# THE CALABOZO:

# VIRTUAL RECONSTRUCTION OF A PRISON CELL BASED ON PERSONAL ACCOUNTS

A Dissertation

by

CARMEN AROZTEGUI MASSERA

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of Texas A&M University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

May 2006

Major Subject: Architecture

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#### ABSTRACT

The Calabozo:

Virtual Reconstruction of a Prison Cell Based on Personal Accounts. (May 2006)

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The objective of my research is to create a visualization of a place based on personal experiences. My research addresses this issue through a case study: the visualization of a women's political prison located in Punta de Rieles, Uruguay, during the Uruguayan dictatorship (1973-85). In June of 2002, I went to Uruguay and interviewed nine female former political prisoners. I asked them to tell me stories about what happened to them during their time in prison. My research aims at relating their experience of prison through a visualization of their stories. The challenge addressed by my research is the creation of a virtual reconstruction that can communicate the experience of prison through the integration of narrative, light modeling and sound. The proposed visualization is a video installation based on these women's personal experiences of the solitary confinement cell (*calabozo*).

To my mother

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My research, the virtual reconstruction of a prison cell, was inspired by the lives of many wonderful women of Uruguay. Among these women I was fortunate to receive unconditional support, caring and dedication from Rosario Caticha, Isabel Trivelli and Charna Furman all through my project. I would also like to thank the women I interviewed for sharing their memories of imprisonment. To them I owe the strength and impulse to finish this dissertation. I would like to express my gratitude especially to Martha Valentini, Martha and Ivonne Klingler, with whom my discussions helped clarify my thoughts on the meaning of prison experiences. Their friendship and professional collaboration meant a great deal to me. This was further enhanced by the technical lighting support for the interviews I received from Daniel Fernandez.

This dissertation is the result of almost six years of my life and it would not have been possible without the constant support of family and friends. I would like to thank my mother and brothers for their emotional and financial support. I am grateful to my friends who made my life in College Station an unforgettable experience: Daad, Archana, Amitava, Azza, Marcelo, Upali, Ray, and Paula. I am grateful for the support Kerry, and Ted (Counseling Services) gave me.

I express my heartfelt gratitude to my Committee for their enthusiasm and expert guidance. But mainly I should like to acknowledge Carol Lafayette for her unrelenting support during the entire research process. I must acknowledge the College Research and Interdisciplinary Council of the College of Architecture at Texas A&M University for its financial support of the data collection and the video production for this dissertation. My Ph.D. was also sponsored for two consecutive years by the Good Neighbor Scholarship and by assistantships from Dr. Guillermo Vasquez de Velasco and Dr. Antonieta Angulo.

My video installation was enriched by the invaluable contribution from Vishwanand Shetti's artistic skills, and the participation of my friends Michela, Isabel, and Miriam. I am grateful to Glen Vigus, Bill Jenks and Prof. Parke for their support in the technical setup of the installation.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT	iii
DEDICATION	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vii
LIST OF FIGURES	ix
INTRODUCTION	1
Significance Problem	2 5
LITERATURE REVIEW	6
Uruguayan Context Prison The Modern Prison Mortification of the Self Virtual Reconstructions Film Other Visualizations	6 10 10 13 15 18 21
METHODOLOGY	24
Introduction	24 25
Procedure Results Life in the Collective Cells Life in the Calabozo Thumbnail Descriptions of the Women Interviewed	27 39 39 43 48
Scenes of Everyday Life in the <i>Calabozo</i>	54

	Page
VISUALIZATION	66
Content	66
Setting	67
Narrative Structure	69
Storyboards	71
Audio	71
Vignettes	74
CONCLUSION	195
REFERENCES	198
APPENDIX A STORIES OF PRISON	203
APPENDIX B INTERVIEW GUIDELINES	223
APPENDIX C TERMINOLOGY AND TRANSLATION ISSUES	225
APPENDIX D VIDEO AND AUDIO FILES	228
VITA	229

# LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE		Page
1	Etching of Anhelo Hernández	3
2	Map of South America.	7
3	Site plan of Punta de Rieles	9
4	Bentham. Plan of the Panopticon	12
5	Giovanni Battista Piranesi, "The Drawbridge," 2 <sup>nd</sup> state, 1750	16
6	Scenes from "The Birdman of Alcatraz": bars leitmotif	19
7	Scene from "The Birdman of Alcatraz": prisoner looking towards the window	20
8	Scenes from "Garage Olimpo."	20
9	Composite scenes from "Turbulent." Viewer stands in between two projected screens	22
10	Floor plan of main prison of Punta de Rieles	30
11	Punta de Rieles, main prison building. Photograph of Ciro Giambruno	31
12	Section of cells of Sector B and E	39
13	Section of cell of Sector C (the chapel)	40
14	Floor plan and section of the <i>calabozos</i>	46
15	Flowchart of the narrative indicating the different branches in the routine, individual, and transition video sequences	68
16	View of the installation's settings	69
17	Screen capture of a scene from the video (V10- call)	75
18	Storyboard of V10- call.	76
19	Storyboard of V30- interrogation	79

FIGURE		Page
20	Storyboard of V40- bug	84
21	Storyboard of V50- eyebrows	95
22	Screen capture of a scene from the video (V60- arrival)	100
23	Storyboard of V60- arrival	101
24	Storyboard of V70- bag.	110
25	Storyboard of V130- haircut.	118
26	Storyboard of V150- arrival	122
27	Storyboard of V160- pleads	127
28	Storyboard of V170- cold	132
29	Screen capture of a scene from the video (V200-call)	137
30	Storyboard of V200- call	138
31	Screen capture of a scene from the video (V220-flower)	141
32	Storyboard of V220- flower	142
33	Storyboard of V230- window	148
34	Storyboard of V240- shadows	155
35	Storyboard of V250- peephole	161
36	Storyboard of V270- wall tapping	166
37	Storyboard of V330- rain	170
38	Storyboard of V350- voices	173
39	Screen capture of a scene from the video (V360-flower)	176
40	Storyboard of V360- flower	177
41	Storyboard of V370- door below	180

FIGURE		Page
42	Storyboard of V380- communication	185
43	Storyboard of V390- alone	187
44	Storyboard of V400- daydreaming	190
45	Storyboard of V410- daydreaming.	192

## INTRODUCTION

When I was 12, my parents sent me to visit my grandfather in a political prison in Uruguay.

At that time I was living in Brazil. My family had to immigrate there to avoid political prosecution. It was the first time I'd seen him in 4 years. Once in the prison, I received the "treatment" administered to all children visiting their family: a body search by female soldiers, and interrogation. However, because it was a special visit - I was coming from another country - the guards delayed my admission. I waited and waited. When they finally allowed me enter, I was very anxious.

The visiting room was a large hall with columns in the center. What I saw was appalling: men dressed in gray, with no hair and few teeth, hugging children and walking in circles around the columns. Everything was gray - their uniforms, the room, their skin, their gaze. I felt that hundreds of eyes were looking at me, and they were smiling. It was as if these men were expecting me. Eventually a man, limping, emerged from all this gray. It was my grandfather. He was so emaciated that I almost didn't recognize him. He gave me a hug, and I started to cry. I couldn't help it. I wanted to leave that place and take him with me. He was nervous, and upset by my tears. He said, "How come your mother didn't prepare you for this?" and then hugged me tighter. We started to walk around the columns. He spoke the entire time of the fight for freedom, but I kept crying. He smelled of sweat, but not just of any sweat. It was the sweat of many days, of years maybe, and it came from his uniform. I felt ashamed of myself. "How could I be thinking of such insignificant things?" There were more important things to think about, like freedom and the recovery of democracy. And the only thing I could feel was how humiliating it was for my grandfather to be there, smelling of sweat.

This dissertation follows the style of Leonardo.

Today I still can feel his humiliation, and vividly remember the abuse he endured. I can feel under my skin the ugliness of those men, oppressing other men. After this incident, and for a long time afterwards, I have had to live with the guilt of not having been brave enough to hold back my tears then, and the shame of noticing such insignificant details like the smell of his sweat. It seems unreasonable to me today to ask a child not to cry in response to such conditions, and it was truly humiliating for my grandfather to smell of sweat. But the guilt remains, and the pain of such humiliation has stayed with me.

#### Significance

In Uruguay all the children of the dictatorship (1973-85) learned to keep secrets. It did not matter what the involvement of your family was. It could have been knowing someone in prison, or simply listening to proscribed music – we all kept secrets. Because we were children, the criteria regarding what was or what was not a secret was set according to the logic of the adult world, and to us it made no sense. Therefore, whatever had a hint of dangerousness, we kept secret. This behavior became an irrational response of how one was expected to act in society. Although I experienced it personally, as a child, it was a behavior shared by the society at large. When analyzing the consequences of the dictatorship, psychologists Viñar and Gil [1] identified how State terror caused reclusion of ordinary citizens into their private lives. Anhelo Hernández captured in the etching bellow how Uruguayans felt - suspicious, harassed, attacked - ducking, and ready to receive a blow from above (see Figure 1).

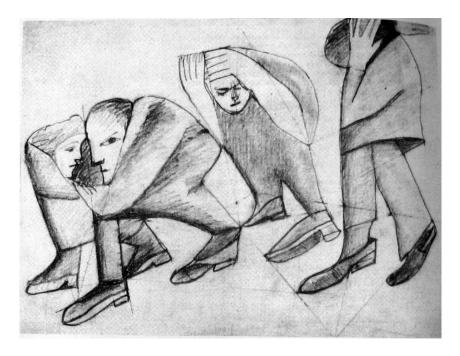


Figure 1. Etching of Anhelo Hernández [2].

With the recovery of democracy in 1985, Uruguayans slowly grew comfortable enough to begin speaking about their past and sharing what happened to them with others. However, only political leaders were publicly outspoken, and their recounting of the dictatorship centered on denouncing of the human rights abuses – which somehow remained distant from individual citizens' personal experiences. Their testimonies were mainly from a male perspective, and focused on the horrors people had to endure – torture, prison, murder, the kidnapping of children, etc. How we felt as a people, what life was like everyday, and how we survived through these dark years remained untold for an entire generation. Among the untold experiences were those of female political prisoners. Their experiences were not seen to be as heroic as those of the men. These women's experiences were full of personal, idiosyncratic modes of resistance. It took Uruguayans 20 years of democracy to open up enough to allow these testimonials.

In 1997, a group of female former political prisoners began to meet and organize activities promoting the publication of written accounts about the dictatorial period and the organization of discussion groups. This organization, who called themselves *Taller de Género y Memoria de ex-*

presas políticas, aimed at including women's personal narratives in their reconstruction of a communal history of the dictatorship. Male personal narratives were structured around events, while women's narratives emphasized relationships and feelings. Therefore their approach was not directed towards a chronological classification of historical events, but rather towards the inclusion of women's subjective experiences and everyday acts of resistance.

When, in January of 2002, I was contacted by three members of the group<sup>1</sup> to study their prison, I felt I had been offered a unique opportunity to work towards something meaningful for these women and for me. I am an architect with knowledge of digital reconstruction<sup>2</sup>, as well as woman with a family member who was a political prisoner. These women wanted me to construct a digital model of the building within which they were imprisoned, 20 years before. The model initially discussed was to focus on the geometric features of the building. Digital technology would allow a virtual visitor to travel through the various spaces within the prison. Such an approach to virtual reconstruction presented a problem: since the prisoners were not allowed to move freely through the prison, their recollections were spatially segmented. Therefore, allowing the visitor to travel freely through the virtual building would not reflect the nature of the experience as it was recalled. We realized that we wanted the visitor to "feel" as if s/he was actually in the prison. The visualization, therefore, required an understanding the nature of the experience of prison as a prisoner, in order to accurately communicate that experience to others.

In June of 2002, I went to Uruguay and interviewed nine female former political prisoners. I asked them to tell me stories about what happened to them during their time in prison. My research aimed at relating their experience of prison through a visualization of their stories. That visualization, which is one of the results of this research, is based on these women's personal

<sup>1</sup> Rosario Caticha, Charna Furman, and Isabel Trivelli.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> From a professional perspective, the issues regarding the digital reconstruction of a space have interested me since my Masters studies. During my Masters, I worked on the digital visualization of an archeological site, Tenochtitlán, the main city of the Aztec Empire in Mexico.

recollections of the solitary confinement cell (*calabozo* <sup>3</sup>). The visualization utilizes changes of light inside the cell as the main formal expression of the variations in these women's personal accounts. The challenge addressed by my research is the creation of a virtual reconstruction, an architectural visualization, that can communicate the experience of prison through the integration of narrative, light modeling and sound. The form this visualization will take is a video installation based on the interviewed women's personal experiences of the *calabozo* isolation cell.

#### **Problem**

My research addresses the subjective experiencing of a place, and approaches its virtual reconstruction from a cinematic perspective. It addresses virtual reconstruction from the study of a case: the memories of the *calabozo* from nine Uruguayan women. Therefore, in order to create such a visualization, my research first focuses on understanding the experiences of the *calabozo*. Secondly, it develops a visualization - a video installation - inspired by these experiences, and with the purpose of communicating those women's experiences of the *calabozo* to an audience.

There are three objectives for my research. The first is to gather information regarding these women's experiences of the *calabozo* isolation cells. The second objective is to create a visualization – developed in storyboards – that is based on these women's recollections. The third objective is to explore in the storyboards the importance of light and narrative, in the hopes of garnering insight into these women's recollections.

The results of my research include: a written description of the case study interviews (see section Methodology), a visual sketch of the visualization (see section Visualization), and a video sample (see Appendix D).

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The Spanish word *calabozo* will be used throughout this dissertation. To see the translation issues involved, refer to Appendix C.

#### LITERATURE REVIEW

In this section I will describe the literature and previous research that has set a framework for creating a visualization of the *calabozo*. First, I will briefly refer to the Uruguayan context, to the characteristics of the military dictatorship and of the democratic period that began after 1985.

Later, I will discuss the contributions of two fundamental works to the understanding of modern prisons – Michel Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* and Erving Goffman's "On the Characteristics of Total Institutions." Then I will describe the different approaches to digital reconstructions of places in films, CD applications, theatrical productions, and video installations. The methodological issues of this dissertation, including their literature review, will be addressed in the following section.

#### **Uruguayan Context**

On the 27<sup>th</sup> of June, 1973, José María Bordaberry - the President of Uruguay - dissolved the General Assembly and replaced it with the *Consejo de Estado* (Council State). He was, in effect, installing a defacto military dictatorship by allowing the military and police forces to take repressive measures against civil society that would otherwise be considered unconstitutional. Once the dictatorship was consolidated, it banned both labor unions and leftist political parties; it intervened University operations, closed newspapers, and censored the news. The repression in Uruguay (see Figure 2) reached all levels of society. Besides the directly affected persons who were killed, tortured, or imprisoned, people working in public institutions were fired from their jobs, and others were forced into exile.



Figure 2. Map of South America [3]

The regime's strategy, called *el gran encierro* (the big lock up), consisted of the massive imprisonment of the opposition. By 1975, the Uruguayan dictatorship was the regime with the greatest number of political prisoners per capita in South America. Amnesty International reported 1 political prisoner for every 500 Uruguayans [4]. Before being sent to prison, men and women were held in military establishments and often tortured in clandestine locations. Torture in these places was mainly physical, aimed at destroying the individual through extended beatings, electric shocks, and drowning. Jaime Perez, a male former political prisoner, in recalling the time he was tortured, explained that the objective was to dehumanize the individual and transform that person into "a number, a beast that moans, bearded and dirty, that sleeps in the floor, that has to

defecate in his own clothes" (my English translation from quotation from book *Uruguay nunca más* [5, p. 147]). Once these prisoners were processed by the judicial system, they were sent to prison. Imprisonment was a continuation of the torture and had the same objective, but continued over a longer period of time. With regards to imprisonment, in the same report as that which is listed above, Amnesty International [4] quoted General Arquímedes Maciel: "We did not dare kill them all when we could have done so, and one day we shall have to release them. We must take advantage of the available time in order to make sure they go mad." Torture in prison was mainly psychological, and not focused on leaving immediate physical marks, but rather aimed at attacking the mental health of the inmates [5, p. 146].

There were two main prisons in operation during this dictatorship, the male prison was located in *Libertad* (Freedom) and the female prison was located near Punta de Rieles. It was common that officers whose previously tortured the prisoners during interrogation were later assigned high rank positions as prisons guards as part of their promotion inside the military. Therefore, even though torture was not an established part of the experience of prison, it was used as a threat, because inmates knew they could be sent to be tortured again.

The female prison building was originally designed to be a Jesuitical retreat. It was built in the 1950's, and was acquired by the military in 1968. The inmates lived in collective cells, with a population varying from 8 to 48, depending on the size of the cell and the moment in history. The *calabozos*, built by the military in 1973, were located in another building (see Figure 3). These were the places inmates were sent to for further punishment within the prison system. There, inmates were physically isolated from the rest of the inmate's population.

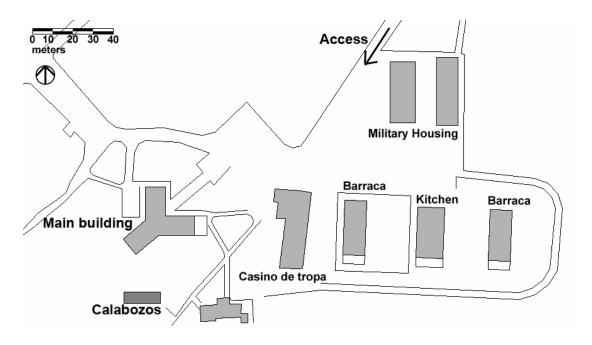


Figure 3. Site plan of Punta de Rieles.

In March of 1985, after more than a decade of dictatorship, a new, democratically elected President - Julio María Sanguinetti – assumed the role of head of government. One of the first acts of the new government was to pass an amnesty law for all crimes committed during the dictatorship. The law - which was confirmed by a referendum in 1989 - forbade the investigation and punishment of policemen and military personnel who had committed crimes during the dictatorship<sup>4</sup>. Therefore, justice and the right to know the truth about what happened were banned from the new democratic state, reinforcing the tension already present between the military and the civil society. Confronted with this situation of impunity, personal accounts became a way of denouncing the crimes committed and of venting the frustration resulting from such injustice [6].

Personal accounts of the dictatorship – called *testimonios* -were promoted from several social groups which demanded justice. Among the more notorious are the group of *Familiares y Hijos* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The law established that the Uruguayan State renounces to its right to punish the crimes committed by military, policemen, and other persons associated to the military who were obeying orders during the dictatorial period.

*de Desaparecidos* (Families and Children of the Disappeared), and groups of former political prisoners (male and female).

In 2000, after 15 years of democracy and attending these social groups' demands, the government formed a Peace Commission to investigate the whereabouts of those who disappeared during the dictatorship. The *desaparecidos* (disappeared) were people kidnapped or killed during the dictatorship whose whereabouts remain unknown. Some of the disappeared were children kidnapped from their mothers (some who were killed by the regime) and then illegally adopted by military families or families who supported the military. Since 2000, a number of the children's identities have been recovered.

As of November 2005, the government has begun excavating the 13<sup>th</sup> Cavalry, a military establishment suspected to house a communal grave for disappeared individuals. In September of 2005 the military, for the first time, officially acknowledged its participation in the kidnapping from Argentina, and subsequent murder by firing squad, of 23 Uruguayans. Even though these recovery efforts demonstrate a political and military intention to reveal what happened during the dictatorship, the military files from the dictatorial period remain inaccessible to the public.

#### **Prison**

In this section I will review two studies in order to outline the characteristics common to prisons – the system of discipline and surveillance, and prison's architectural layout – and the implications these had for the life of the inmate.

# The Modern Prison

Foucault's study [7] on the emergence of the modern prison presents a historical perspective on the ways Western society punishes its citizens. Today's prison system was established at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century. The previous penal system saw punishment as a public spectacle. The condemned was taken to a public place, branded, tortured, and executed in the presence of the public. Torture was not an expression of "lawless rage," but

rather a carefully executed infliction of pain. The type of torture and the degree of pain inflicted on the body of the condemned were both prescribed by law and regulated according to the type of crime committed. Prisons were dungeons: dark, unhealthy places where the condemned was abandoned to suffer. Punishment aimed at inflicting exemplary marks (such as amputations or wounds) on the body of the condemned.

Modern prisons, instead, removed punishment from the public scene. Instead of torture, crimes were punished by depriving the convicted of his/her freedom. Prisons became well-lit places, where all activities were visible to the controlling eye of the guard. Physical punishment was substituted by a more humane "correction" of behavior and "treatment" of the condemned. The correction was enforced by imposing discipline and constant surveillance of the inmate's activities. The inmate's life followed a strict schedule, with all human activities tightly organized and regulated by the prison system. The inmate was under constant surveillance. All of his/her activities were under the guard's scrutiny.

Architecture, more than any other artistic expressions, is adept at organizing, separating, and ranking bodies. It organizes almost all aspects of life spatially through the human body [8]. Foucault's study [7] revealed the importance of prison architecture for the enforcement of discipline and surveillance. In other words, architecture was not neutral; it promoted power inequality by allowing a small number of guards to control a large number of inmates. Foucault described the Panopticon developed by Bentham (see Figure 4) - an architectural layout to be implemented in the modern prison system:

At the periphery, an annular building; at the centre, a tower; this tower is pierced with wide windows that open onto the inner side of the ring; the peripheric building is divided into cells, [...] [which] have two windows, one on the inside [...] [and] the other on the outside, [that] allows the light to cross the cell from one end to the other. [7, p.200]

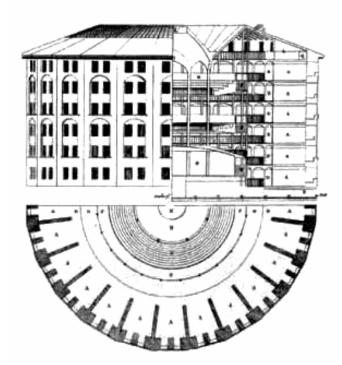


Figure 4. J. Bentham. Plan of the Panopticon [7].

Such an architectural layout meant a strict spatial partitioning and extreme segregation of bodies. In the tower there was a supervisor, and in each cell a convict. The Panopticon is an architectural layout that allowed for a directional gaze from the surveillance tower into the prisoner's cell. Since the cells have no walls obstructing the guard's view, the supervisor could see all of the inmate's activities. However, the prisoner could not verify whether or not she was being observed. Therefore, the prisoner felt subjected to constant observation which resulted in that even if she was not being watched, she expected control of her activities. She internalized the discipline imposed.

Today's prisons might not strictly follow the Panopticon's architectural features, although the main guiding principle – which allows for the empowerment of a small group of individuals over a large group – still applies. New technology allows for a more flexible architectural layout by enhancing visual control through closed circuit surveillance cameras. The camera registers all activities, and the inmate cannot know if someone is watching or not.

## Mortification of the Self

Prisons, asylums, boarding schools, monasteries, and military barracks share common features in the treatment of their inmates. Such establishments are what Goffman [9] called "total institutions,"

A total institution may be defined as a place of residence and work where a larger number of like-situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enclosed, formally administered round of life. [9, p. XII]

Goffman studied the treatment of inmates in total institutions and its psychological consequences. Although he referred to total institutions in general, his main focus was on mental hospitals.

In total institutions, all human activities such as sleep, play, and work, which normally would be practiced in different places, are conflated into the same place. These activities not only happen in the same place, but also are imposed, tightly scheduled, and carried on in the immediate company of a large number of others. Another characteristic of these institutions is that they group people in blocks in order to facilitate surveillance. There is a large managed group of people – known as inmates – who are managed by a small group of supervisory staff. Even though the procedures implemented in total institutions result in abuse upon the inmate, such procedures are often unintentional and are mere rationalizations, generated by an effort to manage the daily activity of a large number of persons [9].

Goffman has described how the treatment received by inmates has resulted in an assault upon each inmate's prior conception of herself. The individual comes to the institution with a concept of herself made possible by certain stable social arrangements in her home world. The total institution disrupts her prior conception of self and imposes a low self-image.

Upon arrival, the individual goes through the admissions procedures. These include the recording of one's life history, photographing, weighing, fingerprinting, assigning numbers, searching, listing personal possessions for storage, undressing, bathing, disinfecting, haircutting,

receiving institutional clothing, receiving instruction with regards to the rules, and being assigned to quarters. The individual is shaped and coded into an object and her usual appearance is modified by the imposition of a haircut and a uniform. With the dispossession of personal property, the person feels as if she is "leaving off" civil society. Goffman considers the moment of physical nakedness during the admission procedure to be the midpoint of this process, since after being naked the person takes on a uniform and a number which belong to the institution. The admission procedure not only dispossesses the individual of her personal belongings and defaces the individual's usual appearance, it also strips the individual of the equipment she needs for maintaining her appearance before others. In the outside world, the individual expects to exert some control over the guise in with she appears. For this, she needs clothing, combs, needles, cosmetics, shaving sets, etc. The institution not only strips the individual of such equipment, but also provides substitutes that are inadequate. The individual suffers a personal defacement because she is stripped of her usual appearance and the equipment by which she maintains it.

After admission, her self image is attacked in yet another way when the total institution prohibits certain behaviors and imposes others. For instance, the institution replaces the inmate's family relationships with batch living. On the outside the person has individual roles, for example as a mother or a daughter. By creating a barrier between the inmate and the outside world, the total institution dispossesses that person of these roles. Furthermore, the institution imposes certain movements, gestures or postures which convey a debased image of the individual. For example, the individual could be required to hold her body in a humiliating pose or provide humiliating verbal responses.

Life in total institutions is regulated by an around-the-clock schedule in which the individual feels alienated. Even though some activities resemble the ones the individual might perform in the outside world, these activities are imposed upon the inmate and portray an image of herself that is dis-identifying. Work in total institutions, for example, is either too much or too little. When there is too much work, the inmate's sense of self and self-possession can become

alienated from his or her work capacity. This is the case with forced labor, or slavery. When there is too little work, boredom results and the individual who might have been work-oriented on the outside tends to become demoralized.

Finally, in total institutions there is a system of rewards, privileges and punishments designed to enforce the "house rules." The system is a formal set of prescriptions that regulates the inmate's life, which in turn subjects the individual to constant sanctioning from above. For instance, there is an obligation to request permission for minor activities like going to the bathroom, smoking, etc. Instead of having her request immediately and automatically granted, the inmate may be teased, denied, and/or questioned. Ultimately, the system attacks the role of adult self-determination, autonomy and freedom of action.

Goffman [9] concludes that the system implemented in total institutions results in abasement, degradation, humiliation and profanation of the inmate's self. Her "self" is systematically mortified.

#### **Virtual Reconstructions**

In 1761 Giovanni Battista Piranesi published "The Carceri" [10], a series of etchings portraying interior spaces of imaginary prisons (see Figure 5). These spaces were monumental and limitless, populated with heavy stone arches, staircases, towers, and bars. The place also contained wheels, chains and other elements that reminded the viewer of its use for human torture.

These etchings rendered the pre-modern prison, the dungeons where the condemned were abandoned to suffer. Human figures were tiny - dwarfed by the immense, vaulted space. There were no distinctions between guards and prisoners. All humans seemed trapped in the colossal vaults, climbing stairs that lead to nowhere. The structures seem pointless, and humans are trapped in an "incomprehensible misery without end and beyond the power of man to understand or bear" [12]. The Carceri portrayed despair, hopelessness, and confinement – human feelings

that transcend the time and place of the drawings. Inspired by the etchings, the violincellist Yo Yo Ma [13] produced a video in which he played Bach surrounded by a digital 3D model of the Carceri. Besides the careful reconstruction of the architectural model, much effort went into the simulation of the acoustics - the reverberation of the music inside the imaginary space.

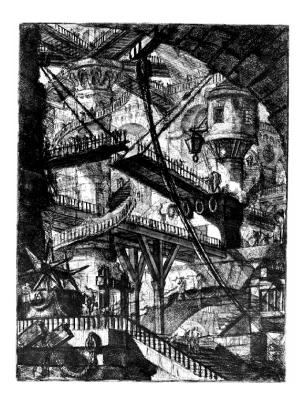


Figure 5. Giovanni Battista Piranesi, "The Drawbridge," 2<sup>nd</sup> state, 1750 [11].

Yo Yo Ma's reconstruction explored an area – the acoustics of a virtual space – which is seldom studied. Digital reconstructions of imaginary places, although quite common in architecture and archaeology [14, 15], traditionally focus only on the modeling of physical architectural features – geometry, proportionality, and measurement. Other elements such as narrative, light, and sound are often relegated to second priority. The reason for this dominance of geometry relates to what Char Davies [16] calls the "hard-edged-objects-in-empty-space" syndrome. Although she refers to one type of 3D reconstruction – the Virtual Reality

environment – Char criticizes an approach commonly used in visual reconstructions that sees the world "in terms of the old Newtonian/Cartesian paradigm, i.e. as an aggregate of solid separate objects in empty space."

The dominance of geometry in 3D reconstructions is also supported by the way a number of researchers understand the use of visualizations in their inquiries. Often, researchers identify scientific visualizations as objective and neutral representations of the object of study, whereas artistic visualizations are seen as subjective – and therefore, to certain extent, inaccurate – fantasies developed in the artist's mind [17]. Such a perspective has been debated in the field of archaeological inquiry, especially in relation to lighting, from the perspective of scientific and artistic illustrations. According to Liebhammer [18], scientific and artistic illustrations are selective ways of representing reality, since both are visualizations of the salient characteristics of the object being represented. Scientific illustrations focus on characteristics that can be generalized; they represent an average of the objects of their kind. Artistic illustrations focus on the uniqueness of the object, characteristics that are not transferable to all other objects of their kind. For example, when rendering light in an architectural space, scientific illustrations use lights that are neutral and sharp; lights are used to clarify and display the geometry. On the contrary, the artistic counterpart of illustrations present lighting that is representative of the context and communicates the time of day, the atmospheric conditions, as well as the observer's point of view. In this case, light is used to set the mood and immerse the viewer within the space. Both representations of light are useful and answer different needs of the visualization.

Computer graphics have also influenced the way researchers approach visualizations. There are two paradigms developed in computer graphics that are used in the visualization of three-dimensional spaces. One approach uses models that are fast to render. Such models contain a low-count number of faces that allow for real time interaction of the audience with the model. The other approach uses models that take more time to render. These models have a high-count number of faces that result in a higher quality of visuals.

The low-count approach to visualization is that which has been developed for Virtual Reality environments. One known example of such a virtual environment is the CAVE (Cave Automatic Virtual Environment). A CAVE is a room where the user is surrounded by projected images that are synchronized on three walls and the floor [19]. This approach uses immersion to make the audience feel as if s/he is in another place and time. It facilitates immersion by: allowing the audience to interact in real time with what is projected on the screens (synchronizing actions with visuals and audio); surrounding the audience, and therefore completely occupying their field of view; and providing a stereoscopic view. This approach to immersion through real-time interaction implies a sacrifice in visual quality. Due to limitations in computational speed, 3D virtual environments lack the ability to render film-quality sequences in real time.

The high-count approach to visualization is commonly used in walk-through and fly-through animations. Since the visualization is a pre-rendered image sequence, the model can have high quality visuals. Animations use the techniques developed for film, and they can "transport" the audience to the time and place of the film – called diagesis - by drawing the audience into the narrative. By choosing a cinematic approach for my visualization, I avoid the difficulties that VR systems have when dealing with non-geometrical features. In my visualization, the non-geometric features addressed are the modeling of light and introduction of narrative.

#### Film

Films in both the documentary and fiction genres have provided references for how to create a narrative that is based on personal accounts. By exploring elements of lighting, camera settings, movement, narrative development, and sound, films have provided numerous images of prisons and torture. Although there are several films that portray prison scenes, I will address only two that I found particularly inspirational in the creation of this visualization.

The Birdman of Alcatraz [20] is an example of how a Hollywood production, in the *film noire* tradition, treated the visualization of a prison. The film portrayed the story of life in prison for a male convicted of murder, forced to live in solitary confinement. Even though the film

showed mostly a positive depiction of the modern prison, a prison where the prisoner is treated "fairly" and where the prison system aims to "correct" the convict, it also succeeds in showing the injustice of a life wasted behind bars. The film portrays themes common to the average prisoner's experiences: individual coping mechanisms, idleness and boredom, means of communication among prisoners, and confinement. Bars provided the main leitmotif; they appear in scene to obstruct view, separate characters, and through shadows projected on walls (see Figure 6).









Figure 6. Scenes from "The Birdman of Alcatraz" [20]: bars leitmotif.

The scenes were evenly lit, with the exception of the more dramatic scenes set in the punishment cell, where high contrast and long shadows create a sense of overwhelming subordination. Inside the cell, light was shown coming through the window, projecting shadows cast by the bars and onto the opposing wall. In several scenes, when the prisoner was shown to be yearning for freedom, he would raise his head towards the window and look at the outside "free" world (see Figure 7). The window and, to a certain extent, the sunlight entering the cell became a signifier for the freedom the prisoner did not have.



Figure 7. Scene from "The Birdman of Alcatraz" [20]: prisoner looking towards the window.

A more recent film, Garage Olimpo [21], narrates a story of a place of detention and torture in Argentina during the 1970s. Centering the story on the life of a young woman kidnapped by the military, the film portrays torture, survival and murder "South American style." In this film there were neither heroes nor glorious acts - only the basic human experience with both its moments of solidarity and of horror; humans torturing humans, humans helping humans, and above all the victim's instinct for survival. Torture was not always shown directly. There are moments where the camera shows the door, obstructing the audience from seeing inside the torture cell. A radio playing loud and banal music covers the screams of the tortured woman, therefore leaving the audience to imagine what was happening inside. The treatment of the prisoners reminded me of the experiences recalled by the women I interviewed where they were blindfolded, cold, and treated brutally. The cells in the film reminded me of the *calabozo*, a place so dark that the audience could barely distinguish the prisoners from the surrounding walls (see Figure 8).





Figure 8. Scenes from "Garage Olimpo" [21].

