza 2011: 63)". None of these assimilationist educational reforms referred to them.

Throughout the early twentieth century *indigenismo* became popular as a way to deal with Peru's Indian problem. This was a cultural project created by provincial intellectual elites and educated mestizos. *Indigenismo* extolled Incan history and aimed to show that Indians were not racially inferior, that the differences between indigenous people, mestizos and whites were more about culture rather than race. The belief was that "races degenerated if they were removed from their proper places" (De la Cadena 2001:23). One strand of *indigenismo* proposed that Indians should be empowered to live in some kind of ahistorical past as natural agriculturists. Reforms to transform Indians to mestizos should cease because mestizos were a degenerative form of Indians. *Indigenismo* also held that the Indians of post conquest Peru had improved with

time due to civilizing mechanisms. Mestizos in the provinces were therefore a class above Indians. It was okay to celebrate indigenous music and art but acculturation to “modern” culture was the goal. The *indigenista* legislation that passed in the 1920s under the presidency of Augusto Leguia was more about improving the work conditions on haciendas rather than rebuilding independent and economically sustainable Indian communities. In this way the ruling class prevented the mobilization of indigenous groups. *Indigenismo*’s popularity waned after the 1920s but was reintroduced after World War II with the call for the “creation of a culturally pluralistic nation (Gotkowitz 2012: 19)”.

Agrarian reforms in 1969 implemented by the left leaning military dictator, Velasco, dismantled many of the haciendas on which Indians worked as tenant farmers. In this way feudal relationships between indigenous people and hacienda landowners were finally broken up. The government gave the lands to workers’ cooperatives. The intention here was for these cooperatives to be owned and operated by the workers themselves. But because of serious disorganization and poor planning by the Peruvian government, peasant farmers did not see much political and economic gain from these reforms. These cooperatives were dismantled in the 1980s and cooperative members distributed the land among themselves and worked them as family plots. Race was related to these agrarian reforms in several ways. First, the discourse in the government-imposed model of agrarian reform was that of indigenous people as peasants. References to race were muted. Secondly, mestizos held economic and political power when cooperatives were broken down. Their position as brokers of the state, particularly through neoliberal policies of land privatization in the highlands, reinforced their status over indigenous people.

A prime example of Peru's racial inequality was the country's civil war between the guerrilla group Sendero Luminoso, and the Peruvian military from about 1980 to 1992. This war was particularly devastating to the country's indigenous population. In 2002 the Truth and Reconciliation Committee began public hearings on the atrocities of the war. It noted that:

Instead of the thirty-five thousand people initially thought to have been killed and disappeared because of the violence, the Commission now estimates the number to be seventy thousand. Eighty-five percent of these victims were Quechua-speaking and lived in rural areas (Boesten 2010: 12).

Peru's civil war was a racialized conflict that targeted indigenous people. In addition, thirty five thousand of these individuals disappeared without those in political power noticing, thus pointing to the invisibility of indigenous people in Peru.

But this racial hierarchy has not gone unchallenged and is in a constant state of reinvention. The Andean binary racial system of white/Indian, for example, is complicated by the image of the "mixed-race, sexually ambiguous" (Weismantel 2001: 40) *chola* who asserts a "non-white femininity" (Weismantel 2001: 41). The case of the *chola* shows us that sex and race cannot be separated. The *chola* is an Indian woman who has been the target of sexual exploitation by white men and at the same is given stereotypical male characteristics because of her work in Andean markets. O'Toole (2012) emphasizes the instability of racial hierarchies imposed on non-whites by white elites. Her work examines how Africans and Andeans lived out and understood their racial categories in colonial Peru through processes of exclusion and exchange. But Indians and Blacks did not always employ their *casta* categories in ways that elites have expected: "within the parameters of colonization and slavery, Africans, Andeans and their descendants employed colonial racial categories or *casta* terms to mark their distinctions from others but not to simply fit into their place in the hierarchies of *casta*" (O'Toole 2012: 4-5). Although racial inequality in Peru has from the beginning placed whites as the predominant

racial group, oppressed non-white groups have contributed to making the Peruvian racial system unstable and ever changing. De la Cadena (2001) makes a similar point: “*mestizaje* has nevertheless been claimed and redefined by the working classes as an empowering alternative that does not imply a rejection of indigenous culture yet distances them from Indianness” (12). Therefore, to be a *mestizo* did not mean to assimilate completely into Peruvian modern, urban culture. De la Cadena interviewed young adults in Cuzco who identified as *mestizo* but at the same time saw their indigenous culture as important to their identity. However, they also understood themselves as not Indian in very specific ways such as through formal education.

This resistance by non-white Peruvians does not negate racism as a key component of the nation’s inequality. Groups that are relegated to the most oppressed racial categories (such as Indian) have found ways to both resist and support racism in Peru. De la Cadena (2001) argues that this is due to the designation of race to culture in Peru: “Peruvians think their discriminatory practices are not racist because they do not connote biological differences, but cultural ones” (2). Both whites and non-whites use culture to designate and uphold social differences. If one group is better than another, this is because of cultural differences rather than racial ones. Nevertheless, whiteness, or “being white,” remains ultimately superior. Scarritt (2012) shifts from cultural to political explanations of the historical subordination of indigenous people in Peru. He proposes that indirect rule by the dominant group “racially subordinates natives through dividing them ethnically” (23). It also depends on the urban/rural dichotomy through which *mestizos* have local political and economic authority over indigenous people in rural Peru. Maintaining these local authoritarian structures depends on “native fragmentation” (24). Conversely, indigenous people depend on *mestizos* who hold positions of authority, for access to state resources as well as to the “urban core” (Scarritt 2012: 24). Scarritt (2012) argues that in this way, “the goals of the central

state are achieved: a fractured and compliant peasantry” (24). Therefore, by creating a system in which *mestizos* become gatekeepers to economic and political resources in the provinces, white elites in Peru make sure to divide indigenous identity and at the same time maintain the oppression of these groups.

The move to cultural justifications for the subordination of indigenous people in Peru also contributed to the silence around racism in this country: “overt references to race were silenced by culture now bearing its own conceptual right to mark differences” (De la Cadena: 28). Elites and non-elites “both came to share beliefs in the power of education and “culture” to legitimize discrimination and thus silence denunciations of racism, rendering racism hegemonic” (De la Cadena 2000: 9). This perhaps explains why race did not figure directly in the narratives of incarcerated women nor in official statistical reports on prisoners – the reasons for why they were there had more to do with other factors such as poverty, gender, lack of education, etc. than with race. For the Peruvian women in the prison, racism was made invisible by its identification with culture.

The regionalization of race is an additional reason for why race was silent in my fieldwork. Peruvian geography divides the country into three regions: the coast, the highlands and the Amazon jungle (*la costa, la sierra* and *la selva*). The highlands and jungle are “imagined as poor, backward, and racially inferior precisely because Lima, and the coast in general, is perceived as white and thus more powerful. Whites and mestizos are associated with the *costa* and indigenous people with the *sierra* and *selva*” (Alcalde 2010: 32). Therefore the commonly used (and degrading) term *serrano* means that one is from the highlands and, simultaneously, is a member of the Indian population. Some of the Peruvian women I interviewed in Santa Monica were from the *sierra* (the highlands). This regionalization became important as I explored how

race intersected with gender, class and citizenship in the lives of incarcerated women. The *sierra* is thought to be inhabited by racially and culturally inferior groups. This plays a role in the economic and political marginalization of rural Peru. The women I spoke with who were from the *sierra* had experienced “unequal access to legal, educational, social, medical, and economic resources” (Alcalde 2010:33) prior to incarceration.

This history of racialization in Peru situates Santa Monica within a racial hierarchy that has been influenced by historical, political, national and regional shifts. That the majority of incarcerated Peruvian women are non-white is a result of the country’s enduring racism, the history of which I have attempted to outline above. Racism in Peru has contributed to maintaining a large portion of the country’s non-white population in perennial economic struggle. Many of the Peruvian women who entered drug trafficking did so for financial reasons when other avenues of earning an income for themselves and their children had closed. Race had “worked” in specific ways throughout their lives as it intersected with other inequalities to shape their route to the drug trade and eventually to prison.

II.1.a. *Race in Santa Monica*

Odalis (Italian/Peruvian): “Peruvians discriminate against the gringos in the prison.”

Juana (Peruvian): “The foreign women here use Peruvian women; the Peruvians believe in their own discrimination.”

Race continued to do its work inside the Santa Monica prison in ways that reflected the racial hierarchies that existed outside its walls and through re-conceptualized forms that were the result of the imprisonment of non-Peruvian women. Race and citizenship intersected in some cases to change the workings of racism inside the prison but overall the Peruvian racial structure remained sound. Two themes emerge from the narratives of incarcerated women. Many of the

foreign women understood race through citizenship; racial discrimination was in fact discrimination against a particular country. Peruvian women on the other hand (when they did mention race) spoke about it in terms of physical features or social inequalities such as education and work but for many of them racial inequalities were subsumed under economic ones, especially the disparity between Peruvian and foreign prisoners. New divisions among women were created as meanings around race and racism changed or were reinforced inside the prison. These divisions had consequences for the construction of privilege and oppression in Santa Monica.

II.2. Economic Inequality in Peru

Various economic reports on Peru claim that the country has consistently experienced economic growth over the past ten to fifteen years. The Wall Street Journal has named Peru one of the new “Tigers” and noted its growing middle class, low public debt, expanding economy and large young population as reasons for it being a rising star in the region (WSJ 2012). In fact, its economy grew more than any other country in Latin America from 2000 to 2011 (Global Post 2012). This is largely due to the country’s export of commodities including agricultural products, natural gas, textile, wood, and fish. Mining has become particularly important to the country’s growth as this sector makes up about half of Peru's export earnings (Revenue Watch Institute). The high price of gold, copper and silver has also contributed to the country’s increased revenue. The government also supports foreign investments such as the entrance of Chinese mining companies into Peru. Reports from organizations such as the World Bank, IMF and European Union have noted the country’s adherence to neoliberal free market policies including free trade treaties with the United States and China as well as prudent fiscal management (i.e. one of the lowest inflation rates in Latin America) as additional reasons for Peru’s growing economic

power. This current boom has its origins in the early 1990s after Alberto Fujimori took office. He set about opening up Peru's economy, privatizing state owned companies and reducing barriers to private investment. As a result of his economic policies, the "Peruvian economy is now dominated by the private sector, regulated by market forces and intricately linked to the global economy (Bury 2005: 3)". It has also become "one of the most open and liberal economies" (Bury 2005: 3) in the region.

But these optimistic reports contrast with the other side of the country's integration into the global economy. Peru's national statistical institute reported a reduction in poverty but an increased gap in equity. For example, according to a 2008 United States congressional report, "the wealthiest 10% of the Peruvian population controls 41% of the country's income whereas the poorest 10% control just 1% of the income" (Jasper and Seelke 2008: 1). Although poverty rates have gone down, about 32% of the country's population still lives below the national poverty line (World Bank). Castro et al (2012) argue that a multi-dimensional approach to poverty in Peru indicates that in 2008 39 percent of the country's population who did not fall into the category of monetarily poor still faced significant deprivation. Over half of the country's poor live in the highlands and Amazonian regions; rural poverty rates are about 61 percent (World Bank country site). Poverty rates actually increased in several of the rural provinces from 2008-2009 (Paez 2010) and statistics on caloric deficiency indicate an increase in food deprivation, thus contradicting the news about fewer people living in poverty. In addition, the majority of the country's wealth is concentrated in Lima (where approximately 28 percent of the country's population lives) and has its own poverty rate of 18 percent (Linares 2010). Unemployment in this city is at about 8 percent and the underemployment rate is almost 43 percent (U.S. Department of State 2010). The country's new-found wealth has is demonstrated

through the construction of new shopping malls and apartment buildings in the capital. But a large portion of the country's population - both in the city and outside of it - have yet to benefit from Peru's booming economy. Fifty percent of jobs generated in Peru come from its large informal economy (ILO 2011). The Peruvian women I met in Santa Monica were part of this population who had not been advantaged by the country's integration into the global economy.

In 2011, current president Ollanta Humala ran on a platform advocating left-leaning social policies such as decreased dependence on neoliberal economic projects, wider access to public education, expansion of social welfare programs and eliminating corruption. However, despite the fears of many middle and upper class Peruvians that he would be another Chavez or Morales, and protests by indigenous communities over environmental concerns and issues of sovereignty, Humala has thus far been a strong supporter of neoliberal economic policies in Peru. It is therefore very likely that Peru will continue to incorporate itself into the global neoliberal economy.

II.2.a. *Economic Inequality in Santa Monica*

Odalis (Italian/Peruvian): "Women who don't have anything in here pick up your food, clean for you, do your laundry for fifty cents, serve others their food and as a last resort ask or beg for things."

Amaris (Peruvian): "You don't make money inside the prison, you make a enough to survive."

Ursula (Polish): "Peruvians try to get money from the foreign women. As soon as they find out that you are a foreigner, they see big dollar signs."

The discussion of economic inequality in Peru within the context of the country's push for a free market model lays the groundwork for why some poor women move into the retail and

trafficking of drugs. The Peruvian women in this study continued to struggle to meet their own financial needs as well as that of their children. Selling or transporting drugs became another way to earn an income. That they were incarcerated for this shows how disposable these women were to the Peruvian economy at large as well as the transnational cocaine commodity chain. But the effects of economic inequality did not end with their incarceration. Money in Santa Monica equaled status, comfort, access to goods, healthy children and sometimes shortened sentences. Women with more money had more of these. Women with less money sought ways to generate some kind of income inside the prison, did without certain goods and services and in some cases, depended on the charity of others. Economic inequality figured very strongly in the relationships among incarcerated women. Distrust and jealousy between them were very often about perceived wealth. In addition, poorer women provided goods and services for those who could afford it.

One's country of citizenship became a major factor in shaping economic privilege and oppression inside the prison. Economic inequality in Santa Monica reflected inequalities between nation-states. The group of women with Dutch citizenship had entitlements not available to many others in the prison. They received a monthly stipend from the Dutch consulate and perhaps most importantly, remittances from familial or non-familial networks in the Netherlands. This money was sent in Euros and exchanged at comparatively high rates into Peruvian soles. A number of these Dutch women were actually African immigrants to the Netherlands. Their cultural beliefs, languages, and traditions may have been rooted in their Tanzanian, South African or Nigerian origins but their Dutch citizenship mattered the most for access to resources.

In Santa Monica economic privilege based on citizenship largely aligned itself along a global hierarchy of nation-states. But this alignment was at times turned on its head. First, citizenship intersected with race in ways that made a huge difference for some in terms of

financial struggle. For example, Black South African women were far less well off than white South Africans incarcerated alongside them. Secondly, citizenship meant very little when a woman's familial network did not send her money. A woman from a wealthier nation-state could easily fall down the prison economic ladder if her family cut her off. Therefore citizenship was not deterministic. Women also used their national identities to offset the consequences of their citizenship. Those from poorer countries where English was spoken or those who had studied it used this skill to build networks with women from wealthier English-speaking countries. These networks were possible sources of support.

II.3. Gender Inequality in Peru

Fuller (2005) explains that women in Peru are undergoing considerable changes in their gender identities due to increased participation in the workforce and education, changes in family structure and sexuality, and involvement in politics. But male identity in Peru continues to be associated with the control of the public sphere and authority in the domestic domain. She argues that these arrangements are so deeply embedded in the Peruvian social order that alternative representations and practices still do not exist. Women make up thirty percent of Peru's workforce but most of their jobs are concentrated in low paying street vending and domestic work (Blondet and Oliart 1999). Consequently, Peruvian women experience inequalities in wages and jobs and access to legal justice (Blondet and Oliart 1999). In addition, "women are particularly disadvantaged by the race- and class- based inequalities that characterize Peruvian society (Boesten 2010:10)". For example, although women face uneven access to and low-quality education, this varies enormously by class, region and ethnicity.

Neoliberal reforms enacted during the 1980's and early 1990's affected low-income women (whose households often include elderly relatives and young children) in gender specific

and multidimensional ways such as increased migration, hardships in finding employment and meeting the basic needs of their families, reduction of wages, elimination of food subsidies and inflated prices (Hays-Mitchell 2002) and the deterioration of working conditions for female workers (Ypeij 1998). Ewig (2010) states that, “In Peru, as in most of the world, women are charged with primary responsibility for child rearing” (4) and this has consequences for them and their families. Poverty in Peru has been feminized (UNDP 2002) as the number of female headed households has risen with most women holding low-wage jobs in the formal or informal economy (Tanski 1994).

Beneria (2007) suggests that “globalization and neoliberal policies have contributed to labor market informalization” (3), citing the growth of Peru’s informal economy in the 1980s and 1990s. The casualties of structural reform policies were absorbed by this sector (Acosta 2004). I found that prior to working in the transnational cocaine commodity chain, most women in Santa Monica had labored as street vendors, cleaned homes, sold food in the market or done some other type of work outside the formal economy. In other words, the majority of Peruvian women who are incarcerated in the Santa Monica prison for trafficking drugs were already working in the informal economy before taking on work in this chain. About half of the workers in this sector are women (Office of Economic Affairs, U.S. Embassy 2005) and this represents sixty percent of the country’s female population (Bastidas 2000). Street/stall vendors and household workers make up almost thirty percent of the informal sector in Lima, almost all of whom are female (Budlender 2009).

A consequence of this labor segmentation is that informal female workers have the most insecure and least paying jobs (Linares 2010) and earn less than their male counterparts (Ministerio de Trabajo y Promoción del Empleo 2009). Wilson (1998) argues they are doubly

exploited, they “are a multiply disguised proletariat whose labor subsidizes capitalist enterprise and the capitalist system as a whole” (Wilson 1998:114). They are also exploited as a “subordinated sex” (Wilson 1998:115) because their labor is subsumed under that of the male head of household. As single heads of households, women work by themselves or with their children in order to provide “the future labor force for capitalist industry, while also ensuring greater profits (Wilson 1998:115)” for capitalist enterprises. In other words, female single parents are even more exploited by the gender segmentation of this economy. The transnational cocaine commodity chain recruits workers from this sector and takes advantage of its gendered divisions. At the same time, informal female workers turn to illicit work in this chain as a way to supplement their limited earnings due to the gendered disparities that exists in this economy. Writing about the United States Cross and Johnson (2000) state that the “crack supply chain takes advantage of the ability of informality to lower labor costs (5).” A similar process is occurring in Peru. The informal sector positions women at lower wage levels with higher job insecurity. The drug market utilizes these workers because they are already exploitable.

The labor segmentation and insecurity that exist in this economy are reproduced in the cocaine chain in order to increase profits for those in the upper levels. Because women work at the lowest sections of this chain, they are most manipulated, carry the most risk and are therefore the most likely to become incarcerated. They are surplus workers within the illicit drug market. There is a relationship between the gendered labor segmentation of both Peru’s informal economy and the transnational cocaine commodity chain. This relationship has consequences for women who straddle these licit and illicit markets, one of which is incarceration. In the next chapter, I will focus more closely on the gendered context of incarceration, specifically how and

why women have been punished in Peru and how this punishment varied her location within national racial and class hierarchies.

III.

BAD WOMEN (BUT SOME ARE WORSE): GENDER AND PUNISHMENT

Women's pathways into the prison were influenced by their economic situations, their roles as wives, daughters, and mothers and their position in Peru's racial hierarchy. They were also rooted in historical national and regional struggles over the dominance of marginalized people by elites. Prisons in Latin America, including Peru, reflected these struggles – the founding of prisons, how they functioned, the changes that the penal system went through throughout the years - all mirror these tensions around maintaining a stratified society in the region. The prison in Latin America was another tool in making sure that those at the bottom stayed there. The control of women's bodies, work, images and actions was another important way in which hierarchies of class, gender and race were maintained. As patriarchal societies, the subjugation of women was key in keeping up the power of men in political, social and economic life. Female transgression of gendered norms was therefore dangerous. Before the prison was used to punish disobedient women, they were punished in other ways. This chapter therefore does two things: it traces the trajectory of the prison in Peru as a tactic used by those in power to keep their positions of privilege. The second goal of this chapter is to show how the punishment of women was another way in which this deeply stratified was perpetuated. Women were criminalized and punished in different ways according to their economic, social and racial status. At some point, criminalized women and the prison meet. And when they did, the prison became another form of controlling women who were on the margins of stratified societies.

III.1. The Development of the Prison in Latin America and Peru

Aguirre's (2007) overview of Latin American prisons from 1800-1940 is one of the few historical summaries on prisons in the region. His focus is on the relationship between attempted prison reforms and ambitions for modernity held by Latin American elites, both of these factors occurring within the context of a society deeply divided along racial and class lines. He notes that colonial prisons were not particularly significant in the punishments implemented by authorities. "Imprisonment during the colonial period was a social practice regulated by custom, not law, aimed at warehousing detainees – not for reforming" (Aguirre 2007: 17). Punishment during this period was primarily made up of other methods such as whipping, public execution, banishment and forced labor in public works. Prisons were used for detention purposes rather than punishment.

Peruvian prisons during the colonial era reflected the class and racial inequalities in Latin America. Colonial Peru had three types of prisons: one for those of the elite class, another prison that belonged to the church for purposes of the Inquisition and finally a common jail. Jails were used for the safekeeping and custody of offenders. They were meant to hold 'ordinary' people and in racially coded terms this meant indigenous people. There were no plans for the re-education, reform and reintegration of prisoners. Non-white prisoners in the common jails were also oppressed in another form: prisons were sold to the highest bidder and the winner bought the right to charge inmates for their incarceration. Every prisoner had to ensure his own physical survival in the prison or otherwise risk death. This practice of extracting fees from prisoners continued until 1837. There was no unified prison system in colonial Peru and prisons were under the control of individual municipalities (Cabrera Cabrera 2011). Prisons in colonial Peru therefore served to uphold racial and class segmentations and they also existed to benefit the power and pockets of the wealthy.

III.1.a. *Independence and the Search for the Modern*

The status quo remained the same after Peru's independence from Spain in 1821. There were no substantial changes around prisons in the early republic. Although some presidential administrations put forward policies regarding the treatment of prisoners, there were no significant changes due to political upheavals. For example, prisons were still controlled by individual municipalities and wardens continued to collect fees from prisoners. In a sense, prisons and those serving time within them were largely forgotten and neglected because of political instability (Cabrera Cabrera 2011).

Although it never gained the momentum that did in North America and Europe, prison reform did have its moments in Latin America after independence. Much of this was influenced by elite's aspirations to the modern, as symbolized by North American and Western European countries. Reforming prisons in Latin America was part of a larger project of moving the newly independent nations into the modern age. Aguirre (2007) notes that, "prisons played an important, albeit not necessary central, role in the implementation of mechanisms of social, labor and racial control in the post-independence era" (16). These new nation states were still marked by racial and class stratifications such as the continuation of slavery, Indian tribute, and peonage. Prisons played a role in maintaining these hierarchies.

Latin American politicians and intellectuals argued that prisons in the region were a throwback from the colonial period, the antithesis of a more modern and humane form of punishment. The contradiction was, however, that these types of discourses were "neutralized by discourses and practices that emphasized the need to control unruly and undeserving masses through harsh mechanisms of punishment" (Aguirre 2007: 18). In other words, the appearance of liberalism and democracy put forth by the new nation states contrasted strongly with societies

that were deeply divided along race and class lines. Ruling elites were invested in maintaining these divisions. This inconsistency set the stage for the (mis)development of prisons in Latin America. The goal of prison reform was modernization. They combined with pre-modern forms of social and labor control such as debt peonage in Mexico and neo-slavery in Brazil (Aguirre 2007) in order to exert power over the lower classes, most of whom were non-white and poor. In spite of the shift to democracy after independence, the stratification structure of these nation states depended on the continued marginalization of non-whites: indigenous people, descendants of African slaves and immigrants from non-European countries (such as the Chinese).

Latin American societies in this period were highly authoritarian and exclusionary. It is because of this larger context that “states and reformers failed, for the most part, to transform prisons into sites for the regeneration of criminals, and prisons did not offer inmates human conditions” (Aguirre 2007: 46). Although Latin American ruling elites looked towards the United States and Western Europe for models of prison reform (which in this period included the reformation of the criminal), how to maintain existing social/political exclusionary structures was the overriding concern for those in political, social and economic power. While prison reformers in the United States and Western Europe were concerned with reforming the criminal and how to best prepare him to reintegrate into society, Latin American politicians and intellectuals were more concerned with how to control and continue to marginalize indigenous people, Blacks and the poor. When the question of reforming the criminal was raised, it was within the context of creating workers who would readily fit in the growing market economy. Why aim for prison reforms at all? Because modernizing prisons in post-Independence was wrapped up in grander ambitions of modernity. Ruling elites wanted entrance into the modern world as was defined by the United States and Western Europe and this included economic and

cultural aspirations. Modernity also included bringing these countries into the global economy. It would therefore not do to have antiquated forms of punishment.

These ideas were reflected in Peru. For example, there was an attempt in 1850 to deal more systematically with the prison population (albeit this was limited to one prison in Cuzco) such as classifying prisoners, implementing policies towards the treatment of juveniles and the elderly and finally, the idea of rehabilitation through work was first proposed and put in place. This moved away from the prison as just a place of detention. In 1854 the president's administration purposed a more general policy for the treatment of prisoners across the country. But there was still no unified prison system in Peru and implementation of these policies was therefore difficult.

Penal institutions styled after those in the United States and Europe were built between the mid 1800's to mid 1900's across Latin America. Di Liscia and Bohoslavsky (2008) argue that the creation of these "modern" penitentiaries in Latin America was about social control, particularly of the lower classes. But the real issue was the limited efficacy of these institutions. The construction and management of new penal institutions were priorities for ruling elites and the general public showed a disregard for those who were incarcerated, basing their attitudes on moralistic ideas around crime. An important aspect of the creation of penitentiary institutions was the introduction of labor regimes that "were seen as both conducive to the inmates' regeneration and a source of revenues to help finance huge costs of maintaining such institutions" (Aguirre 2007: 21).

Peru's attempt to modernize its prison system stepped up during the last half of the 1800s. Elites and presidential administrations became concerned with creating a national penitentiary system and to this end the government hired Mariano Felipe Paz Soldan to study the

prison problem in Peru. This research led him to the United States where he recorded data on its own penitentiary system and transformations. Upon the conclusion of his study, Soldan proposed the building of two penitentiaries, one in Lima and another in Cuzco. He also recommended the implementation of the United States Auburn system. Peru's first penitentiary opened in 1862 and was influenced by North American prison reform. It combined the solitary confinement of the Philadelphia system with aspects of the Auburn system. Although the country's general prison system was still generally disorganized, a detailed penal code was put in place in 1863 and in 1892 the Central Penitentiary of Lima was established. Peru therefore participated in the larger prison reform movement of Latin America, but this effort was piecemeal and limited to one or two male prisons.

III.1.b. *Scientific Penology*

Latin America during this period experienced several changes: a growing export market economy with subsequent internal migration, urbanization, economic development and changes in labor relations between workers and the state. Aguirre (2007) notes that:

Latin American elites were more optimistic than ever about the potential for transforming their societies into modern and civilized countries, but they still had to deal with a perceived major hindrance: the presence of large segments of the population living outside the law, unwilling to accept the invitation to behave in 'civilized' ways, and not quite integrated into the export-oriented and capitalist economic boom (29).

Political and economic elites were therefore concerned with if and how to bring this population –made up of non-whites and poor people – into the nation state. In addition, they were also concerned with the “social question”: the threat of poverty, disease, crime and political and social unrest and the impact of these on the stability to the nation state. Like discourses before it, this one was also racialized to the detriment of non-whites. Indigenous and Blacks were the subjects of debates on criminality. State leaders and academics turned to scientific

criminology and penology for explanations and solutions and as Schulte-Bockholt (2011:73) states, “In Latin America, positivist criminology was used to criminalize non-whites (most notably African Americans, Native Americans) as well as women. For example, in 1924 Peru’s legislature debated how to make penal institutions more adaptable to the country’s different ethnic populations. Representative Hurtado Pozo spoke about the legislature’s aim to provide a measure of protection for Peru’s “savages” of the Amazon and indigenous people who were either only partly civilized or degraded by serfdom and alcoholism (Cabrera Cabrera 2011). Agricultural colonies in the place of prisons were proposed as an alternative but never implemented.

This new science of penology was also an import from the United States and Western Europe but it was once again manipulated to fit the ideals and goals of Latin American elites. Scientific studies sought – and found – to make connections between race and crime that “reflected and reproduced the long-held notion that non-white groups were more likely to act criminally and were more difficult to reform than the white (or whiter) populations” (Aguirre 2007: 30). The language of science, and medicine in particular, began to inform the study of prisons and prisoners. Debates around criminality, viewed in the post-Independence era as a question of morals and values, shifted to scientific explanations of why men (as women were generally absent from these debates) committed crimes. Elites turned to scientific “experts” for guidance in managing prisons and how to handle prisoners. In 1924 for example, the General Inspectorate of the Prison was founded in Peru. This was the first real institution responsible with oversight of all prisons in the country. Reflecting the influence of scientific criminology, the department of fingerprint identification was created in 1927 as a body of the General

Inspectorate as well as the publication of a criminology journal. In 1929, a code of prisoner conduct was put into place and the organization's own institute of criminology was created.

Research institutions were created inside the prison. These were places where scientists studied prisoners from a positivist perspective in order to get at the causes and solutions for crime. The solution to this social problem included more invasive forms of state control. For these reasons the reform of prisons (instead of the reform of prisoners) became an important political project in eyes of elites. Changes included new techniques of identification and recording, streamlining among the prison, police and judicial bureaucracies, the creation of databases and the increased use of statistics. The total effect of these changes on prisons was quite small as "most Latin American states failed to transform their prison system" (Aguirre 2007: 35). Some new prisons were built in the region but their management was largely corrupt and inefficient. Scientific penology did not change the condition of imprisonment, which Aguirre (2007:37) describes as one of "suffering and neglect. Science did not help redeem the prisoner."

In 1948, the left leaning president of Peru, Luis Bustamante y Rivero, opened a training center for prison staff, reorganized medical services in the prisons, elaborated psycho-social information on prisoners, founded social service centers and initiated anthropological and sociological research on the prisons. His measures and emphasis on research, science and categorization show the influence of scientific penology in Peru. These reforms did not go very far however as his presidency was suffered a coup in 1948. Instead of reforms, more prisons were built between 1951 and 1968. Peru's government peacefully transitioned from military dictatorship to democracy in 1979. In 1985, the current National Penitentiary Institute (INPE), which falls under the Ministry of Justice, was created in accordance to the decentralization of

Peru's government. Peruvian prisons in the past twenty years have been riddled with problems such as overcrowding, long waits for sentencing, prisoner rebellions and corruption.

In this section I have provided a brief history of Peru's prison system against the backdrop of broader cultural shifts around imprisonment in Latin America. The goal of preserving stratified societies was embedded in these shifts during colonialism, after independence and into the 1900s. Poor people and non-whites such as indigenous and mestizos were targets for criminalization and subject to what Birbeck (2011) refers to as internment. In other words, in North America the control of prisoners is incessant, constant and invasive whereas in Latin America penal control has been irregular, detached and sketchy. North American prisoners experience imprisonment whereas Latin American prisoners experience interment. Birbeck states that with internment, "...the heart of penal social control lies in the journey back to society, not in the time away from it. Whereas imprisonment enacts penal intervention through confinement, internment enacts it through release" (2001: 322). North American reform movements that emphasized captivity and control influenced Latin American prison systems, but these changes were not implemented in such a way that made much of an impact. What mattered more was that socially excluded groups were contained and made invisible. Doing so was one way of guaranteeing the survival of racial and gendered hierarchies. In the next section I turn to gender and how the control of different categories of women was another strategy for retaining patriarchal societies divided along race and class. The long history of female punishment gives us the context within which the imprisonment of women occurs today.

III. 2. Women and Punishment in Latin America and Peru

Today is a break from the daily routine in Santa Monica. A stage has been set up in the main patio and plastic chairs have been arranged in neat rows in front of it. Most of the seats are reserved for non-prisoners – prison staff, workers of Peru’s federal prison agency, press, and other government workers. The chairs that remain are taken up by some of the prisoners. The rest stand. Today Santa Monica is celebrating “Institución Educativa Ocupacional “Maria Parado de Bellido.” A banner hanging on the stage says this. It is a celebration of the talleres (workshops) in the prison, a testament to their educational value. Women representing each taller perform for the audience. At the very end of the program, a male representative of the Ministry of Education stands and gives his speech, directed to the incarcerated women. He talks about the need to reflect on why they are “here” and advises them to correct the behaviors that led them to the prison. In this way when they leave the prison, he says into the microphone, they will be the correct kinds of persons that their families are waiting for.

The Santa Monica prison in Peru was built and continues to exist within the confines of the Peruvian nation-state and its ideas and assumptions on female citizens and how they should be punished once they stop being “good women.” The punishment and imprisonment of women who crossed boundaries of acceptable behavior were ways in which colonial and later independent Peru maintained hierarchies of power, conformity and obedience. In this section I describe how the imprisonment of women was a colonial and national project with the goal of preserving patriarchal societies that were ranked by class and race. Female punishment and incarceration in Peru were strategies for strengthening these societies and women were made to align to social-political agendas dominated by patriarchy and white elites. The female prison aimed to produce women who were honorable, humble, good wives, loving mothers and finally, cheap labor. All of this was good for the nation and for maintaining power structures.

Consequently Santa Monica is cast in national gendered ideologies that have a long history and are felt by incarcerated women today. In explaining his analysis of structural violence in Haiti, Paul Farmer (2003) writes that such an “analysis must be also be *historically deep*: not merely deep enough to remind us of events and decisions...but deep enough to recall that modern-day Haitians are the descendants of a people kidnapped from Africa in order to provide our forebears with sugar, coffee, and cotton” (42). This chapter therefore provides the “historically deep” gendered context for the dynamics around privilege and oppression that are currently being lived out in Santa Monica.

The rise in the numbers of incarcerated women in Peru is a recent phenomenon. Historically, the number of women in prison compared to men has always been low. It is only in the last thirty-five years that female incarceration has become increasingly common. This does not mean however that women were not being punished in other ways. Since the colonial period, women in Latin America have had to abide by strict standards of honor, purity and virtue. Many failed – sometimes without wanting to, at times purposely, a few quite flagrantly – in keeping within the parameters of “good womanhood”. I have divided the literature on the history of gender and punishment in Latin America into four broad and overlapping areas: women’s relationship to the law; witchcraft and religion; sex and sexuality; and finally, prison life. These were the themes that came most often during my review of the literature. Most of this literature covers gendered punishment from colonial Peru to the early modern period. By discussing the literature under each theme – law, witchcraft, sexuality and the prison – I hope to bring out the ways in which the punishment of women in this country was very much a strategy to build a stronger colony and later nation-state in which elite dominance persevered. Rooted in this project is the construction of punishment through categories of race, class and gender. Women

were punished in different forms according to her status such as rich/poor, white/black/mestiza, worker, and motherhood. Women were castigated before and after independence for transgressing appropriate gender norms. But how they were disciplined varied by their locations within Peruvian hierarchies. Being that the majority of the women's prison population today is non-white and poor, this history of female punishment and how it privileged some and subjugated others is not disconnected from today's reality.

III.2.a. *Punishment and Privilege*

TV news clip May 9, 2009: Minister of Justice, Rosario Fernandez, is speaking to a group of incarcerated women in a large room inside Santa Monica. It is the day before Mother's Day and the Minister is here to give a talk to some of the women inside. Tomorrow will be a special visiting day with many children and family members expected to visit. The Minister sits behind a long table, facing her audience. As she speaks, the camera closes in on the faces of those who are crying. "We women," the Minister says, "are special. But we are even more special because we are mothers. And it doesn't matter if the child physically came from us...you must get out here for your children. You must have good behavior for your children. You must study and work for your children. Do you know why? Because that is the responsibility that life and God has given us. Today and tomorrow, welcome your children and please don't cry! Don't cry, don't cry! The best gift you can give your families tomorrow is to not cry." She points to a couple of women crying in the audience. "I don't want you or you to cry. Nobody will cry tomorrow. Promise that you will not cry," the Minister of Justice says to the audience. "Will you cry tomorrow?" she asks them. "No!" the audience answers. The Minister turns to one of the prison staff. "Whoever cries gets punished, okay?" The women laugh at the joke.

This example and the ones discussed below illustrate my point that the legal system in Peru has historically been a gendered system, from its laws to courts to policing. It placed women in a separate and unequal category from that of men. Women were judged in different ways than men, judgments that were based on gendered assumptions about women and their bodies. This is a practice that began with colonialism and continues today. In this section I will review the literature of how colonial and early national legal structures were gendered and contributed to women's inequality. Women's relationship to the law varied by race and class. Elite women were unequal to men in the eyes of the law but were at the same time privileged in contrast to poor women and women of color.

The most overriding factor in how a woman experienced the law during the colonial and independence period in Peru was through her gender. Legal systems and laws treated women differently than men as a result of the patriarchal natures of these institutions and the societies in which they functioned. Fuller (2008) notes that until the 20th century deviance from proper feminine behavior across Latin America was explained in terms of female biology and instincts. It was also believed that they were morally weak and therefore needed to be supervised. These ideologies were replicated in Peru. But the control and punishment of women during the colonial period varied by their racial and class position. Socolow (2000:147) informs us for example that, "women appear frequently in the criminal records of the courts of colonial Latin America...with few exceptions women were involved in interpersonal rather than economic or political crimes." This illustrates the sheltered lives of women during the colonialism. They were viewed as subservient to the patriarchal male, but the way this was lived out varied by race and class. For example, the movement of elite Spanish women was tightly controlled. In a society sharply divided by race and class, they needed protection from the potential contamination of the lower

classes and from themselves. A system of shame and honor made sure that elite women did not transgress gendered norms. If they did, the law allowed men the right to use physical punishment against their wives.

Melendez (2002) offers an example of how the social order dealt with elite women and gives a slightly different view of female life in colonial Lima: the case of *tapadas*, women who covered themselves with a shawl and robe so that only their eye was visible to the public. This fashion was especially popular in Lima from about 1580 to 1640 (Bass 2009). These *tapadas*, typically elite Spanish women, frequently entered into public spaces in order to visit friends or watch bull fights. A number of Peruvian men saw these instances of “social and personal enjoyments of some Limenean upper and middle class women...as signs of deviance” (Bass 2009: 34). Because they were able to move around public spaces anonymously, they were seen as “enjoying improper liberty and promoting public scandal and disgrace” (Silverblatt 2000: 117). Male European travelers drew *tapadas* in sexualized forms. But Poole (1997) argues that the sexuality of these women came not just from the way they dressed “but also from European men’s opinions of her scandalous freedom and aggressive behavior. They were fascinated by the *tapada*’s willingness to initiate conversation with men” (90).

Tapadas were successful in avoiding male, church and state authority (Bass 2009). In response, the city instituted rules against *tapadas* and, in particular, their dress. For example the first anti-*tapada* law in 1583 originated from an ecclesiastical body “focused on the distraction that “feminine frivolity” posed to the public during religious processions” (Bass 2009: 134). According to this rule, women could not appear in the streets or at their own windows “with their faces covered during sacred feast days” (Bass 2009: 134). Regulating *tapadas* was also important because they threatened the racial order of colonial Lima. They could conceal their race and

enter into spaces and perhaps even relationships reserved only for white elites. Poole (1997) writes: “European fantasies of the *tapada* often focused on a man’s fear that a seemingly perfect veiled woman would, once unveiled, turn out to be less than perfect” (93). In 1624 Lima’s ruling body passed a law banning “any woman from appearing anywhere in public with her face veiled” (Bass 2009: 137). The city’s *tapadas* were deemed to be excessive in showing off their expensive and lavish dresses and this was “disrupting devotion in churches and processions” (Bass 2009: 137). In addition, their punishment varied by race: “All guilty women paid the same fine, but members of the nobility spent ten days in prison, while negras, mulatas and mestizo were sentenced to thirty” (Bass 2009: 137). But these rules were neither strictly enforced nor followed. Poole (1997) for example lists the unsuccessful rulers and ruling bodies of Lima who tried and failed to prohibit the *tapada* dress – Spanish monarchs to Peruvian vice-regal governments before independence. The era of the *tapadas* ended not by ordinances and prohibitions but because it eventually went out of fashion “shortly after Peru achieved its independence in 1821” (Poole 1997:86). The literature on *tapadas* therefore illustrates the gendered legal system of colonial Peru and how their control was also an attempt at maintaining and strengthening a patriarchal and racialized colonial order.

III.2.b. *Punishment and Oppression*

Race and class shaped how women experienced control and punishment. For example, Socolow (2000) points out that, “Gender tended to be ignored when it came to punishing disobedient or rebellious slaves” (145). Punishment for slaves did not vary by gender. Female slaves in Latin America were subject to the same physical punishments as male slaves such as flogging and the use of leg irons or chains. These and other punishments were carried out by both male and female owners. The breasts of a female slave could be removed if she continually

attempted to escape. This punishment was of course particular to women, and more specifically enslaved Black women, with the possible aim to de-sex and further dehumanize Black female slaves. It also went hand in hand with the sexual abuse slave women experienced.

Chambers' (2005) discussion of honor in early republican Peru emphasizes how as opposed to men, women were "expected to demonstrate their virtues within the private sphere, according to standards that were difficult to meet" (29). The bar for virtue and honor was set high and elite women by and large succeeded in meeting these expectations. Subsequently, in criminal justice matters non-white/white working mothers were at a disadvantage because they did not live up to standards of feminine honor. Although elite women were dependent on the male head of the household, they could still call on their sexual and domestic virtue to uphold their honor. Working mothers in the early Peruvian republican era "were neither proper mothers whose modesty deserved to be protected nor citizens with civil rights in the public arena (Chambers 2005: 36)." Since incarceration was dishonoring and female criminals were viewed as "unnatural" women, "female criminals had forfeited their right to privacy and modesty" (Chambers 2005: 37). Working mothers in independent Peru were more vulnerable to incarceration than elite women because they did not reflect the idealized version of womanhood. Women of the wealthy class had the means to live out this model. As incarcerated women, these working mothers lost even more of the privileges and protections assigned to their gender.

These case studies demonstrate the gendered nature of Latin America's legal system and how it has been influenced by cultural assumptions around women's proper behavior; their bodies; their roles as mothers, daughters and wives. But a woman's relationship to the state, which included its laws and legal institutions, was also influenced by her racial and class position. In this section we have seen that although all women were subject to gender ideologies,

some were more vulnerable to punishment than others. Women of color, slave women and poor women were more subject to punishment than white women and those belonging to the upper classes. This history is important because it informs how women in the Santa Monica prison today experience their incarceration. This prison remains situated within national ideologies of “correct” female behavior and gendered punishment. In many ways, the social structure of colonial societies and new nation-states depended on gendered forms of comportment. In addition, gender in colonial and post-independent Latin American societies intersected with divisions along race and class. But in spite of an authoritarian and patriarchal culture, women did resist their conditions in often subversive and covert ways.

III.2.c. *Race, Gender and the Inquisition*

La Señora Melissa is called “grandmother” because of her age. She has been incarcerated for ten years. She tells me the story of her arrest: “I sold vegetables at the market. When I wasn’t working there, I made money as a healer using herbs, eggs and guinea pigs. One day I was curing a young man when my neighbor came to my house. This man and my neighbor met and I told her that he needed someone to clean his house and she said that she wanted the job. She went to work for him and that’s the last I heard of it. Next thing I know I’m in my bedroom one day and the police come to arrest me. My neighbor had taken drugs into the Lurigancho prison for this man and had gotten caught. When the police asked her how she met her supplier, she told them about me and that’s how I got arrested.”

One way in which women in colonial Latin America transgressed social norms was through religion and practices labeled as witchcraft. Women were brought into Inquisition proceedings in colonial Latin America, including Peru. They were accused of practicing witchcraft, mostly aimed at men, or appeared as witnesses of female induced spells. Most of

those brought to trial by the Inquisition were “curanderas (folk healers), practitioners of traditional medicine, or hechiras (or feiticieras), women adept at casting spells” (Socolow 2000: 155). Religion became one justification for punishing women. They were punished during the Inquisition and non-elite women, particularly those belonging to racially stigmatized groups, were targeted as transgressors of church dictates.

Witchcraft was a minor focus of the Inquisition in colonial Latin America. It was more concerned with accusations of heresy, blasphemy, and anti-royalist clerics. But Behar (1989) notes that the trials of women convey several important themes. Witchcraft used by women was typically applied in intimate relationships, intended for wayward husbands, ex-lovers, violent husbands and in one case the owner of a female slave. This indicated that women had some kind of power in sexual, intimate relationships within the context of male domination in economic, political and social arenas. Love magic was therefore a threat to the colonial social order “for its goal was to tie a man to a woman, making him weak, unable to resist or exercise his free will” (Socolow 2000: 156). This ability of witches to turn upside down “normal” relationships between men and women was regarded by the church as dangerous. Not only were these women unbalancing the patriarchal power of men but they were also earning money from this illicit magic in spite of the risk. By charging for spells and rituals, witches/female sorcerers could earn an income that could support their families (Few 2002). These economic relationships led to informal social networks that connected “family members, neighbors, co-madres (godmothers), and friends across ethnic, class, and geographic divisions in urban society” (Few 2002: 108). These remedies for wayward or abusive husbands, to make men more gentle and docile or to attract the object of a particular woman’s affection, “were passed on through networks of women

from all social and racial categories” (Powers 2005: 183). The work of women in witchcraft was located in that blurry area of the informal economy that straddled the legal and illegal.

This female practice of witchcraft became associated with the racial hierarchy of Latin America. This also extended to Peru. For example, racially marginalized women such as Indian, mestiza and mulattas were perceived as containing more of this inherently feminine supernatural power. Silverblatt (2004) in particular emphasizes this theme. Women who appeared before the Inquisition were considered dangerous to the Peruvian colonial racial order. For example, “a single incident of witchcraft might include indigenous women, mestizas, mulattas, African slaves and elite Spanish women” (Powers 2005: 183). Racial boundaries were crossed as women participated together as clients, practitioners and students in what was labeled witchcraft. What was especially worrying to colonial elites was the use of Indian magic. Witches disrupted categories of race and even class by using a mix of Catholicism, and what was labeled as traditional Indian and African practices. The majority of those brought to the Inquisition on charges of witchcraft were non-white women. In addition to belonging to racially subordinate categories, they were outsiders in other ways. For example, they may have lived by themselves, were older and/or widows and past childbearing age. Midwives were often vulnerable to accusations of witchcraft as they were seen as closer to the mysterious (and dangerous) female body. Women’s work as healers, midwives and practitioners of folk medicine appears as both simultaneously necessary and dangerous, a theme that will reappear in interviews with prisoners in Santa Monica.

