UC Berkeley

Lucero

Title

Manifestations of Spinoza's Potentia: "Un violador en tu camino" at Santa Martha Acatitla Women's Prison

Permalink

https://escholarship.org/uc/item/9b315196

Journal

Lucero, 27(1)

ISSN

1098-2892

Author

Flynn, Cameron

Publication Date

2024

Copyright Information

Copyright 2024 by the author(s). All rights reserved unless otherwise indicated. Contact the author(s) for any necessary permissions. Learn more at https://escholarship.org/terms

Peer reviewed

Manifestations of Spinoza's *Potentia*: "Un violador en tu camino" at Santa Martha Acatitla Women's Prison

Cameron Flynn University of California, Berkeley

Para nosotras, los cuerpos se transforman en territorios que danzan para celebrar nuestra existencia. Sin embargo, para las mujeres privadas de su libertad, acosadas, violentadas o desaparecidas, resistir implica existir.

- Daniela Mondragón Benito and Valeria Ysunza Pérez Gil, "Germinando en el asfalto"

"Un violador en tu camino" is a protest-performance against gendered violence.¹ The Chilean feminist collective LasTesis wrote and first performed the song in November 2019.² Reprised and adapted performances in the months following spanned across languages and continents and occupied public parks and plazas across the world, including on my own campus in Berkeley in March 2020, organized by my own friends and colleagues. "Un violador en tu camino" links the justice system ("el patriarcado es un juez") to the frequent and often invisible ("Es la violencia que no ves") instances of sexual violence against women. This textual linking ("El Estado opresor es un macho violador") indicts the state and sheds light on its role in the perpetuation of this violence ("Es la violencia que ya ves"), particularly in the failure of the police and justice system to prosecute sexual violences and the victim blaming that often follows ("Y la culpa no era mía, ni dónde estaba ni cómo vestía"). While LasTesis wrote the song in a Chilean context, the lyrics are easily applied to similarly patriarchal systems, which allowed the protest to resonate in so many different spaces around the world.

However, this essay is not a textual analysis of "Un violador en tu camino". Rather, I am interested in one attempted performance of the protest at the Penitenciaria Santa Martha Acatitla on the outskirts of Mexico City. I argue that

through "Un violador en tu camino" the women in this prison resist carceral discipline and produce an affectual connection with the outside that unsettles carceral space. The first part of this essay tells the story of the women of Santa Martha and their attempt to organize themselves. The prison initially approved the proposal and the women began preparations to perform "Un violador en tu camino" on March 8th, 2020.³ However, only days before the scheduled performance and with no explanation, the prison rescinded its approval.⁴ Why did the authorities and, by extension, the Mexican state, perceive the performance to be such a threat? The second part of this essay will read Spinoza's *Ethics* and propose *potentia* as a key factor in answering this question and a key lens through which to understand the affective power of "Un violador en tu camino." I will then bring in recent work in performance theory on the power of bodies in collective action to further strengthen this point. Finally, I will consider the proposed date of the protest, March 8th, and the history of the feminist strike embedded within it. How can we consider "Un violador en tu camino" in conversation with the strike and as an integral part of it?

INSTITUTIONAL IMPASSES AND OPEN DOORS

In March of 2020, Melissa Amezcua wrote an article in El Universal entitled "El feminismo llega a la cárcel de mujeres." The article tells the story of Vanessa Yépez and her mother Liliana Yépez, who is actively incarcerated at Santa Martha Acatitla. Vanessa brought the idea of "Un violador en tu camino" to her mother's attention after having heard about it through social circles online. Liliana quickly took to proposing the idea of performing it inside the prison walls. It was often in very public spaces that protesters had performed "Un violador en tu camino," specifically in order to reach as many eyes and ears as possible ("Es la violencia que ya ves") However, incarcerated women, including survivors of sexual violence in Santa Martha, have no access to public space and, as result of their material circumstances, have little access to a public life at all. Despite their desire to publicly express their anger both verbally and corporally, incarcerated women are kept as far away from the public as possible. In fact, this is a gendered facet of a more global norm that has seen the near total removal of penal practices from public (over)sight. What results is an extra degree of violence as incarcerated survivors of sexual assault live with the memory of the assault and the inability to publicly express their indignation for it.⁷