#### Other Visualizations

Besides film, there are other sources of visualization of prisons. Kiko Goifman [22] wrote a book, developed a CD application and produced a documentary film, all based on oral narratives of male prisoners in Brazil. Goifman centered his analysis on the multiple facets of "doing time" in prison. One prisoner would express that in prison the inmate morde o dedo pra ver o sangue cair (bites his thumb to see his blood dripping). In other words, in prison idle time is excessive, meaningless and passes by unbearably slowly. Although the study refers to features particular to the male non-political prisoner experience (such as incidences of homosexuality and murder among inmates), it also portrays experiences common to other types of prisoners. For instance, the inmate's existence becomes defined by an archive and a number; he is abandoned by society to suffer abuse and humiliation, and is plagued by feelings of sadness and despair. The CD application is an interactive collection of scenes developed by different artists. One important contribution his work makes is the implementation of interruptions in the CD application. Even though the user could navigate the application in a traditional way by selecting different scenes, the application itself can also interrupt the session and jump to another scene. Each interruption is announced by an alarm, a siren or a whistle. The design of the CD interaction expresses an essential feature of the prison experience - the inmate's vulnerability to the system, and the lack of control over his own actions.

Video installations also provide an alternative approach to film. Particularly inspiring is the work developed by Shirin Neshat [23], where video is projected onto multiple large screens, synchronizing the audio and the video. Neshat expresses in her installations the displacement she personally experiences, being a woman born in Iran but living in the US. In her piece "Turbulent," she portrays both the male and the female worlds in Iran. The installation setting consists of projecting film on two facing screens in a room where the audience stays in the middle (see Figure 9). One screen shows a man surrounded by an all-male crowd. On the opposing

screen, a woman is standing alone. The film begins with the man singing a traditional love song while the camera stands still, focusing on him. Once he has finished his performance, the woman on the opposing screen begins to sing. The camera spins around her as she sings a guttural song, a sound that resembles a loud cry of pain. In today's Iran, women are forbidden to sing in public places. The installation's settings, camera movements and scenes express two distinct and opposite worlds – a male-dominated world and the subjugated world of womanhood in Iran. The audience is caught in the middle, experiencing – similar to what Shirin feels herself – a displacement between two worlds.



Figure 9. Composite scenes from "Turbulent" [23]. Viewer stands in between two projected screens.

In 2002, the Uruguayan theatre director Horacio Buscaglia set a theatre play [24] based on the book *La espera* (The Waiting) [25] of Maria Condenanza, and on the book series *Memoria para armar* (Memory to Assemble) [26, 27, 28]. Even though the books portrayed scenes from everyday life, the scenes selected for the play were the more traumatic and dark scenes from the books, primarily showing torture and humiliation. In my opinion, such a visualization misrepresents the *testimonios* (personal accounts) because it leaves out or devalues the coping mechanisms, the collective support of the *compañeras*, and the small acts of solidarity which make survival possible. The visualization focuses instead on denouncing the most glaring human

rights abuses and does not provide any means of understanding how these women lived and survived years of prison. Furthermore, exposing the audience to these horrible scenes leaves the audience devastated.

Visualizations of prison might inspire anxiety in the audience. Thus, it is important to allow for closure in the visualization so the audience will not leave feeling depressed or hopeless. The work of Gabriela Alonso [29] addresses this problem by allowing for audience participation. Her video installation on the issue of the *desaparecidos* (people kidnapped by the dictatorship in Argentina) includes a video projection, her performance, and audience participation. Alonso proposes the interaction of the audience with the installation, because it allows for the audience to release their anxiety through their action. Audience interaction does not affect what is being projected on the screen. However, interaction remains crucial to understanding the meaning of the visualization.

# **METHODOLOGY**

#### Introduction

Every time a person remembers her past and narrates it to others, she selects meaningful experiences that have shaped her identity and somehow help to explain how she became who she is. Therefore, the memory of an event is more of a meaning-making process than a passive way to retrieve facts. What is important is not how accurate the storyteller is in relating of the events in her past, but rather how she interprets those memories in a meaningful manner. Life stories can be understood as "a reflection of the teller's personal philosophy and stable identity" [30]. Through life stories, the teller interprets events in her past and meditates upon the choices she has made, revealing important lessons to an attentive listener. As in any conversation, the teller selects stories that she anticipates might be of interest to the listener. In other words, there is an audience in the teller's mind to whom she narrates her stories, almost as if she is "performing" them to a particular group of listeners [31]. However, the telling of one's past is not exclusively a teller's performance, but also includes her interaction with the listener.

Far from being neutral, the listener is not passive and plays a key role in the creation of the story. Similar to conversations where people understand one another through a constant dialog, the teller selects stories or ideas she wants to convey and which she believes the listener expects to hear. The listener might then ask for clarifications, and could further explain what she wishes to know. Folklorist Dolby-Stahl [30] emphasizes how such a collaborative effort is essential to the creation of meaning, because it is through constant dialog that a listener can identify the specific associations salient to the teller's eye.

Sawin [32] further develops the importance of such collaborations by studying how the teller constructs her identity through communicative interaction. The stories are not "self standing"

stances to be analyzed in isolation from the context, but rather are part of a longer interactive process. During her life, the teller might narrate her life stories a number of times and to various audiences – her family members, friends, or researchers. Every time she tells the story, she bases her narration on previous instances and, through conversations, she reinterprets her story for the new audience.

The individual narrator draws upon pre-existing ways of telling stories. Her narrative might not always follow a chronological sequence. Instead, her memories and recollections from the past might jump back and forth in time. In her work on the working class in Turin during the Fascist period, Luisa Passerini [33] has identified how each individual resorted to previously known storylines and stereotypical self-representations in order to structure his or her own personal narrative. Such storylines were common among the people Passerini interviewed. She found that women presented common self-representations that were different from their male counterparts.

Female narratives are often related in private conversations [34], their jokes have no punch lines, and their stories seem unfinished [35] or are told in a collective manner where interruptions and comments are expected from other females [36]. In the case I study, the stories told are part of a collective experience of life in prison. The themes of these stories and events were often previously shared during conversations among the former prisoners. The way women tell stories and their common themes, however, do not undermine the highly personal and idiosyncratic ways each individual portrays her personal experience of prison.

## **Subversive Acts of Everyday Life**

In the last 20 years, after the return of democracy to Uruguay, there has been a considerable volume of published *testimonios* (personal accounts) relating various prison experiences in Uruguay. The male *testimonios* are mostly individual contributions, transcriptions of one-on-one

interviews to known political leaders [37], or grouped *testimonios* of experiences of prison [38]. Male narratives focus in events or activities which remain in the public sphere of their lives for example when narrating the creation of a "radio station" inside prison. In such narratives feelings or subjective experiences are obviated and remain untold. Recent *testimonios* of male former prisoners [39, 40] started to address subjectivity upfront. They portray a negative experience populated by helplessness, defeat, shame, and painful humiliations.

Female contributions, on the contrary, have emerged mainly as a collective effort. The *Memoria para armar* (Memory to Assemble) book series [26, 27, 28] was organized by a group of female, former political prisoners. Their three published books include stories about the dictatorship, all of which were written by women and selected from an open public submission. The books include submissions from a broad spectrum of women, from those who were children during the dictatorship, to mothers, daughters, those who were exiled, prisoners, and guards. The stories relate events, sometimes seemingly unimportant acts of resistance, which are part of these women's private lives. By including events from the everyday lives of ordinary women and keeping the authors' identities confidential, the books emphasize the role of all women, former prisoners or not, in the resistance to the dictatorship.

The book *De la desmemoria al desolvido* (From the Non-remembrance to the Non-forgetting) [41] is also a collective effort. This book is composed of transcribed conversations between the seven authors of the book – former female political prisoners – as well as their individual *testimonios*. Similar to what Susan Kalčik [36] called "kernel stories," these women's transcribed conversations build upon each other's comments to create a fluid, collective story. They are told in a "mater of fact" key, in an effort to de-dramatize the traumatic moments of their experiences.

Both books reflect female features regarding the experience of dictatorship – they are multi-vocal, they portray a plural or "all embracing" collective perspective, and they portray events of women's private everyday life during the dictatorship.

#### **Procedure**

In January of 2002 I was contacted by Rosario Caticha, Isabel Trivelli and Charna Furman, a group of former political prisoners from Uruguay who were developing a project about their memories of their period of incarceration. They were prisoners during the Uruguayan dictatorship that was in power from 1973 to 1985. Since I was studying visualization in architecture, they asked me for advice on constructing a model of the prison where they and hundreds of other women were held over 20 years ago.

The first part of my field work was conducted in a period of 3 months, from July to August of 2002. In July of 2002, I traveled to Uruguay on their invitation to interview a group of female former political prisoners. The reconstruction was going to be based on the information these exprisoners would provide. I spent two months getting to know these women, meeting with them, reading about them, and collecting information about the prison building. At the same time, I watched videos, documentaries, and theatre plays about the dictatorship. I had lived in Uruguay, and I was aware of the human right violations that occurred during the dictatorship. Despite my knowledge of these events, I always avoided watching movies that portrayed these times because their images were unbearably depressing. However, if I wanted to create visuals of the prison, I had to see how others portrayed those events and learn from them. In the fist two months of my stay in Uruguay I was exposed to a number of these images and stories. Sometimes it was difficult to listen to the stories. The most disturbing fact about the stories was the realization that humans could be so cruel to other human beings. I remember how I felt after watching Garage Olimpo [21] – a movie about an Argentinean center of detention. I hugged my mother and cried.

I couldn't talk. I needed someone to whom I could vent my despair. Back in Uruguay, it was Rosario, Isabel and Charna who guided me through these difficult moments and made my stay an unforgettable experience. These women made me realize that I could do my part to educate people about the indignities they had endured during their imprisonment.

Once a week I met with Rorario, Isabel and Charna, and we discussed the project. They invited me to attend many gatherings where I could meet potential interviewees. During these gatherings I saw how the women interacted with each other and with their families. I saw how they remembered prison times collectively, and managed to include their loved ones in this difficult, alien experience.

One such gathering was a weekly meeting of seven women writing a book [41] about their experiences in prison. It was held on Saturday afternoons. The place was an old, remodeled house in a traditional neighborhood in Montevideo. In the living room, there was a huge dinning table covered with papers and presided over by a thermos of hot water and *mate* (a typical Uruguayan tea drink). Around the table there were seven women talking loudly and at the same time. One of them was trying to read something and was constantly being interrupted. Every once in a while, I could hear someone asking "Please *chiquilinas* (girls), lets focus!" My arrival interrupted their discussion. They surrounded me and greeted me with smiles, hugs and kisses. They called me *Carmencita* (little Carmen) and brought me a chair to sit on. I felt both a welcomed guest and an intruder. I apologized: "Oh please, don't mind me. Keep going." But their concentration was broken. They decided then that it was a good time for tea. Someone brought from the kitchen two cakes and utensils for the tea. The conversation switched to who made which cake and how. The two teenage sons of the hostess came in from playing outside and ate the cake with us. There were compliments on the cakes, recipes were exchanged, and the

cakes were eaten. After tea, the discussion resumed. Again, all of the women began talking at the same time. I sat back to listen. It was a privilege to be there.

The gatherings and the face-to-face encounters with these women allowed me to collect data about the prison building. The prison was located in Punta de Rieles, a neighborhood on the outskirts of Montevideo, about 13 km from the city center. Twenty years ago, the prison building was surrounded by cultivated land, mostly vineyards, and the neighborhood population was housed far from the prison building itself. At the time of my field work in Uruguay, in 2002, the building was owned by the military and was used as place for training Uruguayan soldiers sent to United Nations missions to foreign countries. I tried to obtain blueprints or floor plans and elevations, but neither the architects nor the military were willing to provide them. I requested permission from the government to enter the building, but my request went unanswered.

Since neither direct, close observation of the building nor the original drawings were available, I reconstructed the floor plans based on an aerial photograph and on my interviews. My main collaborator was Charna. Because she was an architect at the time of her imprisonment, she had made keen observations about the building's layout and its construction materials. Some information was inferred, based on the time of the building's construction. The cell size reconstruction followed two criteria: since the building was designed by architects, I assumed that the structure layout followed a constant building module; I also located the amount and position of the furniture inside each cell – the number of beds, tables, lockers, and stalls. The building materials were inferred from their availability and the most common technologies used in Uruguay at the time of construction. I deduced that the marble floor in the chapel cell was probably imported from Carrara, Italy, and that the floor of the common cell could have been Pinotea, Roble or Ibirapitá wood tiles in the shape of spikes. From this initial reconstruction I

understood that the main building prison had a Y shape floor plan (Figure 10), and the *calabozo* was located behind the main building.

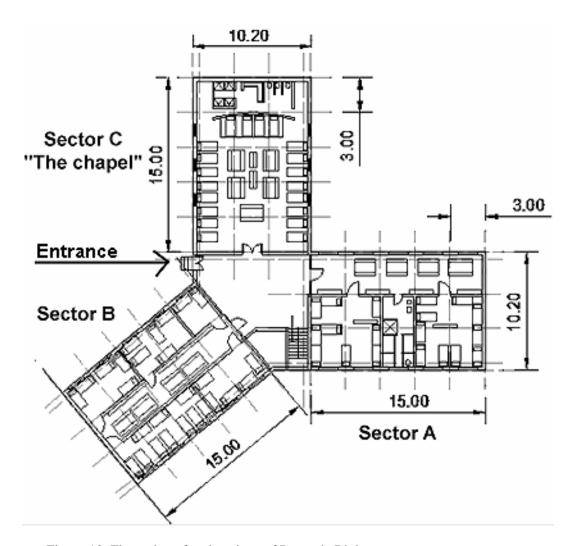


Figure 10. Floor plan of main prison of Punta de Rieles.

I made two visits to the site, and I was able to see the exterior from a distance of 100 meters (see Figure 11). From there I saw the main building, but I couldn't identify the *calabozo* building. I video recorded the surroundings in order to capture the landscape's features. The surroundings have obviously changed in 20 years. Today there are fewer vineyards and, as a

result of urban spread, slums had invaded parts of the land. The building's layout and surroundings helped me to imagine and understand the stories told in the interviews.



Figure 11. Punta de Rieles, main prison building. Photograph of Ciro Giambruno [5].

I conducted the interviews during the third month of my stay in Uruguay, which was also the last month of my stay. The women I interviewed were selected by Rorario, Isabel and Charna from the women they considered psychologically stable and who had shared their stories previously, either by writing or by publicly speaking about their experiences. The other conditions were that the women should have lived in the prison between 1975 and 1980, and in a cell of the main building or the *calabozo*. We were aiming at the period of highest prison population and for when the repression was settled in relative stability. From 1973 to 1975 and after 1980, the repressive prison system and the level of inmate resistance suffered constant variation. However, from 1975 to 1980 the prison system had established its procedures and sanctions, and the inmates had established their mechanisms of resistance. By focusing on the main building and the *calabozo*, we delimited the space of the architectural reconstruction.

After Rosario, Isabel and Charna selected a group of women with whom I could meet, a psychologist reviewed the list. I tried to avoid situations that would be stressful for the women. I carefully set the environment for each interview and prepared my reactions to the expected "flashback" memories of painful episodes that could surface during the interview process. Once the group was reviewed, I approached the women I was going to study. They were very receptive and did not seem to feel threatened by my inquiry. One reason for such a positive reception was that I was a young woman – the granddaughter of a political prisoner – and I was introduced by Rosario, Isabel and Charna who were well known to the women. My work was framed within these women's project.

I wanted to video record the interviews in order to review them later and to use their images and voices in the reconstruction, but some women had reservations about this. They felt that they could be misunderstood as manipulating a plight for personal gain. They wanted to appear as a collection of normal women. This is a feature of this women's movement and an Uruguayan idiosyncrasy, as well. You are not supposed to be outstanding. You should be modest and keep a low profile. Your fight it is not only yours, and your life is not only about you but also about the transcendental ideals for which you live. My concern was not in reference to these aspects of their exposure, but rather was a security issue. The people who tortured and imprisoned these women are still alive and free in Uruguay. Therefore, I had to be careful when presenting these women's individual stories, leaving out information that might disclose their identity. For that reason, in this dissertation I use aliases for the interviewed and I have edited other information such as prisoner numbers and family details.

The nine women I interviewed were between the ages of 47 and 70, and all white, middle class, working Uruguayans. Highly educated, all had finished high school. Only one didn't pursue a University degree, and four had graduate degrees. Five were fluent in more than one

language. They reflected an educational level typical of middle class Uruguayans. Also, their working status was representative of a common situation. Uruguayans - women in particular - work in jobs below their level of expertise and are badly paid. One worked as a bank teller, two worked in non-governmental institutions, three were high school teachers, one was a social worker, one was unemployed, and one was a retired high school teacher. All were involved in social projects: as union, political, ecological, or gender rights activists. As far as I know, all were heterosexual. All but two lived with their husbands or children. Four were married, two divorced, one widowed and two were single. Seven of the women had children, five of those seven had children after their imprisonment. The general impression I had was that they had rebuilt their lives during the 20 years since their imprisonment. Some had finished university degrees, and others had found work they liked. After their imprisonment, they had children and rebuilt their family relationships either by changing partners or by keeping their previous partners.

At the time of their imprisonment, their ages ranged from 19 to 50. They served anywhere from 1 to 12 years of imprisonment. At the time of their imprisonment, four were married or had a male partner, and three had children. All were working, one had completed her university degree, and six were students at the university. They were involved in social activities in political parties, as union representatives or in student organizations. Although I did not inquire about torture, all but one woman said she was tortured during the period preceding her imprisonment. Two reported that family members also were tortured – a husband and a pregnant sister. None had given birth to children while in prison, but some had lived with other women who did. One had a sister imprisoned with her. Two had their husbands in another prison at the same time they themselves were imprisoned.

Before each interview, I gave them a written guide describing what my research was about and what I was going to ask them (see Appendix B). I asked them to remember a story that happened in the *calabozo* or in the main building, and to remember specifically the physical space where it took place. By selecting women who had been public about their experiences in prison, and by asking these questions before the meeting, I was able to pursue narratives that were elaborated on prior to our one-on-one meeting. I was trying to avoid unexpected flash backs of painful experiences that would leave these women depressed after our interviews. I wanted their narratives to be a stable recounting of their experiences.

The interviews were conducted in the morning or the early afternoon. Seven of the nine interviews were conducted in my mother's studio, at her home. The reason for having the interviews early in the day and in my mother's studio was to help these women disconnect from the act of remembering, once the interview was finished. First, this setting would allow these women some time before nightfall to engage in other activities that might bring them back to their normal lives. Secondly, it would allow to physically locate their memories in a place to which they never had to return.

The studio had a high ceiling, good illumination, large windows with a view of a garden, and a lit fireplace (it was winter in Uruguay). The setting was intimate and secluded from outside noise and activity. My intention was to make it feel like we were having a conversation in a warm living room. The camera was intimidating at first, but once we began our conversations, the women grew accustomed to it. The interviews were 90 minutes to 2 hours in length. During the first hour, the women did most of the talking. About 1 hour after beginning, we had a planned interruption. I offered tea, coffee, or *mate* (typical tea) with a tray of pastry. The interruption allowed the conversation to stray to mundane matters ("how would you like your tea?", or "would you like cookies?", etc). It was meant to be an opportunity for the women to

rest, and for me to think about how to conduct the second part of our interview. In the second part of the interview, I would generally ask more questions or for clarifications, and share my ideas regarding the building's reconstruction.

I worried about the wellbeing of the women, and before they left I asked each of them what their plans were for the rest of the day, and if they had a ride home. I wanted to be sure that they were fine. After the interviews, I also needed rest. I would plan to go for a walk, to a movie or spend time with my family or friends. The interviews were very intense and emotionally charged. The next day I would review the interview and create a plan for the next interview. There were two interviews conducted within the interviewee's home and were only audio recorded. These women were uncomfortable with having their image shown to others and they preferred to have a conversation in their own homes. In both cases, the women lived solitary lives; one interview happened in the living room, and the other in the kitchen.

At the beginning of the interviewing process I was anxious to "collect data." I though of meters, light orientation, colors, and construction materials. Although I listened to the stories, I worried about how I would build the architectural model itself. However, by the last interviews I felt quite confident. I somehow knew what to expect from the conversations. I began to hear similar stories, to tie together loose ends, and to draw conclusions.

I see my field work as closely related to my personality. I am a very upbeat, highly inquisitive person, and I often see poetics in mundane, everyday experiences. Somehow, I captured in these interviews what I was looking for. Where this is most evident is in the way I treated the issue of torture in the interviews. At the beginning I refused to center the interviews on the issue of torture. These women were tortured "before" they came to prison. Therefore, torture was not a part of the everyday life inside the prison. Most of the movies, theatre plays, and male-written *testimonios* (personal accounts) addressed torture upfront. Female *testimonios* 

tended to de-dramatize the experience of prison and instead, emphasize the events of everyday life - acts of solidarity, love and caring among themselves. Consistent with these observations, I excluded all questions about torture during the interviews. The women did not want to talk about torture. One woman though it was akin to talking about leprosy - a body scar not to be displayed in public. However, with time I began to see that not looking at torture distorted the portrait of these women's incarceration experiences. Even though torture was not part of the everyday experience of prison, it was by far the most important "experience" before prison. Torture invaded all they talked about; it was a constant threat. However, I have a personal tendency to focus on more uplifting stories, or stories that relate to events that could be shared by the audience. For example, everyone can imagine how humiliating it would be to have to ask to go to the bathroom every time you needed to, and to sometimes be ignored or denied permission. But how could one relate to someone having an electric current passing though one's body? Could you imagine being hanged from your wrists for hours? It is something beyond the average person's comprehension. It was something I did not want to see, and these women did not wanted to share with me. However, it was something present in these women's lives.

I have never been in prison and have never suffered torture. Evidently, both facts distanced me from their lives. Furthermore, I was at least one generation younger than these women, and I had lived half my life outside of Uruguay (both in Brazil and in the U.S.A.). All these elements allowed me to establish an outsider's approach to their stories. I would ask for explanations of things which were apparently clear to them, and I would be "forgiven" for committing naïve mistakes because of my age and my foreigner status. Such treatment did not bother me. I saw it as an expression of caring. However, as a person who also had her family persecuted and her grandfather imprisoned, I had some assurance of their trust. I knew how it felt to visit someone in prison. I knew the procedures for family visits, the anxiety, and the censorship of letters. Since

I had seen my grandfather in prison uniform, fragile and haggard by years of mistreatment, I could imagine these women's appearances when they too wore the uniform. Therefore, I had visual references and personal experiences that provided me a better understanding of their experiences.

After I conducted the nine interviews, I returned to Texas to analyze them and to structure the visualization. For 2 years I listened to the interviews over and over again. Each time I tried to understand what they told me and create a structure for the visualization. The interviews are rich in stories that could be visualized in a number of different ways. The most difficult part of the process was to find the focus of the visualization, and to put aside the information that was not immediately relevant. The fist step in this process was to decide to focus on the calabozo, and to use the other stories of what happened in the others cells as part of the context. The *calabozo* experience was not only a microcosm of the prison experience, but also a place of extreme repression where inmates were forced to develop individual means of coping. Focusing on the calabozo was a pragmatic decision that made the project manageable. From an architectural perspective it provided the opportunity to explore the modeling of non-geometric elements light, narrative, texture, and sound - since each cell had a very simple geometry, and few elements to model. The second important step was to choose a cinematic approach for the visualization. Initially, I struggled with the implications of having an environment where the audience could interact with the visualization and, at the same time, be able to experience high quality visuals. Since the experience of the *calabozo* was one of vulnerability, lack control and constant harassment by the guards, I relegated audience interaction to a secondary level of importance. Therefore, a cinematic approach that could also utilize high quality visuals seemed the most appropriate paradigm for the visualization. Both decisions resulted in the structure and stories selected for the storyboards (see section Visualization).

Since the interviews, I have been in contact with some of the women by either email or phone. I would contact them when I needed information or clarifications. They also send me emails to keep me informed of events in Uruguay.

From June to December of 2004, I went to Uruguay on vacation. There, I had the opportunity to share with the women the directions my research has taken. I contacted them and asked if they would be interested in meeting with me again. I met individually with Isabel, Rosario, two of the previously interviewed women, and the psychologist Martha Klinger. During these individual meetings I read them a paper explaining my research, and I listened to their comments. Finally, in November I presented the preliminary findings in a public setting, a forum held at the School of Architecture. The people who came to the meeting included women I interviewed, other female former political prisoners, psychologists, sociologists, artists, students, and professors of architecture. Even though most of the comments supported my findings, one of the political prisoners emphasized the importance of the bathroom in the visualization of the calabozo - something I had overlooked. I had concentrated the visualization on the calabozo cell. For her, the bathroom was a place of communication and exchange of information. In order to incorporate such an observation, I modified the storyboards to include not only a bathroom scene, but also depictions of the corridor and interrogation rooms - spaces that also were part of the experience of being in the *calabozo*. The meeting was emotionally charged. For some people it was the first time they had heard the accounts of the women former prisoners. My work valued an important part of these women's lives that they had found difficult to share with others on their own. Former prisoners and the public alike all felt that it was important to memorialize their experiences through the visualization. Clarisa, a former prisoner, said: "If I knew then, when I was in the *calabozo*, that 20 years later I would be discussing my experience or even making a movie about it, I would have not believed it."

## **Results**

## **Life in the Collective Cells**

Built in the 1950's, the women's prison was originally designed to be a Jesuitical retreat, and was later acquired by the military in 1968. The inmates lived in collective cells, with a population varying from 8 to 48 depending on the size of the cell and the moment in history.

There were two types of cells: those previously designed to be Jesuits dormitories (see Figure 12) and the cell type designed to previously act as a chapel (see Figure 13).

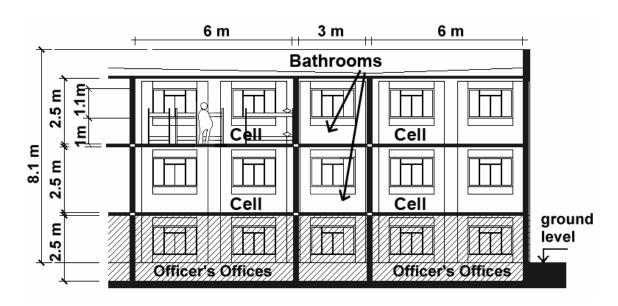


Figure 12. Section of cells of Sector B and E.

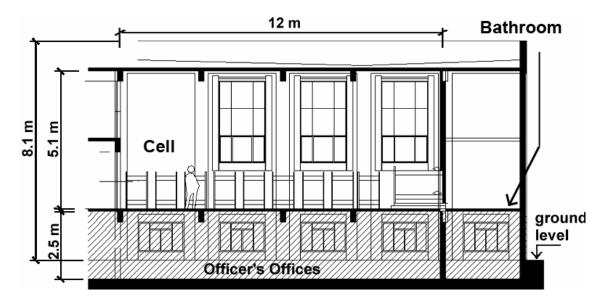


Figure 13. Section of cell of Sector C (the chapel).

The women I interviewed were sent to prison after they had a judicial process. From the moment of arrest to the time they entered prison, the women were detained in other locations. Marisa remembered a place called "300 Carlos" where she met a torturer, nicknamed "the Galician," whom she would later encounter again during her incarceration, at that point working as a guard. "300 Carlos" was a clandestine center of torture created as an operation acting against the Communist Party. The name referred to the project's objective of detaining 300 Carlos Marx. This was an especially difficult period because during the time the individuals were being tortured, the families of the detained would not know where they were. The detained who died during torture remain *desaparecido* (missing and officially unaccounted for), even until today. After the torture, women were sent temporarily to a military establishment and the family was informed of their detention. Finally, after a period of time in such establishments, de detainees were sent to prison.

The arrival in prison was experienced through mixed feelings. On one hand, there was some relief because they would not be physically tortured any more. On the other hand, there was

despair because they would be forced to begin a life under a repressive system for a long and undetermined period of time. Even though the military places of detention had far worse living conditions than Punta de Rieles, these women remembered the experience as being one where they were less controlled by the soldiers. The soldiers were male, far more flexible and less cruel than the female guards. The prison guards were women specially trained in psychological repression. The inmates regarded the female guards as cruel, miserably paid, poor and uneducated women from the countryside, while the prisoners were middle-class and highly educated.

Once the women arrived at the prison, they went through the admission process. They were given short hair cuts, and were stripped of their civilian clothes and of any personal belongings such as jewelry or other adornments. First, they were stripped naked in front of male and female guards and a guard would perform a body search that in some cases included an anal and vaginal search. Then they were given a uniform, a number, and a piece of colored cloth. The color was the prison classification for the women which categorized them in terms of ranges of dangerousness - red being the most dangerous to green being the least. The uniform was a "shapeless gray bag" (Susana). It consisted of pants tied up with a string, and a jacket. On the jacket they had to sew their number and the piece of colored cloth in the front, and a second, larger number on the back. It was common that before the women were assigned to a cell, they would spend some time in the *calabozo*. Even though these women had endured torture, they felt even further alienated by such procedures. It meant a violation of their intimacy and a defacement of their bodily appearance.

The women led a collective life inside the cells. Eating, sleeping, brushing their teeth, showering, reading, all their movements were in the collective, and they were "always surrounded by people" (Susana). The number of inmates per cell was over-dimensioned,

resulting in crowded cells. Some women regretted the lack of privacy, but all the women recalled this collective life as a survival necessity. Their identity as individuals was sheltered and protected by this collective life. They had differences among themselves and they discussed them internally. However, in front of the guards they represented "one" body. Solidarity among the inmates was unquestioned; they shared food, exchanged gifts, and supported each other in all aspects of life.

The guards constantly controlled their lives, imposing schedules around the clock, and punished infractions of the rules by giving sanctions. Prison schedules included a set time for eating, working (as forced labor) and sleeping. The women had an outside break of 30 minutes per day. Sanctions were very common. The main strategy used by the inmates to avoid sanctions was to keep a low profile, since any weakness would be exploited by the guards. Sanctions were cumulative, increasing the type of punishment with the number of infractions. The most common sanctions were (from least serious to worst): no outside breaks, no family visits, and being sent to the *calabozo*. The sanction system was based on rules that changed constantly, therefore creating an arbitrary situation where the only law was the will of the guard.

The inmates organized cultural activities to celebrate the different women's individual birthdays and collective anniversaries (Worker's day, and May 1st, for example). These activities were not allowed by the guards; therefore organization, rehearsal, and performance of these celebrations were all done in hiding. (see the story *Nunca vi china con número* in Appendix A). The cells were extremely clean; sweeping the floors and cleaning the bathrooms were performed by inmates twice a day.

Punta de Rieles was located close to the only Uruguayan international airport. The inmates could see and hear airplanes passing by, constantly (see Audio A480- airplanes in Audio on the section Visualization). Airplanes became for them a symbol of freedom.

Mirábamos el cielo y mirábamos los aviones y eran como pájaros plateados que volaban y era una sensación de libertad aquello.[...] Los veíamos así plateados y yéndose y volando. Era fuerte lo de los aviones.

We looked at the sky and the planes and they where like silver birds that flew, and it gave us a feeling of freedom. [...] We would see them silver(ed), flying and going away, flying. The planes moved us. (Mariana)

The women I interviewed were "punished twice, because of being subversive and because they did not accept the traditional female role" [42]. Sometimes the double punishment was a result of regulations that affected women differently from men. For instance, the enforcement of an extremely short haircut affected women the most because it meant a change in their usual appearance – an feminine appearance distinguished by longer hair. Other times, certain expressions with gendered connotations were used by the military to humiliate them. For example, the *calabozo* building was called by the guards "the little dolls' house." The naming was a way of telling these women, "If you don't behave in prison, you will be sent to the 'house,' which is the place you should not have left in the first place." The first punishment within in the prison system was to be sent into isolation to the *calabozo*. The second punishment was to be sent back to the place that they, as women, shouldn't ever have left: the confinement of their homes.

#### Life in the Calabozo

Inmates would arrive at the *calabozo* as a result of sanctions, or as a sort of a "quarantine" period. The "quarantine" usually happened when the women first arrived at the prison - before they were sent to their cells - and again when the inmate had finished her sentence - before they were released.

Life in the *calabozo* followed a strict schedule. Every day the inmate was woken up by the sound of the guards yelling and banging their truncheons against the metal doors of the cells (see V10- call and V200- call in Vignettes on the section Visualization). The inmate had to fold her bedclothes, roll up her mat and wait to be allowed into the bathroom. One by one, each inmate went to the bathroom. Susana remembered that if "you were maybe the last one you were desperate [to go to the bathroom] and [the guards] tried with all these things to make you get upset against the *compañera* that was delaying in the bathroom." Inside the bathroom the inmate had to shower and use the toilet with a guard waiting by the door, always telling her to hurry. The shower in the bathroom was in cold water. Marisa remembered enjoying such cold showers. However Ana, during her stay in the calabozo, refused to shower not only because it was with cold water, but also because the bathroom door had a window and she didn't want to shower with a guard watching her. She remembered that before she entered prison, when she was in the 14<sup>th</sup> Cavalry (a military establishment), she and the other *compañeras* used to shower with a soldier watching them. But that situation was different, because it occurred immediately after the period in which they were tortured, and because living conditions were much better when comparing with the situation of torture. On the contrary, in prison she got used to warm water and some modicum of privacy from the guards' gaze. Therefore, she felt that showering while in the *calabozo* was a violation of her intimacy.

After the bathroom the inmates had breakfast and lunch inside their individual cells. After lunch there was a long period until dinner, interrupted only by the guards patrolling during their rounds. The inmate was not allowed to do anything inside her cell. No exercising, no reading, no writing, no singing, no handicrafts, no sleeping, and no communicating with other inmates were allowed. During the day, the *calabozo* was a very cold and poorly illuminated space. The inmate had to fight the cold and the tendency to fall asleep by constantly walking. Since the space was

very small, in order not to get dizzy, some women walked in a "figure eight" shaped path (see V170- cold in Vignettes on the section Visualization). Guards inspected the *calabozos* 4 to 5 times a day. If the inmate was caught violating the rules, she would receive another sanction that could lead to an increase in her time in the *calabozo*.