Women’s labor in what was labeled as witchcraft accomplished two things: first, it unbalanced gender and racial hierarchies; secondly, it presented another informal income earning strategy for women, particularly for economically and racially marginalized women. The control

and punishment of those who were accused of practicing witchcraft was yet another strategy in safe guarding Peru's deeply stratified society. Most women who appeared before the Inquisition were advised to repent, be sincere in their regret, cry in front of the Inquisition and promise to no longer participate in witchcraft. In this way they were forgiven. Punishment for those who had "challenged authority and colonial rule within local communities by appropriating ideas of religion and the supernatural" (Smith 2005) and were thus not forgiven, included whippings, public humiliation, and, in some cases, long-term exiles. Like witchcraft, women's work in drug trafficking perpetuates gender and race segmentations at the same time that it offers a way to generate money for daily necessities. Both are also located in the informal and illicit sectors of the Peruvian economy.

III.2.d. *Shame and Honor Across Race and Class*

Jennifer is Peruvian and 40 years old. She has been incarcerated for six months. We sit on a bench next to the clinic while she talks to me about life inside Santa Monica. "The men's prison is less strict," she says. "Conjugal visits are allowed but it is a lot harder to get conjugal visits here." She is right. Women in Santa Monica must first wait six months in order to request these visits. They must also take and pass an HIV test, get permission from the prison psychologist and social worker, have good behavior and prove that they are either legally married or living with their partner for more than six years. None of this is required from incarcerated men. Jennifer tells me: "Women lose their homes faster because their husbands aren't going to come on Saturday's (male visiting day) just to kiss and hold hands... You lose your freedom and you also lose your partner, your children. You lose your self esteem, too."

Jennifer's description of conjugal visits in Santa Monica captures how the incarceration of women is also about the control of their bodies, particularly their sexuality. Regulating

women's sexuality was a strategy for maintaining and strengthening patriarchal and white elite structures in colonial and newly independent Latin America, including Peru. Shame and honor were important tools for bringing female sexuality into line according to dominant patriarchal conventions. But how she was punished for violating sexual codes of conduct depended on her race and economic status. Elite women and poor women, for example, were castigated in very different ways when they were accused of bringing shame upon themselves and their families. Those of the dominant classes in colonial Latin America were born with honor and worked to maintain it for themselves and their family. Their insulated and protected lives helped them keep their honor. These strategies were not available to the lower classes. Honor was also important to non-elite women but for different reasons. As Johnson and Lipsett-Rivera (1998) explain, people of the working class and ethnic groups lived very economically and socially vulnerable lives in colonial Latin America. A bad reputation alienated one from her community and made that person even more marginal. Therefore, working class and non-white women defended their honor as a way to preserve their access to community aid and support during times of need. Jennifer's comments show us that women in Santa Monica have inherited this legacy of honor that is rooted in patriarchal colonial society.

Shame and honor were closely tied to marriage because female sexual honor largely defined their legal status (Pereira 2005). Honor served as a form of social control for both men and women in colonial Latin America but "these male-defined restrictions assigned women the heaviest burdens of honor keeping; protecting their own as well as their family's honor" (Lavrin 1989:10). In colonial Latin America men earned honor but women "could only maintain or lose it, since for women honor was solely based on sexual purity" (Powers 2005: 123). The purpose of honor was to maintain the racialized social-economic structure of Latin American colonial

society. Its goal “was to guarantee the legitimacy of the children, essential to sustaining the socioeconomic position of the family” (Lavrin 1989:10). Individual conduct reflected not only on that person but on the family as well. As Johnson and Lipsett-Rivera (1998) state: “Any allusion to the promiscuity and immorality of a mother, wife, or daughter was potentially devastating to the reputation of an individual man or family” (4).

Men commonly had sexual relationships with women outside their own marriages in colonial Latin America. This was a practice that was at worst tolerated by colonial society and at best accepted. Female adultery, however, was another matter. Wives accused of having an extra marital relationship would have to pay a fine, the same punishment as a convicted male adulterer. But here the similarities end. She could also be “run through the streets seminaked...institutionalized for moral rehabilitation and to restore her husband’s honor” (Powers 2005: 129). Her husband could also expect to receive his wife’s full dowry and was also within his legal and religious right to kill his wife.

The Catholic Church controlled the creation and dissolution of marriages in colonial Latin America and judged acceptable behavior in marriages. A husband was allowed to punish his wife in order to reaffirm his position as patriarch and because in the eyes of the Church “women were lacking reason and prone to temptation and treachery” (Powers 2005: 103). Husbands had legal and physical control over their wives and physical punishment of wives fell within his domain. Domestic violence was widespread throughout colonial Latin America. The Church ordered that a husband’s physical punishment of his wife should be “moderate” rather than excessive. As Lavrin (1989) states: “While the husband’s prerogative for mild punishment as a means of teaching was both his duty and right, physical violence as not appropriate in a just ruler” (21). But the Church did not give a definition of what moderate was, “nor was there a

mechanism for enforcing this stipulation” (Powers 2005: 103). This gave abusive husbands the opportunity to claim “moderation” when in fact their wives might have suffered brutal physical abuse by their spouses.

Therefore ideas around honor and shame and how they functioned both in and outside marriage functioned to control women’s sexuality. They also served to hand out punishments for those who transgressed. A woman’s virginity, her honor as a married woman, her obedience to sexual norms were important symbols for colonial and later, independent Latin America. They functioned to separate white elites from the lower classes. The punishment of women who disobeyed sexual norms was a strategy for colonial and nation building. Jennifer’s narrative at the beginning of this section is an example of one way in which the sexuality of incarcerated women is controlled. This reflects how colonial and post independent gendered ideologies around sex reverberate to the present. Daily life in Santa Monica has been influenced very much by these practices based in early Peruvian and Latin American history, and the ways in which these beliefs varied by race and class. These practices had very real consequences for Jennifer and for many other women in Santa Monica.

III.3. A Place for Badly Behaved Women: The Prison as a Gendered Site

From fieldnotes:

“This prison is like the saying pueblo chico, infierno grande (small village, large hell).”

“Me, I see the prison as hell.”

“This place is hell.”

“For me, this is hell. There are no friends here.”

The prison in Latin American has been a site for the creation and recreation of proper feminine citizens who would serve the nation and reinforce divisions along race, class and

gender. It did this in several ways. First it incarcerated women who had transgressed proper female behavior. Secondly, it was run for a very long time by religious orders of nuns. Third, labor in the prison was gendered and geared towards domestic work. Fourth, female prisons were overlooked in reform movements. Finally, the sexuality of incarcerated women became another way to stigmatize them. The goal here is to illustrate how the prison was a project of gendering the female citizen.

The first institutions for badly behaved and rebellious women may have been *recogimientos*. They were used in colonial Latin America beginning around the 1500s and “acted as enclosures for women, operating in the roles of schools, asylums, prisons, religious homes, or places where women were sent while awaiting their divorce or annulment, or during the husbands’ absence” (Smith 2005: 180). In addition, women were put into these institutions in order to be rehabilitated as a result of sexual crimes, such as prostitution, concubinage and adultery” (Powers 2005: 125). Judges sent “female adulteresses, bigamists, prostitutes, and other criminals ...to the *recogimiento* to be punished, repent and reform” (Socolow 2000: 109). *Recogimientos* weren’t just for female criminals, these institutions served as a place some women could go to in order to maintain their honor while they experienced personal difficulties such as divorce. Socolow (2000) states: “In addition, fathers, husbands, and brothers deposited wayward daughters, wives, and sisters seeking divorce in these houses for weeks, months, or years” (109). A husband could put his wife into a *recogimiento* to ensure that she did not stain his honor during divorce proceedings.

Referring to post-colonial Lima, Aguirre (2007) notes the widely held belief that “criminal women needed less of a militaristic structure and more of a loving, maternal environment to be regenerated” (27). Institutions of confinement for women therefore included a

“hands off” approach by the state thus giving most of the administrative control to religious institutions. For example, until the mid-19th century female prisoners were housed in a special section of the Guadalupe prison (also a male prison) inside the convent of the same name (Aguires 2003). The first all female prison in Lima was the Casa del Buen Pastor and later Santo Tomas, which were administered and run by an order of nuns. Authoritarian relationships between nuns and prisoners were created within this house-convent model. Prayer and gendered menial labor were emphasized as ways to instill proper feminine roles. These centers began moving under Peruvian state control beginning in the 1920s (Aguirre 2007).

Writing about prison life in mid-twentieth century Buenos Aires, Camairi (2001) states that, “the impact of prison experience on the labor history of women was limited to making it harder to find work once they left prison “because female labor was defined in terms of manual tasks such as cleaning” (401). When reforms around prison work were implemented they maintained the “emphasis on prison work as a cheap source of labor rather than a source of rehabilitation” (401). Female prisoners were therefore “expected to produce good (sheets, underwear, etc.) for the penitentiary systems itself” (401). A similar process occurred in Peru. Female imprisonment in early twentieth century Peru was deeply shaped by class and elite culture.

Incarcerated women were also largely excluded from reform attempts. The goal of the convent-prison was to produce a labor market of docile and reliable domestic workers who would continue to be under surveillance after freedom. One of the goals of female incarceration was to create women who would serve to maintain gender, economic and racial hierarchies by laboring as domestic workers for elite and middle class families, who would in turn police their work. A similar process is taking place in Santa Monica today: women participate in labor

workshops that are gendered and oriented toward informal and domestic work: cooking, sewing, making stuffed animals and purses, hair styling, manicure, etc. This “training” helps move incarcerated women back into the informal sector and possibly the transnational cocaine commodity chain once they are released from the prison. The prison continues to deskill women’s labor thus preparing them for poorly paid work in both Peru’s national job market and the illicit drug trade.

The convent model was considered ideal for shaping a genuine feminine personality (Aguirre 2003). Across Latin America, lack of funds made it difficult to implement reform goals such as the instilling morals, domesticity and job instruction onto female prisoners. There was a shift in the early 1930’s away from the moral instruction of women to a scientific model that viewed female criminality as a disease. Control of the correctional institutions moved from religious orders to the state. The change in the framing of female criminality, from one of sin to one of sickness, did not have an impact on the larger penal system. But the move to a disease model included a demand for state agents who could make the penal system more scientific and methodological in how it rehabilitated prisoners. These state agents included nurses, social workers and psychologists, most of whom were women. These new professionals critiqued the failure of the female prisons in providing adequate work and education programs. They observed that most prisoners spent their time in the patio in “idleness,” thereby contradicting one of the basic principles of penitentiary reform: work and educational instruction. By the last half of the twentieth century, the project of modernizing female prisons and making them more effective and efficient was incomplete and deficient. Countries such as Chile, Peru and Argentina (among others) attempted to implement the penitentiary model to their systems of punishment. But female prisoners were for the most part excluded from this penal reform movement and their

treatment by prison staff and government officials remained paternalistic (Aguirre 2003). The process of producing “the correct kinds of persons,” as stated by the minister of education at the beginning of this chapter, continues today in Santa Monica.

III.4. Incarceration of Women in Latin America: 1950 to Present

Women in this region continued to be incarcerated during the last half of the 1900’s and this trend has increased in recent years (Di Corleto 2006). They also continue to be criminalized for the work they do, labor that is often a means to support their families. The drug trade in Latin America and Peru employs women as disposable and flexible laborers. Women are more often arrested than men on charges of drug trafficking and the although percentages vary across different countries, the majority of the female prison population is made up of women who have been arrested for participating in the drug trade. The use of the prison for punishing criminalized women is now standard and common and leads to a deepening of social and economic exclusion for them and their families. This section will review the different ways gender inequality has more recently impacted incarcerated women.

A growing body of literature has focused on incarcerated women in Spanish-speaking Latin America and how imprisonment increases gender inequality. One area explores how women’s incarceration differs from that of men’s and how the penal system reinforces the construction of traditional gender roles. This results in inequality and disadvantage for incarcerated women. The region’s prison systems have become a site for the reproduction and deepening of socioeconomic, gender and ethnic inequality (Cardenas 2010). Cevallos (2006), through her research in women’s prisons in Ecuador, argues that although women create strategies to resist and transform the conditions of their incarceration, the penal system reproduces and exacerbates inequality, discrimination and violence towards women. Gender

discrimination within the prison system leads not only to inequality but it also becomes the source for social exclusion (Almeda and Bodeón 2007). When comparing male and female incarceration in Latin America, various authors have argued that the prison is a social institution that was created to control a primarily male population (Cardenas 2010, Cevallos 2006, Azaola 2005, Antony 2004) and was thus constructed around the needs of men. Women are therefore absent subjects or made invisible within penal institutions (Azaola 2005). Goods and services made available to women do not correspond to their, thereby reinforcing and deepening the various forms of control and vulnerability of this population (Cardenas 2010). The penal system's reinforcement of traditional gender roles while at the same time ignoring the needs of women is a form of violence against women (Mereles 2009). Women are therefore doubly oppressed: they are the subordinate sex in a patriarchal society and they have broken gendered norms. For instance, in 2003 women in the Buen Pastor prison in Paraguay began a hunger strike to protest the low number of presidential pardons granted to female prisoners compared to male prisoners: sixty-five men had been granted pardon compared to only two women (Theide Arias 2003).

Another area of research describes how the prison violates the human rights of women. Harrion and Norton-Hawk (2010) record human rights abuses experienced by women in the El Inca prison in Ecuador due to “multiple marginalizations rooted in poverty and social inequalities” (22). The authors note that incarcerated women are caught in a “double-bind effect inside and outside the prison walls” (42) and that they must make complex choices as to how to provide for their families, choices that are shaped by a system of female subordination. When women turn to drug trafficking as a way to earn an income, they are most often incarcerated for it and the prison reinforces their subjection. The following is a summary of the some of

particular challenges faced by female prisoners in the region, including Peru, as recorded in the literature:

Family and conjugal visits: women are more likely than men to be abandoned by family members and they also have more limited access to conjugal visits.

Medical attention: Women suffer from health problems relating to the prison conditions and quality of life inside the prison (CEJIL 2006); many have experienced domestic violence prior to incarceration; incarcerated women also experience anxiety and depression due to the stress of being apart from their children. Finally, medical attention in penal institutions is severely lacking.

Children: This is an area that is especially fraught with the structural violence that results from the multiple marginalizations experienced by incarcerated women. When mothers are incarcerated children either live with a family member (because many of these mothers are single parents, most children do not live with their fathers during the mother's imprisonment), most likely a grandmother. If a relative or friend cannot take in the children, they enter the foster care system. Most penal institutions allow children to live with their mothers until the ages of two or three but "the majority of establishments do not have nurseries nor programs or special care for these children" (CEJIL 2006: 41).

Violence against Women: Incarcerated women across Latin America have been exposed to or have experienced violence at various stages in their lives: before incarceration, during arrest, interrogation, holding cells, and lastly during incarceration in the prison. The violence experienced by them has been sexual, physical and/or verbal.

Lack of access to the judicial system: Incarcerated women are less likely than their male counterparts to know their rights, have someone advocating for their rights and are therefore

more likely to be sentenced. Women also have more difficulty than men in maneuvering the judicial system.

Finally, using a testimonial narrative, Giacomello (2009) has written about the ten-year incarceration of a wrongly accused victim of drug trafficking charges in Mexico. “Regina” describes her arrest and her stays in various prisons while she served her sentence. She states:

After having gone through so many prisons and having lived with so many male and female victims of poverty, exclusion, violence and abuse, I ask myself: what are prisons for? And the only answer I have now is: to hide what has not been resolved, not due to lack of resources but due to lack of will, and to proclaim what has been “accomplished”, not as a result of ability and commitment, but through illegality and negotiation (my translation) (Giacomello 2009: 60).

Regina therefore grounds this discussion of female incarceration in Latin America. Her comment illustrates the repercussions of gender, race and class inequality and the role of the prison in replicating and intensifying them. Instead of providing a safety net for the economically and socially marginalized, the Mexican state conceals them in penal institutions. The prison population becomes socially excluded and rendered invisible. At the same time, the prison also serves as a showcase for the “success” of the War on Drugs – its culture, policies and strategies. But this imprisonment of individuals on drug trafficking charges is often based on government corruption, bribery and abuses of the law. Regina’s comment on the prison system in Mexico is also relevant to other Latin American countries, including Peru.

III.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, I provided a brief history of the prison in Latin America and more specifically, Peru. I point out that although prison systems in this region went through various changes according to the political and ideological aspirations of the elite, one aspect remained constant: they served to uphold the stratification systems of individual nation-states. I also

outlined the history of female punishment by reviewing the literature around four broad themes: women's relationship to the law; witchcraft and religion; sex and sexuality; and finally, women and prisons. The goal of punishing women was to create stronger colonies and later, nation-states. But this punishment varied according to her social status. All women in Latin America lived in patriarchal cultures where laws and institutions emphasized their subordination. But some had more flexibility than others when these rules were transgressed and this depended on racial and economic privilege. The punishment of women as a way to maintain a stratified society was accomplished in several ways: by constructing them as a separate and unequal legal category; by policing the work of those who earned an income through what was labeled "witchcraft"; by castigating those who overstepped the limits of proper female sexual behavior; and finally, through the gendered experience of incarceration. These were attempts to create proper female citizens – from upper class women to poor women of color - who would know their place in patriarchal societies run by wealthy white elites. These female citizens would buttress gender, race and class hierarchies as colonies and nation-states were created and expanded. This history provides the gendered context for how women in the Santa Monica prison experience their own incarceration. Centuries after colonialism and the founding of Peru, the punishment of women, including those who work trafficking and selling cocaine, still serves as a way to maintain structural inequalities. The next chapter will expand on this argument by locating the prison within the field of a neoliberal global economy, the war on drugs and finally, the transnational cocaine commodity chain.

IV.

TWO PARTS OF A WHOLE: THE PRISON AND THE COCAINE TRADE

This chapter will situate the prison within three fields – that of the global political economy, the war on drugs and finally, the transnational cocaine commodity chain. I will explain the role of the prison within each field in order to give it a multi-dimensional analysis. The point here is that the prison has a purpose. In the last chapter we saw that in Latin America, including Peru, it served as a gendered strategy to discipline women. In this chapter I will look at how it has served to further the deepening of a neoliberal global economy, to uphold transnational penal and militaristic anti-drugs policies and lastly, to maintain the functioning of the TCCC. The purpose the prison serves and the work it does in these three fields lays the groundwork for how privilege and oppression intersect and interact within its walls.

IV.1. Prisons and the Global Capitalist Economy

Incarceration has become important to the functioning of global capitalism. LeBaron and Roberts (2010), for example, put forward that in the United States “criminalization and incarceration have emerged as a primary means of managing the contradictions and insecurities generated by neoliberal social and economic policies” (26). One way in which the prison manages the insecurities of neoliberalism is by absorbing surplus labor and this is indicative of how “prisons are a central means by which neoliberal states govern poor people (Bedford and Rai 2010: 6)”. Expanding on this idea, Sheldon and Brown (2000), writing about the rise of incarcerated people of color and poor people in the United States, claim that this boom “is better seen in terms of class control; specifically it is a method of controlling the ‘surplus population’ (57)”. Chiricos and Delone (1992) demonstrated in a systemic review of empirical studies that

“labor surplus is consistently and significantly related to prison populations” (431). Therefore there is a relationship between the prison and the surplus of labor that results from the functioning of capitalist economies. Wacquant (2001) explicates the relationship between the prison and the neoliberal state:

...in all the countries where the neo-liberal ideology of submission to the ‘free market’ has spread, we observe a spectacular rise in the number of people put behind bars as the state relies increasingly on the police and penal institutions to contain disorders produced by mass unemployment, the imposition of precarious wage work and the shrinking of social protection (404).

Mass incarceration thus becomes a function of the state’s immersion in neoliberal economic ideologies and practices as it helps preserve the ethno-racial order (Wacquant 2001) as well as supporting and protecting the capitalist market (LeBaron and Roberts 2010). Prisons are not marginal spaces (Gilmore 2007) because they play an important role in capitalism’s continuous search for accumulation of profit. Part of this search includes periods of “political economic crises” (Gilmore 2007: 26) to which prisons serve as “partial geographic solutions (Gilmore 2007: 26)”. In addition “neoliberalization produces social and economic vulnerability; criminalization produces ways to capitalize on that vulnerability” (Corva 2008: 7). Specific groups of people are criminalized based on their race, class and other inequalities. The prison is one way to capitalize on these populations. For example, Bosworth and Flavin (2007) state that, “economic factors associated with global capital render specific populations at risk for punishment within and outside the border of the United States” (8). Prisons are therefore deeply woven into the fabric of economic shifts and ideologies at the national and global levels: they have absorbed the surplus labor of changing economies; they have served as an instrument to control and manage the poor; they have functioned as protectors of a racist hierarchy; they have been used as safety nets for neoliberal political and economic policies. This is also the context

for the Santa Monica prison, it is an institution that absorbs not only marginalized women of Peru, but women but from all over the world who have felt the pressures of a globalized neoliberal free market economy that functions within localized hierarchies of class, race and gender.

The discussion above on prisons and political economy has derived mainly from research and literature based in industrialized countries. In the United States for example, the prison industrial complex developed out of the global economic restructuring of the 1970's (Sudbury 2002, Goldberg & Evans 1998). One view stresses the rise of the information economy as the key force behind global restructuring (Sudbury 2004) and another position emphasizes the flexible accumulation of capital (Goode & Maskovsky 2001). Both recognize the flight of capital to countries of the South in the search for cheaper wage labor as a definitive moment in the growth of prisons in the United States. Many African American and other working-class communities had relied on manufacturing jobs in northeastern urban centers and were left without jobs in a pared down social welfare state. At about the same time the United States had reallocated its resources from the regulation of poverty through social welfare programs to the regulation of poverty through paternalistic punishment, including expanding incarceration and surveillance of the poor (Wacquant 2002, Goode & Makovsky 2001, Silliman 2002), a pattern that continued through the 1990's (Persuad & Lusane 2000). The transnational and domestic drug economy moved into communities that had lost manufacturing jobs and family wages, thus contributing to the rise of the prison industrial complex (Goldberg & Evans 1998, Persuad & Lusane 2000). When incarcerated individuals left the prison, they found limited options for work and housing. The prison had therefore reproduced a cheap and flexible workforce.

Writing about Latin America, Müller (2012) argues that the prison system is “a central aspect of the neoliberalization of Latin American societies” (Müller 2012: 58). In other words, “Latin American societies undeniably paralleled the trend towards the penalization of poverty as a core feature of the penal state and the neoliberal governance of marginality” (Müller 2012: 63). The prison has become an important way to support neoliberalism in Latin America. It does so by “warehousing urban marginality” (Müller 2012:72), those sectors of the neoliberal city that have not benefitted from the push to free market strategies. The prison system in Peru has grown – from 20,899 inmates in 1995 to about 58,000 inmates in 2012 (INPE Report 2012). The trajectory of this growth, however, has been different than that of the United States. As described in Chapter Two, a portion of Peru’s population has been shut out of the country’s economic growth which has been based on neoliberal strategies such free market initiatives, cuts in public spending, austerity programs and an emphasis on foreign investments in Peru. A number of individuals have turned to informal and illicit means of earning an additional income. One avenue for making money is the TCCC. Some women turn to work in this chain because it can give them an immediate resource for daily necessities. A militaristic and punitive approach to illegal drugs in Peru – based on the United States War on Drugs –siphons these women into the prison. The work available there is the same low-skilled and low-paid labor many of them were doing outside: selling clothes and food, cleaning, cooking, sewing, knitting, etc. Once they are released, they return to low-skilled and/or informal work. As in the United States, the prison in Peru helps to reproduce a cheap and flexible workforce. I will describe the transnational cocaine commodity in more detail in the following sections. Now I will expand on the relationship between gender, a globalized economy and incarceration.

IV.1.a. *Gender, “Globalization” and Incarceration*

This section is informed by “a growing body of feminist scholarship devoted to globalization and incarceration. It situates an intersectional analysis of race, class, gender, and sexuality in a global and transnational context” (Twine 2008: 94). Before discussing the links between globalization and incarceration, however, it is important to explain the term globalization, which has been utilized in a myriad of ways in academic scholarship. Eschles’s (2005) argument for a more cautious and accurate labeling of economic processes such as “reasserting for capitalism the name it has gone by for centuries” (118) is helpful in pushing for a more explicit use of globalization. In addition, she argues that globalization scholarship should aim for “detaching the concept of globalization from the global economy” (118). I therefore attempt to use the term as little as possible in this study and aim for increased specificity. To this end, I try to tease out particular economic processes that support global capitalism such as neoliberal economic restructuring. This section will review some of the important literature that has investigated relationships between gender, capitalism, economic changes and incarceration.

One major theme is that prisons manage some of the contradictions that exist in a capitalist economy. For example, LeBaron and Roberts (2010) state that:

States and market forces have created a carceral matrix that contains and manages tensions and contradictions and that locks people’s current and future life choices and possibilities into unequal and unfree capitalist social relations as well as limits their social and physical mobility within these relations (38).

This is exemplified by the divisions created among women in the Santa Monica prison – they reflect national and transnational economic inequalities and racial segmentations. These inequities are reflected and reproduced inside the prison as they compete, hustle and collaborate for access to resources.

The context of incarcerated women in this study is therefore transnational capitalism: the movement of capital across national borders, neoliberal policies and a “globally integrated

production and financial system” (Robinson 2007). LeBaron and Roberts (2010), writing about the United States, argue that, “gendered insecurity under neoliberalism is a key factor driving the growing incarceration of women” (27). I expand this idea to Peru as global economic and political transformations have changed women’s relationship to the criminal justice system (Heitfield 2002). As manufacturing jobs have moved to the global South, women’s participation in non-agricultural jobs in these regions has increased. At the same time, however, women work mainly in sex-segregated industries with less pay and little job security. Structural adjustment programs in Southern nations and cutbacks in welfare programs in industrialized nations have contributed to the racialized feminization of poverty as women are the primary caretakers of children and aging parents in most countries (Sudbury 2004, Harrison 2002). In addition, Reynolds (2008) claims that “the global economy has failed to provide legitimate opportunities for women” (91) and it is because of this that some women in developing countries move into criminalized work. When the global economy is thrown into crisis, many of them are forced into unstable jobs with little or no benefits (UNIFEM 2002) or into low-level illegal activities in order to survive and provide for their families (Goldberg 1998, Sudbury 2004, 2002). This criminalized work carries with it the risk of incarceration and consequently, the re-creation of a cheap pool of peripheral workers. Specific populations therefore become at risk for punishment due to economic factors associated with global capital (Bosworth and Flavin 2007: 8).

Researching and analyzing the relationships between the global economy, incarceration and gender are, therefore, important because this “returns, us, then, to gender, class, and race injustice, as well as to the intersection of profit making, politics and regimes of punishment and violence (Bedford and Rai 2010: 7)”. It is within this context of the relationships between gender, global capitalism and incarceration that I situate this project.

IV.2. The War on Drugs

One important force behind the growing number of women serving sentences for drug trafficking in Peru is the United States sponsored war on drugs. I do not address it directly in this work, but it remains an important factor in shaping women's pathways into the prison and sentencing. Müller (2012) for example, states that: "The emergence of the Latin American penal state is inseparable from the transnationalization of the United States' war on drugs (Müller 2012: 68)". In this section I will therefore review several approaches to this anti-drugs effort. It was declared by the Reagan administration in the 1980's and has been a major contributor to the enormous growth of the prison system both in and outside the United States. As a result of war on drug policies "many Latin American countries introduced new mandatory minimum sentences and new drug laws into their penal codes" (Müller 2012: 62). It has also resulted in a rapid increase of imprisoned women of color in the United States and Latin American countries such as Peru. In the United States, drug use became racialized and the state shifted from a medical to punishment approach in its handling of drug addiction (Rolison et al 2002). Anti-drug policies have affected African American and Latina women in the United States in several ways. Arrested persons can get a lesser sentence by providing information helpful in other drug cases. Women, however, are usually at the bottom of the drug economy hierarchy. They are either low-level sellers or carriers and do not have access to information that would reduce their sentences. The gendered and racial segmentation of the drug economy therefore contributes to how women of color experience the prison industrial complex. Another view emphasizes that incarcerated African American women are less likely than their white counterparts to be involved in criminal activities and have connections to illegal networks, but they are more likely to be addicted to crack cocaine. The move to penal punishment of drug addiction has been a

major factor in the higher percentage of incarcerated African American women (Rolison et al 2002).

In the late 1980's the United States Vienna Convention assured the exportation of the United States punishment approach to the drug economy. Member states accepted policies that moved away from a medical or social response to drug use. Corva (2007) states that "U.S. narco-intervention has been leveraged through the articulation of neoliberal structural adjustment conditionalities, and aid conditionalities related to the augmentation and militarization of local police functions" (8). He calls this the "U.S. sponsored globalization of narco-governance" (13). A report by the Transnational Institute and the Washington Office on Latin America exemplifies this point for Peru:

The growth in prison population since 2003 corresponds to a period in which the Toledo administration practically submitted Peru's position on the drug questions to international demands in order to make it possible to continue negotiations on the free trade agreement (FTA) with the United States. This trend has continued during the administration of Alan Garcia (9).

The Peruvian government has therefore complied with war on drug policies largely set forth by the United States and has relied on financial and military support from its agencies. In 2011 the State Department gave the Peruvian government \$160 million "to help its forces eradicate coca crops, disrupt production and trafficking networks, and shut down operations that launder drug profits" (Hearn 2012). Peru's "orthodox, law and order approach" (Tegel 2012a) has resulted in the increase of the number of incarcerated men and women.

How has this affected women and particularly women of color? Goldfarb (2003) argues that "without doubt, war has gendered meanings" (279) and this includes the global war on drugs. Policies against illicit drugs are constructed through racial and gendered hierarchies. The militarized supply-side interdiction approach is related to and reinforces the "patriarchal security

state” (Schemenauer 2007:159). The war on drugs, in spite of its multi-faceted failures, continues to exist because it is closely intertwined with the power of masculinity. According to Schemenauer (2007), “Hegemonic masculine identities are both the cause and effect of illicit drug control policies” (162). At the same time, discourses around women who work in the TCCC are constructed through the ideas of either victimhood or “vamps.” In other words, female drug couriers are either victims who need male protection or they are threats to proper womanhood because they go against normative gender roles. Schemenauer argues that this particular construction both punishes and disciplines at the same time. Women who are defined by the vamp construction are discounted and disregarded in war on drugs discourse.

As discussed earlier, poor women in the global South may turn to low-level income producing jobs in illegal economies in order to support families. Women from both industrialized and poorer countries are increasingly risking imprisonment (Sudbury 2002, 2004). Müller (2012) argues that anti-drug policies “mostly penalize activities that are linked to the survival strategies of the impoverished segments of Latin American societies” (62). This speaks directly to some of the women Santa Monica who took on work in the transnational cocaine commodity chain as an income generating strategy to help provide for their families. In some countries, these efforts have resulted in military intervention (Sudbury 2002, 2004, Harrison 2002) and affects women in gender specific ways – as workers of the transnational cocaine commodity chain, as mothers, as wives, as daughters.

Diaz-Cotto (2005) reviews the implications of the war on drugs for Latinas/Latin American women in the United States, Latin America (specifically Mexico and Bolivia) and Europe. She maintains that the war on drugs as spearheaded by the United States both within and beyond its borders has “led to the increasing arrest and incarceration of Latinas the United States,

Latin America, and Europe for low-level, nonviolent, drug-related and/or economic crimes” (147). The participation of Latina/Latin American women in the cocaine chain “has placed them at the center of the international war on drugs” (148) and in writing about Mexico, Carillo (2012) claims that economically disadvantaged women have been the most affected by anti-drug policies. Mexico’s war against drugs has criminalized everyone who appears to be linked to illicit drugs and has not differentiated between those who are marginally involved with the transnational cocaine commodity chain, including addicts and low-level sellers and carriers. Because subordinate positions in this chain are largely made up of female workers, they feel the brunt of punitive, state led initiatives against illegal drugs. This project builds on this discussion of the criminalization of drugs – specifically its effects on incarcerated women in Lima, Peru.

IV.3. The Transnational Cocaine Commodity Chain

My goal in this section is to explain how people enter the transnational cocaine commodity chain based on the location of their country of citizenship in both the licit global capitalist economy as well in the “underside of globalization” (Susser and Schneider 2003). I also aim to explain how workers have labored in particular niches of this chain based on the intersection of their race and gender. In other words, how do we understand the global cocaine trade if we look at it through the lens of labor? And why does this matter? I argue here that that the work people do in this chain is structured by the different ways race, gender, citizenship and class converge at various historical points within the movement of cocaine. How former workers of the cocaine chain who are incarcerated in Santa Monica deal with the legacy of this labor is the subject of the remaining chapters of this dissertation.

The transnational cocaine commodity chain moves us to a more precise understanding of drug trafficking. This concept is useful for demonstrating how “countries become linked to the

global economy in a variety of ways via participation in commodity chains” (Bair 2009: 29). Because of this I use the term transnational rather than globalized cocaine commodity chain. As Kearny (1995) explains, “Whereas global processes are largely decentered from specific national territories and take place in a global space, transnational processes are anchored in and transcend one or more nation-states” (548). The cocaine commodity chain is transnational because it locates itself in national spaces such as the Peruvian prison. I will also use this concept as a way to analyze labor across the various ‘links’ of this chain such as production, distribution and consumption, particularly how labor differs at each link and why. The concept of the commodity chain also allows me to draw connections across the local, regional and transnational, therefore tracing the fluidity of criminalized cocaine. I will take this concept one step further and explore how this chain is influenced by gendered, racial and class hierarchies.

This commodity chain divides workers among its various segments including coca cultivators, coca paste producers, transporters and exporters, distributors, consumers and finally, money launderers (Wilson and Zambrano 1994). It recruits labor, and reproduces and expands itself through its workers by exploiting how a particular nation is located within the global political economy. At the same time it also uses the same racial and gender hierarchies employed by licit commodity chains. In fact, the cocaine commodity chain is an extension of and depends on current processes of transnational capitalism such as free market reforms, privatization, lowering of trade barriers and most importantly, a segmented labor force. The inequalities embedded in the global labor force are reflected in this particular niche of the underside of globalization, but with even harsher and more dangerous risks for those with the least amount of power. These inequalities are also recreated inside the Santa Monica prison.

To tell the story of the movement of the TCCC and its workers, we must start with coca in Peru. The role of Peru (and Peruvian laborers) in the coca/cocaine commodity chain was determined by the country's history as a former European colony and later, by its location in the global economy as an exporter of coca leaves. Coca is the plant from which cocaine is derived after several complex processing steps. The coca plant has customarily been cultivated in the lower altitudes of the eastern slopes of the Andes. The alteration of coca is as follows: "leaf to crude cocaine (paste); crude to rock (base); rock to flake (cocaine hydrochloride)" (Madge 2001:16). It is the most processed form of the coca leaf that is exported from Peru (Drug Enforcement Agency 1993).

Coca has a long history in Peru, dating back to over 4,000 years (Dahlby 2009). The literature on coca indicates that this plant has long been the focus of some kind of regulation and control – as have been the people growing, transporting and selling it. Indigenous people in the Andean region used coca leaves before and after the arrival of Spanish colonists. They were used in various social and religious contexts before the rise of the Inca Empire, in trading, as a means of exchange, as religious offerings and as a chewed substance. Their cultivation and use during this period was unregulated (Dahlby 2009), that is, the production and use of coca was not limited to a particular segment of society.

The Inca Empire controlled the production, dissemination and use of coca after it took control of the Andean region. Labor was assigned by Inca bureaucrats to a number of *ayllus*, or communities, on a rotational basis. These *ayllus* were responsible for the gathering of coca leaves (Murra 1982). There has been speculation as to whether the laborers in the coca plant fields were conquered natives or exiled prisoners because of the harsh working condition on these farms (Dahlby 2009). This suggests structures of inequality built within coca production

even before the arrival of the Europeans. Although much of the land in the region was able to sustain cultivation of the coca plant, it was limited to the “high altitude valleys of Cusco” (Dahlby 2009:11) possibly for disease avoidance, in this case evading “sand flies native to the lowland Amazon forest” (Dahlby 2009:11) that could infect Incan subjects who worked the lowlands with a fatal disease (Dahlby 2009). Coca leaves produced in the valleys surrounding Cuzco, the capital of the Inca Empire, were gathered and shipped to this city for royal elite use only. Coca mastication was limited only to those in power as these individuals were believed to be directly related to the sun god and therefore more worthy of it. In addition, the physical advantages of coca mastication made it a valuable substance to Incan soldiers, traders and religious workers as it reduced fatigue and hunger. The right to chew coca was later extended to these groups (Dahlby 2009). Coca labor during the Inca period was therefore divided among Inca peasants, conquered Andean ethnic groups who were brought into the Inca Empire and exiled natives. These groups worked for the production of coca while royal elites controlled distribution and use.

The market economy was introduced into the Andean region with the advent of conquest and colonialism. This resulted in the commodification of coca leaves. Coca leaves were a key aspect of the colonial order in Peru (Cotler 1999). Under Spanish rule coca “became a commodity that was sold to Indians for its narcotic ability to prolong labor under arduous conditions and to suppress hunger and cold” (Cummins 2002: 203). The Spanish also implemented taxes on coca when they saw that it was an important crop in Andean society. The local coca economy in Peru was made up of Spanish landowners who used indigenous labor to grow the leaves. These would be sold back to indigenous people, especially indigenous workers in Peruvian mines. Topik et al (2006) state that: “The Spanish world empire (built on forced

labor in mines) was partly built on the spreading use and commercialization of coca, which was perfect for dampening fatigue and hunger” (12).

Coca and cocaine moved from being regional to transnational commodities in the 1800s. European and Peruvian scientists studied the coca leaf and by 1860 the cocaine alkaloid was separated from coca leaf in Germany. At first, the coca leaf was distributed more widely than cocaine. It was used in tonics, wines and teas and sold to American and European markets. However cocaine soon overshadowed coca commercially. Through the late 1800s it was used in popular cures and daily tonics in the United States and Europe and was also manufactured by pharmaceutical companies for other uses such as local anesthesia. McCoy (1991) suggests that the widespread use of coca derived products, cocaine and other narcotics in 19th century Europe and America was one of the ways in which workers in this newly industrialized age adjusted to longer and more pressure filled workdays. He states that, “narcotic-based medicines could be used to soothe and relax it (the body) artificially during the short hours of rest” (7). If we look at the cocaine trade through the lens of labor, then we can speculate the ways in which the use of cocaine at the consumer end of the cocaine commodity chain was also a form of regulating labor, in this case Western industrialized labor. This is how we can create linkages between Western users and Peruvian producers.

Labor patterns in this period followed those of the colonial period. Peru supplied coca and later crude cocaine to the world market from the same region that had supplied coca leaves to indigenous people who worked in the mines or haciendas during the colonial period – the eastern slopes of the Andes (Gootenberg 2008). Peruvian merchants and landowners as well as European businessmen and immigrants owned the majority of coca growing lands, haciendas, plantations and cocaine plants. Very little information exists on the actual workers who grew and

processed it into crude cocaine. Gootenberg (2008) says that, “plantations averaged twelve workers, mainly *engachados* (peasants “hooked” by debt) whether lowland Indians or highland migrants...coca lands were notorious for their unhealthy and coercive labor regimes” (86-87). Strategies for recruiting labor onto the bigger commercial coca haciendas included colonizing contracts and sharecropping (Gootenberg 2008), both exploitative labor systems. Labor was segmented by race in one of Peru’s most utilized coca growing zones: “Of a population of 2,505 in 1877, the Chinchao had only 94 self-identified “whites,” mostly planters and merchants, and 1,794 Indians, presumably the vast majority of its 838 *agricultores* and 613 *jornalero* day laborers” (Gootenberg 2008: 87). The cocaine commodity chain during this period of licit cocaine began with these primarily indigenous low-level workers. It moved beyond Peruvian borders to German and American pharmaceutical companies and other distributors of coca and cocaine products in the United States and Europe. Labor in the coca/cocaine commodity chain during this period continued to be divided by race. It was also during this time that it became transnational, a pattern that the illicit chain would follow. Therefore, not only was the chain segmented along racial divides, but transnational ones as well. As a producer of coca/cocaine, Peru became dependent on demand for this product in consuming nations.

IV.3.a. *The TCCC and the Prison*

The cocaine chain uses the prison – especially at its lower end of production and transportation. The prison is yet another institution of the licit global political economy from which the chain benefits. It serves as a “revolving door” for potential and discarded workers. The dislocation of people from formal means of generating an income is a pathway to work in informal and illicit economies including the TCCC, which recruits vulnerable workers from the informal sector. Once they are no longer needed nor wanted in production and transportation

labor, the prison becomes the place to discard them. Illegal cocaine also profoundly shapes daily life in the prison, particularly the economic relationships inside. Thus the cocaine commodity chain and the prison are entangled in a complex and reciprocal relationship. Illicit drug networks benefit as the prison serves as a means to cut off unwanted individuals from the drug chain. It also functions as a temporary control center for high-level incarcerated workers in the chain to manage outside business affairs from the inside (Kenney 2007). Peru gains from this relationship as well. It receives financial aid and other economic incentives when it adheres to war on drugs policies. Part of this adherence includes a “tough” anti-drugs stance with prison time for those arrested on drug trafficking charges. An unofficial incentive is profit from the wide-ranging corruption that exists in all levels of the police/prison system – there is potential to earn fast money on the side from the growing numbers of drug related arrests. Therefore the prison grows and so does the transnational cocaine commodity chain.

This relationship also illustrates how the movement of its female laborers into the prison occurs, as they are located at the bottom links within the chain, they are also more susceptible to policing forces. Therefore women’s labor is the linchpin between the transnational cocaine commodity chain and incarceration. Complex and fluid intersections between multiple hierarchies structure why women enter this chain and the work they perform once they are in it. The relationship between this illicit chain and the prison is also one that reinforces a cycle of marginality and poverty, not only for the women themselves, but for the children for whom they are often solely responsible. These linkages between women’s labor, the transnational cocaine commodity chain and incarceration result in axes stratified by race, gender, class and citizenship inside the prison.

IV.3.b. Prohibition and the Creation of the Illicit Cocaine Trade

By the early 1900s cocaine was losing its popularity among medical professionals and organizations in the United States. Reports of addiction and deaths which occurred both in the use of cocaine as a local anesthetic and as an over the counter drug led to the decline of its use among doctors. The fear of the “cocaine fiend” pushed the prohibition movement further as it combined with a general prohibitionist culture of the early 1900s. Cocaine was associated with America’s criminalized underclass – sex worker, their pimps, thieves and gangs. This underclass also included Blacks.

The racialized underpinnings of the prohibition of cocaine consumption in the United States influenced and shaped the transnational cocaine commodity chain. Madge writes that “employers began to feed cocaine to black workers” (2001: 88) in the 1890s when cocaine was widely available as a patent medicine. Cocaine abuse was thought to be a Black problem in the American South and racial panic helped move forward the cocaine prohibition movement. For example, “in 1909 a municipal court judge in Mississippi said that anyone supplying a ‘negro’ with cocaine was more dangerous than someone who injected a dog with rabies” (Madge 2001: 88). This idea at the turn of the century that Blacks abused cocaine, which consequently led them to commit violent crimes, was one that would reappear in the 1980s.

By 1920 the United States had outlawed cocaine and widely done away with its abuse inside the country’s borders (Gootenberg 2008). By 1950, a long series of laws, bans, regulations and political maneuvers finally led to the end of the licit cocaine commodity chain. The United States had criminalized the importation of coca and cocaine from Peru and the United Nations “institutionalized cocaine and coca into a universal drug regime” (Gootenberg 2008: 239). Peru had resisted cocaine prohibitions developed between 1910-1950 but after political and economic pressure from the United States the Peruvian government gradually criminalized

cocaine within its own borders (Gootenberg 1999) and subsequent Peruvian administrations maintained prohibitions on coca production.

Gootenberg (2008) argues that the global criminalization of cocaine in this period led to the 1970s boom of the illegal cocaine trade. In a similar vein, McCoy (1991) states that the “prohibition of narcotics has contributed to the growth of organized crime” (14). Rather than eliminate or significantly decrease the cocaine market, the international sanction against it laid the foundation for the growth of its illicit commerce. The early illicit chain began with coca production in the same region. Labor at this level also reproduced the same colonial and post colonial labor patterns of Peru: indigenous or mestizo coca farmers selling their harvests to middlemen. In the early days of the illegal trade, Peruvian landowners and cocaine processors who had originally participated in the legal cocaine commodity chain sold coca leaves and crude cocaine to these new middlemen (Gootenberg 2008).

A difference emerges between the licit and illicit chains at this particular juncture. In the legal business of cocaine, middle men between coca farmers and American and European pharmaceutical or patent medicine companies were Peruvian merchants, the landowners themselves or foreigners. Post-1950, these new middle men were Latin American “entrepreneurs” (Gootenberg 2008) who took advantage of the potential to profit from cocaine’s criminalization. These new middlemen who took over the distribution link of the drug chain were not necessarily Peruvian and were located in geographically valuable locations in Latin America such as ports, cross-country routes and major cities. At first, smuggling cocaine into the United States were individualized attempts but more organized networks were later developed. These new illicit routes and networks were located mainly in Peru, Bolivia, Chile, Argentina, Cuba and Brazil.

My argument that the illicit cocaine commodity chain grows and depends on legal economic and political processes is supported by the early history of illegal cocaine. Gootenberg (2008) argues that cold war politics had a tremendous impact on shaping the illicit cocaine commodity chain during this period. After the Cuban revolution “the core of the new professional international cocaine trafficking class was composed of Cuban exiles” (Gootenberg 2008: 266). They were the important distributors in places such as New York and Mexico. In addition, Chile and Argentina were leading areas of cocaine processing and transportation but after falling into the hands of dictatorships (whose governments equated “communists” with cocaine), they became closed off to the this drug market, thus setting the stage for Colombia’s infamous cocaine smugglers (I will expand on this below). This criminalized market also made active use of transportation technologies other than ships. Transcontinental airlines became a popular way of smuggling cocaine across borders – another example of how the illicit used the licit to expand.

