



**JARDUERA FISIKO ETA KIROLAREN
ESANAHIK ESPETXEAN:
EMAKUME PRESOEN AHOTSAK ARGITARA**

UNDERSTANDING THE MEANINGS OF
SPORT AND PHYSICAL ACTIVITY IN PRISON:
REVEALING INCARCERATED WOMEN'S VOICES

Nagore Martinez Merino
2018



Universidad
del País Vasco

Euskal Herriko
Unibertsitatea



VNIVERSITAT ID VALÈNCIA

UNIVERSIDAD DEL PAIS VASCO / EUSKAL HERRIKO UNIBERTSITATEA

Gorputz eta Kirol Hezkuntza Saila

Hezkuntza eta Kirol Fakultatea

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PHYSICAL ACTIVITY IN PRISON: REVEALING
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Gasteiz, 2018

*Askatasuna amets dutenei,
egunak zenbatzen lokartzen direnei,
ziegetan mundutik ezkututzen direnei.
Emakume 'gaizto' horiei guztiei.*

*A mi abuela,
por demostrar que la sabiduría
no reposa solo en los libros,
por tus ganas de aprender,
y por todo lo enseñado.*

Doktorego tesi hau Eusko Jaurlaritzaren Hezkuntza, Hizkuntza Politika eta Kultura Saileko Doktoreak ez diren Ikertzaileak prestatzeko Doktoratu Aurreko Programako laguntzarekin gauzatu da (2015-2018) [PRE_2014_1_297].

Biluzten

Biluztearen ariketa da eskerrak ematekoa, jantzitakoa erantzi, eta oihal konplexu hau josten ibili zareten isilpeko jostun horien guztien izenak harilkatzekoa. Zuen laguntzari esker mimoz eman diot lan honi bere azken puntada.

Lehenik, tesia oinarri duen bidelagun eta zuzendarientzat doaz nire eskerrik beroenak. Oiduiari, tesiaren prozesu guztian irribarre batekin adi bezain gertu egoteagatik; eskainitako laguntza, prestutasuna, eskuzabaltasuna eta jakintzagatik ez ezik, urte hauetan emandako amore, aholku, arnas eta animo guztiengatik ere. A Daniel, per la teua mirada crítica, per espentar-nos sempre a tirar endavant, per tots els consells, reflexions i ànims precisos. Per ensenyar-me a escriure correctament “a veure” fins a inculcar-me a veure des de diferents perspectives. Las palabras se quedan cortas para agradeceros todo lo enseñado, todo el tiempo dedicado y toda la paciencia invertida en esta tesis. Porque ha sido un honor y un privilegio ser vuestra doctoranda. Porque además de directores comprometidos y trabajadores, sois mejores compañeros. Bihotzez, mila esker-moltes gràcies bioi.

Bidean topatu, bidelagun hasi eta bidea amaituta ere lagun izaten jarraituko duenari zer esan, Neri. Esker eta animo beroenak ere zuretzako, aurrera egiteko beharrezko makulu bikaina izan baitzara. Aldapan gora edo behera egonda ere, kezka, hausnarketa, irri edota zauriei toki bat egin izan ahal diedalako zure

ondoan. Elkarbanatutako bizipen zirraragarri hau posible egiteaz gain, ezin hobeto zaindu nauzulako. Lan hau nirea bezainbeste zurea delako, mila esker.

A las chicas de ADAP, por abrirnos las puertas de vuestro piso y de la asociación; por vuestra confianza, colaboración, interés y reconocimiento hacia nuestro trabajo. Muchas gracias Josune, Silvia, Natalia y Lourdes. Mis más sinceras gracias a Ana; por creer, defender y apoyar este proyecto con entusiasmo. Gran parte de este trabajo os lo debemos a vosotras, y esta tesis también es vuestra.

I would like to express my gratitude to March Theeboom. Thanks to his collaboration my enriching stay in the Vrije University Brussels was made possible. My sincere thanks to all the colleagues of the office, for making me feel at home from the first day. Another special mention for the two people that had to look after me during the stay: Rein and Zeno. Thanks for all shared lunches, papers, and interesting chats. For your kind and generous help. It has been a pleasure to meet you in this experience, and a greater pleasure to keep in contact since. Sincerely, Dank je wel.

Esker bereziak Ainhoa, Maitalen eta Ekaineri, ameslari hasitako proiektua gauzatzeagatik, gure arlotik beste mundu bat posible dela sinesteagatik. Eskerrak ere ikasketetan alboan izan dudana kuadrilla zoro horri; ikasgai, ostegun eta bidaia bakoitza abentura eder bat bihurtzeagatik.

Tesi honetan era batera edo bestera lagundu didazuenei ere nire eskerrik beroenak. Talde lanean bertan egon ez bazarete ere, taldekide zaituztedan Itsaso eta Uxueri. Plazer bat delako zuekin hausnartze (h)ariketara aritzea. Un especial abrazo a Javi Gil, por acogernos en tu casa y hacernos sentir como en casa. Gracias también a Lorena Lozano, por tu interés y colaboración en la tesis; por cada palabra afinada y cada palabra de ánimo regalada. A Pepe Devís, por echarnos

un cable con la revisión sistemática. Amaieran orrazketa lanetan ibili zareten Amaia Zaldua eta Xabier Eizagirreri, zuen prestutasun, eskuzabaltasun eta egindako lan finagatik. Jon Arangureni, hitzei forma eta bizitza emateagatik azaleko ilustrazio eder honetan, zure pazientzia eta lan bikainagatik. Mila esker zuei guztiei.

Fakultateko zenbait pertsonak ere ipini dute lan honetan beraien alea: Ruth Cayerori, eskaintako laguntza eta emandako babesagatik; Julen Idarreta eta Luix Mari Zulaikari, Gasteizerako joan-etorriak erraztu eta goxatzeagatik; Asier Oiarbideri, tesia egitera animatzeagatik; Argia Langaricari, datu baseetan beharrezko laguntza eskaintzeagatik; Raúl Martínez de Santosi, ingelesean egindako zuzenketengatik; Inmari, liburutegian beti irribarrez hartzeagatik. Bulegoko kideei, lehengo eta oraingoei, eta bulegoko atear irekita nituela gogorarazi didazuen irakasle guztiei. Eskerrik asko zuei ere.

Ikerketa arloko aliatu eta aditu feministentzat ere nire eskerrak: Estibaliz de Miguel-Calvo eta Maria Ruiz-Torradori, emandako aholku eta laguntzagatik, proiektu ezberdinetan gutaz gogoratzeagatik eta *Sin Rejas* sarera batzeagatik. Era berean, *Sin Rejas*-en bidez ezagutu ahal izan ditudan emakume zoragarri bezain inspiratzaileei ere nire miresmen eta eskerrik zintzoenak: Cassandra, Milenta eta CAMPAko emakume militanteei, Paz Frances-Lecumberriri, eta, bereziki, muxu handi bana eskaini nahi nieke Rakel eta Kathyari.

Gertukoengana hurbilduko naiz orain, eduki edo formetan gehiegi lagundu ez duzuela pentsatuko duzuen arren, tesi hau erditzeko beharrezkoak bezain garrantzitsuak izan zaretelako:

Aitari, oinak lurtean izanda, izarrei begira ipintzeagatik. Amari, energia eta bizipoz amaiezin hori transmititzeaz gain, emandako maitasun eta mimo

horregatik guztiagatik. Ahizpari, ausarta eta abenturazalea izateko grina pizteagatik. Anaiari, filosofatzeaz gain, sormenari tokia egiten irakasteagatik. Zareten bezalakoak izateagatik, eskerrik asko.

Familia zabalari, erakutsitako interes eta eskainitako babesagatik. Aipamen berezia Saioari, eskubaloian, dantzan eta familia bazkari guztietan aguantatzeaz gain, beti alboan eta laguntzeko prest egoteagatik. Mila esker.

Lagun kuttunei, emandako bulkada eta maitasun horregatik guztiagatik. Nire urduritasun eta buruhausteei irribarrez erantzuteagatik. Barrenak askatu behar izan ditudan bakoitzean belarriak prest izateagatik. Zuen pazientzia, animo, besarkada eta hitz goxo bakoitzarengatik. Mila esker lan honetan zutik mantendu eta aurrera egiteko indarra emateagatik: Andrea, Atxu, Biko, Crispi, Garazi, Jani, Jone, Kris, Maider, Miren, Negra, Nere, Txiki, Uxo, Xabet. Maitagarri bezain zoragarriak zarete.

Ametsen kontrabandoan, barra izkinetako konspiratzaile, bizitza elkarrekin abordatzen dugun pirata eta sorgin guztiei. Biderik egon gabe bidaiatzen erakutsi didazuenei. Oinak eta herria astintzen, asteartero irri artean dantzan ipintzen nauzuenei. Liga irabaztea baino altxor ederragoa zein den aspaldi erakutsi zenidatenei. Raquel eta Luisi, elkarrekin etxean laster egingo dugun un-ble horregatik: Gora gu ta gutarrak!

Eskerrak ere era batera edo bestera urte hauetan zehar ikerketarekiko interesa erakutsi, ekarpenak egin edota animo hitzak oparitu dizkidazuen guztiei. Zuen guztion izenak aipatzea ezinezkoa zaidan arren, ondo gogoan zaituztet. Bihotzez, eskerrik asko!

Azkenik, txoko berezi bezain berezitua zuei zor dizuet, emakume miresgarri guzti horiei. Preso zein preso ohi, zuen denbora eta konfiantza eskaintzeaz gain, zuen zauri zahar eta berriak erakutsi zein bihotzak zabaltzeagatik. Zuek gabe lan hau ez zelako posible izango, bihotz-bihotzez, mila esker: *Nadia, Ekhine, Haizea, Simone, Mariana, Natalia, Eguzki, Carolina, Sonia, Casandra, Ana, Mónica, Macarena, Izar, Beatriz, Marady* eta aipatu ezin diren beste guztiak. Zuei esker da lan hau, zuena eta zuentzako. Egunen batean espetxeari buruz lan gehiago egon ez daitezten. Apur ditzagun kateak.

Mila esker zuei guztiei.

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Hiru kolore ontzi, bi pintzel eta mundua pintatzeko agintzen dute.

"Egin munduaren mapa" esan didate.

Baina nik ez dakit mundu osoa pintatzen. Nik leihoa pintatzen dakit bakarrik. Edonon zabaltzen dut leihoa, munduko zati txiki bat ikusteko.

Koloreak ez dira nahikoa mundu osoa pintatzeko, pintzelak ere ez. Eta neu ere ez.

Zelan pintatuko dut mundu osoa, gauza txiki bati begira jada begiak zabalik gelditzen banaiz eta ahoa zabalik?

Joseba Sarrionandia

Idazlea zeu zara irakurtzen duzulako

LEHENENGO KAPITULUA

Espetxeko atarian

1.1. Ispiluari so

“¡Paren el mundo, que me quiero bajar!”, oihukatzen du Mafaldak haserre tira batean. Makina bat aldiz pentsatu dut neuk ere neure baitarako, zein gustura arituko nintzatekeen *kuartakerre*¹ garrasika kalean, txikiagoak gineneko garaietan lez, jolasa –bizitza– berriz has zedin eskatuz. Badirudi ume artean guztiek ulertu eta onartzen dutela zerbait oker atera bada, norbaitek ‘tranpa’ egin badu, edota baloia urrutira bidaliz gero, *kuartakerre* entzun bezain pronto jolasa eten eta berriro hasi behar dela, parte hartzaileen aukera berdintasuna bermatuz. Haurtzarotik helduarora jauzi egitean, baina, halako kontuak parkean ahaztu zitzaizkigula dirudi, bidegabekeriak eta zapalkuntza ezberdinak egunerokoan nagusitzen zaizkigularik. Iluntasunari argi izpiez aurre egiten zaion bezalaxe, eta Eduardo Galeanok² esandako “somos lo que hacemos para cambiar lo que somos” kontuan izanda, gertuko errealitateari erreparatuz gero, eraldaketarako tresna garela sinesten dut. Lan xume honekin, nire argi izpia eskaini nahi nioke espetxeen errealitate ilun zein ezezagunari. Kartzela eta unibertsitatearen zein kartzela eta kalearen arteko distantzia erraldoi hauetan, zubien eraikuntza sustatu nahi dut. Zubi honek, halaber, baditu hiru zutabe nagusi.