Accompanying the control of their bodies, the women at Santa Martha had

to contend as well with censorship of their speech. Any performance at the prison would require adapting the sentiments of "Un violador en tu camino" underneath words deemed more palatable to authorities. Amezcua writes: "Vanessa le mostró la letra original para que la readaptara y no pareciera un señalamiento directo a las autoridades del penal; no obstante, a diferencia de lo que ocurre en las calles, aquí había que pedir permiso para protestar" (Amezcua "El feminismo"). Furthermore, prison authorities informed Liliana that if the performance were to go forward, no more than 25 to 30 women could partake, despite there being 1,171 women incarcerated at Santa Martha, according to official numbers (Amezcua "El feminismo"). It could seem at first glance that these lingual and corporeal restrictions could hollow out the entire meaning of the protest. The lyrics are meant to indict the state. They are meant to be expressed in great numbers and to cause ripples. However, the prison is a very different space from the public square, which is a reality that requires adaptation. The protest is at its core a reclaiming of the body and the voice, and this is still the case no matter how limited or adapted it may be. In her work Marking Time: Art in the Age of Mass Incarceration (2020), Nicole Fleetwood defines a concept she calls "Penal Matter." She uses this term to refer not only to the incarcerated body, but also to the "material conditions of imprisonment, which includes extreme restrictions on what incarcerated people can possess." (Fleetwood 42). As Fleetwood notes, in such a case, the body becomes the instrument of art-making and protest as the body is the primal material condition of resistance. Absent other material means of protest, the body and the voice become very powerful tools for the women of Santa Martha.⁸

Amezcua concludes her article, stating: "Las actividades de danza y la convivencia con sus compañeras son, precisamente, las que la han mantenido motivada. A días de haber solicitado el permiso, las autoridades le informaron a Liliana que no podrían llevar a cabo la protesta" (Amezcua "El feminismo"). Ultimately, "Un violador en tu camino" did not happen at Santa Martha Acatitla. Interestingly, I found that this was not the first time that feminist work hit an impasse at this institution. Helena López, professor of Gender Studies at UNAM, published an article entitled "Lost in Santa Martha: Limitaciones para una etnografía en una cárcel de mujeres" about her and her colleagues' attempt to carry out a study on the backgrounds, desires, and aspirations in education of the women incarcerated at the prison (López 362). She offers this extraordinary synopsis of her dealings with prison authorities at Santa Martha and the kind of attitude she found prevailing among their ranks:

Una especie de disconformidad impermeable. 'Hay que tener cuidado con estos talleres vivenciales porque se pueden abrir puertas'. La metáfora, 'abrir puertas', es autoexplicativa. Ahora, ¿qué tipo de talleres serían deseables y en función de qué supuestos de acuerdo a las políticas educativas de la autoridad carcelaria? ¿Aquéllos que cierran puertas? ¿Con qué efectos en las reclusas? (López 363)

The ideological transparency of the prison is so shameless that it is almost admirable in its honesty. I want to draw attention to the idea of "opening doors" as a phrase to think with as we consider the potential of "Un violador en tu camino." Why was the performance perceived as a threat and ultimately denied the approval that it had initially been granted? What doors could it have opened that were otherwise meant to be kept closed? What does the act of incarcerated women coming together, synchronizing their voices and bodies in a collective affect, do that disturbs the disciplinary apparatus of the prison? In the next section, I will outline Spinoza's concept of *potentia* as a key lens through which to answer these questions.