With the criminalization of cocaine came the use of female labor in its transit and distribution. This is an important point in the history of women’s work in the illicit cocaine trade – they were recruited to work in this chain once this drug became a fully underground commodity. Early female smugglers were wives or girlfriends of male smugglers. For example, Chile’s major cocaine smugglers were members of the Huasaff-Harb clan which included a wife/mother, aunt, and sister – all of whom worked as transporters of cocaine to the United States. The family “typically used women, overlooked in border searches, as couriers from Bolivia, although two exceptions were nabbed in 1959” (Gootenberg 2008:262). Women working within family networks may have experienced more autonomy in their work. Also, not all women in the illicit cocaine commodity chain were low-level mules. Bolivian trafficker

Blanca Ibanez was one of the most famous (and most wanted) smugglers of the 1950s. She not only transported cocaine herself across Peru, Bolivia, Panama, Cuba and New York but also owned several cocaine processing plants. Ibanez was her own boss and her original status as a member of Bolivia's white elite was perhaps the basis for this autonomy (Gootenberg 2008).

Many reports on cocaine-related arrests in Latin America and the United States included women, indicating their involvement in the early era of criminalized cocaine. Examples are "Gabriella Giralt and eight others, with over 5.5 kilos kept in Miami and Key West safe houses" (Gootenberg 2008: 266). Other female Cuban exiles were cited as important traffickers of cocaine. In Brazil a police report noted "Josefina Galvano, 'the spook,' a Bolivian who is undoubtedly the brains of the gang (Gootenberg 2008:271)". Women were also involved in cocaine laboratories. For example, in September 1959 a new type of discovery shook Mexico: "two clandestine laboratories installed in dwelling houses in Mexico City, along with 6.2 kilos of cocaine, were discovered following the arrests of four Cubans and eleven Mexican nationals, including five women (Gootenberg 2008: 274)".

Most women however were used as smugglers. A report by the Federal Bureau of Narcotics stated that, "the traffic in cocaine between Bolivia and Cuba [was] handled primarily by women who enter the country as tourists and who smuggle the drugs in small handbags with false bottoms" (Gootenberg 2008: 279). Gootenberg (2008) explains that, "it was typical in the 1950s to tap women as mules, as customs agents were still unaccustomed to check the luggage or orifices of well-heeled Latin women (280)". This gives the impression that transnational female transporters of cocaine during this period were white (or could pass for it) and carried other markers of social capital that helped them avoid detection by the police. Their powerlessness (whether real or not) was part of the mythology of the early narcotics trade. For example, "elite

women of European descent were portrayed as the victims of narcotics peddlers” (Carey 2009: 62). Unfortunately not much more than this is known about these first female workers in the criminalized cocaine commodity chain. The labor segmentation in the chain was racialized as well as gendered. Women were mainly represented at the lowest levels in each link of the chain – female peasants labored in Peru and Bolivia to grow coca leaves; women were used as mules in transnational smuggling. Race and national/citizenship networks also influenced a woman’s position in the chain.

This discussion of women’s labor in the transnational cocaine commodity chain is important because it illustrates how citizenship, race and gender were factors in *what* kinds of work woman did in this chain and *how* they did it. The work of the women interviewed for this study reflected the labor segmentation faced by early female smugglers of cocaine and other illegal drugs. I focus on contemporary female workers of the TCCC in the next chapter.

IV.3.c. *The Effects of the Colombian Cartels*

The 1970s and 80s saw major changes in the labor structures of the transnational cocaine commodity chain. There were transformations in the recruitment of workers, regional networks and women’s work. But segmentation by citizenship, race and gender were still important in determining who did what. The context for Peru's next coca boom in the 1980's was made up of several factors including internal migration via government sponsored colonization programs to the country's jungle zones, a weak state presence in these areas, an economic crisis and growth in the demand for coca leaves (Cotler 1999). The global context included a “decline in world prices for primary products from developing countries, compelling indigent farmers in several countries to turn to the cultivation of coca in Latin America” (Akyeampong 2005: 437). This coincided with a rise in demand for cocaine in the United States and Europe. Beginning in the 1940s,

Peru's government developed and sponsored colonization programs of the jungle that was located on the eastern slopes of the Andes Mountains (Hendrix 1993). Families who were willing to migrate to this area (the Upper Huallaga Valley) were given land (Morales 1986). By the 1960s thousands were migrating to the area on their own, without any impetus from the state. These new migrants were peasant farmers (mostly mestizo or indigenous) and they were encouraged through international development programs to grow non-coca crops such as tea. The emphasis was on creating a new agricultural zone and building new homesteader villages on this "unoccupied region with no indigenous population (Kernaghan 2009: 8)". But by the early 1970s, the unstable Peruvian government "was now drowning in international debt and retracting itself, leaving thousands of poor peasant cultivators bereft of social services and attachments in the Huallaga" (Gootenberg 2008: 296). Many of these small farmers left the region or turned to coca cultivation as a way to survive the political and economic crisis and coca production increased dramatically. Kernaghan (2009), like Gootenberg (2008), emphasizes the long history of coca in the Huallaga region. The change that occurred in the 1970s "was not the introduction of coca nor even of cocaine but the degree to which coca leaf cultivation, now destined overwhelmingly for illicit markets, came to dominate the new agricultural lands opened along the Marginal Highway" (Kernaghan 2009: 10). Kernaghan's ethnography gives a brief view of the construction of the transnational commodity chain in the Huallaga valley in the 1980s. A new wave of migrants entered the region "for a new chance, for "easy money," for good times, the Huallaga became *the place to go*" (2009: 11). These migrants worked in producing or distributing raw cocaine. They also worked in the "support activities that clustered around the blossoming drug economy – from retail sales of food and agricultural supplies to musical entertainment and sexual services" (Kernaghan 2009:11). The TCCC therefore

“intersects” with other commodity chains, that of retail, food and other illicit products and services.

Drug trafficking continued to expand in Latin America during the economic crisis of the 1980's (Del Olmo 1993). This illustrates the effects of the global political economy on the cocaine commodity chain. Peru's debt to global institutions and development projects in farming and transportation (such as road building) all belonged in the field of the formal/licit global political economy. These processes had an enormous influence on how the illicit cocaine chain grew and developed. The emergence of Colombian cartels was another major change in the labor structure of criminalized cocaine. These cartels were practically non-existent before 1973. They became prominent in the transportation and distribution of cocaine after Pinochet's coup in Chile in 1973, which essentially “closed the drug's most traveled conduit north” (Gootenberg 2008: 301). As mentioned earlier, Chile was a key site in the chain as a refiner of cocaine. Chileans would buy coca from Peru and/or Bolivia, make cocaine in Chilean laboratories and use Colombian smugglers to transport it to the United States.

The cocaine market in the United States was still relatively small and limited to upper class users, the cocaine boom had not yet occurred. Chilean traffickers of cocaine had a profitable, if small, turnaround in the illicit cocaine chain. The turning point came when General Augusto Pinochet overthrew leftist president Salvador Allende in September of 1973 and subsequently jailed or deported dozens of drug traffickers. Cocaine production and transport subsequently moved to Colombia (Gugliotta & Leen 1989). Colombians were now no longer just middlemen, but owners of production and transportation networks. This is an example of how geo-political shifts in the region affected the cocaine chain. These cartels “purchased Huallaga cocaine paste, airlifted it to Colombia, and then oversaw its refinement into hydrochloride before

shipping it to illegal markets in Europe and the United States” (Kernaghan 2009: 11). Girlfriends and wives of North American and Colombian male traffickers were used as smugglers in the early history of the Colombian cocaine trade. As before, these women would travel from Latin America to the United States with the drug hidden in their suitcases (Guggliota & Leen 1989).

The majority of women who worked in the TCCC were used in the lower levels of transportation. But there were exceptions. Griselda Blanco, born in Medellin, immigrated to New York City in the 1960s and became one of the most important traffickers of cocaine in the 1970s and 80s. Blanco had grown up poor but had taken advantage of criminalized work and networks in Colombia, one of which was illicit cocaine. She entered this chain through her first husband while still living in Colombia and within a few years became one of the major importers of cocaine to the United States and helped to expand its retail. Blanco used female “mules” to transport cocaine between Colombia, Miami and New York and even developed a lingerie line that would conceal the drug. She has been partly mythologized due to the large number of murders she ordered - believed to be over two hundred. Although female, she worked within and subsequently dominated the masculine structure of the underground cocaine market. Again, however, she was an exception within the predominantly male world of the upper levels of illegal cocaine (Corben 2012).

Other aspects of Colombia that made it amenable to trafficking were its geographic location between Peru and the United States; an unstable government; and a long history of people who participated in “regional contraband trades” (Gootenberg 2008: 300). At first (like those in the early genealogy of criminalized cocaine) Colombian traffickers were individuals or family groups that took advantage of the opportunities provided by cold war politics (for example, Cuba’s limited role as a trafficking route after Fidel came into power). This allowed

Colombia to play a larger role in trafficking. With more wealth and power, however, these groups grew into more structured organizations headed by a single powerful trafficker (i.e. Pablo Escobar).

Kenney (2007) argues against the cartel model, however, describing the business of illegal cocaine in Colombia as made up of autonomous group of people, who although they pooled their resources to coordinate drug shipments and suborn public officials, they did not form monolithic associations that set international drug prices. Instead, many of these groups formed flat, loosely coupled inter-organisational networks that coordinated their activities when opportunities arose (Kenny 2007: 258).

These were based on inter-personal networks or ties of relatives, friends, etc. which were necessary within the context of near-constant policing. Workers were recruited by someone who was known and trusted to a person within the organization. Although this offers a more flexible model than that of the cartel, the question regarding gender labor segmentation still remains. Why did women occupy the majority of low-level and high-risk jobs – especially if cocaine networks were made up of *conocidos* such friends and relatives? The literature remains silent on how these networks reproduced gendered labor segmentation. Whether made up of cartels or loosely organized networks, Colombia became an important location for the production, exportation and distribution of illicit cocaine.

Peru's role within this illegal market was still that of a producer of coca that was then shipped to Colombia to be made into cocaine. Women participated in this production as cultivators of coca. Before the cocaine boom of the 1980s, these farms had initially been small, and growing coca was only one of several income generating strategies used by peasant households. They included subsistence farming and seasonal wage earning jobs of husbands. Women worked to support the reproductive capacities of the family in addition to working on the

farm. When husbands were away, they were in charge of all aspects of the home/farm. The cocaine boom resulted in several changes for women. For instance, all of the agricultural land was dedicated to growing coca. This meant that women were responsible for buying food that had previously been grown on the land for consumption. In addition, money earned from cultivating coca remained in the hands of the males as heads of households. Husbands were away for much longer periods of time thus exacerbating the already double/triple day of wives who were left behind. When the coca boom ended in the 1990s these households were left without a source of income and women searched for ways to provide for their families (Dietz 2000). We see therefore that gender segmentation existed at all levels of the transnational cocaine commodity chain. This division was one in which women were subordinated and consequently made more vulnerable to economic shifts and anti-drug policies. What this gendered division of labor within the cocaine chain looked like on the ground varied by nation (i.e. United States/Colombia), region (urban/rural), class (wage worker/farmer) and race (white transporter of cocaine/indigenous farmer).

After the success of interdiction efforts in Colombia by its military in the 1990s (with aid from the United States), Mexico became the next major site for drug trafficking in Latin America. The killing of the head of the Cali network, Pablo Escobar, by military forces and the imprisonment of the leaders of the Medellín organization, led to the break-down of these large organizations into smaller, competitive groups. Benson and Decker (2010) describe the transition from the formal hierarchy of Colombian trafficking groups to “a less organized network of connected units” (134). This change opened the door for Mexican traffickers to participate in other areas besides transportation over the United States border (Mexican workers of the TCCC will be discussed in more detail in the next section). It has been reported in the Peruvian news

media that Mexican cartels dominate the cocaine market in Peru. Three in particular – the Sinaloa, Gulf and Tijuana cartels – control about seventy percent of the cocaine market in Peru. That is, they focus on smuggling cocaine past Peruvian borders mainly to Europe and to a lesser extent, the United States (Sarria 2010). Peruvians have also moved “up” from low to mid-level workers to being “capos” themselves (Sarria 2010), thus moving Peru from solely a point of production to participating more actively in distribution. One consequence of increased interdiction in Colombia has been a kind of free market competition among various networks from countries such as Colombia, Ecuador, Brazil, and even China. Each network competes for a piece of the cocaine profit to be made in Peru (Sarria 2010).

In summary, this section has reviewed some of the changes the cocaine commodity chain experienced in its labor structure after the 1970s – migration of peasants to Peru’s Huallaga valley, the formation of cartels in Colombia and the shift to Mexico as a major point of drug trafficking. The roles that each country has played in the transnational cocaine commodity chain – producer, transporter, and distributor – have affected how workers enter the chain and the types of work they do. While the chain has adapted according to economic and political changes in the region, the recruitment of workers has depended heavily on long-standing divisions of labor based on class, race and gender.

IV.3.d. Inter-regional Connections

This section traces the movement of people and cocaine between Peru, Mexico, Central America and the nations of western Africa. There exists a cocaine production and distribution region and several nation states are prominent in this region. Cocaine, money and people circulate back and forth throughout the Andean zone, Mexico, the United States, Europe and Africa. Countries in this cocaine production and distribution region are key to an analysis of

incarcerated women in the Santa Monica prison. In the following paragraphs I will describe the role of particular areas and countries that are important in the flows of cocaine and people throughout the region.

IV.3.d.i. *Mexico and Central America*

There was a realignment of the transnational cocaine commodity chain after successful interdiction efforts in Colombia. The flow of cocaine from Colombia to Miami shifted to Mexico in the early 1990s. At first, remaining traffickers of Colombia's Cali cartel hired Mexican middlemen to transport cocaine along the Mexican/United States border. These Mexican transporters were building on a long history of illicit trade between the United States and Mexico, especially in border cities such as Juarez and Nogales. Within a few years, these Mexican traffickers had taken over the entire distribution of cocaine. They purchased coca paste/cocaine directly from Peru and/or Bolivia and used Central America to route the drug to the United States (Gootenberg 2011).

Another factor in the growth of drug trafficking in Mexico was the dissolution of unwritten agreements between government and criminal groups. The historical cooperation between government officials and criminal organizations, including drug traffickers, ended when the Institutional Revolution Party (PRI) lost its first national election in seventy years. Since the beginning of the PRI's rule, this collusion with illicit groups had resulted in low-levels of violence in Mexico. Olney (2012) argues that globalization policies, what she calls "open borders paradigm" (149), led to Mexico and the United States loosening their security procedures and lifting restrictions on trade. Drug traffickers who had lost the backing of PRI government officials took advantage of the more porous border between the United States and Mexico due to open trade agreements such as NAFTA.

Campbell's (2005) analysis of "narco-folklore" on the U.S.-Mexico border (specifically El Paso, Texas and Ciudad Juarez) is one of the few works to focus on individuals rather than the larger organizational structure of the cocaine commodity chain. His emphasis on the border also illustrates the transnational movement of illicit drugs and people, including how and why individuals enter drug trafficking. He states that it is "a predictable adaptation of relatively poor people to poverty and has become a part of the self-identity of border communities" (Campbell 2005: 327). Like Peruvian female workers in the illicit cocaine commodity chain, many of the workers described by Campbell were not transforming themselves into wealthy individuals. Rather, they viewed themselves as people who were "trying to make a living" (332). In addition, he situates the labor of illicit cocaine within the larger economic context of the U.S-Mexico border. For example, El Paso is one of the poorest cities in the United States. Ciudad Juarez is described as a "contested marginalized local place" (Morales and Bejarano 2009: 435) in that it has been a place for subordinate and disposable workers such as maquiladoras. Labor and place have always been inter-connected in the cocaine commodity chain.

Not to be discounted is the labor of Central American gangs in this drug market. Seelke (2008), writing about incarcerated members of the Mara Salvatrucha (MS-13) gang in Guatemala, states that "90 percent of cocaine shipped from the Andes to the United States flows through Central America" (3). For this reason, and for many more, members of MS-13 have been arrested as far south as Lima and as far north as Toronto (O'Neil 2010: 72)." This is another network that is linked to the transnational chain through globalized economic shifts that intersect with racial stigmatization and state violence. Civil wars and economic inequality in El Salvador and Guatemala resulted in large migrations to the United States, particularly to low-income communities in Los Angeles. MS-13 was created in the United States "to defend

themselves against the city's already well-established Asian, African American, and Mexican gangs" (O'Neill 2010: 72). Gang members began to be deported to Central America in the 1990s and at an increasing rate post 9-11. This is how MS-13 became transnational and consequently more involved in the flows of cocaine and people. Race is a factor here in that American criminal justice policies (i.e. the War on Drugs and anti-terrorism acts) targeted non-whites for imprisonment and deportation. Subsequently, the deportation of gang members contributed to the growth of the cocaine chain in Central America.

Women make up about forty percent of gang membership in El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala (Lacey 2008). Nevertheless, men outnumber women within the interior structures of gangs in these countries. In addition, there has been a deepening of male domination due to the decline of active female gang members in these spaces (Aguilar and Carranza 2008). Therefore, Central American women who participate in gangs bear the cost of this type of female subordination. For example, their gang experience often includes sexual abuse as initiation into a gang may include sex with male gang members. Many of these women are young. Female gang members use several economic strategies such as robbing and selling drugs to generate an income (Goubaud 2008) but they occupy low-level positions in the cocaine chain. Although some women do reach important positions within Central American gangs, their status is still inferior to that of men (Goubaud 2008).

The subordinate status of female members of these cross-border gangs has consequences for those who are incarcerated. All female workers in the chain in the Latin American region, whether members of gangs or not, work in the lower levels. This makes them more susceptible to police surveillance and arrest. In addition, without access to power and influence within these organizations, they may also be without access to resources inside the prison. The case of female

gang members who are incarcerated exemplifies how these gangs, the transnational cocaine commodity chain, state violence and finally, gender subordination come together inside the female prison.

IV.3.d.ii. *The Transatlantic Cocaine Region*

Another flow of cocaine is also important – that from Peru to nations in West Africa such as Cape Verde, Guinea, Mali, Guinea-Bissau, Ghana, Benin, Togo, Gambia and Nigeria. When Peruvian cocaine is targeted for the European consumer market, the drug is either transported to Europe directly from Peru or to either Venezuela or Brazil and from there to countries in West Africa. Cocaine is then smuggled to Europe via smugglers, by ship or by private airplanes (Madeira et al 2011). This flow of people and cocaine is what makes up the transatlantic cocaine region.

There are several factors behind the construction of the transatlantic cocaine region. Specific national conditions of West African states laid the groundwork for the intensified presence of the transnational cocaine commodity chain. For example, Ellis (2009) reports that:

West Africa's role in the international drug trade has historical roots going back for over half a century and has been a matter of significant concern to law-enforcement officers worldwide for decades rather than years. Latin American traders who see some benefit in moving part of their operations to West Africa can find local partners with well-established networks who provide them with safe houses, banking, storage space, and a host of other facilities in return for a suitable financial arrangement or for payment in kind (173).

Therefore, upper level Latin American workers of the cocaine chain have in an increased presence in West African states. Akyeampong (2005) states that, "West Africa has come to assume this middleman position between Asia and South America in the trafficking of heroin and cocaine to Europe and North America" (446). Several factors have contributed to the development of this region as a major transit area for cocaine. First, the transnational cocaine

commodity chain built on a long history of West Africa as a region for the illicit trafficking of commodities (Shehu 2009, Ellis 2009, Akyeampong 2005). Felbab-Brown (2010) states that, “Almost immediately after its independence (and often predating it), the region has been characterized by a variety of illicit economies and their deep integration into the political arrangements and frameworks of the countries in the region” (1). Second, heavy anti-drug military and penal efforts in Latin America motivated traffickers to search for new ways to transport cocaine to Europe and the United States (Shehu 2009). For example, Latin American traffickers had been using Nigeria as a transit post since the 1980s because mules went largely undetected when traveling from Nigeria, it was unheard of that cocaine would come from Africa. After intensified policing and military anti-drug efforts in Mexico and Colombia in the 1990s, trafficking from Nigeria increased. Third, cocaine has followed the money – demand for cocaine in Europe grew and traffickers had the potential to earn a larger profit in the European market than in the United States. Here we see the impact of the global economy on the transnational cocaine commodity chain: the weakening of the dollar meant that traffickers saw a smaller profit in the United States than in Europe (Bybee 2009). Other elements that have integrated these West African states more deeply into the chain are: the geographical location of West African (Destrebecq 2007), weak institutions that consequently allow for a permissive environment (Bybee 2009), political instability, corruption (Felbab-Brown 2010) and tolerance for smuggling as well as ineffective law enforcement (Ellis 2009).

Guinea-Bissau, frequently referred to as a “narco-state” in the media, illustrates the above points. Several reasons has made this state especially amenable to the transnational cocaine commodity chain: its long coastlines and location on the coast of West Africa, the shortest distance between the Americas and Africa. Illegitimate rulers and the collapse of state

administration due to the structural adjustment programs of the 1980s also played a role in making this state a useful conduit for the trafficking of drugs. Police forces are ineffective as they are severely underfinanced, poorly paid and consequently vulnerable to corruption. In addition, high level military and government officials are involved in drug trafficking thus increasing the impunity of high level members of the transnational cocaine commodity chain (Madeira et al 2011, Bybee 2009). Although West Africa as a region has been described as an important area for the transportation of drugs to Europe (and at times, the United States), distinct features at the national level are important when considering the different ways in which the cocaine chain has escalated its presence in individual West African states.

Nigeria was often a presence during my fieldwork in Peru. I met many non-Peruvian prisoners who had become involved in the chain through a Nigerian male middleman, recruiter, boyfriend, husband, or relative. A number of *extranjeras* had previously been in relationships with Nigerian men or were linked to them in other personal ways (in one case, he was a son-in-law). Gender therefore shaped how these women had entered illegal cocaine. As discussed in the introductory chapter, relationships among women in the prison were also mediated by race. For example, many of the non-Black *extranjeras* who had been in relationships with Nigerian men spoke to me of their desire to meet Black men and complained to me about their small numbers in Peru. These women had specific ideas about what made a male partner desirable and one criterion was being Black. In a country where Blacks and Blackness were held in low regard or erased from the national racial discourse, these *extranjeras* were reorganizing Peru's racial hierarchy (even if was through the exoticism of Black men). They were remaking transnational flows – in gendered and racialized ways – inside the prison. They brought together regional networks that make up the transnational cocaine chain. Relationships with Nigerian men may

have ended, continued or begun during incarceration. But they had implications for how the drug chain is shaped and reshaped. This is why looking at the transatlantic cocaine region is important.

Peruvian and other Latin American networks work with Nigerian groups to transport drugs to Europe. Ellis (2009) describes the structure of the Nigerian drug trade – there are barons, strikers and finally, couriers (also known as mules) who make up the “lowest level of transportation” (188). Strikers recruit couriers and deal with them almost exclusively. Couriers therefore have little to no knowledge of the baron. Nigerian strikers try to recruit individuals from other West African nations who have European or North American passports. Many South African nationals are recruited as mules, particularly those who possess British passports. Nigerian networks also work in the Asian drug trade and may recruit couriers from there to be sent to Peru (my notes). A number of these mules often end up in Peruvian prisons.

Nigeria’s global role in the TCCC is based in its long history with illicit drugs. It was a transit point for moving heroin to the United States in the 1950s. Nigerians continued to play an important role in the global drug trade as early as the 1970s and this expanded with the structural adjustment policies of the 1980s and subsequent creation of “shadow states.” Ellis (2009) argues that:

Their success, and their growing ability to cooperate with organized crime groups elsewhere in the world, is inextricably linked not only to globalization and new patterns of international migration but also to specific experiences of rapid economic liberalization in the late twentieth century (195).

Therefore, processes of the global economy such as neoliberalism, structural adjustment policies and the restructuring of the state have contributed to the creation of a market that includes not only Latin American networks and individuals but certain West African nations as

well. The transatlantic cocaine region has diminished the distance between Latin America and West Africa through illicit negotiations, recruitment of mules, money laundering and more. States in this region have entered the transnational cocaine commodity chain based on their positions within the larger global political economy. But specific national conditions have helped to anchor this chain in Latin American and West African states. As drug traffickers have looked for ways to escape penal based strategies against illicit cocaine – such as the prison – they have moved parts of the cocaine chain to nation states in West Africa.

IV.3.e. *Female Laborers in the TCCC*

Significant findings indicate that across the region, drug trafficking has become one of the leading reasons for women's incarceration (Carranza 2012, Torres 2005, Morales 2008, Muñoz Almazan 2001) though women's role in illicit drug trafficking is secondary (Carranza 2012, Morales 2008, Jose Kampfner 2005). Women who work in Peru's drug market do so as *paqueteras* (who sell small amounts of cocaine), transporters (who carry cocaine from one city to another within Peru) or distributors (who receive the cocaine and distribute it to dealers), and a smaller amount are *burriers* (who carry cocaine from Lima to other countries) (Roman et al 2000). Because of the lack of social science research on Peruvian female workers in the transnational cocaine commodity chain, media-driven stories about *burriers* (mules) help fill the gap (however sensationalized) in the literature. The popular impression is that most women in the chain work as transporters of cocaine. The focus is predominantly on the international *burriers* rather than local transporters and sellers. The press appears to be particularly fascinated with foreign female transporters. News outlets regularly report on them arrested at Lima's international airport, in one case recording and airing body searches of foreign women suspected of carrying cocaine. International arrests are reported more frequently by major news outlets than

those of national or local smuggling. In a sample of twenty-five news articles about *burriers*, only five of these focused on smuggling within the country's borders. Of course, in some of these cases the *burrier* may have been caught in Peru but was headed to bordering countries (Chile is mentioned the most frequently) via land transportation.

In the Peruvian media, Peruvian women are victims to be punished, naïve, non-white and poor. They are also mothers. For example, a 2005 article in the Peruvian magazine *Caretas* reported a shift from fashion model-looking Limeña *burriers* to women who are more often from the rural provinces and whose second language was Spanish. The focus was on “encapsuladas,” women who ingest cocaine (this article was printed at about the time that the film “Maria Full of Grace” was in theaters). Drug networks seemed to be using poor, indigenous/mestiza women from outside Lima because they were easier to trick and manipulate. These *burriers* were attempting to take cocaine or coca paste to neighboring countries rather than directly to the United States or Europe. In a recent case, a 42 year-old woman with 80 ingested capsules of illicit drugs died in a provincial hospital. She was attempting to cross the Peruvian border by land.

According to Coronel Carlos Percovich Mallea of the National Peruvian Police, there has been an increase in these numbers of arrests due to the expansion of the cocaine market to Europe, Asia and Russia. The market is no longer limited to the United States and cocaine is substituting for heroin in these regions (Info Region 2010). In 2009, 501 people were arrested at Lima's international airport on charges of trafficking drugs across Peruvian borders. Out of this number 122 were Peruvian (RPP 2010). From January to September of 2010, authorities detained three hundred ten *burriers*. Of this number eighty-seven were women. The largest group was Peruvian. The second largest was Spanish with Filipinos following (Toro 2010).

Spanish *burriers* are used by drug trafficking networks in Peru because of their language. In addition, Spain's economic crisis has created a labor market for the transnational cocaine commodity chain. Also, Spanish workers are more likely to be consumers who may want to traffic drugs in order to support their drug consumption. Lastly, Spain is a site of cocaine distribution to the rest of Europe because its border control mechanisms are more flexible (Toro 2010). The insertion of Spain into this chain therefore depends of a variety of factors including economy and geography.

Working in the TCCC within Peruvian borders offers both Peruvians and foreigners the opportunity (but more realistically, the fantasy) of earning thousands of dollars. One kilo of cocaine is worth \$30,000 in the United States, \$40,000 in Europe and up to \$110,000 in Asia and Russia (El Comercio, Mayo 19, 2010). But for those located at the bottom rings of this chain – mainly women – earning a fraction of these amounts remains beyond their reach.

IV.4. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have situated the prison within three fields: the global political economy, the war on drugs and the transnational cocaine commodity chain. The prison serves a function within each field. It helps to expand a neoliberal free market economy by absorbing surplus labor and managing the racialized poor. The prison is also one of the pillars of the war on drugs. A militaristic and penal approach towards illicit cocaine in Latin America drives the increase in the region's prison population. Finally, the transnational cocaine commodity chain uses the prison as a place to deposit unwanted and disposable workers. The implications of my review of labor within the transnational cocaine commodity chain are as follows:

This illicit chain has functioned in tandem with the licit global economy. Legalized and formal aspects of the global economy such as colonial policies, the legal creation of drug

markets, policies criminalizing coca and cocaine and a global labor force segmented by citizenship have all ultimately helped the growth of the cocaine trade. The underside of globalization depends on formalized global dynamics.

Female labor in this chain is partly structured by how their country of citizenship is inserted in this chain. This expands the race/gender/class model of intersectionality to one that is more transnational. In addition, we have seen that throughout the history of illicit cocaine, women have been used in different ways and have occupied varying positions within this chain, depending on the intersection of the above social categories. Overall however women have worked at the bottom. Consequently, this has made them more vulnerable to arrest and imprisonment.

The transnational cocaine commodity chain is linked to the prison through labor. Those who work at the lowest levels are disposable – there are always more people willing to traffic or sell cocaine. Like multi-national companies that hire women as low-level workers, this illicit chain contracts women who are affected by global economic forces such as neoliberal policies, cuts in government subsidies for health and care of children and a labor force divided by gender. Most women who work in this chain do so for economic reasons. As stated earlier, their low-level work leaves them susceptible to police forces and incarceration. The TCCC therefore uses the prison as a site for storing surplus workers. As more female workers in this chain undertake the risky low-level jobs, female prison populations swell.

Peru is complicit in how the prison functions in all three fields. For those with extant resources, working in the cocaine market becomes a choice that promises to bring in quick cash. But those who work at its lower levels become caught up in the country's war on drugs. Peru's growing prison system is largely the result of incarcerating individuals on drug trafficking

offenses. The labor of poor people in Peru is ironically what allows the Peruvian state to grow, even as it imprisons them. The following chapters will focus on women in Santa Monica who had worked (or were accused of working) in this chain.

V.

INTERLUDE

V.1. Ethnographic Truth?

Before delving into the ethnographic section of this work, the problem of truth in interviews needs to be addressed, perhaps even more so because of the stigma against imprisoned women. Their words are held to more scrutiny than those belonging to women who are free, educated, wealthy, or any other status that carries prestige in Peruvian society. When speaking about my fieldwork I have sometimes been asked, “How do you know they were telling you the truth?” I wondered if this question would have been posed about other groups of women. It is quite probable that at some points during interviews I was manipulated or flat out lied to. Maybe important facts were withheld. Perhaps the details of events changed a little – or a lot. In addition, how a prisoner represented herself depended on who she was talking to. There might have been times when a participant told me what she thought I wanted to hear. Lastly, I had to record what was conveyed during fieldwork but I have no way to verify what was said.

Ethnographic truth therefore has its limitations. I don’t know nor will never know exactly how “truthful” interviewees were but this does not make their narratives any less valid. This is so because it is the patterns of women’s narratives that make up the whole of this project. Relationships between factors such as poverty, race, the war on drugs, cocaine and gender emerged from interviews. The more women I spoke with, the more these arrangements repeated themselves. Also, the “truth” became less important than the issues raised. The women in Santa Monica responded to the realities of financial hardship, insecurity and incarceration in their stories. It was imperative to record what they wanted me to know about them and their lives in

the prison. This said just as much about them than the absent truth. Whether real or not, all of it had value because it came from their experiences.

To lessen the chances of fabrications in interviews, I spent the first two months of fieldwork purposely not asking any personal questions and instead observing and talking about life in Santa Monica. I made sure to represent myself as a researcher with no ties to the prison system and subsequently as someone with no influence in affecting prisoners' sentences and quality of life. There was nothing to gain or lose by not telling me the "truth." Finally, in my role as researcher I took interviewees at their word. I was not there to judge them, to investigate and cross check their narratives. They did not ask me to give them "voice." Nor was I asked to pity them. What I did offer them was the respect they deserved as women, mothers, daughters, workers, and wives – quite simply, human beings. I aimed to do this by accepting their stories without suspicion as to the extent of their "truthfulness."

V.2. The "I" in Interview

As an anthropologist and product of the United States version of racialization, I quietly categorized the women I interviewed in the Santa Monica prison into racial boxes. Most of the women in Santa Monica I spoke with would have fallen under a variety of racial labels in Peru that noted their mixture of white, indigenous and black ancestry. So I was excited when I got the chance to interview an Afro-Peruvian woman (based on my own definition of blackness). I introduced myself and shared with her my eagerness to interview an "*Afro-Peruana*." There was a long pause and as she looked coldly at me, she said very slowly: "*I am not Afro-Peruvian, I am Peruvian*." I immediately recognized my mistake and apologized profusely.

Her reaction to my comment made me realize that I too was bringing myself to the interview. As objective as I tried to be, I sometimes slipped. I was there as an anthropologist but it was impossible to completely shed the other parts of my identity. The best I could do was to be

constantly aware of this during fieldwork and act carefully in how I presented my queries, statements and actions. In addition, I also recognized that the questions I asked determined the answers I received. I tried very hard not to ask questions during interviews because I was aware of this problem. As much as possible, I strove for participants to determine their own responses. Lastly, the following chapters consist of what I ultimately chose to include. I picked some narratives over others because they illustrated particular points I wanted to make or because they evoked something else in me. This editing will hopefully make up for what was not included.

V.3. Notes on Research in a Prison

What follows are “snapshots” which will hopefully capture what I call the fissures in fieldwork that come from the intersections of class, race and citizenship. These cleavages helped shape the field of my research, its questions and limitations.

Snapshot #1: It is my second visit to the prison and I’ve been speaking with an American woman. I’ve told her that I am from New Jersey. “You know, there’s another American woman here and she’s from Jersey, too. I’m going to go look for her.” I wait for her at the table and she returns a few minutes later with another woman who sits down across from me. We chat: “You’re from New Jersey?” one of us asks. The conversation moves quickly. “Yes.” “Which part?” “Ptown.” “What?! So am I!” After more questions and exclamations we find out that we live less than a mile away from one another in the same small working-class city in northern New Jersey. We are both Latina – she Puerto Rican, me Peruvian-American. We also discover that we are mothers to young daughters.

The convergence of our individual pathways as well as their movements into very different directions was crystal clear. We joked and told stories about life in the ‘hood. We talked

about missing American fast food. But of course, I got to leave once visiting hours were over and go home to my daughter. Her daughter lived in the States with the woman's mother. Lesson one: sometimes the fissures between me and the women I study will be narrow, but mostly they will crack wide open.

Snapshot #2: I am sitting alone in the prison's main patio and working up the courage to introduce myself to an older woman sitting on a bench across from me. She is knitting busily. I sit beside her. Her name is Señora Martina and she tells me that she is known as "*la abuelita de los aretitos* (the earrings grandmother)." She looks at me pitifully: "*Y porque estas aca?*" She is asking me what I did in order to become incarcerated in Santa Monica. I explain to her that I am a visitor and show her the visitor's stamp on my arm. She tells me that she had seen me before and had thought to herself what a shame it was that I was there, incarcerated in the prison.

Lesson two: sometimes the fissures in fieldwork will be wide enough for me to fall into.

Snapshot #3: I am sitting with a group of women. A woman walks up to me and tells me that the guard wants to speak to me. I groan inwardly. There is a guard post (a *cabina*) between the nursery and one of the dorm buildings. I walk to the *cabina*. The guard is not unpleasant but asks me the usual round of questions. Who was I? Why was I there? "I didn't know you were here," she tells me after I explain that I am an anthropologist, "I thought you were an inmate."

My initial reaction after being confused for one of the women in the prison was 'Great! I am fitting into my field site as an anthropologist,' mixed with relief for being under the radar. This was followed by an uncomfortable feeling that these occurrences had more to do with my perceived race/ethnicity than with any clever fieldwork on my part. Most of the Peruvian women in the prison are not white. Because of the way I look, I could be *chola*, *serrana*, *morena* – any

of the ethnic categories that make up the prison population. At the same time my identity as an anthropologist with American citizenship kept me safe from many of the risks faced by the women in the prison. Lesson three: the fissures of fieldwork will zigzag in ways that draw me close to the women I study and at the same time set me apart.

VI.

WHERE I COME FROM: HOW CITIZENSHIP STRATIFIES SANTA MONICA

VI.1. Introduction

Santa Monica brings together foreign and Peruvian workers of the TCCC and reproduces globalized structural inequalities inside the prison. Women enter this chain based on the intersection of the location of their country of citizenship in the global economy, their race, class and gender. This chapter, the first of three ethnographic chapters, will focus on *extranjeras*, non-Peruvian women who were arrested on drug trafficking charges. I will emphasize the importance of citizenship to access to resources and how citizenship and race function in conflicting ways inside Santa Monica. I will also highlight how citizenship and gender intersect and reshape privilege in the prison. This chapter will be divided into two sections: one that focuses on women who are citizens of Western European nations (Linda and Ada) and another that will include the narratives of women from non-Western countries (Leslie and Paloma). Although the women included in this chapter were all *extranjeras*, their citizenship status – combined with other positionalities – influenced their access to resources in different ways.

Lily, Dutch by citizenship and African by birth, walks me to the prison library. On our way, she points to a Spanish woman. She is tall and has a pink streak in her long brown hair. She has just walked through the main gate that separates the prisoners' area from the administrative wing and beyond that, the street. The woman is returning from the administrative wing and walks through the gate into the main patio. She is immediately surrounded by women, all of them Peruvian. "These are women who are collecting their debts from her," Lilly explains. "That Spanish woman owes them money." The woman holds cash in her hand. The other women

swarm around her and she starts to give out some of her money. At one point there is a push and pull between two of the debt collectors. The Spanish woman begins to walk away, with the group of debt collectors encircling her. Lilly laughs at the scene. "It's not good to buy things on credit, to owe people money," she says. "I don't buy things on credit; I don't want to owe anyone."

*Josefina and Sofia are Peruvian. We are sitting on the bench near the clinic. They talk to me about the *extranjer*as in Santa Monica. "We get angry at their attitude towards Peru, as if blaming this country for getting caught," Sofia says. They criticize the Spanish women in particular, claiming that they are very egotistical. Josefina does say that there is a German woman and a Polish woman in her room with whom she speaks. Sofia is friendly with a woman from the Czech Republic. "Many of the *extranjer*as - especially the European woman - are or were addicts," Sofia says. "Also, they were low class in their own countries, and then they come here and act superior to Peruvians. Some were prostitutes in their own countries and some of them can't even read or write. They were cleaned up and dressed up and sent here to carry drugs." Josefina nods her head in agreement. "A lot of the Peruvian women here are educated, they've finished high school or even university," continues Sofia. "Many are professional women. My friend for example, was a journalist. She is inside now on drug trafficking charges."*

For the first two months of my fieldwork in the prison, I listened and watched. Mostly, I listened. Almost always, women sat in groups of at least two. I tried not to interrupt the flow of their conversations with too many questions and instead nodded my head in agreement or disbelief, laughed at jokes, shared coffee and *empanadas*. I had been prepared to collect information as to how women ended up in the prison and was working my way to asking for formal interviews. But in the conversations that I was privy to, I noticed that much of the talk revolved around money: who had it, who didn't have it, how to get it, who owed who money, the

cost of grocery items and bribes, when one was getting money from relatives or a husband. I became attuned to how money shaped much of the daily life inside Santa Monica.

For example, in the above “scenes” we can see the division between Peruvian and foreign women inside the prison. These divisions are primarily based on the location of Peru and other countries in the “narcotics international division of labor” (Bartilow & Eom 2009), that is, which countries are producers, sites of transportation, distribution and finally the consumers of cocaine. The “higher” one climbs up the transnational cocaine commodity chain in the global economy, the wealthier that nation. These global economic divisions were expressed through the social relationships of women inside Santa Monica.

Foreign women, for example, particularly those from North America and Europe, had access to income (in dollars and Euros) from relatives back home. Peruvian women who had worked in the informal economy prior to incarceration brought those skills with them into the prison: they loaned money, sold goods (sometimes contraband) and offered services, often to the foreign women. Lilly was Dutch and had the resources to bribe prison workers to process her release papers more quickly. She was also of African descent and was the object of racist remarks from some of the Peruvian prisoners. But like the Spanish woman she pointed to, she had worked as an international transporter of cocaine. The potential income from this work was much more than the income Peruvian women earned from the local transportation and smuggling of coca paste/cocaine. Because of her Dutch citizenship and her role as an international transporter of cocaine she had access to Euros and consequently more opportunities to bribe prison staff. In addition, her son was in Amsterdam being taken care of by her sister, a stable living condition. The Spanish woman she pointed out had the option to purchase things for herself (even on credit), something many Peruvian women who worked at the local

transportation of cocaine did not have. Lily and the Spanish woman therefore illustrate the unequal relationships that are formed inside the prison and how these are connected to cocaine.

Josefina and Sofia voiced their awareness of these divisions by painting a picture of foreign prisoners as belonging to a class lower than themselves, even though the income of a foreign woman in her country of citizenship was more than that of a Peruvian. Not only that, but they were “bad women” – drug addicts and prostitutes. Josefina and Sofia were expressing the sentiment that even though they might be monetarily poorer than the Spanish women, they were educationally and morally richer. The Spanish prisoners in Santa Monica were perceived by other women to be a particularly privileged group – in addition to the Euros sent to them by relatives, husbands, friends or lovers back home, their embassy provided them with a monthly stipend for living expenses. Only three embassies did this at the time of my fieldwork. At the same time, I was told over and over again that the Spanish women were the largest drug consumers in the prison. There was a connection between their privileged economic status in Santa Monica and the idea of them as drug users.

More and more, I began to see that I could not understand life inside Santa Monica without understanding women’s work in the transnational cocaine commodity chain and how this contributed to inequality among the women inside the prison. And I could not understand these relationships without also understanding how they were influenced by gender and race.

In this chapter I will narrate segments of interviews with non-Peruvian incarcerated women who worked (or were accused of working) in the transnational cocaine commodity chain. They illustrate the ways in which labor within this chain is structured by its role in the global trade of narcotics. This, in turn, is related to that country’s position in the global political economy. By understanding the ways in which the transportation of cocaine is affected by these

and other “systems of power” (Burgess-Proctor 2006: 31) we can understand how it becomes a pathway to the prison. Women come to work as transporters and/or carriers of cocaine/coca paste based on a combination of factors, the first one being how their country of citizenship fit into the TCCC. This particular pathway is also shaped by intersecting systems of race and gender which act as “structuring forces affecting how people act, the opportunities that are available to them, and the way in which their behavior is socially defined” (Burgess Proctor 2006: 39). These include options for income in non-criminalized work; motherhood (mostly single); belonging to a minority group that has historically experienced discrimination, relationships with men, consumption of drugs, rural poverty, access to adequate healthcare among many others.

In addition, I argue that a woman’s work within the cocaine market influences the extent to which she must “hustle” inside the prison in the daily struggle for survival. Her work as an international transporter, local transporter, distributor, retailer or consumer of cocaine can influence her access to resources inside. The relationships of survival among the women varied according to their location within the different links of the chain. These relationships opened - or closed - opportunities for resources during incarceration; and they were also shaped by race and gender.

VI.2. Foreign Prisoners with Citizenship in Western European Countries:

The largest groups of women in Santa Monica are those from South Africa, Spain, the Netherlands and Malaysia. There are also women from the Philippines, Poland, United States, Germany, Thailand and Australia. These women were international drug transporters and expected to earn between two to five thousand dollars by carrying drugs, mainly cocaine, out of Peru. Their transnational work affected their position inside the prison: they were located at the top of the class hierarchy. Many foreign prisoners received money from relatives, husbands and

lovers abroad. Differences among foreign women depended on the location of her country of citizenship in the global political economy. For example, women from African, Asia and Latin America were typically less wealthy than women who were citizens of western European and North American countries. A number of foreign prisoners from these industrialized nations were able to “outsource” personal chores such as bed making, cleaning of their living area, paying for goods (some of them contraband) to be brought into the prison and cleaning jobs assigned by prison staff. Their children were in more stable living conditions than those of Peruvian prisoners. More importantly, these foreign women had the resources to bribe workers in Peru’s criminal justice bureaucracy, thus affecting the length of time they spent in Santa Monica. This is however not an attempt to naturalize the North/South distinction. Each nation-state has its own complex class system. But this division among foreign prisoners illustrates the powerful effects of transnational inequities as a result of colonialism and global economic processes such as capitalism.

For example, Clara, who was from a North American country, didn't work in any of the *talleres* (income generating workshops) because remittances from her family supported her inside the prison. She was able to call her family every day on the payphone. Women were allowed ten minutes on the payphones. Those who had the money could purchase additional phone cards or use coins and signed up for another ten-minute slot. Foreign women typically had money to call family members in their respective countries, friends and boyfriends in Peru. This was also an important way of keeping in touch with their children. Foreign women who were mothers had children who were living with their fathers, grandparents or other close relative in their home countries.

VI.2.a. *Linda (Swiss)*:

Linda's story is an example of the access western European and North American women in Santa Monica had to income and resources:

Linda was born in Hungary. She is twenty-two years old. As a child she lived with her grandparents, mother and aunt. "My father had left and I only saw him two times at court because he didn't want to pay for me. I went to school when I was seven years old. Sometimes I would get beat by everyone in my family except my grandfather. When I was twelve I got along with my mother and was close to her. She never brought a man home. But then she met a man and told me that she was going to marry him." The man was Swiss and had come to Hungary. They married and her mother went to Switzerland and Linda followed a month later.

Linda's mother worked as a nurse and was the main provider for her as a child. This played a role in Linda's early living arrangements. In other words, Linda grew up in an extended family household, one that was partially formed out of economic necessity. Her household experienced tensions manifested through the physical violence Linda experienced from family members. In addition, Hungary's role in the global political economy is important in Linda's story. Hungary is a post-communist nation that transitioned to a privatized economy. In 1998, at the time of the migration of Linda's mother to Switzerland, unemployment in Hungary was over ten percent and private income has dropped (ECOSTAT Monitor 1998). In addition, Hungary's service sector (to which as a nurse, Linda's mother belonged) could not absorb the unemployed workers from other sectors of the economy (Viszt & Borsi 2001). These factors might explain their migration to Switzerland.

"At first everything was okay and then my mother got pregnant. I got jealous and started smoking weed, staying out late and I was sent to boarding school. But I kept running away. I got married when I was eighteen. When I was fourteen, I got pregnant and my mother suspected

right away. I ran away with my boyfriend who is now my husband. I told my mother that I was going to stay with him and my mother looked for me with the police. The police were waiting for me at my house and took me to the commissary where and my mother was waiting. I didn't want to know anything about her.