Lehenik, feminismoarekin edo/eta ikuspegi feministan ‘jantzitako’ lagunekin gurutzatu nintzen nerabezaroan (zorionekoa ni!), errealitatearen ertz, koxka zein

¹ Kuartakerre: tximilikuarteka jolastean, kunplitzen ari denak norbait oker izendatzen duenean esaten da. Halakoetan kunplitzen duenak berriz kunplitu behar izaten du, jolasa atzera hasiz (iturria: www.argia.eus/blogak/imanol-epelde/2009/04/14/zarauzko-beste-zenbait-hitz).

² Galeano, E. (1989). *El libro de los abrazos*.

amildegien kontzientzia hartzeko ezinbesteko tresna bilakatu direlarik betaurreko moreak nire egunerokotasunean. Bigarrenik, euskaldun izateak ere badu zeresana espetxeekiko arreta berezi honekin. Angela Davisen³ arabera, gatazka politiko baten ondorioz presoak dituzten herriek gertuago sumatzen omen dituzte kartzelak, baita euren beharra maizago itaundu ere. Gure herria txikia izanik, ez da zaila izaten espetxea dastatu zein beronen ondorioekin bizitzen ikasi behar izan duten euskal herritarrekin topo egitea. Putzuzulo⁴ Amets Fabrikako X. Kopla Txapelketan abestu zen bezalaxe, hemen “harri-orri-ar sartzen gara kartzelan”. Azkenik, eskubaloian zein euskal dantzetan jardundako urteengatik eta hezkuntza ez formalean jolasekiko hartutako maitasunaren eragin nagusiagatik, Jarduera Fisikoaren eta Kirolaren Zientzien Fakultatean (egungo Hezkuntza eta Kirol Fakultatea) amaitu nuen. Halaber, aisia eta kirola ikasgairako irakasleak duela urte batzuk eskatutako lan baten diseinuaren atzean gordetzen da tesi honen hazia.

Aipatu ikasgaiari aisialdi eskaintzarako proiektu bat gauzatu behar genuen. Sentsibilitate handiko taldekide ameslariekin elkartzuta, espetxean zerbait egitea interesgarria izan zitekeela otu zitzaigun. Hurbildu bezain pronto dastatu genuen, ordea, kartzelako hormen gogortasuna. Burututako lehen bileran argi utzi ziguten, batetik, ez zutela unibertsitatearekin harremanik izan nahi, eta, bestetik, hainbat segurtasun kontu medio, arras konplikatua izango zela bertan zerbait gauzatzea. Ateak ixtean, ordea, leiho eder bat zabaldu zitzaigun aurrez aurre: Zumarragako Ibaiondo Heziketa Zentroa. Ezagun baten bidez bertakoekin harremanetan jartzea lortu eta hasieratik elkarlanerako prestasuna zein eskuzabaltasuna erakutsi zuten. Ikasgairako egin beharreko proiektua, beraz, ikasgelatik haratago gauzatzeko beta izan genuen, guztiontzat berezia izan den kapitulua idatziz geure bizi-orrietan. Zortzi egunez, askatasunik gabe bizi ziren

³ *Kartzela Kalera! Emakumeak eta Kartzela* jardunaldiak. 2016ko otsailaren 5ean, Bilbon.

⁴ Putzuzulo Amets Fabrika Zarauzko gaztetxea da.

gazteekin hainbat jarduera zein jolas burutu genituen, eta zortzi saiok askorako ematen ez dutela pentsa genezakeen arren, zenbait galdera suspertzen hasi ziren.

Kausalitateak kausalitate, Jarduera Fisikoaren eta Kirolaren Zientziak unibertsitate masterrean amaitu, eta bertako aurkezpenean agertu zen Oidui Usabiaga irakaslea, buruan orain arte dabilkidan galdera jaurtiz klaseari: *Eta zuek, prest egongo zinatekete bi urtez espetxean emakumeekin egoteko? Bi urtez barruan egoteko gai izango zinatekete?* Hara! Aipatutako gaiak zeharkatu ninduten momentu horretan ni, eta berarekin bildu bezain pronto sartu ninduen ikerketa honen bizkarrezurra izan den taldera, Daniel Martos-Garcia eta Nerian Martín-Gonzálezekin batera osatutako lan-taldera, hain zuzen. Taldean burututako ikerketa da hau, beraz; eta, hargatik, batzuetan nire barrutik hitz egingo dudan arren, pluraletik ere adieraziko naiz. Nire tesia den arren, talde lan batean baitago oinarritu zein ezaugarritua.

Ordutik, lau urte pasatu dira *noraezaren norabidezko lurretan*⁵. Nora goazen jakiteko nondik gatozen jakitea ezinbestekoa omen denez, lehendabizi aurkezpentxo bat egiteko beharra sentitzen dut. Izan ere, egiletzaren ondotik, lan honek saihestu ezineko ondorengo zehartasuna du: emakume zuri baten ahotsetik abiatzen da kontakizuna, arazo ekonomikorik gabeko familia bateko kalekume baten eskutik, aniztasun funtzionalik gabeko gorputzetik eta espetxealdia bere azalean bizi izan ez duen pertsona baten azaletik. Gainera, ikerketa gauzatzerako orduan, ez dut nire zaintzaren ardurapeko pertsonarik izan, eta Eusko Jaurlaritzaren Doktoratu Aurreko Programako Laguntzaren bitartez [PRE_2014_1_297], tesian sartu ditut nire soldatapeko lan orduak.

⁵ Mor More musika taldearen *Istanteak* abestiko hitzak.

Behin katamaloa erantzita, doktorego tesi honek hiru ardatz nagusi dituela azpimarratzea baino ez zait geratzen: emakumea, espetxea eta jarduera fisikoa eta kirola. Neure ahots, gorputz, azal, bizkarrezur zein zutabeak argi utzi izana espero dut. Orain zeuri begiak eta bihotza zabaltzeko baizik ez dizut eskatu nahi, bertako orriak sentitu eta gozatu ahal izateko.

1.2. Sarrerako atea zeharkatu aurretik

Datozen orrietan sinbolikoki espetxean barrena sartu eta doktorego tesi honetan gauzatutako bidea urratzera gonbidatu nahi zaitut. Bidaia honek sei geldiene izango ditu:

Lehenengo kapitulu honetan, burututako bidea osatzeko helburuak, emandako urratsak eta beraien arteko harremana, zein guztia josteko beharrezkoa izan dudana metodologia, adierazten saiatuko naiz.

Bigarren kapituluan, emakume atxiloek kartzelan jarduera fisiko eta kirolak euren bizi kalitatean duen eraginaren eta betetzen dituen rolen inguruan adierazi didatena azalduko dut.

Hirugarren eta laugarren kapituluetan, literatura zientifikoan espetxeratutako emakumeen jarduera fisiko eta kirolaren inguruan gauzatutako ikerlanen bilaketa sistematikoa aurkituko duzu. Aipatu ikerlan horien edukietan gehiago sakondu eta emakume atxiloek jarduera fisiko eta kirola egiteko dituzten onura zein oztopoen inguruan jardungo dut laugarren atalean.

Bosgarren kapituluan, espetxean present dauden kontrol sozial eta botere harremani jarduera fisikoa eta kirolaren bitartez emakume atxiloek aurre nola egiten ohi dioten azalduko dut.

Azkenik, seigarren kapituluan, irteerako aterantz gerturatuko gara. Lan honen ondorio nagusiak, bizi izandako mugak eta etorkizunerako proposamenak azalduko ditut. Era berean, bidaian zehar bizi izandako emozio eta buruhaustek partekatuko ditut zurekin aitorpen kontakizun baten bitartez.

1.3. Helburuak

Tesi honen helburu nagusia espetxeratutako emakumeentzat jarduera fisiko eta kirolak euren egunerokotasunean dituen esanahiak aztertzea eta ulertzea izan da. Helburu hau betetzeko, hainbat galdera eta helburu zehatz proposatu dira. Halaber, galdera hauei erantzun eraginkorra eman asmoz, ondorengo lau multzoetan antolatu dira helburu zehatzak:

- **Lehen helburua: zein rol betetzen du jarduera fisikoak espetxeratutako emakumeentzat?**

Espetxean jarduera fisikoak emakumeentzat betetzen dituen rola aztertu. Hots, praktika fisikoetan parte hartzeak emakumeen maila psikologikoan, fisikoan, sozialean zein afektiboan duen eragina ikertu, bizi-kalitatea ardatz izanik. Ikerlan honen bidez kartzelako jarduera fisiko egituratuaren eraginkortasunerako gakoak aurkitu nahi izan dira, betiere emakume preso ohien bizipenen oroitzapenak abiapuntutzat hartuta.

- **Bigarren helburua: zeintzuk dira eta zer diote orain arteko ikerketa gaiari buruzko lan zientifikoek?**

Literatura zientifikoan emakumea, espetxea eta jarduera fisikoa aldagaiak aztertu dituzten ikerketak identifikatu eta euren kalitatea ebaluatu. Errebisio sistematiko baten bidez, ikerlanen jatorria, data, erabilitako metodologia zein jorratutako gai nagusien inguruko analisisa osatu nahi izan da. Modu honetan, ordura arteko ikerketen ekarpenekin gaiaren egungo egoera zein den jakin nahi izan da.

- **Hirugarren helburua: zeintzuk dira emakume atxiloek pairatzen dituzten onura eta oztopoak praktika motorra giltzapean burutzean?**

Emakume presoek praktika fisikoa gauzatzean dituzten onuren zein oztopoen azterketa sakona egin eta askatasunean bizi diren emakumeen errealitatearekin alderatu. Literatura zientifikoan jasotako ikerlanak oinarri hartuta, espetxeratutako emakumeen parte hartze maila igotzea ahalbidetu dezakeen azterketa zehatz bat osatu nahi izan da.

- **Laugarren helburua: jarduera fisiko eta kirola baliatu al dezakete emakumeek espetxearen kontrol sozial eta arauari aurre egiteko?**

Jarduera fisiko eta kirolak espetxeratutako emakumeentzat mikro-erresistentzia gisa izan dezakeen rolean sakondu eta eurek horri buruz egiten duten interpretazioa jaso. Era honetara, kartzelaren kontrol sozialari zein zigor botere patriarkalari aurre egiteko estrategia bat izan daitekeen aztertu nahi izan da.

1.4. Tesiaren bizkarrezurra

Aurreko puntuan aipatu galdera zehatzen arabera lau ikerketen deskribapenaren bidez osatu da tesiaren bizkarrezurra. Azpialt honetan ikerketa bakoitzaren zio nagusiak eta berauen arteko erlazioa aurkeztuko dut.