BODIES AND AFFECTS: FINDING THE PRESENT IN AND THROUGH THE *ETHICS*

Pierre Macherey's approach to reading the *Ethics*, outlined in *Avec Spinoza* (1992), recognizes and celebrates the great diversity of interactions that Spinoza's text produces. Macherey urges readers to find the present in Spinoza or, maybe more accurately, to find Spinoza in the present:

Being modern, maybe that's it. But what's surprising is that Spinoza wasn't modern only in his time, but that he continues being so in ours: of all historical ideas, his seems to us one of the most present...Because this idea...would define itself by an immutable aptitude for adaptation or adhesion to the most measured forms of the present. [Translation mine] (Macherey 6)

The *Ethics* invites readers to return to past sections; it confounds linear readings and pushes the reader to reconsider previous definitions and propositions with the

clarity of new insights. Similarly, Macherey argues that the text takes us "all at once on several divergent pathways, without definitely privileging any one in particular" [Translation mine] (Macherey 11-12). This lends it, as Macherey argues, the ability to adapt its philosophy to the needs of a reader at any given moment. He argues that to read Spinoza is to be not a commentator, but an interpreter, someone who takes the text and "deciphers it, executes it, realizes it, actualizes it, gives it that 'presentation' that can only be made in the present" [Translation mine] (Macherey 13). It is helpful to reflect on the word "presentation" and to understand it not only as the exposition of something but also the act of making that something legible in the present. How can we *actualize* the *Ethics* and make it *present*? More precisely, how can it shed light on the affectual power of "Un violador en tu camino" in the prison?

In the spirit of a non-linear reading, let us begin *present*ing the *Ethics* with part V proposition eight, which reads, "The more an affect arises from a number of causes occurring together, the greater it is" (Spinoza 166). In other words, the more bodies intending to affect other bodies in a similar way will increase the magnitude of the affect. This short explanation echoes Spinoza's own "Demonstration" of this proposition: "A number of causes together can do more than if they were fewer (by IIIP7). And so (by IVP5), the more an affect is aroused by a number of causes together, the stronger it is, q.e.d." (Spinoza 166). Taking Macherey's suggestion to heart, let us follow the divergences that Spinoza lays out for us. IIIP7 reads, "The striving by which each thing strives to persevere in its being is nothing but the actual essence of the thing" (Spinoza 75). This is a helpful clarification of the original proposition because it reminds us that the impulse to affect is rooted in life itself. IVP5 reads, "The force and growth of any passion, and its perseverance in existing, are not defined by the power by which we strive to persevere in existing, but by the power of an external cause compared with our own" (Spinoza 119). Here he reminds us that the power to affect is a question of external relationships, and therefore relies on other bodies. Taken together, we can understand the containment of the body (of which incarceration and Foucauldian Discipline are certainly examples) as a force that works against its perseverance. Movement, and especially movement in coordination with other bodies, allows for persevering. The amplification of the combined affects produces *potentia*, or power. It is for this reason that the embodied collectivity inherent in the performance of "Un violador en tu camino" at Santa Martha lends power to its performers who assert their indignation as a singular, and now much more powerful, voice and body. This is

true not only of the thirty or so women gathered together for the protest in the prison but also of all the women performing across the globe on that very same day. The power of this protest, the threat contained within it that prison authorities could detect but not name, is its production of an affectual network that transcends the walls of the prison.

For Spinoza, power is relational.¹¹ Affecting and being affected are naturally social and material relationships. In his reading of the *Ethics*, Deleuze emphasizes that this relationality is a defining characteristic. He writes: "a body affects other bodies, or is affected by other bodies; it is this capacity for affecting and be-ing affected that also defines a body" (Deleuze 123). He then asks the question, "How do individuals enter into composition with one another in order to form a higher individual, ad infini-tum?" (Deleuze 126). In the context of the prison, this requires an affectual connection to the outside, which is achieved through the collective protest. In other words, it is achieved through movement and through language. In its essence, "Un violador en tu camino" is a reclaiming of the body. If women on the outside can assert their claim with the force of their voices and bodies together, those on the inside can join them. In forming a collectivity and linking themselves with the outside, they come to challenge the very essence of the carceral.¹²

The authorities of Santa Martha seem to understand, if subconsciously, the threat that bodies and affects in coordination pose to the carceral space that they have constructed. Their initial attempt at containment (25-30 prisoners only) and eventual outright refusal of the performance speaks volumes to their implicit understanding of the limitations of the prison space. Fleetwood herself explores this notion, writing: "Prisons regulate contact, intimacy, and access at every turn. In doing so, penal space extends beyond the built environment to encompass how carcerality structures relationships through an expansive power to determine life outcomes for populations most impacted by arrest and captivity" (38). "Penal Space" is not just the physical prison, but also the attempt to erect symbolic barriers, to cut women and survivors of sexual assault off from one another. In this light, we can see how a dance and a chant, especially one that links the women to movements on the outside, is an "open door" capable of threatening the integrity of carceral space.