Linda's migration to Switzerland was about more than just a geographical transition – it also changed the pattern of her family. She began rebelling when her mother became pregnant as a result of her new marriage. Linda's stepfather was a silent character in her narrative and she did not mention him again after her initial introduction to the role he played in her move from Hungary to Switzerland. It is clear that for whatever reason, no close relationship was formed between them. Linda became pregnant at fourteen years old with her then boyfriend (later husband). This move was shaped by the choices she had as a young teenage immigrant female in Switzerland.

My husband was thirty years old and involved in drug trafficking. I wasn't eighteen so I knew that I wouldn't get arrested. He was arrested when I was seventeen years old. It cost a lot of money to pay for his paperwork. I paid \$2,000 a week for lawyers. I sold drugs to pay for this. I visited my husband and I sold drugs while I was pregnant. My husband argued with me about it. When I went to visit him at the prison, he slapped me and I fell and the twins were stillborn. My husband was deported to Nigeria, not for hitting me but because of the drugs.

Linda began working in the cocaine commodity chain through her husband. Pregnant and with her husband in prison, she began selling drugs as a way to earn an income. He disapproved of her choice of work and this led to a physical confrontation between the two. Linda's relationship was problematic in ways that demonstrate how power dynamics in intimate partnerships may be shaped by gender. For example, her husband was thirteen years older and he

physically abused her. In addition, the violence led to the termination of her pregnancy. Gender is at work here in ways that shaped Linda's choices: she became pregnant, tried to get her husband out of prison and lost the pregnancy at the hands of her partner. All the same however, Linda hustled. At seventeen, she began to take over her husband's work in the illicit cocaine chain and was successful enough to be able to pay his lawyers. In addition, she knew how to use the legal system – she took advantage of being underage as she sold drugs. Linda was using the options available to her within a context that was shaped by gender and her history as an immigrant to Switzerland.

A Nigerian man gave me \$5,000 to go to Nigeria. I was given a visa to go to there because of what had happened to me, because I had lost the babies. I married my husband in Nigeria; we had a traditional Nigerian wedding. I went back home with the idea of getting him back to Switzerland. As a drug trafficker I traveled to the United States, Brazil, the Dominican Republic. I made between \$20,000 and \$12,000 on these trips. I own houses in Nigeria. My husband called me to find out if he could return to Switzerland. He went to Spain to go to Switzerland from there, but he was caught and the Spanish government sent him back to Nigeria. I was caught with two kilos in Holland and sentenced to six months.

In spite of the age difference and physical violence, Linda traveled to Nigeria and married her boyfriend. She used the gendered alternatives that were at hand: the Nigerian man who gave her \$5,000 was a friend of her future husband, thus indicating that her own networks were shaped by his own connections. In addition, she was given permission by the Swiss authorities to go to Nigeria because of the loss of her babies. A visa to Nigeria under different circumstances would have perhaps been more suspicious. Linda married her boyfriend but even then he couldn't return to Switzerland. In other words, being married to a Swiss citizen made no

difference to his own deportee status. She began working more often transporting cocaine and did well for herself. As mentioned earlier, international transporters of cocaine had the potential to earn a lot more money than local transporters and Linda is an example of this point. She earned enough money to buy herself homes in Nigeria. For a while, her status as a Swiss citizen and her race helped her to avoid being caught by the authorities as she traveled to various states in the transatlantic cocaine region. But transporters are always at risk and she was arrested and incarcerated in Holland. Although Linda was a high-end transporter, she was still vulnerable to being apprehended by the authorities as were all workers in the transportation niche.

Linda continued "working" after she was released from prison in Holland. She was sent back to Switzerland. She ingested the drugs; she never put them in her suitcase when she traveled. "I was in Switzerland for two weeks when a friend in Spain asked me to visit. I go and I'm there for two weeks and they offer me work. They give me a choice to go to Argentina or Peru. My husband set it up so that I could learn a lesson so that I wouldn't work anymore. He had legal businesses in Nigeria and didn't want to be involved in drug trafficking anymore. I chose Peru and got caught." When Linda was caught at the airport, she thought she could pay her way out of the situation. She was in possession of four kilos of cocaine with an additional amount ingested. She was sentenced after four months in the prison. "I was given nine years but I didn't accept it," she says. She had her lawyer appeal her sentence and was given six years. She has been in Santa Monica for twenty months.

Incarceration in Holland did not deter Linda from doing more transportation work in the drug chain. She was offered a trip to Peru or Argentina to pick up cocaine and return it to Europe. Ingesting cocaine carries with it a lesser chance of being exposed than bringing cocaine in one's luggage. Later we note however that she contradicted herself. She was found in Peru

with cocaine in her luggage in addition to the ingested cocaine. Perhaps she became more lax in later travels or maybe she was ordered to put cocaine in her luggage. The contradiction remains but the result is the same – she was arrested and later incarcerated. How Linda’s choices were shaped by gender is illustrated again by her relationship with her husband. He wanted to “teach” her a lesson so he planned for her to get caught. He no longer wanted to take on the risks involved in trafficking cocaine and wanted Linda to feel the same way. Therefore he used his networks to have Linda found out and arrested. She had the money to bribe police officers at the airport but it did not offer her protection against being arrested. But her resources were useful in lowering her sentence as I will explain in more detail below.

She tells me that she and a friend in the prison argued and after they fought her ex friend began to put her debts in Linda's name. She found out about this when she went to the prison store one day and was told that she owed 500 soles (nearly \$170 dollars). “I argued with women in here about this and that's why I've been in calabozo (solitary confinement) twice,” she tells me. Linda says that, "calabozo is ugly and dirty." There was no electric light in the room but she was given a light. She boasts that she brought everything with her into calabozo, including contraband - cigarettes, food from the food vendors in the prison, an mp3 player. Linda says that she was set to leave the prison in four months. “If you pay good money, your papers go fast,” she explains. The average bribe for moving one's paperwork quickly is 100 - 300 soles per week (about \$30 to \$100). Linda will ask her husband to send her money so that she can move her papers faster. She lends or gives money to the guards so that the rules are bent for her. “If you have money,” she tells me “then everything is good.”

In Linda's case, money sent to her by her husband (who owned several businesses through his own previous work in the drug trade) provided her a certain level of comfort inside

the prison. Her work as an international transporter of cocaine gave her access to money that she used to bribe the guards. Access to resources didn't completely protect her - she was still put in *calabozo* - but she was able to bend the rules and more importantly for her, move her release paperwork through the courts faster through bribes and through her ability to pay for a lawyer. Furthermore, she was able to pay her attorney to successfully appeal the court for a shorter sentence. Pro-bono attorneys were available to incarcerated women through the country's Ministry of Justice but I was told on several occasions that they still expected some kind of payment for their services and that the process of dealing with one was very slow:

Joanna (Peruvian) is waiting to speak to a lawyer, she is knitting scarves so that she can earn enough money to pay for one. I ask her if she can talk to a pro bono lawyer. "Yes," she explains. "But in order to speak to them sooner, I need to have money to give to them. You have to give them money for almuerzo (the mid-day meal) and transportation."

Janet (Colombian): "There are the public defenders here but they have so many cases that they are overloaded. The public defender I had took six months to talk to me about my case. You sit in prison while your case is investigated. Meanwhile I've wasted a year of my life."

Linda pointed out earlier that she received her sentence four months after entering Santa Monica. This was a relatively short period for receiving a sentence and had something to do with Linda ability's to pay for a lawyer to hasten her way through the court system, something that Joanna and Janet did not have access to. During my fieldwork, I encountered women who waited from six months to a year to be sentenced. According to INPE out of 868 women in Santa Monica, only 165 had been sentenced. The rest are listed as "processed" (INPE January 2011). Knowing one's sentence was important to women in Santa Monica because it gave them an endpoint to their incarceration and it was a goal to work towards. Therefore two ways in which

inequality and oppression among women in the prison were expressed were through their ability to pay for lawyers (even pro-bono ones) and the time they had to wait to be sentenced.

Foreign women, especially those from countries of the North, experienced both privilege and oppression with regards to citizenship status:

Lily (Dutch) tells me that she'd be leaving in about a month. "As part of my exit papers, the social worker and psychologist have to write reports about me and my behavior. I have to pressure and nag them so that they can get these reports done." She bribes them with food.

In order to be released from Santa Monica as quickly as possible, Lily stayed on top of her paperwork. One way she did this was by buying food for the staff who were important in writing reports for her release. In this way, she hoped that they would expedite their reports of her. Her Dutch citizenship and subsequent access to Euros gave her resources to do this.

Sometimes however a foreign woman's status would backfire:

Cathy (North American) is a few weeks away from being released. She tells me that she was very upset when she got back from speaking to her lawyer recently. "The man who is in charge of the paperwork that goes out to the judge – Sandoval - said that there is only proof that I worked six months of taller. I worked in taller for one year! There are six months missing." Fortunately Cathy has saved her receipts (she paid 22 soles a month for taller) but had sent them out with her belongings to her lawyer. Her lawyer will go through her things and find the receipts and bring them in. This sets Cathy back a couple of more weeks from being released. "I was so angry that I started crying. Sandoval is an asshole! When he asked me for proof that I worked in the taller for those missing six months, he had a smirk on his face." Glenda and Cathy think that he was waiting for a bribe. "I won't give him one sol," Cathy says. "Because the same happened to Jenny (Dutch) and she paid him. He's asking for money." Glenda (South

African) remarks, “Jenny must have paid a lot to be released without any problems.” Cathy is frustrated and angry.

As explained in the Introduction, *talleres* were income-generating workshops sponsored by the prison. They not only brought in income but for every five days worked in a *taller*, one’s sentence was reduced by one day. They were therefore important but at the same time the fee to be able to participate prevented some women from signing up. Cathy could afford the monthly fee and made sure to attend her purse making *taller* regularly. Sandoval expected a bribe from Cathy because she was North American. Her paperwork was delayed when he didn’t receive it. In fact, he “lost” her paperwork two more times after the above incident and consequently delayed Cathy’s release from Santa Monica even more. She eventually regretted not having given him any money. Cathy’s status as a North American came with expectations and pressure from Peruvian workers in Santa Monica, expectations that she may not have wanted nor have been able to meet. When these demands weren’t met, she was punished even further through the extension of her imprisonment.

The perception that foreign women benefit from their economic status and race exacerbate tensions between Peruvian women and foreign women, especially those from North America and Europe who are more likely to be white. Peruvian women perceived foreign women as lazy. “*Las extranjeras no quieren hacer nada (the foreign women don’t want to do anything)*,” Rosario told me one day. “*So they pay other women to do it for them, like their laundry or cleaning. Ellas nos dan trabajo (they give us work)*.” Most of the incarcerated foreign women from North America and Europe would be considered working class/working poor in their own countries. But because of their status as citizens of Northern nations, they often occupied a privileged position inside the prison. They did not have to work for economic survival. This

included not only citizens of Northern countries but foreign women who received financial assistance from family networks in their home countries. If they did work, it was probably to be eligible for a sentence reduction, get a report for good behavior or even to alleviate the monotony of prison life:

I am sitting with Dana (South African) and Jean (South African). Dana will be starting taller in August. "I'm looking forward to it, I want to keep busy. All you do here is talk until you run out of things to say. You know all about each other and then there's nothing to talk about or you keep saying the same things over and over." Jean exclaims, "Like 'I want to leave'!"

Dana and Jean received money from their networks in South Africa and did not have to depend on their labor in Santa Monica for income. For Dana, working meant a temporary release from the tedium of daily life in the prison. These two women were *extranjeras* who received money from their family back home. This allowed them some privileges in contrast to Peruvian women and foreign women who did not have this access to resources. But the dullness of life inside the prison affected even this group of privileged women.

In addition, Black non-Peruvian women from North American and European countries still experienced racism inside Santa Monica despite their more economically privileged status. This was an example of how the relationships among incarcerated women in Santa Monica were raced:

Lily, Tanya and Nelly are black from North American and northern European countries. We are talking about racism in the prison. They complain of being called 'nigger' every day. When they are called "negra" they take it as being called nigger. "At first," Jenny says, "I tried to fight against it (the racism) but I've given up." Nelly says something similar. After a while

they stop trying to fight it. They tell me that not a day goes by that someone doesn't say something racist to them.

The contradiction was that they were also among the wealthiest women in the prison. Nelly hired someone to wash her clothes, make her bed and she didn't work in a taller. Lily's release paperwork moved quickly because she had bribed prison staff. Several of the foreign women I spoke with felt that racism was based more on nationality rather than race/ethnicity, another example of how inequalities in Santa Monica were reshaped in contradictory ways. Ada's narrative below is an example of this.

VI.2.b. *Ada (Spanish)*

*She tells me that she remembers having a good life – “I fell in love with an African man when I was sixteen. I got married and had children. My parents kicked me out of their home and they didn't speak to me or give me money because my husband was African. My husband and I set up a nightclub. We divorced when I was thirty-five years old. That's when my problems began. My younger brother was killed at a nightclub and I went back to my hometown. I needed psychological treatment and started taking medication and this led to drugs. I neglected my children. I started needing money for my drug habit. I worked trafficking drugs for six or seven years until I was caught in Peru. I haven't consumed for three years.” She has been in Santa Monica for ten months. “This is hell,” she tells me as she talks about life in the prison. “Here there is a lot of envy, everyone looks after herself. The Peruvian and Spanish women don't get along,” she explains to me. “Spanish women are always talked about, they don't give them *translado* (transfer to another prison).”*

Translado was desired by some prisoners who wished to move to another prison in order to get away from the overcrowding at Santa Monica or relationships gone sour. At the time of

my fieldwork, the options for *translado* were the maximum-security prison next door to Santa Monica or prisons outside of Lima. *Translado* to the maximum-security prison was desirable because it was less crowded; women had their own cells (rather than four or six women to a cell built for two); women could have certain items with them that were not allowed in Santa Monica (such as radios); visitors could visit in the cells themselves rather than in a common area. There was a long waiting list for *translado* to the maximum-security prison and how one got this *translado* was vague and undefined. Transfers to prisons outside of Lima were viewed as punishment. When a Peruvian woman was transferred to a prison in *la provincia* (provinces of Peru), it became even more difficult to receive visits from family members. For foreign prisoners, it meant being removed from a support network made up women of their own nationality and/or native language.

Ada starts talking about men in Peru. "Different men may come for one woman on Saturday's. It's all about money or things. Men look for work." She entered into a relationship with the nephew of a fellow prisoner. "I ordered a package from Spain to be delivered to his house so that he could bring it to me but he never brought the package, which included money for me. He always claimed that he was broke. I broke up with him because I thought he was using me."

Saturdays were an important day in Santa Monica: male visiting day. Like other visiting days, tables and chairs were set up in the prison's main patio. A prisoner "rented" her table and chairs for a fee. If she couldn't pay for a table, she and her guests would try to find a place to sit on one of the patio's benches (an empty bench was rare) or ask a friend to loan her a table. Women reserved their tables ahead of time and during visiting hours a prisoner walked around

the patio with the table reservation list and attempted to collect the fees. This money went into the general “money pot” that helped pay for repairs, events, etc.

For women in Santa Monica, male visiting day was a time to show off, to maintain a relationship or begin a new one. It was a chance to flirt, maybe be treated to a meal, and receive money or other personal items. A number of prisoners dressed up in their best and most revealing clothes, put on makeup and had their hair done (Fridays were busy days in the hair salon). Men and women could sit close to one another, hold hands and steal a kiss when the guards weren’t looking. Foreign prisoners, especially those from North American and European countries, were often “set up” on Saturdays by other women in Santa Monica, friends or acquaintances outside or sometimes even their lawyer. Their status as *extranjer*as from North America or Europe made them desirable mates for two reasons. First, citizenship status offered the possibility to a Peruvian husband of obtaining a visa from these countries. Secondly, their access to dollars and Euros could serve as another source of income for Peruvian boyfriends. Ada spoke to these two themes when she described her relationship with a Peruvian man. Male visiting days contributed to the friction between foreign and Peruvian women. Cynthia (Peruvian) offered a critique of this dynamic in her comments:

“On Saturdays they wear skimpy clothing and walk past the Peruvian men and cause problems between the Peruvian couples because the men look. They also sit down and flirt with the men and ask them for their phone numbers. They do this in order to feel exciting and better than the other women.”

Some foreigners played up their sexuality on male visiting days. They also emphasized their status as *extranjer*as. In this way they set themselves apart from the Peruvian women in the prison. In Cynthia’s opinion they were trying to demonstrate that they were “better than the other

women,” in other words, better than Peruvian prisoners. Some *extranjer*as therefore manipulated gender and citizenship for male attention. But this particular form of manipulation was not available to all *extranjer*as as some nationalities and races were perceived to be more desirable than others. Ada brought up this this issue of race and citizenship/nationality in her next comments:

I ask her if she thinks there is racism in Santa Monica. “There is racism against the Spanish women in the prison. I think that there is racism against blacks and that there is a stereotype that Africans are the big drug traffickers.” Why was she never caught with drugs on her previous trips, I ask her. “I dressed up (Ada is white and blond) and other people like the airport staff were bribed.” She thinks she was set up – she was already on the plane when she was called off and arrested. The Peruvian police took away her money and drugs. She tells me that she doesn't think much of Peruvians. “Aqui todos son problemas (Everything is about problems here),” she says. “There is a lot of gossip, a lot of drugs. Peruvians do drugs including cocaine. The Spanish get money and the Peruvian prisoners want to live off of other women.” Other women were angry at her because she got special phone privileges one day. “The fights here are over the phone and how many phone calls you make,” she explains.

Ada believed that her money and other personal items were stolen from her by the Peruvian police at the time of her arrest, a claim that I heard often from foreign women. Typically a foreigner would arrive at Santa Monica with only the clothes on her back, her other clothes quietly disappearing during her arrest. Other things, such as identification cards, money and in some cases, cocaine disappeared as well. Foreign prisoners tried to keep a close eye on their passports. This item was key to eventually leaving the country and to lose it or have it stolen required bureaucratic measures that would delay their stay in Peru. Cocaine was also

sometimes stolen at the time of arrest. The women below welcomed this because it meant lower sentences:

Jean (South African) and Juliette (Malaysian) talk to me about what had been stolen from them when they were arrested. Juliette said that she had money stolen from her as well as her sneakers (she came to Santa Monica barefoot); Jean said that two cell phones were taken from her. Juliette asked the police to let her keep at least ten soles but they refused. Jenny (Dutch) and Glenda (South African) joined us and they talked about kilos being stolen from their cocaine stashes. They compared how much cocaine the police had stolen from them. Jean was transporting seven kilos on her but when she went to court, she was reported as only having three. Glenda gave her a high five and said that she was lucky. Jenny had one kilo stolen.

That items were stolen from Ada at the time of her arrest reinforced her negative view of Peruvians. In addition, she was well aware of the unequal relationships that existed as a result of the location of foreign women within the prison hierarchy. Peruvian women saw opportunities for accessing resources through relationships with foreign prisoners and rumors would spread as to whom was “using” whom. Ada continued her narrative:

She is writing a letter to a man at Lurigancho, one of the male prisons in Lima. “Making phone calls is my vice,” she tells me. “You meet men to write to through other women inside. These women have husbands, boyfriends in other prisons. I have a lot of pen pals in the other male prisons. They send me phone cards so that I can call them.” She gets a lot of letters on Sundays. “When I’m feeling down, I write letters and I vent my feelings. The next day I’ll call these men.”

Although not officially allowed, many male prisoners had cell phones. Reinforcement of the no cell phone rule was lax primarily due to the bribes given to guards to “look the other

way.” The control of cell phones was much stricter in Santa Monica – cells were searched for contraband. If a woman was caught with a cell phone, she was written up (called *informe*) and was put in *calabozo* (solitary confinement). Ada called the cell phones of her male pen pals from the pay phones in Santa Monica. That Ada received phone cards from these men is important because phone calls cost money. Male prisoners may have seen her as a “catch” because of her Spanish citizenship. This status enabled her to receive certain gifts such as phone cards, an especially gendered form of how inequality among incarcerated women in the prison was expressed. Ada continued:

“There are a lot of Peruvian women inside who don't get family visits. Months go by and they don't come and when they do, they don't bring anything. Last Saturday a Peruvian man brought me things and I think that's why some of the Peruvian women are jealous of me,” Ada says. She sees the relations between Peruvian/Spanish women as a war.

Visita (visitors) were important for an incarcerated woman, no matter what her citizenship, class and race. They may have brought with them items such as food. No fruits or vegetables were supplied to the women in Santa Monica and women complained to me that the meals given to them by the prison were of low quality and poor taste. There were food vendors in the prison, women who had set up their own stalls and cooked side dishes that they sold for a fee. But for those who could not afford these personal services their only options were the prison food and groceries brought to them by *visita*. Often mothers of incarcerated women (who made up the majority of visitors on female visiting day) would bring entire meals in carefully packed Tupperware dishes. *Visita* would also bring toilet paper (which had to be purchased as the prison didn't provide this for free), toiletries, and blankets for the cold weather, some clothes, newspapers, magazines, cigarettes and some money.

Peruvian prisoners typically had some relatives who lived in Lima and would make the trip to Santa Monica on visiting days, some coming regularly, others only occasionally because of work or not having sufficient funds to pay for transportation to the prison. Foreign prisoners of course did not have family members living near the prison. *Visita* for them included church members (for the foreign women who joined one of the church groups that visited the prison), Peruvian friends or boyfriends and individuals they paid to make deliveries. These were people – male and female – who did a number of jobs for the women in Santa Monica. This included purchasing desired items (like groceries) and delivering them on visiting day, bringing emails and letters from friends and relatives back home, and/or delivering letters from men in the surrounding male prisons. For many foreigners, these individuals became lifelines to the world outside. *Visita*, particularly friends and family members, were welcomed for their emotional value and were also a break from the boredom of incarceration. Ada received visits and gifts from men on the outside, something that was highly valued. Her citizenship status and race opened this resource to her and this exacerbated the negative relationships between Peruvian and Spanish women. Peruvian prisoners were generally non-white and as Ada explained, some didn't receive any *visita*. A woman without *visita* was to be pitied as she was left to her own devices for surviving her incarceration. As one Peruvian woman put it: “*Visita lifts your spirits, you get happy when your name is called (announcing that you have a visitor). It also helps financially.*”

As Ada's story shows, there was tension between foreign and Peruvian women. This tension reflected the unequal relationships between Spanish and Peruvian prisoners, relationships that derived from their location in the transnational cocaine commodity chain. These economically uneven relationships were also expressed in the prison in ways that were raced and gendered. In Ada's case, how race was experienced changed as her position in the drug trade

changed. In addition, she understood racism as based on citizenship and including ethnicity and phenotypic markers. For example, her parents disowned her because of her relationship with an African man. At the same time she believed that she was the object of racism from Peruvians inside the prison because of her Spanish citizenship. She was also able to use her white skin and blond hair to avoid detection at airports when she transported drugs. She also expressed her own racial/class privilege through her derisive comments about Peruvian women.

Dana, a colored woman from South Africa, also expressed this view of race as nationality/citizenship:

Dana talks about standing up for herself: “There is racism in Santa Monica but it is against foreigners because the Peruvian women think that we have money. But we only get money every once in a while. Plus we don’t have family to bring us things like the Peruvian women.” Dana’s friend, who is also South African, had paid a Peruvian woman two soles to bring her hot water. The woman gave her back one sol and later another 50 cents but didn’t give Dana’s friend any hot water. Dana continues: “I asked the woman where the hot water was and demanded the 50 cents that she owed my friend. The woman started speaking in Spanish which I still don’t understand very much. I’m crazy – I took the woman’s wallet off of her. The delegada (prison representative) came and so did a guard.” After some going back and forth, the woman who had taken the money was reprimanded for charging 50 cents for something that should have been a favor. “A Peruvian woman wouldn’t have been charged,” Dana tells me. The woman had charged Dana’s friend for getting the hot water, something she never brought back to her anyway. Dana says, “You have to stand up for yourself in the prison as a foreigner or else you will be taken advantage of. I’m trying to stand up for myself now so that the message is sent while I’m still new.”

For Ada and Dana race was expressed as citizenship. In addition, this understanding of race became constructed through the uneven relationships among women in the prison. As stated earlier, as the transnational cocaine commodity chain travels back and forth across the Atlantic moving people and product, it disposes of its female workers into the prison once they are no longer required. In addition, the presence and intensification of the war on drugs in Peru propels low-level workers of the cocaine chain to incarceration. These two factors explain the presence of women from disparate countries in this one prison. Citizenship therefore emerged as a very important category of difference among the women in Santa Monica. Discrimination occurred in Santa Monica largely (but not always) because of citizenship status rather than phenotypic differences. Patti (Spanish) drove this point home very clearly:

I ask Patti about racism in the prison. She says, "It does exist but it's based more on class. For example, I might be discriminated against because I'm Spanish and the preconceptions about Spanish women. Nelly is Black but because she's a foreigner she's on a higher class than other Peruvian women. Here racism isn't based on the color of your skin but how much money you have."

Patti drew a direct relationship between citizenship and monetary wealth. How much money one had in Santa Monica largely depended on one's country of citizenship. As mentioned earlier, Spanish women were among the wealthiest groups in the prison and negative stereotypes about them were numerous. For example, other prisoners in Santa Monica might have assumed that Patti was a drug consumer because of the stereotype of the Spanish women as addicts. Nelly's racial status as a Black woman might have been subordinate to other racial statuses in this Peruvian prison but being a citizen of a North American country automatically placed her in a "higher class" than Peruvians. Race, class and citizenship became conflated and used

interchangeably. But what is significant here is Nelly's citizenship and Patti's status as a Spanish national. Inequalities among nation states in the global political economy were therefore reflected in Patti's comments.

Another example of this was the common complaint by foreign women of being overcharged by Peruvians both inside and outside the prison. Some Peruvian women in Santa Monica worked as independent sellers of clothes, jewelry, toiletries, etc. They would receive these items from the outside (some women made their own jewelry) and sell them to prisoners inside. Foreigners were charged more for these items, as it was a common assumption that they had more money to spend:

Elizabeth is Dutch by citizenship. She and I are talking about money. "I do get some money from my mother but she has to help my other sisters out, like paying for their school. So sometimes I don't get any money." She claims that it doesn't help that she is charged more for things because she is a foreigner. "Before," she says, "I bought a lot of things on credit so that by the end of the month I ended up owing 500 soles. I would see something I liked and buy it, like clothes. Now I'm more careful with my money. I've also learned how to bargain like a Peruvian. If I know that something costs fifteen soles, I'll offer to buy it at eleven so that in the end I end up paying twelve or thirteen soles." New foreign prisoners end up paying more for items inside the prison until they learn that they are being overcharged: *Nelly tells me that a sandwich that costs two soles will cost a new foreign prisoner five soles.* Either she finds out on her own or another foreign woman will tell her that she's been overcharged.

I ask Janet (Afro-Colombian) if there was racism in the prison: "Yes there is, but it's not racism and raza (race) but against nationality. For example, there is the stigma of being Colombian. Once you say that you are Colombian they think that you are a drug trafficker. When

the police arrested me and saw that I was Colombian one of them said that I must be a drug trafficker. I told him, 'Then if you think every Colombian is a drug trafficker then every Peruvian must be a thief because that's the stereotype of them.' The police officer didn't say anything. A lot of lawyers came to see me at first, bringing gifts. They assumed that I must be connected to drug trafficking money. But once I told them that I didn't have a cent, they disappeared."

Jenny, North American, says, "One time a foreign woman had lost something, I think it was her wallet. A Peruvian woman on another floor had lost her shoes. The Peruvian woman's floor was on lockdown until the shoes were found. But the foreign woman was told that since she was a foreigner, she could replace her wallet." The guards didn't order a search for it.

As illustrated in the above examples, relationships between women in Santa Monica were often "raced" through understandings of nationality. Some foreign prisoners, no matter what racial categories they may have occupied before and during incarceration, felt that discrimination in the prison was based more on their status as non-Peruvians than anything else. On the other hand Peruvian women were also aware of race, such as how a woman's whiteness worked to her benefit. In addition, they perceived foreigners as having more privileges than themselves because of their American or European status. Some Peruvian women pointed out to me that some *extranjer*as spent less time inside Santa Monica, even in cases when they were carrying more drugs than themselves:

Maria is Peruvian and is inside with her two adult daughters and their infants. The police came to her house and found a bag containing one kilo of marijuana in her son's bedroom. Everyone in the house was incarcerated. She complains about the unfairness of their sentence, and compares her case to Paula's who is walking past the phones at that moment in our line of vision. Paula is Dutch, white and blond. Maria says that Paula was caught with several kilos of

cocaine and got three to seven years along with her husband. She tells me that the judge fell in love with her pretty looks and took it easy on her. Maria was sentenced to ten years.

When Maria, a non-white Peruvian, talked about Paula's "pretty looks," she was referring to her whiteness and the value that this has for women in a country with a racialized hierarchy that valued whiteness. Maria used racial privilege to explain why her sentence was longer than Paula's. The fact that relationships between women in the prison were affected by race led to daily negotiations (as in Dana's example) and interpretations (as in Maria's story).

Race bound women together in Santa Monica. For example, this included Black foreign women who spoke the same language. But in the setting of the prison these relationships had their limits and tensions often simmered as demonstrated in this scene when I first met Alicia, Jenny and Nelly:

I'm talking with Nelly (North American) and Jenny (Dutch by citizenship with Tanzanian nationality). Nelly looks at the empty space on the bench between her and Jenny and says, "How long do you think it's going to take before someone comes and sits here?" After a few minutes someone does come sit in between Nelly and Jenny- a boisterous woman named Alicia (Panamanian). She began scolding Nelly for not being there when she had gotten into an argument with another woman in the prison. Nelly says, "What did you want me do? Fight for you?"

Nelly is North American and Alicia is Panamanian. Both are Black women. Sometimes citizenship, class and race conflicted with one another as Nelly demonstrated in her comments about Alicia.

Alicia steps away from Nelly and me to buy an empanada. Nelly and I start chatting. Alicia has asked Nelly to take her along to Miami (Nelly's hometown). Nelly tells me that she

started teasing Alicia: “I asked her - where can I take you in Miami? Because Alicia is rough. I told her that I would take her to the zoo and Alicia got MAD.” Nelly laughs at the memory. She turns a little serious and says, “Alicia is okay for hanging out inside but outside...?” Nelly shakes her head. “She is too rough around the edges for my taste.” Alicia comes back at this point.

When Nelly said that she would take Alicia to the zoo, she meant that Alicia belonged in a zoo, that she would leave her there. Nelly and Alicia shared certain identity markers as a result of their common positionalities around race, gender and citizenship status and life stages: they were Black women, in their twenties, foreigners, and they both spoke English. They were also both incarcerated on drug trafficking charges. But for Nelly the similarities ended there – Alicia came from a poor neighborhood in a poor country that contrasted with Nelly’s solid working class/middle class background in the United States. Nelly was making a class distinction between herself and Alicia, one that superseded race and gender. Nelly’s choice of a zoo was even more poignant because of the racist historical association of Blacks with animalistic features and emotions. In fact, Alicia later shared with me that Nelly had once been called a monkey by one of the Peruvian prisoners and that Nelly has subsequently “beat her up.” Ties between women based on race would therefore go only so far, particularly if there were other differences such as class that cut across relationships among prisoners. Nelly was not going to expose herself to the possibility of being “written up” or reprimanded by a guard for standing up for Alicia. This contrasted to Dana’s behavior when she stood up for another South African national and argued on her behalf in the water incident. Ties of citizenship in this case were more solid than ties of shared racial identities.

V1.3. Foreign Prisoners who are Citizens of Non-European/North American Countries:

As stated earlier, not all foreign prisoners in Santa Monica were the same. The clearest division among foreign women was that of citizenship. Being a citizen of a less industrialized and/or post-colonial nation compared to Western European and North American countries had acute implications for access to resources and relationships formed inside the prison. We see in the narratives below how privilege and oppression were affected by one's citizenship status and how it interacted with gender.

VI.3.a. *Leslie (Malaysian)*

As a low-level transporter from a Southern nation, Leslie was without relatives in Peru who could provide some means of support throughout her incarceration. In addition, she did not have access to dollars or Euros that other women had and depended on the charity of her church for necessary items. Leslie illustrates the unequal relationships that exist in Santa Monica as a result of the globalization of cocaine. Her citizenship situated her in low-level work in the transnational cocaine commodity chain; her previous work had been in labor markets segmented by gender; finally, she was a migrant, participating in what Sassen (2002) describes as “cross-border circuits...profit- or revenue-making circuits developed on the backs of the truly disadvantaged (89).”

“My mother died from cancer when I was 18 years old and my father died from a brain tumor when I was 38 years old.” Leslie begins crying. “I took care of him while he was bed ridden for two years. When I lost my father I also felt lost in my life. My father had been my friend, not just my father.” Leslie's brother urged her to start living her own life. “I worked as a telephone operator, one of many jobs. Then I worked at a printing press. I had an appendix problem and was in the hospital for surgery. After that I worked taking care of my sister's children. My brother got married and his love for his sister went to his wife.”

Leslie was unmarried, lived with her father while she took care of him and “living her own life” did not begin until after her father’s death. Her older brother had served as a male protector, offering help in obtaining work. Leslie saw her brotherly responsibilities transferred to his wife after he married. Here we see how gendered ideas about care shaped Leslie’s work options – she did not search for paid work because her job had been to tend to her father.

Leslie continues: “I wanted a more spiritual life. I met a Hindu master and studied with him. I learned a lot from him.” She became one of his followers and studied with him for about eight years. “I lived in the temple and took courses. But I felt that something was still missing from my life, I still yearned for a Christian life. I felt caged in. My family disapproved of me following my master and they deserted me.” Leslie wanted a job and one day a friend told her that she would give her the opportunity to work overseas as a nanny. “I went with this woman, a Malaysian woman married to an Irish man, to Ireland. I was miserable in this job. My boss didn’t let me go out of the house and she took my papers away as well. So I walked out of this job and went to work for another family. They were an Indian couple and they treated me well.” Leslie liked living in Ireland (Leslie shows me the “Ireland” jacket she is wearing). But she was working illegally and her friends suggested that she go to Malaysia and then come back to Ireland with papers.

Leslie’s story is one of searching; of trying to find something that she felt was missing from her life. In Ireland, where she worked in poorly paid and unstable jobs, her Malaysian citizenship and illegal status had an enormous impact on what kinds of jobs she was able to get. Being a female Malaysian immigrant put her on the nanny track as she filled the low-level service jobs newly available in a globalizing Ireland. By and large immigrants from countries of the South or from Eastern Europe do these service jobs. Leslie became part of the “serving

classes” (Sassen 1998: 90) which are largely made up of immigrant women who do domestic labor for high-income professional households in globalized cities or regions.

Nancy (Filipina) was another example of this serving class:

“I’ve lived in Singapore and Turkey. I lived in Singapore for a few years and then moved to Turkey where I worked for twelve years. I’ve had jobs as a nanny and nurse for elderly people. I worked as a nanny for Italian, Pakistani and Polish couples.” Nancy tells me about her first nanny position which she quit after two years. “I had become attached to the toddler girl I took care of, I gave my heart to her. I argued with the mother about how she treated her daughter.” She worked in the prison nursery for ten months where she was informally regarded as the head teacher. “This was because I had worked as a kindergarten teacher, I knew how to run a classroom. I took attendance, organized the nursery, taught songs to the children.” Because of her skills, she negotiated a 10 a.m. rather than the regular 8:30 a.m. start time for herself. “8:30 was too early because that’s when roll call happens and I also needed breakfast.”

Nancy and Leslie were examples of the “female underside of globalization” (Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2004:3). In this process female migrants from poorer countries of the South move to globalizing urban centers in order to perform the domestic tasks middle class and upper class women cannot or will not do. Nancy’s migrant stream from Southeast Asia to Singapore and Turkey and other countries in the Middle East is representative of many other women like herself. This migratory region intersected with that of the transnational cocaine chain. Migrants like Nancy move from one flow of people and commodities to another. We also see that Nancy converted her experience as a kindergarten teacher into privileges and status inside Santa Monica. This work may not have been highly regarded when she did it prior to incarceration but it gave her some bargaining power inside the prison. In this way, she was more advantaged than

most Peruvian women as becoming a teacher was financially out of reach for many of them. Nancy, a domestic worker who had migrated from a poorer country to wealthier ones, managed her foreign work experience in a way that placed her above most Peruvians in the prison hierarchy.

We see, too, how Leslie's, illegal status further defined the paid work she had access to as well her bargaining power and potential for abuse by employers:

“The family I was staying with let me go because they were going to have family come to live with them from India and there was no more room for me. I found another job as a nanny. My boss told me she'd give me room and board but wouldn't pay me a salary.” Her job was to take care of four children. She left this job and went to work at a restaurant. “I liked working there because I met new people.” But she was fired three months later because the owner closed down the restaurant. Leslie was very frustrated about her work situation and wanted to go back home. “I stayed with an Irish friend of mine but when she found out that I was in the country illegally, she got scared and took me to a center for refugees and people without papers. I got financial help from them for two months. They asked me if I wanted to stay in Ireland or return to Malaysia. I said that I wanted to go back to Malaysia.” The organization paid for her return trip home. “I left Ireland because I was very frustrated about work. When I went back to Malaysia, I went back, back to zero.” She soon regretted going back home. “My family didn't want anything to do with me. They were upset that I had returned to Malaysia without any money. My master deserted me, too, because I didn't have any money. I felt stupid for having followed him.”

Leslie returned to Malaysia because she was not able to find a stable, long-term work situation in Ireland. This is another feature of work in a globalized political economy – low level

jobs are unstable, temporary and often short-term, all features of the flexibility of labor. She was unhappy about going back to Malaysia without any savings or monetary contribution for her family. Leslie felt abandoned.

“I met a friend who introduced me to a Nigerian man. I told this man that I wanted to go back to Ireland. He gave me a job, telling me that I would be transporting diamonds and jewelry between countries but he didn’t give me any more details than that, like where I would be going. He told me to go to Spain and that another man would meet me there.” She was given money for transportation and very little spending money. “The trip to Spain was very hard on me. I took a bus from Malaysia to Singapore and from there I took a flight to Spain. I didn’t have much money to spend on food and I arrived in Spain without any money. This was the first time I had taken an overseas trip all by myself.”

As discussed in Chapter Three, illicit networks made up of Nigerian middlemen play an important role in the transnational cocaine commodity chain. They are key players in making sure that the consumption end of this chain ends up in Europe. Many of the Asian, European and African women in Santa Monica had in some way been brought into the chain by a Nigerian man who was her lover, husband, relative, even a friend of a friend. A large number of foreign prisoners (particularly Asian and white European) had been or were in relationships with Nigerian men. I mentioned this coincidence to Claire who was from a country in Southeast Asia. Her child’s father was Nigerian although he himself had nothing to do with her transporting cocaine: *“Yes, I didn’t know this until I came to Santa Monica. Suddenly I started meeting women from all over who had Nigerian boyfriends!”* These relationships between the foreign women and Nigerian men reflected how the underside of globalization was constructed through the movements of people and the relationships they created as a result of these flows. They were

also very gendered. Nigerian men live in various countries in Europe, Africa and South Asia. Sometimes because of the work of these men in the TCCC, women in these countries form relationships with them and this is how some start working in drug trafficking. For example:

Dinah tells me about her friend, who is Filipina: “She has a lot of money, she owns a carpentry company that gets large orders like making benches for churches. Her husband sends her money every week.” I ask why is she in the prison then? “She had a Nigerian boyfriend while being married and he sent her to bring in cocaine from Peru. She was caught.”

The relationships between Nigerian men and foreign women illustrate the flow of people and cocaine between Peru, Europe and Africa. None of the women residing in North America prior to working in the illicit cocaine chain had been involved with a Nigerian man. Their entrance into trafficking happened through other contacts. The one North American woman who did have a Nigerian boyfriend before she was arrested in Lima had been living in Europe for about two years. In other words, there is less of a presence of Nigerian workers in the cocaine market in North America than in Europe. South Asian nation-states also participate in the market in specific ways: as transit points and as a source of cheap labor. The presence of women in Santa Monica from Singapore, Malaysia, Sri Lanka and the Philippines illustrates this point.

Leslie described her first and only attempt working in the transnational cocaine commodity chain. She was left in the dark for most of the time as to what she would be doing and where she was expected to travel, an aspect typical of courier work – the less they know the less likely they are to provide incriminating information to the police and DEA. Others who have written about women who work as “drug mules” have noted how little decision making power these low-level transporters have in this chain. Leslie’s description of her work indicates that she filled the lower niche of the transportation link of this chain.

The person who was supposed to meet her in Spain never showed up. "I waited in the airport for hours. I had a phone number for this man and kept calling him but no one would pick up. I finally got a hold of him. I had to ask people to give me coins in order to make the phone call. The man told me to meet him in Madrid." Leslie refused at first because she was afraid, she didn't know where she was. Eventually she agreed and took a taxi to meet this man in Madrid. "I met him in a restaurant - all the Nigerians where there - and I was nervous. He put me in a hotel. I became sick with the flu and I didn't see the man again for three days. On the third day, he finally came to see me." He refused to tell her about the job she was to do. She was in the hotel for 15 days without any information as to what was going on. "Then two men came with a bag. They took my bag and gave me a new one. They didn't tell me why they were doing this. Finally, they told me to go to Peru and that I was to meet a man there. I didn't want to go and prayed to God to help me. I had a bad feeling about this."

She arrived in Peru and was sent to Cuzco. There she met a man who gave her luggage. She was in Cuzco for 15 days. "During this time I asked God for help. My ticket was postponed. I was sent to the airport in Lima where I was supposed to buy a ticket to fly to Rome. I had a bad feeling. I waited in the airport for four hours before I was able to buy my ticket to Rome. I was waiting for my transfer to go to Rome. My problem was that I didn't have a return ticket. The people at the counter kept asking me for one and I told them that I didn't have a return ticket. They asked me what country I was from and what I was doing in Peru. I told them that I was Malaysian and that I was on holiday. Not having a return ticket is what got people suspicious. The police came and inspected my bags. They didn't find anything. A policewoman came with sharp rod and poked holes in my luggage. There was cocaine in my luggage." Leslie was so

shocked that she fainted. She didn't know that she was carrying drugs. "I felt like killing myself for bringing shame on my family."

The airport staff did not ask Leslie about her citizenship out of curiosity or for bureaucratic reasons. Travelers from certain nation-states are more likely to be suspected of being couriers than others. Those from countries of the South are especially susceptible to accusations of drug trafficking. Leslie's description highlights the isolation and insecurity of a drug courier's job. It seems improbable that a drug network would overlook something as important as a return ticket. If her "bosses" wanted her to get through Peru's airport security, why allow such a red flag of a return ticket? One possible explanation is that she was one of several drug couriers on that flight or that day and it was expected that she would be detained, thus keeping the authorities busy while other drug couriers made it to their destinations without being searched.

She spoke about her life inside the prison:

She has found comfort in religion. "I'm going to be baptized on Monday and at last my dream of being a true Christian will come true." She has no children. "I understand myself now and the Lord is guiding me and helping me." She had TB and spent four months in the topico (prison clinic). "The Lord healed me." I ask her how she survives economically. "My bible study group has helped me. They are evangelists and have helped me a lot. They would buy me milk, toilet paper, other things while I was ill. I don't have help from my family. They know that I am in Santa Monica but they don't want to help. Find your own way out of there, they told me."

Leslie has been in Santa Monica for one year and two months. Her story highlights how her work within the transnational cocaine commodity chain shaped her access to resources inside the prison. She entered the transportation niche as a low-level drug courier. Her lack of control

over any business dealings, the physical isolation that occurred during her work and her disposability contributed to her economic vulnerability inside Santa Monica. As a citizen of a non-Peruvian nation, she had no relatives nearby who could bring her food and other necessities (like medicine). In addition, family members “back home” in countries of the South were less likely to have the income to send remittances or care packages to their incarcerated relatives in Peru. In addition, Leslie, unlike Ada, didn’t receive a stipend from her embassy. As a holder of a Malaysian passport (as opposed to a North American or European passport), she was also not courted by Peruvian men or likely to receive personal gifts. Peruvians who desire to immigrate do not typically think of Malaysia as a possible destination for work. She was also not able to work inside the prison because of her illness. Leslie’s only outside support, therefore, was that of a church group she joined for spiritual comfort. Linda on the other hand, received financial support from her husband.

The tensions between foreign women from countries of the global South and Peruvian women were not the same as between Peruvian women and foreign prisoners from wealthier nations. But sometimes conflicts between nation states were reflected inside Santa Monica regardless of the global North/South divisions:

It is my last day of fieldwork and I say good-bye to Juliette (Malaysian). She begins to cry as we speak. She doesn't have any money and she's afraid to eat the prison food, it's made her sick before. She also tells me, “The Peruvian women are treating me badly because of the death penalty case of the Peruvian woman in Malaysia. What do I have to do with that?”

Juliette did not have the same sources of money as Linda and Ada. Also, her status as a Malaysian citizen was causing problems with some of the Peruvian women in the prison. A Peruvian woman had been caught bringing cocaine into Malaysia and subsequently given the

death sentence according to Malaysian law. This incident had been widely reported in the Peruvian media. Peruvians were unhappy with this sentence and Juliette was experiencing this anger inside the prison which made her feel even more isolated in this country that was not her own.

VI.3.b. *Paloma (Bolivia)*

Though Paloma was technically *una extranjera* (a foreigner), this term was typically used to describe women from non-Latin American countries. Compared to foreign women from North America and Europe, Paloma's economic situation was more precarious. Her country of citizenship was important in defining how she entered the transnational cocaine commodity chain and it also limited her access to resources from outside the prison. Her narrative illustrates how global economic inequalities were reproduced inside the prison.

"I was raised by both my parents," she tells me. "My father worked carrying meat for a meat packing company, he carried the dead cows. My mother was a domestic worker. All together we were seven children. I went to school until the third year of secondary. I have good and bad memories of growing up. When I was seven years old my father hurt his back and the doctor told him that he couldn't work anymore." Paloma's mother set up her own business and she and the children sold food at a nearby university. Her mother would give them a small portion of the profits and put it in a small safe box for them. "This is your money, she would tell us. I remember sometimes going without food."

Although Paloma's family did not participate in the business of cocaine, being a citizen of a poor nation influenced her later work in the chain. In addition, Bolivia's economic history left her parents without a safety net that would aid them when Paloma's father was not able to work. Those early economic conditions had an impact on her later choices.