1.4.1. Jarduera fisiko eta kirolaren rola emakume presoen bizi kalitatean

Tesiaren lehen urratsetan emakumeen ahotsak biltzera ekitea erabaki genuen, informazio aberasgarri bezain fidagarriaren jabe zirela kontuan izanda. Hala, lan hau osatzen duen lehen ikerketan espetxealdia pairatutako bost emakume elkarrizketatu eta kartzelan izandako jarduera fisikoko bizipenen inguruan galdekatu genituen. Elkarrizketatutako emakumeen arabera, jarduera fisikoa burutzeak maila ezberdinetan zeresan esanguratsua izan zuela ondorioztatu genuen lan honetan. Besteak beste, denbora zereginez betetzearen rola izatea, burdin artean bizi izandako egunerokotasunetik ihes egiteko aukera edo euskarri funtzioa bete zuen jarduera fisiko eta kirolak elkarrizketatutako emakumeentzat. Honenbestez, praktika fisikoek espetxeratuen bizi kalitatearen alderdi ezberdinetan sortzen zituzten onuren hautematea agerian uztea ahalbidetu zigun ikerketa honek, batez ere arlo pertsonalean jorraturiko bizi kalitateari dagozkion faktoreen hautematean. Lehen ikerketa ikergaiarekiko lehen hurbilpen eta oinarrizko abiapuntua izan zen. Hura gauzatzeko beharrezko literatura zientifikoa kontsultatu arren, eta espetxera sartzeko ezintasunaren ondotik, gaiaren inguruko errebisio sistematiko bat egitearen beharra ikusi genuen. Honela, ordura arte egindako ikerketak sistematikoki identifikatu eta jasoz, gaiaren inguruko informazio osatuagoa eskuratu nahi izan genuen.

1.4.2. Emakume presoek espetxean burututako jarduera fisiko eta kirolaren inguruko errebisio sistematikoa

Errebisio sistematikoak, jarduera fisiko eta kirola, espetxea eta emakumearen inguruan egindako ikerketak bildu eta gaiaren jakintzaren egungo egoera zein zen aztertzea ahalbidetu zigun. Era berean, hautatutako ikerketen kalitatean ipini genuen arreta, espresuki horretarako proposatutako kalitate irizpideei jarraiki, aintzat hartzeko lanak zirela ondorioztatuz. Jatorri ezberdinetako ikerlanak biltzeak gaiaren nazioarteko ikuspegi bat izaten lagundu zigun. Bestetik, ikertzaileek egindako ikerlanak gauzatzeko erabilitako metodologia aztertu genuen. Azkenik, errebisioan jasotako datuetatik inductiboki eratorritako gai eta edukien analisia gauzatu genuen. Analisi honetan, jarduera fisikoa burutzerako orduan emakume presoek zituzten onura eta oztopoena gailendu zen. Beraz, bi kontzeptu horien analisi sakonagoa egin nahian, hurrengo ikerketa gauzatzeari ekin genion.

1.4.3. Emakume presoek espetxean jarduera fisiko eta kirola burutzean hautemandako onura eta oztopoak

Hirugarren ikerketan, errebisio sistematikotik eratorritako gaiak kontuan izanda, emakume presoek jarduera fisiko eta kirola burutzerakoan izan ditzaketen onura eta oztopoen inguruko ikerlanak hautatu eta berauen analisi kualitatiboa gauzatu genuen. Izan ere, errebisioaren emaitzen arabera, espetxeratutako emakumeen parte hartze maila oso baxua da gizonezko presoek praktika mailarekin zein askatasunean bizi diren emakumeekin alderatuz gero. Hargatik, onura eta oztopoak identifikatzeaz gain, sakonago aztertzea interesgarritzat jo genuen. Parte hartzearen igoeraren edo jaitsieraren gakoak identifikatzeko erabilgarri izan zitekeelakoan egin genuen azterketa sakonago hau. Aldi berean, errealitate hau askatasunean bizi diren emakumeekin alderatu

nahi izan genuen, antzekotasunen bat izan zezaketen edo ez aztertu asmoz. Ikerketa honen emaitzen ondotik, espetxean jarduera fisikoa eta kirolak mikro-erresistentzia gisa emakume horiei sortarazitako onura literatura zientifikoan ez zegoela batere garatuta ikusita, eta honek espetxeko botere-harremanen 'jokoan' izan zezakeen eragina kontuan hartuta, laugarren ikerketari heltzea erabaki genuen.

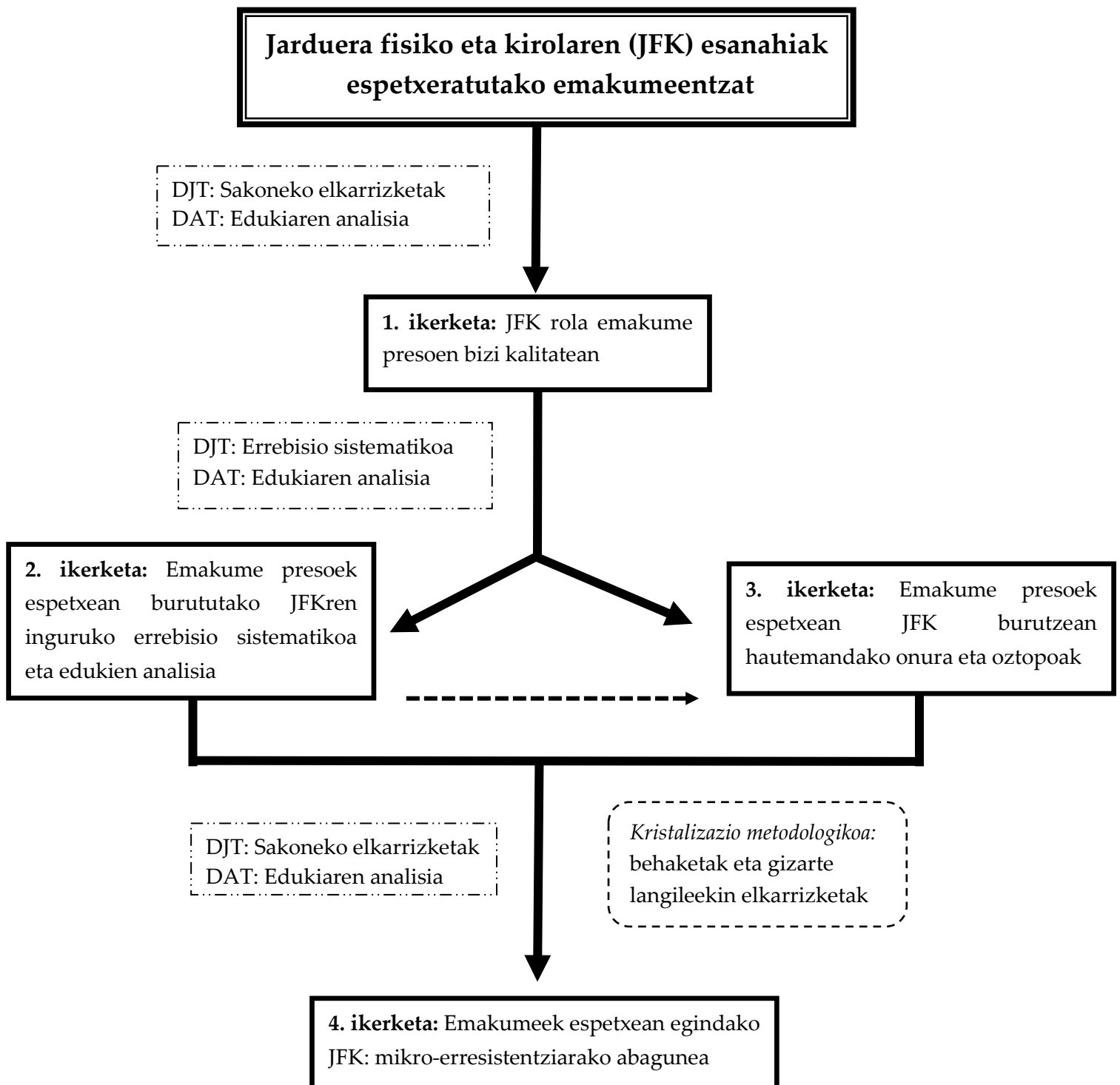
1.4.4. Emakumeek espetxean egindako jarduera fisiko eta kirola: mikro-erresistentziarako abagunea

Azken ikerketan, jarduera fisiko eta kirola espetxealdiari aurre egiteko estrategia bat izan ote daitekeen aztertu nahi izan genuen. Egungo gizartean botere harremanak nabariak baldin badira, espetxean are eta nabariagoak dira (Bosworth, 1999; Foucault, 1995). Guztiz menpeko diren egoera honetan, norberarentzat zein norberaren egoera hobetu dezakeen estrategia oro bilatzea da jokabiderik naturalena (Rubin, 2015). Ildo beretik, espetxeratutako emakumeek kartzela zeharkatzen duen kontrol soziala jarduera fisiko eta kirolaren bidez hein txiki batean desorekatzea lortu ahal duten aztertzea izan zen ikerketa honen xede nagusia.

Galdera berri honi erantzun asmoz, guztira 16 sakoneko elkarrizketa gauzatu genituen. Sakoneko elkarrizketetatik eratorritako emaitzek osatu baldin bazuten ere azken lan hau, espetxeko testuinguruan egindako ezkutuko behaketak erabili genituen emaitzen triangulazioa burutu eta analisisa aberasteko.

1.4.5. Ikerketa gauzatzeko emandako pausoen deskribapen grafikoa

Jarraian agertzen den I irudian tesia osatzen duten lau lanetara heltzeko gauzatutako bidea zein beraien arteko loturak erakutsi nahi izan dira. Era berean, ikerketak gauzatzeko (eta triangulatzeko) teknikak agertzen dira. Nahiz eta zuzenean kapituluaren analisirako ez erabili, triangulaziorako gizarte langileei elkarrizketak eta espetxe testuinguruan zenbait behaketa gauzatu dira. Elkarrizketen bidez, aztertutako errealitatearen beste ikuspegi bat jaso nahi izan da eta behaketen bidez, aldiz, errealitatea bera sakonago ezagutzeko parada izan da.



I irudia. Tesia osatzeko burututako ikerketen arteko erlazioaren azalpen grafikoa. Bertan, datuak jasotzeko (DJT) eta aztertzeko (DAT) erabilitako tekniken zehaztapena egin da.

1.5. Method

Qualitative methodology bears certain resemblance with colonialism, as it searches, collects and provides information about “the other” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, p. 1). The feeling of being a ‘coloniser’ –intrusive, inquisitive or even insolent– is something that has been with me throughout the whole process of this doctoral thesis. That feeling, shared and fueled by glances from and preconceptions of some of the imprisoned women, reminds me exactly of that: in their space, I am ‘the other’. I come from ‘outside’. I am white, a gorgio, ‘clean’. To summarize, different. An outsider in their home, an intruder.

However, acting as ‘colonisers’ helps us know and try to understand the spheres surrounding us that, as rooted as they might be in our social fabric, remain in the shade. That is precisely where the scene of this thesis has been placed: prison. With all that, this justification to investigate inside prison has not prevented me from having experienced several contradictions and discomfort throughout the thesis, which I will try to address in the section of this chapter referring to the research process (see section 1.5.7).

Thus, as the objective of this study is to look into the role and the meaning of practising sport and physical activity (SPA) on imprisoned women, qualitative methodology seems fundamental. There are numerous definitions of qualitative research; in word of Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (2011, p. 3):

Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recording and memos to the self. At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them.

In line with this approach, Andrew C. Sparkes and Brett Smith (2014) point out that the aim of qualitative research is to understand the social reality and explore people’s day-to-day behaviours, perspectives and experiences.

On top of the selected methodology, the way in which we approach the investigation will have an effect on its design, process and results. Therefore, the view from which I address this thesis is based on a specific perspective.