LE BON EMPLOI DU CORPS: "UN VIOLADOR EN TU CAMINO" AS PERFORMANCE

Not only does "Un violador en tu camino" produce a collectivity within and beyond the prison walls, but it also destabilizes a key facet of carceral discipline: the *bon emploi du corps*. ¹⁴ In its performative aspects, the protest unsettles the carefully curated rhythms that prison discipline requires of bodies contained within its walls. ¹⁵ In order to illustrate this, I turn to recent work in performance theory on the power of bodies in motion. Though far from comprehensive, this section presents a small selection of contemporary thinkers to illustrate the force of performance as a reclamation of the body. This not only offers a new theoretical angle with which to understand the perceived threat of the protest but also helps to *make present* the insights gained from Spinoza. What perspectives do contemporary theorists of corporeal performance offer on the material force of the body and its capacity to resist discipline?

Dance has an affectual nature that can raise consciousness, transcend norms, and even resignify and transform the body. 16 Recent work has placed a great emphasis on these processes as implying a political potential contained within corporeal performance. In "Dancing Feminist Conversations: Never without Materiality" (2018), Dana Mills discusses her book project reading dance as political praxis. ¹⁷ She reflects on her interdisciplinary work and argues that if "there is one main methodological lesson we can take from reading dance as political or as political theory, it is the shift from the intention of its messages towards its effect." She continues: "Many people I have been dancing with while writing the book did not intend to change the world or the way they were perceived when they started to dance. But at times they did so nevertheless" (Lucas and Mills 248). Through the act of dance, one can resignify their place in social and political change. Through the protest's choreography, women around the world were amplifying their stories, coordinating their bodies, and building a social movement. For the women in Santa Martha, the opportunity that "Un violador en tu camino" presented was one of asserting their role in a broader cultural conversation and suggesting the *inside* of the prison as an equally viable space of feminist political praxis. Others have echoed these ideas, arguing how corporeal transformation through dance carries with it political stakes. In "Germinando en el asfalto, del encierro a la libertad del cuerpo, una propuesta a través de la danza" (2019), Daniela Mondragón Benito and Valeria Ysunza Pérez Gil see dance as an "herramienta de

concientización y transformación corporal y social, que nos permite interactuar y relacionarnos de forma diferente con nosotras mismas y con las otras mujeres" (Mondragón Benito and Pérez Gil 178). Consciousness raising is a key aspect of collective performance. Particularly in the carceral space where state coercion contains and disciplines the body, reclamation of the corporeal implies the production of political consciousness. In light of the prison's decision to rescind approval for the performance, the political potential of the choreography comes into even sharper relief.

Echoing Spinoza, Mondragón Benito and Pérez Gil also treat the dancing body as a territory that patriarchal forces throughout history have sought to claim and appropriate from its rightful owner. ¹⁸ One of the major focuses of their project is to connect notions of feminist geography to the medium of dance. They argue that dance is a reclamation of appropriated corporeal territory and "Un violador en tu camino" is a perfect illustration of their theory in practice. In reference to their own dance workshop entitled Germinando, they write:

Mediante la danza y las prácticas corporales, desdibujamos las fronteras impuestas conocidas, buscamos ir más allá de los límites marcados social, cultural y políticamente. Danzamos para entrelazar cuerpos-territorios aislados, fragmentados, heridos, encerrados, violentados y olvidados. (Mondragón Benito and Pérez Gil 181)

The act of collective movement *undoes* borders (the prison's walls, for example) and links isolated and fragmented body-territories. The dancing body-territory, synching not only its movements but its affect as well, expands its geographic reach. "Un violador en tu camino" implied not only the ability to link movement and affect with women on the outside, but also the capacity to build a global radical consciousness. The repetition of the dance in diverse geographic spaces promised the amplification of a common political message: the acknowledgment of sexual violence and the reclamation of the body. As Mills puts it, dance is a "system of communication that allows its subjects to speak with their bodies and to create embodied spaces" (Lucas and Mills 241). Dance is its own *language* of resistance towards confinement. In this way, the movement becomes the message.