She had her first child when she was fifteen years old and it was at this time that she left school. "I rebelled when I was a teenager; I went to parties and escaped from home. When I found out that I was pregnant I wanted to get an abortion but then I thought that God wanted me to have the baby. My son (now six) made me mas tranquila (more peaceful) and live a calmer life." Her son lives with her mother in law in Bolivia and the boy's father is in Spain. "We were young when we were together," she says. "We'd argue a lot, break up and get back together." Paloma got tired of this. Her son's father didn't want her to work but he also didn't give her enough money for el diario (her daily needs). "When my son's father was already in Spain, he wanted me to go, too. But he heard rumors about me being with another man and he called me and ended the relationship. He said that he didn't want anything to do with me. He was a jealous man." Her main supporters have been her parents. "I worked as a nanny and earned 150 Bolivares per month. I like children. I would leave my son with my parents while I worked. I was also a cook's assistant in a restaurant and studied computers, I finished my coursework."

Paloma's parents were her primary support system. They provided not only basic resources but childcare as well. She labored as a domestic worker, one of the few options for work available to young Bolivian women of the working poor. Domestic work in Latin America is largely informal. This sector will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter but there is one aspect about informal labor that should be stressed here – the instability, vulnerability and subordinate status of this work extends to the transnational cocaine commodity chain and subsequently the prison. Paloma's feminized labor in the informal sector was poorly paid (about \$22 per month). The double axis of class and gender contributed to her position in Bolivia's labor market and as we shall see, illicit cocaine work.

Her changing relationships with men also shifted her options for resources. For example, she was set to travel to Spain but did not because of her boyfriend's jealousy. After their break-up she became the primary caretaker for their son.

She was given the opportunity to come to Peru so she left Bolivia. "I met an Ecuadorian man here and I fell in love. A family friend offered me the job of carrying drugs." She was to transport cocaine from Lima to Madrid. "I didn't know exactly what I was going to do but I was told that I would go to prison. I thought that I'd go to prison for two months, not two years." Her ticket to Peru and hotel were paid for by whatever organization was putting this together. Her new boyfriend was also involved in drug trafficking. She was arrested at the Lima airport. "I was pregnant but didn't know it yet. I was trying to leave Peru to go to Spain when I was caught. I had swallowed ninety-six capsules filled with cocaine. I'd dip them in manzanilla (chamomile tea) and then swallow them. I was worried about my daughter when I found out later that I was pregnant and thought that maybe there would be something wrong with her, but she's healthy."

Paloma's story is different from other low-level transporters like Leslie and Dolores (below) because she was aware of the possibility that she would be incarcerated. Dolores and Leslie didn't know that they carried drugs. Like many women, Paloma did not know about the Peruvian penal codes (which are difficult to understand under the best of circumstances) around trafficking cocaine. Ingestion is a common – and dangerous – form of transporting cocaine, thus highlighting the disposability of low-level workers in this chain. She was most likely part of a group of transporters who were attempting to get on the same flight. The idea is that the authorities at the airport will catch some while a smaller number pass undetected. This is another example of how these workers are expendable.

Dolores' (Chile) narrative is another example of the exposure to risk experienced by women in the informal sector:

I first saw Dolores during one of the prison shows, a talent contest between pavilions. Dolores read a poem she had written. She is a robust woman and walks with a cane. She is from Chile, is forty-eight years old and has been in Santa Monica for twenty-two months. "I came to prison because of my partner of eleven years. He is the one who committed the crime, not me." He is also Chilean and is in one of the male prisons in Lima. "He took me on a trip to Peru, this was my first time here and we were stopped in the airport. The police told me that we were suspected of carrying drugs and I gave them my things to check. They searched a few times until they finally found drugs in one of the chocolate bars. When they had me in the office one of the police officers asked me what my cane was for and I explained that I needed it for walking." The police opened her cane. It also had drugs in it. "When that happened I felt as if the ceiling had fallen in on me and the room was getting smaller and smaller." Her partner and another man who had come with them have since admitted that she had nothing to do with the drugs but that hasn't made a difference. Dolores begins crying and says, "I didn't do anything wrong. Why won't the judge believe me? They have asked for proof of my work in Chile. I've worked as a welder, electrician, independent photographer, cooking cakes and other jobs. These are things I don't have proof for and whatever paperwork I do have, I can't get to it because I don't have my national identification card. My daughter has tried to get the paperwork but the lawyer told her that my national identification card is needed." Dolores is going to try to show the judge the letter her daughter sent her. "I earned an income for myself and because my children were grown I allowed myself a few luxuries like a trip to Europe and now this trip is included as proof that I was a drug trafficker." She was in court last Thursday and Dolores continues to cry as

she tells me that she can't believe the charges that are up against her. Because it was more than two people who were arrested, they are all being charged as a sindicato (syndicate), a family involved in organized crime. This carries a longer prison sentence. She goes back to court this Thursday and has been told to prepare herself: "I said, prepare myself for what? I haven't done anything wrong. I won't trust another man, not after this. I feel betrayed."

Dolores worked for herself in Chile doing a variety of informal jobs. She did not have receipts, contracts, timesheets and other types of documentation for this work. This put her at risk in Peru's prison system. Without proof that she did not work in the transnational cocaine commodity chain, it was assumed by the police, prosecutor and judge, that she did in fact traffic drugs for money. Furthermore, her attempts at gathering any proof on her own behalf were halted by her lack of a national identity card (I did not ask nor did she explain what had happened to this card). There was a positive correlation in Santa Monica between a woman's disenfranchisement and the severity of bureaucratic obstacles. All of the women in this prison were marginalized as incarcerated persons but the brutality of imprisonment varied according to citizenship status, access to money, race, and gender. Dolores was a foreigner in Peru with limited income and in poor health. Procuring her national identity card was transformed into a hurdle that made any proof of her innocence irrelevant. Adding to her situation was that she was being charged as belonging to a drug syndicate and consequently could face up to twenty-five years in prison. This is why she was told be prepared, she was most likely going to be sentenced as someone belonging to a drug trafficking organization. The transnational cocaine commodity chain also intersects with other regional flows. We saw in the last section, for example, that this chain traversed migratory flows of women from Southeast Asia. Paloma also belonged to the stream of migrants who move from one Latin American country to another. This may be done to

search for more lucrative work opportunities, tourism (as we saw in Dolores' case) or as a strategy to overcome border restrictions of Northern nation-states. Peru's position as a coca/cocaine producing country and war on drug efforts combine to change the course of the inter-regional movement of people in the Andean region. Janet's story is an example of this:

Janet (Afro-Colombian) is thirty-two years old and doesn't have any children. She has been in the prison for about one year. Janet has a high school education and two semesters of studying pharmacy administration but she couldn't continue her studies due to lack of money: "Because so many of my old school mates were going to Europe, I decided to go too and look for better opportunities. In Colombia you work for ten hours a day but in Europe you can work that many hours and make a lot more money. I wanted to help my family in Colombia and have a better future for any children I might have." The group she traveled with went first to Bolivia but the person heading the group decided that it would be easier to get a visa to Europe from Peru, so they went there. "My family took a mortgage on the house, borrowed money, etc. so that they could put enough money together for my trip. I had six thousand dollars. My money and things were stolen in Peru. I'm here because someone in my group was accused of selling drugs." Because there were more than two people in the group, they have been labeled as a drug trafficking organization. She is working with a private lawyer who has taken her case pro bono. "He is Peruvian but he's lived abroad, including in Colombia, so I feel that he is sympathetic to foreigners. I try to keep busy because then I start thinking about my situation and I get depressed. I work as a caller, cleaning, carrying things. I find ways to make some money because my embassy doesn't help me financially and my family can't help me very much because of their own money struggles."

Janet is an example of people who move around within the Andean region, in order to find a way to Europe. She strategized with others as to which country would be most likely to give them visas to Europe. Her family invested heavily in this migration route because by working in Europe she would not only improve her own economic situation, but her family's as well. Janet and her group of Colombian citizens were in Peru, a nation that was heavily involved in the cocaine market as well as in interdiction efforts against cocaine. The war on drugs crossed her migratory path with serious consequences for her and her family. She was assumed to be a drug trafficker because of her association with someone in her group who was accused of the same thing. Like Leslie, Dolores and Paloma, she was a *una extranjera* inside Santa Monica and we see how citizenship intersected with class to shape access to resources. Janet depended on the pro-bono work of a private lawyer because she did not have the money to pay for one on her own. She had given up on the pro-bono lawyers provided by the prison because they took too long to get to her case. As a citizen of a poor country and coming from a family with very limited resources, Janet's options for lawyers were more limited than those of foreign women from wealthier nation-states. Her case rested on her lawyer's empathy. Janet noted in our conversation that her embassy did not help her financially. This comment was made in comparison to the embassies that did give a monthly stipend to their incarcerated citizens. Although only three embassies did this, many of the Peruvian women I spoke with believed that all foreign women of North American and European countries received money from their embassies. This widely held assumption was another example of the divisions that existed between foreign women of Northern states and Peruvian women. To Peruvian women in Santa Monica it was even more proof of the privileged position of *extranjeras* in the prison's hierarchy.

Janet had to work in order to survive her time in prison due to the lack of financial help from her embassy and her family.

Returning to Paloma's narrative, she described the time after her arrest:

"When I was arrested I realized that I had lost everything. I found out I was pregnant when I got to Santa Monica. But I didn't feel that I loved the baby and planned to give her up for adoption after she was born. Now I feel that my two children are reasons for me to live. It's been a joy to have my daughter. In the middle of the sadness she makes me smile." Her daughter lives inside the prison and is one year and five months old. "I am always working in the nursery in order to earn two, three soles per day. I do clean up. I also clean the hallway and the bathroom on my floor. My embassy doesn't help me with anything and I don't have any visits. My son's father sends my mother money for our son and helps with his schooling. My family can't send me money." She tells me the things she needs to pay for: diapers, baby shoes, baby clothes and milk. "Sometimes you clean for someone and they don't pay you," she tells me. "It's hard here without family. I hope to be out by Christmas. I want to be somebody, I want to show my children que no todo lo que es facil es gratis (that not everything that is easy is free)."

Paloma illustrates how global inequalities manifested themselves in Santa Monica. She was a foreigner but of a much different kind than those from North American and European countries. Bolivia's location in the global economy affected her in several different ways. It shaped her earlier economic options: her mother worked as an independent vendor; the Bolivian state did not provide her family with a social safety net after Paloma's father was unable to work; she worked in poorly-paid service jobs - the primary income earning option for poor Bolivian women. These factors helped move her into the transportation niche of the transnational cocaine commodity chain, which subsequently influenced her access to resources during incarceration.

She did not receive money from relatives back home because they could not afford to send any. They were also too far away to visit her and bring items like food and clothes. She provided cleaning services for other women in the prison and for the prison itself in order to make money to buy things for herself and her child. Her expendability in the transnational cocaine commodity chain was reproduced in the prison through the types of work that were open to her. Her Bolivian citizenship both shaped how she was inserted into the chain and her options for survival inside the prison. Limited choices for survival in the prison were also reflected in the following comments made by Peruvian prisoners:

Yesenia (Peruvian): *“The prison lives off the women instead of the other way around. The women here have to pay for everything. Floor tiles were recently put in the bathrooms and the women on each floor put in money for this. If a light bulb needs to be changed, they have to pay for it, too. You have to pay a fee in order to be in a taller and you have to pay for materials as well. If something breaks down in the sewing taller it is the women’s responsibility to get it fixed. They also buy their own equipment. The same goes for the bakery taller.”*

Rubi (Peruvian): *“You have to pay for everything in the prison - a table on visiting day: one sol; clean up: one sol; repairs: one sol. If you don’t have the money for medication, you can’t have any. You have to pay to be able to work in a taller. If you don’t have the money to pay, you get kicked out. The clinic is usually out of medicine. Toothaches are extra hard because there isn’t any medicine for them.”* She points to one of the few trees in the main patio. *“The women take bark from the tree to use on their toothaches.”* As explained in Chapter Three, the prison grows and so does the cocaine commodity chain. Santa Monica used the labor and money of incarcerated women to maintain itself.

The prison benefited from the labor of women incarcerated on drug trafficking charges. Income and labor provided by them allowed Santa Monica to save money on supplies and staff. The number of arrests in Peru has grown with the war on drugs. The prison is therefore able to exploit even more women for their labor and income. Both this prison and the TCCC continue to grow.

VI.4. Conclusion

Linda, Ada, Leslie, Paloma are representative of many of the foreign women in Santa Monica. They were incarcerated on charges of drug trafficking, were citizens of countries such as Bolivia, Switzerland, Spain and South Africa. They were Black, white, mestiza, biracial, mixed, and a multitude of categories in between. Most were mothers. All were transporters of cocaine. These women worked transnationally and several had no idea that they were smuggling. All had a history of financial struggle prior to working in the transnational cocaine commodity chain.

They entered the chain through the intersection of gender, race, class and nationality. Erez and Berko (2010) note the “significance of intersecting inequalities (including gender, ethnicity, class, culture/religion, and nationality) in shaping pathways to crime” (184). The narratives of the women included in this chapter show us how various structural inequalities led to their work in the cocaine market. Holmstrom (2002), however, sees “class as central to women’s lives, yet at the same time none would reduce sex or race oppression to economic exploitation...class is always gendered and raced” (2). In addition, the ways in which the transnational cocaine commodity chain traverses particular nation states made a difference in how women joined this illicit chain. The pathways to trafficking were very different for each woman and at same time were shaped by shifting and related forms of oppression. Yet the need

and desire for money as the impetus for trafficking cocaine was something that most of the women in Santa Monica on charges of drug trafficking had in common. Some women, like Leslie, were experiencing severe economic crises. Others such as Ada, needed money to support drug consumption. Linda started working in the chain as a way to earn money while her husband was in prison. Fleetwood's (2010) discussion of relative deprivation is important in this discussion of transnational inequality inside Santa Monica. Most *extranjer*as from Northern countries did not experience poverty in the same way as incarcerated women from countries of the South but the economic motive was still there. Fleetwood writes about the foreign drug couriers she interviewed in Ecuadorian prisons: "Mules were not motivated by the first world 'dream' but rather to have what their neighbours, colleagues and friends had" (7). Therefore the class limitations, expectations, desires and struggles of each woman played a central role in why they entered the transnational cocaine commodity chain. In addition, class was affected by gender, race and citizenship. For example, Paloma's role as primary caretaker cannot be separated from her family's subordinate economic position in Bolivia. Leslie's gender tracked her into service jobs as an immigrant worker in Ireland. Through these examples, we can see that class played a key role in the entrance of these women into the underside of globalization but it was constantly shaped by gender, race and citizenship.

Separate, but related to their entrance in the TCCC, was the work itself performed by the women interviewed here. Their labor in the chain was also influenced by the intersection of shifting and interlocking systems of gender, class, race and citizenship. Mullings (1997) states: "As axes of stratification, they are fluid systems that intersect in different ways for different populations at different historical periods" (6). How and when these inequalities converged made a difference in the types of work women did. The transportation niche of this chain was not

uniform. It varied by how these axes of stratification came together at particular times and places. Linda and Ada, both white European nationals, labored in the upper levels of exportation. They worked as international couriers of cocaine because of their privileged race and nationalities. Leslie was an *extranjera* like Linda and Ada but her experience in the chain was vastly different. She did not know that she carried cocaine in her luggage. Leslie and Paloma were both non-white nationals of Southern countries and I argue that these two vectors of stratification played important roles in the control and manipulation of these two women. Paloma was Bolivian and attempted to transport cocaine to Spain. Although it was international work, she expected to be arrested and incarcerated at some point during this transportation. The consequences of this work were not separate from her citizenship status and Bolivia's position in the global economy.

As demonstrated in the narratives, the prison becomes a place to “dispose of” low-level workers of the transnational cocaine commodity chain. Women's labor therefore is the bond between the drug market and the prison. The majority of women are low-level expendable workers. Women who work as drug couriers have the jobs most visible to police enforcement and therefore the riskiest work. They are arrested while the (mostly male) middle managers above them remain in the background.

Women's labor creates a symbiotic relationship between the prison and the illicit cocaine chain. Their arrest and incarceration ensures the survival of this chain and opens up recruitment for new workers. At the same time, the prison receives new sources of income from the arrest and incarceration of these women. Women's labor does not end at their arrest as many continue to work inside the prison. I argue therefore that the Santa Monica prison benefits from the

cocaine commodity chain in that it gets two important things from the women inside: income (in the form of bribes, fines, and fees) and labor.

Finally, I also argue that women in the prison competed for access to resources and that their work in the transnational cocaine commodity chain affected this competition. The international exporters of cocaine such as Linda and Ada had more access to resources than those who worked as local couriers. The work that women performed in the TCCC and categories of stratification such as citizenship had an effect on their incarceration and their relationships to one another inside Santa Monica. Low-level workers from poorer countries like Paloma, worked for other women in the prison's informal labor market. Also, some women had more money than others to bribe prison staff. Relationships of survival were constructed among the women in Santa Monica through work, friendships, selling and buying, and more. These types of relationships also existed between incarcerated women and husbands, boyfriends, family members, lawyers, guards and prison staff and people on the outside who made a living doing services for incarcerated women. These relationships of survival were expressed in gendered and racialized hierarchies. They also reflected inequalities based on the role of nations in the licit and illicit global economy. Leslie and Paloma were *extranjeras* but of a very different kind than Linda and Ada. Both were women of color and citizens of Southern nations. Both also struggled to make ends meet during their incarceration. Paloma looked for jobs inside the prison and Leslie depended largely on the charity of her church. Relationships with men during incarceration became an important source of emotional and economic support and women from Northern countries were more likely to begin new relationships that included gifts and other goods. The narratives that I have included in this chapter illustrate how relationships among women in Santa Monica were shaped by differential access to resources.

VII.

PERUVIAN PRISONERS: ON THE MARGINS YET IN THE CENTER

VII.1. Introduction

The inequalities that women experienced outside the prison were reproduced inside Santa Monica. But prisoners also found ways to manipulate their different positions in order to access resources, create options for generating an income and manage the care of one's children. What follows are interviews with Peruvian women who worked in the transportation and retail niches of the transnational cocaine commodity chain. Small time workers in retail sold locally and in minimal amounts. Those who worked in transporting either moved cocaine locally or attempted to smuggle it out of the country.

The first part of this chapter will explore the relationship between licit and illicit work through the labor history of the women included: Joanna, Martina, Betty and Connie. In addition, I will discuss how this move from informal to illegal work and back again is reflected in Santa Monica. Included in this discussion is an analysis of how gender, class and citizenship were important in the work women did before and after incarceration. The next section includes the narratives of Naomi, Isadora and Janie and is organized around the theme of motherhood. This includes an analysis of how it influenced the entry of these women into the transnational cocaine commodity chain, how gendered ideas of motherhood were remade inside the prison and how motherhood intersected with class, nationality and race or ethnicity. These concerns will be explored through the stories of these three women. The last theme is that of violence and will focus on Beatriz's story. I will examine the ways in which domestic violence influenced

Beatriz's entry into the TCCC and the way this labor was shaped by gender, citizenship and class. I will also consider the effects that this violence had on her incarceration.

VII.2. Informal/Illicit Work

I argue that women's labor is the bridge between mainstream and illicit markets. The following narratives will point out how female workers move from the informal sector to the illicit and how the line between these two sectors is gray at best. In addition, the informal work they do in Santa Monica contributes to the strengthening of the relationship between the informal and illicit sectors.

VII.2.a. *Martina*

Martina's story emphasizes one of the key themes of this study: that a woman's entry into the transnational cocaine commodity chain is shaped by where her country of citizenship is located within the "international narcotics division of labor" (Bartilow & Eom 2009). Cocaine, in addition to being an international export, is also transported locally for use among Peruvians. This type of transportation does not have nearly the same potential for income as cross border smuggling. Workers in the local transportation link earn less money and have less decision making power than those who focus on the global exportation of cocaine, particularly those who live in poorer countries. This hierarchy is reproduced in the prison. Martina's work as a low-level transporter in this chain shaped her social relationships inside Santa Monica. Her story tells us exactly what this meant in the face of prison power dynamics.

Before incarceration Martina worked as a cook and housekeeper. "A friend used me," she explains. "My friend came into my house and saw that I lived in poverty, she saw that I needed money." Martina hadn't known that her friend was involved in drug trafficking. This friend offered her the work - bringing drugs to a prisoner in Lurigancho. She agreed to do

it. Martina took the drugs into the prison and was caught. "The police went to my house and searched through my things, they were trying to find more drugs. They didn't find any. They also asked my neighbors if I was known for selling drugs and interviewed my friends." The results of this investigation were presented at her court date. She received a sixteen-year sentence. "I fought to have my sentence reduced." She is in her tenth year at Santa Monica.

Martina worked in the informal sector before her incarceration. As discussed in previous chapters, this sector in Peru is made up of jobs that are flexible, low paid and unstable. This labor vulnerability is transferred to the transnational cocaine commodity chain. Martina moved from one type of low-level work to another. In addition, her subordinate position in the illicit cocaine chain left her exposed to the investigation of police officers as they gathered what may have been subjective information from Martina's friends and neighbors.

She tells me that her friend is outside "feliz de la vida (happy)." This woman was inside on other drug charges but was released after two years. The man Martina was taking the drugs to is outside as well. Martina adds: "It's as if the traffickers studied their victims (the burriers) in order to lure them into the trade. While this woman was in the prison, her family would come to visit and do you think they gave me a roll of toilet paper, anything? No." Instead they coerced her into not talking - not revealing who her supplier was. "I am grateful for my suffering," she tells me. "It has taught me a lot." She makes a living selling earrings, bracelets and necklaces inside the prison. "Because my family can't give me much money I earn money by selling jewelry."

Towards the end of my fieldwork, Martina had been told that she would be released along with other elderly prisoners under a special presidential "pardon" program. Following the instructions of a prison official, she had her personal belongings, including her jewelry

making materials sent outside of Santa Monica. It took another month before Martina finally got concrete news as to her status. She had not been pardoned; rather, her sixteen-year sentence had been reduced to twelve. In the process, she had also lost her primary means for generating an income. On my last day of fieldwork I went to say good-bye to Martina and found her very upset. She cried as she told me that all of her jewelry-making materials had been stolen from the store across the street where they had been on hold. "I am so disappointed – I followed the rules and participated in the events inside here. I had hoped to be treated better than this. They (the prison staff) wouldn't let my things inside."

Martina struggled to meet basic economic needs before becoming incarcerated. Peru's niche as a producer country in the transnational chain, places it at the low end. Within this producer country there are local transporters like Martina. This is low-level work. After several years of slowly building her informal business in Santa Monica, she had managed to create a stable income for herself. But because she did not matter in the chain, she also did not matter in the prison system. She lost her business and did not have the means with which to bribe workers to bring in her jewelry making materials. Her status as a senior citizen, her behavior as a "good" prisoner, her reduced sentence could not make up for the fact that she had come into the prison as a low-level transporter of cocaine. This, intersecting with her gender, class and ethnicity, shaped her socio-economic position inside Santa Monica. In addition, her age also added to her vulnerability--- she could not do a lot of the income generating work younger women did in the prison such as cleaning and washing. Martina was also an example of the symbiotic relationship between the prison and the cocaine chain. Low-level workers provide income through bribes to prison workers as well as the motivation for building more prisons and adhering to War on Drug

policies. Santa Monica becomes a place where low-level workers in the TCCC are discarded once they are no longer useful.

VII.2.b. *Joanna*

Joanna's story also illustrates how some women move from informal (but legal) to illegal work. In some cases, women take on work in this chain in addition to the work they already do in the informal sector. The transnational drug market takes advantage of women's poorly paid and poorly protected work situations as home-based workers, street vendors or domestic workers by offering low-level work transporting cocaine.

Denning's (2010) discussion of the formal/informal sectors framework is significant here. He states: "that globalization produces redundancy would be better understood not through the deceptively concrete image of the wasted lives, but through Marx's dialectically related concepts: the relative surplus population and the virtual pauper" (2010: 6). The transnational cocaine commodity chain inserts itself in between this dialectical relationship. The accumulation of capital (expressed through neoliberal economic policies) in Peru's economy rejects many workers. These workers, as "living labour" (Denning 2010:66), turn to other types of accumulations of capital, including those that are illicit. This is one way to explain the relationship between the informal sector and the transnational cocaine commodity chain.

According to INPE's statistical report of 2009, over eighty percent of prisoners in Peru worked in the "trades." These jobs include independent retailers in the informal sector, domestic workers, agricultural laborers, drivers, and artisans and other work in the trades. Over five hundred women incarcerated in Lima were listed as having worked as independent retailers before incarceration (the statistical report includes both the Santa Monica prison and the female maximum security prison next door), about one hundred twenty women worked as domestic

workers, and one hundred twenty-seven are listed as simply “workers.” Finally, five hundred eighty-six women are put in the “Other Trades” category. One important inference can be made from this statistical report: that the majority of prisoners in Santa Monica worked in the informal sector prior to incarceration. This informality is reproduced inside the prison as women find different ways to make a living while serving their sentence.

Joanna is 30 years old and was born in Lima. Her parents raised her until her mother left her father when she was seven years old. She had five siblings; there were six children all together. Her father hit her mother. He didn't live with them, he came to the house every fifteen days or so to see the children and would sometimes leave money for them. “We had to work washing clothes in order to make extra money. I've been working since I was a child. One of my brothers would be the look out at the bus stop. If he saw my father, he would tell our mother at her job where she was washing clothes or cleaning so that she could get home before our father. He would accuse our mother of being with another man and he would beat her.” Eventually Joanna's mother took the children to another part of Lima. Her mother remarried. “Our father didn't know where the family had moved to but he found us and he took the three boys with him.” Joanna and her two sisters stayed with their mother. “One of my brothers was sick and even though he was hospitalized we didn't know why he was sick.” The family struggled to pay for his bills and for food to eat. “My father didn't have money for medical care and my brother died when he was eight years old.”

Joanna's experience of the structural violence that emanated from poverty and gender oppression came out in the first half of her narrative. Her childhood was shaped by domestic violence (a theme that will be explored in depth with Beatriz's story). In addition, her family was poor and she began working in the informal sector at a young age. One of the consequences of

her family's poverty was the death of her younger brother. They were marginal to Peru's economy and consequently to its health system and were left in the dark as to the why Joanna's brother was ill. Her family's lack of resources contributed to the boy's death. Class and gender intersected to shape Joanna's early experiences of violence and illness in Peru.

Joanna studied until her second year of secondary school. "I worked at the market until the afternoon doing whatever work the vendors needed, and then went to school in the afternoons. I worked to survive and to help my brothers and sisters. I met a boy and we had a daughter, we lived in my mother's house." She was fifteen years old when she gave birth to her daughter. "I got along with my husband but I didn't love him anymore. He left when our daughter was five years old. He had gotten with another woman." Joanna continued living in her mother's house with her daughter and worked in the informal sector.

Her family needed income so she worked to help support herself and her siblings. She gave birth at a young age and gender roles became important at this stage of her life. Her husband ended their relationship, moved away and she was left as the primary caretaker of their daughter. She lived in her mother's home and depended on her support in addition to the income she made on her own.

She tells me about her work in the drug trade: "I worked making estampadas de polo (t-shirt designs). I worked for my daughter's education. A friend told me that she had a job for me. I took this job out of desperation. The business was to take drugs from one place to another in Lima - that is how the police got us." She and her friend are both inside. "I transported drugs for two months and I got eighty soles (about \$30) for each trip." She did this only once a week so she made a total of eight trips before getting caught. She would usually bring her sister's baby with her in order to reduce the risk of getting caught but on that particular trip her sister had

taken the baby to the hospital. “The business belonged to my friend and she took most of the profit. She doesn’t help me with anything inside,” Joanna tells me. She is worried because her friend had previously been incarcerated and she is unsure about how this will affect her case. “When I first got here, I didn’t have any money and my mother didn’t come to visit,” she says. Joanna doesn’t have a lawyer. She knits and sells the things she makes in order to earn money. Her mother and her sister visit her every fifteen days or so and they bring her daughter every once in a while. “My family brings me what they can,” she says. Because they come from a distant part of the city, her mother sometimes can’t afford the transportation fare. She is waiting to be sentenced and to speak to a lawyer.

Joanna therefore combined her own labor and the support of her family in order to survive in the prison. She did not have enough resources, however, to bribe workers in the court system, a strategy that could have moved her case more quickly through the system and hopefully shorten her time in Santa Monica. As a single mother in a precarious economic position, she chose to transport cocaine as another income earning strategy. Joanna, like Martina, went from one low level job to another. There is a relationship between the transnational cocaine commodity chain and labor that includes street vending, home based and domestic work. Incarcerated Peruvian women who had performed this kind of work turned to the cocaine commodity chain for income *in addition to* the work they were already doing. The move into drug trafficking is therefore fluid rather than abrupt for many Peruvian women. Their vulnerable work situation before incarceration was transferred to inside the prison walls, a setting with even more limited opportunities to earn money for themselves and their children. Joanna for example, did feminized work inside Santa Monica with her knitting. This labor, like most work that is feminized, is low paid. Finally, reproductive labor remained (literally) in the hands of women – it

was Joanna's mother and sister who took care of her daughter and brought her much needed resources to help her survive her incarceration.

VII.2.c. *Betty*

The transnational cocaine commodity chain is made up of various links that are both grounded in local settings and traverse national borders. Each link uses the labor of women as low-level workers and the retail link is no different. Some women, however, are able to gain some level of autonomy and raise the standard of living for themselves and their families as retailers of cocaine and other drugs. This situation is precarious, however, because women who gain benefits from this chain are still well below the more protected level of *capos* and middle managers, work that is usually done by males. Even women who are somewhat successful as independent retailers are still vulnerable to arrest and imprisonment. Betty was an example of this.

She tells me about her childhood. "There were four children all together. My father worked in the airport and my mother was a nutritionist at a private clinic. I was happy as a child. When I was eleven years old my parents separated. My mother left and we stayed with our father. My mother left from day to another, she had another man. My father threw her out of the house when he found out about this. My new stepfather didn't want the children around them so we didn't get to see our mother. She started coming back little by little; she'd come to the house when our father was at work. We didn't talk to her, we refused to speak to her, but after a while things changed between us. She left her second husband and entered another relationship."

Betty tells me how she and a group of other children beat up and robbed her first stepfather. "We found out that he had hit my mother and that he was bad to her. We gathered around him

and started hitting him. I was fourteen years old when this happened.” She chuckles as she tells me the story. “My mother’s third husband was good to her.”

Betty’s parents had stable jobs and poverty did not figure as a major theme in her childhood narrative. What did stand out for her was the breakup of her parent’s relationship. Her mother’s failure at idealized mothering was significant for Betty. When I asked women in Santa Monica to recount their stories, their experiences of being mothered or lack of mothering almost always came up. Although Betty felt that she was abandoned by her mother, she and her siblings punished the man who beat her. The point here is that the initial experiences of mother-care had an emotional as well as structural effect on women in Santa Monica. How much this influenced their movement into the transnational cocaine commodity chain is beyond the scope of this work but is a question for future research.

“I went to school until middle school. I’ve also studied cosmetology and a weight loss program at an institute. I got pregnant when I was fifteen years old and my father threw me out of his house. I went to live at my mother’s home with my husband. I have been with my husband for twenty-eight years, ever since I was eleven years old. Our first child died. I gave birth and when I woke up my husband told me that the baby had died. I got pregnant again and had a baby boy. My husband worked as a security guard for a truck service that transfers money between banks. But he stole some of the money and went to prison for four months. Our baby was fifteen days old when my husband went to prison. He didn’t work after he left the prison. He stole money and I sold anticuchos (shishkabobs) from about six in the evening to midnight. We lived in a room in my mother’s house. The anticucho business belonged to my father and I sold from the house. My husband watched over cars at a restaurant. My son was five years old when my

husband was sent to prison again - he was transferred to Arequipa and I couldn't go see him because he was so far away.”

Betty broke the rules of honor by becoming pregnant before marriage and just like her father had thrown Betty's mother out of the home, he threw her out as well. The abandonment of a daughter over an illegitimate pregnancy or unapproved marriage partner was another theme that came up in several interviews. Cut off from parental support, these women had to rely on their husband's income. Some, such as Betty, could only rely on themselves and their own initiatives. The relationship between Betty and her mother had been repaired enough that she moved to her mother's home with her husband. His main income earning strategy became stealing while Betty had her own independent if informal business. Her parent's support – her father owned the business and she worked out of her mother's home – helped her survive economically while her husband was in prison. His transfer to Arequipa posed more difficulties for her as he was too far away for her to visit him and possibly receive money that he may have earned in the prison. She became the primary income earner for her family.

“My son and I had to make it on our own. We lived in an area where there were puntos (transvestite sex workers). My son watched over the clients' cars and sold condoms to the prostitutes and I rented my room out to them. They would also want drugs and I'd bring them soda and drugs. I got my drugs from la Victoria (a neighborhood in Lima) and sold them for a profit. I also recruited girls for male clients. My husband was in prison for two years. This is how I survived.”

For Betty, economic survival in the face of the loss of her husband's financial contribution was a motivator for entering criminalized work. She took advantage of the local sex market in her neighborhood and through the intersection of the drug and sex work markets,

found her own niche as a retailer of drugs. Her income earning strategies also included mobilizing her son's labor. The pressure to make money did not allow for a neat division between the "home" and the "street;" both worlds became intertwined. There was no gap between her roles as mother and worker in the drug and sex markets. Unlike Isadora and Connie, she did not enter the transnational cocaine commodity chain through her male partner. Her labor in this chain was independent of her husband.

I asked Betty why women participate in drug trafficking. "Because the police don't search the women," she responds. "The male police aren't allowed to search women. I would hide the drugs in my underwear, by the time a female officer came to search me I had already thrown the drugs away or given them to someone else. Women sell drugs in Peru because they need money, drugs give you a lot but they also take everything from you. I bought a lot of things with the money I earned selling drugs."

Women who worked selling and transporting drugs were somewhat protected by Peruvian codes of male honor and femininity. A male police officer was not allowed to search a woman and this offered some protection from arrest, if only temporarily. Women who were carrying drugs and who were caught by male police officers took advantage of these codes by getting rid of any evidence that might have incriminated them. Betty also pointed out the main reason for entering the criminalized work of drug trafficking: the need for money. Many Peruvian women in low-income households are the primary caretakers of their children and the need for money extends to the entire family. She was also speaking to the rise in the standard of living she experienced while selling in the transnational chain. Her income from her business gave her a greater ability to consume but this was short lived.

“My sister and I sold on our corner in our neighborhood. Later I had a baby girl and by that time I had money to buy things for my family, especially for my new baby. I also had a car. My husband is out now, he's become religious. He got into religion after the third time he was in prison. But after he got out of prison, there wasn't enough money so I continued selling. We moved to Lince and I sold drugs there for two years. My husband worked for the city as a driver. I made deliveries to clients now and then but mostly I took phone orders instead of working on the street. One day a woman came to deliver drugs to my house. She was carrying extra drugs because she had other deliveries to make. A group of men came into my home. The woman and I were sitting and chatting on my bed in my bedroom. The group of men ended up being the police. They found the drugs on the woman and arrested everyone in the house. Everything was taken from me. My son, the woman, my husband and some other people in the house were arrested. The delivery woman had family in Canada and the U.S. and they sent money so that the charge could be changed from selling to consuming (which carries a shorter sentence). They sent \$5,000. The woman lied and said she was a user. She was the first person on the case to be released. It all fell on me. I blame myself.”

Before Betty was arrested her business had moved up – she no longer worked on the street but rather took private requests. Although her husband had a job, the income from this was not enough to support the entire family. So Betty continued selling in order to provide for her family but also to maintain the standard of living she had become accustomed to. She had acquired some independence in her business but she still remained vulnerable to police forces. The case of the woman who delivered drugs to Betty’s house is an example of how the transnational cocaine commodity chain intersects with other processes of globalization such as

migration. Remittances from relatives in the United States and Canada prevented this woman from serving any significant time in prison.

I ask her how she survives in the prison. “My mother can't come to see me anymore because she's been in the hospital. My husband and son were released and are out now. They visit me and give me ten or twenty soles. My youngest daughter sells purses that I make. She sells them at her school to her teachers. My other son sells shawls and sweaters that I also make. I also read tarot cards and charge the foreign women five soles and the Peruvian women two or three soles. My friend translates for me when I read tarot to the foreign women. I even read tarot cards for the guards and other prison staff. They don't pay for the readings. A Spanish woman who's now free left the cards to me. I can only read tarot cards on Tuesdays and Fridays because it's not good on other days. On a Tuesday I might read tarot cards for clients four times and earn twenty soles. With that I buy what I need. I have hypertension and take a shot every three days for this. I have to pay for the shots. There are times I have to borrow money. Sometimes I do clean up on the floor or will find odd jobs like cleaning up for visitors, sometimes they give me small gifts. The money I make from my knitting goes to my family and my mother. I send her fifty soles every ten days. My brother is in Lurigancho and my other sister is dead so there is no one to take care of my mother. My parents are from the provincia (rural Peru) so there is no family in Lima.”

Betty strategized in several ways to make money during her incarceration. First, she received visits from her husband and son, again highlighting the importance of *visita* as a source of money and other goods. She made things and gave them to her children to sell outside of the prison. As in her earlier work, Betty continued to mobilize her children's labor in her efforts to earn an income. The work that she performed in Santa Monica was gendered: she knit and made

purses. As a prisoner, Betty also partly depended on income and gifts from visitors. In addition, the stigma of being a prisoner placed her a rung below non-prisoners in the Peruvian social class hierarchy. This position vis a vis other Peruvians was expressed in a gendered manner through the domestic service Betty provided to visitors. This prison, as a function of Peruvian ideologies around femininity, emphasized domestic and other feminine labor for incarcerated women. Unequal relationships among women were reproduced through this feminized labor.

Possibly Betty's most important strategy in generating an income was reading tarot cards to other women in Santa Monica. Her friendship with a foreign prisoner gave her access to this side business. This is another example of how disparate relationships are constructed inside the prison: foreign women (who worked in the international transportation of cocaine), particularly those from wealthier nations, became sources of income for Peruvian women who had worked at the localized levels of the TCCC. Betty inherited tarot cards (and lessons in how to read them) from a Spanish prisoner. She may not have been able to purchase these cards on her own. She also took advantage of the foreign women's wealth by charging them more for a reading. Finally, although Betty did not charge prison staff for readings, she may have been able to transform this unpaid work into favors and leniency.

"It's so sad when you don't have any visitors," she tells me as she cries. "It's awful to wait for your name to be called and then it's never called. It's awful. My friends don't come to visit me. They came the first two or three months that I was here and then they stopped coming. But when I was outside and living well they were at my house all the time. When I first got to Santa Monica I was scared. I was also robbed. What's hardest for me is that drugs took away my father. He died soon after I was incarcerated and I couldn't go to his funeral. My oldest son is now in the university. I have five children total including a boy I've raised since he was two

months old. They are living with my sister-in-law. They are from seven years old to twenty-four years old. It's hard not being with my family. I wonder about how my children are being taken care of and how they are being treated. My seven year old has gotten TB and I worry about how he is being raised that he got that illness."

Betty's incarceration was heavily shaped by gender and her responsibilities, roles and worries as a mother are examples of this. For example, the responsibility for her children's care fell to another female in the family as they did not live with their father. In addition, Betty did not have the income to pay for a childcare provider who could look after her children and possibly improve the quality of their care. The transnational cocaine commodity chain and the prison combined to separate Betty from friends outside of the prison, her father and finally, her children. At the same time that these ties were strained and in some cases annihilated, new social relations were formed inside the prison. These relations, though confined to limited space, were globalized, unequal and in the end supported the same capitalist-based market structures that led to the imprisonment of women like Betty.

VII.2.d. Connie

Connie became involved in the retail of cocaine through her husband. She worked in this niche of the chain as a low-level seller of drugs and although she left this type of work, she continued to feel the effects of the TCCC in her life and the lives of her children. Her story is an example of the gendered ways in which incarceration is expressed inside Santa Monica – her roles as mother, wife and daughter-in-law shaped the criminal case against her. They also influenced her work options inside the prison, her access to resources and her hopes for freedom.

She tells me about how she got to Santa Monica. "From very young I entered a relationship with the wrong man. I was with my husband for a total of six years. I left him

because he used drugs and would beat me when he was high. I also left him because as my oldest son got older he repeated a grade at school. The psychologist at the school told me it was because of the problems at home. My son was having trouble talking and the psychologist asked me if I wanted my son to turn into a mute. She urged me to move somewhere more stable.”

Connie left her husband and moved to her parent’s home. “After I ended the relationship I kept in touch with my ex-husband’s family. His family sold drugs. I was close to my mother-in-law and I visited her even though I knew her home was in a zona roja (red zone). Most of my mother-in-law’s seven children are in prison. She continued selling drugs in order to help her children inside. I knew about this but kept visiting the house. I sold drugs when I lived with my in-laws but I didn’t want to get in trouble so I had stopped selling.”

Connie experienced violence at the hands of her husband, a widespread pattern in Peru. She left her husband because of this but also because she strove to be a good mother to her children. For example, the psychologist used the good/bad mother paradigm in order to mobilize Connie to leave her husband. Therefore, once the violence began affecting her children in visible ways, she ended the relationship. She continued her relationship with her husband’s mother, however, as did her children. The role of mother continued to be important not only for Connie, but for her mother in law as well – she sold drugs in order in order to give money to her incarcerated children. This highlights the poor conditions of Peruvian prisons in general: in a context of deprivation, mothers may work in illicit jobs on the outside in order to provide for their sons and daughters in the prisons.

Connie has three children (ages twenty-three, nineteen and seventeen), from the same marriage. “I dedicated myself to my children. My youngest son would visit my mother in law’s house. On one of these days when he was visiting, the police went to the house and arrested

everyone there, including my mother in law and my son. I was at work when I got a call telling me that my son was in the comiseria (jail). I went to see my son and I was arrested as I was leaving my home. The police charged me with intent to sell drugs even though I didn't have any drugs on me. I didn't get along with my sister in law and when we were all in the comiseria, she told the police that I had given them the drugs, that the drugs were mine. This was a lie. My son is in prison in Maranga. I am relieved because he was sentenced to only ten months. I'm not involved in the drug business. I was arrested outside my home and no drugs were found on me. My sister in law hasn't presented herself at court in order to testify for her case. I want her to take back what she said about me. My mother in law is already out; she left Santa Monica three months ago because of her age."

In Peru, an accusation is often enough to get one arrested on drug trafficking charges. As primary caretaker of her son, she attempted to help him once he was arrested and this set off the series of events that led to her own incarceration. Her strained relationship with her sister-in-law led to her arrest and subsequent imprisonment. She was waiting for her to testify on her behalf. Because of this, and Peru's slow court system, she had yet to be sentenced after spending seven months in Santa Monica.

I ask Connie about her work before incarceration: "I was a housewife and lived off what my husband earned selling drugs. My parents cut me off when I got married to my ex-husband. When I left him and moved back to my parent's home I worked washing clothes, I sold things, I helped my sister in a restaurant. My most recent job, the one I had when I got arrested, was working for an exporting company. This company exports children's clothes to the United States. I was earning a good wage - 2,000 soles a month. I was earning good money and didn't need to sell drugs. I hope that this is considered in my case. I am in prison because of my involvement

with a family that sold drugs. My parents are humble but have always been law abiding. My father worked in construction and my mother washed clothes. My mother eventually stopped working because her bones hurt from so much washing. My brothers and sisters and I began working. My family helped me economically, like buying milk for my children, when I moved back to my parent's home. I am hoping to be absolved. My husband is in Castro-Castro on the same drug charges and I am hoping that he will clear my name. I want to go back to my children. I have been both a mother and a father to them. Here in Santa Monica I worked in the taller making purses for the first few months that I was inside but I left it because of the stress of my son being in prison. I am now in the computing taller which I enjoy because it is related to the work I was doing before coming here. My family also helps me economically. My children live with my parents. My oldest son is studying to be a teacher and my daughter is working at my old job at the exporting company. My children bring me a little money on visiting days. My parents don't come to visit me because of their delicate health."

Connie's "involvement with a family that sold drugs" happened through her relationship with her ex-husband. This highlights the gendered aspects of her entrance into the transnational cocaine commodity chain. She did not come to it on her own, through another female relative, or her own parents. In fact, her parents distanced themselves after she married a man they did not approve of and this increased her reliance on her husband's income. This practice of parents "cutting off" their children is a gendered one. Women are more likely to learn than men across all industries. They lose an important source of economic support that is independent from their spouses when they are disowned by their parents. For men, who are expected to set up their independent households and have the potential to earn higher incomes, this "cutting off" may not be as financially detrimental. Thus we see how gendered ideas about marriage and the proper

marriage partner intersect with economic stratification. Her marriage to a man involved in this chain is what ultimately led Connie to Santa Monica. In addition, she continued to depend on him through his testimony that she was not involved in the cocaine market. Connie entered the transnational cocaine commodity chain based on her Peruvian citizenship and this country's position within the larger global political economy, specifically as a producer of cocaine. But gendered relationships in the Peruvian cultural context, influenced how she came to work in the chain and later, leave it.

She was different from many of the Peruvian women arrested on drug trafficking charges in that she worked in a formal office job before incarceration. Her work history included independent informal labor but her position in the export company was valuable in providing security for herself and her children. So valuable, in fact, that she managed to pass this job on to her daughter. In this way, she assured herself that her children had some sort of dependable income for themselves. She also received money from her family and was not as dependent on income generating work in the prison as Martina, Joanna and Betty.

Through the narratives of Joanna, Martina, and Betty we see that the boundary between the informal and illicit sectors in Peru is permeable and at times indistinct. Their shift from informal to illicit was fluid and an extension of their informal work. The TCCC recruits women from this sector and moves them into low-level, risky work either transporting or selling cocaine. Women like Joanna, Martina, Betty and Connie were susceptible to police attention and arrest. They were also more likely than higher-ups to be incarcerated on charges of drug trafficking. Thus, women's labor is the link between the cocaine market and the Santa Monica prison. Connie differed from Joanna, Martina and Betty; she did not come from the informal sector. Her incarceration on drug trafficking charges came from an accusation from a former relative. Her

past work in the formal sector gave her some resources that the other three women in this section did not have, either for themselves or for their children. Finally, the informal and illicit were reproduced in Santa Monica through the work women did within its walls. In fact, the prison encouraged this through its overall neglect of prisoners. Women were forced to find different ways to survive economically in the prison. For example, Joanna, Martina and Betty participated in the informal market of commodities inside Santa Monica. Once again, women's labor brought the informal and illicit together.