The most difficult moments remembered by Susana were when a *compañera* would show signs of insanity. The *compañera* would yell, talk nonsense or cry out loud, and the guards would do nothing or give her more sanctions (see A90- moan in Audio on the section Visualization). The guards took advantage of these situations to create an even more stressful environment for all the inmates. Sometimes it was not insanity, but a simple request to go to the bathroom (see A100- pleads in Audio on the section Visualization). The *compañera* would ask repeatedly and the guards would not answer at all or yell at her to "shut up" (see A110- guard yells in Audio on the section Visualization). In both cases the inmates felt an increased level of anxiety because they were powerless and unable to help the *compañera*.

The women in the *calabozo* could sometimes hear singing and whistling from the *compañeras* outside. The songs were chosen according to the occasion and the pleasure of the inmate. It was a way of comforting the inmate and breaking the isolation. The singing and whistling were done from the main building's bathrooms or when hanging washed clothes outside (see A290- singing far, and A300- whistling far in Audio on the section Visualization). On rare occasions the women inside the *calabozo* would sing or whistle songs (see A310-singing next in Audio on the section Visualization). If they where caught singing or whistling, they would receive a sanction. The advantage of whistling was that it was difficult to identify who was doing it (Susana).

### Physical features of the *calabozo*

Gladis remembered the *calabozo* as being so small that "you could hardly fit in." The first time she went to the *calabozo* was to bring a bed mattress to a *compañera*. She could hardly get through the corridor and the cell was like a "tin can." The cell size was approximately 1.8 meters by 1.8 meters, and 2.4 meters high (see Figure 14). It had a wooden grid hung by two chains in the wall, a small window blocked by a wooden plank, a metal door with a peephole and an electric lamp controlled from the outside. Only Gladis remembered there being a chair.

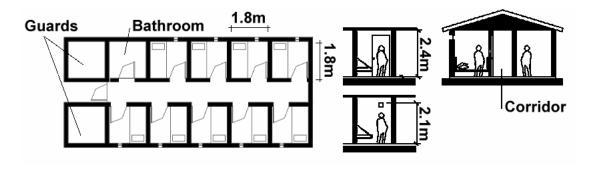


Figure 14. Floor plan and section of the *calabozos*.

The surfaces of the cell were of a rough, concrete finish. When I asked about the colors, Susana and Ana remembered that the walls were white. Ana remembered that they were painted a lime color both outside and inside. Susana remembered that the door was gray. When trying to remember the color of the wood grill, she doubted of he memory. First she said it was gray, and later added that "it could have be green since they painted all the wooden things with green."

The women remembered the *calabozo* as a very dark place. The darkness was felt immediately upon their arrival, even before entering the cell. The only access to the cells was through a corridor. The inmate arrived from the light, which was the outside, into the darkness

inside (Susana). Once inside the cell, darkness was associated with "something that flattens you" (Susana).

"Hay una ventanita que esté abierta o no por ahí entra una penumbra, hay una muy poca luz."

There was a small window that even when it was opened, it left us in semidarkness. There was very little light. (Susana)

Being that it was a poorly lit place, inside the *calabozo* the inmate would tend to doze off and become cold through inactivity.

Darkness was not always considered something negative. Susana remembered that in order to communicate across the corridor inmates did not need extra light, because the light coming from the entrance was enough to allow the inmates to see each other's hands from below the door.

Even though during the day the *calabozo* was a dark place, at night it was well lit because the guards turned on a spot light. Marisa remembered that they would turn on the light around 7 in the evening and turn it off around 10 the next morning. Susana said that the guards tuned on the light to control the inmates' activities. However, Marisa remembered that the use of light as it was manipulated by the guards was also a means of torture. She had problems sleeping at night because the light on her face bothered her. She would raise her arms or cover herself with the bed sheets in order to shade her eyes from the spot light.

Y era parte del castigo ¿no?, la luz era lo tremendo. (Marisa)

It was part of the punishment, wasn't it? The light was something horrible (Marisa).

When referring to more positive experiences, light in general is remembered quite differently. Although the *calabozo* remained a dark place, natural light caused some relief from dimness. Some stories referred to light coming from the window – a directional, natural light that

would illuminate a flower one inmate made of bread crumbs (see V220- flower in Vignettes on the section Visualization). In some stories the window provided a "strong light" where the inmate "would feel the heat, you would feel that there was hot air coming from the outside, you would feel the sun, the light" (Ana). The window also allowed a visual connection with nature and the rest of the *compañeras* (see V230- window in Vignettes on the section Visualization).

Nevertheless, the vast majority of the descriptions of the *calabozo* defined it as a small, dark, cold place where the inmate was left alone to endure the constant harassment of the guards.

Lighting conditions manipulated by the guards were meant to alter the inmate's sleeping habits.

The light was turned off during the day, creating a dark place where the inmate had to fight not to fall asleep or become cold. It was turned on at night, depriving the inmate of the hours of sleep they needed.

## Thumbnail Descriptions of the Women Interviewed

The prison experience represented an important part of these women's lives. Therefore, even though the interviews focused on stories about these women's imprisonment, these stories are better understood within the context of each one of these women's lives. The purpose of this section is to provide a glimpse of what these women told me about their prison experiences and how they coped with them. The stories related not only the enduring humiliation, sadness and tragic situations normally associated with prison. These stories also relate moments of happiness, and of personal fulfillment. For the women I interviewed, prison meant a curtailment of their free will. All the inmates' activities – eating, evacuating, sleeping, playing, working – were regulated around the clock by the prison system. Even a basic necessity like the need to go to the bathroom was not controlled by the inmate. Some women remembered how they resisted this repressive system. Others referred to how they managed to act as free individuals even under such conditions. This wide variety of memories is reflected in the stories they told: from their

moments of despair or anxiety, to their moments of freedom and detachment from their prison environment. Even though each woman expressed her struggle in a different way, resistance and freedom were commonly featured among all the *testimonios*.

The following account is made in the chronological order under which I conducted the interviews. Because the descriptions are intended to be succinct, I am providing stories that complement these thumbnail descriptions in Appendix A.

### Susana

From the group of women I interviewed, Susana was the person who spent the most time in prison - eleven and a half years. At the time of the interview she was living with her husband and their teenage son. Her husband was taken to prison at the same time and spent the same number of years in prison as she did. Susana is the daughter of European immigrants. She is petite, has dark hair and an intense gaze. Hyperactive, she spoke quickly and moved constantly during the interview. She impressed me as a strong and passionate woman. Susana focused her narrative on her memories of the *calabozo*. She was sent there multiple times. Therefore, her memory of the *calabozo* was not one in particular, but rather an aggregate of all the time she spent there. Her narrative focused on the routine inside the *calabozo*, and how she coped with it. She used to move constantly in order not to fall asleep or to get cold. In the interview she taught me the different codes used by the inmates to communicate with one another. She showed me the sign language used below the *calabozo* doors and the wall-tapping code. Her solitude in the *calabozo* gave her an opportunity to think about her own life, precious moments of privacy she could not have within the main prison.

#### Rosa

Rosa's recollection was primarily about how prison imposed an oppressive system on the women and how the inmates were able to fight back. She exemplified this struggle through the

changes made to the windows in the prison. For her, the window represented the materialization of the different political situations inside prison, and in the outside world.

The window glasses were painted white. When the inmates were sanctioned, the inmates were forced to close their windows. During the time the prison was equipped with this first type of window, Rosa remembered seeing the military conduct the most outrageous displays of omnipotence. While the inmates were enduring prison, the officers constructed a swimming pool for the enjoyment of the officers and their families (see Appendix A story "Through the window").

Later the windows were covered with a wire net, and a green plastic panel that would completely obstruct any visual access. The blocking of the windows was accompanied by sanctions where the inmates were not allowed to go out of their cell for their daily 30 minute outdoor break. Living in the cells became suffocating, not only because of the lack of air circulation, but because of their over-exposure to green light and its color distortions.

Near the final period of her incarceration, the guards removed the green panels and installed white screens. Such a change in the windows was accompanied by a more irreverent inmate attitude. As soon as the new screens were in place, the inmates began to push them outwards. Once the inmates distanced the screens from the outside wall of the building, they created a tangential space of vision that was also protected from the guards' view. Therefore, the panels were perfect devices for communication among the inmates housed on different floors. Furthermore, the white panels also were susceptible to small holes, or *vichaderos*, from which the inmates could view the outside of the prison without being observed.

#### Marisa

At the time of the interview, Marisa was approximately 70 years old, the oldest of the women I interviewed and a friend of my family. She came to the interview well prepared with

her stories already written down, and she began our meeting by reading them to me. These initial stories were light and humorous; it showed her irreverence and defiance in the face of the guards. Her insight into these stories demonstrated that each person lived in the prison in her own modality. In her case she was a rebellious older woman. It was not a conscious attitude, but rather a spontaneous manifestation of her personality. Later on the interview, she narrated darker stories of the *calabozo* that reminded her of the time when she was tortured. Her worst experience in prison was the humiliation she suffered. For Marisa, one way of overcoming such humiliation was developing cultural activities that would value her and the other inmates' lives as human beings (see story on Appendix A *Nunca vi china con número*).

### Mariana

Mariana portrayed her experience in prison as being simply a part of life. She sees herself as an ordinary woman confronted with a situation that could happen to anybody, and she emphasized how all of us have the strength within ourselves to overcome such situations. She somehow de-dramatized the prison experience by remembering scenes where she could detach herself from prison and enjoy small pleasures like a sunset seen through her prison cell.

tengo esa imagen así brumosa de un sol anaranjado en invierno más que nada. El humito que te sale de la boca y esa cosa así... como una quietud como que yo me podía abstraer de todo, de todo y estaba eso así como magistral porque era una cosa soberbia...

I have this foggy image of an orange winter sun, more than anything. The smoke that comes from your mouth and the feeling... like tranquility, as if I could abstract myself away from everything. And everything was magnificent because it was superb... (Mariana)

Mariana was a young woman and her parents' only daughter when she was sent to prison.

Therefore, the collective support of the other *compañeras* was essential for coping with prison life.

#### <u>Ana</u>

Ana was the youngest of all the women I interviewed. Sent to prison when she was 19 years old, during her interview she remembered how she felt grown up then, and how her teenage daughters also feel that way today. This comparison made her realize how devastated her parents must have been when she was sent to prison. Ana is a tall, good humored woman with a loud voice. When discussing her memories of the *calabozo*, she emphasized that communication with other *compañeras* was what allowed her to survive the loneliness. Her most significant memory of the *calabozo* was of constant talking through the door's peephole with the inmates across the corridor (see V250- peephole in Vignettes on the section Visualization).

### **Gladis**

Gladis's interview was audio recorded only. She gave me insight into how her perception of space changed with time. At the time of the interview, Gladis was working as a social worker in the neighborhood near Punta de Rieles. She was the only woman among the interviewed who went to visit the site after being liberated. After 10 years she went to see the place and was surprised at how small the space of the outdoor yard where they took daily breaks was. She also recalled how spaces felt larger or smaller, depending on the circumstances. While in prison she lived for some time in the chapel cell, a spacious room with a high ceiling, and tall windows. When sent to the *calabozo* for the first time, she felt that the *calabozo* was a small "tin can" that could hardly fit anything into it. During her time in the *calabozo*, she always yearned to be back in the chapel cell. Once she returned to the chapel cell she felt that the cell she imagined was larger than the real cell. Gladis felt suffocated by the *compañeras* crowded around her, as if there were women "coming from the walls."

### **Julia**

Julia is an extroverted, loud, redheaded woman who came to the interview dressed in bright colors. She spent the least amount of time in Punta de Rieles of all the women interviewed – one year. Born in a countryside city in a traditional, loving, and caring family, Julia valued her memories of childhood and the support of her family during her time in prison as essential to her survival. At the time she was detained she had a 1 year old daughter who was raised by the child's grandparents during her imprisonment. She remembered that because she had an indomitable (unruly) character, in prison she was constantly sanctioned.

#### Elena

Elena's interview was audio recorded only. She centered her interview on the circulation hall where adults-only family visits took place. Once every two weeks, the inmates were allowed to have family visits. Family visits were a source of extreme anxiety. On the one hand, the inmate yearned to see her family. On the other hand, there were inherent difficulties in communicating between the two completely different worlds - the prison and the outside world. Elena described the change in settings for the visits and how they affected her relationship with her family. Initially, the family was separated from the inmate by a one meter high wall and a wired net. On one side there was the family, and on the other side the inmate. Later, the guards installed painted glass and telephones. The glass was painted white up to 1.5 meters high, leaving a small half-oval space unpainted. The problem was that because Elena was petite, she had to stand on her tiptoes in order to see her family. Furthermore, the telephone limited the visit to a one-on-one conversation. Before the telephones were installed, the conversation could be done in a group. Her father was a quiet man, and she remembered how difficult it was to have a conversation with him. To make things worse, the change in settings coincided with a car accident affecting her family. On the first telephone visit, her mother didn't come because she was badly injured and

had to stay in the hospital. Therefore, all the obstructions in communication plus her family's accident created an extremely painful encounter. Elena remembered with irony that the guards would lend a small stool to some short inmates. She loved the stool, but it was never lent to her. Carolina

Carolina centered her interview on how she lived in prison with her sister in the next cell. Her sister was pregnant when imprisoned and gave birth to a boy. She lived with him in another prison until he was 18 months old. At that time Carolina's sister was taken to Punta de Rieles and the boy was sent live with Carolina's parents (the boy's father was also in prison). During their childhood, Carolina and her sister were always dressed the same, wore the same haircut, and were constantly compared to one another. However, once they became teenagers they fought with their parents and argued to be treated differently from one another. Once in prison, they were forced to look alike again. Carolina's narrative concerned about how she, her sister and her four year old nephew took advantage of such similarities in order to trick the guards (see story on Appendix A "Tricking the guards"). Carolina's sister was released before she was. Her sister's liberation was remembered with mixed feelings - happiness for her being released, but fear of the constant threats against her sister's life by the military, and deep sadness because Carolina would no longer have her company. After constant threats and an attempt by the military to kill her sister, her sister left the country with her son.

### Scenes of Everyday Life in the Calabozo

## Routine

Although the imposed military schedules were felt to be alienating, the women managed to use the routine to plan their own activities inside the *calabozo*. In order to anticipate controlling the inspections of the guards, the women developed a keen auditory sense. They realized that each activity could be anticipated by its corresponding noise. The inmates would hear the noises

preceding each guard's round - the opening of the outside metal bar or their footsteps (see A110-guard yells in Audio on the section Visualization) - or they would hear the noise that preceded the arrival of every meal – the banging of tin vessels (see A80- tin dishware in Audio on the section Visualization).

Marisa developed her own way of anticipating the guards' surveillance by observing the inverted projections of the guards' shadows onto the ceiling of her *calabozo* (see V240- shadows in Vignettes on the section Visualization). By controlling the guards' inspections, Marisa could plan her own activities during the day and retain some control over her time.

Alerted by noises or by projected shadows, the inmates could anticipate the guards. That allowed them to engage in forbidden activities, to plan their days and, therefore, to reduce their vulnerability to the guards' control and harassment.

## Grooming

One of the things the inmates recalled was the prohibition of personal cosmetic accessories - like mirrors, scissors or tweezers - inside the *calabozo*. Gladis remembered that she could not have a mirror, and therefore she found it difficult to identify with her own body. In the *calabozo* she reconstructed an image of herself through her shadow cast on the floor (see Appendix A "Shadow").

Susana remembered the prohibition of tweezers inside the *calabozo* (see V50- eyebrows in Vignettes on the section Visualization). She explained:

Que las uñas te crezcan no es nada, es un detalle...Pero que las cejas te crezcan y no te las puedas sacar es terrible. {gesto con la mano tocando el crecimiento del entrecejo} ¿Por qué? Porque vos no te ves pero las sentís.

That the nails grow-- it is a detail... But that the eyebrows grow and you cannot pluck them out is terrible. {gesture with her fingers touching the middle of her eyebrows} Why?

Because you don't see them but feel them. (Susana)

Susana realized that worrying about these "four tiny hairs" growing between her eyebrows might seem vain and irrelevant, taking into consideration the general conditions of humiliation and abuse the inmates endured in the *calabozo*. However, the prohibition of tweezers meant she could not control her own appearance, and she could not be seen the way she desired to be seen.

The prohibition of tweezers and mirrors, together with the imposition of a short haircut, the uniform, the number, the body posture of always looking down, and many other regulations imposed upon the inmates' bodies meant an abasement of their identity as women, and as human beings.

### Two arrival scenes

Susana was sent several times to the *calabozo* as a result of sanctions. Each time she arrived at the *calabozo* she felt afraid, as if entering prison again for the first time. Furthermore, each time she was sent to the *calabozo* she felt stripped of the few things she still had in her cell – mainly the *compañeras* support, but also family visits, any extra food, mate, cigarettes, handicrafts, and books.

Y vos no tenés nada. Eras vos y tu cuerpo...Desnudo

And you didn't have anything. It is you and your body... naked. (Susana)

However, Susana recalled that from the very moment she arrived, even while still in the *calabozo*'s corridor, she communicated with the other inmates. Since talking was not allowed, she and the other inmates would cough to each other – that was a way of saying "hi" (see V150-arrival in Vignettes on the section Visualization).

The other common scene of arrival at the *calabozo* occurred when entering prison for the first time. Marisa remembered her arrival at the *calabozo* and the admissions procedures she endured from a female guard (see V60- arrival in Vignettes on the section Visualization). The procedure she described was a body search where she had to take off her clothes. Since the same woman guard was present when she previously had been tortured, this episode reminded her of past humiliations and physical abuse. The brazen impunity of the military repression meant that they not only tortured her, but also that those same torturers were re-encountered as guards at the prison. She was disgusted by the guard and she felt deeply humiliated by the intimate violation.

Both examples of arrival scenes demonstrate the inmates' deep feelings of vulnerability, of total loss, and of being hopelessly within the repressors' grip.

### The bag

When an inmate was sanctioned, she would be sent directly to the *calabozo*. If she was not in her cell, the *compañeras* from her cell would prepare a bag with clothes and personal hygiene items she would need in the *calabozo*. The *compañeras* would put warm clothes in the bag because the *calabozo* was a very cold place. However, in this bag she would not receive her own clothes:

Recibías la camisa de fulanita, los zapatos de menganita, cada una... Salvo la ropa interior que era una cosa personal después recibías de cada una algo [...] Y había una compañera que siempre me mandaba sus botas forradas de corderito, adentro de corderito. Ella sabia que yo sufría mucho de frío. Ella se privaba de tener sus botas para mandármelas y yo estar calentita.

You'd receive someone's shirt, someone else's shoes, each one... Except for the underwear. That was something personal. You'd receive something from each one. [...] There was a *compañera* who would always send me her boots that were lined with lambskin. She knew

that I suffered from cold. She would deprive herself of her boots in order for me to be warm.

(Susana)

Therefore, the bag was a way the *compañeras* from the cell showed their support for one another. Since the bag contained regular items, the guards never suspected that it might be a means of communication. Sometimes the bag contained encoded messages specific to the inmate isolated in the *calabozo*. Carolina remembered that she was once sent to the *calabozo* because she disobeyed a guard's orders - when her sister was released, she left her cell to hug her sister goodbye. Carolina was immediately sanctioned and sent to the *calabozo*. However, Carolina did not know if her sister was sent to her home or deported to another country. It was through a hidden embroidered shirt inside the bag that the *compañeras* told her that her sister was sent home (see V70- bag in Vignettes on the section Visualization). She recalled that moment as *en esas cosas era donde vos te sentías parte de algo entrañable y poderoso, a pesar de estar presa. En esas condiciones de inferioridad* 

It is one of those things where you feel part of something dear and powerful, even though you are in prison, living under these conditions of inferiority. (Carolina)

Carolina felt empowered and supported. Through the bag the *compañeras* reached the isolates inmates and helped them cope with isolation inside the *calabozo*.

# **Loneliness**

Part of the punishment aspect of the *calabozo* was the isolation of the inmate from the rest of the *compañeras*. Enduring prison was difficult enough, but enduring prison alone was even worse. During her interview, Elena referred to many stories where her encounter with a *bichito* (little animal) would trigger feelings of loneliness, confinement and sadness (see V40- bug in Vignettes on the section Visualization).

Llegué al calabozo y no había nadie. Había un silencio tan pesado, una cosa tan... Y yo me sentía sola, un silencio tremendo en un lugar chiquitito. Y de repente veo que en el piso... veo que se mueve algo, y me acerco... un cascarudito que era chiquitito... una cosita así, pero era lo único vivo que había en ese lugar.

I arrived in the *calabozo* and there was nobody. There was a heavy silence, so quiet... And I felt alone-- a dreadful silence in such a small place. Suddenly I saw that something was moving on the floor. I got closer... a small beetle... something so small. But it was the only thing alive in that place. (Elena)

This little bug was alone like she was. However, the bug was free and could leave the *calabozo* any time it desired. In her story Elena felt sorry for the bug, but in order not to be alone, she created a "bread prison" – a small cave made with crumbs and saliva- so she could have its company the next morning.

Stories such as the one about the bug are present only in Elena's narrative. Making friends with the only thing alive was her way of coping with isolation inside the *calabozo*.

## Interrogation

Often, women in the *calabozo* were subject to interrogation by a superior officer. Although the reasons for these interrogations varied, the intention of the interrogation was to threaten the inmate and was always conducted by someone known to be a torturer.

Todos los días iba el comandante, el jefe de la cárcel [...], que era un torturador, hijo de puta. [...] iba todos los días borracho, de noche, al calabozo a amenazarme.

Every day the commander in charge of the prison [came to my cell] [...]. He was a torturer son of a bitch [...] He would come every day, drunk, at night, to the *calabozo* to threaten me. (Carolina)

Even though each story relates to particular situations, the purpose of these questionings was to break an inmate's will. Ana remembered how she felt vulnerable, helpless and insecure after each interrogation because she could not share her anxiety with the *compañeras*. After each interrogation, she was retuned to the *calabozo* cell:

No me devuelven al sector [celda comunitaria] para que yo les cuente a mis compañeras.

Es una entrevista que cuando yo vuelvo al calabozo estoy sola, sigo sola, sigo con miedo...

con más miedo.

They didn't return me to the sector [the common cells] so I could tell my *compañeras*. It was an interview and when I came back I was in the *calabozo* alone. I remained alone. I remained with fear... with more and more fear. (Ana)

Together with the isolation, the interrogation procedures were meant as threats not only to the inmate, but to the collective body of women because everyone knew that the same people who tortured them before they came to the prison were among the high officials conducting such interrogations.

## Means of communication

Communication was important in itself, but not necessarily only as a means of transmitting information. Rosa explained that communication was a way of bonding for the inmates, of showing solidarity and creating closeness with each other; it was a way of communicating affection.

Yo siempre digo que en el penal la comunicación estaba elevada al nivel de principio de vida. Era un valor primario, absolutamente primario, sustancial. (Rosa)

I always say that in prison, communication was a life principle. It was a primary value, absolutely primary, substantial. (Rosa)

Communication among the inmates was a way to assure each other that whatever happened to them would not pass unnoticed. Rosa remembered that in prison there were no secrets among the inmates; if someone was sent to the *calabozo* or taken for an interrogation, everybody knew, and everybody was watching out for you.

Y vos estabas como muy convencida de que a vos te podían hacer algo, pero había muchos testigos y eso te daba mucha fuerza. [...] Tendrían que matarnos a todas. De otra manera no podrían.

And you were convinced that they could do something to you, but there were many witnesses and that gave you strength. [...] They would have to kill us all. Otherwise they couldn't hurt us.

Communication gave the inmates strength by allowing them to control the prison's activities.

That is why *no podías vivir sin comunicarte* (you could not live without communicating). (Rosa)

Once the inmate arrived in the *calabozo* or her cell, she would immediately begin to investigate the space. She would study how she could use physical elements (such as the door, the window, and the walls) that blocked her, to in some way counteract her isolation.

Como que el espacio era algo a ser muy estudiado, a ver qué agujeros tenía, por dónde era franqueable, y como usabas, es decir, todo eso que tenía un objetivo de dividir, de separar, de compartimentar, vos lo podías invertir... y darle un contenido diferente.(Rosa)

The space was something to be carefully studied, to look for holes where it could be breached, I mean... All that had the objective of dividing, separating, compartmentalizing.

You could revert and give a different meaning (Rosa).

There were multiple ways the inmates broke their isolation inside the *calabozo*.

The doors of each *calabozo* were located along a corridor. They were placed in diagonal order, not facing one another. In one end of the corridor there was a guard post and the only

outside access to the *calabozos*. Therefore, when conducting any communication through the door, the inmate closer to the guards would have to constantly check whether or not there was a guard coming.

The door presented two opportunities for communication. Since the door did not reach the floor, there was a gap that allowed the inmates to see through to the corridor. The inmate would lay supine on the floor and draw letters on the floor (V370- door below) for the inmate across the corridor to read. The other opportunity the door presented was its peephole, used by the guards to spy on the inmate's activity, and by the inmates to chat via sign language across the corridor (V250-peephole).

The only window in the *calabozo* was very small (about 35 cm by 35 cm) and blocked by a wooden plank with holes. If the inmate was tall enough, she could climb onto the wooden grill to see outside. Julia remembered a time when she was caught looking at the *compañeras* cutting the grass outside (V230-window).

The slowest method of communication was through tapping in the wall. The code they used was 1 tap for each letter of the alphabet, for example: 1 tap = A, 2 taps = B, etc. They would use words but with misspellings in order to save time. For example, they might substitute S for Z. It was slow process, but "we had nothing else to do" (Susana).

Sometimes the communication was so slow that it annoyed the inmates.

A veces me golpeaban y yo decía "ay no, no quiero comunicarme", "Ya sé que están bien.

Por favor un rato necesito de tranquilidad"... Normalmente queda mal decirlo, pero es

así...

Sometimes someone would tap and I'd say to myself "ay no, I don't want to communicate." "I know that they are fine. Please! I need to be left in peace"... Normally it would be wrong to say this, but it was like that... (Susana)

Even though all women reported that communicating was an essential way of coping with life in the *calabozo*, some women reported the need for privacy, the need to be left alone.

# **Daydreaming**

Only two women, Susana and Marisa, remember that they wanted to be left alone, without distractions, in order to think about their lives. Susana remembered that

Nosotros teníamos una vida totalmente colectivizada. Íbamos al baño a lavarnos los dientes colectivamente, nos bañábamos en colectivo. Todo colectivo. Todos tus movimientos eran colectivos. Todo alrededor rodeado de gente.

We had a life totally collectivized. We would go to the bathroom to brush our teeth together. We would shower together. Everything was done in a group. All your movements were in a group. Around you there were always people. (Susana)

Forced into isolation in the *calabozo*, Marisa and Susana remembered thinking about their futures or imagining activities forbidden in prison that they would be able to perform in a normal life. Marisa remembered that she would plan her day with activities involving the preparation of a meal or teaching French literature as one of her subjects in the high school in which she was previously employed (see V400- daydreaming in Vignettes on the section Visualization).

Claro porque vos tenias 24 horas contigo misma. Con las limitaciones además externas.

Entonces tenias que llenar tu día con una serie de actividades para que tu cabeza quedara fresca como tal. Entonces yo planificaba un día grande. Cocinaba pero antes iba a hacer los mandados. Después cocinaba detalladamente tiraba las cáscaras en la basura... O sea cuando digo todo eso quiero decir que yo veía todas esas... me veía haciendo todo eso.

You'd have 24 hours with yourself-- with all the external limitations, of course. Then you'd have to fill your day with a series of activities in order to keep your head fresh. Therefore, I used to plan a busy day. I'd cook, but before that I'd go out for groceries. After that I'd

carefully cook, throw the peels into the garbage... I mean... When I say all this I mean that I would see all these things. I would see myself doing all this. (Marisa)

Besides Marisa, the other inmate interviewed who reported daydreaming was Susana. Since she spoke several foreign languages, she imagined conversations she would have with relatives living abroad and meetings with foreign personalities. She would practice in her mind such conversations where she would denounce the human rights she and her fellow inmates suffered. Speaking in a foreign language was not allowed in prison, and reading books was not allowed in the *calabozo*. Therefore, both activities were part of the daydreaming Susana and Marisa engaged in, in the *calabozo* (see V410- daydreaming in Vignettes on the section Visualization). The *castiguitos* (little punishments)

The making of handicrafts in prison was a way of spending time and of making gifts for other *compañeras*. Giving and receiving gifts was a way of bonding and expressing care for one another. The inmates worked with wool, weaving clothes or using the loom. They also worked with leather, crocheted, embroidered, and sewed. Some women were skillful and were able to produce beautiful gifts, and others tried but with little success. Because some gifts were ugly, they were ironically called *castiguitos*. (little punishments).

Inside the *calabozo* the women had nothing besides their clothing and some personal hygiene items. Sometimes even the mattress was removed. Since in the *calabozo* all handicrafts were forbidden, some inmates would practice them in hiding. Julia remembered how painful it was for her, an extroverted and talkative woman, to be isolated in the *calabozo* for long periods of time. In order to overcome the idleness she would do macramé with the threads of her towel and later undo it. "Otherwise I had nothing else to do." (Julia)

Common handicrafts in the calabozo were small objects modeled using the bread that came with the food, which was then mixed with saliva and toothpaste. Several stories refer to modeled

tiny flowers. In the book *La Espera* of María Condenanza [25], the author narrates how she saved small pieces of bread from her meal, made the dough with saliva and pink toothpaste, and modeled a flower and waited for it to dry. In her story, she enjoyed imagining the surprise and wonder it would bring the other prisoner to see the pink rose. She planned to place the flower in the bathroom as a gift for the inmate who was in the next cell (see V360- flower in Vignettes on the section Visualization).

Marisa remembered a time when she found a flower in the bathroom (see V220- flower in Vignettes on the section Visualization). She brought it to the cell and raised it so that it was lit by the light coming in from the window. She imagined herself portraying the role of a heroic woman in a socialist, realist movie. In the movie, the flower grew and sparked.

The bread flower stories portray the most relevant feature of the experience within the *calabozo*: the everyday routine of small acts of resistance that kept these women alive.

### VISUALIZATION

The objective of the proposed visualization is to convey a sense of being a prisoner inside the *calabozo*. The *calabozo* was a very small place – there was hardly enough room to walk or move inside – and it was a place to be experienced alone, in isolation. While there are multiple ways of presenting such a visualization, the one I am proposing is a video installation that encloses the viewer in a space similar to the *calabozo* cell, to be experienced by only one person at a time.

The video is set in a documentary key, the stories are told by actresses playing the role of the interviewed in order to keep their confidentiality.

#### Content

The visualization is based on the themes and stories that emerged from the analysis of the interviews. The installation centers around the variation in the experiences of the *calabozo* recounted during the testimonies, and are expressed through three groups of experiences.

The first group (marked blue on the flowchart in Figure 15) recalls dark stories, where repression is the predominant theme in the recounted experience. The prisoner was alone, vulnerable, afraid, and cold. The experience was one of being constantly harassed by the guards, where everyday activities appeared to be external and imposed. Lighting inside the *calabozo* consisted of two sources: artificial light at night and very dim natural light during the day. Light was an element of torture—they were deprived of sleep at night and were forced to be awake, but in the dark, during the day.

The second group (marked orange on the flowchart in Figure 15) expresses a change in mood from repressive and alienating to one in which the inmate felt less vulnerable and more able to control her space and time. The main element in these stories was the struggle for

communication. Lighting inside the *calabozo* consisted of directional natural light coming in from the window. The place was not dark. The light was warm and had body. There was some contrast between areas of shadow and brightness. Since in these stories the inmate was aware of the routines of the guards, the inmate was able – at least to a minimal extent – to control her time and plan her activities inside the *calabozo*.

Finally, the third group recalled moments of detachment from the immediate physical space through daydreaming (marked green on the flowchart in Figure 15). The *calabozo* offered an opportunity to be alone, and such moments of solitude allowed the inmate to free her mind. In these stories, daydreaming was a way of preserving mental sanity.

# **Setting**

The video installation is structured with three screens hung from the ceiling and supported by metallic tubes. The screens, made of translucent cloth, are rear projected and facing each other, completing the three vertical faces of a virtual room of approximately 2 meters per side (see Figure 16). The audience stands inside the virtual cube, surrounded by the screens. The space enclosed is similar in size to the actual *calabozo* cell space. The size of the installation is slightly larger than the real *calabozo* dimensions because it has been calculated to take into account the minimum distance necessary for the audience to view the screens. The proportions of the screens have an aspect ratio of 1.33:1 in order to avoid the necessity of masking or cropping the projected video.

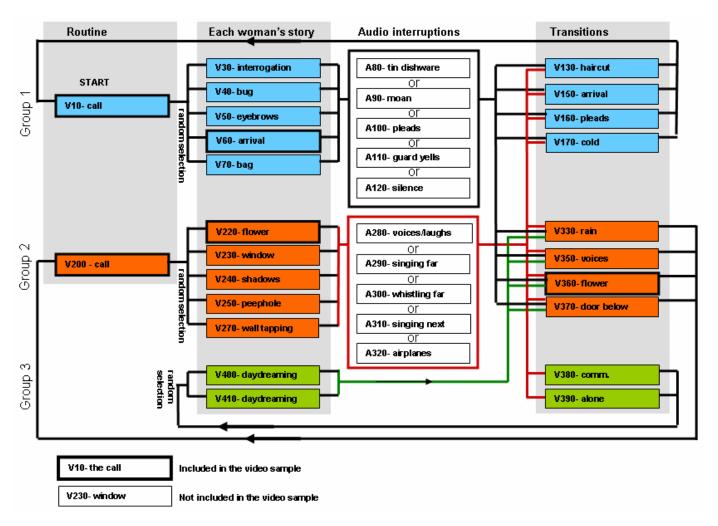


Figure 15. Flowchart of the narrative indicating the different branches in the routine, individual, and transition video sequences.

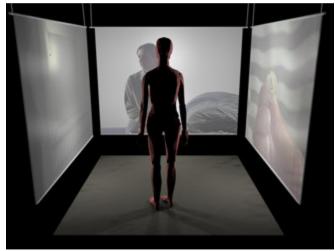


Figure 16. View of the installation's settings.