While a performance of "Un violador en tu camino" at Santa Martha would have been extraordinary, choreography is not a completely foreign phenomenon to the daily operation of a prison. In fact, bodies in prison are accustomed to

choreographies and regulated movements. Foucault writes: "In the *bon emploi du corps*...nothing can remain idle or unused: all must be put to work in service of the task at hand" [Translation mine] (Foucault 178). Because idleness can lead to reflection, the prison needs to keep its population's bodies active. Much like women on the outside, incarcerated women often perform labor ranging from childcare (many prisons have daycares) to cooking and cleaning, with little to no compensation. In the final section, I turn to the proposed date of the protest, March 8th, 2020, which marked the third anniversary of the first International Women's Strike and speak to the protest's place within it.

¡MUJERES EN HUELGA, SE CAE EL MUNDO!: "UN VIOLADOR EN TU CAMINO" AS PROTEST

Since 2008, Santa Martha Acatitla has been the setting of a radical feminist pedagogical program called Mujeres en Espiral, an initiative of the Gender Studies program (PUEG) at UNAM, which publishes a periodic zine of incarcerated women's writing called *Leelatú*. The April 2016 edition includes a piece entitled "¡Mujeres en huelga, se cae el mundo!" by a woman named Viri. Viri centers incarcerated women in the planning and execution of a hypothetical women's strike that spreads across the world. She writes:

Nadie se lo esperaba, la huelga comenzó una mañana de lunes, después de que en una asamblea general realizada en todas las plazas de pueblos, prisiones, y grandes ciudades; "amas de casa", oficinistas, estudiantes, madres, viudas, obreras, campesinas y mujeres en prisión, decidimos que no aguantaríamos más. (Viri)

This piece is testament to the feminist consciousness already flourishing on the inside of Santa Martha and contains a seed of the desire for radical actions such as "Un violador en tu camino." Viri later continues: "Las mujeres no hemos cedido, no negociaremos con los Estados, somos radicales; queremos un cambio de las relaciones sociales de producción" (Viri). As she reminds us, women in prison are squarely implicated in the gendered social relations of production despite their strict spatial separation from the outside. Viri also reminds readers of the connection between the exploitation of labor and the sexual exploitation of the body, two complementary processes in a patriarchal capitalist society. She also reminds us

that the greatest form of material and corporeal resistance to this is the strike. The choice of March 8th for "Un violador en tu camino" at Santha Martha would have coincided not only with International Women's Day but with the anniversary of the International Women's Strike as well. How could we conceptualize the protest in conversation with the strike and as a form of strike itself?

Foucault's discussion of prison labor focuses on what makes this form of work a singularly dehumanizing instrument of control:

[Labor] contours the body with regular movements, it suspends agitation and distraction...Prison labor should be conceived as being in itself a machine that transforms the violent, agitated, unreflective prisoner into a piece that plays its role with perfect regularity. The prison is not a workshop; it is, or it must be in itself, a machine of which the prisonerworkers are at the same time the gears and the product. [Translation mine] (Foucault 281)

In light of Foucault's indictment of prison labor exploitation, it becomes clear that prison work is a highly feminized form of labor. This is to say that it is labor done by a body without control of itself, a body that is regulated by the state, prescribed proper movements, and in this way is "corrected," achieving "perfect regularity," and perfect obedience. The prison institution and its neoliberal allies flaunt the agitated-criminal-turned-obedient-worker as proof of the success of its rehabilitating mission. Angela Davis gives resonance to Foucault's harsh critique of the treatment of incarcerated people, asserting that the purpose of prison labor has always been "the transformation of imprisoned bodies--and they are in their majority bodies of color--into sources of profit who consume and also often produce all kinds of commodities" (Davis 88). As a reclamation of the body, "Un violador en tu camino" signifies for the performer a reclamation of the corporeal. The performer asserts that it is her and her alone who may determine the instrumentalization of her body. In this way, it echoes the antidisciplinary spirit of the strike and resonates with calls to reimagine the gendered relations of production that equally affect women on the inside as those on the outside.