VII.3. Motherhood

In the next three narratives – that of Naomi, Isadora and Janie – we see the role that motherhood played in determining why and how they entered the transnational cocaine commodity chain. We also see how motherhood molded the different ways they experienced their incarceration. Of course motherhood, as shaped by Peruvian gender ideologies, was also influenced by other structural factors such as class, ethnicity, family networks and domestic violence. But the experience of being a mother in the following narratives is key to how these women viewed themselves. By focusing on motherhood we can also examine how this gendered concept intersects with the transnational cocaine commodity chain.

VII.3.a. *Naomi*

Naomi's narrative demonstrates the intersection of gender and class in women's entrance into the transnational cocaine commodity chain, the linkages between women's work in Peru's informal economy and illicit work, relationships among Peruvian and non-Peruvian women and how they are influenced by citizenship. Naomi's story also illustrates the ways in which incarcerated women are tied to the world outside the prison even while serving their sentences.

She talks to me about her life before incarceration: *“I worked because my sons’ father didn’t send money for the children (She had two sons from her first marriage.) Before coming here I worked selling breakfasts on the streets, I sold with my ex mother in law. I went to a party and that’s where I met my current husband and father of my two daughters. I get along with him. My youngest son gets along with him as well but the oldest son can’t stand him. He saw us arguing when he was eleven years old and that seems to have affected him. My oldest son is fifteen years old now. He wanted to live with his father and his father wanted my son to live with him. So my son went to live with his father who lives in a bad neighborhood. Since then he has gotten into trouble with the law and is now in an institution.”* She went to live with her current husband. She has been with him for six years. Her oldest daughter now lives with Naomi’s mother and her youngest son is with his father.

Naomi’s work history represented that of many Peruvian women who are incarcerated on drug trafficking charges, specifically those accused of transporting cocaine. She was working as an independent vendor in the informal economy. Her work options were shaped by gender. As a single mother, the need for income is immediate and work in the informal economy brings in money quickly. Money earned as an independent vendor, however, may not be much and income can also be unstable. Gender, as expressed through motherhood, also influenced her decisions for work.

She tells me the story of her arrest and subsequent imprisonment. “My husband and I went to live in an apartment that we had rented. We went to live there with my oldest daughter and my youngest son. The owner of the house was a woman who was very kind to me.” She had lived there for one year when another woman moved into the house. This woman rented a room there with her three children. Naomi and this woman became friends. *“I told her about my*

money problems and she told me about a job. She said that she had a friend who needed two women to work in Brazil. I was told that I'd go first and then my friend would follow. She said that she'd pay for my ticket and passport fees. We agreed that I would pay her back little by little once I started working in Brazil. I took the job because I wanted to pay for my son's stay in the institution; I wanted to pay for his rehabilitation. It was a private institution and it cost fifty soles a week."

Naomi's work as an independent vendor came with a limited income and instability. She chose to migrate to Brazil, most likely to work as a domestic, this being the most common occupation for female Peruvian migrants in surrounding nations. Her primary motivation for taking this job was to pay for her son's rehabilitation (Naomi did not explain to me what kind of rehabilitation this was). Even though her son had gone to live with his father, Naomi still remained the primary caretaker. Thus her entrance into the transnational commodity chain was shaped by her citizenship and the demands of motherhood.

Naomi arranged childcare with her mother and her mother-in-law and went to the airport thinking that she was leaving for Brazil. Instead, she was detained. "The police asked me where I was going and I told them that I was going to Brazil. They asked me for the keys to my luggage - my friend has given me the luggage because I couldn't afford to buy any. When they opened the luggage, I was surprised to find six packets of turrón (a Peruvian dessert) in the luggage. Each one was filled with cocaine." There was a total of eight kilos of cocaine. The woman who'd given her the luggage and set up the trip was also arrested. "She's denied everything," Naomi tells me, "but has been told that denying everything will just make it worse for her." She recently asked Naomi to stop claiming to the authorities that she was in a sindicato (organized drug network). In return the woman will say that Naomi didn't know anything about

the drugs. But if she still isn't sentenced at eighteen months, Naomi's lawyer can petition for her to be released. "So right now," she says, "I am praying that my paperwork doesn't go anywhere." Any change in the testimony would require more investigation that would lead to even more time inside for Naomi.

As are many women who ended up in the prison with these charges, Naomi was a low-level courier. She was recruited into the chain by another female worker. Women work within various niches of this chain and this creates differences among them based on labor. As a courier (and most likely a decoy for the police), she occupied a subordinate position, in contrast to the woman who recruited her. These differences created tensions among the women in the prison, as shown in the example above.

I ask her about her work inside the prison: "I have the thermos job. The internas (prisoners) are given an area to fill up their thermoses. From 6 to 9 a.m., I fill them for women who pay me to do it. Some fill their thermos themselves but others pay for it to be done for them. I fill the thermos with hot water and I get paid two soles per thermos. I bring the baby with me while I do this work. My mother sometimes comes to visit me on Sundays. She'll cook food at home and bring it for almuerzo (the mid-day meal). My husband comes on Saturdays and brings things for the baby. He will also give me twenty or thirty soles."

The only hot water available to the women in Santa Monica was from this area during the early morning hours. Tap water (including showers) was cold, a common complaint by the foreign women I spoke to, particularly during the winter months. Therefore a thermos became an important item. A thermos had to be purchased and delivered through an outside contact. A foreigner typically paid a little more for a thermos because she did not have a family member who could purchase one for her on the outside. She therefore had to contract with a person to

purchase it and deliver it to the prison on a designated delivery day. A woman who wanted a thermos also had to write a formal letter requesting permission for the thermos to be allowed into the prison. The person who delivered the thermos to the prison had to bring a copy of this letter (meaning that there was a separate effort to get a letter from a woman inside Santa Monica to the person who lived on the outside). This entire process took from one to two weeks. After receiving permission, she had to wait about another week in order to actually have the thermos in her hands.

A prisoner might choose to stand in line in the early morning to fill her thermos with hot water or she would pay women like Naomi to do it for her, an example of the unequal relationships in Santa Monica. Naomi's unintended work as a low-level courier led to service jobs in prison. Unlike some foreign women, especially those who were citizens of North America and Europe (destination areas for the cocaine chain), she had to work. Conversely, another difference between her and foreign women was that she had family members (including her husband) nearby who could provide some resources for her such as food, money and items for her baby. As stated earlier, the emotional support that came with these visits was also very important.

I ask her about life inside: "I cried when I first came to the prison, I missed my children. When I came to Santa Monica I was two months pregnant. I found out that I was pregnant when I got to the prison. Sometimes I can't believe that I've been here for seventeen months. I try to keep busy and having a baby helps the time go by more quickly." Her other children come to visit her every once in a while.

Incarcerated women are allowed to have their children with them inside the prison until the children are three years old. Most of the women in Santa Monica are mothers, with the

majority of children living on the outside. This separation between mother and children came up over and over again in interviews. Citizenship reorganized oppression and privilege in Santa Monica as foreign and Peruvian mothers experienced motherhood in starkly different ways. Foreign women were less likely to have children than Peruvian women. The children of foreign mothers, especially those from countries where the consumption link of the transnational cocaine anchored itself (North America and Europe), were generally in more stable living conditions than children of Peruvian women. For example:

Katia (Peruvian) sits next to me while she holds her baby boy. He is one month old. This is Katia's third child, she has two older girls, ages seven and five. They live in Lima, in one of city's poorest districts, with Katia's mother. "My daughters can't come to visit me because they don't have birth certificates." Birth certificates were required for child visits but later a new rule was instituted requiring all minor visitors to have a national identification card. A birth certificate, as well as time and money for fees and transportation, was required to obtain this card. Katia has been in the prison for five months and is in the costura (sewing) taller. "I bring the baby with me and put him on the floor while I work. There is a lot of fighting in the prison. I've argued with my roommate; she sleeps on the bottom bunk and the baby and I sleep on the top bunk. We argued because I had put the baby on the bottom bunk for a while and she didn't like it. I can't put the baby in cuna (nursery) until he is two months old. The cuna also gives me work - tareas - to do and this takes time away from the baby along with taller and other work obligations like clean up. The baby sometimes cries and this makes me uncomfortable because I know it's bothering the women around me. There is no pediatrician in here. When a woman gives birth, her legs are shackled and they are taken to the hospital in handcuffs. If you want the leg shackles to come off you have to bribe a guard." Katia's baby was taken to the hospital

because he had bronchitis, a common illness among infants and toddlers inside Santa Monica.

“I’m worried about my two girls because their grandmother has a small store and the girls play in the store and outside on the street. I’m afraid of something happening to them.”

Katia’s children were in precarious economic, health and living conditions. This is connected to their mother’s status as a single female head of household (the father was not involved in the care of the children). Incarceration made their situation even more uncertain. The majority of *extranjeritas* who were mothers had their children living in their countries of citizenship. This meant that these children (particularly for those who lived in Western nations) had some security when it came to their health, education and safety. This security came from the economic position that Western nations hold in the global economy. When *extranjeritas* spoke of their children, they did not express worries about their care. What they did speak about was their longing for their children and the events in their lives that they were missing. Incarceration was reshaping the experiences, emotional work and ideas around motherhood.

Naomi continued her story:

She considers herself lucky because her husband continues to visit her and she talks to me about male visiting days: “Saturdays are nice and I wish that the day would never end. I get dressed up. I wear fancier pants and put on make- up. I don’t look like this,” she tells me, looking down at the fleece pants and sweater she’s wearing, her face free of make-up. “My husband comes to visit me after working all night. Even though I tell him to come see me in the afternoon so that he can rest, he still comes in the morning.” Naomi describes her feelings about her imprisonment. “Since I’ve been imprisoned, I don’t feel like doing anything, like participating in events. I was friendly and liked to go out when I was outside but in here I don’t

feel like doing those kinds of things. I used to like dancing but I don't dance anymore. I wonder how I will adjust to life outside."

Naomi considered herself lucky that her husband continued to visit her because male significant others were less likely to visit over a long-term period. Incarcerated women in Santa Monica, both Peruvian and foreign, were more likely than men to have relationships end during their imprisonment. This may have had an effect on access to resources and, of course, the emotional support that a loved one can provide. When she described her feelings about incarceration, Naomi was pointing to the emotional, mental and physical strains of being in the prison. Women had to deal with separation from children, daily reminders of their powerlessness (morning and evening counts, a dizzying bureaucracy, poor living conditions, and more) and the struggle to survive their incarceration. As a low-income Peruvian mother Naomi had fewer resources on hand than foreign prisoners from Western countries. This contributed to the creation of unequal relationships between herself and other women in Santa Monica. It is very likely that she filled thermoses for some of the foreign women in Santa Monica. Naomi and her "clients" therefore, were constructing uneven relationships inside the prison. She placed a high value on her relationship with her husband and like many women who have male visitors, played up ideas of beauty and femininity on male visiting days. This practice cut across nationalities. In addition, mothering was another gendered construct that many women in Santa Monica shared. How they "mothered" was largely shaped by the resources available to them. Despite these differences, all the women I spoke to who had children living outside Santa Monica expressed missing them. This again cut across nationalities.

VII.3.b. *Isadora*

Isadora is an example of how women make decisions in the face of options that are shaped by poverty, racial and gender inequalities. The women in Santa Monica actively manipulated structural inequalities in order to manage their access to sources of income and the care of their children. Isadora's narrative shows us how incarceration changes the terms of motherhood and how incarcerated mothers attempt to continue mothering from inside the prison.

"I come from a humble family that never got in trouble with the law. My parents were separated but my father always came to the house to give my mother money for the children. My mother worked washing clothes. My oldest brother was in the military and gave a part of his salary to the family. He was very strict and was the father figure in the family; he raised me. I studied until the second year of high school." Isadora began working as a domestic worker when she was about eleven years old. "I worked for a Japanese family for five years. They were very good to me and treated me as if I were part of their family."

Like the majority of the Peruvian women in Santa Monica, Isadora was born into the working poor. She began working as a domestic while still a child out of economic necessity. Her family's financial circumstances influenced how long she remained in school. Another pattern that emerges from interviews, including Isadora's, is that of parents who are divorced or separated. Other Peruvian researchers have approached this from the psychological or moralistic perspective of "broken" or "disorganized" homes. In this view, the pathway to criminalized work is due to "broken homes," that is, deviation from the cultural norm. But I maintain that what matters is the household structure that emerges after the separation of partners. The female-headed household was the most common result when parents of incarcerated women ended their union. This was also true for the women themselves as adults. The children of the union remained living with their mothers. On a national level, almost one-third (28.5%) of all

households in Peru are headed by women (Valente 2010). This type of household arrangement has economic consequences. For example, Jelin and Diaz-Muñoz (2003) state that

The incidence of this type of household is more significant among economically disadvantaged sectors, and its existence tends to compound other difficulties these groups face. If women are the only financial and affective pillars in their families, and do not have any further assistance (income supplementation, child care and school support, among others) they have to carry the double (or even triple responsibility) – being in charge of economic support, of domestic activities, and of emotional care of their children, a situation that involves an excessive load for the woman and often exposes her and her children to high risk (5).

The increase in female-headed households in Latin America may partly be the result of economic stress. Fussell and Palloni note that “the widespread drop in wages that occurred during the debt crisis and economic restructuring in the Latin American and Caribbean region is often identified as a primary cause of men’s abandonment of their families” (2004: 1209). Therefore, having been raised in a household headed by a single mother, women like Isadora experienced financial and domestic insecurities and pressures as children. Note that she began working at the age of eleven. These early options were partially created within the context of a female-headed household and its resulting financial and domestic pressures. According to Valente (2010), “the amount of time dedicated by women heads of household to unpaid care work is significantly higher in comparison with men, a situation that affects women’s incorporation and permanence in the labor market and increases time poverty” (3). Isadora’s early experiences were affected by the constraints and opportunities that resulted from the configuration of a female-headed household. These early experiences in turn had effects on her future choices and options.

“I fell in love with a boy in my neighborhood. We were together for ten years. My oldest brother approved of the relationship because he knew his family.” Isadora had her first child

with this man and also gave birth to twins in this relationship. Her oldest son is now eighteen years old and the twins are fifteen. "We went to live in Barrios Altos. My husband went to work every morning and I stayed home, I was a housewife. I had a friend, an old friend from my school days, who would come to visit me. We would go to parties together and it was at one of them that I met the man who I'm with now. I left my husband and abandoned my children for him. I left my sons because my new partner didn't want my sons to live with us. I liked the easy life - this man would buy me things that my husband couldn't." Isadora didn't know that he was involved in drug trafficking. "My mother, brother and sisters were very upset with me for leaving my family but I was in love. My happiness didn't last long. I moved with him to Zarate, to his family's home. His family was involved in drug trafficking. I got used to that world. It was then that I got involved in selling drugs. I never was in trouble with the law before then."

Isadora's choices in relationships were influenced by her economic circumstances. Her first husband was someone from her neighborhood, someone from her same class background. Part of her attraction to the man who became her second partner was that he was able to purchase things for her and to provide her with what she called "the easy life." To Isadora this meant consuming commodities without the expected work ethic that proved one deserved this consumption. Her new partner was involved in drug trafficking which led to her own involvement, another pattern among Peruvian women. Writing about the United States, Goldfarb (2003) observes that, "a major way that women have been caught in the crossfire of the drug war has been through heterosexual relationships with men engaged in drug activity" (280). Although Isadora's partner brought her into the transnational cocaine commodity chain, this was a family business that included female workers such as older mothers who are also grandmothers and mothers-in-law. (Women may work in low-level jobs in this chain but they do not always work

“under” a man and may have a limited form of power and influence.) When she entered a new relationship Isadora regretted not bringing her children along with her:

This is the second time that Isadora is in Santa Monica. The first time she was inside for three years and six months. “My biggest regret is abandoning my children. My older children live with their father. I send them fifty soles a week I earn from selling coffee, tea, manzanilla and hot water on visiting days. My oldest son has never come to visit me. He is angry with me and doesn’t treat me like a mother. Sometimes I come to the chapel to cry and ask God to forgive me. I want to leave the prison so that I can be with my children again. My oldest son works and helps support the twins. I have five children total. The oldest three are with my first husband, my younger children, from my second relationship, live with my sister and her own children who work as domestic workers. My nieces and nephews take care of my children because my sister works all day. They don’t ask me for money. I try to send them what I can. My second husband is in Lurigancho and doesn’t provide for the children. I call my two youngest children every day. The nine year old boy comes by himself on Sundays from San Juan de Miraflores (a neighborhood next to Corrillos, where Santa Monica is located) to visit me, the señoritas (guards) know him.” Isadora left her now three year old daughter when she was four months old. “My sister told me that her she loves the girl and asked to have the baby when I was incarcerated. I didn’t want to keep her inside because I didn’t have any way of providing for her.” Isadora has three months left to complete her sentence and hopes to be out before Christmas in order to be with her children. “My second husband is in Lurigancho and is with another woman, we are now distanced. I don’t want to go back to illegal work, I want to have a legal job. I’m willing to wash clothes if I have to. I want to follow my mother’s example – she raised five children through her own legal work.”

Isadora planned where her children would live during her incarceration. She also mobilized resources from inside the prison in order to give money to her children's caretakers. A "good mother" provided for her children, even from inside a prison. Her second husband was not held up to this expectation in the same way. This idea of mothering was different for foreign women from wealthier countries whose children were in more stable economic conditions. A good mother in this context was one who called her child and wrote him/her letters. As Isadora recounted where and with whom her children lived, she also expressed worry about their care. She recognized that her children's caretakers, particularly the sister who took on her younger children, might not have the time or the money to take of them the way she wanted. Bernhard et al (2005), writing about transnational migration of Latin American mothers, state:

In effect, the mother has the primary responsibility in many areas related to children, and, within Latin American cultures, this cannot be reassigned to others. (This is true in a number of other cultures as well). To put it differently, where transfers of care from a mother to others have occurred, the mother has been found to have become subject to social disapproval and stigmatization. Even in cases where the relatives in the home country initially were supportive of her migration, the mother still has been discovered to suffer because she, herself, frequently comes to believe that she has fallen short of her duties. (5)

In other words, "mother-work" cannot be easily reproduced by anyone except that child's mother. Because of her incarceration, Isadora is prevented from performing the culturally valued work of mothering her children. This inability to follow through on these duties adds to the stigmatization of incarcerated mothers. Not only are they imprisoned women but they are also "bad" mothers. In addition, children who are cut-off from mother-work are more economically and socially vulnerable. Below are some examples of this:

Charo has a fifteen year-old son; he was ten years old when she was imprisoned. "What makes me most sad is not having been able to be there for my son. I tell him to please study and that he is loved and valued, but I'm not sure that the message is getting through to him. Before I

was incarcerated my daughter had been admitted into the military which would pay for her university studies. She hoped to go to medical school. I was so proud when my daughter was accepted that I cried. But then this happened to me,” Charo says, spreading her arms around her. “My daughter got married at nineteen and now has three children and works as well.”

Ruth tells me of a woman’s thirteen-year-old son who had died the day before. “He committed suicide,” she says. I ask her why someone that young would commit suicide. “He probably couldn’t handle his mother being inside the prison,” she answers.

Inez has five daughters. Her seventeen year-old daughter lives in Huanuco with Inez’s half-sister. This daughter studies at the university in Huanuco. Inez says that she had been upset because she hadn’t expected her sister to ask for money but this sister has asked for money in exchange for caring for Inez’s daughter. “I send her about one hundred soles a month to cover my daughter’s expenses like food. But my sister isn’t treating my daughter well. My daughter was playing with schoolmates, fell and broke her lip. When I called to find out how my daughter was doing, my sister said sarcastically “Your daughter, your precious daughter...” She then spoke badly of my daughter and when she got on the phone she said that her aunt had yelled at her. I’m afraid that if my daughter continues to be treated badly she will go into the arms of a man.” Charo nods her head in agreement and says, “That’s what happened to me.”

The idea of a good mother in the Peruvian cultural context is largely based on the mother-work that women provide for their children. Once it was removed, not only were these women not good mothers but their children were in various types of danger such as not continuing their education; for sons, the risk of joining a gang or entering criminalized work; for daughters, early pregnancy and/or marriage. Mother-work was perceived as essential to preventing these things from occurring and women in Santa Monica were extremely limited in providing mother-work to

their children. The broader cultural message they received was that of incarcerated mothers as ones. The irony here is that many women who participated in the transnational cocaine commodity chain did so as a strategy to acquire resources for their children.

Isadora continued her story:

“I was imprisoned this second time for fifty grams of chloro cocaine. The police broke down the door of the house. My mother in law is in Santa Monica, too. The police gave me a chance to avoid incarceration. A policeman asked my mother in law to take the blame for the drugs so that I could go free with my children but my mother in law refused to "cargar la droga" (carry the drugs). I don't speak to her anymore. I begged and pleaded my mother in law to cargar la droga but she refused. The last time I was in Santa Monica, it was also because of my second husband's family, because of their involvement in drug trafficking. I was innocent that time - I was eating lonche (the evening meal) in the uncle's room, and he had the drugs in his room. The drugs that were found in his room weren't mine but I took the blame.”

Again motherhood became an issue in Isadora's narrative. As a mother to young children, her freedom was considered more valuable to the police than Isadora's mother-in-law. We also see what influence the mother-in-law did and did not have. The family worked in the cocaine chain together and within this household structure, the mother-in-law was influential. But she did not have enough influence to avoid incarceration, either through bribes or by being high enough up the chain, and out of reach of the authorities. She was incarcerated with Isadora.

“My family thought that I had learned my lesson the first time I was in Santa Monica and they were disappointed when I came back again. I've learned my lesson now. I want to be with my children. I don't want to live with a man again. I want to follow my mother's example and be without a man. Life in the prison is very hard, hanging out in a group is bad. If you hang

out with the foreign women, they think that you're involved in drugs. Most of the foreign women are involved with drugs. I stay out of trouble because I don't want to get transferred to Huacho. If I were transferred, I wouldn't be able to see my son. I also heard that prisoners are not allowed to work in the Huacho prison."

Isadora did not receive male visitors nor did she want to enter into another relationship with a man. She hoped to become the ideal mother as defined by Peruvian standards: complete devotion to her children. This was one of the reasons why she avoided getting into trouble. She did not want to risk losing visits from one of her sons. Huacho is outside of Lima and women who are transferred there are largely cut off from *visita* as relatives cannot easily travel there. In addition, she provided money for her children from inside the prison. Rumor had it (and there were plenty of rumors going around) that one could not work in the Huacho prison. This would leave her without any way to make money for herself and her children.

That foreign women – used in this sense to speak about North American, European and South African women - were drug users, was another rumor. As recipients of money from abroad and in some cases their own embassies, they had both time and cash to spend. They were not only bad mothers but bad women as well. A Peruvian woman who was too friendly with foreigners risked being included in the rumors about them, alienation from other Peruvian women (not being able to ask for favors from them) or she might be perceived as stuck-up. Middle-class Peruvian women were caught between relationships across different nationalities:

Teresa is Peruvian but speaks fluent English. She tells me that she has studied English and lived in South Africa for several years. She has been in Santa Monica for fifteen months and is set to leave in about thirty-five days. "What's hard about being inside is dealing with other women and their habits. For example, the yelling. I can't understand why some women here have

to yell to each other from one end of the prison to another.” Teresa, a middle-class Peruvian who spent most of her time with a North American woman, was expressing her social distance from less wealthy Peruvian women with limited education.

VII.3.c. *Janie*

Janie was a forty-two years old Peruvian. Her narrative brings out the links between gender, motherhood, the informal economy and the transnational cocaine commodity chain. She entered this chain as a low-income Peruvian woman in an abusive marriage. This had consequences not only for her incarceration, but for her children as well. The work that she performed in the cocaine chain affected her own options for resources inside the prison. In this way Janie contributed to the realignment of inequality inside Santa Monica.

“I was born in northern Peru in the jungle province. My family moved to Lima when I was four years old. I lived with my parents and there were six brothers and sisters all together. My mother separated from my father when I was thirteen years old. My mother was a domestic worker and she put me to work when I was eleven years old. My job was to take care of a six month old baby from 10 a.m. to 2 p.m. I didn't go to school for one year, I studied until my first year of elementary school. When I was fourteen years old, I escaped from home because my mother was poor and because I had met a boy from school. I left with him and we had two children together. I gave birth to my first child when I was fifteen years old. He left me when I was eighteen years old to go with another woman. He would also hit me. I worked at a bookstore in order to support my children. I sold schoolbooks in the mornings and I studied at night so that I could finish school.

For Janie, as for the majority of Peruvian women in Santa Monica, the pathway into the prison began with the economic and social circumstances of her parents. She began working as a

domestic worker at the age of eleven so that she could contribute to her household's income and was not able to continue her education. Thus, her choices and opportunities had already been narrowed by her economic circumstances by the time she met her first husband. "Escaping" her home by running away with a man was one of these choices, shaped by her household's poverty and her limited work options. But this relationship itself led to her becoming a single mother – as well as exposing her to domestic abuse. She attended night school as a way to improve her work options.

I met my second husband at night school. He didn't want my two children. He treated me badly. He worked as a cook but he was fired for being late and not showing up. At about this time, I got pregnant. He started to sell drugs and then so did I. He would always throw in my face that I already had two children, telling me that I was a woman with a past, a used-up woman. He was also violent and he'd hit me. I started selling so that I would have money for myself and my two children from my first husband. I was my husband's burrier and I started selling out of necessity. I realized that what I was doing was wrong. Then my husband started using drugs. We lived like animals." The paternal grandmother of her first two children took them away.

Ideas relating to women's sexuality played a dominant role in her second relationship. The fact that she had children (and therefore, sex) before entering this new relationship was an excuse for her second husband to abuse her. He also introduced her to working in the drug market, first as a transporter and then as a seller. Because her husband did not acknowledge her two oldest children and subsequently didn't provide for them, Janie took on that responsibility. She began selling drugs as a way to generate an income for herself and her children. In her

narrative, she claimed that “we lived like animals,” an expression of how she failed in her duties as a mother by not keeping a proper house.

“He was muy mujeriego (he was a womanizer),” Janie tells me, “and he took most of my earnings. I had five children with him, thinking that the more children I had with him, the more likely he was to stay. The oldest child from this relationship is now twenty-three and the youngest is six. After the fifth child, I separated from him. In 2000 he was in prison and he was released two years later. I was selling soups at a nearby market. I had left the drug business by this time but he still hid drugs in my home. My oldest son was nineteen years old at the time, he was a university student. He would always defend me against his stepfather and the two would argue. My husband came to my house on a Sunday to help me paint our children's school. He asked his stepson to go with him to pick up a package and my son went with him. I was working at the market. The police stopped my husband and son and they were arrested. They were in a mototaxi and there were drugs there. My son went to prison because my husband claimed that my son knew that he was picking up drugs. My son went to Lurigancho for a year and a half.”

Janie had stopped working in the transnational cocaine commodity chain but continued to be tied to it as a wife and mother. In addition, she had moved from the illegal work of selling cocaine to the informal work of selling soup at the market. Once again we see that the boundary between licit and illicit is porous and flexible. Peruvian women move back and forth between working in the transnational cocaine commodity chain and working in the informal sector as independent retailers, depending on the economic needs of their families. Perhaps for Janie, the risk and stress of selling an illegal substance helped move her away from work in the cocaine chain to work in the informal sector.

“I became wanted by the police because I was married to this man. I destroyed my son's life. His stepfather destroyed it because I didn't want to be with him anymore. My son became addicted to drugs in the prison. He left after one year and six months because he was declared innocent. I couldn't go see him because of my warrant. He went back to the university but only for two months because he went back to drugs. His grandmother put him in a treatment center. I lived with the warrant for my arrest for two years. My son began stealing for drugs. His grandmother didn't want anything to do with him anymore. I was left with five children. The police would blackmail me so that I wouldn't be arrested; I'd pay them four-hundred to five-hundred soles.”

As the wife to a man who worked in the cocaine chain, Janie was also implicated in the case against her husband and her son. Her son's addiction is another example of the how the chain makes use of the prison. Not only does it deposit workers inside and recruit workers once they leave the prison, but it also creates new consumers inside the prison itself. Thus the prison and the cocaine chain are involved in a symbiotic relationship – the prison continues to receive new bodies and they go back to the chain as workers and/or consumers. Once these workers become unnecessary or dangerous to the survival of the chain, they are moved into the prison. The motivation behind all of this is profit from the lower-level selling of cocaine and from the higher-end deals. Both the prison and other criminal justice institutions in Peru become the recipients of this profit. In Janie's case, it was in the form of blackmail to the police so that she would not be arrested. There is money to be made from the people caught at the crosshairs of the transnational cocaine commodity chain and the war on drugs:

Elsa is in her late twenties. Although she is a Peruvian national, she is a legal resident of the United States and has lived there for ten years. She travelled to Lima as a birthday present

for herself; she hadn't been back since she had immigrated to the United States. "I met a man at a night club and stayed with him for a couple of nights at a hotel. He asked me to hold a package for him in my car and I said okay. He left and the cops came almost immediately." Elsa is trying to prove her innocence. "My case is being investigated, I've been here for ten months and I am so frustrated. My passport and driver's license were stolen by the police. I had them with me when I was arrested and they were confiscated but now they are missing from my file. I'm worried that someone has traveled to the U.S. with my passport. When I was arrested the cops demanded \$3,000 in order for me to get my greencard back from them. I called my grandmother, who lives in Lima, and asked her for money. I gave them the money and I got my greencard back. The cops saw that I had an ATM card and they demanded \$5,000 for the card. I said no, thinking that if they stole it, it could be tracked down to them. Then they wanted me to go to the bank and withdraw money and but I kept saying no. They were anxious for the ATM withdrawal and they were going up and down the stairs of the hotel trying to get me to withdraw money from my account.

Michelle is Peruvian and has been incarcerated twenty-eight months. She was at a small restaurant meeting with a man, a friend of her boyfriend (both Nigerian), about possibly renting a new site for her restaurant. This friend was acting as the middleman for the negotiations. Michelle's brother and daughter had come along. The restaurant was raided by the police and although the friend was the target, she and her brother were also arrested. "I was put into the truck. The police tell me that if I cooperate I'll be set free. They don't believe my story and they demand a bribe in return for my freedom. They ask for \$8,000 per policeman. Then they give me a cell phone to call someone but I refuse to make a phone call because I think that whoever I call will also become involved and maybe arrested. I offered the police my savings of \$1,000 but they

didn't believe that was all I had. They thought I had more money since I owned my own business. The police kept driving around; we weren't taken directly to the commissary. Finally, we were told to pay them \$5,000 for each policeman. We were taken to the commissary and I thought that I was going to be released. The friend was released because he bribed the police. He had the money to do that because he was the one buying the drugs so he had the cash on him. The prosecutor didn't believe me. My brother was also arrested. The police statement said that I was the buyer and he was my bodyguard. He's in Lurigancho now. I refused to give a bribe to the police. I thought that in court I'd be able to tell my side of the story and be released but I wasn't."

Sometimes the police are successful in collecting bribes and sometimes they aren't. But the more people arrested on drug trafficking charges, the more likely they are to collect, even when these arrests appear random, suspicious (Elsa wondered why the police appeared so soon after her companion left) and circumstantial. Elsa was one of several women to point this out to me as she compared the criminal justice systems in the United States and Peru:

"Back home the police would have to build a case against me and they're careful about accusing someone of a crime. Not so in Peru - someone could see you on the street and say, "That's the woman" and that's enough to land you in jail."

These and other incidents of bribery and blackmail are about a weak state government and a long-standing tradition of patronage and payoffs in Peru. In addition, they are also about what Corva (2008) calls "nacro-corruption" in countries like Peru. This becomes a way to "supplement low government wages in highly unequal societies, it is practiced by lawyers, judges, police and politicians" (14). This process is part of the transnational cocaine commodity chain and therefore another aspect of the underside of globalization. Systemized blackmail is an

extension of the globalization of cocaine – as an illicit business it must purchase rights to the licit. These include evading incarceration and a workforce in legal occupations that can help support the chain. Therefore, the public sector, particularly criminal justice institutions and individuals, profit from this systemized blackmail.

Janie continued her story:

My husband was released from prison again. He came back to my house and wanted to force himself inside and threatened to denounce me to the police. I was working selling meat and soups. He continued selling drugs and lived in my house for one year. I suffered during this time. My son from this marriage is also in prison, his father got him into it - he started doing drugs. I wanted to kill my husband; I wanted to cut him with a knife. One day he took my nineteen year old son to where he goes to drink, they went out drinking together at a party. I got a phone call from someone telling me that my son and husband were fighting. I went to the party and as I was taking my son outside, the police came and I was arrested.

I had another boyfriend at this time. My husband let the police know that there was a warrant for my arrest and the police demanded a bribe of \$5,000. I told them that I didn't have that kind of money. I gave them 1,000 soles and they let my son go. They put drugs on me. They wanted money and I threatened to tell about the bribes. I've been in Santa Monica for fourteen months. I left four children at home - ages 18, 17, 11 and 6. My 18 year old son is a drug addict. They live with my mother who is 78 years old. I was working as a llamadora in order to provide financially for my children. I also work cleaning up after meals. On Saturdays I sell coffee for another woman and I make about ten soles doing this. I help out in the kitchen every two months. Sometimes I work for the foreign women or for women who have more visitors. My son was in a treatment center but he ran away from it. I was paying for it but I lost my llamadora job because

of the job rotation. I couldn't pay for the treatment center anymore and he was kicked out. He is now in Lurigancho for stealing. My seventeen year old daughter is pregnant. My eleven year old is with my mother and the six year old goes from person to person; she stays with my mother or a neighbor's or friend's house. I survive by going to church and I ask God for help. My husband destroyed my life and the lives of my children. They don't go to school. To me, this is hell, there are no friends here. The ones with no visitors suffer. The money I earn I send to my son in Lurigancho. I want to get my sons out of prison.

Janie's incarceration created severe instability for her children. Incarcerated and without access to a stable and adequate source of income, she could not shield them from nor soften her children's exposure to the structural violence of imprisonment. Her economic insecurity inside prison was passed on to her children who lived outside Santa Monica. For a while she worked as a *llamadora* (someone who looks for the prisoner who has a visitor). It was work that was sought after because of its potential for a high income – a *llamadora* could expect to earn forty to fifty soles in one day. It was because of this work that Janie was able to maintain her son in the drug rehabilitation center. This person walked around the prison looking for the prisoners whom a visitor has come to see. On visiting days *llamadoras* stood in front of the patio gate that separated the prisoner's area from the administration wing. Visitors were let through this gate one by one after having gone through several checkpoints. A *llamadora* would walk up to a visitor and ask who she/he had come to see. The visitor gave the *llamadora* the woman's name. It was the *llamadora's* job to find this person inside the prisoner's area which included dormitories, the chapel, beauty salon, the patio, work areas, nursery, topico, etc. The *llamadora* called out the woman's name as she walked around Santa Monica. She would also ask women who might know her (for example, if a visitor was looking for a Polish national, the *llamadora*

would ask other foreign women about her). After the woman was alerted that she had a visitor and came to the patio to meet her or him, the *llamadora* was paid one sol. The prison administration controlled who worked as a *llamadora* and kept a rotating list. A woman at Santa Monica did not expect to keep this job for more than a few months

Once Janie lost this job, she found other ways of earning money such as selling coffee on visiting day and helping in the prison's kitchen. She also stated that she looked to "foreign women and women who have visitors" for work. These were service jobs and would include making their beds or cooking their meals, watching their children, fixing up their living area, washing their clothes (a much disliked chore as the prison did not have hot water), and more. This was another example of how oppression and privilege were reconstructed inside the prison. Because some foreign women – through their citizenship status – had access to more money than local women, they were in the position to hire these local women for service work. It was not just Peruvian women who might look for this kind of work. Women from poorer countries who did not receive remittances also worked for other foreign women. Citizenship went a long way in determining one's economic location in the prison's hierarchy.

Janie believed that her husband told the police about her warrant out of jealousy, she had moved on to another relationship. Of course, jealousy works both ways as men and women become jealous of an ex-partner's new relationship. But in Janie's case, her husband had exhibited sexist (his attitude about her first marriage) and at times misogynist (he hit her) behaviors. These behaviors, shaped by Peruvian cultural attitudes around gender, perhaps explain why he told the police about her warrant. Perhaps his action was less about the pain of losing a spouse and more about his loss of power over Janie.

The issue of systematized blackmail appeared twice in Janie's narrative. Although she wasn't able to purchase her own freedom, she did have enough money to have her son set free. Even after she paid for his release, the police continued to demand money from her and in fact planted drugs on her in order to incriminate her. I've argued in this dissertation that how a woman is brought into the transnational cocaine commodity chain depends in part on the position of her country of citizenship in the larger global political economy. Because of Peru's own position, Peruvian women work at its lowest and riskiest levels. While those in the upper levels of the chain do have lucrative opportunities, those at the bottom have little prospect for this and in Peru the bottom is made up of low-income, non-white Peruvian women. Due to their location in the cocaine chain, they may also be the easiest to blackmail and extort. This is one of the ways that Peru's prison system and its workers benefit from the growing number of incarcerated women within its borders.

"Women who have visitors" were also another important group. These women were mainly Peruvian (as foreign women did not get many visitors) and the fact they had visitors meant that they received money and goods from relatives on the outside. Some of these goods and money were distributed among women in Santa Monica through monetary transactions (items that could be sold for cash), friendships or patronage (a woman received something from someone because they were friends or to foster a favor in the future). They could also be used to bribe prison staff. Janie expressed the importance of visitors when she said that those without visitors suffer. Not only do they suffer emotionally but economically as well. Foreign women and women with visitors were in a position to pay other women for service jobs, an example of how the internationalization of cocaine can be expressed through these unequal relationships. Janie also claimed that the women who live most comfortably in the prison belong to families

who continued to participate in the transnational cocaine commodity chain. For many Peruvian women, working in this chain was not an individual and isolated activity; they were linked to it through ties with relatives, husbands and children. For example:

Victoria tells me that she got into drug trafficking through her family. “All of my family is in prison. The police came to my grandmother's house one night and I was arrested along with my aunts. All the women were arrested. I don't have any visitors here. I've got two aunts on the outside but there are warrants for their arrest.” She is facing a banda charge, that is, the law seeks to prosecute her as being a member of a criminal organization. She has been sentenced to fifteen years.

In this section we have seen how notions of motherhood affected how and why Naomi, Isadora and Janie entered the transnational cocaine commodity chain. In addition, gendered ideologies around being a good or bad mother contributed to shaping how women experienced their incarceration. At the same time these women participated in remaking the meanings of motherhood even as they strove to fulfill its duties. Finally motherhood intersected with structural inequalities such as citizenship status and class inside Santa Monica in contradictory ways.

VII.4. Violence

Although other women in this dissertation experienced domestic violence, I look at this issue more closely in the following narrative. Peru has high rates of intimate partner male violence. In one major study conducted by the WHO a sample of 1,414 women in Lima were asked about domestic violence: 49 percent reported “physical violence by a partner at some point in their life” (WHO 2005). A sample of 1,837 women in the Department of Cusco was also interviewed and 61 percent reported having experienced physical violence. In 2009, the Peruvian

police received 95,749 reports of domestic violence. Ninety percent of these reports came from women. Boesten (2012) argues that intersecting inequalities of class, race and gender “facilitate violence against those perceived as inferior” (366). In spite of various laws and policies concerning domestic violence, impunity remains high (Boesten 2012).

This violence against women was reproduced in the prison:

I’m sitting with Alicia (Panamanian), Nelly (North American) and Elizabeth (Dutch). The subject turns to fights. Nelly teases Alicia, imitating her when she had gotten “beat up” by male guards. Alicia reenacts getting punched in the stomach. “They beat her like a man,” Nelly says and chides Alicia for her big mouth. In another story a Peruvian man had visited his woman in the prison and had, according to Elizabeth, “bitch slapped her.” “We all just looked,” Nelly says.

Two forms of violence occurred in the above segment. The first one was institutional and the second was within the context of an intimate relationship. Both were at the hands of men and both went unpunished. Peru’s patriarchal structure was reproduced in its prison system. It also intersected with hierarchical divisions of gender and the inferior status of the “prisoner” to further heighten the risk of female prisoners to violence. In addition, violence in the prison system appeared to be normalized. Nelly and Alicia recounted the story of Alicia getting “beat up” with laughter and teasing. In addition, the incident when the husband slapped a fellow prisoner was met with observation rather than action. One way women managed the violence directed towards them was by normalizing it. Beatriz’s narrative below shows us how women who experienced domestic violence strategized to survive and escape their situations. Her story also demonstrates how this violence worked with other social divisions to affect options for

herself and her children. Patriarchal violence did become normalized among the women in Santa Monica but Beatriz's story illustrates how women struggled against this pattern of violence.

VII.4.a. *Beatriz*

The transnational cocaine commodity chain anchors itself onto local sites, regional territories and within boundaries of the nation-state. For example, Peruvian prisons also serve as places for the consumption of drugs, including cocaine. This localized niche of the chain consists of suppliers, recruiters, couriers and consumers. It is a less lucrative niche because of its local rather than transnational context. The punishment for transporting cocaine into a prison, however, is more stringent than for carrying cocaine across national borders. Peruvians caught smuggling drugs into a prison are therefore likely to spend more time inside the prison than foreign women. As workers of one of the least paying jobs in the transportation level of the transnational chain, they are also more economically vulnerable (and consequently so are their children). This is an example of how labor in this chain contributes to how inequality is structured inside Santa Monica. In the narrative below, the lingering effects of domestic violence experienced before incarceration and single motherhood continued to shape and re-shape women's experiences inside Santa Monica, placed economic demands on their already scarce resources and finally, forced women to make difficult decisions about the welfare of their children.

At the time of our interview, Beatriz had been in Santa Monica for sixteen months, serving a ten-year sentence (the minimum for transporting drugs into a prison). Her story illustrates the points made above about the localized sites of the transnational cocaine commodity chain, how labor in this chain contributed to inequality inside the prison and the various ways in which relationships of survival among women in the prison were gendered.

“My mother died of stomach cancer when I was eleven years old. My two older sisters had moved away and I was left as the oldest in the house. My father was a drunk. I woke up early to get my brothers and sisters ready for school. I cooked el almuerzo (the main meal) after school, I did everything that had to do with the house and I did my studies, too. My father took care of the chacra (farm) but he continued drinking, us children were mostly left on our own.” Beatriz met her son’s father when she was fourteen years old, he was twelve years older than her. *“I ran away with him. He was good to me at first but then he started hitting me. I had my first child when I was fifteen years old. My father looked for me after I ran away but because he found with me with a baby, he didn't ask me to return.”*

Beatriz’s story as was narrated to me was a long cycle of experiencing violence at the hands of her husband, escaping only to be found again. How is this related to the transnational cocaine commodity chain and the prison? This chain, a construction of the global political economy, fixes itself inside Peru and is affected by the country’s culture of violence against women. Domestic violence shapes women’s choices for work, their mobility and autonomy. These are factors that help determine why and how women enter trafficking drugs as well as their pathways into the prison.

Beatriz continued:

“I wanted to leave my husband but I didn't have anyone's support. I would run away but he would always find me and I'd return. He drank and was with other women.” He continued hitting her and a few years later she had her second son. *“My husband worked cutting down trees. We lived in the jungle. My husband and I kept fighting. My second son was one year old when I decided to leave again. I didn't know what to do because we lived so far away. I ran away*

with my children but returned because my son was hungry. My husband continued beating me, sometimes in front of my children. My oldest son didn't speak, he stopped talking.”

She moved to a town and she refused to go to the jungle. Her husband would go back and forth between the town and the country and sometimes not return for two or three months. “I worked selling food. Sometimes my husband would leave me money and sometimes not. I contributed most of the money. He kept hitting me and I was relieved when he'd leave for work. I was afraid of him and wanted to leave him permanently. One day, when he had gone back to work, I grabbed my sons and clothes and went to my sister's home. She told me to stay with her and work and save money to go to Lima. I sold sweets. My husband found me there and my son ran to greet his father. We talked and I went back to him. We went to live at his mother's home in Huanuco. He went to work one day and I went to call my father (at a public payphone) but my husband returned and he thought I was seeing another man. He beat me again in front of his mother. I told him that I was going to leave and he said that he wanted to keep his sons. He went away and took the youngest with him but he came back later and said that he was going to go fishing. He took the oldest son and I escaped with my youngest son. I had two soles with me. I put my son on my back and started walking to a highway.”

Beatriz's unstable income limited her ability to escape from her husband. In fact, it was the violence itself that largely caused her unstable income. Beatriz had to move around as she attempted to flee from her husband and she had either one or both of her children with her. Already faced with limited income earning opportunities due to Peru's economy, her race and class, Beatriz's choices were even more constrained by her husband's violence. Escaping from him might have ensured physical survival but it made her economic survival even more unstable.

Beatriz traveled with her son to another's sister home in another rural town. Her ultimate goal was to get to Lima and her sister promised to help her with transportation costs. "My husband found me again. He and I fought over my oldest son, each of us pulling at him. My sister hit him with a stick and threatened to call the police. Neither one of us wanted to let go of our son. I took my husband's DNI and told him to go or else I would go to the police with his DNI. He left with our oldest son. But he came back without him and told me that he'd give me back my son the next day. I was afraid and wanted to leave right away. I had a set of new bed sheets that I tried to sell but no one bought them. My sister borrowed ten soles and gave them to me. I went to my father's home in Tingo Maria. My father didn't have the fare for Lima either. No one had money. I walked around, trying to sell the bed sheets for forty soles and a woman finally bought them for twenty soles. My father and another sister gave me five soles each. I took the bus with my youngest son to Lima at 4 a.m. so that I could leave before my husband found me again. My plan was to get settled in Lima and get my oldest son back, who had stayed with his father. I felt guilty."

As we trace Beatriz's pathway to Santa Monica, we note that she again participated in the informal selling of goods as way to make money. She struggled to find someone to buy the bed sheets, thus highlighting the insecurity of this type of work. Beatriz worked at the fringes of the informal economy and sought help from family members as she attempted to escape from her husband. Her movements as she traveled from one part of Peru to the other were determined by her husband, and she could never be in one place for very long. This economic insecurity would have profound effects on events leading up to her incarceration. For a time, however, things changed when she arrived in Lima:

In Lima, Beatriz lived with a cousin and found a job at a restaurant. "I left my son with a woman while I worked. I worked from 7 a.m. to 6 p.m. She charged me five soles per day. I moved out of my cousin's home and rented my own room. I began to buy things for myself little by little. I wasn't making enough money at the restaurant and so I found a job at a clothing store. I worked from 9 a.m. to 9 p.m. selling clothes and earned 120 soles a week. By this time I had been in Lima for one month."