The installation is intended to be transportable, allowing audiences from multiple sites to view the exhibition. The equipment necessary for the installation includes three LCD projectors connected to three DVD players. Synchronization between the three screens can be achieved by scripting the DVD – using a computer to select the random scenes – or by using a programmed DVD synchronizer.

### **Narrative Structure**

One of the main features of the *calabozo* experience is the arbitrary nature of the rules and punishments the women received. To recreate this effect, the visualization proposes a nonlinear narrative with arbitrary interruptions and events. The story sequences are randomly selected, allowing for varied viewing times.

The women recalled that every day began with the same routine. Therefore, each story begins with a routine sequence (marked under the heading "Routine" on the flowchart in Figure 15). The sequence sets the mood for the day, depending on the group of experiences recalled.

Following the initial routine sequence, the video presents a story told from any one of the women's perspectives (marked under the heading "Each Woman's Story" on the flowchart in Figure 15). This individual story is told in voiceovers that are selected randomly, and can be interrupted by events, also selected randomly. The purpose of the interruptions is to portray the vulnerability of these women. When an individual sequence is interrupted, an alternative video sequence is inserted into the story's flow.

After an individual story is presented, there is a transition sequence randomly selected.

Transition sequences work as pauses or reflections, linking the individual stories and the beginning of a new day's cycle. Following the transition sequence, the video begins again with another routine sequence.

The video narrative structure allows for three important features of the experience of the *calabozo* to be presented. First, it expresses the vulnerability inherent in these women's experiences by randomly selecting each story and interruption, and by interrupting each story with a randomly selected noise. Secondly, it portrays the importance of the life routines inside the *calabozo*, common to all the testimonies. Finally, the video features the individuality of each story by presenting the stories from each woman's particular perspective. Though structured like a narrative, the video differs from traditional film because it treats each character's story as equally important as the other characters', rather than presenting events through the point of view of one main character. Furthermore, projecting the video onto multiple screens allows for multiple perspectives of the same scene, which is different from traditional films' single point of view narrative strategy. The installation of 3 screens also disrupts the Panoptic idea of a power figure with one directional gaze, the system of surveillance these women were forced to endure.

### **Storyboards**

Below are the audio descriptions and vignette sequences developed for the video installation.

#### **Audio**

The audio allows the setting of the mood for the different scenes, and for directing the audience's attention from one screen to another. The Audio interruptions in group 1 (marked blue on the flowchart in Figure 15) are intended to be both disturbing and destabilizing. They are meant to introduce anxiety and a feeling of total vulnerability to a guard's harassment. Audio interruptions in group 2 (marked orange on the flowchart in Figure 15) are events that remind the prisoner that she is not alone. These interruptions signal opportunities for communication (of information or affection) among the inmates. Audio interruptions in group 3 are at the end of the daydreaming sequence, and trigger the following transition sequence. The audio in group 3 is composed of sounds from the prisoners' free lives: street fairs, tap water, ceramic dishware, and music.

### A80- tin dishware

The arrival of food was a frequent interruption (occurring 3 times a day). The experience was one of a loud, chaotic interruption.

Audio description: loud banging of tin dishware accompanied by guards yelling, announcing the food, hurrying the inmate to eat quickly, and demanding the return of the dishes.

Interruption vignettes: all the vignettes form group 1 (V30, V40, V50, V60, V70).

## A90- moan

Susana remembered that the worst moments in the *calabozo* were when another prisoner would plead or cried for assistance. Sometimes it was the result of madness. On these occasions the prisoner would talk nonsense, cry, or yell. This would cause the guard to yell, apply more

sanctions, and generally to harass the prisoner. Susana felt powerless. She could not help the other prisoners, and the prisoners' suffering increased her own suffering, exponentially.

Audio description: a quiet moan followed by a cry out loud, then followed by a guard's yells, finally followed by a quiet moan.

Interruption vignettes: all the vignettes form group 1 (V30, V40, V50, V60, V70).

### A100- pleading

Susana remembered when another prisoner would ask to go to the bathroom. The prisoner could ask for hours without being answered, or be yelled at to "shut up" by the guards. These constant pleadings were a source of anxiety because Susana felt powerless. She could not help the other prisoner, and she could not know what state the other prisoner was in (if she was suffering and in real need, or just bored). Susana wondered why, in these moments especially, she didn't start screaming herself.

Audio description: a prisoner's voice from far away, "Guard. I need to go to the bathroom." Silence. The prisoner pleads again. "Please guard! I need to go to the bathroom!" The pleading goes on and on. The guard yells "Shut up *pichi*! Do you want more sanctions?!"

Interruption vignettes: all the vignettes from group 1 (V30, V40, V50, V60, V70).

#### A80- guard yells

The guards' voices and conversations were heard from the *calabozo*. The themes and the laughing remind the prisoners of the normal lives of which they are deprived. Carolina remembered that their conversations about food were particularly painful.

Audio description: Hysterical laughs. A guard yells, "Calabozo 4, do you want to have more sanctions?!"

Interruption vignettes: all the vignettes from group 1 (V30, V40, V50, V60, V70).

### A80- silence

The auditory senses of the prisoners were extremely sensitive. In the *calabozo* where a prisoner was isolated, being alert and learning to interpret the few auditory clues the place offered was a type of survival skill. Through them, the women could know who was coming (an officer or a guard), with what attitude, how the other prisoners were feeling, etc. Therefore, silence was not a void of noise, but rather the presence of very muted sounds that could be interpreted.

Audio description: faint steps, metal, scratching.

Interruption vignettes: all the vignettes form group 1 (V30, V40, V50, V60, V70).

# A280- voices/laughs

Outside, prisoners would take any opportunity to reach the women inside the *calabozo*. One way was to talk and laugh loudly when hanging out their clothes to dry.

Audio description: laughing and talking from far away.

Interruption vignettes: all the vignettes from group 2 (V220, V230, V240, V250, V270).

## A290- singing next

Context: From the prison building, women would sing towards the *calabozo* songs they knew the prisoner in the *calabozo* liked. It was a way of telling her: "We know you are there! Resist!"

Audio description: singing the Alberti's poem "Galope" (See Appendix A).

Interruption vignettes: all the vignettes from group 2 (V220, V230, V240, V250, V270).

### A300- whistling far

Susana recalled that after dinner she would go to the bathroom in the prison building and whistle a song to the women in the calabozo. She remembered that sometimes it was difficult because the whistle had to go against the "south wind."

Audio description: whistling from far away, wind.

Interruption vignettes: all the vignettes from group 2 (V220, V230, V240, V250, V270).

# A310-singing

Risking more sanctions, some *calabozo* prisoners would sing to each other.

Audio description: singing "La Varsoviana."

Interruption vignettes: all the vignettes from group 2 (V220, V230, V240, V250, V270).

## A320- airplanes

Mariana and Marisa remembered planes passing in the sky as a symbol of freedom. Inside the "metallic birds," people were free to go places.

Audio description: an airplane passing.

Interruption vignettes: all the vignettes from group 2 (V220, V230, V240, V250, V270).

# **Vignettes**

Each vignette has an introduction that explains the context of the story, a Scene description that includes a description of each scene's setting, and the storyboards describing each shot, camera setting, action, etc.

### V10- call

In the *calabozo*, every day began with the same routine. First it was the call, which was the banging of the guard's stick against the metal doors of the cells and their yelling to "Hurry up!" After that, each inmate had to roll up her mat and wait to be allowed to go to the bathroom. Susana remembered that the waiting could be long. After going to the bathroom came breakfast, and after breakfast, a long day.

Scene description: The scene begins inside the *calabozo*. It is early morning; therefore, the electric light is still on. After being awakened by the call, a woman rolls up her mat (see Figure 17) and waits anxiously to be taken to the bathroom. Once she is allowed to go to the bathroom, she faces the guard in the corridor. Since this is a vignette repeated in all the stories in group 1, the face of the inmate should not be able to be identified by the audience at any time. After coming back from the bathroom, the woman seats herself on the bed's wooden frame and waits for the day to pass. Inside the cell, the light is artificial and directed from above (see Figure 18).

Vignettes from: all the transition vignettes from group 1 (V130, V140, V150, V160, V170). Vignettes to: all the stories from group 1 (V30, V40, V50, V60, V70).



Figure 17. Screen capture of a scene from the video (V10-call).

#	screen Left	screen Center	screen Right	Audio
	INT	CALABOZO CELL	DAY/ELECTRIC LIGHT	
	fade in	fade in	fade in	
1				Ambient audio: room tone.
	MS	MS. woman sleeps in the cell. cut to	MS.	
2				Ambient audio: banging starts suddenly and yelling of the guards.
F.	10.00	woman gets startled. suddenly moves upward. cut to		

Figure 18. Storyboard of V10- call.

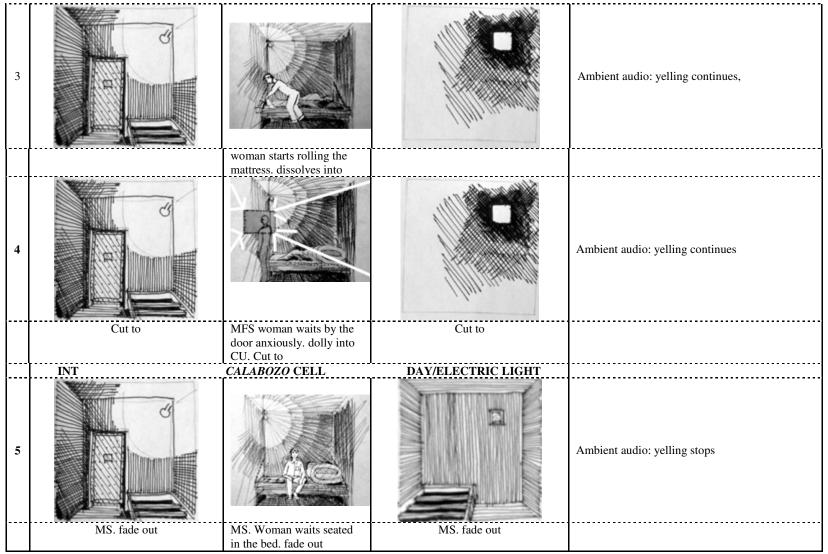


Figure 18. (continued).

### V30- interrogation

It was common that during their stay in the *calabozo*, the prisoners could be taken out for interrogation by a superior officer. Although the excuse for interrogation would vary from case to case, the interrogation was performed by a person known to be a torturer, and the reason was always the same: to threaten the prisoner. During this time, the women felt extremely vulnerable. This story is told by one prisoner: Carolina. Her twin sister was imprisoned with her. In Carolina's story, she remembered that the same man who interrogated her also tortured her sister while she was pregnant.

Scene description: The scene occurs in the interior of an interrogation room. As Carolina is threaten by a male voice, images of the interrogator and of her pregnant sister appear on the side screens. The scene is lit by a single, strong, electric spotlight from above, creating a high contrast and deep shadows. The room's background is dark (see Figure 19).

Audio interruptions: A80- tin dishware, A90- moan, A100- pleads, A110 -guard yells, and A120- silence.

Vignette transition: group 1 (V130- haircut, V140- food, V150- arrival, V160- pleads, V170-cold); group 2 (V330- rain, V340- singing, V350- voices, V360- flower).

#	screen Left	screen Center	screen Right	Audio
	INT	CALABOZO CELL	NIGHT/ELECTRIC LIGHT	
	fade in	fade in	fade in	
1	fade to black	dissolve to	fade to black	Ambient audio: room tone.
		1	L	
	INT I	NTERROGATION ROOM	NIGHT/ELECTRIC LIGHT	
2A				Voice over:  Todos los días iba el comandante, el jefe de la cárcel  Every day came the commander in charge of the prison
	fade in	MS. Carolina is looking down,		
2B		her head slightly tilted down.		Audio left: man's voice muffled Voice over: que era un torturador, hijo de puta that was a torturer, a son of a bitch
	CU man in uniform moves	cut to	dissolve to	
Eigen	mouth angrily as if yelling			

Figure 19. Storyboard of V30- interrogation.



Figure 19. (continued).

	Cut to	CS, Carolina turns head slightly as noise comes from lef or right screen	Cut to	Interruption
5				Voice over:  "¿Sabes lo que le vamos a hacer a tu hermana?"  "Do you know what we are going to do to your sister?"
		CS. Carolina looks down and towards right screen. cut to	Carolina's sister holds her tummy. Background fades in and out (composite)	
6				Audio left: man says "A tu hermana la vamos a matar". "We are going to kill her"
7	Audio left: man says "la vamos a matar". Fade to	CU. Carolina looks down and towards right screen. cut to	fade out	Ambient audio: room tone
	cut to	ECU. cut to	cut to	]

Figure 19. (continued).

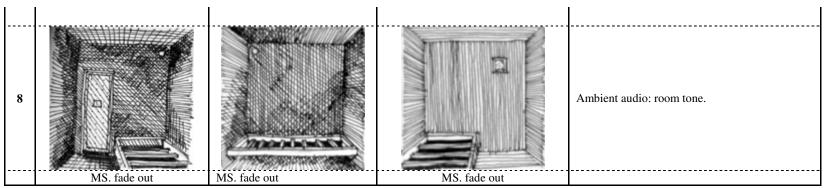


Figure 19. (continued).

### V40- bug

This story is told by one prisoner: Elena. During her testimony, she referred to many stories where her encounter with a "bichito" (little animal) would trigger feelings of loneliness, confinement and sadness. The bug story expresses how lonely she felt in the *calabozo*. The little bug - a beetle - is alone, like her. However lonely, though, the bug is free and can leave the *calabozo* anytime it desires. In her story she feels sorry for her actions, but in order to not be alone, she creates a "bread prison" so she can have the bug's company the next morning.

Scene description: The scene occurs in a *calabozo* cell during the day. The electric light is turned off; it is a very dark, dim place. Elena notices a small beetle on the floor. She picks it up and establishes a "conversation" with it. When night comes, she is afraid the beetle will leave her alone, so she builds a small cave made of bread crumbs and puts the beetle inside (see Figure 20).

Audio interruptions: A80- tin dishware, A90- moan, A100- pleads, A110- guard yells, and A120- silence.

Vignette transition: group 1 (V130- haircut, V140- food, V150- arrival, V160- pleads, V170-cold); group 2 (V330- rain, V340- singing, V350- voices, V360- flower).

#	screen Left	screen Center	screen Right	Audio
	INT	CALABOZO CELL	DAY/NO LIGHT	
	fade in	fade in	fade in	
1				Ambient audio: room tone
	MS	MS	MS	
1A		fade to black	MS. Elena is sitting on the bed frame. Camera dollies forward	Voice over:  Llegué al calabozo y no había nadie, ese primer día no había nadie.  I arrived to the calabozo and there was nobody.
L.	20.04 1 1.03740.1			

Figure 20. Storyboard of V40- bug.

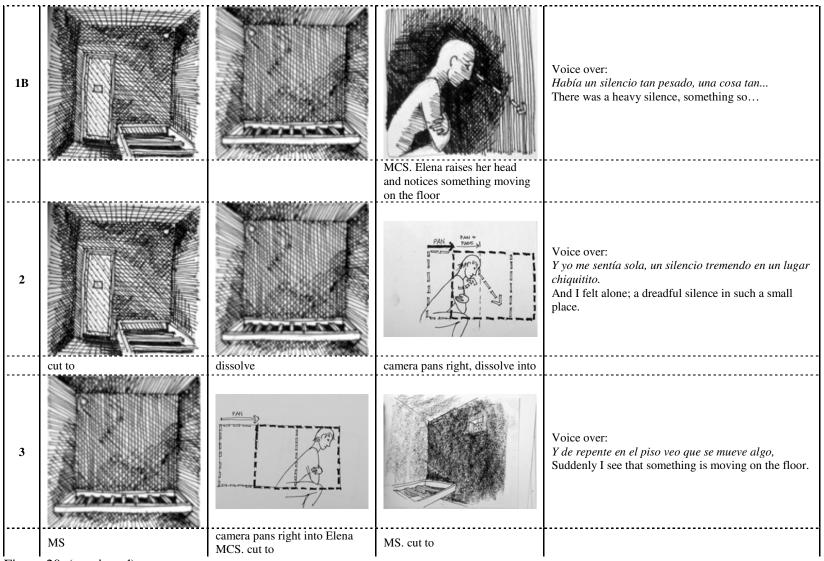


Figure 20. (continued).

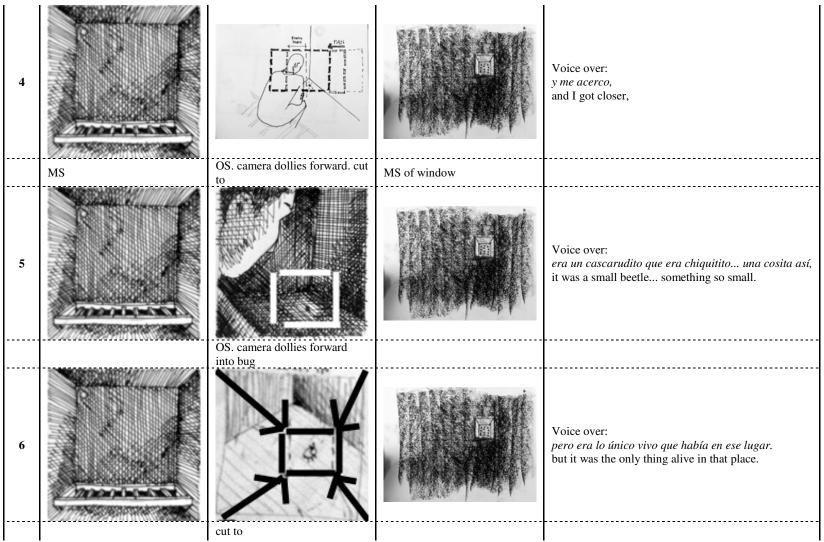


Figure 20. (continued).



Figure 20. (continued).

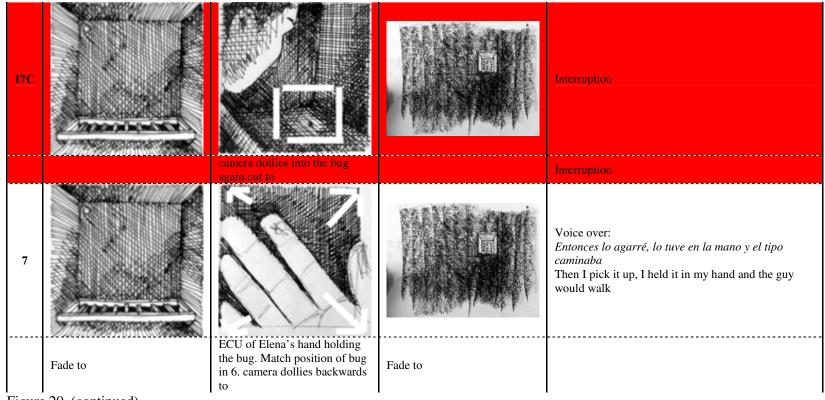


Figure 20. (continued).

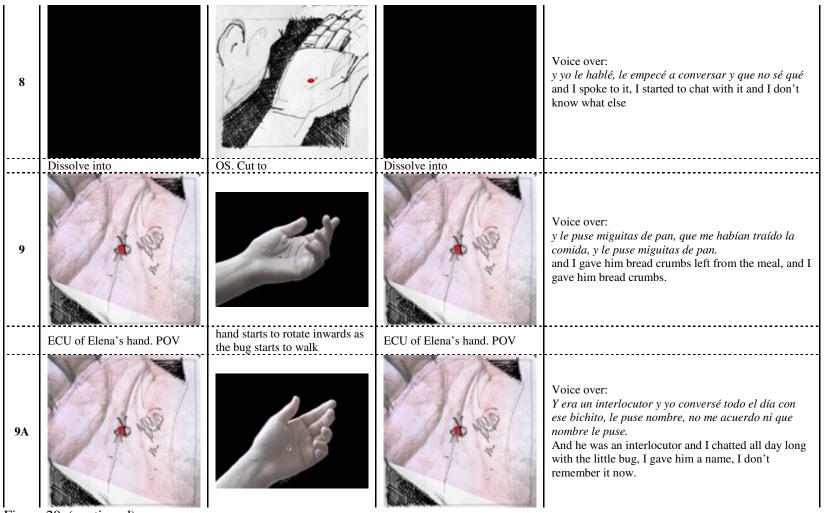


Figure 20. (continued).

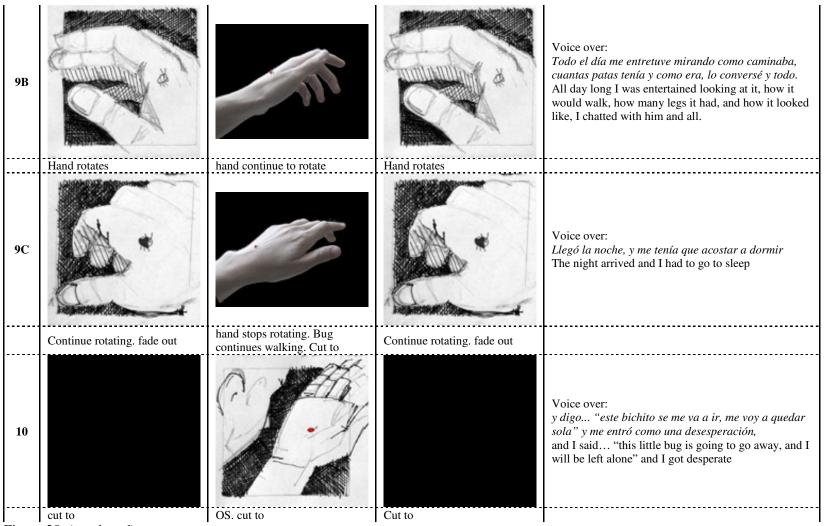


Figure 20. (continued).

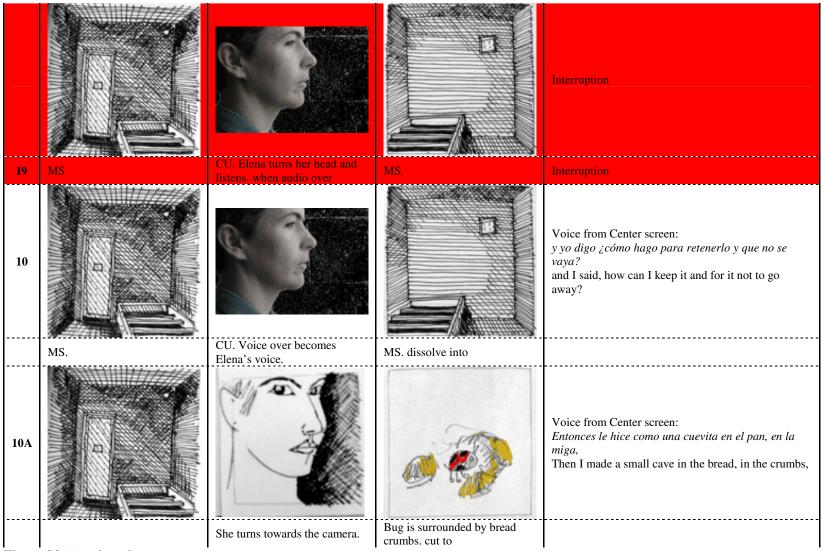


Figure 20. (continued).

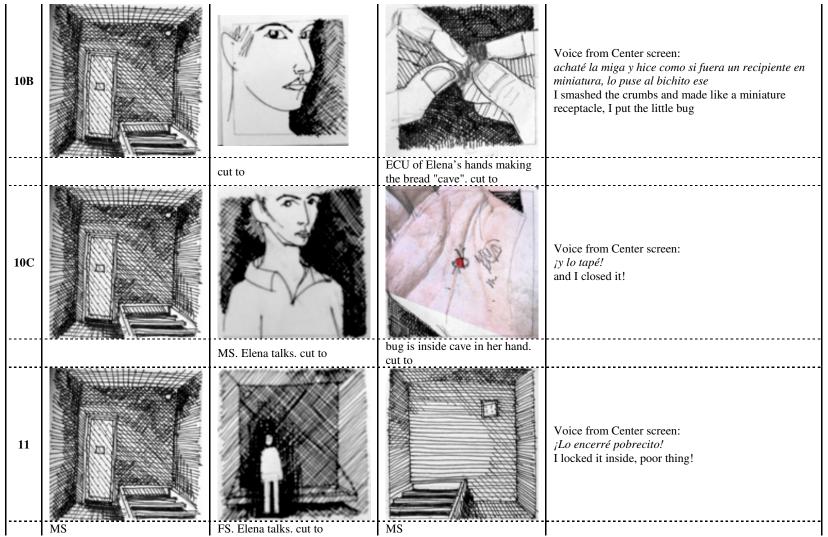
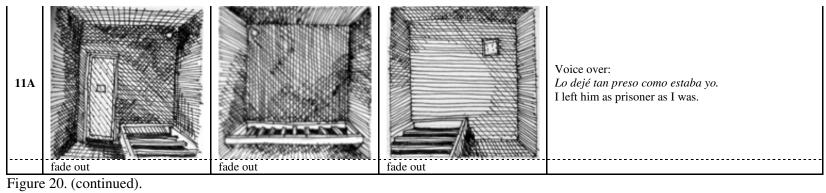


Figure 20. (continued).



### V50- eyebrows

This story is told by Susana. She addresses a particular defacing of her identity: the prohibition of tweezers inside the *calabozo*. Susana sees this prohibition as an abuse, an attack on her identity because she is not allowed to physically appear the way she desires, with trimmed eyebrows.

Scene description: The scene occurs in a *calabozo* cell during the day. The electric light is turned off; it is a very dark, dim place. Susana remembered how she felt humiliated every time a guard would open the door's peephole and see her unplucked eyebrows. The scene shows the real size of the peephole projected in the side screens (left and right) and a close up in the middle screen (see Figure 21).

Audio interruptions: A80- tin dishware, A90- moan, A100- pleads, A110- guard yells, and A120- silence.

Vignette transition: group 1 (V130- haircut, V140- food, V150- arrival, V160- pleads, V170-cold); group 2 (V330- rain, V340- singing, V350- voices, V360- flower).

	screen Left	screen Center	screen Right	Audio
	INT	CALABOZO CELL	DAY/NO LIGHT	
	fade in	fade in	fade in	
1				Ambient audio: room tone.
	MS.	MS.	MS.	
1A	Camera dollies forward			Audio voice over:  Y además en el calabozo teníamos otro inconveniente que era:  Furthermore, in the solitary confinement we had another problem that was
1B				Audio voice over:  no podíamos tener espejos ni pinza de cejas, ni corta uñas, that we could not have mirrors, or tweezers, or nail scissors,
	centers on peephole. dissolve	dissolve to	dissolve to	
	Camera dollies forward			Y además en el calabozo teníamos otro inconven que era: Furthermore, in the solitary confinement we had another problem that was  Audio voice over: no podíamos tener espejos ni pinza de cejas, ni o uñas, that we could not have mirrors, or tweezers, or n

Figure 21. Storyboard of V50- eyebrows.

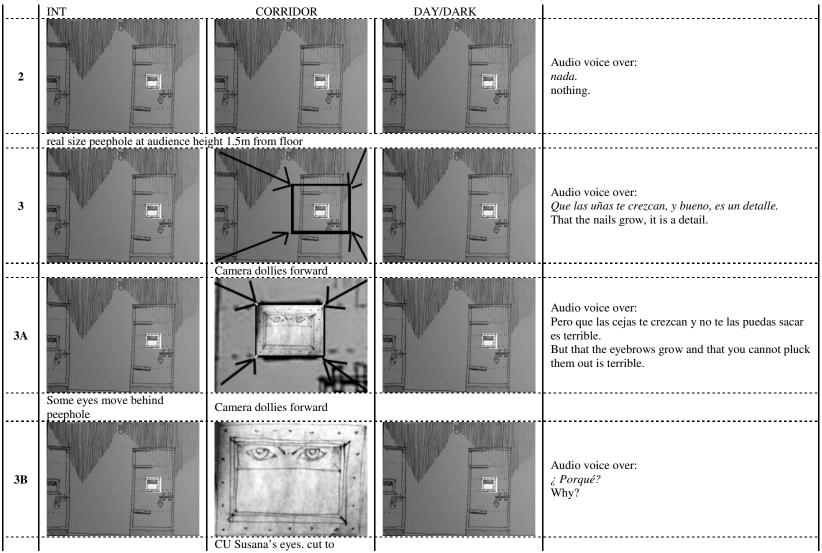


Figure 21. (continued).

4		ECU. Susana touches her		Audio voice over:  Porque vos no te ves, pero las sentís.  Because you don't see them but feel them.
4A		eyebrows.		Audio voice over:  Y cuando alguien abre la ventanita  And when someone opens the peephole,
	Some eyes move behind peephole		Some eyes move behind peephole	
<u>14</u>			8	Interruption  Interruption
<b>I4</b>	Lights are on, nobody is behind the peephole	close up, woman eyes look left and right, blink nervously startled by noise	Lights are on nobody is behind the peephole	Interruption

Figure 21. (continued).

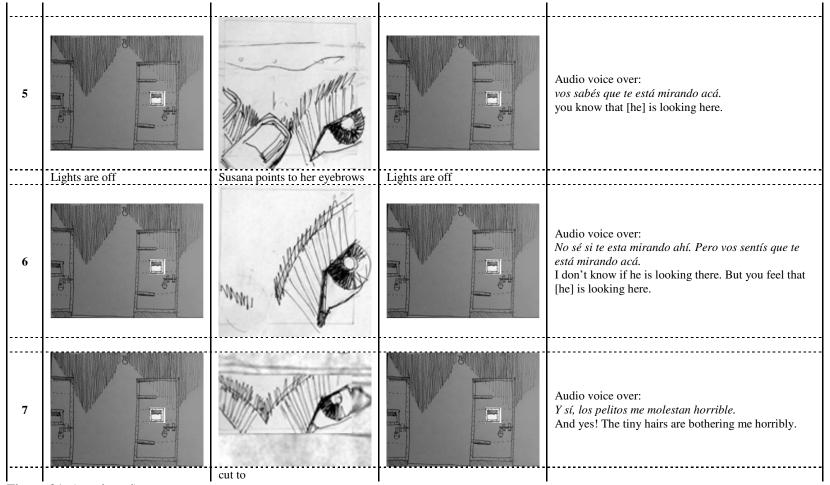


Figure 21. (continued).

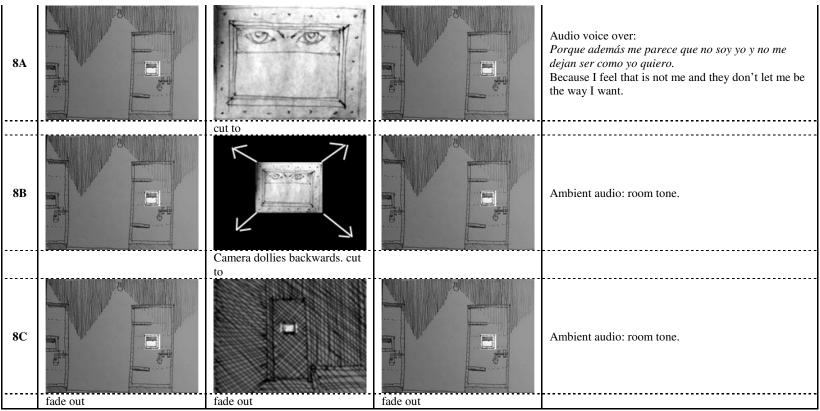


Figure 21. (continued).

## V60- arrival

It was a custom that anyone entering the prison system would have to spend time in the *calabozo* before being assigned to a common cell. This story describes how the inmates felt during the "admission procedures" to the prison. This story is told by Marisa. The point she wanted to make was how humiliating the prison system could be.

Scene description: The scene begins in the corridor leading to the *calabozo* (see Figure 22). Marisa remembered that the same woman who took her to the *calabozo* was present when she was tortured. Finally, the scene leads to a room where Marisa is asked to take off her clothes. The light in the corridor enters from the back. The guard remains visible only in dark profile. The scene in the room is lit by a single, strong, electric spotlight directed from above, creating high contrast and deep shadows. The room's background is dark (see Figure 23).

Audio interruptions: A80- tin dishware, A90- moan, A100- pleads, A110- guard yells, and A120- silence.

Vignette to transition: group 1 (V130- haircut, V140- food, V150- arrival, V160- plead, V170- cold); group 2 (V330- rain, V340- singing, V350- voices, V360- flower).



Figure 22. Screen capture of a scene from the video (V60- arrival).

#	screen Left	screen Center	screen Right	Audio
	INT	CORRIDOR I	DAY/LIGHT FROM BEHIND	
	fade in	fade in	fade in	
1				Ambient audio: room tone.
	Corridor wall in diagonal	MS. back lit, Marisa and guard walk towards the camera	Corridor wall in diagonal	
1A	Z Z			Voice over:  [Al calabozo] me lleva una milica que se llamaba le llamábamos "la gallega" que era lo siniestro.  The guard that we called "the Galician" took me [to the calabozo].
	Corridor wall in diagonal	they walk out of the center screen towards left screen	Corridor wall in diagonal	

Figure 23. Storyboard of V60- arrival.