1.5.1. The paradigmatic, ontological and epistemological strategy of the investigation

According to Guba and Lincoln (1994), paradigms are the investigator's basic beliefs of the system, their world-view. Along these lines, Sparkes & Smith (2014, p.9) add: "we conduct inquiry via a particular paradigm because it embodies assumptions about the world that we believe in and supports values that we hold dear".

The objective of interpretative social research is to understand the scene, while critical research aims to boost the empowerment and emancipation of participants (Sparkes & Smith, 2014). I see the doctoral thesis as a learning process, where I have (trans)formed myself and have moved through different paradigms. In the particular case of this thesis, I started the study under an interpretative paradigm, with the main objective of trying to understand the meaning that is attributed to the practise of physical activity and sport from the point of view of imprisoned women.

Little by little, and thanks to the understanding and knowledge of the phenomenon being studied, I gradually got a more critical position, and got closer to the critical paradigm. As Yvonna S. Lincoln, Susan A. Lynham and Egon Guba (2011) claim, the field of qualitative methodology develops and keeps adding new methodological, epistemological and political sophistications, and this thesis has, in fact, shared a similar maturation process in which I have gradually included my own sophistications.

Thus, I share the perspective of the mentioned authors when they claim that interpretative and critical paradigms can be commensurable and elements from each of them can be mixed in order to achieve the best possible world-view of the area of study. That transformation will be visible in the following chapters, where the first paradigms are focused on the interpretative paradigm, whereas the fourth paper was carried out from a critical perspective.

Regarding the ontological question (*What kind of being is the human being? What is the nature of reality?*), qualitative research tends to take a relativist position from which reality is a social construction that keeps flowing, constantly changes and is multifaceted (Sparkes & Smith, 2014).

In the epistemological question (*What is the relationship between the knower and the known? What role do values play in understanding?*), Sparkes and Smith (2014) state that qualitative researchers propose a subjectivist, transactional and constructionist position. According to those authors, the researcher and the studied phenomenon are interdependent, and the results are created by both of them. This doctoral thesis started out from symbolic interactionism (Blumer, 1986), under the scope of the interpretative paradigm, and ended up having a poststructuralist feminist perspective (Gannon & Davies, 2007) with a critical approach.

1.5.2. Approaching the context of the study: prison

The way in which we answer ontological and epistemological questions leads us to develop the methodology in one way or another (Sparkes & Smith, 2014); but, obviously, that is only true when the context permits it, which has been the prickliest determinant in this thesis.

Approaching prison is not usually an easy thing, and neither is researching on it, as has been stated by various authors (Bosworth, Campbell, Demby, Ferranti, & Santos, 2005; Liebling, 1999; Reiter, 2014; Ruiz-Torrado, 2017). In my case, it was not easy either. Just like Mark Norman (2018), who has recently published a study about the sport and physical activity in Canadian prisons, I ended up adopting a *bricoleur* or *quilt maker* position, as termed by Denzin and Lincoln (2011). In the words of those authors “the interpretative bricoleur produces a bricolage; that is, a pieced-together set of representations that are fitted to the specifics of a complex situation” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, p. 4). That *bricoleur* work, which consists of combining slices to obtain only one result, requires a *montage*: “the qualitative researcher who uses montage is like a quilt maker or a jazz improviser. The quilter stitches, edits and puts slices of reality together. This process creates and brings psychological and emotional unity to an interpretive experience” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, p. 5).

In order to make the logic of my montage understandable, I will start by clarifying what our first intentions and attempts in the doctoral thesis were, and how I have arrived here:

Strike 1: When I started the research, it was very clear to me that I had to carry out an ethnography in the prison. In 2014, I took the first steps towards it. I wrote a research project in collaboration with another researcher⁶ and we sent it to Instituciones Penitenciarias (the Prison Service). However, in 2014 we received the first refusal, under the justification that they had no agreement with the University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU).

Strike 2: we filled out the form that was needed to formalise the agreement and we sent it back to the Prison Service. This time, the refusal was based on the fact that there was no authorised project, and simultaneously, they contended that there was not any agreement between the Prison Service and the UPV/EHU.

Strike 3: Being conscious of the contradictions in the received answers, commission for Ethics in Research and Teaching at UPV/EHU came into play in order to reach an agreement. This long and tortuous process ended with a call received from a Prison Service worker, who said the following: “Look, this is not a technical issue [the fact that they did not pass either the agreement or the project], but a political one. You had better wait until the election is over” [The 2015 Spanish General Election held for the Congress of Deputies and the Senate]. The severity of that answer left no choice to any kind of agreement.

The General Election did not offer any change with respect to the Prison Service’s policy to accept agreements and projects. Thus, in November 2015 I found myself in a situation where I had the privilege of having a pre-doctorate scholarship that would allow me to spend some hours a day inside the prison, but the doors of the prison were completely closed to my investigation. As a consequence, in collaboration with the research group, we agreed to change the design of the investigation and we elaborated a plan B which would lead us, by means of a *montage*, to answer the questions that were set out for this thesis.

⁶ Nerian Martín-González a PhD student in the Department of Sport and Physical Education who is conducting a doctoral thesis on the influence of sport and physical activity practiced by imprisoned women on the construction of their social identity. She has been present during the whole process of the present thesis, from the very beginning until the end, and has been part of the research team together with the two supervisors.

1.5.3. Redirecting the investigation

In face of being refused the permit that would give me the opportunity to carry out an ethnography in prison, I took some decisions to redirect the thesis: a) I would carry out in-depth interviews with women who had practised SPA while in prison and b) I would complete a systematic revision of the literature concerning the topic. In this way, I have gradually added slices of different fabrics to my quilt, in order to achieve a more complete vision of the studied reality, along the same lines as the one proposed by Sparkes and Smith (2014, p. 6):

The product of the interpretive bricoleur's labor is a complex, quilt-like bricolage, a reflexive collage or montage; a set of fluid, interconnected images and representations. This interpretive structure is like a quilt, a performance text, or a sequence of representations connecting the parts to the whole.

Qualitative methodology is inherently multi-methodical, and that combination of multiple methodological practices is understood as a strategy to give rigour and authenticity to the investigation (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011).

1.5.4. Participants, and data collection and analysis techniques

This thesis is composed of two clearly separate but complementary blocks: on the one hand, a systematic revision has been carried out (the two articles that can be consulted in chapters 3 and 4 have been based on that revision) and, on the other hand, convicted women and formerly convicted women have been interviewed and observed (the results have been published in other two articles that can be found unabridged in chapters 2 and 5).

As can be observed in Image I, we started the first investigation interviewing formerly convicted women, (first investigation) we then completed the systematic revision (second and third investigations) and, finally, we interviewed convicted and formerly convicted women again (fourth investigation). In that last investigation, with the purpose of increasing the reliability and authenticity of the investigation, the data that was extracted from the interviews was completed with a covert micro-ethnography. In harmony with Laura L. Ellingson's (2009) approach, by means of the triangulation of participants and data collection

techniques, we aimed to build a central image through multiple lenses termed *Crystallization* by Ellingson.

Below, the information related to the methodological aspects of the systematic revision and a concise form of the interviews can be seen. More detailed information about the articles can be found in the chapters in which the different investigations are presented. In contrast, we have decided that it was necessary to develop the part that is linked to the micro-ethnography more in depth in this section (see point 1.5.4.3).

1.5.4.1. Systematic revision of the influence of SPA on imprisoned women

The need to know the area of study led me to complete a systematic revision following the taxonomic proposal by Maria J. Grant and Andrew Booth (2009). In order to conduct the revision, which is presented in detail in chapters 3 and 4, the main techniques employed were:

a) Document search and selection

The search was conducted in different databases relating to Science of Physical Activity and Sports (Psycinfo, Sportdiscus, Medline, Proquest Dissertation and Theses, and Eric). The search strategy was focused on three fields: Sport and Physical activity, prison and women. After implementing inclusion and exclusion criteria, 33 empiric studies were selected.

b) Quality analysis of the selected studies

When the selection of the documents was completed, I analysed the quality of the studies employing five quality criteria that were rated in a binary scale.

c) Content analysis of the methodological aspects and SPA related topics

Once we finished the systematic revision and the analysis of the results (chapter 3), I felt the need to conduct a more qualitative revision (chapter 4), attending to the content of the selected studies (Piñuel, 2002). In keeping with that author, I have tried to reveal the content of the selected studies to define a new interpretation. Therefore, while I was carrying out the tracking of the subjects in

the studies, I realised that there were two topics that recurred (27 of the 33): the benefits and/or the barriers of imprisoned women when it comes to the practice of SPA.

1.5.4.2. Interviews with formerly convicted women, women on parole and social workers

Before and after conducting the systematic revision (see image I), I interviewed women who had been in prison in the past and women on parole⁷. Even though it has not been included in the results of the chapters, I also interviewed two social workers with the objective of obtaining different points of view and strengthening the triangulation of the investigation. The methodological aspects are concisely exposed hereafter and developed more in detail in chapters 2 and 5.

a) In-depth interviews

In total, I have interviewed 16 women who had been imprisoned or were on parole. Contacting women who have experienced incarceration, have practised some kind of SPA and were willing to be interviewed has not been an easy task. As I started from scratch, with no previous contact with prison, the associations that work in this field have been key to contact the interviewees.

The process of the interviews will be explained more in depth in the methodological sections of chapters 2 and 5. However, it has not been possible to include a profile description of the interviewees in those sections, due to the fact that the number of interviewees has gradually grown and the journals in which the articles were published established a word limit. Nonetheless, we have decided to include that description in this document (appendix V).

Apart from with the aforementioned women, we have also completed three interviews with two social workers who work in sheltered accommodation and have a wide range of experiences working with incarcerated women (appendix VII). The aim of interviewing social workers was to understand this reality from

⁷ Being on parole under the Spanish law (art. 80 of the Penitentiary law) mean that women can leave the prison during the day, but they need to spend the night in a centre that is controlled by Penitentiary Institutions.

a different perspective and to verify the data obtained in the interviews. This way, we think that the credibility of the study is strengthened through the triangulation of different perspectives and voices.

b) Analysis of the contents that are related to the quality of life and frictions

An inductive analysis of the interviews was carried out in the investigations that define chapters 2 and 5 (Taylor & Bogdan, 2002). The first investigation was focused on data that emerged in relation to quality of life, whereas the last one, was linked to the concept of micro-resistance.

Both investigations were organised in three different stages: a) we identified the topics that emerged in the transcriptions, b) we codified the data and categorised the codes and, lastly, c) we organised the codes into categories by connecting them with emerging ideas and with the existing literature on quality of life and frictions.

1.5.4.3. The (covert) micro-ethnography about imprisoned women

As I pointed out at the beginning of the chapter, after three strikes, I abandoned the idea of completing an ethnography inside prison. Nonetheless, getting into prison was still one of my goals, as that would give me a wider comprehension of the area of study. That is why, based on the previously mentioned *crystallization* (Ellingson, 2009), I made various visits and approaches to the prison context during the process of this doctoral thesis, and I also visited a sheltered flat where women on parole lived in. Table I shows the visits, which are organised based on if they were covert or overt.

Table I. The relation between the visits and the type of approach.

Type of approach	Characteristics of the visits
Overt approach	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In collaboration with the association <i>AMAP</i> we offered active leisure to women in sheltered accommodation for almost two years (2014 and 2016). - In collaboration with the association <i>Breaking</i>, I organised visits to two Belgian prisons: a provincial prison called <i>Gevangenis</i> (22nd and 27th of March 2017) and the macro prison named <i>Zwart</i> (2nd of March 2017). - I gave four SPA sessions in a Belgian prison (from the 26th of March to the 13th of April 2017).
Covert approach	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In the first entrance, through an association, we were able to infiltrate in an indoor football team in the macro prison <i>Hoyu</i> (20th of May 2015). - We got into <i>Hoyu</i> once a week for almost a year in order to give an active leisure programme (from November 2016 to December 2017).