The double existence of prisoner-workers, having to be both labor and product, gives credence to feminist theorists that have argued for a strike of infinite multiplicities.¹⁹ In her reflections on the Paro internacional de mujeres, Veronica Gago notes how the strike enabled "an organizational horizon that allowed for

hosting multiple realities that resignified, challenged, and updated the dynamic of what constitutes a strike itself." (Gago, "#WeStrike" 663). No single reality fully encompasses the entire range of experiences of women's labor. A woman on the outside of the carceral system does not live gendered labor the same way as a woman on the inside. No universal can encompass all forms of feminized work, particularly that done in confinement. Similarly, feminist theorists should not settle for a singular model of what a women's strike can and should look like. For the women of Santa Martha, "Un violador en tu camino" serves as means to demand justice for sexual violence while also reclaiming the instrumentalization of their body from the carceral apparatus that seeks to discipline and transform them.

Susana Draper has argued for imagining the feminist strike as a crystal, the point towards which past struggles have led and the point from which new movements will refract outward. In her words, "the path that leads to March 8 generates a sequence connecting various genealogies of struggle and movements, where the strike itself becomes a midpoint between questions preceding and following the event" (Draper 682-683) The stirring of desire at Santa Martha Acatitla for radical feminist action is one of these points of refraction, a new space for feminist ideas to take root and critical space for a feminist reimagining of labor and abolition. "Un violador en tu camino" may not have happened at Santa Martha, but the attempt was an expression of an impulse towards continued action and continued insubordination. Gago returns to the paro in her 2019 book La potencia feminista where she argues once again that we need to understand the feminist strike as a multiplicity of unique but connected movements.²⁰ This connection, she argues, "se hace desde la huelga, lo cual implica hacerla en clave no puramente analítica sino de insubordinación" (Gago, Potencia 32). "Un violador en tu camino" implied an interruption of carceral business as usual. In this way, it constitutes its own form of strike and asserts its place in the broader network of radical feminist action that coincided on March 8th.

CONCLUSION

This article has brought much needed attention to the specificity of the experiences of incarcerated women and to the power of collective bodies and affects. Attention surrounding feminist movements often focuses on the claiming of public places: the streets, the plazas and the legislatures. However, it remains crucial to center those feminist struggles that cannot claim this same visibility. The prison is a

critical space for feminist emancipatory praxis. As a transferable and translatable performance-protest, "Un violador en tu camino" meant for the incarcerated women of Santa Martha Acatitla a movement to join and a connection beyond the walls, but one through which they could still assert the uniqueness of their own struggle.

The guiding questions of this work have been: what power did "Un violador en tu camino" contain that made it a threat to the carceral institution and what would it have meant to the performers had it happened? I want to emphasize the devastating truth that the women of Santa Martha ultimately did *not* get the opportunity to participate in this transformative protest. This leads me to a couple of concluding questions: what happens when institutional impasses become insurmountable? What happens when a feminist prison action cannot open any doors? And what if a prison *does allow* a certain feminist training or performance? Does that mean that it wasn't radical enough to pose a real threat? Fleetwood shares these same concerns in her discussion of collaborative art in prison. She writes:

Because they need to be approved by prison in order to take place, many collaborations focus on personal exploration and individualized notions of rehabilitation while avoiding or obfuscating political and systemic critiques of incarceration. The concern here is that art-making becomes a tool of the prison to manage and control populations. (Fleetwood 155)

"Un violador en tu camino" naturally resists individualization. It does not ask for rehabilitation but rather for systemic change. The collective body and voice of the performers asserts their refusal to be managed and controlled. A less radical protest may have been permitted. Eugenio Raúl Zaffaroni cites this as a sort of *trampa* of neoliberal correctional logic in that it finds ways to incorporate benign critiques of itself as proof of its dedication to improvement and best practices. He argues that prisons take well-intentioned programs and "los incorpora, se limita a reconocerlos, los usa para legitimar su poder punitivo y los neutraliza en su potencial transformador" (Zaffaroni 36) "Un violador en tu camino" maintains its "potencial transformador" because it sustains a political and systemic critique and coordinates bodies to this end. However, it is for this very reason that the institution perceived it as such a danger and prevented it from occurring.