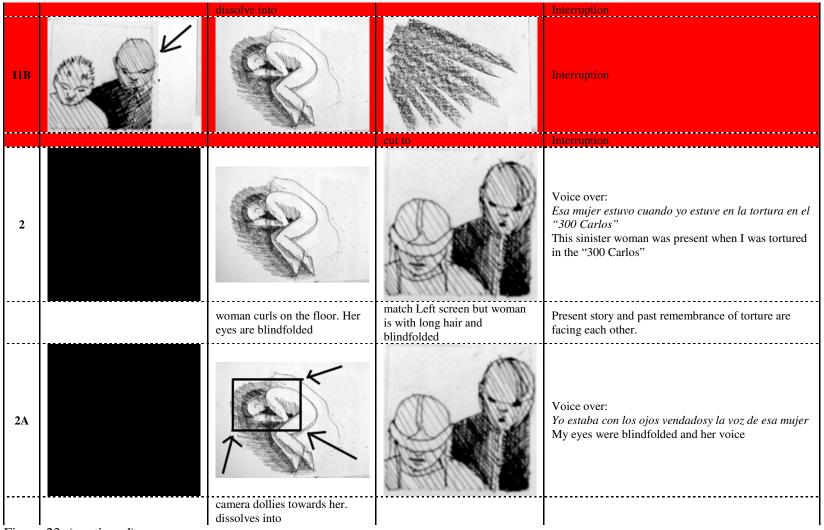
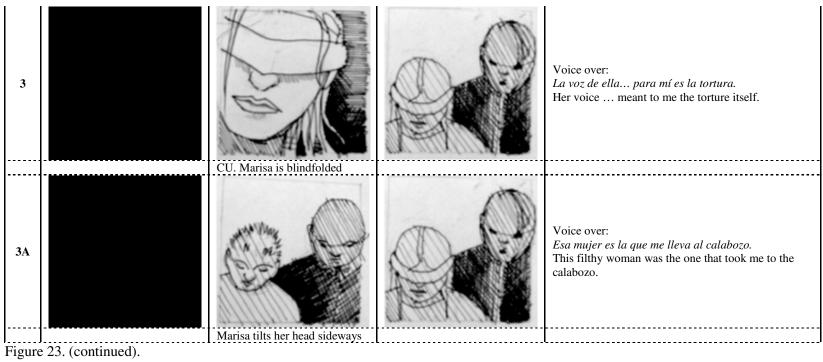


Figure 23. (continued).



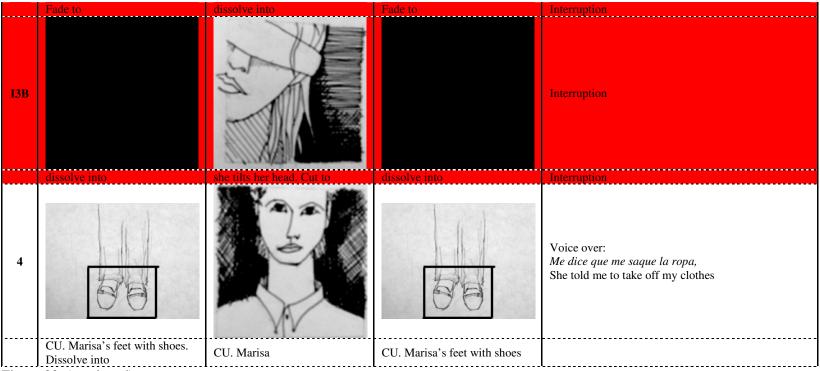
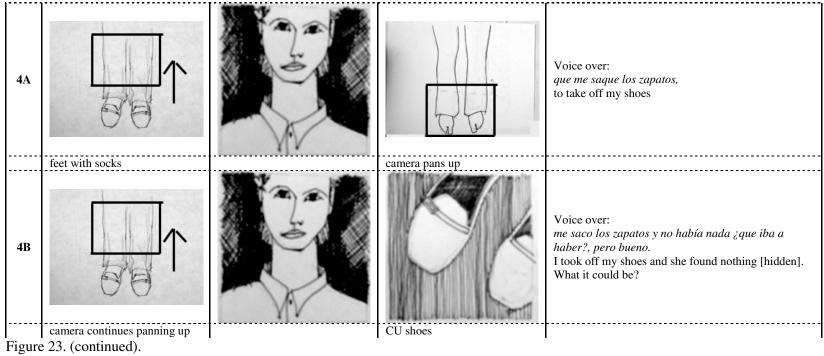


Figure 23. (continued).



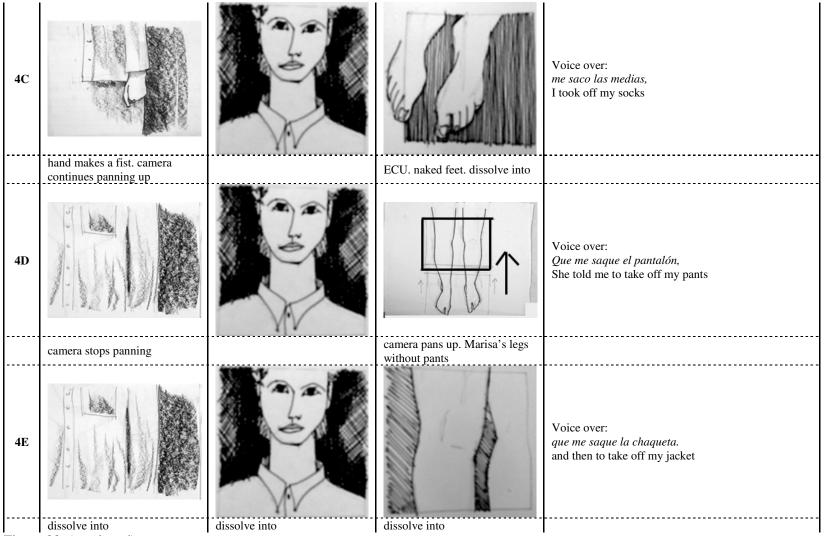


Figure 23. (continued).

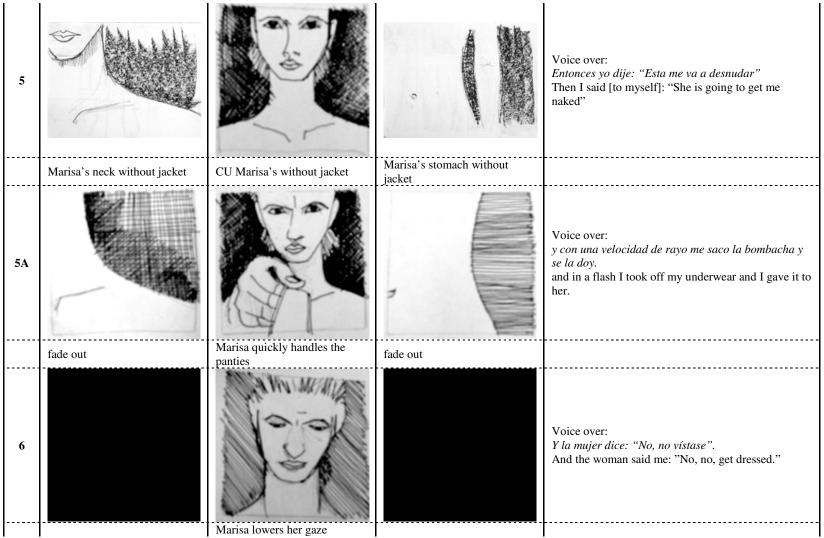


Figure 23. (continued).

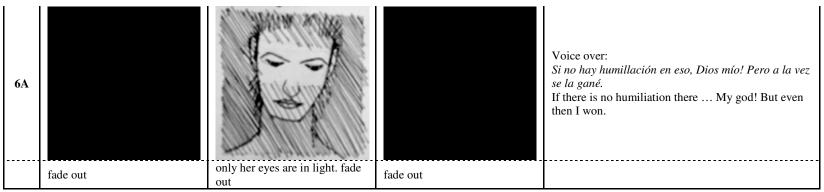


Figure 23. (continued).

## V70- bag

This story is told by many of the prisoners, including Marisa, Carolina and Susana. It is centered on the bag the prisoner would receive once she arrived at the *calabozo*. After her arrival at the *calabozo*, the women from her cell would prepare a bag with clothes and personal hygiene items she might need while in the *calabozo*. The bag was a way for the collective to reach the isolated prisoner. The narratives signify the recovery of the protection and affection of the group, the solidarity, and the warmth of the women's collective support.

Scene description: The scene begins in the common cell where a group of women are preparing a bag. The inmate receives her bag in the *calabozo* cell and the women (of the common cell) look on as she discovers the hidden messages they sent her. The common cell is well lit, with smooth shadows. In the *calabozo* the electric light is turned off; it is a very dark, dim place (see Figure 24).

Audio interruptions: A80- tin dishware, A90- moan, A100- pleads, A110- guard yells, and A120- silence.

Vignette to transition: group 1 (V130- haircut, V140- food, V150- arrival, V160- pleads, V170- cold); group 2 (V330- rain, V340- singing, V350- voices, V360- flower).

#	screen Left	screen Center	screen Right	Audio
	INT	CALABOZO CELL	DAY/NO LIGHT	
	fade in	fade in	fade in	
1	fade out	cut to	cut to	Ambient audio: room tone.
	INT	COMMON CELL	DAY/BRIGHT LIGHT	
2				Ambient audio: voices and conversations Voice over: A mí me llevaron a al calabozo y al otro día When they put me in the calabozo, the next day
	cut to	The bag. cut to	Woman 1 is sewing something camera from above	
3				Voice over:  las compañeras me mandaron ropa en un bolso the compañeras sent me clothes in a bag
	Woman 2 is taking off her shoes, cut to	bag is open	camera dollies forward	

Figure 24. Storyboard of V70- bag.

3A				Voice over:  Entonces ¿qué pasaba? Que en ese bolso [] vos no recibías tu ropa. Recibías la camisa de fulanita  Then, on this bag [] you didn't receive your clothes. You would receive the shirt of someone
	CU woman 2 is taking off shoes. cut to		CU to woman 1 sewing	
3				Voice over:  los zapatos de menganita the shoes of someone else
	MS woman 2 looks towards screen right	hands from the left put shoes in the bag	cut to	
3				Voice over: Y nosotros ya sabíamos que era eso, en las ropas, nos mandábamos mensajes. And we knew that in this, in the clothes, [is where] we sent messages.
	cut to	cut to	MS. Woman 1 brings shirt to center . cut to	

Figure 24. (continued).

4	Sc. Wing			
	CU. Woman 2 looks towards the bag at Center screen.	The shirt is in the bag. cut to	CU. Woman 1 looks towards the bag at Center screen.	
	COMMON CELL	CALABOZO CELL	COMMON CELL	
5				Voice over:  Entonces yo lo primero que hice fue empezar a revisar todo  [When I got the bag] Then the first thing I did was to check everything.
		bag is inside the calabozo (background of mattress)		
6		OS warran 3 looks out for		Voice over: Entonces yo lo primero que hice fue empezar a revisar todo Then the first thing I did was to check everything.
Ei aum	24 (continued)	OS, woman 3 looks out for something inside the bag cut to		

Figure 24. (continued).

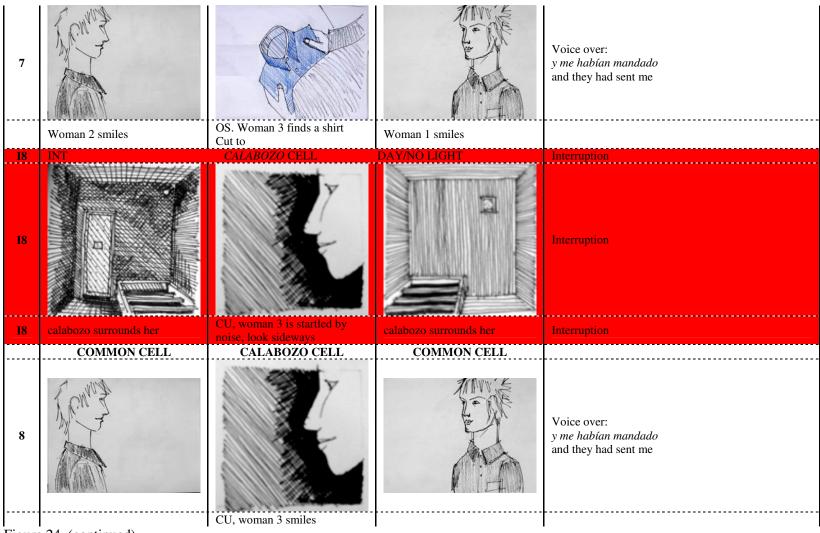


Figure 24. (continued).

9				Voice over:  una camisa y en el cuello a shirt and in the collar
		Woman 3 sees something on the shirt		
10				Voice over:  me habían bordado con hilo blanco, para que no se notara tanto, una casita. they embroidered with white string, so to pass unnoticed, a small house.
	Woman 2 looks to woman 1 on right screen.	OS, woman 3 finds the embroidered house	Woman 1 looks to woman 2 on left screen	
	fade to black	Cut to	fade to black	
Figure	24 (continued)			

Figure 24. (continued).

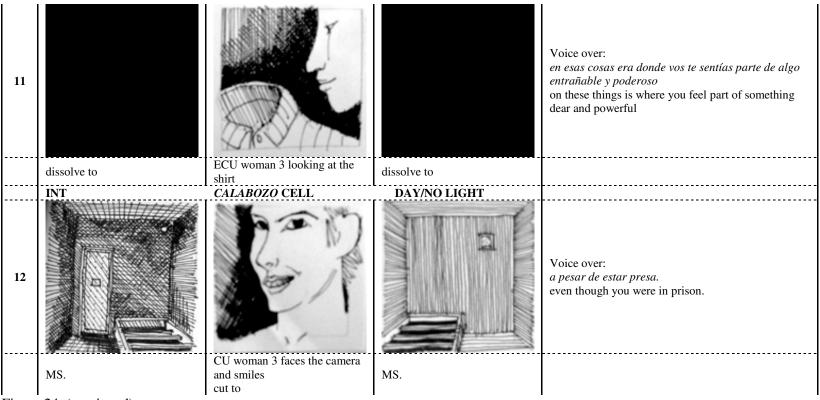


Figure 24. (continued).

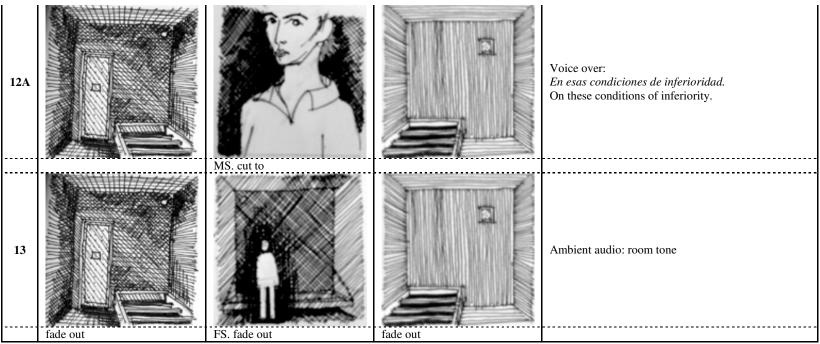


Figure 24. (continued).

117

V130- haircut

This transition story addresses the constant fight of the women I interviewed to maintain

their female identity. One interviewed, Susana, remembered that some women managed to have

a hair style (jopo) but it was rare because they had an extremely short haircut. Together with the

uniform and the prohibition of any type of jewelry, the extreme short haircut meant another

attack to their identity as females. The storyboard bellow shows the first haircut the Susana

received upon her arrival to prison.

Scene description: The scene occurs in the interior of a room. The camera looks down onto

Susana's head and face as she receives her haircut. She has long hair. On the left and right

screens, hair slowly falls onto the floor, next to the chair she is sitting. The scene is lit by a

strong spotlight above Susana's head, creating high contrast and dark shadows (see Figure 25).

Vignettes from: all the vignettes in group 1 and group 2 (V30, V40, V50, V60, V70, V220,

V230, V240, V250, V260, V270).

Vignettes to: V10- call.

#	screen Left	screen Center	screen Right	Audio
	INT	ROOM	NIGHT/SPOT LIGHT	
	fade in	fade in	fade in	
1				Ambient audio: Scissors noise
2		fade in		Ambient audio: Scissors noise
3	fade in	camera dollies back to show Susana's face. Same angle.	fade in	Ambient audio: Scissors noise
Fi over	Leg of a chair. Hair is falling into the floor.	cut to	Leg of a chair. Hair is falling into the floor.	

Figure 25. Storyboard of V130- haircut.

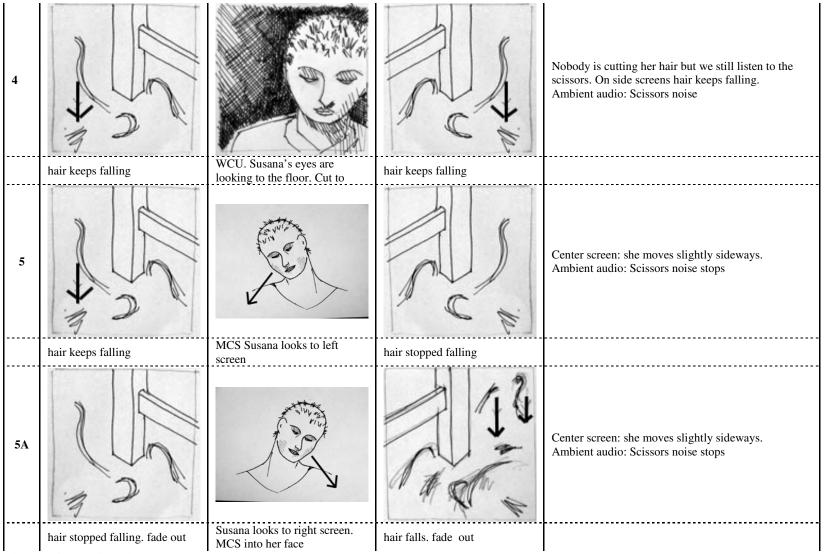


Figure 25. (continued).

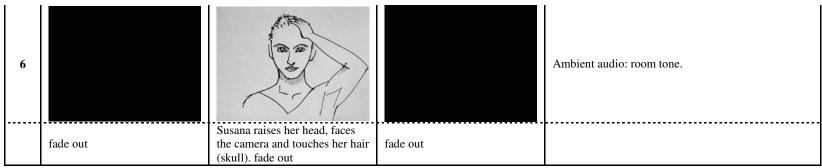


Figure 25. (continued)

## V150- arrival

Even though this storyboard is based on Susana's testimony, the arrival at the calabozo was an episode experienced and related by many women (Susana, Carolina, Marisa, Ana, and Condenanza [26]). Arrival stories recall a feeling of complete vulnerability, of being stripped of the few amenities the inmate still had: fruit, mate, cigarettes, handicrafts, books. And most importantly, the inmate was severed from the support of the other prisoners. However lonely the inmate felt upon arrival, Susana recalled that in the corridor, the other prisoners would welcome her by coughing. It was a way of telling her that she was not alone.

Scene description: The scene begins by showing the bars at the entrance of the *calabozo* from the point of view of the prisoner. As the guard and the inmate pass the bars and enter the corridor that leads to the *calabozo* cells, women silhouetted in the side screens cough, welcoming the new inmate. It is day outside, but the corridor is a very dark place, poorly illuminated by electric lamps. The main light is directed from behind, and both guard and prisoner are silhouetted. As the inmate arrives at the *calabozo*, the electric light is turned off; it is a very dark, dim place (see Figure 26).

Vignettes from: all the vignettes inform group 1 (V30, V40, V50, V60, V70), and group 2 (V220, V230, V240, V250, V270).

Vignettes to: V10- the call.

#	screen Left	screen Center	screen Right	Audio
	INT	CORRIDOR	DAY/ARTIFICIAL LIGHT	
	fade in	Fade in	fade in	
1				Ambient audio: Guards yelling loudly.
	fade in	Fade in	fade in	
2				Ambient audio: foot steps. Guards continue yelling loudly.
	POV.	POV. camera dollies forward. bars disappear. cut to	POV.	
3				Ambient audio: squeaking of the metal bar door opening.
	cut to	cut to	cut to	

Figure 26. Storyboard of V150- arrival.

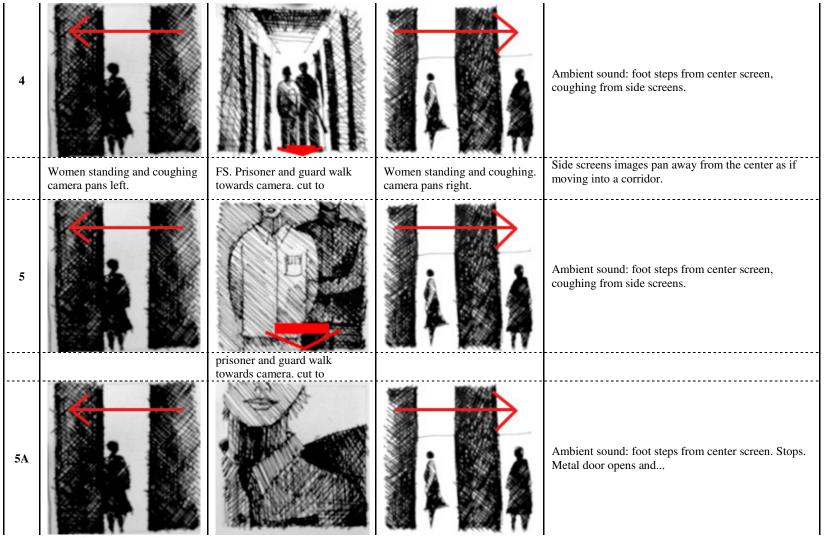


Figure 26. (continued).

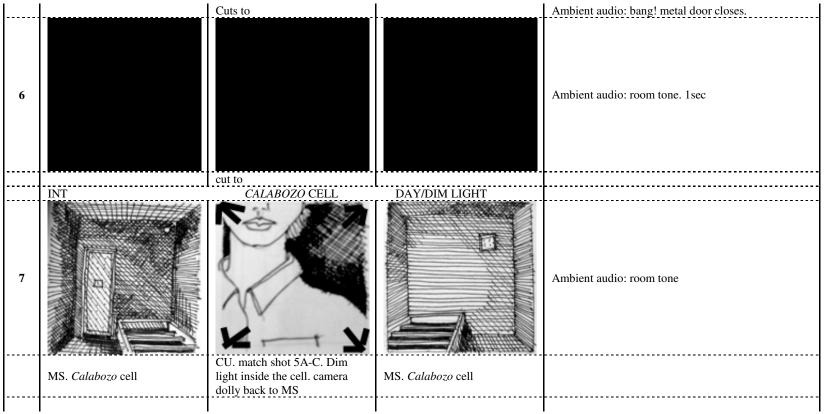


Figure 26. (continued).

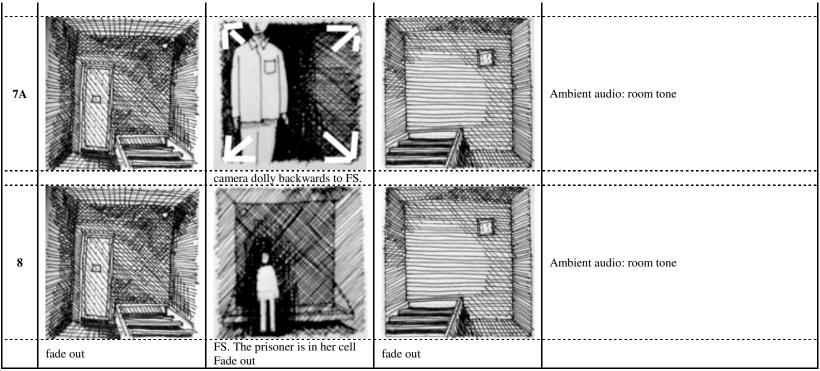


Figure 26. (continued).

126

V160- pleads

The most difficult moments remembered by Susana were when a compañera would show

signs of insanity. The *compañera* would yell, talk nonsense or cry out loud, and the guards

would either do nothing or give her more sanctions. The guards took advantage of these

situations to create a very stressful environment for all the inmates. The storyboard below does

not refer to insanity, but rather to a request to go to the bathroom. The *compañera* would ask

repeatedly and the guards would not answer at all, or yell at her to "shut up." The inmates felt

very anxious because they were powerless to help the *compañera*.

Scene description: The scene occurs in the interior of a calabozo. The inmate hears someone

in another *calabozo* asking to go to the bathroom. Since she cannot help the *compañera*, she is

anxious, and she feels powerless. The electric light is turned off; it is a very dark, dim place (see

Figure 27).

Vignettes from: all the vignettes in group 1 (V30, V40, V50, V60, V70) and group 2 (V220,

V230, V240, V250, V270).

Vignettes to: V10- the call.

#	screen Left	screen Center	screen Right	Audio
	INT	CALABOZO CELL	DAY/DIM LIGHT	
	fade in	fade in	fade in	
1				Ambient audio: room tone.
	MS.	MS. cut to	MS.	
2				Ambient audio: room tone
		MS. Woman 1 holds her head.		
3		cut to  CS. cut to		Ambient audio: room tone

Figure 27. Storyboard of V160- pleads.

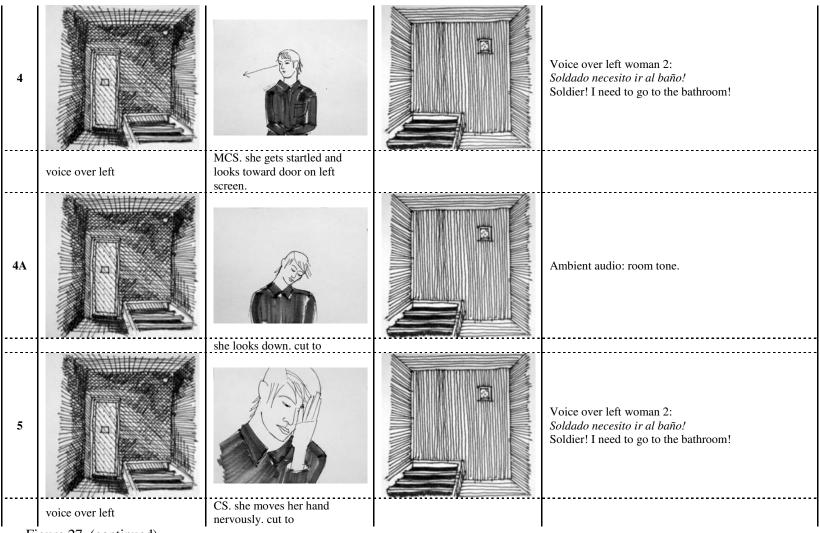


Figure 27. (continued).

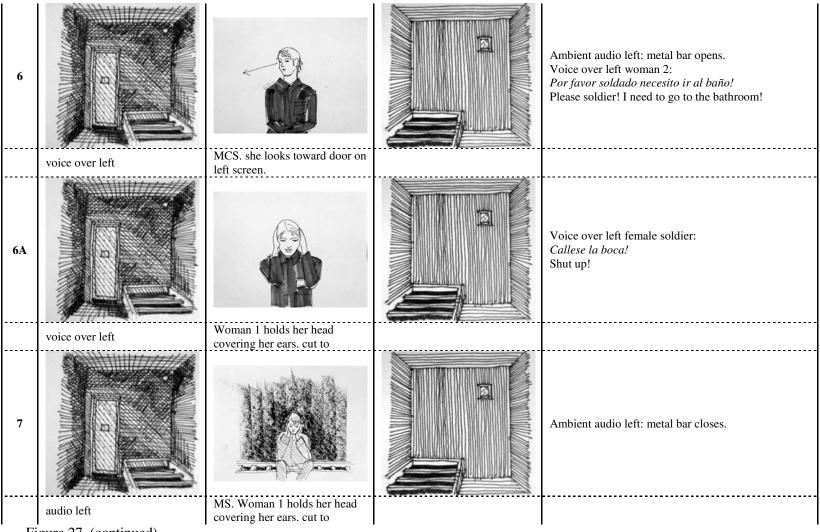


Figure 27. (continued).

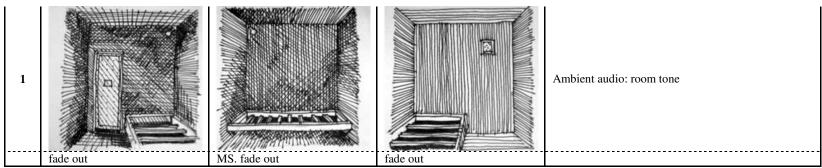


Figure 27. (continued).

131

V170- cold

The inmates were not allowed to do anything inside their cells. Exercising, reading, writing,

singing, handicrafts, sleeping during the day, and communicating with other inmates were all

forbidden. During the day, the *calabozo* was a very cold and poorly illuminated space. The

inmate had to fight the cold and the tendency to fall asleep by constantly walking. The space

within which they could walk was very small. Therefore, some women walked in a figure eight

shaped path in order not to get dizzy.

Scene description: The scene occurs in the interior of a calabozo cell during the day. The

electric light is turned off; it is a very dark, dim place. The inmate is walking from side to side.

She sits and doses off. Se wakes up cold and begins to walk again. The camera begins dollying

back until we see her from above and far from the back (see Figure 28).

Vignettes from: all the vignettes in group 1 (V30, V40, V50, V60, V70) and group 2 (V220,

V230, V240, V250, V270).

Vignettes to: V10- the call.

screen Left	screen Center	screen Right	Audio
INT	CALABOZO CELL	DAY/DIM LIGHT	
fade in	fade in	fade in	
MS.	MS. cut to	MS.	
			Ambient audio: Foot steps Voice over whisper: "3, 4, 5"
	MS. Woman paces holding her arms (she is cold) she counts her steps	-	
	PAGGLES COL	IA.	Ambient audio: Foot steps Voice over whisper: "Que frio" "I am so cold"
	fade in	MS. MS. cut to  MS. Woman paces holding her arms (she is cold) she counts her steps	fade in  MS. MS, cut to MS.  MS. Woman paces holding her arms (she is cold) she counts her steps

Figure 28. Storyboard of V170- cold.

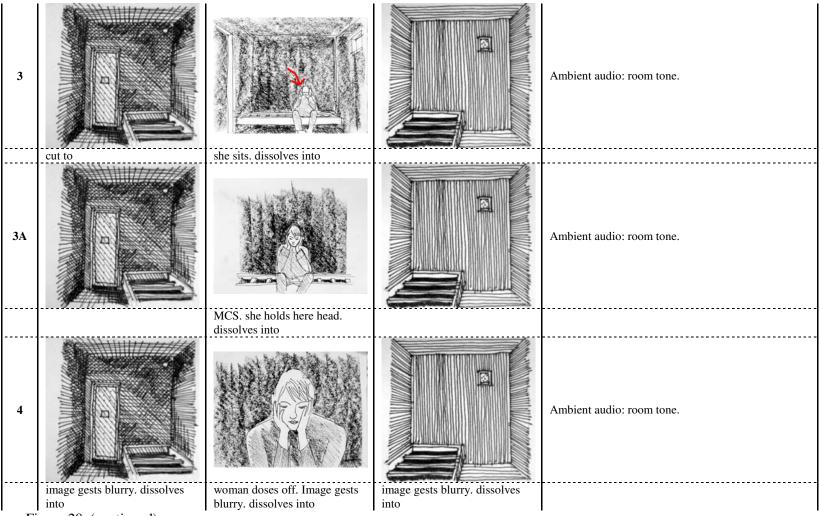


Figure 28. (continued).

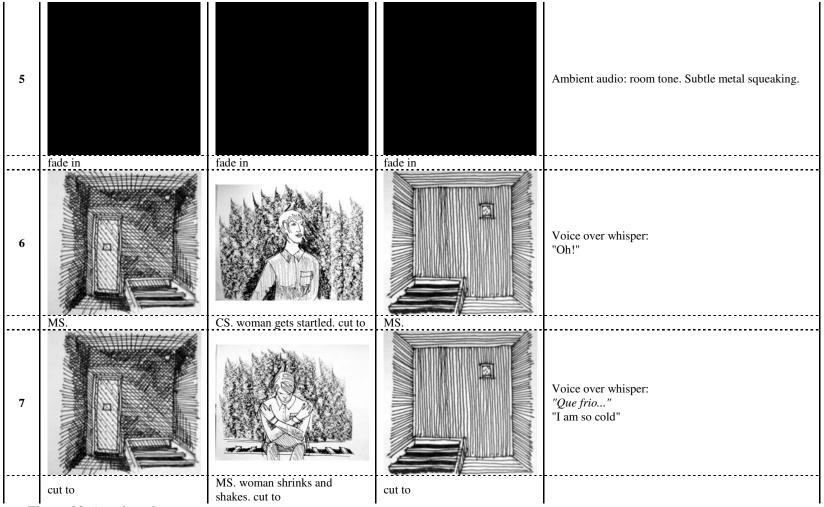
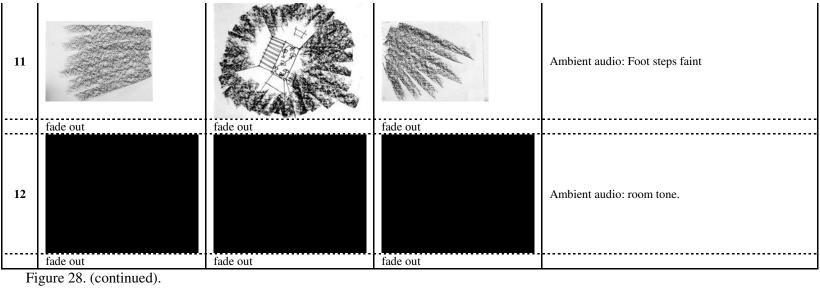


Figure 28. (continued).

8				Ambient audio: Foot steps Voice over whisper: "3, 4, 5"
	POV. Camera tilted looking to the floor and the bottom of the door. dissolve into	Camera from above. Woman walks again. dissolve into	POV. Camera tilted looking up to the window. dissolve into	
9				Ambient audio: Foot steps Voice over whisper: "6, 7, 8"
	POV. Dolly back. dissolve into	dissolve into	POV. Dolly back. dissolve into	
10				Ambient audio: Foot steps
	Cell walls.	dissolve into	Cell walls.	

Figure 28. (continued).



## V200- call

Similar to V10- call, this sequence refers to the routine of waking up every day in the *calabozo*. However, in this sequence the inmate is aware of the routine. Therefore, she anticipates the daily events.

Scene description: The scene occurs inside a *calabozo* cell in the early morning (see Figure 29). In this story the woman is not startled by the banging of the call. She opens her eyes when she ears the metal bar opening. Therefore, when the call starts she is already awake. Light enters from the window and with the passage of time, as she waits to go to the bathroom, the light beams change direction. Since this vignette is repeated every time a story in group 2 is selected, the face of the inmate should not be able to be identified by the audience at any time (see Figure 30).