Her work in Lima moved her away from independent selling into more formal work settings. However, this was the type of work in which she could not bring her son along with her (unlike in independent selling). The long hours were indicative of low-level, poorly paid work options available to women of Beatriz's social class.

She had reunited with a brother in Lima and they saw each other regularly. "One day I got home from work and I found my brother at my house. He told me that my husband was in Lima looking for me. He wanted to talk and give me some things. I didn't want to see him but I went because my oldest son was with him, too. I hadn't seen him in three or four months. My husband cried and begged for me to come back. He said that he'd become religious. He kept asking me to come back and I kept saying no. My oldest son wanted to go with his father and also with me. My husband and I agreed to meet at a park so that we could see both boys at the same time. He kept asking me to come back and I still said no because I didn't believe him. We met at the park every Sunday. I bought my oldest son a book bag and shoes and enrolled him in a school - he hadn't been in school for half a year. He said that he wanted to live with his me, I finally had both of my sons with me, I was happy."

Her income allowed her some form of independence from her husband as well as protection. But it didn't last:

“I told my sons what do to because I had to work and wasn't home during the day. I gave them a set of keys and told them not to leave our room. On Sundays we'd meet their father at the park. About a month later we met at the park as usual and then one day I got home from work and found my husband in my room with the boys. I don't know how he found out where I lived. My cell phone rang and he it took away from me. He was jealous and started yelling at me. He slapped me and I left and ran to the police station to denounce my husband. When I got to my room, he was gone and so were my sons. I thought he'd bring them back but he didn't. He called the next day and said that he was in Madre de Dios. I went to the police but they said that they couldn't do anything because he was their father.”

The state finally appeared in Beatriz's narrative. Initially she used it as a threat to her husband (she would file a *denunica* against him) but at this particular moment the Peruvian state served as an inactive and patriarchal observer of events. The police refused to help Beatriz get her sons. Once again Beatriz adjusted her mobility according to her husband's actions:

“He told me that I could have the boys back if I returned to him. I said that I would go back to him but I planned to run away the first chance I got. I would run away with my sons. I went to him in Pucalpa and told him that I'd return to him but that we had to move back to Lima first. He believed me. We went to Lima and looked for a room and stayed at his sister's house. I didn't want to sleep with him. We argued all night. In the morning I told him that I was going to take the boys to my room to wash up. But my husband didn't want me to go and told me to take the youngest son only. My plan was to escape again. I talked to my oldest son and told him that I would come back for him. He said that he wanted to stay with both of us but I told him that I couldn't stay. He decided to stay with his father.” Beatriz went back to her room and was talking to her cousin there when her oldest son showed up. *“I was happy again. Later the landlord came*

to me and said that my husband was back. He wanted to return but I said no. He said that he'd leave the boys with me but that he would be back in a year." She never saw him again. "My son went back to school and I felt free. My husband called once when he was drunk. He didn't send money but I was happy."

Beatriz was happy because she had both of her sons with her and finally felt that she was free from her husband. She was left as primary caretaker but preferred to be fully financially responsible for her sons rather than return to her husband. This is one example of how domestic violence shaped her economic status – she and her sons lived on her wage alone which influenced where she lived, the schools her son attended, and other aspects of their daily life. But once again her life and the life of her children would change:

"Three years later I met another guy and I got pregnant. He was with a friend who had drugs and he was imprisoned. He started working inside the prison in order to give me money." He was imprisoned when she was three months pregnant. "After the baby was born we started arguing because I found out that he had another woman who also had his baby. I began distancing myself from him. When my daughter was two weeks old I went to visit him and he had a friend who was from my hometown. He offered me work bringing drugs into the prison. I agreed to do it because I wasn't working. I was desperate to make money because my daughter's father didn't give her money. I came into the prison carrying drugs once and then another time. The third time I got caught. I didn't know about the laws. I was with my baby who was one month old. My sons were waiting outside for me. The police took my children to an orphanage." The Defensoria del Pueblo intervened on her behalf and got her daughter back. Both of her sons went to an orphanage.

Beatriz turned to transporting drugs as an income-earning strategy. She was the single head of household and out of work. Her children were taken away from her at the time of her arrest although the national Peruvian ombudsman's office managed to remove her infant daughter from the state orphanage and return her to Beatriz. As a worker in one of the lowest levels of the transportation niche of the transnational cocaine commodity chain, she had very little control over the welfare of her children and depended on state agencies for help in getting her daughter out of the orphanage.

"My sons left the orphanage and lived with my brother outside of Lima. Their father showed up one day and wanted to take them. He went to my brother's home and said that he was going to take them for the afternoon but he didn't bring them back." Beatriz got in touch with a prosecutor and ordered a denuncia against him. Her husband was found and arrested but he refused to say where he was keeping the two boys. He was released. Beatriz's sister managed to track him down and found him with the oldest son. He was arrested again and subsequently released. "I haven't heard anything about him again," says Beatriz. "My oldest son is living with a relative in Lima." A judge ordered the father to bring the youngest son to the court. He promised to do so but never did.

"I want to look to for my son but I don't have the phone number for my husband's relatives. My daughter is now in the prison with me. Her father is outside but doesn't come to visit or give anything for his daughter. I've lost everything. I work cleaning rooms and the nursery. I studied in the cosmetology taller and work doing hair in the dormitories. Sometimes I knit and sell purses and scarves. I don't have visitors. Sometimes the nuns bring me milk and clothes. I worry about how my oldest son is being treated. My sister works all day and he is on his own. I'm talking with the social worker about sending him to an orphanage before he starts

running with the wrong crowd. I wonder if my youngest son is going to school. I'm partly relieved that my youngest son is with his father. But I want to find him and send both boys to an orphanage. My daughter will also be sent to an orphanage."

Beatriz entered the transnational cocaine commodity chain as a local transporter in a coca producing country. In the globalized economy of cocaine, coca growing nations receive less of the profits of the trade – much of the money to be made occurs in the countries that are major consumers of this drug. This is so because although there is a demand for cocaine in Peru for local use, the demand is low compared to that of North America. In addition, Peruvian soles do not compare with American dollars or Euros. Therefore, Beatriz's low-level position in the transnational cocaine commodity chain was influenced by the role of Peru in the global political economy. Subsequently, her labor in this chain prefigured the extent of control she has over the welfare of her children during her imprisonment.

We see, for example, that after she was arrested she turned to state actors to first, remove her children from an orphanage and secondly, get her sons from their father (the last action was only partly successful). Before incarceration, she was able to physically mobilize against – or away – from her husband. Although family members had helped (and continued to do so) with the care of her sons, this was unstable and insecure. From inside Santa Monica, Beatriz could not do much more than worry about her children. She was unable to find one son and was concerned about the care of the other. Not only do children lose a parent through incarceration, but women like Beatriz lose access to mothering. In addition, her daughter's father did not help her financially thus making Beatriz the primary caretaker. It is in these ways that the experience of incarceration in Santa Monica was gendered as it intersected with her citizenship, race and class.

Beatriz's labor in the cocaine chain also influenced which options for resources were closed and opened to her inside Santa Monica. When she stated that she did not have *visita*, she was saying that she had no one bringing her money, food and other resources. She had to generate an income on her own in order to provide these things. Another strategy she used was turning to the charity of the nuns, which was an inconsistent source of goods. Once again, we see that as a low-level worker in the chain her options for work inside Santa Monica were also insecure, unstable and poorly paid. Finally, domestic violence had a lingering effect on Beatriz's incarceration. It had consequences for the welfare of her children during her imprisonment. The economic choices she made prior to being arrested were built on fleeing her husband and trying to make a life without him. Domestic violence therefore greatly affected her options for labor and quality of life.

VII.5. Conclusion

Joanna, Martina, Betty, Connie, Naomi, Isadora, Janie and Beatriz were women incarcerated in the Santa Monica prison who had worked or were accused of working in the transportation and retail niches of the transnational cocaine commodity chain. Unlike the previous chapter, the women included in this chapter were all Peruvian. They show us that changing but related forms of oppression affected the type of work women performed in this chain. This, in turn, had a powerful effect on access to resources during incarceration. The women in this chapter worked or were accused of working in the selling and transporting of cocaine, most often because of the systematic oppression of those in their class. Again, I emphasize that class is gendered, raced and nationalized. All eight women were part of Peru's working poor and this played a role in why they started selling cocaine. In their narratives about childhood, none talked about belonging to the middle or upper class. None described to me

private school educations, parents who worked in professional occupations or living in the tonier neighborhoods of Lima. What is *missing* from their narratives becomes telling when thinking about how their options were shaped by class. But not all of the women included in this chapter grew up in poverty – Betty’s parents, for example, both had stable jobs. Some grew up in more insecure financial situations than others – Isadora and Janie began working at young ages. As adults, they had varied occupations and incomes. In spite of these differences, they were part of Peru’s majority: households with limited incomes. Their access to resources shaped their alternatives and opportunities. Joanna, Martina, Betty and Connie in particular, demonstrate how women maneuver between formal /informal/illicit markets as they search for alternatives in making a living. It is their labor that binds these markets together.

As discussed throughout this project, class is influenced by other structural oppressions such as gender and race. In this chapter, we see how class is gendered and the important role gender plays in why and how these women entered the TCCC. Connie, Isadora, and Janie entered the chain through their husbands. Joanna, Martina, Naomi began working as transporters through a female intermediary. Beatriz agreed to transport cocaine into the male prison for a male acquaintance. Betty, a talented entrepreneur, generated the work for herself while her husband was incarcerated. Joanna, Betty, Naomi, Janie and Beatriz were either single mothers or the primary sources of support for their children. We saw in this chapter that some women opted to work in the cocaine market as a way to fulfill the conditions of mother-work. Faced with limited choices for income and children to provide for, these women made the best choices they could. Gendered violence also forced them into the illicit cocaine chain as Joanna, Betty, Connie, Janie and Beatriz showed us in their narratives. Domestic violence was either directed towards their mothers or themselves when they were children. In addition to gender, race was always

present in their narratives, even when it was not directly acknowledged. All eight women belonged to the country's other majority: the large non-white population of mixed European, indigenous and African ancestry. To be non-white is to be part of this country's working class and working poor. Class in Peru is therefore raced.

Unlike the previous chapter, this one includes narratives by women who worked in the retail niche of the cocaine market. Of the five retailers, Betty was the most forthcoming about this labor. Perhaps it was too painful for Isadora, Connie and Janie to recount how they actually did this work. Or maybe their current incarceration was more real to them and they felt it was more urgent for them to speak of their lives in prison. Their children and grandchildren were much more dominant in their narratives than their labor, providing less information about the actual work of selling cocaine. The women who were caught transporting cocaine were more forthcoming with details about their work and/or how they got caught.

But we can glean some patterns about the selling of cocaine from the above narratives. Betty's description of her work in retail shows us that this labor is unstable and risky. It differs from the transportation niche in that it can generate more money for individuals although this is true only when compared to local transportation. For example, Betty was able to increase her consumption of goods, which we didn't see among the Peruvian *burriers*. But Betty's economic situation was not better than that of a foreign women from the global North who was caught transporting cocaine. Retail also allowed for more work independence than transportation. Betty ran her own business. More research is needed however on the retail of cocaine and other drugs as a household, rather than individual, activity. Isadora and Connie sold drugs as members of a household. It would be interesting to know how their labor shaped by the gendered dynamics of

living in an extended family household that participated in the transnational cocaine commodity chain.

In addition, selling drugs was something that was done in conjunction with other income generating strategies. For example, we saw that Betty's husband drove a taxi while she sold drugs. In some of the narratives we saw that once a woman left her husband, she also ended her participation in the retail of cocaine. This was true for Connie and Janie. Thus, for some women, labor in the retail niche of the chain depended on household arrangements. These were also affected by gender practices and ideologies.

This chapter is also indicative of how important the labor of criminalized women's is to the expansion of global capitalism. Women in Santa Monica competed for the prison's limited resources in a myriad of gendered ways and these ways were shaped heavily by their citizenship status. As they competed with one another to earn an income, pay for debts, bribes and medication, they did so by using gendered strategies such as relationships with men, services, sewing, knitting, and pulling together family networks for childcare. This in turn recreated the gendered division of labor that is important to global capitalism. Lastly, women's relationships of survival inside Santa Monica also contributed to the expansion of the underside of globalization. Licit global capitalism becomes increasingly dependent on its illicit side. As incarcerated women worked with and in competition with one another to survive their time inside the prison, they did so in ways that were informal and at times illicit, thus contributing to the expansion of these two markets outside of Santa Monica. This in turn aids the "systematic deepening of advanced capitalism" (Sassen 2010: 27) because where else can disposed workers of licit globalization go but to its informal and illicit underside? The absorption of workers into these sectors becomes invaluable to the continued functioning of global capitalism.

VIII.

CRIMES OF SURVIVAL: HEALTH, DISEASE AND NEGLECT

A significant aspect of health care in Peru is its lack of accessibility. Lack of access to health care works differently in individual countries. The first part of this chapter will explore how crimes of survival are related to health and disease. More specifically, there are people who fall through the cracks of the public health sector of various nation-states due to the intersection of their poverty, ethnicity, geography and gender. These individuals may then choose criminalized work as a way to survive disease or cope with family health issues. The second part will consider the role citizenship plays in providing access to health care in Santa Monica and how it shapes relationships between incarcerated women and psychologists in the prison. While privilege and oppression operate in ways that move some people into the transnational cocaine commodity chain, they are also restructured inside the prison so that some have more access to health care than others.

VIII.1. National Health Systems and Global Neoliberal Expansion

A critical medical anthropology approach to crimes of survival situates the neglect of national health systems within the global political economy. For example, the World Health Organization recognizes that “national health systems are increasingly influenced by international policies and agreements, and cross-border market forces” (WHO 2008: 2). Health care systems at the state level must cope with the pressures of global health governance (such as the United Nations and World Health Organization) as well as outside interest groups at the level of the nation-state. The influence of the global on national health systems also includes:

Dealing with unregulated financial outflows and reduced levels of national authority to regulate goods and services, and managing powerful transnational interests in health, such as from the pharmaceutical sector (WHO 2008: 3).

In addition, global health funding has increased significantly (McCoy et al 2009) but “most funds come with strings attached and must be spent according to donors' priorities, politics, and values” (Garrett 2007). These funds may also be disease specific rather than providing infrastructure support for national health care systems of poorer countries.

Structural adjustment programs of the past thirty years stressed private sector development while reducing the public sector. This affected many nations that are now targets of international health and disease aid. Pfeiffer and Chapman (2010) argue that cuts in public sector spending had a detrimental impact on national health care systems in countries that were subject to structural adjustment programs. Infrastructure suffered in the form of underfunding for training institutions; reduction in health care workforce as well as their salaries; introduction of fees for health services; and a shift from state funded availability of generic drugs and health services to a “cost sharing” and “community management” model. Pfeiffer and Nichter (2008) also add that “management systems (were) undermined, and some specific services either scaled back or eliminated” (411). One consequence of structural adjustment programs and the global inequity of nation-states is the migration of health professionals to wealthier countries (Garrett 2007, WHO 2008) thus creating a “brain drain” of workers who are able to provide adequate health care to populations in poorer countries. Whitehead's et al (2001) medical poverty approach argues that two global trends: 1) introduction of user fees for public service and 2) an increase in private medical practices/private pharmacies – have had detrimental effects on the world's poor. Low-income populations experience reduced access to health care, untreated diseases and long-term poverty due to the costs of medical care.

More recently, the global financial crisis of 2007/2008 has had and will continue to have an impact on the health of vulnerable populations within nation-states (Ruckert and Labonté 2012). This is due to the decline of overall economic activity; additional cuts in the public health sector; reduction in foreign aid; growth of unemployment and flexible jobs in the health care sector; the pressure to make national health systems more efficient; and finally, an “ideological climate of austerity” (Ruckert and Labonté 2012: 276). A post-colonial approach argues that the influence of Western nations on the health paradigms of Southern countries is yet another form of colonialism’s civilizing mission. For example, King (2002) states that:

The ideology of the civilizing mission is being replaced by one of international development; the goal is no longer to bring modern Western medicine to primitive cultures, but rather to furnish them with Western medical technologies in an effort to foster the integration of underdeveloped nations into the world capitalist economy (780).

VIII.2. Women, Neoliberal Globalization and Health

Women, particularly those who are low-income, are among the most at risk to the consequences of neglect by national health care systems. In the previous section I described how neoliberal globalization has had an impact on health systems within nation-states. In this section I will demonstrate how this has been an uneven and gendered process. Wamala and Kawachi (2007) put forward that the costs and advantages of globalization are differentiated by gender due to the subordinate status of women. In addition, various characteristics of globalization “pose a threat to women’s health” (Wamala and Kamachi 2007: 172) and the health of women in the global South has worsened as a result of specific global neoliberal processes (Jagger 2002). It is poor women in the global South who have absorbed the reductions in public health services that were mandated by structural adjustment programs. They have done so by taking on additional unpaid labor through their role as caregivers. At the same time many low-income

women try to generate an income for their families thus resulting in a double or triple burden for themselves. They stretch out their time between caregiving work, paid labor and in some cases community support efforts in the attempt to make up for cuts in social welfare programs (Craske 2003). Therefore, aspects of neoliberal globalization such as deregulation, liberalization and privatization are gendered in that “they assume women’s ability to bear increasing demands on their labor in household obligations for food pension, child rearing and education, and caregiving for the elderly” (Mittelman and Tambe 2000:175). The gender division of labor within different nation-states – in this case the practice and ideology of women as those primarily responsible for the work of caregiving – is one of the conditions that makes globalization possible (Mittleman and Tambe 2000).

The global financial crisis threatens to make health conditions worse for women, especially for low-income women in poorer countries (Mohindra et al 2011). For example, export-manufacturing industries in the global South have shed jobs that were held by women. In addition, female migrants from poorer countries who work in high-income countries have also lost jobs due to the financial crisis and have less money to send to their families back home (UNAIDS 2012). Women ejected from the formal sector turn to the informal sector for work. This has also been affected by the global financial crisis in the form of “rise in hours of work, decrease in wages, and increase in women’s vulnerability to physical and psychological stress” (UNAIDS 2012: 5). Some women may enter sex work and thus increase their risk of sexually transmitted diseases and HIV/AIDS (Mohindra et al 2011). Households have also experienced rising costs of food. Austerity measures put through as a result of the financial crisis have often mandated cuts in health and social welfare spending. Women compensate for higher costs and limited incomes by working more inside and outside the home, neglecting their own health and

dietary needs by prioritizing that of their family's. They may also increase their financial dependence on men and this may lead to unsafe sexual practices or exposure to domestic violence. All of these result in greater emotional and physical stress (UNAIDS 2012, Mohindra et al 2011). Women are also more susceptible to and more affected by global health threats such as HIV/AIDS due to the intersection of poverty and gender inequality. Because the majority of the world's poor is made up of women, they are more vulnerable to "the so-called diseases of poverty, such as TB, diphtheria, yellow fever, malaria, and cholera" (Jagger 2002:428).

VIII.3. The Peruvian Health System

Peru's government has unwaveringly implemented neoliberal economic policies since Fujimori's presidency in 1990. This has included the public health sector. In spite of a fiscal surplus, Peru ranks last in Latin America in public health spending with funding at just 4.7 percent of the country's gross domestic product (Taj and Wade 2012). A 2007 report noted that forty-eight percent of the country's population was without any type of health insurance coverage (Giugale et al 2007). In 2011 sixty-five percent of Peru's population had health insurance (Economist Intelligence Unit 2012). In addition, out of pocket spending on healthcare is high (Economist Intelligence Unit 2012). Access to hospitals is also an issue: in 2011, "there were just 1.6 hospital beds per 1,000 population" (Economic Intelligence Unit 2012). Privatization of the country's health system has included decentralization, user fees for medical services, for-profit health insurance companies and private hospitals and clinics (Alva-Diaz 2012).

The country's health care system is divided into five components: the armed forces, the Ministry of Health, a social security based system called EsSalud and finally, the Seguro Integral de Salud (SIS). This is a "Medicaid-like system for low-income and vulnerable

populations, created in 2001 as part of a national initiative to expand access to health care and reduce the rates of maternal and infant mortality” (Horan et al 2012). The Ministry of Health is the umbrella organization for SIS and it allocated eleven percent of its budget to this low-income health insurance program in 2007 (Giugale et al 2007). SIS is limited by budgetary constraints (Vidal et al 2012) and in spite of the existence of this program for the country’s poorest citizens, universal enrollment has not been reached and waiting lists are long for services (Alcalde-Rabanal et al 2011). Participation in SIS is a challenge in Peru’s rural regions (Horan et al 2012, Kristiansson 2009) but it has made some gains in maternal and child health (Alcalde-Rabanal et al 2011).

Informal workers are at a particular disadvantage when it comes to health care access. Only workers in the formal sector are eligible for EsSalud, a national social security system that is financed by deductions in workers’ salaries. In 2000, SIS expanded its target populations to include children under four years old, children between five and seventeen years old, pregnant women, adults in emergency situations and other limited categories. The intention was for more informal workers to get coverage through these categories of eligible users (Bejar 2007) but it remains to be seen how effective this outreach has been. In theory, SIS covers prescription medication but because of underfunding, patients buy prescribed medication on their own (Oxford Business Group). The cost of many drugs, including those for cancer, diabetes and HIV treatment has been rising (Economist Intelligence Unit 2012). Thus, although the Peruvian government has made recent advances in making health care accessible to low-income citizens, this process has been uneven and biased.

I will explore in this chapter how care-work extends to crimes of survival. For example, some low-income mothers, through their roles as primary caregivers, may choose criminalized

labor as a way to make up for the neglect of national health systems. It is in this way that they contribute to the growth of the transnational cocaine commodity chain and the prison. For the women in this chapter – Dinah, Cynthia and Lizette - neglect by the state in the form of lack of adequate medical care and medicine became a motivation for entering the cocaine market. As the state funded sector shrank, other fields of the nation-state grew. For example, war on drug efforts intensified in Peru through increased policing, militarized actions and more stringent sentencing. Dinah, Cynthia and Lizette were therefore neglected in one way and targeted in another. In this way they are similar. Their experience of negligence however varied by nation-state and disease. Dinah was South African and Cynthia and Lizette were both Peruvian. Dinah and Cynthia had children who were HIV positive. Lizette's mother had throat cancer. Dinah and Cynthia entered the TCCC in order to pay for their children's medication. Lizette's mother sold drugs in order to pay for her cancer medication and Lizette was arrested while visiting her mother's home. Marginalization by the health sector of their respective countries was an impetus to transporting or selling cocaine. Their labor subsequently made them – and, in Lizette's case, those close to them – targets for the war on drugs and incarceration.

VIII. 4. Cynthia

Cynthia represents two links of the transnational cocaine commodity chain: retail and consumption. In her narrative, we see how this chain intersects with the state. The state disappears as a safety net but reappears in the form of policing and legal enforcement. In other words, the lack of access to medical resources had an impact on her (re)entry into the cocaine chain. At the same time that the Peruvian state provided little to no medical aid for Cynthia, it did move forward in enforcing war on drug policies. Consequently, she was caught between the state and this criminalized drug market.

Cynthia and her children belonged to the group of Peruvians who fell through the cracks of the public health sector described above. Her various roles throughout her life – daughter, mother, wife, consumer of drugs, retailer of cocaine, informal worker – shaped how she experienced health and disease. At the same time they also influenced the ways in which she experienced the state as a social safety net and enforcer of war on drug policies. Neglect by Peru’s health system extended her caregiving role to that of retailer of cocaine. This then became her pathway to incarceration.

“I was raised by my grandmother with three other children. My childhood was sad because my grandmother was the sole provider; she sold fish at the market. I would go with my grandmother to sell fish; I was always with my grandmother at the market. I went to school until I was twelve years old. My father and mother separated before I was born. I lived with both my mother and grandmother but I thought that my grandmother was my biological mother. My mother remarried and left the house. When I was eight years old I went to visit her at her home and my stepfather almost raped me. My mother didn't believe me but my grandmother did. One day I was sick and stayed home. My uncle, who lived in the house with us, tried to rape me. I screamed and he threw me out of the house. I was seventeen years old. I ran away from home because I didn't want to tell my grandmother about what her son had tried to do. I thought that he would keep trying to rape me so I went to the house of my grandmother's friend who also sold fish at the market. She was away and the woman's son – who later became my husband - said that I could stay with them if I slept with him and I did. The woman came back home after about five days and said that I could live at her house. My grandmother and mother came to the house and took me back home. Life was unbearable because my uncle was there and he was always drinking. My grandmother knew about the rape attempt but she didn't throw him out of the

house. The woman's son told me to marry him - he sent me notes telling me to escape and marry him. I escaped with him but we couldn't have a civil marriage because I was under age, so we got married in the church. His family was there."

If citizenship was the driving force behind the creation of fault lines among women in Santa Monica, then gender – in its many varied forms – allowed for common experiences and ideologies. This is not to say of course that gender was the same for all women in the prison and that gender did not create differences. Rather, I am arguing that the relationships of survival among women in Santa Monica were gendered as well as racialized. Examples of this were in the common experiences of sexualization, sexual abuse, domestic violence, rape and single motherhood, all of which had significant impacts on the women's pathways to the prison. As a young girl and adolescent Cynthia was vulnerable and exposed to attempts of rape by other men. Having limited economic and educational resources, she sought to escape her situation through marriage (to a man who had previously pressured her to have sex with him). Marriage would remove her from her grandmother's home and the possibility of sexual violence in her household. Cynthia's gendered experiences shaped her options for a marriage partner. She was desperate to get out of her grandmother's house and marriage was a means to this end. What she didn't know at the time, however, was how this relationship would in turn shape her route to Santa Monica.

"My mother-in-law and my husband began to sell drugs. I didn't know what drugs were; I didn't understand what it was. When I asked, I was told to mind my own business. My husband would hit me. My mother-in-law hit me, too. Only my husband and mother in law ran the money they made from selling drugs; they drank with the money they made and had parties. I realized that my husband was consuming drugs and that's when he would hit me. When he was sober he

asked for my forgiveness. His mother would give him drugs. I had my first child when I was nineteen, a girl. I tried to kill myself; I took poison and was taken to the hospital. I had two more children with my husband, both boys. After the third child was born he started forcing me to smoke with him. I started consuming drugs and became addicted. I was pregnant then with my fourth child. My husband would threaten to leave me if I didn't smoke. Yo acepte eso y me frege sola (I accepted that I fucked myself). My fourth child, a girl, died when she was nineteen days old. I consumed even more drugs. Time passed and I neglected my children, I consumed in the house.”

Cynthia became involved in the cocaine commodity chain through her husband and mother-in-law's labor in this chain. Hers was a gendered relationship to the chain: she became a user due to pressure from her husband. She had a subordinate position in her marriage and therefore had few resources from which to draw on order to resist this pressure. For example, she lived in the home of her mother-in-law, isolated from her own support network (if she had one); she experienced physical violence from her husband and his mother; with more and more children she also became increasingly dependent on her husband financially; finally, she became addicted, which in turn isolated her even further. These dynamics shaped how she entered the cocaine market. Her connection to this chain was gendered through marriage and motherhood. It is significant that Cynthia's suicide attempt occurred after the birth of her first child. For her, this may have been the only way out of her situation. In addition she consumed more drugs after the death of her fourth child, perhaps as a way to relieve the pain. Finally, she said that she neglected her responsibilities as a mother because of her drug use. How she experienced her position in the TCCC was therefore partly influenced by her status as a mother.

“One day, when my youngest son was twelve years old, my husband sent me out to buy drugs. I bought the drugs and when I got home my husband was dead - he had had an asthma attack. That's when I woke up, like waking up from a dream. I took my husband to the hospital but he was already dead. I threw my drugs away and started crying. I took my children to the cemetery where my husband was buried and told them the truth about my drug use and promised them that we'd start a new life. I don't really know why I accepted using drugs. I started working selling cosmetics and brought my children along with me. I also worked on the highway as a cleaner.

The death of her husband was a turning point for Cynthia, she stopped consuming and her focus became taking care of her three children. One way she did this was to generate an income as an independent retailer and she sold cosmetics from door to door. In this way she was able to both earn and provide childcare for her children at the same time. She also had a second job as a public cleaner. This is another example of how Peruvian women in the Santa Monica prison on charges of drug trafficking had previously labored in the informal economy. Another way to think of this is that there are women (like Cynthia) who have been shut out of the global economy's formal (and licit) wage labor. They therefore turn to other means of generating an income in the informal and sometimes illicit sectors of the global economy. Very often, they go back and forth between formal/informal and licit/illicit.

Cynthia continues her story:

“My oldest son was in love with a girl but he got another girl pregnant. She was kicked out of her home and came to live with us. She was three months pregnant when she came to live in my home. One day she fell and went to the hospital. At the hospital, my son and the girl found out that they had AIDS. My son called me at home and he was frantic. He was crying on the floor

when I went to find him at the hospital. The baby was born prematurely and was born HIV positive. My son was eighteen years old when this happened. I thought that the diagnosis was a mistake and I took him to different clinics for more tests. All of them came back positive. I started selling drugs again in order to buy medicine for my son and his wife. I had to drink alcohol while I sold drugs because I was tempted to take them. Now the AIDS medicine is free, but not back then. My son and his wife lost weight but after I went to nutrition workshops they started eating better because of me and they got better. I drank and drank alcohol but denied that the reason for this was because I wanted to take drugs again. I never let my children sell drugs. One day, I had pains and was taken to the hospital. The doctor told me it was because my body wanted drugs. He wanted me to go to a treatment facility but I never went.”

Her position in the cocaine chain was transformed. Now she entered this chain as a retailer rather than consumer. The impetus for this was her son’s HIV-positive diagnosis. In 2009, Peru’s Ministry of Health reported 23, 446 cases of AIDS and 36,138 of HIV. But organizations such as the UNAIDS and the World Health Organization put the total number of those living with HIV/AIDS in Peru at 70,000. The Global Fund reported in 2008 that 10,610 people living with HIV/AIDS were on antiretroviral therapy. Before the Global Fund’s grant to the Peruvian government in 2003, only 700 people living with HIV/AIDS received this therapy. Peru has seen an increase in antiretroviral therapy coverage of those with advanced HIV infection – from twenty-eight percent in 2007 to thirty-seven percent in 2009 (The World Bank 2012). This was largely due to global funding administered by the Peruvian government through it’s own national health system. Unfortunately, Cynthia’s son and his girlfriend were not included in this coverage. Cynthia was also responsible for her son’s girlfriend, who had been kicked out of her own home because of gendered ideas of female propriety and sexuality. This is

an example of how the transnational cocaine commodity chain and the state intersect. The option for obtaining affordable and/or free medication for her HIV positive son and daughter-in-law was closed to Cynthia. She therefore turned to other options available to her as a low-income Peruvian woman living in Lima. This included working in the TCCC as a retailer in spite of her prior addiction and the risk to her own physical health. In Cynthia's case, this illicit and globalized chain filled the gap in Peru's public health sector. In order to purchase drugs for HIV/AIDS in the licit market, Cynthia sold other drugs in the illicit market. In addition she also took on the physical care of her son and daughter-in-law, such as cooking specialized meals. She was the primary income earner of her household and also provided the care-work of motherhood.

Cynthia continued her story: *“My sister and her husband lived next door to me. They also sold drugs. One day the police went to arrest them but they claimed that they were just consumers and that I had sold them the drugs. I was in Santa Monica for thirty-eight months. I was arrested in January of 1999 and in September of that year my son died. I went crazy and had to get psychological help. When I was released, I received the news that the baby didn't have AIDS. A few months later the baby's mother died and he was left to me. I started selling bags, food on the street, sometimes selling more than twenty things at once. I got a job as a public cleaner and had this job for eighteen months. I went to talk to my boss one day because I needed money for my daughter. I was owed four months of my salary. He refused to give me the money. I got angry and hit him. He paid me my salary but I was fired. I got another public cleaning job, this time in Rimac. My old boss found out about this job and he had me fired. Then I got another public cleaning job in Lince and was fired again for the same reason. I asked my brother in law for a loan and he suggested that I sell again so that I could raise capital for a business that I*

wanted to set up in my house. Less than two months later I was arrested. My name was given to the police by someone else who had been arrested. I was caught with nine grams.”

The accusation by Cynthia’s sister and brother-in-law and her subsequent incarceration highlights her vulnerability and precarious situation. Not much proof was needed to sentence Cynthia for selling drugs. This was one of the differences between low-level and higher-level workers in the chain. For a variety of reasons including bribery, less public exposure, and having the means to pay for others to do the work for them, higher-level workers such as managers were less likely to be arrested and sentenced in Peru. Cynthia’s location in this chain was influenced by her gender and country of citizenship. She was a female retailer in the local Peruvian drug market and did not have protection from being arrested. This not only affected Cynthia, but her family as well. Her incarceration made her unable to provide the care-work her son needed and this probably hastened his death.

After her release we note that she returned to working as an independent retailer in the informal sector and as a cleaner in the public sector. Sometimes the difference between the two sectors blur. For example, Cynthia wasn’t paid for four months in her cleaning job in a sector that supposedly provided a more stable wage than in the informal job market. Nevertheless, she continued to look for work as a public cleaner even while her previous boss sabotaged her attempts. This was the closest she could get to a stable income with an income that would support her, her daughter and grandchild. Exactly why Cynthia hit her boss was not explained to me, although given the context of her life one can see why she expressed her frustration in a physical manner. She had experienced abuse, had lost a son and struggled to make ends meet. As a woman, she wasn’t supposed to hit anyone, much less a man. Gender norms in Peruvian culture allow for male violence as a way to settle matters but this form of conflict resolution is

not available to women. As discussed in Chapter Two, idealized and limiting images of Peruvian women were created during colonialism: obedience to men, nurturing and chastity. These standards continue in some form today. Perhaps this is why Cynthia's boss was so adamant about sabotaging her future work opportunities as a public cleaner. Or perhaps the hierarchy between boss and worker had been upset with Cynthia's action and her boss sought to reaffirm the traditional relationship between employer and employee by exerting his influence over her ability to work at all. Whatever his reason, he was successful in his attempts to prevent Cynthia from working as a public cleaner, the only type of work she had labored at in the public/licit sector. After being shut out from working in the formal economy, she turned once again to the informal economy as a way to earn an income. She wanted to set up a (non-criminalized) business inside her home so that she could earn an income to her household while taking care of it at the same time. Seeing that the quickest way to this goal was to go back to selling drugs, she took the risk and was arrested shortly afterwards.

Cynthia's experiences illustrate the linkages between women's labor in Peru, the formal and informal sectors and the transnational cocaine commodity chain. As a female head of household, both the care work of motherhood as well as providing an income for her family fell on Cynthia's shoulders. She attempted to manage this constant tension by moving between formal and informal work. Wages in the informal sector may be unstable and labor may at times be risky, but this sector does provide a way for women to be with their children and earn an income at the same time.

Cynthia continues her narrative:

"Last year I was working in one of the talleres but since I got sick I was transferred to the wing for sick prisoners. I kept getting headaches and was diagnosed with a possible tumor in

my head. When my head hurts, my leg doesn't work. I hope to start my release paperwork soon.”

I ask Cynthia how she survives inside the prison. “I don't have a lot of visitors. I sell coffee on visiting days. I also just learned how to make jewelry and have been making and selling some. With that money I pay for my medicine. My son doesn't come to visit me. My daughter has her own two children and my grandson as well. She is also a single mother so she can't visit often. I tell my daughter that I am fine. My grandson is my baby and I miss him. He came to visit me and told me not to sell drugs again. I felt ashamed when he told me this.”

Santa Monica in 2008 was an overcrowded prison where privacy was almost non-existent. Women from various parts of Lima, Peru and the world were in constant contact with one another, regardless of whether they wanted to or not. Typically six or eight women slept in a room constructed for three. Room assignments were random. Prior to being put into the general population area, women were in *prevencion* for about three weeks to a month. This group of women slept together in one large room. Other points of contact – and the construction of relationships whether they were economic, work or emotional – included *talleres*, floor meetings, standing on lines for the phone, food, water, etc., getting one's nails or hair done, *topico*, the nursery (if you were a mother), religious ceremonies, workshops with psychologists and more. Relationships among women were constantly being constructed and re-constructed in this setting. These relationships of survival were largely based on how women entered the transnational cocaine commodity chain, their labor within it and how these conflicted with citizenship, gender and class inequalities. Cynthia, a low-income Peruvian single mother, labored within a niche in the chain that was risky, low-level and unstable. Consequently, her work options in Santa Monica included work that was also low-level with an unstable income. This shaped her relationships vis a vis other women in the prison such as foreign women who

received remittances from relatives in North America or Europe, or foreign women from poorer countries who depended on charity, or a middle-class Peruvian woman who could depend on visitors to bring her groceries and money (note that Cynthia stated that she didn't have a lot of visitors. By this, she meant that she did not have a source of income, medicine, groceries, etc., from someone on the outside).

She complains about topico. "There is no medicine there," she tells me. "The suffering isn't being stuck in these four walls, but feeling helpless to do anything for your children. For example, my daughter was sick and the children didn't go to school for a week. When I get out, I want to find a job that I can do from home. I am thinking about when I leave Santa Monica. My daughter works in a restaurant twelve hours a day and she earns fifty soles a week. Her husband left her when I was already inside here and my daughter wanted to kill herself. I want to sell food from her house so that I can help take care of my grandchildren." Cynthia smiles and her face brightens as she talks about her plans once she is released.

Cynthia stated earlier that she was diagnosed with a possible brain tumor. It would probably not be confirmed until she could pay for more tests as prisoners were responsible for paying for their own medical examinations. In addition, medication was not always readily available to patients in *topico*. For Cynthia, however, these issues were secondary. What concerned her as a mother and head of household was how her children and grandchildren were faring during her incarceration. One of the most frustrating experiences for women in Santa Monica was the lack of control over what was happening to their families on the outside. Separation from children was painful. As explained in the previous chapter, in many ways mothers in Santa Monica lost the right to mother their children:

Lilly (Dutch) is at the end of her sentence and is a mother of a toddler who is in the Netherlands. We are talking in the beauty salon where she works. She tells me about the difficulty of being separated from her son. "I couldn't look at a baby without bursting into tears. I almost went crazy," she tells me. "Even my friends told me to calm down and pull myself together. Now it's easier but my goal is to get to my son."

I am speaking with Sofia, who is Peruvian. She has two sons, ages nine and five. The nine year old was recently burned from his chin to his stomach and has had four operations so far. "Can you imagine how I was?" Sofia asks me.

Pamela is Peruvian and twenty-two years old. I ask her about life in Santa Monica. "Life is very hard here. The hardest part about being inside is being separated from your children and not being able to see them. My parents visit me but they don't bring my daughter, they don't want to expose her to the prison. I talk to my daughter over the phone and she always starts to cry. Sometimes you don't have anything to do except lay in bed and think and feel alone."

Nancy is Filipina and for almost two decades has worked as a nanny and nurse for elderly people in Singapore and Turkey. "I worked for nineteen years taking care of other children and didn't see my own. I left my children in the Philippines with their father. I married him when I was young because he took from me (they had sex before marriage). I've seen my children for a total of three weeks in twelve years. My oldest son has written to me asking me to return to the Philippines to take care of my younger children but I don't want to, there isn't work there. Since I've been here (in Santa Monica), the things in the house have been sold and the electricity has been cut off. But they can't take my children's education away. I always sent money back home and now that I can't send money, my children are feeling it. My daughter is sick and needs bypass surgery but she can't afford surgery. She is probably going to get married

to an American man and she is keeping her heart problems a secret from him because her last boyfriend, also American, broke up with her after she told him. I've told my daughter to tell him that her mother is in Peru with her employer. My son wrote me a letter, telling me that he doesn't know what it is have a mother but I don't pay attention to that. I put the letter away. After I leave here I want to continue working so that I can send money back home."

Lily, Sofia, Pamela and Nancy were responsible for the care-work of their children and for most of them (Lily, Sofia and Nancy were single mothers), the economic support of their children fell solely on their shoulders. Citizenship divided women in Santa Monica but motherhood cut across these differences. For example, Lily and Pamela expressed the pain of separation from their children. Lily's child was in the Netherlands and Pamela's daughter lived in Lima but despite the difference, neither woman saw their child. In addition, Sofia and Vicky exemplify the consequences of preventing the physical and economic care work of mothers through incarceration. Sofia, whose children live in Lima, could not respond to (and perhaps prevent) the severe burns suffered by her son. Although mother and son were both in Lima, she was shut out from being able to care for him. Nancy's relationship with her children was different. Remittances to her children from her transnational labor maintained her household in the Philippines. She had no qualms about not being physically present for her children. She had followed through the responsibilities of motherhood by providing an education for them. Incarceration therefore did not change the meaning of motherhood; women in Santa Monica continued to understand motherhood as they did before incarceration. What the prison did was transfer the work, emotions and burdens of motherhood onto the children themselves. Their care may have included grandparents, fathers, family members and friends, but it was ultimately the children of women in Santa Monica who "ate" the cost of incarceration. They were among the

most politically, economically and physically vulnerable. This also made them the easiest population on whom to place the costs of incarceration. Cynthia's citizenship appeared in her narrative through her attempts to acquire adequate medical care for her son, a situation that continued to leave not only her economically and socially defenseless, but her children and grandchildren as well.

VIII.5. Dinah

Dinah's narrative is about how she came to Peru and her experience in the transnational cocaine chain in Lima up to the time of her arrest. The neglect of her daughter by South Africa's health system is the context within which her labor in the cocaine chain occurred. In addition, her description of her experiences in drug trafficking speaks to what little power those at the lower levels possess. Lastly, we see how her position as a South African courier translated into an insecure economic situation for herself (as compared to some of the women in Santa Monica) that was expressed in ways that highlighted her gender and race.

“My oldest daughter was in a psychiatric hospital and she had some blood tests done when she was there. It turned out that she was HIV positive. I had just spent my savings on my home; I had just finished expanding my kitchen when I got the news about my daughter.” Expanding her kitchen was something she had wanted to do for a very long time. *“I tried to buy medicine and food for my daughter with whatever I had left over from the construction expenses but I was in crisis, I didn't have enough money.”* Her second oldest daughter tried to help by buying small things for her sister. Her youngest daughter was out of work and couldn't contribute. Her second daughter's husband (now separated or divorced) was Nigerian. *“He told me: I know that you are in crisis. He told me that he had a friend who needed luggage brought from South America to South Africa and that this friend would pay for this.”* Dinah found this

strange and asked "Why so far away?" but her son in law assured her that it was safe and she agreed to do it.

Dinah entered the transnational cocaine commodity chain as a result of the intersection of her gender, class and race. As a mother, even to adult daughters, she felt financially responsible for the care of her daughter's medical costs. The history of South Africa's system of apartheid and its consequences cannot be discounted here. One of the legacies of apartheid is that black South Africans "have a high HIV/AIDS prevalence rate" and that "black women between the ages of 15-49 years who are child-bearing age, are at the highest risk of infection" (Western Cape Government website). The Western Cape Government website states:

The history of unequal distribution of wealth in South Africa, during the times of apartheid, which deprived black people of basic human rights i.e. education, housing, jobs and access to health, may be associated with the high prevalence of HIV/AIDS. The socio-economic status of black people makes them vulnerable to infections like TB, sexually transmitted infections (STI's), and HIV/AIDS. (www.westerncape.gov)

Dinah was poor, widowed and with narrow choices of how to care for her daughter. This was a result of apartheid as well as intersecting structural oppressions:

The distinctive features of South Africa's history that account for the current health problems include racial and gender discrimination, income inequalities, migrant labour, the destruction of family life, and persistent violence spanning many centuries but consolidated by apartheid in the 20th century (Coovadia et al 2009).

Therefore Dinah's economic choices and experience with AIDS were influenced by structural oppressions that could be traced back to South Africa's history of colonialism.

Faced with financial crisis, she took an offer for work by her Nigerian son-in-law. As described earlier, many recruiters and middlemen in the TCCC that connects West Africa to South America are Nigerian nationals and Dinah's story is an example of this. She did not know that her son-in-law was involved with cocaine and was largely unaware of drug trafficking as a whole. This ignorance was manipulated by those who worked in the levels above her. The less

she knew, the more she could be controlled. In addition, her ignorance reduced the risk of arrest for those above her in the chain. Her narrative illustrates the relationship between inexperience, fear and risk. Dinah's subordinate status in South Africa was replicated and used to the fullest advantage by more powerful male workers in the chain.

"I received a letter before I left with instructions on what to do when I got to Peru. A taxi would pick me up at the airport in Lima and take me to a hotel. I was impressed at how organized this was and felt more secure about the trip. I arrived in Lima and as the letter said, there was a taxi driver waiting for me. He spoke some English and took me to the hotel. He also gave me money, saying that he was a friend of the man who sent the letter (the contact in Peru) and that he had been instructed to give me money. I stayed in the hotel for three weeks before the contact finally came to meet me in person. I had been told that I should stay in Peru for five days but it turned out to be more like three-and-a-half weeks. The contact came to my hotel room and told me to take my things out of my suitcase." She did so, not understanding what this was all about. "I told him that I needed a suitcase for my things but the man kept saying "no problem." He didn't speak English and I didn't speak Spanish so we had a hard time communicating. The man came back three days later with a small carryon bag for me. I put my clothes in there. The man told me that my hotel was too far away from where he was and that he was going to move me to a closer hotel. We went into a public taxi and drove for a long time. We stopped at another hotel. The man gave me money and told me to go inside. He said that he would see me later. I went into the hotel and the receptionist saw me and asked "South Africa?" I said yes and they took me to my room. The man returned. I found out later that he was staying at the same hotel but that he didn't want me to know. I also found out later that he is Bolivian and not Peruvian.

He came this time with the suitcase. The suitcase looked brand new; it was a very nice suitcase. The man told me to put my things in the new suitcase.”

Dinah, who had never traveled outside of South Africa, found herself in a foreign country for much longer than she had anticipated. All of her movements had been arranged by male workers in the chain – men from different countries such as Nigeria, Peru and Bolivia. As stated earlier, her ignorance was vital to the work that she was doing, particularly for those in the levels above her. The less knowledgeable she was about what was going on, the less vulnerable these men were to arrest and incarceration. Dinah’s ignorance, however, was a danger to her. Alone in a foreign country and unable to speak Spanish, she followed instructions as best she could. It was her own strategy for surviving her time in Peru.