Note: All the names of associations and prisons that can be seen in the table are pseudonyms.

Both the investigation carried out in the sheltered flat and the visits to Belgian prisons have an overt nature, as the participants knew that we were conducting an academic study. In fact, many of the interviews have only been possible thanks to the relationships we built during the programme in sheltered accommodation.

However, in view of the refusal from the Prison Service to investigate in and about *Hoyu*, we decided to carry out a covert (Calvey, 2008) micro-ethnography (Wolcott, 1990). A micro-ethnography represents a micro-cosmos, a selected day-to-day aspect thanks to which, as the prefix “micro” indicates, we adjust to the limits, in our case, time-related limits (Wolcott, 1990). We have focused the micro-ethnography on a weekly active leisure activity for imprisoned women in a macro prison governed by the Prison Service.

Regarding the ethical implications and the pertinence of covert research, Steven J. Taylor and Robert Bogdan (2002, p. 47) state the following:

Our own view is that there are situations in which covert research is both necessary and ethically justified. It depends on what you are studying and what you intend to do with the results. Since powerful groups in our society are the least likely to grant access to researchers, social science research tends to concentrate on the powerless. We have far

more studies of workers than corporate executives, poor people than the rich [...] Researchers expose the faults of the powerless while the powerful remain untouched.

Thus, we got into the complex penitentiary scheme with the permanent suspicion that the Prison Service did not (and does not currently either) seem to be interested in letting come out what is happening inside prison. Therefore, we believe that in the view of the lack of permit from the Prison Service, and after several attempts, our covert research for this doctoral thesis is more than justified. Moreover, the goal of this thesis consists of learning about, understanding and promoting imprisoned women's sport and physical activity, with the ultimate aim to transform their reality and improve their quality of life. Thus, even though they were not au courant with the investigation, we were convinced that it would not be prejudicial for them in any way. On the contrary, we are sure they have benefited from it. In any case, that is not an impediment to have observed the ethical obligations that any investigation must meet (see section 1.5.6.).

Below, we have exposed the data collection and analysis techniques that have been used in our micro-ethnography.

a) Participant observation and informal interviews

Participant observation is the most distinctive technique employed in ethnographies (Sparkes & Smith, 2014). According to Taylor and Bogdan (2002, p. 31):

Participant observation is used to define research that involves the social interaction between the researcher and the informants within the informant's context, a process during which data collection is conducted in a systematic and non-intrusive manner.

Through participant observation I have sought to understand the phenomenon and the study context via the prolonged interaction with people in their everyday lives, and I have approached their reality in order to obtain an *emic* perspective and to increase the ability to confirm the study and its credibility:

They try to capture social events from the perspective of those involved in them, to provide an insider's view of social life, by 'walking in their shoes' to better understand what and how they feel in making sense of the world around them (Sparkes & Smith, 2014, p. 15).

Data collection is almost as demanding as the observation itself, so it is essential to take some steps so as to leave proof of it. Data have been organised into two blocks: on the one hand, primary data that were collected via field notes and, on the other, the descriptions that derive from the primary data recorded in field notebooks:

- Field notes:

- Obviously, during covert research I did not have a notebook in my hand, maybe a pen or pencil, but I rarely took any notes *in situ* about something that occurred during the 90-minute sessions.
- I have not taken any notes during the activities that were part of the overt research either. So as not to influence the natural course of the activities.

- Recordings:

- As soon as we left Hoyu and started the car, the two researchers would start our recorder to register all the things that had happened. That way, we used to reconstruct the itinerary that each of us had done from the moment we entered the prison until we left it. We tried to mention all the relevant things that we had see, hear or say. The recordings have been very useful to register everything that had happened right away and to prevent forgetting any relevant details.
- In the overt observations, we registered everything that had happened via recordings and quick notes.
- Field notebook: I used to develop the field notes and the recordings in writing in a field notebook. I would do that during my journeys back home or just before reaching my destination, so as to register everything that had happened in detail. To this end, I have employed copies of the same a template (appendix I) for all the sessions, and in that template, I wrote everything I heard in the recordings and the information shown in the field notes. Once I registered all the data, I would develop them calmly, always leaving space for reflection on the

session. Moreover, I also added my own notes under the heading Observer's Comments (OC). Lastly, I would like to highlight that even though the entrance to prison and the recordings have been shared with the other researcher, field notebooks have always been personal. In those notebooks I have registered shared experiences, those that the other researcher has lived and shared with me and my own, all expressed from a personal point of view.

b) Analysis of the field data: crystallization

Even though field data resulting from observation have not been included in the articles, data have been consulted with the objective of triangulating it with the interviews, as well to enrich the outline with new questions and strengthen the analysis concerning chapter five.

1.5.5. Scientific rigour criteria

Regarding the criteria of scientific rigour, in accordance with Lincoln and Guba (1986), we have considered trustworthiness and authenticity, which are developed hereunder. Although they have been described separately, these two criteria are closely related to ethical criteria. In this regard, I believe that it is not possible to conduct a study in a rigorous manner without considering the ethical aspects.

1.5.5.1. Trustworthiness

The criteria relating to trustworthiness are used to measure the quality and the validity of the research process. In the present thesis we have followed the following criteria:

- *Credibility*: this criterion refers to the verification of the results of the investigation. Among the measures that have been employed to do so, it is worth emphasising the triangulations of researchers, methods (data collection techniques) and spaces. Thus, the data analysis has been carried out by the four members of the research group (two researchers and two supervisors), and the same reality has been registered via interviews and participant observation. Furthermore, observation has been conducted in different scenes

(spaces) that are related to the study. To that end, all the transcripts of the interviews have been checked with the participants and against the collections of scientific literature, which have contributed to increasing the credibility of the study.

- *Transferability*: qualitative methodology usually focuses on small groups and unique contexts. Therefore, detailed descriptions of such social phenomenon can help understand the area of study and enable the transferability of the results to other contexts with similar characteristics. In the present study, those descriptions can be found in the quotes employed in the investigations that conform chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5, in the field notebooks (appendix I, II & III) and in the transcriptions of the interviews (appendix VII). As can be observed in the appendixes, abundant information has been collected on the studied contexts.

- *Dependability*: the merit of a qualitative research rests on adopting the position of an auditor. In this study, it has been the research team that has ensured that the process of the research has been executed in a rigorous manner. Moreover, during the systematic revision we consulted an expert, one not linked to the research team, who has a great deal of experience in the area of study and in systematic revisions. Additionally, we have described the steps taken in the process to enable possible future replications. Finally, as this thesis has been written as a compendium, each and every study has had a double-blind peer review by outside assessors chosen by the journals. Thanks to their comments, the quality of the articles has notably improved.

- *Confirmability*: this criterion refers to the good faith of the researchers; that is to say, it evaluates if the researcher has acted in a way not to let their ideas or values influence the results of the study. To do so, a confirmability audit has been conducted within the research group and several reflection exercises have been completed both individually and in a group. Additionally, as can be observed in the results of the conducted studies (mainly in the results of chapters 2 and 5), we have included quotes by the participants of the interviews or detailed description of the notes taken after the observations, so as to present low-inference descriptions.

1.5.5.2. Authenticity

Authenticity criteria determines the political-social impact that the investigation could have on both the participants and the researchers (Lincoln & Guba, 1986; Varela-Ruiz & Vives-Varela, 2016).

- *Fairness*: it refers to the impartiality of the opinions and perspectives that are shown in the text. I have taken care of this aspect by trying to show all the possible voices of the interviewees in a fair and balanced manner, although the word limit established by the journals where the articles have been published might have had an effect on that. In order to achieve that impartiality, we have analysed the discourse of the interviewees and evaluated if whether we should include more interview quotes by people that had already been cited.
- *Ontological authenticity*: this aspect is related to the critical and moral capacity acquired by the participants which can enable them to better understand their own social context. Even though I consider that most imprisoned women have a high level of understanding of their environment, I believe that I have contributed to strengthen that criterion through our everyday informal conversations about SPA. In this sense, I was surprised to see that various interviewees realised the importance of practising SPA in prison during the interview itself. Some of them had not thought about it until that moment.
- *Educative authenticity*: this criterion is connected with the capacity to appreciate the perspectives of others members of our same social context. We have intensely worked on this criterion during the sessions that conformed the covert micro-ethnography, due to the fact that the participants had different interests, and we have talked about it when evaluating the session. In the same way, during the interviews we asked the participants about the women who did not practise SPA and their perception of that fact.
- *Catalytic authenticity*: this criterion refers to the idea of motivating the action of participants in spaces that are created to evaluate and reflect. Being a qualitative research, the constant interaction between the two researchers and the interviewed or observed participants has led to creating and caring for those spaces. In this case, those spaces have been formalised after having

finished the active leisure session in prison or in the sheltered accommodation, and we have asked the participants about their feelings and their opinions on the session. We have let the participants know at all times that their observations and comments on the session were valid and necessary to optimise the SPA sessions.

- *Tactical authenticity*: this last criterion defines the possibility of the researcher to inspire emancipation and positive social action in participants. I would not dare to say that this study has served to empower women and make them take the necessary measures to change their current situation. That is a very tough achievement that we have not been able to materialise due to, among other reasons, the limitations of studying overtly the penitentiary environment. Nonetheless, I think that it has had the capacity to influence some imprisoned women in a positive way, as they have taken the initiative to practise active leisure and, as a consequence, improve their situation. In the case of the interviewed women, I believe that some of them have had the opportunity to reflect about what physical activity's contribution has been to their lives, motivating them to continue practising.

1.5.6. Ethical aspects

Ethical criteria are closely related to rigour criteria. As mentioned in the previous section, the scientific validity of a study is itself an ethical principle. Moreover, as emphasised by Jennifer A. Schlosser (2008), ethics need to be especially cared for when we intend to investigate a stigmatised group such as imprisoned people.

Therefore, in the present study we have followed the culturally responsive rational reflexive ethics (CRRRE) proposed by Maria K. E. Lahman, Monica R. Geist, Katrina L. Rodriguez, Pamela Graglia and Kathryn K. DeRoche (2011). We also believe that it is essential to separate the ethical considerations that have been taken in this investigation depending on whether the part of the investigation that they correspond to was overt or covert.

1.5.6.1. Overt investigation(s)

During the first contact made to carry out the interviews, the participants were explained the objective of the investigations and were informed about the

confidentiality and anonymity criteria in order to encourage their participation (Sparkes & Smith, 2014). Immediately after, we emphasised the importance of receiving first-hand testimonies and how valuable both their voice and their experience are. Knowing that the interview could be painful for some interviewees, before every interview we indicated to them that we wanted them to feel free not to answer the questions that they did not want to.

In the cases when we agreed to do the interview, the women had to sign a consent that contained their rights as participants and the details of the researcher. The informed consent is a strategic document, not only to guarantee the rights of participants, but also to ensure sincere conversations in an atmosphere of trust (Schlosser, 2008). If a participant, before signing the consent, wanted to make a suggestion that was more compatible with their values, interests and priorities, we would add that suggestion by hand. As an example, we had the case of a participant who wanted us to delete her recording after being transcribed. The interviewees' consent and personal data have been locked away and will be disposed of after the defence of the present thesis.

After finishing and transcribing the interviews, they were taken back to the interviewees so that they had the opportunity to confirm that they agreed with everything that appeared in the transcriptions and to dispel possible doubts. Additionally, as recommended by Schlosser (2008), we asked them to pick a pseudonym to guarantee their anonymity.