Vignettes from: all the transition vignettes in group 2 (V330, V350, V360, V370). Vignettes to: all the vignettes from group 2 (V220, V230, V240, V250, V270).



Figure 29. Screen capture of a scene from the video (V200- call).

#	screen Left	screen Center	screen Right	Audio
	INT CALABOZO CELL DAY/ LIGHT FROM WINDOW			
	fades in	fades in	fades in	
1				Ambient audio: metal bar opens.
	MS. Dark cell.	MCS. woman is sleeping. Slowly some light beams enter the cell. When she hears the metal door she opens her eyes. dissolve to	MS. Window in dark cell.	
2				Ambient audio: banging and yelling. Not as loud as V10-2
	Cell is lit by window light.	LS. woman is still in bed. dissolves into	Light beams from the window.	

Figure 30. Storyboard of V200- call.

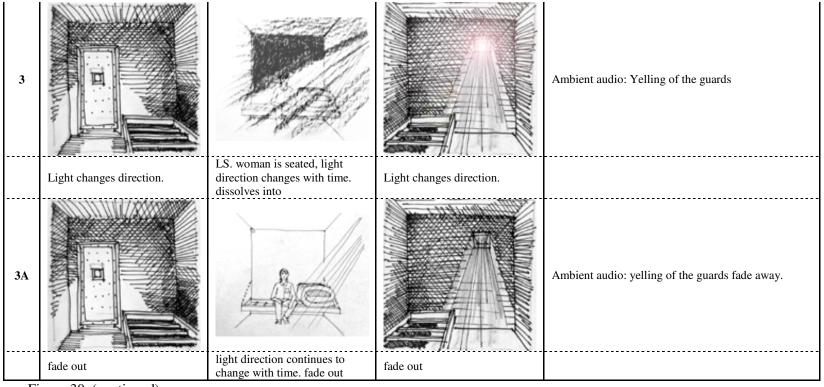


Figure 30. (continued).

## V220- flower

This story is told by one prisoner, Marisa, but it is present in many of the written and oral testimonies of other women (Condenanza [25], Mariana). The story expresses the struggle for the ability to communicate affection and support inside the *calabozo*. Marisa tells the story from the point of view of the person who receives the flower, and it is the flower that is the focus of the storyboard bellow. Condenanza narrates the story form the point of view of the maker of the flower, and is told in the vignette transition V360.

Scene description: While in the bathroom, an inmate finds a small flower made of bread crumbs, takes it to her cell and raises it to the light coming from the window in the cell (see Figure 31). The scene happens during the day. It starts inside the bathroom (shots 1 and2), follows in the corridor of the *callabozo* (shot 3) and ends in the interior of the *callabozo* cell (shot 4, to the end). The light in the scenes is warm, with no harsh contrasts. Inside the cell, light comes from the window; it is natural, with smooth shadows (see Figure 32).

Audio interruptions: A280- voices/laughs, A290- singing far, A300- whistling far, A310- singing next, A320- airplanes.

Vignettes from: V200- call.

Vignettes to: all the transitions in group 1 (V130- haircut, V150- arrival, V160- pleads, V170- cold); group 2 (V330- rain, V350- voices, V360- flower, V370- door below); and group 3 (V370- communication, V380- alone).

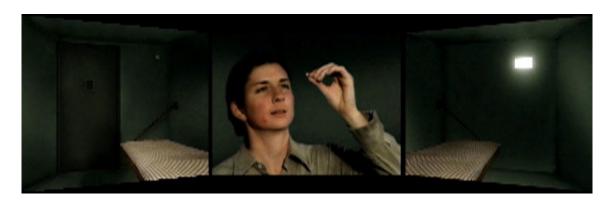


Figure 31. Screen capture of a scene from the video (V220- flower).

#	screen Left	screen Center	screen Right	Audio
	INT	BATHROOM D	DAY/ NATURAL LIGHT	
	fade in	fade in	fade in	
1				Ambient audio: shower
	Faucet	shower is running	Soap in the floor	
1A				Ambient audio: shower dripping Audio voice over: <i>Una vez encontré en el baño</i> , Once I found in the bathroom,
	hand closes faucet	Shower is closed. dripping water. cut to		
2				Ambient audio: room tone Audio voice over: oculta por el jabón, hidden by the soap,
	22 St. 1 1 5 V22	CU. woman is wet, looks towards the soap and smiles.		

Figure 32. Storyboard of V220- flower.

2A				Ambient audio: shower stops Audio voice over:  ub regalo de alguna presa para la que la encontrara. a present from another prisoner for me to find.
	Cut to (if no interruption)	Cut to (if no interruption)	hand picks up the small flower, hidden behind the soap. Cut to (if no interruption)	
12				Interruption  Interruption
	cut to	(still in the bathroom) she raises her head and listens, cut to	cut to	Interruption
3	INT	CORRIDOR DAY		Ambient audio: metal door opens. Metal doors closes with a "Bang!" Audio voice over:  Me la traje al calabozo bien escondida, I brought it to the cell very well hidden
E	she is in the corridor walking LtoR. cut to gure 32 (continued)	she carries the flower hidden in her hand LtoR. cut to	cut to	Shot happens in the corridor. when bang! of door happens cut to next shot.

Figure 32. (continued).

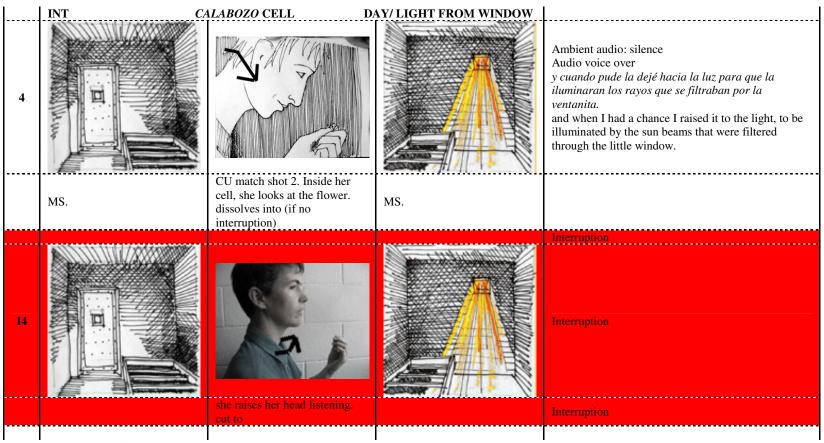


Figure 32. (continued).

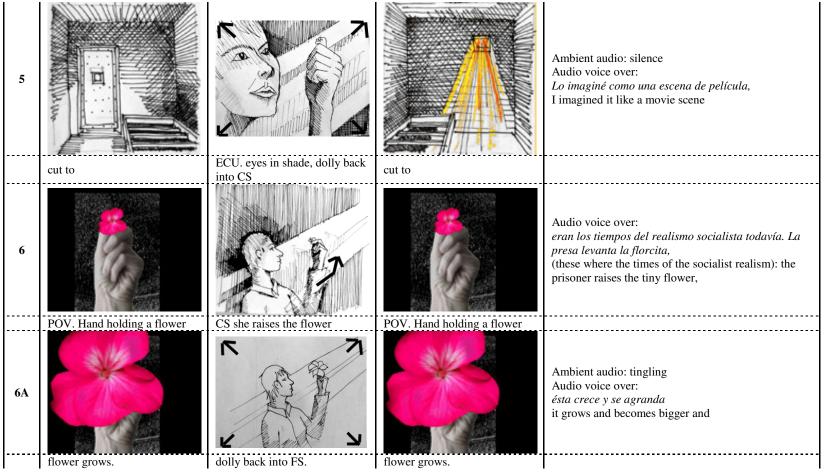


Figure 32. (continued).

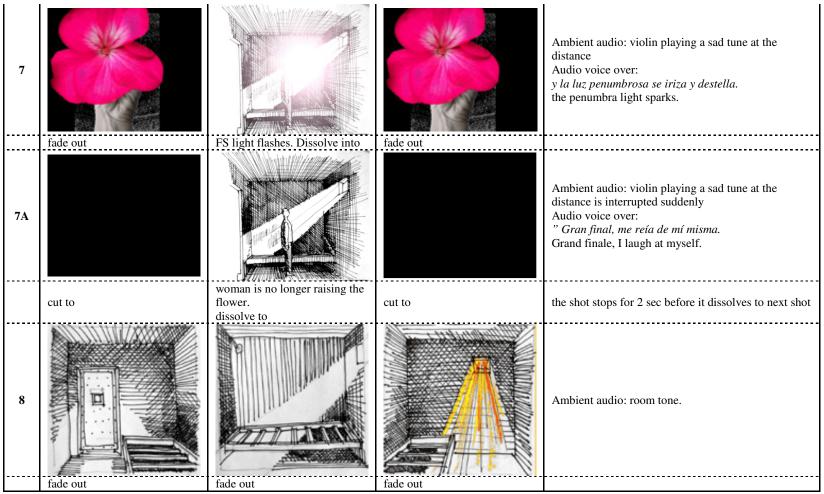


Figure 32. (continued).

## V230- window

The window in the *calabozo* provided opportunities for breaking the isolation because it was a source of communication with those on the exterior. Through the window, the inmate could hear voices from the *compañeras* hanging clothes or doing forced labor, or singing and whistling from the main prison building. Although it was forbidden, the inmate would often climb over the bed frame and look outside.

Scene description: This story is told by Julia. The scene occurs in the interior of a *calabozo*. Julia heared voices from the outside, climbed onto the bed and looked outside. Outside it was sunny and the *compañeras* were cutting the grass. When a guard saw Julia, the guard closed the window from the outside and gave her a sanction. The light inside the cell came from the window; it is natural with smooth shadows (see Figure 33).

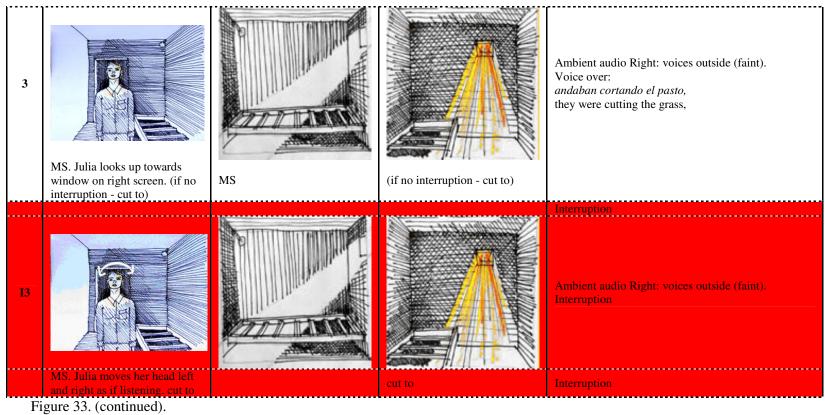
Audio interruptions: A280- voices/laughs, A290- singing far, A300- whistling far, A310- singing next, A320- airplanes.

Vignettes are taken from: V200- call.

Vignettes yet to be used: all the transitions from group 1 (V130- haircut, V150- arrival, V160- pleads, V170- cold); group 2 (V330- rain, V350- voices, V360- flower, V370- door below); and group 3 (V370- communication, V380- alone).

#	screen Left	screen Center	screen Right	Audio
	INT CA	ALABOZO CELL D.	AY/ LIGHT FROM WINDOW	
	fade in	fade in	fade in	
1				Voice over:  Hacía como 10 días que estaba en el calabozo  There were about 10 days that I was in the calabozo
	MS	MS. cut to	MS	
2				Ambient audio Right: voices outside (faint). Voice over: y siento voces afuera de compañeras, and I heard voices from outside from the compañeras.
	cut to	MS. Julia raises her head. cut to		

Figure 33. Storyboard of V230- window.



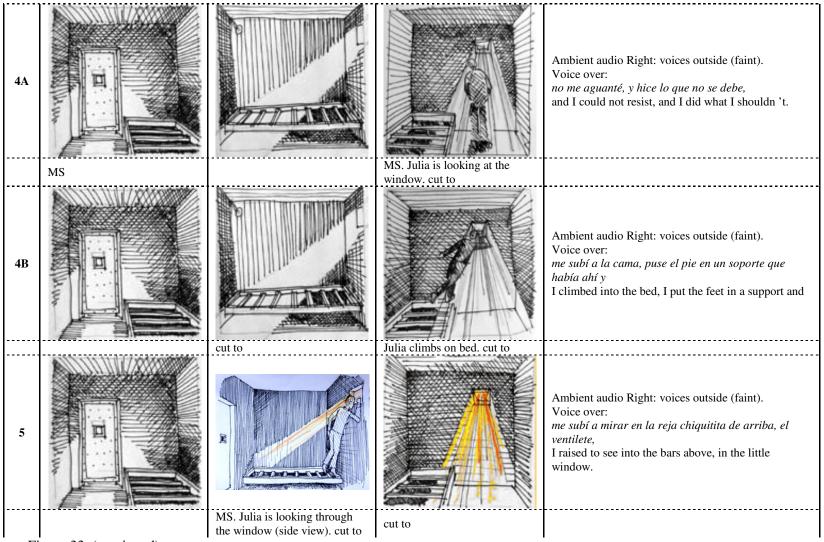


Figure 33. (continued).

		<b> </b>		
	INT <i>CALABOZO</i> CELL D	AY/LIGHT FROM WINDOW	EXT BACKYARD DAY	
6				Ambient audio right: wind, women talking (far). Voice over: entonces yo como soy bastante alta llegué, because I am quite tall, I reached
		CS from behind. cut to	MS. women outside talk and laugh while cutting the grass. cut to	
7				Ambient audio right: women talking. Voice over: y en ese momento miro para afuera and at this moment that I look out
		OS. cut to	WS. women talk and laugh.	women perceive someone is looking at them from the <i>calabozo</i>
I				

Figure 33. (continued).

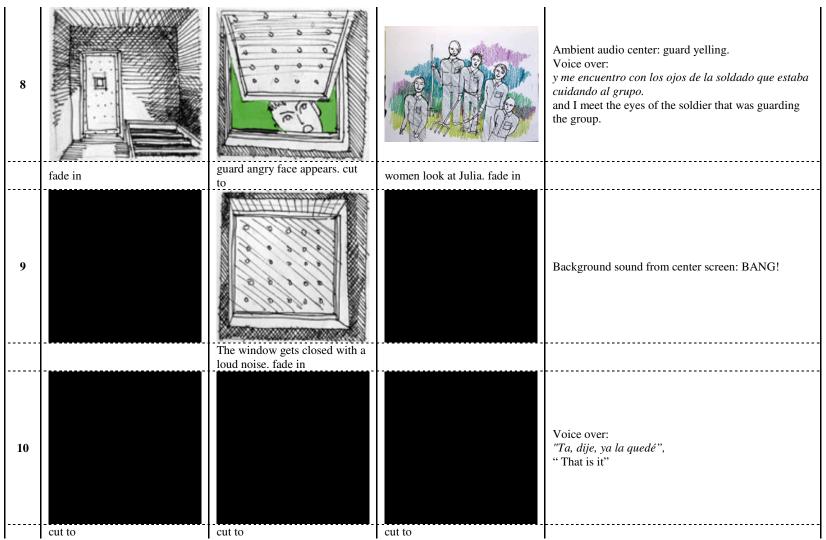


Figure 33. (continued).

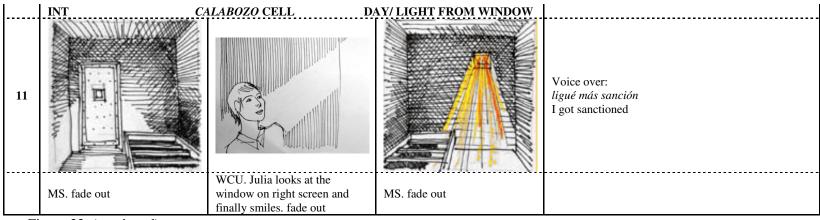


Figure 33. (continued).

## V240- shadows

This story is told by Marisa. She developed her own way of anticipating the guards' surveillance by observing the inverted projections of the different guards' shadows onto the ceiling of her *calabozo*.

Scene description: Marisa is laying back on the rolled mat, looking at the ceiling. There she sees shadows projected from the window. She remembers high school lessons that explained the optical phenomena of inverted projections in a pinhole camera. The light comes from the window; it is natural, with smooth shadows (see Figure 34).

Audio interruptions: A280- voices/laughs, A290- singing far, A300- whistling far, A310- singing next, A320- airplanes.

Vignette from: V200- call.

Vignettes to: all the transitions in group 1 (V130- haircut, V150- arrival, V160- pleads, V170- cold); group 2 (V330- rain, V350- voices, V360- flower, V370- door below) and group 3 (V370- communication, V380-alone).

#	screen Left	screen Center	screen Right	Audio
	INT	CALABOZO CELL D	AY/ LIGHT FROM WINDOW	
	fade in	fade in	fade in	
1				Audio voice over:  Cuando cambiaban los turnos de las guardias inspeccionaban los calabozos, unas 4 o 5 guardias por día.  When [the guards] changed the shifts, they would inspect the calabozos, about four to five times a day.
2	MS	MS. cut to	MS	Audio voice over:  Con el colchón arrollado yo hacía una reposera y pasaba buena parte del tiempo semi acostada,  With the mat rolled I would make a reclining chair and I would spent quite a lot of time half resting,
<u> </u>	24 Stamband of V24	FS Marisa is resting on the rolled mat. cut to		

Figure 34. Storyboard of V240- shadows.

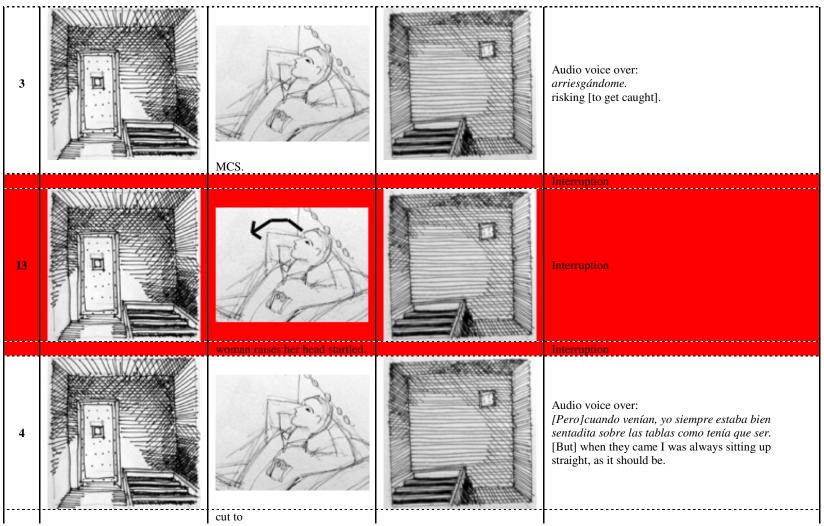


Figure 34. (continued).

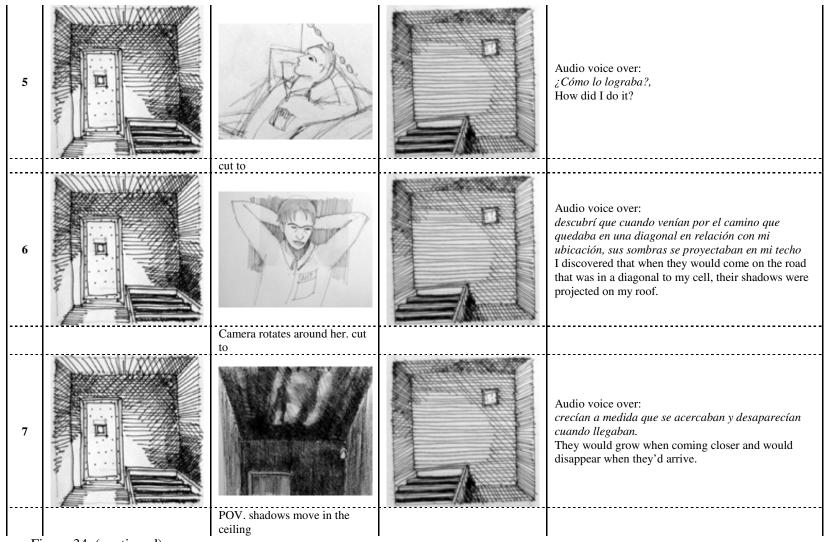


Figure 34. (continued).

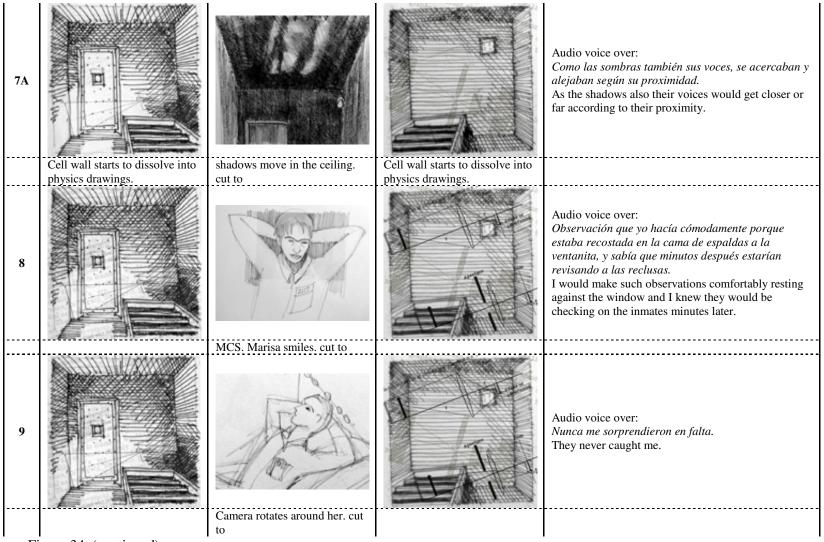


Figure 34. (continued).

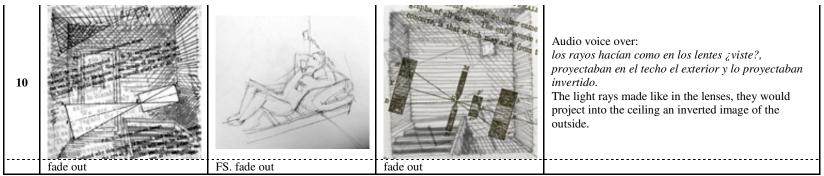


Figure 34. (continued).

# V250- peephole

The door's peephole was used by the guards to spy on an inmate's activity. But when there were no guards, the inmates used the peepholes to chat through sign language across the corridor.

Scene description: This story is told by Ana. The scene begins with Ana walking in the *calabozo* cell until she notices the door's peephole. She approaches it and looks through the small gap, across the corridor. On the other side of the corridor, there is a door with another peephole. Suddenly, Ana sees something that moves in the peephole across the corridor. Then she identifies the eyes of a *compañera*, and her fingers drawing signs. As Ana begins to understand the signs and answer back, the doors that separate them disappear, and they can see each other clearly. The light comes from the window; it is natural, with smooth shadows (see Figure 35).

Audio interruptions: A280- voices/laughs, A290- singing far, A300- whistling far, A310- singing next, A320- airplanes.

Vignettes from: V200-call.

Vignettes to: all the transitions in group 1 (V130- haircut, V150- arrival, V160- pleads, V170- cold); group 2 (V330- rain, V350- voices, V360- flower, V370- door below); and group 3 (V370- communication, V380- alone).

#	screen Left	screen Center	screen Right	Audio
			AY/ LIGHT FROM WINDOW	
	fade in	fade in	fade in	
1				Ambient audio: room tone
	MS	MS cut to	MS	
2				Ambient audio: footsteps Voice over center: En la puerta del calabozo habia una mirilla In the door of the calabozo there was a peephole.
		MS. Ana walks in circles. stops		
3		and stares at door on left screen		Ambient audio: silence Voice over center: y por esa mirilla vos veias a traves del corredor, And through this peephole you could see across the corridor
	camera pans left	Ana walks towards the door. camera pans left	camera pans left	

Figure 35. Storyboard of V250- peephole.

**3A** Ana bends towards the camera pans left camera pans left peephole. Voice over right screen: **3B** Me asome ... primero vi... I leaned over... first I saw... Panning stops. Corridor (side Ana is leaning towards the Panning stops in corridor (view towards entrance)
INT CORRIDOR ENTRANCE peephole. dissolve into
INT CORRIDOR SIDE VIEW INT CORRIDOR SIDE VIEW Voice over right screen: me pareció una sombra como que los ojos de la compañera estaban atrás de la rendijita. It looked like a shadow, as if the eyes of the compañera were behind the small gap POV. peephole real size. peephole real size. Ana's eyes Something moves behind the are behing the peephole. cut to peephole. cut to

Figure 35. (continued).

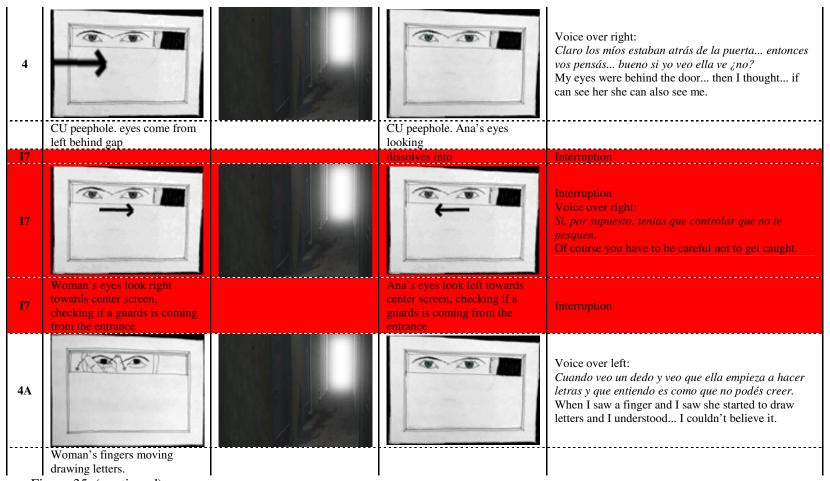


Figure 35. (continued).

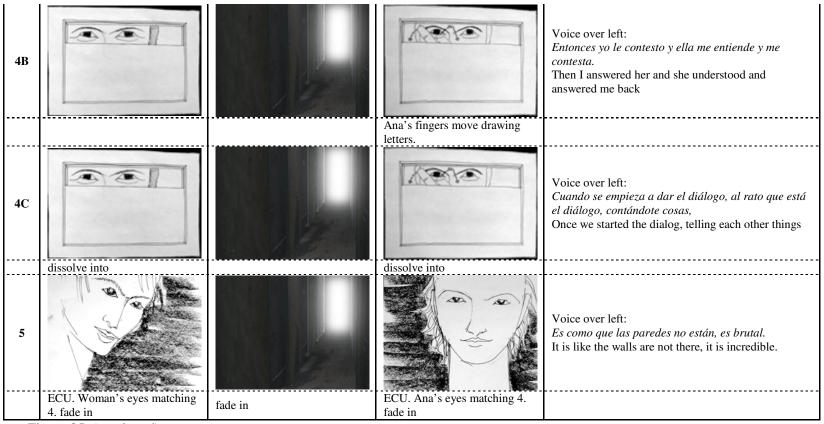


Figure 35. (continued).

# V270- wall tapping

The slowest way of communicating was through tapping on the wall. The code the inmates used was 1 tap for each letter of the alphabet: for example, 1 tap would be an A, 2 taps a B, etc. They would use words with misspellings. For example, they would substitute the Z with an S. It was very slow. Saying something like "Hi. How are you?" would take a great deal of effort and time.

Scene description: The scene occurs in the interior of two *calabozo* cells. In one cell, woman 1 approaches the wall and begins tapping. In the next cell, woman 2 hears the tapping and brings her ear up against the wall. Woman 2 listens carefully, and as she deciphers the tapping, the letters appear in the center of the screen. The light comes from the window; it is natural, with smooth shadows (see Figure 36).

Audio interruptions: A280- voices/laughs, A290- singing far, A300- whistling far, A310- singing next, A320- airplanes.

Vignettes from: V200- call.

Vignettes to: all the transitions in group 1 (V130- haircut, V150- arrival, V160- pleading, V170- cold); group 2 (V330- rain, V350- voices, V360- flower, V370- door below): and group 3 (V370- communication, V380- alone).

#	screen Left	screen Center	screen Right	Audio
			AY/ LIGHT FROM WINDOW	
	fade in	fade in	fade in	
1	MS out to	MS	MS.	Ambient Audio: room tone
2	MS. cut to  MS. Woman 1 looks towards	MS	MS	Ambient Audio: room tone
		cut to	cut to	
3	the wall. cut to		217	Ambient audio left: faint tapping on the wall.
	Woman 1 climbs the bed frame and starts tapping. cut to	A corner between two walls. There is a blinking underscore in left wall. Letter H appears.	MS woman 2 approaches the wall. cut to	

Figure 36. Storyboard of V270- wall tapping.

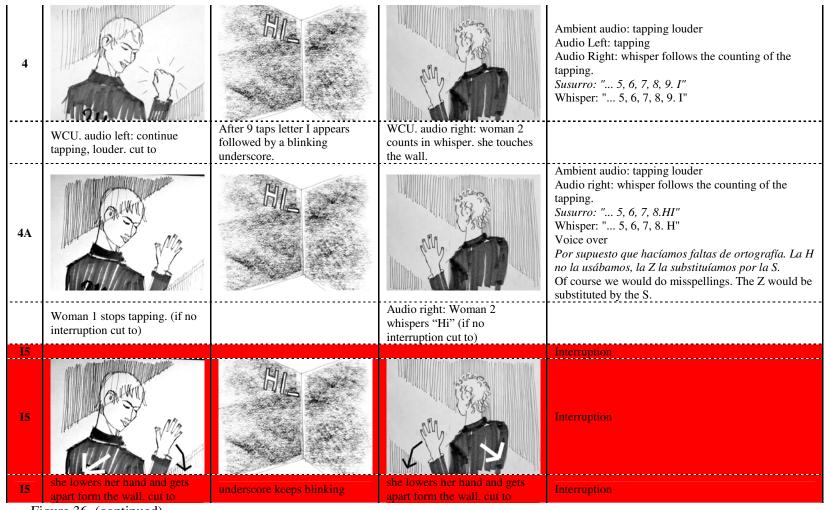


Figure 36. (continued).

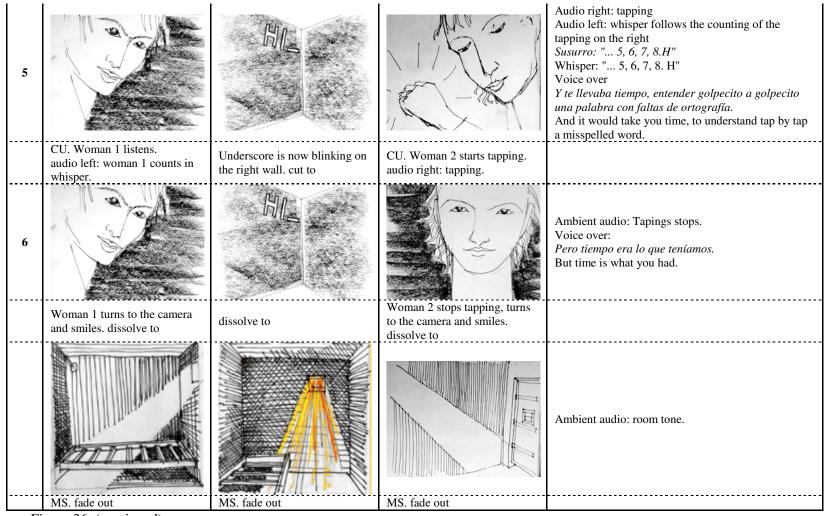


Figure 36. (continued).

169

V330- rain

The prison was located in Punta de Rieles, a rural neighborhood on the outskirts of

Montevideo. Surrounding the prison were green pastures, vineyards, and houses located further

away. For most of the women, nature was a source of escape. They would enjoy listening to the

rain, even though it meant that there were no compañeras hanging clothes outside, and therefore

no communication. They enjoyed the smell of the wet land after the rain, and the sound of the

birds singing outside.

Scene description: It is an outdoor scene, showing the natural landscape that surrounded the

prison. The landscape is mapped continuously, as in a panorama, to the 3 screens. The scene

begins with a dark landscape (rendered in unsaturated colors). It is early morning and raining

heavily. Later, the rain stops and the landscape appears brighter (rendered with more saturated

colors). Finally, the sky clears and the light appears bluish, as in mid-morning light (see Figure

37).

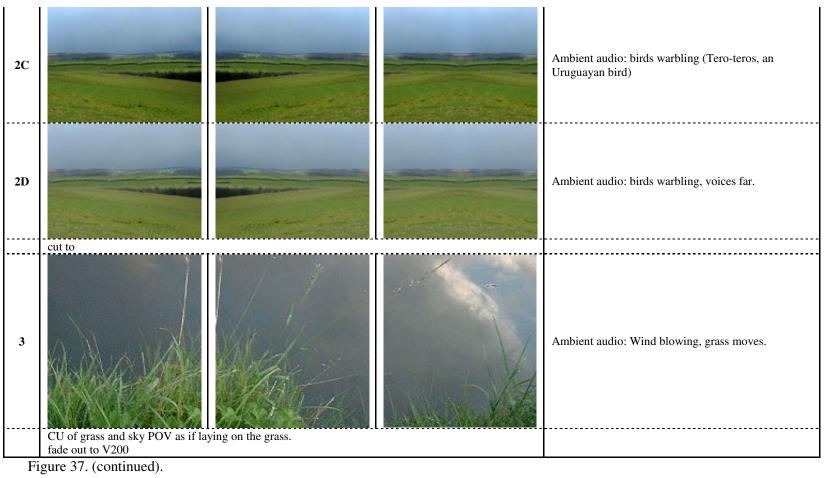
Vignettes from: all the vignettes in groups 1 and 2, and group 3 (V30, V40, V50, V60, V70,

V220, V230, V240, V250, V270, V400, V410).

Vignette to: V200- call.