South Africans comprise one of the largest groups of foreign women in Santa Monica and the hotel receptionist’s immediate guess of Dinah’s nationality gives us a hint as to why. Many couriers who land in Peru are South African nationals. Shaw (2002) explains why South Africa has become an important link in the transnational cocaine commodity chain: it has a large national consumer market but most importantly and there was an influx of Nigerian criminal networks in the early 1990s. These networks took over and expanded the cocaine market in South Africa and used the country as a base for international transportation. In addition, South Africa’s insertion into a global economy in the forms of “a major maritime trade, a well-developed air traffic network linking it to lucrative source and end-user drug markets and a modern infrastructure with well-developed transport, communication and financial facilities” (Jane’s Intelligence Report) has also contributed it to being a major focal point in the international traffic of cocaine. Some South African international couriers may also hold double citizenship with the European Union, thus making them less suspect to policing forces at airports

(though here race would play a role as it would be white South Africans who would most likely hold double citizenship). All of these processes of a globalized economy have helped integrate South Africa into the underside of globalization. Dinah's experience as a low-level transporter was therefore not only influenced by the intersection of her gender and race. Both of these did indeed limit her options for raising money for her daughter's medical condition. Her citizenship status also made a difference. In other words, the ways in which South Africa has become inserted into the global economy *combined with* the underside of globalization had an impact on how she entered the transnational cocaine chain and her experiences within it.

Dinah was ready to return back home and continued to follow the instructions she hoped would lead her back to her family:

“At this point I was confused because I expected to be taking something back to South Africa but the suitcase is empty. I asked about this but the man told me “no problem.” Because I couldn't speak Spanish, I couldn't ask any more questions. He told me that I would be leaving Lima the day after tomorrow.” After this man left her room, Dinah called her original taxi driver, with whom she'd become friendly. She let him know that she would be leaving Peru and arranged to have him pick her up. He already knew about her departure and came to her room asking her to not make the trip. “He told me to not leave the day after tomorrow but to leave on the original date on my ticket, which wasn't for another two or two and half weeks. I told him that I had to leave the day after tomorrow. I had gotten a call from my son in law's friend (the one who needed the luggage shipped). He told me that it was time to leave, that my family was missing me and that I'd been in Peru too long.”

“I told the taxi driver that I had to go back home, that this is what I had been told. The driver came back and gave me a new cell phone. He asked me to give him my old cell phone. At

this point I was starting to get suspicious. I gave it to him and he deleted all of the phone numbers from my phone and his.” He picked her up early on the day of her departure. “I said that it was too early but he told me that I should get something to eat first. He took me somewhere to get some food and then we went to the airport. The taxi driver said that because we were early, he would go inside and look for a friend. He told me to wait in the car until he got back. I waited in the car for a long time. He finally came back and he dropped me off at the entrance. He left so fast! When I turned around to look for him so that I could ask him to help me with my bag, he wasn’t there.”

We do not know how much this taxi driver knew regarding the transportation of cocaine, and Dinah had her own suspicions and doubts. Like many of the women in Santa Monica, she lived in a cloud of misinformation, half-truths and uncertainty during her work in the transnational cocaine commodity as well as during her incarceration. This state of confusion speaks to the powerlessness of low-level workers in this chain. In Santa Monica, the fewer resources a woman had, the less she was informed about her case by prison staff and lawyers. Finding out information about one’s case came partly from one’s lawyer but also from mobilizing resources such as bribes and friends. This lack of information was connected to her subordinate status. There was also an undercurrent of fear in her narrative. She was female and alone in a foreign country surrounded by men who spoke an unfamiliar language. It is possible that part of the anxiety she experienced came from an unspoken threat of violence. This threat was, of course, gendered in that Dinah was systematically isolated from other people, particularly women. She was also in a country with high rates of domestic violence. This is an example of how structures, or axes, of oppression come to intersect with the transnational cocaine commodity chain. This type of gendered oppression – such as the implicit threat of

violence – is something on which this chain depends on in order to continue controlling low-level female workers.

Dinah continued her story:

“I checked in and just as my bag was going onto the belt, two women showed up and asked if I was from South Africa. I said yes and they checked my luggage. They didn’t find anything and were letting me go when a policeman showed up running and yelling, “Wait! Don't let her go!” He said that he was familiar with that kind of luggage. He took me to a room and took out my things from the luggage. He put my things on the floor.” Dinah protested, asking him to please put her possessions onto the bench instead. He took a hammer and a rod and opened the seams of the luggage. She protested again because, “He was ruining this brand new luggage. A Black American officer tried to calm me down because now I was very upset and I was crying. He said to me: “You South African girls don't learn. It was a Nigerian man who sent you here, wasn't it? You don't learn not to listen to the Nigerian men.” They found two kilos in my luggage. The Black officer told me that I was in trouble. I was put in handcuffs even though I begged to please not be put in handcuffs and I was arrested.”

A few things stand out in this portion of her narrative. First, her low status in the transnational drug market made her vulnerable to arrest unlike the male workers she encountered during her first few weeks in Lima. These upper level workers were able to disappear into the background as Dinah took the fall for their illegal transaction. Because she did not matter in this illicit chain, she also did not matter to the police and this may partly explain why she and her possessions were treated with disregard. Secondly, the Black American officer she spoke of was most likely a DEA agent as they would be the only American officers in the Lima international airport. This is an example of the exportation of the war on drugs to countries such as Peru. His

condescending manner to her – he calls her “girl” even though she is over sixty years old – occurred through sexist language and a lecture on the pitfalls of “listening to the Nigerian men.” His lecture to her was also an example of the gendered recruitment of drug couriers from South Africa. As mentioned earlier, many of the European, Asian and African women in Santa Monica were in one way or another connected to Nigerian men and were recruited by them. Lastly, everything seemed to come to a climax at this point, such as the intersection of the transnational cocaine commodity chain with the Peruvian state and war on drugs enforcement institutions. Drug traffickers attempted to use Dinah to transport cocaine back to South Africa. Her capture, however, also ensured the continued existence of networks within the chain. Nothing was lost except the two kilos. It was costly but her ignorance of the networks and transactions worked to the benefit of upper-level members. Besides, there would always be someone willing to take the risk of transporting cocaine.

I speak with Dinah about life inside Santa Monica: “I worked in the nursery until very recently because it was time for the new group of nursery workers to work there. I was only supposed to work there six months but ended up staying for nine months. I was happy to be done with my work in the nursery because it was hard work. One thing that I liked about the nursery taller is that there is no fee for working there; it’s not like the other talleres where you have to pay twenty-two soles per month. My family can’t send me any money so I can’t afford the monthly fee. I earn twenty or thirty soles every month babysitting a baby girl. Her mother works in the nursery kitchen. I’ve become attached to the baby because I’ve been taking care of her since she was three months old and the baby is now nine months. My daughters don’t send me any money even though the youngest has given up her house in order to take care of my house. I take medicine for my blood pressure and my daughter sent me a box of the medicine I need but it

is held up in the front (office).” Dinah asked the prison director about getting her package and the director told her that she has to speak to another staff person tomorrow. “But tomorrow is visiting day -how am I supposed to talk to her on visiting day? This is how they play with you here.” Typically, administrative dealings between the women and the staff don’t occur on visiting days. “After my expenses for my medication and calling my daughters in South Africa, I am left with one sol, just enough to buy toilet paper. I am thinking about calling my pastor back home and asking him to send me enough for a few soles. Other South African women, especially the white ones, have more support; they receive money from their families. I have arthritis and I can’t wash my own clothes because of the cold water. I give my laundry to a woman to do it for me and now I owe her ninety soles.”

Dinah’s narrative illustrates the various relationships of survival that were formed among women in Santa Monica. These were based on labor, debt or differential access to resources. Dinah earned an income by providing childcare for another woman. This woman was Peruvian and worked all day in the nursery, cooking the meals the children would eat. Although Dinah was an *extranjera*, her limited resources forced her to look for ways to generate an income, however modest. These limitations were defined by the inability of her family “back home” to send her money. As discussed earlier, remittances from family members were the main source of income for *extranjeras*. Those that did not receive money from relatives were in even more precarious financial situations than many Peruvian women, who perhaps had at least one family member to visit them and bring along goods. Dinah’s story is also an example of how incarceration was mediated by race. She noted that unlike herself, a Black South African, white South Africans in Santa Monica had more financial support from family members. This speaks to globalized racial hierarchies and how they are related to access to resources. Harrison (2002)

notes that there is an economic basis to the global racial hierarchy and this hierarchy intersects with class exploitation. We see this in Dinah's experiences inside Santa Monica. Her poverty was directly linked to her race. The intersection of her race, gender and citizenship positioned her in the lower rungs of the transnational cocaine commodity chain. Her position as a low level transporter of cocaine had an effect on her relationships of survival with other women in the prison. In one relationship, she was a worker; in another, she was a debtor; in yet another she was an impoverished compatriot. All three of these relationships were based on citizenship and at the same time influenced by racial hierarchies and her position at the bottom of this hierarchy.

Dinah's goal was to serve her sentence and return home as quickly as possible. Her daughter's health was worsening. She was released before her daughter's death but according to Peruvian law, she had to wait for permission to leave the country. This permission did not arrive in time and Dinah's daughter died while her mother was still in Peru. After weeks of raising money for airfare from her church communities in South Africa and Peru, she quietly left Peru without the official permission. She wanted to arrive home in time to attend her daughter's memorial. She had entered the cocaine chain in order to provide for her daughter's medical care. Ironically, it had pushed her even further away from her family and this goal.

VIII.6. Lizette

Lizette's story is another example of crimes of survival as a consequence of neglect. The effects of this reverberate beyond the person who participates in criminalized labor to daughters, sons, and other family members. The transnational cocaine commodity chain works in tandem with the state, in this case the prison and Peru's criminal justice system. As this chain recruits low-level workers, it disposes of them as well. One way to "shed" these workers is to have them imprisoned. Consequently, the prison, police officers and court system make up an entire state

apparatus that is dedicated to punishing drug trafficking crimes. They work together to move Peruvian women back and forth between the licit and illicit. But it is Peru's neglect of those who are severely ill and without means to pay for medication that leads some to work in the cocaine chain in the first place.

"I didn't know my father. He died when I was an infant; he was run over by a car. I had a stepfather and had other brothers and sisters. I had a life that I didn't want and the saddest thing about it is that I can't do anything to change it. I had an operation at the age of seventeen that marked me for life. My uterus was removed. I can't have any children, something that I want very much. What I want most in the world is to have a baby. I lived normally after my operation. I had a boyfriend but I left him because he was a mama's boy. After that I had another boyfriend, my current husband. He still comes to visit me here. My mother sold drugs from her home and I knew this but I still went to visit her. I had my own home and lived separately from my mother. She has terminal cancer and was selling drugs in order to pay for the medication. I am in prison for my mother. The police came to my mother's house one night and arrested me, my mother, husband, and brother. The police broke into the house and didn't find any drugs. Although my mother sold drugs, there weren't any in the house at the time. The police planted them. My husband and my brother were going to Lurigancho. My mother and I went to Santa Monica. I didn't want my mother, husband and brother to go to prison. I knew it was my mother's fault but she was sick and I didn't want her to go to prison. I said that the drugs were mine but she was imprisoned anyway. The saddest thing is being in prison with your mother. I told the judge: If you want someone to take the blame then I'll take the blame. The police bullied me. They told me that if I didn't sign the confession my mother, husband and brother would go to prison. I signed

the confession. My husband and brother weren't involved in selling drugs and I couldn't bear to see them in prison. I'd heard how horrible Lurigancho is."

In this case Lizette said that it was her mother who worked in the retail of cocaine. As noted earlier, although this chain crosses national borders, it is also localized at various points. This includes the Peruvian market for consumption. Workers in these local markets are the least paid and among the most disposable. This is how Lizette and her mother came into it. Although Lizette didn't actually work for the chain, the police's accusation and her subsequent confession secured her a place there. We can also see the role of the Peruvian state in moving Lizette's mother *into* this chain – with no access to adequate medical care for her cancer she sold drugs in order to generate an income for her medication. (I met Lizette's mother one day, she had a large lump protruding from her neck and spoke in a hoarse voice.) At the time of my fieldwork, Peru's SIS health program only covered the diagnosis of cancer and not treatment. It was announced in July 2012 that SIS would expand its coverage to treatment and medication (Andina 2012) but implementation of this policy faces financial obstacles as well as low numbers of licensed oncologists in Peru: only 202 (El Comercio 2012). Eighty percent of those diagnosed with cancer are already in the advanced stages of the disease and only thirty percent are cured (El Comercio 2012). Cancer patients have therefore been neglected by the Peruvian state. This affected not only Lizette's mother but Lizette herself, her husband and brother. The police arrested everyone in the house regardless of whether there were any drugs actually found there. Their abuse of state power led to Lizette's confession. Although she hoped that she would be the only one to serve time in prison for the drugs, her mother was sent to Santa Monica anyway. A word about her status as a woman who could not physically give birth to children: she mentioned her condition early on in our interview which was indicative of how much this shaped her sense

of self. Because she considered herself different from other women, she provided a kind of “outsider” critique of the prison and the women there.

"Aca es el infierno (This is hell)," she tells me. "People sleep on the floor and the food here, not even the cat eats it. You can't give your opinion. If you do, you get transferred or sent to calabozo. You get treated like a criminal here, you come to pay for your crime but they treat you badly in the topico. They don't treat the foreign women the same as the Peruvian women in the topico - the foreign women get better treatment. This is because they give presents to the staff. The other day my mother was spitting out blood and I went to the topico to get help for her. "What do you want me to do?" I was told by the staff person, "You have to wait until 9:30, when the topico opens." When the press comes, they are only shown the outside and they talk only to the foreign women. The foreign women spend less time in the prison and they get treated better here. If someone heard us right now I'd get an informe (write up). I'd be transferred. I've wanted to say that things here are unfair."

Lizette's narrative illustrates how citizenship contributed to inequality in Santa Monica. Foreign women, who worked as international transporters of cocaine and those who were citizens of high-income countries, had more access to resources than women who had worked as local transporters and distributors in Peru. These resources were sometimes turned into bribes in the form of money, gifts, food for the guards and other prison staff. These bribes provided for some of the privileges that Lizette noted. She also drew attention to the repression of criticism of the prison and staff. Public critiques were not tolerated inside Santa Monica and could result in being “written-up” or even worse, transferred elsewhere. Because Santa Monica was the only female prison in Lima at that time, this meant that a female prisoner could expect to be transferred to a prison outside of Lima. Foreign women were less likely to be transferred to one

of these prisons because their embassies tried to prevent these transfers as it made it more difficult for embassy staff to conduct their required visits. Peruvian women perceived this as another example of the privilege of foreign women. However, because foreign women were thought to have more money than Peruvians they were also overcharged for items or services or charged for things that would be free for Peruvian women:

I am sitting with Cathy (American). A white South African woman walks up to Cathy and tells her that she is collecting money for Suzette, a colored South African prisoner in Santa Monica. Suzette has stomach pains and needs to go to the hospital. The prison staff won't take her unless she pays for the gas for the prison's ambulance. Friends are pooling their money together in order to pay for gas.

Regardless of race, European, South African and North American women were viewed as one group, and a privileged one at that. The prison took advantage of their foreign status. Just like the transnational cocaine commodity chain benefitted from the prison, Santa Monica also benefited from the incarceration of women who had worked trafficking drugs. Women, especially foreigners, became sources of income for the prison and certain costs (such as gasoline) could be passed on to them.

Lizette continued:

"Before coming here I was a professional. I studied nursing, cosmetology and secretarial studies. When I got married I continued working. My job before coming here was as a hotel administrator. My husband is a taxi driver. I liked working, having my own money. I don't like parties; I don't drink and I prefer to be at home. I've seen how sad and hard it is inside here. There is no rehabilitation in the prison. You have to pay for everything. I make stuffed animals in the taller. I learned how to knit and sew inside. I also made purses but left that taller. I make

stuffed animals and sell them and use that money to buy food for my mother and me. I pay for the taller as well as for the cleaning and other expenses in the prison. My husband brings me things but I can't ask for much because as a taxi driver he doesn't make a lot of money. He brings me change. I have to find other jobs to add to that because money doesn't last in here. It costs about twenty soles a day to survive here. A plate of food costs seven or eight soles. You have to survive in here."

Lizette's work as a hotel administrator presumably left her without an economic reason to work in the drug chain. This resembled Connie's situation, whose work in an export company provided some financial stability for her and her children. In the case of both women, it was their mother or/mother-in-law who was selling drugs in the local market. This perhaps says something about the status of older women in Peru, women who are past the age for employment in the "formal" market, who have very little security from the public sector and who may rely on adult children for financial security. Clark and Laurie (2000) state that in Peru "elderly women are often more vulnerable than elderly men to economic instability in old age, due to their comparatively limited access to education and employment earlier in life" (81). Factors that contribute to more elderly men than women collecting pensions are: much of the work that women do is in the informal sector: women's working lives are interrupted by having and taking care of children; and "women are more like than men to get non-monetary payment for their work" (Clark and Laurie 2000: 82). What results is that "many Peruvian women rely on their husbands' pensions, or an alternative method of survival" (Clark and Laurie 2000: 82). A 2003 World Bank report states that single elderly women in Peru have a poverty rate of sixty-nine percent (8) while elderly couples have a poverty rate of fifty-three percent (8). Their precarious economic positions may lead low-income/poor older or elderly women into labor in the illicit

economy. Discarded from the industrial, service, informal and agricultural sectors in the Peruvian economy, they may sell their labor to the transnational cocaine commodity chain.

Compared to some of the foreign prisoners who worked in this chain, Lizette had narrow access to outside resources for income. Her experience of incarceration was also shaped by gender. For example, although Lizette was married and her husband came to visit her, he could not give her enough money to support her and her mother. In addition, labor in Santa Monica was feminized –she knitted, made stuffed animals and purses. Because she was in prison with a sick mother, she had to make enough money to support two people. In this way she continued to fulfill the role of a “good daughter.” Her description of life in Santa Monica – specifically how women in the prison behaved towards one another – also exemplified how life in this prison was gendered:

“I haven’t seen a psychologist yet. I hear what my compañeras (companions) - they are my compañeras because there are no amigas (friends) in the prison - say about their psychologist sessions and I don't like it. Rather than giving advice, they tell you "Why did you put up with it?"; "Why didn't you find another way to make money?" The psychologists here don't help you. There are women here who have been inside five, six times. The women here talk about each other behind their backs. The guards have their favorites. The women tell on one another. If my husband brings me a little more than what I need and someone else is in need then I will give that little extra, but that doesn't happen here. There are no favors here, everyone demand to be paid. For example, I took the table out for two foreign women I know and didn't ask for any money. But someone else would have asked to be paid. If they have a plate of food and then they get tired of eating it, they will give you the leftovers. But they won't share the food with you from the beginning. There is a lot of selfishness here, there's no community and the

women talk badly about you; they answer you in a bad way. They say things like: Who does she think she is? You're not treated with respect. You can't say please or excuse me or sorry in here. If you say those things, they will make fun of you. "No hay compañerismo." There's no solidarity. Here the women dedicate themselves to being well dressed and made up but inside they are rotten. The word friend doesn't exist here."

Lizette's description of a lack of solidarity and general friendlessness among prisoners was an example of how relationships of survival play out in a gendered way in Santa Monica. In other words, in a setting where women had to provide almost everything for themselves during their incarceration (and for many, provide for their children at the same time), the idea of female solidarity, "sisterhood" and close female friendships broke down. There was too much competition to make a sol. Resources and access to them largely mediated relationships among women in the prison. Lizette's comment about the emphasis on being "well dressed and made up" was also an example of the gendered nature of life in the prison. Practices dedicated to one's physical appearance were common. For example, women getting pedicures, tweezing their eyebrows or braiding their hair were daily sights in the main patio. There was also a beauty salon in the prison staffed by women who had taken courses in cosmetology at Santa Monica. They earned an income by working there. In addition, some worked outside in the patios or dorm buildings, doing hair, giving pedicures or manicures. This was another way to earn an income.

VIII. 7. Psychologists

How prisoners related to their psychologists illustrates the relationships of inequality that existed among women in Santa Monica. Foreign and Peruvian women related to prison psychologists in different ways. All prisoners had to undergo scheduled sessions with psychologists as they served their sentences. The prison emphasized psychological reasons for

female criminality. Each woman could help herself become a better person, mother or wife if she worked at it. The goal was to change one's personality for the better during incarceration. Lizette was critical of this approach and this observation explains her belief that rehabilitation did not occur in Santa Monica. Most important about the role of psychologists in the prison was that each prisoner was required to have a report from her psychologist before she was allowed to leave. A prisoner attempting to gather her "papers" in preparation for release had to receive a positive report, which was included in her file. A negative report might have extended her sentence. Therefore the practice among women in Santa Monica, particularly the foreign ones, was to give the psychologist what she wanted. Foreigners were especially critical of the psychologists in Santa Monica and talked about the pressure to tell them what they expected to hear:

Patti (Spanish) walks over to our group. She brings us some coffee. She is starting her release paperwork and complains about the psychologist from whom she needed an evaluation. At an earlier meeting the psychologist had said that Patti was manipulative. "I tried to argue against this but the psychologist questioned me as to why I was trying to justify that I wasn't manipulative. The psychologist wanted me think about with whom I'm manipulative. But aren't we all different things at different times? And being in prison also has an effect on our personality. The psychologist just wants to hear me say that I am manipulative. I'll say what she wants to hear but I will put it in my own words. I want a good evaluation from the psychologist even though what she is doing with me is manipulative."

The work of pulling together one's file for release was stressful and obtaining evaluations from one's psychologist added to this stress. Foreign women did not think much of the meetings with their psychologists:

Libby (Dutch) is stressed out because she has started her release paperwork. "It is a lot of running around – getting paperwork from different staff, especially the reports from the psychologist and the social worker." She criticizes the psychological evaluations. "They ask you: Have you learned your lesson? Have you been a good girl?" she mimics the psychologists in a mocking voice. "Before starting my paperwork I was calm but now I am more anxious."

Although the prison emphasized a psychological approach to rehabilitation, foreign women viewed this as just another step in ultimately getting their freedom. The goal was to “play” expected roles in front of the psychologist – that of a prisoner who learned her lesson, who was reflexive about her faults and who adhered to the proper ideas of femininity:

I go with Glenda to her therapy session as a translator. Glenda is white, South African and butch. The psychologist asks Glenda a long list of questions:

"Do you have any scars on your arms? Have you had any operations? Have you worked in a taller? Have you lost weight?" The psychologist had previously told Glenda that she needed to lose weight.

"Yes," answers Glenda. "I've lost weight by playing basketball." The psychologist says that she is going to weigh Glenda at a later date.

The questions continue: "Have you ever used drugs?" The answer is no. "Do you smoke?" Glenda says yes. The psychologist tells her jokingly that if she sees Glenda smoking she'll revoke her release paperwork.

"Have you ever had a boyfriend?" No is the response.

The psychologist says, "Really, not even once in high school?"

"No," answers Glenda again.

"Crush on a boy?"

“No.”

“Do you plan to get married and have children?”

Glenda answers, “I can’t have children because of an operation I had when I was nine years old.”

The psychologist also asks Glenda how she ended up in prison and Glenda tells her the story. She had been in Peru for a week and a half. She had come to Peru with a group of people. When they were getting ready to leave the country, someone in the group asked her to take two jackets for him since she had room in her luggage. She packed one jacket and wore the other. She didn’t know that there were drugs inside the jackets. The psychologist asks a lot of questions about her arrest - where she was, why was she leaving Peru after only a week and a half (Glenda says that she’d gotten pneumonia and wanted to go home). It appears that the psychologist is trying to trip Glenda up.

After the interview she gives Glenda a long questionnaire where she has to circle “yes” or “no” to questions about her personality. She answers each question according to what she thinks the psychologist wants to hear. It is unclear how much of what she said in the session is true or not. Glenda had warned me beforehand that she’d be lying.

Although North American and European women in Santa Monica held the meetings with psychologists in disdain, some of the Peruvian prisoners found value in them.

Helena is Afro-Peruvian and has been inside for twenty-three months. She is in prison for consumption of drugs. “I see myself as being rehabilitated in the prison. I have been clean for two years now,” she tells me. “I go to counseling for my addiction and through my work with my psychologist I now have self-esteem.”

Peruvians and those from neighboring countries such as Bolivia experienced the power dynamics between psychologist and prisoner in a differently from foreigners. The latter looked down on the process and at times, on the psychologists themselves. Those who had the money sometimes used bribes to get what they needed from the prison psychologists. Peruvians viewed psychologists as educated professionals and therefore belonging to a higher class. But women from North America and Europe in particular saw them as belonging to a general class beneath them, one that was shaped by Peru's location in the global political economy. In other words, it didn't matter that the psychologists in Santa Monica were well-educated professionals. To the foreigners they were still Peruvian and therefore subject to disdain, criticism and most of all, manipulation.

Violet (Belgian) and complains about the poor education of Peruvians. She continues by criticizing the psychologists. "They are using antiquated methods," she says. "For example, I was asked to draw a man and based on the drawing the psychologist would write up a profile on me. If I draw a man and color him purple and black, then I have a dark personality but if I put in a blue sky, a dog, green grass, etc. then I am a good girl. I didn't understand why I had to do the drawing and I just sat there and stared at my psychologist."

Citizenship and class shaped these power-laden relationships between psychologists and prisoners in Santa Monica. Both foreign and Peruvian women were aware of these power dynamics but Peruvian women experienced these relationships in differently. For example:

I observe a workshop run by the prison's psychologists. It is held in the auditorium and the room is full. The audience is mainly Peruvian. A psychologist talks about self-esteem and the signs of having a passive personality. The workshop is about interpersonal communication skills. Most of it is lecture style with audience members commenting every now and then. Towards the

end there is group work and role-playing exercises. Women have to act out the personality types that the psychologist has discussed. The audience has fun with this. The women sitting in the back of the auditorium where I sit are less attentive to the lecture and chat among themselves. A woman sitting next to me tells me that the themes of the workshop will be reviewed in her individual session with her psychologist. This explains the high attendance. "The psychologist's report is very important for freedom," she says, it weighs heavily on whether or not a woman is released.

Because of the pressure to receive a positive report from one's psychologist, women attended workshops that they knew would come up in their individual sessions. There was little to no room to negotiate with psychologists or go against their orders. The women in this workshop were a captive audience within a captive population. Psychologists could also exert maternalistic power over individual Peruvian women onica. Kindness and affection between a psychologist and her patient cloaked the unequal relationship between professional and prisoner:

Inez talks about her psychologist: "My psychologist was worried because she was being transferred to Huanuco and has two young children, an infant, and a preschooler. She was worried about finding good childcare for her children. We were both talking about our children and we ended up crying together. She told me that if I weren't in the prison, she would take me with her to Huanuco as her nanny. I wish for that, too."

Because psychologists had the administrative power to write *informes* (negative write-ups) they had a direct effect on a woman's sentence. The examples below show how this administrative power was used to regulate relationships among prisoners.

Martina and Maria tell me they have to pay for the cleanup of their floors.

"What happens if you don't pay?" I ask.

“The women look at you wrong,” Martina responded. “The other women go complaining to the psychologist and the social worker and tell on you.”

“Then you may get a bad informe,” added Viviana.

An *informe* had detrimental effects on a woman’s sentence. Her time in Santa Monica could be extended; she could be transferred or denied visitation rights.

There is an argument about gossiping. I am sitting with Melissa and Viviana when a woman sits down at the table next to us. Her voice gets loud so we turn to see what is going on. “I am going to get a complaint written against you,” she is telling another woman. “You are always talking about me behind my back. I am going to tell the psychologist.”

Donna talks about the psychologists: “If you have an argument, you’re sent to the psychologist. She’ll believe whoever gets to her first and the other woman gets an informe, it’s unfair. The psychologist should call both women together. If you have an informe you might get more time added to your sentence.”

These examples demonstrate the power psychologists had over the women in Santa Monica, particularly Peruvian women, as they were generally more limited in resources than the *extranjeras*. The roles of the psychologists had an effect on how women in Santa Monica related to one another in their everyday lives. Most foreigners related to the psychologists through manipulation and bribes. However, when a she was without remittances from her home country this relationship changed and she clearly felt her unequal status vis a vis the psychologist.

Elena (Bolivian) is crying as she tells me, “My psychologist loaned me fifty soles and is demanding it back, one way or another. The psychologist isn’t allowed to loan money to anyone here. I was expecting to get money from Spain but it hasn’t come in and I don’t know where I am going to get the money.”

From the point of view of women in Santa Monica, psychologists were important to the length of time a woman spent there. As prisoners put together their release papers, the final report from the psychologist was vital. In addition, a psychological report had consequences for how long a woman remained in Santa Monica. But women responded to the role of the psychologist in different ways and this largely depended on citizenship. Foreign women, especially those from wealthier countries, depended on strategies of manipulation including bribery, while Peruvian women had less power to avoid the demands and punishments laid out by psychologists.

VIII. 8. Conclusion

The stories of Dinah, Cynthia and Lizette are examples of crimes of survival as a result of neglect by health systems of individual nation-states. These national health systems are situated within a global political economy that in the last thirty years has stressed neoliberal approaches to the public health sector such as privatization, cuts in government spending and the opening of free markets. Global institutions have largely focused on particular diseases rather than building infrastructure. In addition, the recent global financial crisis has led to austerity measures that have affected the health sector of individual nation-states. The results of these processes have varied from country to country and have also been uneven. One major consequence of these processes however is that of neglect. Marginalized groups have been ignored by national health systems and this has led some to turn to criminalized work as a way to pay for medical care. For certain poor women of the global South this may mean extending their care-work to include drug trafficking in order to provide health care and medication for their children.

Dinah was South African and Cynthia and Lizette were Peruvian. Both of these nations have been listed as “emerging markets” and “middle-income countries.” That is, they do not rank

among the world's poorest nations and in fact have growing economies. But the gap between the rich and poor in both South Africa and Peru is vast. In addition both countries are less economically and politically powerful than those in the global North and are more vulnerable to global economic shifts and global governance institutions and depend on trade with wealthier nations. These factors have an effect on the health systems of both nations. These health care institutions are also affected by local ideologies around race and gender. Dinah, Cynthia and Lizette fell through this gap between the rich and poor in their respective countries. This neglect was also racialized and gendered. Dinah was Black and Cynthia and Lizette were *mestiza*, therefore making them members of subordinate racial groups. As mothers, Dinah and Cynthia were expected to take on the care work of their children financially, physically and emotionally. Both were also widows and therefore solely responsible for their children. When faced with a health crisis – the need for HIV medication that was not provided to them by the state - they made the choice to take on criminalized work. Cynthia returned to the transnational cocaine commodity chain as a retailer rather than consumer. Dinah unwittingly entered the chain as a transporter of cocaine. Lizette was accused of selling cocaine and this was also shaped by gender – her role as daughter to a terminally ill mother led to her arrest and incarceration. We saw that Lizette's mother sold drugs in order to pay for her cancer medication. Lizette took the blame for her ill mother in hope that her mother would be released. Cynthia and Dina were directly neglected by the state with regards to health through the intersections of citizenship, class, race and gender. For Lizette, this neglect was indirect. But it was also through these same intersections that all three women were targeted by the state's policing and militarized forces for arrest and incarceration.

Structural inequalities were reproduced inside Santa Monica. All three women struggled to earn an income while they served their sentences. Dinah's poverty in her home country was reflected inside the prison. She took on the feminized work of childcare in order to earn an income for herself. Compared to the white South Africans in Santa Monica, Dinah received no money from family back home. This points to the racialized hierarchy that exists in South Africa, one that was reproduced inside this Peruvian prison. Cynthia and Lizette both belonged to the non-white population and as such belonged to the lower classes of Peru. As in other countries, class is raced in Peru. The majority of Peru's poor and working poor are made up of the country's indigenous, Black and mixed population. There are differences however. Lizette worked in the formal sector before her arrest and earned a dependable income. Cynthia migrated between the informal, formal and illicit sectors depending on the options available to her for work and childcare. In addition, Lizette had no dependents while Cynthia was the head of a household that included her children and grandchildren. Gender and class positioned Cynthia and Lizette differently vis a vis the transnational cocaine commodity chain in spite of their similar ethnic background. Inside the prison, these inequalities were refashioned to shape their access to resources. Dinah struggled financially as a foreigner and her family's own poverty prevented them from sending her money. In addition, her age limited her work options. Cynthia worked in the prison's informal economy as her own health problems prevented her from working in any of the formal *talleres*. Lizette did work in a *taller* and her husband was another source of income. But inside Santa Monica she became responsible not only for own access to resources but for her mother's as well. This put a strain on her income. Privilege and oppression realigned themselves in different ways inside this penal institution. Dinah, Cynthia and Lizette manipulated these realignments in order to survive their incarceration.

This flux of structural inequalities also came to surface within the context of health and disease inside the prison. Some women had more access to health resources than others and this largely depended on citizenship. Women from wealthier nations had the money to buy medication and to bribe medical staff. At the same time, prison staff targeted these women as sources of income for prison expenses such as gasoline for the ambulance. Citizenship and class intersected to influence unequal relationships between prisoners and prison psychologists. Foreigners largely disregarded these psychologists and saw them as a means to an end: leaving the prison. Peruvians however were more aware of the class distinction between themselves and this group of “professionals.” They were more likely to take their advice. Psychologists in Santa Monica had power in several ways – they wrote a report that influenced the release of a prisoner and they wrote *informes* on prisoners. All prisoners, whether foreign or not, were aware of this power. They reacted by behaving in ways that they thought the psychologists would approve of and by using them as a threat to keep others in line.

IX.

CONCLUSION

IX.1. (Final) Conversations

Jean, Black South African, stops by to say hello while I sit with Gloria, who is Bolivian. Gloria says after Jean has left: *"That's my hair, I'd know it anywhere. I sold my hair to the salon here, I had long hair when I came to the prison."*

Inez is Peruvian and talks to me about making money in Santa Monica: *"Mothers here often send what they earn to their children outside. These women will knit all day and make hats and belts. They give the merchandise to their families when they come on visiting day. Then their families will sell them and they may keep the money, or give some of it to the woman inside."*

I sit with Nelly and Jenny (who are from North America and Western Europe) for a while and watch them play Yahtzee. Nelly says, *"Steph must think we're losers because this is all we do."*

Nita is Malaysian. She she's been in Santa Monica for about a month now. I can tell that she is new because she is still wearing flip-flops and has no socks on. It's late fall and the weather has cooled significantly by now. Most of the women in the prison are wearing shoes with socks. Nita has three children - ages nineteen, eighteen and five. *"It's the five year old I worry about the most,"* she says. She wears the same clothes every day because the police took her luggage, including her shoes, and she doesn't have money to buy clothes.

We see in Inez's comment that the expectations of motherhood were reproduced inside the prison as Peruvian women continued to take care of their children even while incarcerated.

Furthermore, they did this through feminized labor. If we contrast Nita's account with that of Nelly's and Jenny's, we note that transnational economic inequalities were reflected inside Santa Monica. Nelly's statement that "this is all we do" demonstrated her economic privilege. Neither she nor Jenny needed to work as they received American dollars and Euros from family back home. Thus they found other ways to pass the time inside. Nita, on the other hand, came from a poorer country and struggled to find a way to purchase shoes and socks. Although Nelly, Jenny and Nita were all foreigners in Santa Monica, the location of their countries of citizenship within the global political economy made a difference in terms of access to resources. In this prison citizenship emerged as the most influential determinant of who got what and when.

The conversations above exemplify my thesis. Life inside Santa Monica was determined by the interaction of citizenship, race, class and gender. They intersected in much the same way they did outside the prison. This penal institution was a microcosm of life in Peru. It not only *mirrored* but it also *magnified* the structural inequalities that existed beyond its walls. These categories may have been less obvious outside but as historical and ethnographic evidence show they were intensified in Santa Monica and appeared to be the strongest factors at work in shaping daily life for incarcerated women.

What I have tried to do in this project is to take two global realities – the transnational cocaine commodity chain and incarceration - and study it in a small setting in order to understand the aftereffects they are creating. As I noted in Chapter Four, there exists a symbiotic relationship between the prison and cocaine. Imprisoning women serves only those who are already powerful and wealthy such as high-level traffickers, police and military officials. It wreaks havoc on prisoners' lives and those of their families to whom they are very much tied to even while they serve their sentences. Their children bear the brunt of all this and become

casualties of Peru's penal response to criminality. The state is re-creating a new generation of marginalized citizens. The informal economy of the prison functioned as a survival strategy for prisoners and it occupied the gray area between the licit and illicit. They participated in its expansion through bargaining for goods and services with one another. This market began inside Santa Monica, with the women themselves, and extended beyond the prison. Imprisoned women were therefore reproducing the illicit side of global capitalism and positioning it as an important source of income and goods not just for themselves but also for their families. The irony here is that the Peruvian government incarcerated them for participating in similar networks, the only difference being that these webs revolved around the trafficking of cocaine. Therefore, one of the consequences of the criminalization of cocaine is the continuation of the same economic circumstances prisoners faced before arrest. This time it just happens in a different setting. And because Santa Monica provided little to no financial relief, many women turned to informal economic connections for help. The prison thus reinforced the same economic conditions that existed outside its walls.

In addition to being reproduced, the stratification system inside Santa Monica was also sometimes reorganized. For example, because Nita's family was so far away, she did not have the access to resources (such as a family network) that even poor Peruvian women had in the prison. Nita was a foreigner, a status in the prison that usually implied greater access to resources. But her economic position was more precarious than that of many Peruvian prisoners. Gloria, a Bolivian mestiza, sold her hair to the prison salon in order to make some money that would help her survive her time inside. The hair was made into a weave and bought by a Black South African woman. Both however represented the general female prison population in Peru – they were non-white and as transporters of cocaine, they were low-level workers. Thus, women

created racial hierarchies within hierarchies of labor inside the prison. But although they might have tried to reorganize the structural ranking inside the prison, this was limited by the same social categories that shaped their pathways into the cocaine market. They faced the realities of their confinement by mostly working *within* Santa Monica's hierarchical structure rather than *against* it.

Peru's history supports the thesis of this text. For example, women have been punished in gender specific ways for failing to obey patriarchal social norms. In addition, the country's status system has resulted in poor and non-white women to be more stigmatized than their wealthier and white peers. Its entrenched and vastly inequitable economic hierarchy has left a large number of them cut off from income-earning possibilities in the formal sector that would sustain them and their families. Some of these women therefore enter criminalized work. At the same time, the country's cocaine economy has been a boon to various state institutions, including its carceral complex. It has become politically and financially profitable to imprison women who carry on the risky and subordinate work of smuggling and selling cocaine. A stratified society has re-encountered a flexible and lucrative cocaine chain. This drug has long been part of this nation's history. But what we are seeing now is a unique convergence of the war on drugs, neoliberal strategies for economic growth and the growing importance of Peru as a site for trafficking and not just producing cocaine. It is at this point that the female prison emerges as a site for the reproduction of inequalities at an escalating pace.

IX.2. Significance

This project is significant in several ways. First, the working model of intersectionality introduced in Chapter One clarifies interactions inside Santa Monica and is a framework for

understanding how diverse oppressions are produced and reproduced in this particular site. This model is a result of previous research that has emphasized the inclusion of various structural inequalities when studying women in prison. For example, Bloom's work (1996) on the "compounding effects of race, class, and gender inequality as factors in women's rising imprisonment" (190) used an intersectional method that revealed the "triple marginalization" (191) experienced by incarcerated women of color. In addition, Owen's (1998) assertion that the culture of the prison "is mediated by structural forces," especially patriarchy, continued the emphasis on a multi-faceted approach to female confinement. Sudbury (2005) also advocated for the use of intersectionality when writing on this topic through her call for an end to a "unidimensional analyses that provide *either* a race-bases *or* a gendered *or* a class-bases analyses" (xvii). Any analysis of women in prison should instead "seek to provide localized and specific instances of criminalization, punishment, and resistance, centered on the experiences of women of color and third-world women" (xvii). This ethnographic project is a concrete response to this appeal. In addition, Diaz-Cotto's (2006) research on the simultaneous impact of race, gender, sexual orientation and class in the lives of former Chicana prisoners through life history narratives laid the groundwork for this study of comparable interactions between structural inequalities in a setting outside the United States. The development of the model for this particular study and its application is the first such attempt in a Peruvian prison. It was constructed as patterns emerged from the relationships between social categories inside Santa Monica. It also furthers Diaz-Cotto's (1996) argument that "in order to understand the Latina(o) experience, we need to reconceptualize the experience of all prisoners taking into account differences in race, nationality, ethnicity, class, and gender, among them and between them and

others” (2). This framework therefore becomes an explicit way to understand how structural inequalities influence one another in a carceral setting.

Building on this literature, I have constructed a framework to use for organizing data, specifically class, citizenship, gender and race and applied it to what happens inside a prison. I used intersectionality at a real site by taking these four vectors and employing them inside Santa Monica. These concepts were utilized in a new way with unexpected results. For example, as illustrated in the diagram in Chapter One, citizenship affected other inequalities in Santa Monica. This is indicative of how deeply Peru’s prisons are tied to the global economy and highlights how an intersectional analysis of any institution of this kind should not be removed from a broader transnational scope. This model can also be tested in other Latin American prisons in order to determine how these categories work in different penal institutions. It also underscores the potential uses and limitations of intersectionality as a method. For instance, the working prototype presented here is a response to criticisms of this approach as overly vague and with limited applicability (Nash 2008, Jordan-Zachary 2007). This model is not the only way to understand the convergence of multiple oppressions inside a prison but it is a start in examining the multifarious experiences of incarcerated women. Furthermore, it can be expanded, changed and re-ordered according to different contexts. A limitation is that it excludes other factors that may also have been important in influencing daily life inside Santa Monica such as age and sexuality. Therefore, a remaining challenge for intersectionality is how to make certain that all statuses are scrutinized concurrently. If that is not possible, then we must consider the extent to which this method is inclusionary and what that means for those we study. Finally, this proposed template is important because as the number of women in prison grows in much of Latin America, it is vital to analyze the obstacles they face, how they are constructed and how

prisoners attempt to overcome them. This model can be tested in other prisons to determine how categories of inequality work in different penal institutions. The effect of citizenship at Santa Monica suggests that an analysis of any institution of this kind should be within a broad transnational scope.

Also, women's labor in the transnational cocaine commodity chain demonstrates that the relationship between the legal and illegal is gray and porous. Several of the narratives included in this study exemplify how some Peruvian women with limited choices for earning an income move back and forth between informal and illegal markets. Once we understand that there is no clear division between the two and that in fact, they may overlap and blur together, we can begin to question exactly who and what make up the "criminal." By doing so, we turn the lens to the formal and legal domain, which may be just as unethical, oppressive and violent as the illicit. In fact, it was the licit structure of society that led women to smuggling or selling cocaine. The criminal in their stories were instances of physical abuse, government neglect, racism and economic marginalization.

The rising number of female inmates in Peru is also related to the country's integration into a free market global economy. Poor women who have not benefited from the government's neoliberal approach to economic growth may turn to the criminalized cocaine market as an income earning strategy. This is a strategy that may unfortunately lead them to Santa Monica. Rather than framing the prison as an oppositional force to illegal cocaine, it has become a part of the cocaine chain. Therefore, it has become increasingly merged with the underside of globalization while Peru implements its current strategies for economic development.

This symbiosis is ruthless, especially to those who already occupy a subordinate status. Drug trafficking organizations purposefully recruit low-level workers and then set them up to go

to prison. The Peruvian state plays a part in this because of the financial rewards to be gained. It collaborates in using and then disposing of them. The women in this work are therefore victims of the cocaine market and of their own government. It is a war that is comparable in some ways to the one that only ended about twelve years ago in Peru. In both, those who have suffered most are located at the bottom of the country's racial and economic hierarchy. The reasons behind this current war may be different but the effects are the same: doing away with those deemed marginal.

Finally, this work documents not only the colossal failure of the war on drugs and penal institutions, but also how they have actually transformed into something other than what was originally intended. Or perhaps the goal was always to remove from view those who are on the margins of society. Regardless, the collusion between the prison and illegal cocaine creates insecurity for *all* Peruvian citizens.

IX.3. Areas for further research

There are many topics that could not be included in this study due to constraints of space and time. The first is a more in-depth analysis of the war on drugs, especially its gendered consequences for the women in Santa Monica who were arrested on charges of drug trafficking. Although not mentioned directly throughout much of this dissertation, gender has been very present through the stories of arrest, sentencing and law. More research needs to be done on the specific effects the war on drugs has had on women who are incarcerated because of their involvement in the transnational cocaine commodity chain (*Children of the Drug War* edited by Barrett 2011 is a good example of this kind of work). In addition, further inquiry as to the gendered construction of the war on drugs in Peru would contribute to a more holistic understanding of female incarceration in the region.

Another area that needs much more analysis than I could have provided here is that of sexuality. It also shaped the pathways of women into the transnational cocaine commodity chain and their experiences in the prison. I could not, however, give it the study it deserved because of the complexity of this particular topic. In addition, women in Santa Monica placed great value on their privacy as prison staff, police, the court system, the media and researchers constantly encroached upon their lives. In order to ensure that their privacy was respected, I did not ask about sexuality during interviews. Therefore, I did not collect as much information on this as I did on other topics. More research needs to be done as to how sexuality influences the entrance of women into the cocaine chain; how sexuality shapes the work they do within it; and how it affects their experiences of incarceration.

Other areas for future research include an examination of Peru's court system and how it is shaped by the intersection of multiple inequalities. In addition, a comparison of male and female prisons in Peru would provide a more nuanced study of how gender shapes imprisonment. Finally, women in Santa Monica have been central to the functioning of global capitalism and I would argue that they continue to be so even after incarceration. More research needs to be done on women who leave the prison and in what ways their past incarceration continues to affect their lives and that of their families.

In conclusion, the prison has succeeded in upholding neoliberal globalization and hierarchies of race, class and gender. But it certainly does not succeed in rehabilitation and contributing towards a more secure society. The Santa Monica prison plunges incarcerated women even further into the desperation of poverty; it increases uncertainty for their children; it makes even more difficult their long uphill battle towards stability and well being for themselves and their families. That the rate of incarceration of women in Peru is growing makes this

conclusion even more ominous. The immiseration of incarcerated women is reproduced every day and their families and communities feel the effects of this beyond the prison's walls. I hope that this research contributes to a critical questioning of incarceration as an adequate response to the insecurity and crisis that result from neoliberal economic/political ideologies and practices.

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