Diluting emancipatory action and pedagogy cannot be the answer because it plays into the very trap outlined above. Instead, we must keep pushing with radical actions, both inside and outside. Santa Martha Acatitla's rejection of the

performance was not immediate, meaning there remains the promise of slipping past the censors and breaching carceral space. We must continue to apply pressure and deprivatize the prison in all senses. Visibility for the struggle of incarcerated women must be the greatest priority. The lesson from this chapter of the struggle is the reaffirmation of the body's *potentia* to affect; a force that defies confinement and hopefully, as we move forward, will continue to pose a significant threat to the prison as we know it.

Notes

- 1. I recommend the reader watch a performance of the song to better understand the staging and choreography. There are many on YouTube, including this one performed on the campus of UC Berkeley: www.youtube.com/watch?v=9deQxLJ8b90.
- 2. The song was originally meant to premiere as part of a theatrical adaptation of Rita Segato's work and was never meant to be a protest (See Pais). However, after having been performed as a piece of street theater in Valparaíso on November 20th, 2019, recordings of "Un violador en tu camino" spread across social media and, as LasTesis admits, "la performance se nos escapó de las manos y lo hermoso es que fue apropiado por otras" (Pais) and became a protest song. I therefore refer to it firstly as a *protest-performance* and will use both terms to refer to it going forward.
- 3. This day is notable for being both International Women's Day and the third anniversary of the International Women's Strike. In 2020, many groups around the world were planning their own performances of the protest on March 8th, a global collective that the women at Santa Martha wished to join. See Amezcua.
- 4. See Amezcua.
- 5. The affectual power of bodies in collective action, as I interpret it. I will further explore this and more contemporary interpretations of it in the second section.
- 6. Foucault 306.
- 7. See Girshick. She argues that punishment for sexual assault survivors in prison is "doubly gendered—through their abuse as females outside of jail or prison and through their revictimization throughout the control process of incarceration" (96). Girshick also cites the disproportionately high rates of actively incarcerated women who have survived sexual assault prior to their

- incarceration (97), making them a populace for whom "Un violador en tu camino" would particularly resonate.
- 8. We find echoes of this in Lucas and Mills: "the moving body, the body that can always resist, even when its own materiality is all it's got" (Lucas and Mills 248).
- 9. Throughout the text, Spinoza interjects the "propositions" with references to previous and forthcoming "propositions," inviting the reader through this gesture to navigate the text cyclically, rather than linearly.
- 10. Potentia is here translated as "power."
- 11. See Field for a discussion of Spinoza in political philosophy and the power of the multitude.
- 12. Foucault defines the first principle of the carceral as isolation. He argues that punishment is not only individualized, but also, crucially, individualizing (Foucault 274).
- 13. Deleuze uses a geographic metaphor in his discussion of *potentia*. He argues that through combined affects, one can *map*, so to speak, the *cartographie d'un corps* (Deleuze 127-128). This cartography, that through affect extends and connects bodies beyond the prison walls, is another way of imagining the destabilization of the carceral space that "Un violador en tu camino" promises.
- 14. Foucault 178.
- 15. Foucault 178-180; 278-282.
- 16. Mondragón Benito and Pérez Gil 178; Lecca Silva 30; Lucas and Mills 248.
- 17. See Lucas and Mills.
- 18. "Si hablamos en términos de escalas y desde las miradas de la geografía feminista, el cuerpo también es territorio, un espacio delimitado y apropiado material y simbólicamente" (Mondragón Benito and Pérez Gil 178-179). See also Mondragón Benito and Pérez Gil 180 or Natalia Lecca Silva, who echoes this point in "Cuerpos en disputa" (2017), arguing that the body is "portador de malestares sociales, relaciones de poder, imperativos culturales y de género" (Lecca Silva 30).
- 19. See Gago and Draper.
- 20. Recalling Spinoza, the Latin root of *potencia* is, of course, *potentia*.