#	screen Left	screen Center	screen Right	Audio
	EXT	NATURAL LADSCAPE	DAY/RAIN	
	fade in	fade in	fade in	
1	dissolves into			Ambient audio: rain starts outside.
	dissolves lillo			
2				Ambient audio: rain dripping. Heavy rain.
2A				Ambient audio: Rain starts to stop.
2B				Ambient audio: Rain stops. Water dripping from roof.

Figure 37. Storyboard of V330- rain.



172

V350- voices

The women from outside the *calabozos*, living in the communal cells, tried to reach the

compañeras isolated inside the calabozo cells by any means possible. One way was to talk out

loud when hanging clothes outside, so the *compañera* could hear their conversations. On these

occasions, it was not the communication of information that mattered, but the fact that the other

inmates were reaching the isolated *compañera*.

Scene description: The scene occurs outside, behind the main building of the prison, where

the inmates used to hang their clothes up to dry. A group of inmates is hanging clothes. A new

woman brings additional clothes, and the women begin talking very loudly about trivial matters

of life in prison. A guard suddenly approaches and orders them to "shut up." They stop talking,

but once the guard leaves they continue to talk. The day is bright, as winter days are in Uruguay,

and the scene takes place at noon (see Figure 38).

Vignettes from: all the vignettes in groups 1 and 2, and group 3 (V30, V40, V50, V60, V70,

V220, V230, V240, V250, V270, V400, V410).

Vignettes to: V200- call.

#	screen Left	screen Center	screen Right	Audio
	EXT IN	THE BACK OF MAIN BUILDI	NG DAY/NOON	
	fade in	fade in	fade in	
1		The property of the party of th		Ambient audio: wind
	The towers and fencing surrounding the prison cut to	FS. The main prison building as seen from the <i>calabozo</i> cut to	The towers and fencing surrounding the prison cut to	
2				Ambient audio: wind. Voices of women talking (far)
	CU the tower. cut to	MS the building. Clothes are moved by the wind. cut to	CU to the tower. cut to	
3A				Ambient audio: wind. Voices of women talking (closer)
	wind moving clothes	closer to the hanged clothes. wind moving clothes	wind moving clothes	

Figure 38. Storyboard of V350- voices.

3В				Ambient audio: wind, footsteps. Women talking loud on center screen. "Sabes de la mamá de Marta?"
	wind keeps moving clothes	Women are taking out hanged clothes. Their faces are covered by the clothes.	inmate walks into screen from right	
3C				Ambient audio: wind. Women talking loud on center screen. "Vino a la visita."
	wind keeps moving clothes	Inmate walks in screen from right. Women are hanging the clothes she brought.	wind keeps moving clothes	
3D				Ambient audio: wind. Women stop talking center screen. Guard yelling, women lower gaze, smile.
 	gure 38 (continued)	Guard suddenly appears from right. Women stopped talking. Guard yelling, women lower their gaze.		

Figure 38. (continued).

3E				Ambient audio: women resume talking, wind
		women keep hanging clothes and resume talking. cut to		
4				Ambient audio: women voices far, wind
		MS the building. Clothes are moved by the wind. cut to		
5		The property of the party of th		Ambient audio: women voices far, wind
	fade out	FS. The main prison building as seen from the <i>calabozo</i> fade out	fade out	

Figure 38. (continued).

## V360- flower

This vignette is based on the story told in the book written by María Condenanza entitled *La Espera* [25]. María saved small pieces of bread from her meal, made dough with the saliva and pink toothpaste, modeled a flower and waited for it to dry. She planned to place the flower in the bathroom as a gift for the woman in the next cell. In her story she expresses how she enjoyed imagining the surprise and wonder it would cause the other prisoner to see a pink rose in the bathroom. María is caught, however, and sanctioned. The story is told from the point of view of the woman who receives the flower (Marisa) in vignette V220.

Scene description: The scene happens inside a *calabozo* cell. It shows the hands of a woman making a small flower from bread crumbs (see Figure 39). She sings (whispers) a song. At the end, the scene shows the woman raising the flower to the light that is coming in from the window in the cell. The scene's light is warm and comes from the window; there are no harsh contrasts, and the woman's hands are smoothly lit (see Figure 40).

Vignettes from: all the vignettes in groups 1 and 2, and group 3 (V30, V40, V50, V60, V70, V220, V230, V240, V250, V270, V400, V410).

Vignettes to: V200 - call.



Figure 39. Screen capture of a scene from the video (V360- flower).

#	screen Left	screen Center	screen Right	Audio
			LIGHT FROM WINDOW	
	fade in	fade in	fade in	
1				Ambient audio: room tone.
	fade out	hand knead a piece of bread.  Dissolve into the following sequence.		
2				Ambient audio: room tone.
	dissolves into	dissolves into		Still frames (2 sec.). Dissolve into next.
				Ambient audio: woman sings to herself (very low)
	dissolves into	dissolves into	fade out	Still frames (2 sec.). Dissolve into next.

Figure 40. Storyboard of V360- flower.

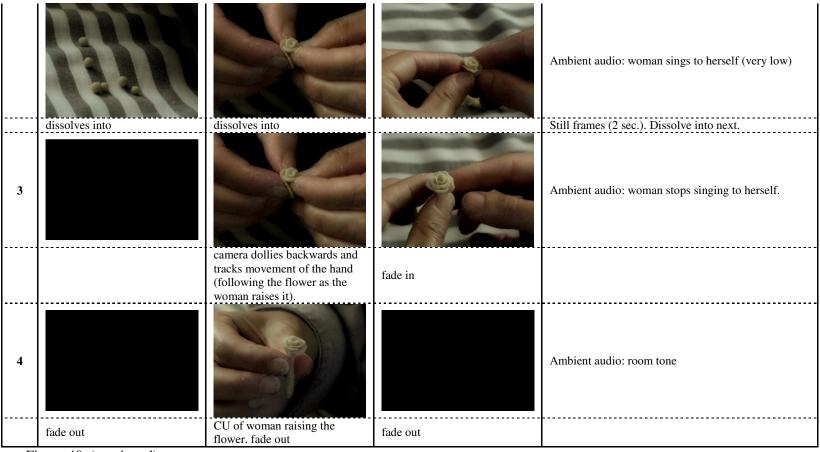


Figure 40. (continued).

#### V370- door below

Once the inmate arrived at the *calabozo*, she would immediately begin to explore the new space. She would study how she could use the physical elements (like the door, the window, and the walls) to break her isolation. The doors of each *calabozo* were located along a corridor. They were placed diagonally, and not facing each other. In one end of the corridor there was the guards' post, and the only outside access to the *calabozos*. Therefore, any communication through the door had to avoid the guards' arrival. During their communications the inmate closer to the guards would have to constantly check whether there was a guard coming or not. Since the door did not reach the floor, there was a gap that allowed the inmates, while laying supine on the floor, to see each other through the corridor.

Scene description: The scene occurs in the interior of a *calabozo* cell. A woman in cell 1 sees the gap below the door. She kneels onto the floor and, laying supine, sees woman 2 from across the corridor. They begin to communicate through sign language, drawing each letter on the floor. Finally, they get interrupted by the sound of footsteps (which announce the approaching of a guard) and stand away from the door. The scene's light inside the cell is warm and comes from the window. The corridor's scene in the center screen is dark, illuminated by electric lights (see Figure 41).

Vignettes from: all the vignettes in groups 1 and 2, and group 3 (V30, V40, V50, V60, V70, V220, V230, V240, V250, V270, V400, V410).

Vignettes to: V200– call.

#	screen Left	screen Center	screen Right	Audio
			LIGHT FROM WINDOW	
	fade in	fade in	fade in	
1				Ambient audio: room tone
	MS of cell. cut to	MS of cell. cut to	MS of cell.	
2A				Ambient audio: room tone
	POV. Camera centers on the	MS. woman 1 is reaching to		
2B	gap below the door.	the floor.		Ambient audio: room tone
	41 C. 1 1 C. 1/270 1	1 1		

Figure 41. Storyboard of V370- door below.

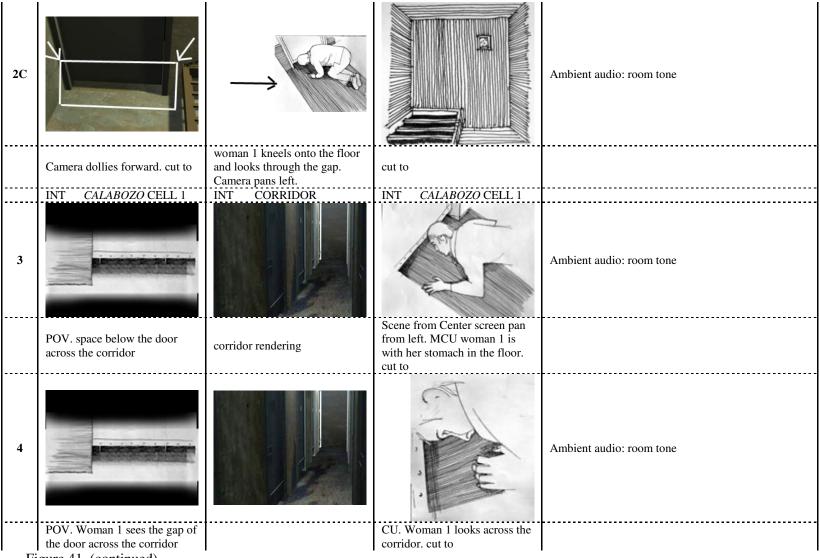


Figure 41. (continued).

1	INT CALABOZO CELL 1	INT CORRIDOR	INT CALABOZO CELL 2	L
5A				Ambient audio: room tone
	POV from cell 1. Face of woman 2 appears from under the door.		POV from cell 2. Woman 1 is looking across the corridor.	
5B	- SAKOE NO			Voice over left screen:  Hola.  Hi.
	Woman 2 hands start drawing letters.			
5C	PARCE SE		Woman 1 answers back	Voice over right screen: Yo soy Ana. I am Ana.
	cut to		drawing on the floor, cut to	

Figure 41. (continued).

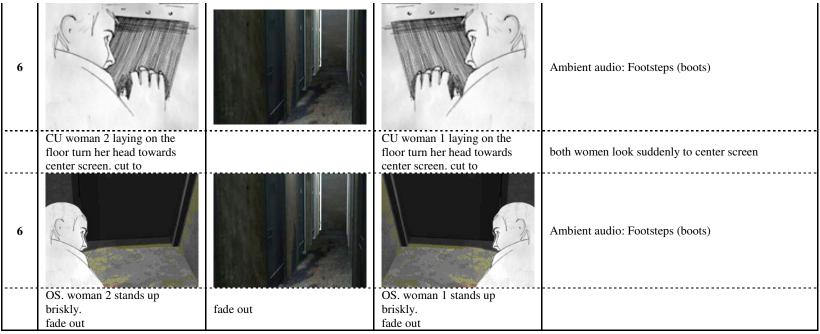


Figure 41. (continued).

#### V380- communication and V390- alone

Leading a collective life while in prison sometimes became unbearable. Therefore, some women (Marisa and Susana) took advantage of the isolation of the *calabozo* to think about their own lives. However, most of the women I interviewed did not appreciated the isolation of the *calabozo* and emphasized the importance of communication, of not being alone, in order to survive life in the *calabozo*. These storyboards present this contentious issue as a discussion between to women.

Scene description: The scene presents two *calabozo* cells (on the left and right screens) separated by the corridor (displayed on the center screen). In each *calabozo* there is a woman, and they engage in conversation. The light inside the cells is natural, and is coming in through the window. The corridor rendering faces the entrance. It is a dark place with a glaring light at the end of the corridor (see Figures 42 and 43).

Vignettes from: all the vignettes in group 2 (V220, V230, V240, V250, V270).

Vignettes to: vignettes form group 3 (V400 and V410- daydreaming).

#	screen Left	screen Center	screen Right	Audio
	INT- CALABOZO CELL 2	INT - CORRIDOR	INT- CALABOZO CELL 2	
	fade in	fade in	fade in	
1				Ambient audio: room tone (from right) outdoor (from left).
	MFS.	Corridor of the calabozo	MFS.	
1A				Audio Right:  Tenías comunicación, tenías actividad permanente.  Pero a mi lo que me pasaba es que yo a veces necesitaba estar sola.  You had communication, constant activity if there were compañeras. But sometimes I needed to be left alone.  Audio Left: ¿Estar sola? Alone?
	Audio Left. cut to		Audio Right. cut to	
2A				Audio Right:  Tranquila, si. Sin comunicarme.  Quiet without communication.
	CS.		CS. Audio Right.	

| CS. | Figure 42. Storyboard of V380- communication.

2B				Audio Right: A veces me golpeaban y yo decía "ay no, no quiero comunicarme", "Ya sé que están bien. Por favor necesito un rato de tranquilidad". ¿A vos no te pasaba eso? Sometimes they'd tap and I'd say "I don't want to communicate. I know they are all right. Please I need a quiet moment." Didn't it happen to you?
	Market and		Audio Right	
2C				Audio Left: ¡A mi no! Para mi lo peor era estar sola. Por eso me comunicaba todo el tiempo con las compañeras. No! The worst thing was to be alone. That is why I talked all the time with the compañeras.
	CS. Audio Left. As she speaks camera dollies into CU. Stops talking in CU.		CS. As woman form Left speaks camera dollies into CU.	
3				Audio Right:  Para mi el calabozo me daba la oportunidad tener tiempo de estar sola pensando en mis cosas.  For me the calabozo was a opportunity to be alone thinking on my own stuff.
	CU. Woman nods her head. fade out	fade out	CU. Audio Right. fade out	

Figure 42. (continued).

#	screen Left	screen Center	screen Right	Audio
	INT- CALABOZO CELL 2	INT – CORRIDOR	INT- CALABOZO CELL 2	
	fade in	fade in	fade in	
1				Ambient audio: room sound. Audio Left: En general tratabas de hacer la vida colectiva porque es importante, vos no podés vivir en una celda, ponele, doce mujeres juntas, vos por tu lado y yo por el mío. In general you tried to have a collective life because it was important, you could not live in a cell with12 women toghether and you on your side and I am on mine.
	MFS. Audio Left:	Corridor of the calabozo	MFS.	
1A				Ambient audio: room sound. Audio Right:  Íbamos al baño a lavarnos los dientes colectivamente, nos bañábamos en colectivo. Todo colectivo.  We brushed our teeth in a group, we showered in a group. Everything in a collective.
	She looks towards right screen.		Audio Right. cut to	
2A				Audio Right:  Y los ratos que teníamos por ejemplo para pensar, para escribir una carta, eran cortos por la vida colectiva y porque además las milicas permanentemente llamaban para algo. And the moments you had to think or to right a letter were short because of the collective life and because the milicas (guards) would constantly call you for something.
	CS.		CS. Audio Right. cut to	

Figure 43. Storyboard of V390- alone.

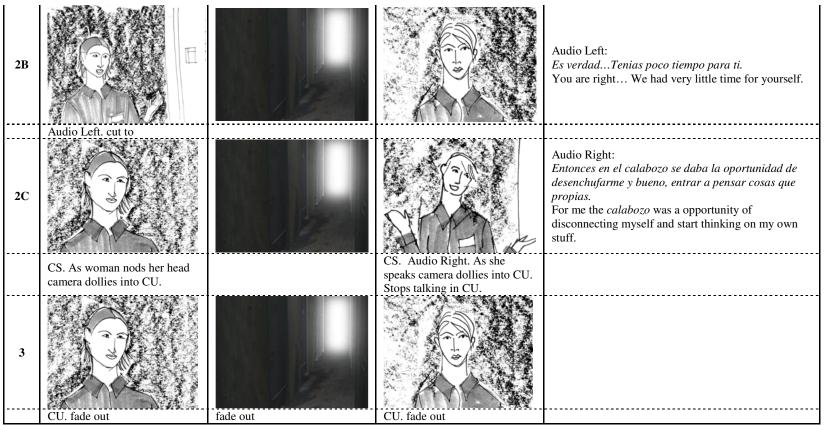


Figure 43. (continued).

#### V400 and V410- daydreaming

Only two women, Susana and Marisa, remembered the isolation of the *calabozo* as an opportunity to disconnect from their communal lives and to think about their own personal lives. Daydreaming under controlled conditions was a way of preserving their sanity. Marisa and Susana remembered thinking about their futures or imagining activities forbidden in prison that they would be able to perform in a normal life. Marisa (portrayed in V400) remembered that she would plan her day with activities involving the preparation of a meal. Susana (portrayed in V410) reviewed words in a foreign language (French), as if reading from a book.

Scene description V400: The scene occurs in Marisa's kitchen as she prepares a meal.

Objects are extremely large and colorful. The camera moves slowly. The light is warm, as of coming in through a nearby window (see Figure 44).

Scene description V410: The interior of a *calabozo* cell is transformed into a library by Susana's imagination. Objects are extremely large and the camera moves slowly. The scene occurs at night, and the only light comes from an electric spotlight illuminating the book she is reading (see Figure 45).

At the end of each vignette, there is a sound that interrupts it. This sound can be any of the "Audio interruptions" (A80, A90, A100, A110, A120, A280, A290, A300, A310, A320, A330). Vignettes from: all of the transitions in group 3 (V380, V390).

Vignettes to: all the transitions in group 2 (V330, V350, V360, and V370).

#	screen Left	screen Center	screen Right	Audio
	INT	KITCHEN D.	AY/LIGHT FROM A WINDOW	
	fade in	fade in	fade in	
1				Voice over: Tenías que llenar tu día con una serie de actividades para que tu cabeza quedara fresca como tal. Entonces yo planificaba un día grande. You'd have to fill your day with a series of activities in order to keep your head fresh. Therefore I used to plan a large day.
	fade in	fade in	fade in	
2		ation, dissolver into		Ambient audio: tap water, ceramic dishware Voice over:  Cocinaba, pero antes iba a hacer los mandados. I'd cook but before I'd do groceries.
3	water pouring into pan in slow m	otion. dissolves into		Ambient audio: outdoor market. Voice over: Después cocinaba detalladamente tiraba las cáscaras en la basura After that I'd carefully cook, throw the peels into the garbage
	vegetables. dissolves into			
	14 Stamphand of V100 d			L

Figure 44. Storyboard of V400- daydreaming.

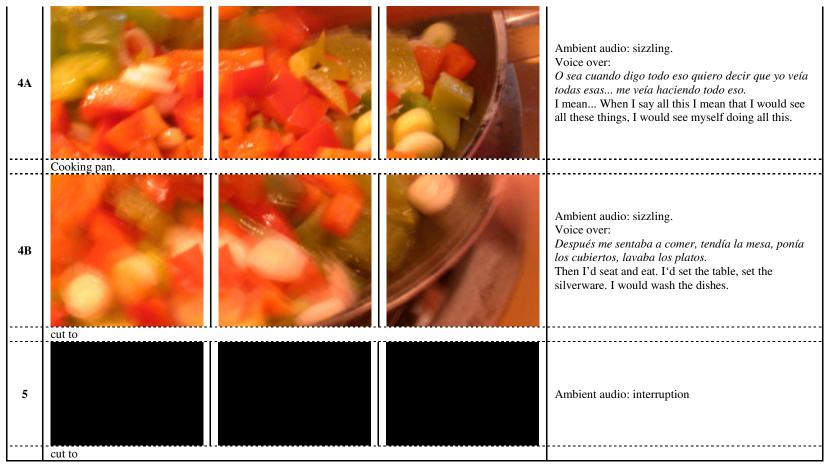


Figure 44. (continued).

#	screen Left	screen Center	screen Right	Audio
	INT	CALABOZO CELL DA	AY/LIGHT FROM WINDOW	
	fade in	fade in	fade in	
1				Ambient audio: room tone
	MS. <i>Calabozo</i> cell	MS. <i>Calabozo</i> cell. cut to	MS. <i>Calabozo</i> cell	
2				Ambient audio: room tone Voice over center screen: I remember I would review literature lessons
	cut to	MS. Woman is looking down.	cut to	
3		cut to		Ambient audio: room tone Voice over center screen: All in my mind
	POV. cell walls	CS. cut to	POV. cell walls	
Diamen	A5 Storyboard of VA10 de	<u>-</u> '		

Figure 45. Storyboard of V410- daydreaming.

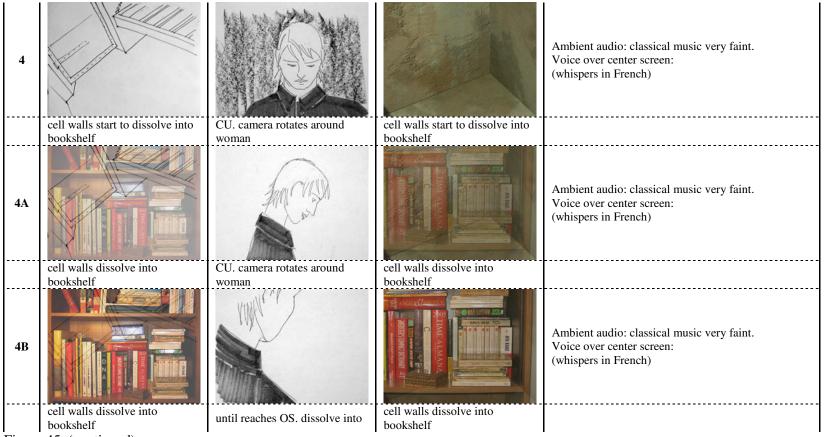


Figure 45. (continued).

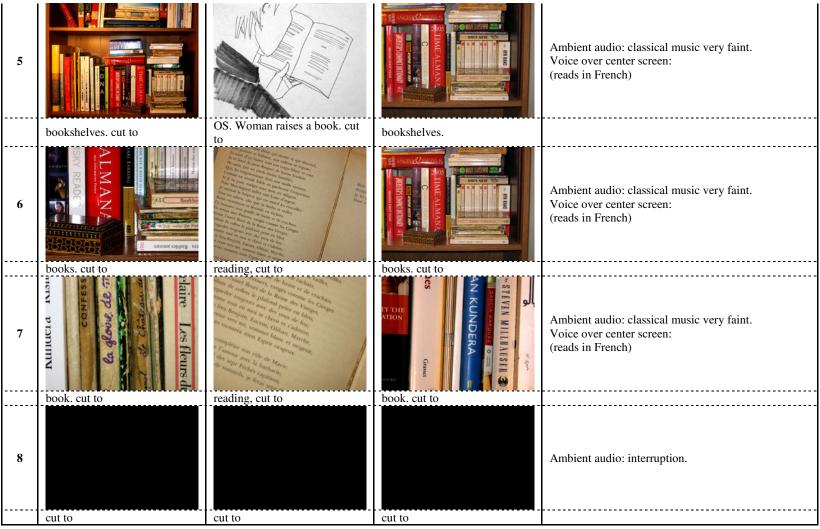


Figure 45. (continued).

## CONCLUSION

Ya es lugar común señalar que la memoria de los pueblos necesita un lapso, a veces grande, para poder mirar su pasado y enfrentar a la luz del presente, hechos y acciones que laceraron su cuerpo y su alma. También los uruguayos hemos hecho uso de esa distancia y con tardía decisión, aportes multidisciplinarios vienen a corregir nuestra imagen de país sin memoria, como lo habían querido los militares y sus padrinos civiles. (Martha Valentini, Comentarios a la tesis de Carmen Aroztegui, 3/12/2004)

It has become commonplace to remark that the collective memory of a people needs time, sometimes a long period of time, to be able to look back into the past and confront, under today's light, the events and actions that once wounded their body and soul. Uruguayans also needed this distancing and, with delayed response, multidisciplinary contributions have surfaced to correct the image of Uruguay as country without a memory, which was what the military and their civilian godfathers wanted (Martha Valentini, Commentaries to Carmen Aroztegui's thesis, 12/3/2004).

Even though Uruguayans have lived in a democracy for more than 20 years, the tragic events of the dictatorial period are still vividly felt, even today. The nation's past remains an open wound and memories come back to haunt those who still search for answers, trying to make sense of what happened. Some time has passed - almost a generation – and that time allows us to begin a dialog, to speak about and listen to what happened to each of us. It is the only way to achieve some form of closure.

Memorials contribute to this dialog by creating a location for those "events [that] are seen to hold some lasting positive meaning that people wish to remember" [43]. One example of a memorial is the *Memorial de los desaparecidos* built in Uruguay [44]. The Uruguayan dictatorial period left a gaping wound of almost 200 people disappeared [5]. Built in 2001, the memorial

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The disappeared were people kidnapped by the military and never seen alive again.

was a way of attending to the demands of the families of these *desaparecidos* (disappeared) and the rest of society – to have a symbolic resting place for those people who still remain unaccounted for. The *Memorial de los desaparecidos* is a physical manifestation of the emotional loss their absence creates.

Memorials contribute to healing because they are a way of documenting events. They give a sense of permanence that combats the fear survivors almost always have – fear that the event will be forgotten and their experiences will be lost forever. It is unsettling that even so long after the end of the dictatorship, these women, female former political prisoners have not been able to visit their place of imprisonment<sup>6</sup>. Therefore these women do not have a place that serves to document or ground their memories, making it difficult for them to achieve closure. Their memories remain somehow "suspended" in their minds, in constant transient state. This visualization of these women's memories of the *calabozo* aims at helping to heal this open wound by creating a symbolic place – materialized in the installation – where their memories can rest. The installation surrounds the audience in a space similar to the *calabozo*, real in its size, in order to convey their individual stories - their feelings of confinement, isolation, and vulnerability.

The storyboards, the video sample and the installation mockup will serve as a foundation for application for grants necessary for undertaking the production of the full project. With the final video production, I see the opportunity for several new lines of exploration. First, the video should exploit the fact that the audience will be standing close to the screen by presenting the projected human figures to be the same size as the audience. This will allow the audience to relate physically to the characters and to engage with them within the space of the video narrative. Secondly, since the screens are large and the audience cannot see more than 2 screens at the same time, the video should carefully direct the audience's attention from one screen to another. This can be achieved by introducing audio cues or by limiting camera movement only to the screen

<sup>6</sup> The male former prisoners were allowed to visit their prison at the beginning of the democratic period, in 1985.

where the attention should be directed. Thirdly, the video settings of the three screens allow for a narrative to unfold within a three-dimensional space, therefore engaging the audience in the space of the video. The video should introduce actions that migrate form one screen to another, or dialogs that occur between opposing screens. Finally, the video should explore the introduction of random selections from the stories and random audio interruptions to the sequences, and the resulting effects on the audience's experience.

The women I interviewed all belong to a group of women who value their time in prison as a positive collective experience - as Mariana would say, "a life experience." These women's accounts offer a lesson of survival. They convey how every person has strength within themselves to endure – and defeat – oppression. My visualization aims at representing these nine *testimonios*. However, any generalization of these experiences to extend to all of the female prisoner population is not possible. The women I interviewed represent a very small sample of the prison population, and not all the women who lived through that prison experience are as positive about what they went through. Some women committed suicide, others were not willing to speak openly about their past, and many still suffer as a result of what happened. It is not a coincidence that so many women died of cancer in the years following their imprisonment.

This visualization of the *calabozo* experience is intended as a memorial to each of these women, individually and collectively, and to serve as a reminder of the extraordinary power of the human spirit.

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#### APPENDIX A

## STORIES OF PRISON

## The Yankee Ambassador's Visit (Rosa)

The military wanted to portray Punta de Rieles as a model prison institution where the inmates received humane and fair treatment. For that purpose, they allowed international organizations (like the Red Cross or Amnesty International) to inspect prison conditions. Such occasions were used by the inmates to denounce their treatment, and to speak for the *desaparecidos* (missing people). The American ambassador's visit to Punta de Rieles was one such occasion. Rosa narrated how the inmates used the conditions imposed upon them to impress the visitor and to convey the extent of their inhumane treatment. She was living in a cell originally designed to be a chapel for the Jesuits. The cell was the largest in the prison (about 10 x 12 meters), and hosted 42 to 48 inmates.

Estando por ejemplo en la capilla cuando la llegada del embajador yanqui. ¿Cuál fue nuestra estrategia? Nuestra estrategia fue simplemente potenciar lo que era. Para provocar un shock en quien veía. Vos entrabas a un espacio grande lleno de cuchetas en todas direcciones. Pero donde no hay una sola gota de color. Nosotras normalmente teníamos un almohadón rojo, o un almohadón de varios colores, o una sobre colcha hecha a croché de colores. Normalmente vivíamos con colores. Pero como queríamos impactar a la visita, simplemente pusimos lo que era la ley de ellos [de los militares]. Absolutamente todo gris, ni un acolchado, ni una manualidad, ni un libro. La chatura absoluta. Las mesas que estaban en el medio del espacio, vacías. Ni un libro ni una manualidad ni una nada. El espacio en su peor expresión. En su expresión más vacía más deshumana... Con lo cual a ellos [a los militares] les encantó, en primera instancia. Después se dieron cuenta de la

jugada. En primera instancia, ellos cuando tenían visita querían mostrar que tenían un penal muy disciplinado. [...] Ellos querían mostrar esa cosa impersonal. Nosotros dijimos: "Ah bueno, ¿cosa impersonal dijeron? Bárbaro, cosa impersonal". Y nos fuimos al extremo... Imaginate el espacio de la capilla con todas las cuchetas grises grises grises. Mesas de caballete en el medio sin nada. Y cuando entran, que estaban con el director del penal y todo el séquito, nosotras corremos a ponernos en posición de firmes en los pies de cada cucheta. Era la orden que nunca cumplíamos. [...] Y nunca lo cumplimos, nunca jamás. Pero ese día corrimos disciplinadamente. Y era {ininteligible en grabación} para ellos en un primer momento. Solo que el impacto que eso provocaba en gente normal era muy fuerte... Nosotros simplemente jugamos con el encuadre de ellos, lo potenciamos, nada más. Y después encima hablamos. Denunciamos lo que era el penal los fines que perseguía. Pero lo denunciamos en ese contexto, en el contexto de esa visión. [...] Toda esa gente, toda de gris, todo ese gris total, todo ese vacío, toda esa nada. Y que de esa nada surjan voces que hacen denuncia, era un peso muy fuerte. [...] Vos podías captar las cosas y reinvertirlas. Como en este caso potenciando.

For example, take the situation in the chapel [cell] when the Yankee ambassador arrived. What was our strategy? Our strategy was simply to emphasize what it was like to be there, to cause shock in who was watching. You would enter a space full of double beds, in all directions, where there wasn't a single drop of color. We normally had... a red pillow, or a multicolored pillow, and a colorful *sobre-colcha* (crochet quilt). Normally, we lived with colors. But because we wanted our situation to impact the visitors, we simply left what was allowed by the law, their law. Everything was gray, and there was not one quilt, not one handicraft, not one book. We needed to emphasize the absolute dullness. The tables in the center were empty. There was not one handicraft - nothing. The space was left in its worst

condition, in its most empty and inhuman expression. And they [the military] loved it, at first. After a while, they realized the trick. Every time there was a visit planned, they wanted to show a disciplined prison. They wanted to show an impersonal space. Therefore, we said "OK! You said impersonal? Great! We will give you impersonal." And we went to the extreme...Imagine the chapel's space with all the double beds: gray, gray, gray... and in the middle, empty tables. And when the prison director and his entourage entered, we would run to stand still, next to each bed. This was the command which we never usually obeyed. [...]

Never ever! Nevertheless, this day we ran, disciplined. And they loved it at first! However, the impact that this scene caused on normal people was very strong... We simply played within their framework. We enhanced it, nothing more. And on top of that, we talked. We denounced the prison, the goals that it pursued. But we denounced it within this context, within this vision. [...] All this total gray, all this void, all this emptiness. And from this emptiness emerged denouncing voices... It was a heavy weight. [...] You could capture these things and reverse them, and in this case, exploit them.

# "Nunca vi china con número" (I have never seen a china with a number) (Marisa)

The cultural events organized by the inmates were very important. They strengthened the bonds of friendship amongst the inmates and brought back to their lives a human necessity – culture. Below is the story told by Marisa of a performance of dancing that occurred in the chapel cell.

Notes referring to the translation of the text: The *pericón* is a traditional Uruguayan dance where men dressed as *gauchos* pair up with females dressed as *chinas* (the girlfriend or wife of

the *gaucho*). The *chiripá* is a garment worn by the *gauchos* over their trousers. *Bayana* is a person from the borderlands shared with Brazil who speaks Spanish with a Portuguese accent.

Un día habíamos decidido armar un pericón, entonces unas eran las bailarinas y las otras éramos el público. Se disfrazaron con porquerías, con nada, porque el uniforme no te lo podías sacar más que cuando te ibas a dormir... Entonces María se disfrazó de china, se hizo unos coloretes así {en la cara} con un papel o no sé con qué una moña en la cabeza, y otras se pusieron las botas de cocina, eran los gauchos, con un trapo era el chiripá y qué sé yo,todos esos mamarrachos... Y bueno estaba en gran función el pericón que se bailaba acá {señala el dibujo}, y nosotras estábamos aquí, o sea el público aquí {señala el dibujo}. Y de repente sentimos chic, chic, chic, la reja, porque ahí te lo digo{se refiere a historias narradas anteriormente], hay un portón y una reja, entonces cuando oíamos el ruido de la reja [era porque] iban a entrar. Entonces las que bailaban salieron disparadas para esconderse en los bancos, en los baños, y María no tuvo tiempo, caminó así y por una de estas camas quedó, porque cuando entró la cabo dijo "atención", y cuando decían atención te tenías que quedar como un palo donde estuvieras... Entonces María no pudo dar un paso más, pero se puso de espalda, entonces la cabo, nosotras acá todas paradas temblando por lo que le iba a pasar a María, la mujer hace todo este caminito así, y nuestros uniformes tenían el número atrás en la espalda y también adelante, entonces le dice a María "226", no me acuerdo cual era el número de María, "226, dése vuelta", María se da vuelta y estaba con sus cachetes pintados así y una moña, no, la moña se la había sacado, había tenido tiempo de arrancarse la moña, pero los cachetes pintados, imaginate, entonces la mujer se tentó y dice "¿pero qué está haciendo?". Entonces esta decidió que lo más sencillo era decir la verdad porque bueno, no había otra, y dice "estábamos bailando un pericón y yo estoy disfrazada de china" dice ella... "ah, ah" {imitando} dice la mujer que era media

bayana "ah, ah, nunca vi china con número!"... {nos reímos} "Nunca vi china con número", y no pasó nada vos sabés, no pasó nada! no pasó nada porque la mujer estaba tentada.