1.5.6.2. Covert investigation

The ethics of covert investigations has been severely questioned in scientific literature (Calvey, 2008), so we could say that we were walking on thin ice in this study. To some extent, and in agreement with the justification of covert investigation stated by Erving Goffman (1961), we bear the hope that this data will be able to improve the life of imprisoned women or, at least, will be useful to achieve a better understanding of their reality. Considering the means of the study and the attempts made throughout it, we believe that in our case the employment of covert investigations is justified.

Although in this covert investigation, due to its nature, it has not been possible to obtain informed consent (Sparkes & Smith, 2014), and as in ethics there are not

any written rules, we have tried to find that “spiritual tone” mentioned by Steven J. Taylor and Robert Bogdan (2002, p. 48), in order to preserve the anonymity of the people involved, and even of the prison. Pseudonyms have been used to refer to different prisons, cities or people. What is more, the details of the participants have been eliminated to protect their confidentiality.

1.5.7. Research process: reflecting from discomfort

As we mentioned at the beginning of the methodological section, this thesis has been a process that has led me to reflect on the thesis itself and to try to, as Barbara Biglia (2014) points out, approach the production of knowledge from a feminist point of view. Sharing the curiosity of the named author, I have tried to get close to imprisoned women –or those who had been in prison– through processes that were respectful to them and complied with my particular vision of gender relations and feminism, as well as with the previously mentioned ethical aspects and criteria of scientific rigour.

Hence, having decided to follow the framework of SIMReF⁸, it is necessary to give examples of our practices, to show the ins and outs of the investigation in order to, from a feminist perspective, approach a methodology that is specifically feminist. Biglia (2014) points out that the fact the researcher is a feminist person does not necessarily mean that the research is so and, therefore, she advises being highly critical toward our research processes. The aim of this section is to respond to that self-criticism and to express the tensions and discomfort experienced during the research process in order to narrate those situations and explain how they could be addressed. In this sense, I agree with Itziar Gandarias-Goikoetxea (2014, p. 10) when she state that:

Research processes are intensely political. [...] Research processes are fields where the personal and the political get intermingled and create the potential to transform the relations of domination and build more egalitarian bonds in both our day-to-day life and our investigations.

Every research process undergoes tensions and contradictions, which come along with each researcher’s critical alarm. In this sense, reflexivity, which is

⁸ *Seminario Interdisciplinar de Metodología de Investigación Feminista*, a space for reflection, formation and critique on feminist research methodology (www.simref.net).

closely linked to ethics (as we mentioned in section 1.5.6.), has become a common technique in qualitative methodology. The aforementioned alarm requires the researcher to be conscious of their position (gender, race, social class, sexuality, ethnic group, nationality, etc.) and of how their personal intersections influence the research process.

Nonetheless, Wanda Pillow (2003) states that talking about what is familiar, or known, is a comfortable position to practice reflexivity, and it should be rethought from discomfort. Thus, she suggests that we should watch our own practices so as to realise the contradictions, difficulties and uncomfortable situations during the research process. In this section, I will highlight the tensions and difficulties that I have experienced so as to, somehow, “inhabit discomfort” and address the limits, as well as research problems, in accordance with what Gandarias-Goikoetxea noted (2014, p. 11). Therefore, the knowledge provided in this section has a double goal: a) giving value to the research process, and not only to the results, and b) to expose the difficulties experienced and how we have tried to tackle them, so that future researchers can elude them.

1.5.7.1. Difficulties during the interviews

- Getting closer to or distancing from the interviewees

Establishing a relationship or not with the interviewees and choosing the type of relationship is something that I have polished and been more aware of after the first investigation. Caring for that contact is a consequence of a personal need that appeared as a consequence of the emotional link built during the interviews. I find it hard to imagine that, after conducting a piece of research on such sensitive topics, it could be possible not to feel any interest towards the participants. Besides, that tension also responds to the need to keep the option to contact the participants in the future in order to confirm the information, that is to say, to know if their words have been interpreted as they were expressed.

Thus, to a certain extent, we went from researching “about” them to doing it “with” them (Pillow, 2003, p. 173). Regarding the type of relationship that has been established, it has been dependent on the interviewee’s interests and situation. As of today, I keep in contact with some of the women, whereas other ‘vanished’ as soon as they served their sentences and their whereabouts are

unknown to me. Citing Schlosser (2008) again, the incarcerated population is unique and we should try to understand their reality and the fact that, very often, they decide to make a clean break with everything that has to do with their experience in prison. It is the time of imprisonment from which they want to escape, and that is precisely where some of the people they have met, including us, have remained. Therefore, my strategy has been to make an appointment after the interview in order to confirm the details in the transcription and, in this way, try to keep the relationship with the participants in case they could benefit from the results of this study.

Additionally, as it occurs in all processes and partly due to my limited experience as a researcher, the first interviews were not as refined as the last ones. I perfectly remember how nervous I was in the first interview, the tension I felt in my body and how focused I was on not putting my foot in it. Little by little, I have become more confident, adjusting the questions and devising more elaborate interviews. In this sense, I would recommend making some previous interviews that have the same characteristics as the ones in the study with the participants.

- *Supplanting voices*

I have interviewed 16 women who have experienced incarceration. Having the opportunity to investigate, as in my case, can be regarded as a 'privilege'. The people who belong to undervalued groups do not usually have access to this privilege and, therefore, when researching them, we run the risk of supplanting their voices. When we research, we represent realities and participants and, as we assume the role of spokesperson for the participants, we are not exempt from modifying their message (Biglia, 2014). As I was writing the articles, I had a recurrent concern: *Am I interpreting this well?*

I have tried to clear up doubts by taking credibility measures, asking some women again and showing them my interpretations to see what their opinion was in that regard. In the same way, I have analysed the context of the appointment (prior and subsequent questions) in order to corroborate that the analysis of the results was rigorous, and finally, I have confirmed it by means of the audit with the research group.

- *Asking or remaining silent*

I have tried to avoid asking what crime led them to prison. As a matter of fact, some women have mentioned how people are labelled on account of this, and they feel as if they were judged again. In my case, not asking about it was a way to belittle it, because I was not researching on their crimes, but on their experience in prison.

Nevertheless, I cannot deny having felt a bit curious or concerned about the fact that made them end up in prison, about what could have happened to them to end up inside there. But more than wanting to complete the profile of those women, my intention has been to better know them and understand them. Besides, even though I have not asked about the crimes, it is a topic that has naturally emerged from the participants' mouths in almost all the interviews. Thus, if it is not considered to be necessary for the purpose of the investigation, I would advise not to ask them about it directly when collecting sociological data, as they could feel they are being judged once again. Nonetheless, if it is asked through indirect questions and they want to talk about it, it is definitely a topic that will appear during the interview, as it is a fact that has conditioned their life for some years.

1.5.7.2. Difficulties and discomfort during the micro-ethnography

- *Swimming in uncertainty: directing, facilitating or leaving them to act with complete freedom?*

Studying degrees in Physical Activity and Sport Science has helped me be aware of the planning, scheduling and organisation that a physical activity programme of these characteristics requires. However, when it came to putting in practise in the prison those abilities that I had acquired during my professional training, the situation became influenced by a variable that was constant in our sessions: uncertainty.

At the beginning, we opted to conduct an open and flexible programme, which was organised after talking and reaching an agreement with the women in order to cater for their interests. We always had a prepared design for each session, but no certainty whether it would be used; we did not know how many people would

participate or what atmosphere would be created. That led us to a circle of uncertainty and even lack of preparation in some cases. Moreover, being announced as “indoor football” in our entrance into the prison has had an effect, as the women would directly connect us to that specific practice, and those who did not like football would refuse to take part; even though, in reality, various sports and physical activities have been carried out. We have always insisted on the idea that it was a ‘multi-sport’ session.

Therefore, I would recommend those people who are planning to conduct some kind of activity inside a prison to be patient and to try not to get frustrated due to the failed attempts. It is fundamental to be consistent. Additionally, it is important that the entry form reflects the actual aim of the intervention, as the message that the imprisoned people hear from the loudspeakers will form the first impression and will, based on their tastes, lead participants to take part in the activities or reject them.

- *A starting point of difference*

As I mentioned in the beginning, I have been aware of my intersections and the position I occupy. In fact, I have lived direct confrontation of that position, for example, when someone called me ‘gorgio’, or we talked about ‘freedom’. Being a gorgio, white, being ‘clean’ or not being imprisoned were aspects that I could not change. It is maybe for that reason that I felt sometimes more connected to some women who shared my intersections, whereas I found it harder in some cases to interact with some gypsy women or those drugs users. The walls in the prison wards are coated in mistrust, so it is not surprising that many have a defensive or suspicious attitude towards those who come ‘from outside’. It is essential to understand their situation and their attitudes towards us when we enter a prison.

Talking about the outside world and freedom with women who are imprisoned has not been comfortable, and I have realised that the advice to “be patient” did not relieve their situation and was not of much help. On certain occasions I did not know what to say, as there was not much I could do, other than listen to them and try to encourage them in some way, if only for a little while. In those situations I have felt impotence, and that has even affected me emotionally, although only out of the area of study. That is why, I would recommend those

who are planning to conduct a programme into a prison to try to find an emotional balance so that they do not get enormously affected by what they experience inside those walls. I am not trying to say that people should armour themselves emotionally, but separating spaces and creating a shield, even though a light one, could be very useful.

- *Conflicts with my feminist consciousness*

I have experienced some contradictions with my own feminist consciousness when encouraging women to participate in the sessions and the day-to-day conversations.

On the one hand, when the women identified us as 'the sport girls', they asked us about exercise routines and activities that would "help them be more beautiful". Their concern about beauty, being sexy or getting fit has been a recurrent topic and was the only motivation of some women to approach us. In this type of conversations, even though my original intention was to show them a different point of view, there have been moments when I have encouraged them in the opposite sense; that is to say, the sessions could help them lose weight and be more fit. In that way, prioritising their interests (characteristic of the penitentiary subculture), and leaving aside my idea of why I really thought they should be participating in the sessions.

On the other hand, topics such as jealousy, partners and children, emerged in almost all the conversations and I have observed that most of them stick to the role of a traditional mother, worried about their whole family, and in some cases, they do not get much support from outside. Some women were imprisoned in the same prison as their husbands and for that reason, some did not want to go to the sports centre because "there were men there" or because "they were not allowed to". Those have also been moments when I have not known how to address the situation, whether I should discuss the topic or just accept it. In the end, in order not to question their relationships or create conflicts, I have not contradicted their reasons, although I believe that if I had had more time, it would have been positive to slightly dig into those stereotypes.

- *Against the wall*

What is the point in researching prison if there is no political will to change reality? I will end this section about discomfort by expressing my uncertainty about whether this study will really have any practical application in the future or will end up being a work left on a shelf.

Nevertheless, it is clear that, even though it did not have a practical application in the penitentiary system, the social impact of the present study (as mentioned the point 1.5.5.2 about Authenticity) on both the participants and myself adds a special value to it.

Moreover, the fact that there is no such political will at the moment does not mean that there will not be any in the future, or that it is not useful for situations that are not ruled by the Prison Service or need consent from it. With all that, I think that it is relevant to continue researching these contexts, even if it requires swimming against the tide.

In spite of all the contradictions, doubts, uncertainty and discomfort, I think that this has been a very enriching process where, thanks to the feminist allies and accomplices found in the way, I have managed to keep the balance between my ideas, feelings, the scientific rigour and ethical reflection that is required in a study of this kind.