Bibliography

Amezcua, Melissa. "El feminismo llega a la cárcel de mujeres." *El Universal*, 7 March 2020, www.eluniversal.com.mx/nacion/el-feminismo-llega-la-carcel-de-mujeres.

- Davis, Angela Y. "The Prison Industrial Complex." *Are prisons obsolete?*. Seven Stories Press, 2003, pp. 84-104.
- Deleuze, Gilles. *Spinoza: Practical Philosophy*, translated by Robert Hurley. City Lights Books, 1988.
- Draper, Susana. "Strike as Process: Building the Poetics of New Feminism." *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, vol. 117, no. 3, 2018, pp. 682-691.
- Field, Sandra Leonie. *Potentia: Hobbes and Spinoza on Power and Popular Politics*. Oxford University Press, 2020.
- Fleetwood, Nicole R. *Marking Time: Art in the Age of Mass Incarceration*. Harvard University Press, 2020.
- Foucault, Michel. *Surveiller et punir: Naissance de la prison*. Éditions Gallimard, 1975.
- Gago, Verónica. *La potencia feminista: O el deseo de cambiarlo todo*. Madrid: Tinta Limón y Traficantes de Sueños, 2019.
- ---. "#WeStrike: Notes toward a Political Theory of the Feminst Strike." *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, vol. 117, no. 3, 2018, pp. 660-669.
- Girshick, Lori B. "Abused Women and Incarceration." *Women in Prison: Gender and Social Control*, edited by Barbara H. Zaitzow and Jim Thomas. Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2003, pp. 95-118.
- Lecca Silva, Natalia. "Cuerpos en disputa: Reflexiones sobre cuerpo y género desde los discursos de tres mujeres profesionales en danza contemporánea." *FIAR: Forum for Inter-American Research*, vol. 10, no. 2, 2017, pp. 29-46.

- López, Helena. "Lost in Santa Martha: Limitaciones para una etnografía en una cárcel de mujeres." *Journal of Iberian & Latin American Studies*, vol. 23, no. 3, 2017, pp. 359-366.
- Lucas, Sarah Drews and Dana Mills. "Dancing Feminist Conversations: Never without Materiality." *Contemporary Political Theory*, vol. 17, no. 2, 2017, pp. 241-249.
- Macherey, Pierre. *Avec Spinoza: Études sur la doctrine et l'histoire du spinozisme*. Presses Universitaires de France, 1992.
- Mills, Dana. *Dance and Politics: Moving beyond Boundaries*. Manchester University Press, 2017.
- Mondragón Benito, Daniela, and Valeria Ysunza Pérez Gil. "*Germinando en el asfalto*, del encierro a la libertad del cuerpo, una propuesta a través de la danza." *Index, revista de arte contemporáneo*, vol. 8, 2019, pp. 176-183.
- "Mujeres en espiral." *Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México*, mujeresenespiral.com.
- Pais, Ana. "Las Tesis sobre 'Un violador en tu camino': 'Se nos escapó de las manos y lo hermoso es que fue apropiado por otras'." *BBC News Mundo*, 6 December 2019, www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias-america-latina-50690475
- Spinoza, Benedict de. *Ethics*, edited and translated by Edwin Curley. Penguin Books, 1996.
- Viri. "¡Mujeres en Huelga, se cae el mundo!" *Leelatú*, no. 2, 2016, <u>issuu.com/gelenjeleton/docs/leelatu_2_digital</u>.
- Zaffaroni, Eugenio Raúl. "El discurso feminista y el poder punitivo." *Las trampas del poder punitivo. El género del derecho penal*, edited by Haydée Birgin. Editorial Biblos, 2000, pp. 19–37.