One day, we decided to make a *pericón*. Some were the dancers, and the rest of us were the audience. They [the dancers] dressed with trifles, with nothing [over their uniforms], because the rules said you could only take off the uniform when you went to sleep. Maria dressed up as a *china*. She colored her face {Marisa touched her cheeks}, and maybe with paper, I don't know how... she made a bow in her hair with a ribbon. Others put on boots taken from the kitchen – these were the women who played the gauchos, [who dressed] with a piece of cloth called a *chiripá* and all this other stuff ... And then, the big event of the *pericón* happened. They danced here {she pointed to the drawing} and we, the audience, were here {she pointed again}. All of a sudden, we heard "Click, click, click." It was the metal bar. Because as I told you before, when we heard the noise of the metal bar it meant that they [the guards] were coming. Then, the ones who were dancing ran to hide in the bathroom, but Maria didn't have time. She walked a little ways between the beds and stopped, because the corporal said "Attention!" And when they said "attention," you had to freeze - wherever you were. So Maria could not move any further, but she stood with her back towards the corporal. And we were all shaking, anticipating what would happen to Maria. Then the corporal said to Maria "226." I don't remember now which number was Maria's. "226, turn around!" Maria turned around and there she was with her cheeks painted and with the bow... no, she had time to take off the big bow, but with her cheeks painted, imagine! Then the woman [the corporal], trying to hold back her laughter said "What are you doing?" Maria decided that it was easier to tell the truth. She had no choice "We were dancing a pericón. And I am dressed up as a china." And the woman said "Aaa ..." {Marisa imitated a

countryside accent.} She was a *bayana*. "I have never seen a *china* with a number." {Marisa and I all laughed.}. Nothing happened, you know? Nothing happened... you know, nothing happened! All because the woman [the corporal] was tempted to laugh.

## The Day Claudia Arrived (Carolina)

The women imprisoned belonged to different political parties. The military tried to use such differences to create conflict amongst the inmates. They had a sector of the prison dedicated to people belonging to one political affiliation and then bring in some inmates with another affiliation to live in the same cell. Almost all the women in Carolina's cell belonged to the MLN (Movimiento de Liberación Nacional) or the OPR, both extreme leftist organizations. Carolina remembered the arrival of Claudia, a communist leader, to her cell.

Bueno, el día que llegó Claudia, que llegó a la celda 7 del sector D, donde estaba yo, te decía que ella era de las tres o cuatro comunistas que habían separado del conjunto para llevarlas a ese sector que éramos todas del MLN o del OPR... Entonces, cuando ella entró a la celda nosotros la saludamos con mucha efusividad y con mucho cariño, y ella ya ahí empezó a ablandarse. Porque toda su dureza era para el enemigo, para los milicos, pero con nosotras era super tierna... Entonces ella cuando la estábamos abrazando dijo, y lloraba ¿no?, con esos ojos verdes, que se le ponían bien verdes cuando lloraba, y entonces dijo: "miren que yo frente a ellos nunca lloré ¿eh?". {Carolina sonrie}...Entonces por supuesto que las milicas estaban en la puerta del lado de afuera mirando todo el espectáculo. Porque además siempre las mandaban a que vieran como, en este caso más, cómo recibíamos a la dirigente comunista ¿no?... Nosotros para sustraernos a la mirada de las milicas, lo que hacíamos era irnos, porque la celda tenía tres filas de cuchetas que eran las cuchetas de dos camas, y una cucheta así puesta contra la pared donde estaba la reja.

{señala el dibujo} Entonces teníamos como lugares, espacios de la celda donde hacíamos una u otra cosa ¿no? ...En esta esquina {señala el dibujo} también teníamos unos tronquitos de árbol cortados que eran con almohadoncitos tejidos en crochet por nosotros, de colores, para que alegraran un poco, que era como un living que teníamos ¿no?, con un tronquito más grueso en el medio que era la mesa...Entonces según lo que queríamos hacer estábamos en un lugar o en otro...Entonces a ella la llevamos al lugar, al "living" que quedaba entre dos cuchetas, pero que quedaba lejos, más alejado de la puerta, de la reja, así no nos veían tanto por lo menos, se tenían que meter para vernos porque las cuchetas nos tapaban. Y estar más en la intimidad con ella ¿no?, porque ya que había llorado y bueno para que nos contara donde había estado, de dónde la traían... Esto era lo que hacíamos habitualmente cuando venía alguien ¿no? ... Y ella ¿qué hizo?: ni bien se sentó ahí{señala el dibujo}, nos sentamos todas alrededor, vio que había una guitarra y dijo: "¿Ustedes cantan acá?"

"Si, claro que cantamos" "¿Vamos a cantar?" "Si"... Entonces dice: "Vamos a cantar esta canción", y empezó a cantar esa canción de Carlos Benavides, Jazmín del País ¿sabés cuál es no?, es hermosa.

Carmen: ¿Cuál era?

{canta} "Dijo el muchacho a la moza", esa... Claudia tenía una voz preciosa ¿no?, cantó toda esa canción que nosotras no la sabíamos, que hacía más tiempo que estábamos..., y bueno nos cantó esa canción y después la que tocaba la guitarra que no me acuerdo quién era en este momento, agarró la guitarra y todas cantamos, nos pusimos a cantar ¿no?... Entonces las milicas salieron del sector. Y las compañeras que estaban en las celdas más cerca de la reja [cerca de la guardia], sintieron que cuando vino un oficial y les preguntó ¿cómo había sido recibida Claudia?, ellas dijeron: "como siempre, estas son todas iguales,

la recibieron, la abrazaron, le dieron besos y después se pusieron todas a cantar" {nos reímos} ... Esas cosas eran de todos los días ¿no?

[I remember] the day that Claudia arrived in cell-7 of sector D, where I was staying. She was one of the three or four communists that were separated from her comrades and taken to our sector, where we were all from the MLN or the OPR. But when she arrived at the cell, we welcomed her joyously and warmly. She then started to relax because all of her harshness was for the enemy, for the military. With us, she was very gentle. Then we hugged her ... she cried with her green eyes, these eyes that would become very green when she would cry... And she said "Look, I never cry in front of them." {Carolina smiled.} Of course, the milicas were at the door, on the outside, looking at the spectacle. They [the superior officers] always told them [the guards] to come and see how we would receive anyone, especially a communist leader. In order to avoid the gaze of the milicas, what we would do ... because the cell had three rows of double beds, we had spaces in the cell where we would do one thing or another ... In this corner {she pointed to the drawing}, we had small logs that we would cover with colorful pillows made of crochet to cheer ourselves up. It was like a "living room" with a wider log in the middle to act as a table. So, according to what we wanted to do, we would go to one space or another. So we took her into the "living room" that was in between two double beds, which was far... farthest from the door and the bars, so they [the guards] wouldn't see us, at least. They would have to enter the cell. Otherwise, the double beds hid us. [We wanted] to be in an intimate place with her because she had cried... so that she could tell us where she had been and from where she was brought. This is what we normally did when someone came. And what did she do? She sat there [she pointed to the drawing] and we sat all around her. She saw a guitar and asked "Do you sing here?" "Yes, of course we sing." "Lets sing." "Yes"... Then she said "Let's sing this song."

And she started to sing the song of Carlos Benavides, Jazmín del País. Do you know which one? It was beautiful.

Carmen: "Which one?"

{Carolina sings} "Dijo el muchacho a la moza"... Claudia had a beautiful voice. She sang a song that we didn't know because we were in prison longer [it was a recent song] ... she sang this song and someone took the guitar, I don't remember who... she took the guitar and we all started to sing. Then the milicas left the sector, and the inmates whose cells were closer to the bars [closer to the guards] heard that an officer asked how Claudia was welcomed. They said "As always... these are all the same. They welcomed her, hugged her, kissed her and then they all started to sing." {Carolina and I laughed.} These things happened every day.

## La Ceru (The 'Zeru') (Elena)

Nicknaming and using humor with the guards was a way of coping with the humiliation the inmates received.

La Ceru era una cabo que era, a cualquier compañera que le preguntes por ella saben quién es, le decíamos la Ceru porque ella era una persona de no mucha ilustración pero muy firme, muy dura, que quería aparentar cierta serenidad pero además cierta... yo que sé como te voy a decir, creo que cierta imposición pero firmeza y dignidad, ahí está, esa es la palabra... Entonces cuando iba a pasar la lista a los sectores, venía la cabo o la coordinadora con un oficial... El oficial muy recto, muy paradito atrás con las manos a la espalda como se paran los militares, y la cabo empezaba a pasar la lista. Entonces ella decía los números con una parsimonia, decía "ceru, ceru, nueve, ceru cuarenta y uno, ceru

ochenta..", seguía y el cero no decía cero, decía ceru, y ahí le quedó "la ceru": "ceru ceru nueve, ceru ceru siete".

The Zeru was a corporal. Any inmate you asked about her knew who she was. We nicknamed her the Zeru because she was not a very educated person, but very strict and strong. Yet she wanted to appeared serene. I mean, she wanted to look imposing but firm, and with dignity. That is it! This is the word...When she started to call the rolls in the sectors, the corporal or the guard responsible for the sector would come, accompanied by an officer ... the officer would stand very stiffly, with his hands behind him like a military man. And the corporal would start to call the roll. She would say the numbers unhurriedly. She would say "Zeru zeru nine ... zeru forty nine ... zeru eighty." And she would continue saying 'Zeru' instead of zero! And that's how she was nicknamed Zeru... "zeru zeru nine... zeru zeru zeru seven..."

# **Shadow (Gladis)**

In prison, the prohibition of mirrors was something that affected the way each woman identified with her own body. When there was no mirror, the inmate had to find alternative ways of knowing her own body.

Pero bueno, yo escribí un poema que se llama "La sombra", que lo hice en un calabozo, porque en un momento en el calabozo te sacaban, un pequeño recreo que caminaras, un pedacito chiquititito que era el largo del calabozo, al costado, entonces... este... yo veía la sombra mía... Yo siempre jorobé mucho con el tema del espejo porque para mí siempre fue una cosa muy jorobada que no tuviéramos espejo, porque perdés la identidad, ¿cómo sos?... Mis compañeras decían que yo era una coqueta porque por vidrio que pasara yo.... pero yo tenía la necesidad de reconocerme ¿entendés?, porque además está el paso del tiempo, hay

sombra y dudé si era mía ..., entonces ... caminaba esos pasos así, y tratando de, viste como que, me hice mujer, me vi hecha mujer a través de una sombra. Grande, más caderuda, de lo que había [entrado] era de gurisa ¿no?, y bueno, a raíz de eso escribí un poema.

I wrote a poem called "The Shadow" in the calabozo. Sometimes in the calabozo, you would walk in the small space that was along the longer side of the calabozo cell. There, I used to see my shadow... I was always bothered by the lack of mirrors because for me it was very bad that we didn't have mirrors. Because you lose your identity Who are you?... My compañeras always said that I was vain because any glass I passed by... But I had difficulties recognizing myself because there was time passing, and there are many things that have to do with your identity... So, I started to watch the shadow, and I doubted it was mine. And I walked these steps trying to... it is like I became a woman. I saw myself as a woman through my shadow... big and with larger hips than before, when I was younger. I wrote a poem about it.

una cantidad de cosas que tienen que ver con tu identidad... Entonces empecé a mirar la

## **Tricking the Guards (Carolina)**

Carolina repeatedly asked the guards to see her nephew, Andrés, but the visits were always denied. Her sister suggested exchanging uniforms during her son's next visit. It was a risky matter. Family visits happened once every two weeks. If they got caught, they would be sent to the calabozo and would have no family visits for an indefinite period of time. Furthermore, they had to explain the trick to the boy, four years old at that time, and ask him to keep it a secret.

Bueno, muy bien. Llegó el día y con bastante anticipación a la hora habíamos hecho el cambio. Ella se había venido para mi celda con mi camisa, yo me había ido para su celda con su camisa. Bueno llamaron la lista de las madres que tenían visita a esa hora y yo salí.

Todas por supuesto, todas las compañeras que estábamos en el secreto, no? obviamente... Y bueno salimos. A mí cada tramo, cada paso que iba hacia el patio del recreo donde estaba la visita me parecía una eternidad. Me parecía que se iban a dar cuenta... Llegamos y el gran momento era cuando nos encontráramos porque como él era tan chiquito y en realidad no me conocía, porque me había visto cuando era bebe. Yo pensaba ¿cómo reaccionará? Si iba a poder actuar normalmente. Y él estaba paradito, había una escalera que bajaba hacia el recreo, los niños nos esperaban paraditos en el pie de la escalera, todos abrazaditos Y estaba ahí ojazos negros, ahí, brillantes esperando, serio. Y bueno yo bajé: "cómo estás?", nos abrazamos, me dijo mamá {se ríe}... Nos sentamos a charlar, yo nunca me hubiera imaginado que ese chiquilín pudiera actuar con tanta normalidad. Sin ninguna inhibición, las cosas que no quería que las soldados escucharan me las decía en el oído... Bueno entonces en una me dice, se acercó a mi oído "Ustedes son tan... tan igualitas con mamá que hasta los zapatos tienen iguales." Porque usábamos de esos zapatos acordonados que había antes de Incalflex. Ahora no hay. Claro las dos teníamos los mismos zapatos... Y después nos contaron nuestros familiares, discretamente en la visita, la siguiente de los mayores de que había salido todo... Había un tramo de que los sacaban del recreo hasta llegar a la barrera donde lo esperaban los abuelos que era como un kilómetro y que iban con la soldado. Dicen que Rodrigo saltaba, saltaba, llegó en ese estado de alegría y euforia hasta donde estaban los abuelos. Pero no dijo ni una palabra que diera la pauta. Y después nadie lo paraba contando de cómo había sido la experiencia de que habíamos burlado a los soldados, y que en vez de la madre a la visita había ido yo, de que todo había sido bárbaro.

And the day came, and with much anticipation for the time [of the visit], we made the changes. My sister came to my cell with my shirt; I went to her cell with her shirt. They

called the mothers who had visits at that time, and I went out. All the *compañeras*, of course, knew about our secret, obviously... And we went out. Every single step towards the patio of the break seemed an eternity. I felt that they were going to notice it... We arrived, and the difficult moment was the moment of the encounter with my nefew, because he was so small and he didn't know me because the last time I saw him he was only a baby. And I thought, how is he going to react? And will he act naturally? And there he was, standing. There was a stairway that led down to the patio. The children would wait, standing at the footsteps, all hugging each other.

And there he was with his big black eyes. There... shining, waiting seriously. I went downstairs and said "How are you?" and we hugged each other. He called me mom {she smiles}... We sat and chatted. I would never have imagined that this child could act so naturally, and without any inhibition. The things he didn't want the soldiers to listen to, he would tell me in my ear. "You are so alike with my mom that even the shoes are the same," because we used these shoes with laces called Incalflex. They don't make them any more. Of course we had the same shoes!

Later, our families told us discreetly, during their next visit, how everything went... There was a segment, about a kilometer, that Andrés had to walk with a soldier from the place of the visit to the place where his grandparents waited. They told us that Andrés jumped and jumped, and arrived happy and euphoric where his grandparents were waiting for him. And he didn't say a word that might reveal the trick. Later, though, nobody could stop him from talking about the experience of cheating the soldiers, that he had seen me instead of his mother, and that everything worked out great.

## **Through the Window (Rosa)**

Bellow are the stories Rosa remembered centered on the things the inmates could see through their windows. It exemplifies how the female inmates were treated by the military. As part of the psychological torture, the inmates suffered from food deprivation, lack of sun, and extremely short visits of their sons and daughters. The officers treated the inmates as objects or property; as if the prison establishment was a ranch or a recreation area. The officers would bring their families to enjoy leisure, sports, food, and music under the view of the inmates.

Entonces, era ese contraste absurdo de gran omnipotencia de los tipos, de gigantesca omnipotencia. Entonces por ejemplo, en un momento hicieron una terrible piscina que se veía de la 5, una terrible piscina, inmensa. Eso fue en el primer verano, yo llegué en agosto, puede ser que llegamos en agosto y te estaré hablando de octubre, noviembre cuando construyen una piscina que le disponen todo alrededor mesitas de colores, este, sombrillas... Y veías los carritos, esos carritos como los que llevan los mozos en los hoteles de lujo en los bordes de las piscinas, tipos vestidos de mozo adecuadamente que... Pero no estaban solo los oficiales, eran los oficiales más sus familias, sus niños, todo ahí bañándose en la piscina y tomando, en un jolgorio corrido, ahí a la vista, ahí nomás. {sonríe}

Después también en ese periodo empezó el golf, hicieron un campo de golf. Si es golf, ese que se juega desde el caballo y con la pelotita... no, no es golf eso, es polo: el polo. Una vuelta empezamos a ver que un poquito más al fondo aparecían unos caballos hermosos y después empezamos a ver competencias de polo. Los sábados fundamentalmente todos los oficiales con sus hermosos animales jugando al polo.

Y por último habían instalado una casa rodante en la cual dormían los hijos del comandante, que eran niños, niñitos, 7, 8 chicos. Entonces ellos jugaban todo el día ahí, la piscina yo qué sé... tata tata, los caballos, andaban a caballo, cabalgaban. La estancia de

papá. Es decir todo eso era estancia, era como un, el parque de diversiones, un lugar de veraneo, no sé como llamarlo, no sé. Música a todo lo que daba, y los gurises vos los veías jugando y todo eso y que veías que de noche se iban.

Otro espectáculo también interesante ahí era ver a [el oficial director de la cárcel] perdidamente borracho. Pero había un tejido de alambre, y el tipo iba... el borracho que se va cayendo, que iba y se agarraba del tejido y se entre paraba y "ieeee... ieeee..." {imitando un borracho} y no... {se inclina hacia delante como cayéndose} y bueno {se inclina hacia atrás levantándose} y ahí y volvía a agarrarse del tejido y se enderezaba y caminaba 3 pasos y se iba para cualquier lado y no podía caminar derecho. Así una cosa terrible, terrible.

{Rosa imita a [el oficial director de la cárcel] nos reímos}

Eso fue... este... son las visiones que yo me acuerdo de todo eso, había otra cosa, que de noche se veían las estrellas. Y con una compañera nos habíamos entusiasmado, habíamos conseguido un atlas y estábamos atentas, mira esa es la "Osa Mayor", ese el "Cinturón de Orión" ahí está Orión y ahí está .., entonces, era como... de noche siempre estaba despejado, nos prendíamos de la ventana a mirar el cielo, y a estudiar el cielo, a estudiar las estrellas. Claro, era un lugar muy oscuro entonces eso facilitaba a que la visión de las estrellas fuera muy buena.

It was this absurd contrast of the total power of the military, the enormous power. For example, at one point they built a huge swimming pool that we could see from [cell] 5, a huge swimming pool, enormous. This was during the first summer. I arrived in August. I am talking about October or November when they built the swimming pool. And they placed around it tables with colorful umbrellas... And you would see the carts, like the ones used by waiters in the luxury hotels, around the swimming pool, and guys properly dressed up as

waiters... But there were not only the officers. There were the officers and their families, their kids, all of them there bathing in the swimming pool, drinking, partying, all there, visible to the naked eye.

Also in this period they started to play golf. They made a golf camp. Yes, it is golf, isn't it? The one you play riding a horse with the small ball... no, no, it is not golf. It is polo. Polo. We started to see in the distance beautiful horses, and then we started to see polo games. Mainly on Saturdays, the officers would play polo with their beautiful horses.

And finally they installed a trailer where the children of the commander, who were small children, 7 or 8 [years old], would stay. They would play all day long in the swimming pool... They would ride horses. "Daddy's ranch." I have no words... all this was as if it was a ranch, as if it was an amusement park, a place for summer vacations. I really don't know what to call it. Music playing out loud, kids playing... and at night they would leave.

Anther interesting scene was to see [the officer/director of the prison] completely drunk.

There was a wired net and the guy would go... like a drunk falling down, he would grab the net and he would try to stand, and "ieeee..." {imitating a drunk} and yet again {she leans forward as if falling} he would grab the net, again and would stand up. He would walk 3 steps and fall to either side, and he could not walk straight. It was a terrible thing. {We laughed}

I also remember the stars at night. With a *compañera*, we got an atlas and started to observe the sky. "Look! This is the Big Dipper" or "This is Orion's Belt" and "There it is"... At night, if it was clear, we would hang on the window to watch the sky, to study the sky. Of course, it was a very dark place and that helped to have a clear view of the stars.

## The Cabbages (Ana)

Work in prison was physically exhausting. Forced labor was meant to tame or to further humiliate the prisoners. The inmates had to plow the land, plant, break stones to pave a road, or work in the kitchen carrying heavy pans. The work in the kitchen was seen as positive and productive, since they were cooking for themselves. In this narrative, Ana explains how she felt doing this humiliating of work.

Yo creo que la forma de digamos donde ellos empiezan a trabajar ex profeso contra nosotros es cuando bueno, te hacen plantar en la quinta como plantábamos los repollos que me acuerdo: carpir la tierra, poner la semillita, plantar los repollos, los repollos crecen, están prontos y no te los hacen ir a arrancar. Y los repollos florecen, florecen hasta una cosa así.{levanta la mano a 1 m del piso} Y vos los ves, porque pasás para otro lado de la quinta, pasás por al lado de los repollos que plantaste y resulta que los repollos ya no sirven y cada vez están más marchitos y ¡ se pudren! Y cuando los repollos están podridos, nos hacen ir a sacarlos. Y llenamos carretillas y carretillas de repollos podridos. Y se las llevábamos a los chanchos.

¿ Esa es la parte de.... viste? Como diciendo "Mirá como te mando. Te hago plantar y después te hago juntar cuando está podrido, y no comiste ni vos ni nadie. Que se lo coman los chanchos".

O cuando nos hacen ir a cortar pasto con la mano. O te rechupás o te reís que era lo que nos daba. A mi me entró la risa. ¡Cortar pasto con la mano! {se tienta de reír}Claro viste, y después pasa la maquina de cortar pasto que tienen ellos con un tractor. Después que vos estuviste, te tuvieron una hora ahí cortando pasto con la mano... al otro día pasa el tractor con la máquina.

¿Entendés? es como bueno... Ahí sí... Vos decís: "Esto está pensado para que yo me sienta mal, para que yo vea que me están basureando. Que ellos me mandan, y que yo obedezco". I think that the way they started to work on us, on purpose to work against us, is when they made us plant the farm. Like when we planted the cabbages. I remember we plowed the land, to sowed the seeds, we planted the cabbages. The cabbages grew and when they were ready they [the guards] would not make us harvest them. Then the cabbages would grow to something like that {hand gestures to a meter high}, and you would see them as you passed from one side of the farm to the other. You'd pass next to the cabbages on your way. And the cabbages you planted would be worthless. And every time you passed, the cabbages would be more withered. And they got rotten! And when the cabbages were rotten, they made us harvest them. And we would fill carts and carts of rotten cabbages, and we would take the cabbages to the pigs.

This is the part that, you know what I mean? They tell us "Look how I order you. I make you plant, and then I make you harvest it when it is rotten. And not you, nor anybody else ate them. Let the pigs eat them."

Or when they made us cut the grass with our hands. You'd either get pissed off, or you'd laugh. That's what we did. I was tempted to laugh. To cut the grass with your hands! Of course, later, the mowing machine would pass – they had a tractor. After you had spent hours and hours cutting the grass with your hands, the next day they would come with the tractor.

You get it? It is like... You say: "this is thought out to make me feel bad, to make me see that they are treating me like dirt, that they order me and I obey."

## Galope (Ana)

Following is the poem Rosa recalled the inmates singing in chorus every New Years Eve. Since it was forbidden to sing in chorus, after they sang it they would be sanctioned. The lyrics contain a powerful message, because it threatens to bury "them" – the repressors – in the sea. In 2003, several compañeras got together and recorded this song for me (see DVD song). The word cuatralbo means that the four legs of a horse are white.

Galope My translation into English.

By Rafael Alberti

Las tierras, las tierras, las tierras de España, The land, the land, the land of Spain,

las grandes, las solas, desiertas llanuras. the large, lonely, deserted plains.

Galopa, caballo cuatralbo, Gallop, cuatralbo horse

jinete del pueblo, people's rider,

al sol y a la luna. under the sun and the moon.

*¡A galopar,* Gallop,

a galopar, Gallop'

hasta enterrarlos en el mar! till we bury them into the sea!

A corazón suenan, resuenan In the heart, resound, resound

las tierras de España, en las herraduras. the land of Spain, in the horseshoes.

Galopa, jinete del pueblo, Gallop, cuatralbo horse

caballo cuatralbo, people's rider,

caballo de espuma. frothed horse.

*¡A galopar,* Gallop,

a galopar, Gallop,

hasta enterrarlos en el mar! till we bury them into the sea!

Nadie, nadie, nadie, que enfrente no hay nadie; Nobody, nobody, nobody, there is nobody in front;

que es nadie la muerte si va en tu montura. death is nobody if it rides in your saddle.

Galopa, caballo cuatralbo, Gallop, cuatralbo horse

jinete del pueblo, people's rider,

*que la tierra es tuya.* that the land is yours.

*¡A galopar,* Gallop,

a galopar, Gallop'

hasta enterrarlos en el mar! till we bury them into the sea!

## APPENDIX B

## INTERVIEW GUIDELINES

#### **Guide of the Interview**

#### Introduction

Charna, Charo, Isabel and I are embarked in reconstructing the Prison of Punta de Rieles through the memories of the women former prisoners.

I am Architect and I am doing a PhD in Texas, USA. The visual reconstruction of the prison, using digital tools, is the base of my PhD Thesis. My work inside the group could be compared to an archaeologist that discovers the ruins of the prison and through your stories piece by piece reconstructs the space that remained in your memories.

With the elements you provide in the interview I will try to reconstruct your exprerience inside the prison.

# Objectives of the interview

My approach in the reconstruction of the prison space is to use subjectivity as source of information. What matters to me is your opinion, your feelings, your story. The interview has two tightly connected objectives: To record your story and how you tell it. In other words: it matters the way you tell the story and how you untie the strings of your memories.

To rebuild the space. Even though all the women shared the same physical space, windows and jail bars, each one of you lived it from your own perspective. The space you have inside you is deeply linked to the way you lived it.

### Guide of the

### Interview

1. Before the interview:

The study will center in the "Y" building and in the isolation cells. Before the interview think on one story that was meaningful to you and that occurs in one of these spaces. Write it or draw it, whatever you feel better. Then think of the space where this story occurs: the light, the moment of the day, the time of the year, colors, smells, sounds. Take notes of what you remember.

2. During the interview. It has two parts:

In the first part you would tell me the story you have chosen and the space in which happened. In the second part I would ask you questions. My intension is to deepen what you told me in the first part. Why you choose the story. The significance of the story. How were the materials and colors of the space you remembered. With this in mind I would show you materials and colors for you to choose.

# How your testimony will be used and by whom

- Your testimony will be used in the reconstruction of the prison space that is the base of my PhD.
   Thesis.
- The interview will also be included in the video that will be displayed in the academic environment.

# Other important details

- The interview will be recorded in video and audio cassette (approximately 2 hours).
- Before the interview I will ask you to sign the consent form where you authorize me to use your image and voice in my study.
- During the interview will also participate a technician that will give me support (light, camera and audio)
- Your identity (name) can be changed if you wish.
- The location of recording is: San Salvador 1876 apto.3, telephone 4190671 (between Emilio Frugoni y Eduardo Acevedo).

Thank you for the privilege of getting to know you.

Carmen Aroztegui

#### Guía de la Entrevista

#### Introducción

Charna, Charo, Isabel y yo estamos embarcadas en reconstruir el Penal de Punta de Rieles a través de las memorias de las compañeras que estuvieron presas.

Yo soy Arquitecta y estoy haciendo un Doctorado en Texas, USA. La reconstrucción visual del penal, usando herramientas digitales, es la base de mi Tesis de Doctorado. Mi trabajo dentro del grupo se puede comparar al de un arqueólogo que descubre las ruinas del penal y que a través de los relatos de ustedes poco a poco reconstruye el espacio que quedó grabado en la memoria.

Con los elementos que obtenga de la entrevista voy a intentar reproducir visualmente tu vivencia en el penal.

## Objetivos de la entrevista

La recuperación del espacio del penal la encaro desde un punto de vista

subjetivo. Me importa tu opinión, tu sentir, tu historia. La entrevista tiene dos objetivos que están íntimamente entrelazados:

Registrar tu historia y cómo la cuentas. En otras palabras: me importa la forma en cómo cuentas tu historia y cómo vas desmadejando el hilo de tus recuerdos.

Reconstruir el espacio. Aunque todas las compañeras compartieron el mismo espacio físico, las mismas paredes, ventanas y rejas, cada compañera lo vivió desde su perspectiva. El espacio que tienes guardado en tu memoria esta íntimamente ligado a como lo viviste.

# Guía de la entrevista

. Antes de la entrevista:

El estudio se va a centrar en el edificio en "Y" y en el calabozo. Antes de la entrevista piensa en una historia que te sea significativa y que transcurra en alguno de esos espacios. Escríbela o dibújala, lo que te venga mejor. A continuación piensa en el espacio en que trascurre tu historia: la luz, el momento del día, la época del año, los colores, los olores, los sonidos. Y saca notas de lo que te acuerdes.

2. Durante la entrevista. Tiene dos partes:

En la primera parte me contarías la historia que elegiste y el espacio en el cual transcurre. Después yo te haría preguntas. Mi intención es profundizar en lo que me contaste en la primera parte. Porque elegiste esa historia y no otra. Desarrollaríamos mas el sentido de la historia. Como son los materiales y colores del espacio que tu te acuerdas. Para eso te mostraría materiales (baldosas, parquet etc.) y colores para que tu elijas.

# Como va a ser usado tu

 Tu testimonio va a ser usado en la reconstrucción del espacio del penal que es la base de mi Tesis de Doctorado.

## usado tu testimonio y por quienes

La entrevista también va a ser incluida en un video que va a ser usado en el ámbito educativo y académico en Uruguay.

# Otros detalles importantes

- La entrevista va a ser grabada en video y en audio casset (aproximadamente 2 horas).
- Antes de la entrevista te voy a pedir que firmes un documento por el cual me autorizas a trabajar con tu imagen y tu voz en mi estudio de tesis.
- En la entrevista también va participar un compañero(a) asesorándome con la parte técnica (luz, cámara, v sonido)
- Tu nombre puede ser cambiado si así lo desees.
- El local de grabación de la entrevista es: San Salvador 1876 apto.3, teléfono 4190671 (entre Emilio Frugoni y Eduardo Acevedo).

Gracias por el privilegio de conocerte.

Carmen Aroztegui

### APPENDIX C

## TERMINOLOGY AND TRANSLATION ISSUES

The personal accounts this dissertation is based upon were collected in Spanish. The general criteria I used for translation is that, whenever possible, I translated the original word or sentence into English inside a parenthesis. However, the act of translation always implies the loss of information. Therefore, every time a testimony is recalled, I place the original Spanish transcript and the translation into English, together within the document. The purpose for this is to allow the reader who knows Spanish to read the original version. The difficulty in translating is mostly a cultural problem. Some words that are essential to understanding the meaning of the narratives have a specific meaning within the context of the group interviewed: Uruguayan female former political prisoners. Such words, although they might have a standard English translation, would lose an important part of their meaning because these meanings are created by the context within which they are used. For very frequently used words, I use the original word in Spanish, in italics, and clarify the meaning only once, in this appendix.

### Calabozo

The closest translation would be "solitary confinement cell." However, the calabozo implied more than to be alone in a cell. To be sent to the calabozo was further punishment within the prison system. Besides being placed alone in a cell without the support of fellow inmates, it implied the loss of the few things prisoner had: handicrafts, any special foods (fruits, sweets, mate1), cigarettes, outdoor breaks, and family visits. The calabozo also implied that the inmate

<sup>1</sup> A tea infusion drunk in Uruguay, Argentina, Paraguay and the south of Brazil.

would be under constant harassment from the guards, and subjected to intense control of their daily activities.

## Compañera

The standard translation would be "mate," female mate. Compañero is the male-gendered mate. Since in the narratives, compañera is used to talk about another prisoner, the most appropriate translation would be "fellow inmate."

In Uruguay during the 70s and 80s, within the context of the fight for and recovery of democracy, *compañera/o* was used for someone who shared one's political, ideological, or life perspective. It could be a coworker, a union worker, a classmate, a neighbor or even a life partner (girlfriend/boyfriend or wife/husband). Within this context, *compañera* implies a stronger bond than "mate" and a milder bond than "comrade in arms."

In the interviews, there is a shade of this definition because *compañera* only included female former political prisoners. Other women or men who might share their political perspective but were not prisoners would not be called *compañera/o*. Their experience in prison developed a stronger relationship of companionship, solidarity and mutual care. Therefore, the meaning of the term reveals a stronger friendship bond than the term "fellow inmate."

## Milica

It is a pejorative way of addressing the guards, the female soldiers. In the narratives there is a clear distinction between milica and soldado (male soldier) and that is reflected in the narratives.

The milica is someone instructed to repress the inmates, someone who would thrive on humiliating them. The male soldier was seen to be a man obeying superior orders, someone less vengeful.

## **Testimonio**

The word is translated as "testimony." The specific meaning of the word in Spanish – and in this dissertation – refers to a "personal account" or a "personal narrative." Elizabeth Hampsten, an American studying written testimonios in Uruguay sees them as a "genre of personal writing." She emphasizes the importance of the testimonios in the creation of an historical account of the dictatorship because government records are not open to the public.

# APPENDIX D

# **VIDEO AND AUDIO FILES**

Three files are included as an attachment:

- two movie samples, in MOV format, of the DVD video used in the mockup installation (in Spanish and in English)
- the poem "Galope" of Rafael Alberti sung by the women former political prisoners in 2003 in MP3 format.

# **VITA**

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