1.6. References

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BIGARREN KAPITULUA

Jarduera fisiko eta kirolaren rola
emakume presoan bizi kalitatean

2.1. Sarrera⁹

Espainiako Barne Ministerioak¹⁰ argitaratutako datuen arabera, 2014ko otsailean Estatu Espainiarrean 66.881 pertsona zeuden espetxeratuak; horietatik 4.278 ziren emakumezkoak, hau da, %6,39. Estatu Frantsesean¹¹, aldiz, 81.053 pertsona zeuden preso 2014ko maiatzean, emakumezkoak 2.851 zirelarik, hots, %3,5. Euskal Herrian dauden espetxeetan ere emakumezkoen kopurua antzekoa da (%6,4). 2014ko otsailean, Euskal Autonomi Erkidegoan 1.374 pertsona zeuden preso, eta 159 ziren emakumezkoak (%11,6), eta Nafarroan, berriz, 317 zeuden, horietatik 24 emakumezkoak zirelarik (%7,6). Baionako espetxean 75 gizon zeuden 2014ko maiatzean, emakumezko bakar bat ere ez. Datuek islatzen duten bezala, emakumearen presentzia espetxean urria da, eta gutxiengoa izatea onuragarria baino beraien aurka doan alderdia izan ohi da espetxean (Alvarado, 2012).

Presoak askatasunik gabe bizi diren pertsonak dira, delitu edo falta baten ondorioz espetxeratuak izan direnak (García, Vázquez, eta Ramírez, 2011). Delitua sozialki eraikia da, zenbait jarrera delitu bezala tipifikatzen diren bitartean beste zenbait ez direlako modu berean izendatzen (De Miguel-Calvo,

⁹ Jatorrizko artikulua: Martínez-Merino, N., Martín-González, N., Usabiaga-Arruabarrena, O., & Martos-García, D. (2015). Jarduera fisikoaren rola emakume presoen bizi kalitatean [The role of Physical Activity on imprisoned women's life quality]. *Uztaro*, 95, 99-115.

¹⁰ Espainiar espetxeko funtzionarioen sindikatuak (ACAIP, Agrupación de los cuerpos de administración de instituciones penitenciarias) erraztutako Espainiako Barne Ministerioaren datuak, ikusi online: [www.acaip.es/es/areas/informacion-general/estadisticas/4933-estadistica-de-datos-penitencirios-febrero-2014].

¹¹ *Ministère de la Justice*, Frantziako Justizia Ministerioaren webguneko datuak, hilabetero berrituak, ikusi online: [www.justice.gouv.fr/prison-et-reinsertion-10036/les-chiffres-clefs-10041/statistiques-mensuelles-de-la-population-detenu-e-et-ecrouee-24982.html].

2014). Delitua gizartearen ikuspegi osotik aztertu behar da, beronen zatia baita. Gizartea harmonian mantentzeko legeak sortzen dira, zeinek jarrera zuzen eta okerrak bereiziko dituzten. Jarrera zuzen estereotipatuak mantentzeko, familia, eskola zein eliza bezalako instituzioek erakusten diete emakume eta gizonei zalantzan ipini ezin daitezkeen zein rol eta zein lekutan burutu behar dituzten (Ramírez eta González, 2007).

Lege urraketa hau ez da berdin antzematen gizon eta emakumeen aldean; izan ere, emakumeen delituak inplizituki bekatu bezala antzematen dira (Juliano, 2009). Sozialki eraikitako jarrera baten urraketa aurrean zigortzen dituzte beraz presoak, euren askatasuna kenduz. Isaiah Berlinek (2001) askatasuna definitzean bi zentzu azaleratu zituen, positiboa eta negatiboa. Askatasunaren kontzeptu negatiboa oztopo, traba zein debeku eza izango litzateke. Positiboa, aldiz, norbere bizitzaren kontrola hartu eta norbere funtsezko helburuak burutzean ekiteko –edo ekite hutsarentzat– dagoen ahalbidea da. Presoei dagokienez, askatasunaren bi zentzuak kendu zaizkie. Marcela Lagardek (2005) dioen moduan, preso egoteak muga material eta subjektibo multzo bati egiten baitio erreferentzia, menpekotasunean ezarritako betebeharrak, tabu zein debekuekin, hain zuzen. Egun emakumeekiko zapalkuntza gertatzen bada, espetxean errealitate hau oraindik eta bortitzagoa, ezezagunagoa zein isilpekoagoa da. Ruth Alvaradoren (2012) esanetan emakume eta preso izateagatik diskriminatuak baitira. Emakume presoak gizartean munstro baten gisara hautematen da; ez-emakumea da, legeak zein bere generoaren arabera rola uste sozialak urratu baititu (De Miguel-Calvo, 2014). Honen guztiaren ondorioa da espainiar espetxe politikaren tratamenduak emakumeen etxekotasuna, feminizazioa eta infantilismoa bultzatzea (Almeda, 2003).

Patricia Herreroren (2013) arabera, espetxeen funtzioen aldaketa baten paradigmaren aurrean gaude. Zigorra, pertsonak giltzapean edukitzeaz

haratago, birgizarteratzeraz bideratutako hezkuntza praktika batera zuzendua dago. Aldaketa honen aurrean sortzen da espetxeko tratamendua. Ekainaren 30eko Estatu Espainiarreko 6/2003ko Lege Organikoaren 62. eta 33. artikuluek hala diote: “espetxeko tratamendua borondatezkoa izango da, berezitua, konplexua (arlotan ezberdinak barneratzen dituen), programatua, jarraitua eta dinamikoa, kulturaren eta lanean oinarritua (kirol eta jardueraren soziokulturalak eginez), kanpoaldearekin zein inguru sozialarekin harremana erraztuz”¹².

Espetxeko errealitateaz jardutean, presoen bizi kalitateaz mintzatzea ohikoa da. Bizi kalitatea, Osasunaren Mundu Erakundearen arabera, norbanakoak bere inguru kultural zein balio sisteman betetzen duen tokiaren hautematean datza, bere helburu, irizpide eta aukeren arabera. Betiere, osasun fisikoa, egoera psikologikoa, independentzia maila, harreman sozialak, ingurugiro faktoreak eta sinesmen pertsonalak kontuan izanik (Bonicatto eta Soriak aipatua, 1998). Bestalde, Alicia Bassani eta besteek arabera (2013), bizi kalitateak faktore multzo bati egiten dio erreferentzia, bizi hori duina, eroso, atsegina eta egokia dela baldintzatzen duena.

Bizi kalitatearen definizio bateratua aurkitzea zaila da gaur egun, kontzeptu beraren izaera askotarikoa kontuan hartuz gero (Urzúa eta Caqueo-Urizar, 2012). Bizi kalitateari buruz jardutean osasunaren ikuspegi zabalago bati egiten diogu erreferentzia, bien arteko harremanen inguruan, bata besteen maila baldintzatzen duelarik (Schwartzmann, 2003). Osasunaren Mundu Erakundeak (World Health Organization, WHO, 1948) osasuna ongizate fisiko, mental eta soziala barneratzen duen egoera bezala definitu zuen, gaixotasun eza soilik ez zela argituz. Garai hartarako osasunaren definizio berritzailea eman baldin

¹² Ikusi online *Boletín Oficial del Estado (BOE)*: www.boe.es/buscar/doc.php?id=BOE-A-2003-13021# analisis

bazuen ere, gaur egun, osasunaz gain, norberaren bizitzan eragiten duten hainbat elementu kontuan hartu behar ditugu ongizateaz hitz egitean.

Rocío Fernández-Ballesteros eta Araceli Maciaren arabera (1993), bizi kalitatean eragina duten faktoreak ondorengoak dira: osasuna, gaitasun funtzionalak, norbere burua zaintzeko gaitasuna, egoera ekonomikoa, harreman sozialak, osasun eta zerbitzu sozialetarako aukera, bizitokiaren kalitatea eta, testuinguru hurbilean, bere bizitzarekin pozik sentitzeko aukera, hezkuntza eta kultura aukerretarako sarbidea izatea eta gauza berriak ikasteko aukera izatea.

Zerrenda honi jarduera fisikoa burutzeko aukera izatea gehitu dakioke. Izan ere, jarduera fisikoa burutzeak osasunean eragin zuzena duela baieztatu dute hainbat ikerlanek, aldi berean bizi kalitatean duen eragin positiboa azalaraziz (Bassani *et al.*, 2013; Chirivella, 2001; Pierón, 2004). Kalitate eta kantitatearen aurkako borroka honetan, Cooperrek jarduera fisikoa urteei bizitza gehiago eta bizitzari urte gehiago ipintzeko metodo gisa definitu zuen (Palacios eta Serratosek aipatua, 2000). Halaber, espetxean jarduera fisikoa burutzeak eragin positiboa duela ere baieztatu dute hainbat tokitan (Madril, Bartzelona, Valentzia, Filadelfia, Bristol) gauzatutako zenbait ikerlanek (Castillo, 2005, 2006; Chamarro, Blasco, eta Palenzuela, 1998; Courtenay eta Sabo, 2001; Fornons, 2008; Hagan, 1989; Martos-Garcia, Devís-Devís, eta Sparkes, 2009), horrez gain kartzelako eragile ezberdinen bizi kalitatea hobetzen duelarik (Hagan, 1989; Negro, 1995). Ikerlan hauetan, emakumeen presentzia urria da, espetxean jarduera fisikoaren eragina aztertzean gizonezkoek hartu baitute ikerketaren protagonismoa, laginaren gehiengoa izanik.

Espetxeratuak dauden pertsonen osasun arazoak aztertzea ikerketa lerro bat bilakatu da gaur egun (Elger, 2009). Espetxeratua izateak ondorio fisiko, psikiko eta sozial garrantzitsuak ditu (Courtenay eta Sabo, 2001; Elger, 2009). Gailentzen

diren osasun arazoak hiesa, C Hepatitisa, lo egiteko ezintasuna, estresa eta drogamenpekotasuna dira (Rutherford eta Duggan, 2009). Espetxeratuek kartzelako bizitza estresagarria dela diote, eta, hargatik, lo egin ezinaren aurkako botikak eta lasaigarriak normaltasun osoz erabiltzen dira (Elger, 2009).

Espetxeko bizi kalitatean eragiten duen beste aldagai garrantzitsuetako bat denbora da. Denborak esanahi berezia hartzen baitu espetxean, izan ere, kondena denbora tarte kopuru bat baino ez dira (Matthews, 2003). Espetxeratua den pertsona orok etenaldi bat bizi ohi du, erlojuaren orratzak gelditu egin ohi dira beraien ordularietan eta mundu zein kultura berri batera egokitu behar dute. Denbora azkar pasatzea lehenatasun bilakatzen da kartzelan. Kirola aldi zehatz batean egiten denez, tratamenduaren baitan kokaturiko kirol jarduerak pribilegio bihurtzen dira, presoek euren denbora bete ahal izateko duten aukera gutxi horietako bat baitira (Martos-Garcia *et al.*, 2009). Izan ere, espetxealdia egunen aurkako borroka bihurtzen da, egunerokotasuna apurtzen duen ekintza oro ongietorria delarik. John Grayzelek (1978) presoentzako zigorrik okerrena aspertzea dela dio, baita elkarbizitzaren arazo iturri ere. Honen aurrean, ariketa fisikoa denboraren aurkako estrategia bihurtzen da, kirola egitean denbora azkarrago pasatzen baitaie presoek (Martos-Garcia *et al.*, 2009). Baina zer diote emakume preso ohiek espetxean burututako jarduera fisikoaren inguruan? Zein eragin du berauengan kartzelan egindako jarduera fisikoak? Zergatik parte hartzen dute honelako jardueretan? Ba al dago ezberdintasunik gizonezko eta emakumezkoek kartzelan eskainitako kirol praktiken artean?

Jarduera fisikoak gizonezko presoen bizi kalitatean duen eragin positiboa kontuan izanda, ikerlan honek emakumeen kasuan duen rola eta esanahia aztertu nahi izan du. Hots, espetxean praktika fisiko ezberdinetan parte hartzeak emakumeen maila psikologikoan, fisikoan, sozialean zein afektiboan duen eragina aztertuz, bizi kalitatea ardatz izanik. Ikerlan honen bidez, kartzelako

gorputz heziketako egitarauen eraginkortasunerako gakoak aurkitu nahi dira, betiere emakume preso ohien bizipenen oroitzapenak abiapuntu moduan hartuta. Euren nahi eta beharretatik abiatuz, emakume presoen bizi kalitateari zein espetxeko giroari ekarpen positiboa egin eta etorkizuneko bizipenetan eragin asmoz.

2.2. Metodologia

Emakume preso ohiak izan dira ikerlan honen erdigunea, tratamenduaren baitako praktika fisikoek zein tratamenduz gaindikoek euren ongizatean izan duten eragina aztertuz. Ikerketa hau aurrera eramateko hautatutako metodologia kualitatiboa izan da, lan honen xedea Euskal Autonomi Erkidegoko bost emakume preso ohiek espetxean buruturiko jarduera fisikoaren inguruko bizipenen oroitzapenak jasotzea eta horiei esanahiak bilatzea izan baita. Esanahietatik abiatuta, jarduera fisikoa burutzeak espetxeko euren bizi kalitatean duen eragina aztertu nahi da. Maria Teresa Anguerak (1986) metodologia kualitatiboa testuinguru bateko ekimen, jarrera zein egoera baten deskribapen zaindu eta aberats gisa definitu zuen, honen xedea errealitatearen hurbilpen eta ulermen maila gorena izanik. Halaber, Luz María Guerrerok (2001) esanahiei erraiak ateratzeko operazio gisa ulertzen du, errealitateen zeinuak jaso eta hauen esanahiak bilduz.

Ikerketa hau elkarrekintza sinbolikoaren ikuspegitik burutu da. Herbert Blumerren (1986) esanetan, pertsonen portaerak gauzen esanahiekin lotura baldin badu, pertsonentzat gauzek duten esanahia inguruarekin duten harremanaren arabera izango da. Elkarrekintza sinbolikoaren bidez pertsonen jarrerek zein egoerek esanahia hartzen dute, berauek definituz (Pons,

2010). Espetxe barneko jarduera fisikoaren inguruan ematen diren portaeren esanahia kausitzeko, espetxearen eta testuinguru horretako alderdien elkarrekintza kontuan izan du ikerlan honek.

Ikerketako datuak eskuratzeko hautatutako teknika elkarrizketa sakona izan da, esanahien unibertsorako bideak irekitzen dizkigun tresna, hain zuzen (Guerrero, 2001). Taylor eta Bogdanen (2000) arabera, teknikaren aukeraketa ikerketaren interesaren, eszenatokiaren baldintzen eta ikertzailearen muga praktikoen araberakoa izango da. Aipatu teknika hautatzeko funtsezko bi arrazoi izan dira kontuan: batetik, hiru momenturen bizipenak dituen pertsonak elkarrizketatu nahi zirela, hau da, espetxeratu aurretik, espetxean eta ondoren bizi izandakoa alderatzeko eta kontatzeko moduan diren pertsonak. Bestetik, emakume hauek, jada askatasun egoeran egonik, teknika honen bidez informazio esanguratsuagoa, fidagarriagoa zein bortxa egoeratik at emateko aukera zutela.

Laginari dagokionez, elkarrizketatuekin harremanetan jartzeko preso ohiekin lan egiten duten irabazi gabeko elkarrengana jo da¹³. Euskal Autonomi Erkidegoan dauden bi espetxe handienak Zaballa eta Martutene izanik, eta horrez gain emakume preso gehien bertan daudela jakinda, hurbilpen geografikoaren irizpidea izan da bi probintzia hauetako elkarrengana mugatzearen arrazoi nagusia. Lehenengo bi elkarrengana jo zen. Ondoren, elkarrengana berriekin harremanetan jartzeko 'elur bolaren' teknika erabili zen, lehen bi elkarrengana hurrengoaren izenak zein harreman bideak eman zituztelarik, irismen maila erraztuz. Hala nola, zazpi elkarrengana ezberdinekin jarri zuten harremanetan ikertzaile taldea. Elkarrengana, elkarrizketatuak hautatzeko orduan, hiru baldintza betetzen zituzten pertsonak bilatzea eskatu zitzaizkien: emakumea izatea, gutxienez urtebete espetxean egon izana eta bertan praktika fisikoren batean parte hartu

¹³ Ikerketa hau lau pertsonak osaturiko lan talde batek gauzatu du. Lau horietatik bik elkarrizketatuak lortzen egin dute lan, eta horietatik batek burutu ditu artikulu honetan erabilitako elkarrizketa guztiak. Lau ikertzaileen artean elkarrizketen azterketa eta erredakzioa osatu da.

izana. Hiru baldintza horiek bete eta elkarrizketatuak izatea nahi zuten pertsonekin harremanetan ipini ondoren, hitzordua zehaztu zen eurek nahi izandako toki eta ordutegiaren arabera.

Ikerlanaren muga handiena elkarrizketatuak lortzeko baldintzak betetzen zituzten emakumeak aurkitzea izan zen, eta, ondorioz, lagin txiki batez (bost elkarrizketatu) osatu zen ikerketa, bi elkartearen laguntzaren bitartez. Gainerako elkarteek ez zuten lortu elkarrizketatuak izateko baldintzak betetzen zituen pertsonarik, kartzelan jarduera fisikoetan parte hartu ohi duten emakumeak gutxiengoa direla argudiatuz, besteak beste. Elkarrizketatuek 27, 28, 36, 43 eta 53 urte zituzten, eta 2 eta 18 urte bitarte egin zituzten espetxean. Elkarrizketatuetatik bi preso politiko ohiak ziren, eta gainontzeko hirurak osasun publikoaren aurka aritzearen salaketapean izan ziren zigortuak. Batek izan ezik gainontzeko laurak espetxe aldaketak bizi izan zituzten, preso politikoak izanik aldaketa gehien jasan zituztenak. Elkarrizketatutako emakumeek Espainiako Barne Ministerioak kudeatzen zituen espetxeetan bete zuten euren kondena. Bostetik bi Euskal Herrian jaio eta bizi ziren, gainontzeko hirurak Hego Amerika eta Amerika Erdialdekoak ziren. Hiru horietatik bat Euskal Herrian bizi zen haurtzarotik. Laurrek goi mailako ikasketak egin zituzten, batek ezin izan zituen bukatu espetxe politikak galarazita eta bosgarrenak oinarrizko hezkuntza jaso zuen. Elkarrizketatutako unean, bi langabezia zeuden eta beste hirurek zerbitzuen sektorean egiten zuten lan. Espetxean zeudenean, elkarrizketatuek ondorengo praktika motorrak burutu zituzten: futbola, dantza, boleibola, korrika, *funky-a*, saskibaloia, frontenisa eta gimnasioko praktikak. Elkarrizketatuen anonimotasuna bermatzeko, ezizenak erabili dira ikerlanean. Lehen bi emakumeak aldi berean izan ziren galdekatuak, beraiek hala eskatuta, taberna batean burutuz elkarrizketa. Gainontzeko hirurekin bakarka gauzatu zen elkarrizketa, lehenengo biek beraien etxean eta azkenarekin Donostiako Emakumeen etxean.

Elkarrizketak erdi egituratuak izan ziren, malgutasuna eta dinamikotasuna kontuan hartuz (Taylor eta Bogdan, 2000). Informazioa lortzea ipar izanik, jorratu nahi ziren puntuetara zuzendu zen elkarrizketa, baina aldi berean malgutasun gehiagorekin jokatu, elkarrizketatuak aurreikusi gabeko informazioa eman ahal izateko. Era honetara elkarrizketatuak askatasun gehiago izan zuen, elkarrizketatzailearen parte hartzea ahalik eta urriena izanik. Horretarako, ikertzaile nagusiak gidoi bat erabili zuen, bertan espetxeko bizitzaren, buruturiko jarduera fisikoaren zein honek sortutako eraginen eta "kirol" monitoreen jardueraren inguruko galderak gaineratuz. Gidoia galdera irekiez osatu zen, elkarrizketatuari erantzuteko aukera zabalagoa eskainiz, betiere gaien eremutik gehiegi aldendu gabe.

Fortina Velo Peóni (2004) jarraiki, elkarrizketarekin hasi aurretik ikerketaren helburu nagusiak eta argibideak eman zitzaizkien elkarrizketatuei, beraien onespena beharrezkoa izanik aurrera egiteko. Elkarrizketatuak orria sinatu ostean grabagailua martxan ipini ohi zen, elkarrizketari bide emanez. Elkarrizketatuarekin *rapport*-a lortzea ikerlanaren gako nagusia izan zen, gaiaren konplexutasuna dela-eta. Horretarako, elkarrizketatua eta elkarrizketatzailea aurrez aurre eta maila berean ipini ziren, muga zein estigma sozialak alboratuz. Elkarrizketatuak epaitu gabe galdekatu zituen, eurek emandako informazioa oso garrantzitsua zela berretsiz eta interesa erakutsiz aldi oro. Elkarrizketak transkribatu ostean elkarrizketatuekin bigarren saioa burutu zen, esandakoen inguruko zalantzak argitu eta baieztatu ahal izateko, sinesgarritasun irizpidea indartu asmoz.

Analisi prozesuaren helburua aztergaiaren gaineko azalpen ulergarri, koherente eta baliagarria lortzea izan zen, datuak jasoriko testuinguruan ulertu ahal izateko (Dey, 1993; Taylor eta Bogdan, 2000). Erabilitako ikuspuntua behetik gorakoa izan zen, induktiboa. Lehenengo aldian, deskubritzearen aldian, suspertzen

diren gaiak identifikatu eta kontzeptu eta proposamenak sortu ziren, transkripzioak behin eta berriz irakurriz. Bigarren fasean datuen kodifikazioa eta ikergaiarekiko ulermena findu ziren, kategorizazioaren bidez. Kodifikazioa osatzeko bi gai nagusi hautatu ziren: espetxearen egunerokotasunaren zertzeladak eta jarduera fisikoaren esanahiak eta eraginak. Datuak sailkatuz joan ahala, gaietan azpigaiak sortu eta hauek kodifikatuz, sailkapen batera iritsi zen. Bigarren urrats honetan ideien loturak argiago ikusi ziren, berauek ordenatuz hirugarren faseari bide emateko. Azken eta hirugarren fasean, ideien arteko loturak gauzatu eta kontzeptu berrien sorrerari ekin zitzaion, aurkikuntzei azalpen eta esanahia emanaz eta literatura zientifikoarekin alderatuz.

2.3. Emaitzak

Ikerlan honek emakumeek espetxean burututako praktika motorretan bizi izandakoaren inguruan dituzten esanahiak izan ditu abiapuntu. Elkarrizketatuek nabarmendu dute espetxean jarduera fisikoa burutzeak berauen bizi kalitatea hobetzen lagundu ziela. Aldi berean, jarduera fisikoaren eraginak askotarikoak direla azpimarratu dute, maila psikologikoaren, fisikoaren, sozialaren zein afektiboaren alderdi ezberdinetan duten zeresana agerian utziz. Finean, jarduera fisikoak espetxean gutxienez hiru rol betetzen dituela azaleratu zuten elkarrizketatutako emakumeek: denbora zereginez betetzea, espetxeko egunerokotasunetik ihes egitea eta aurrera egiteko euskarri izatea.

2.3.1. Jarduera fisikoa, denboraren aurkako estrategia bikaina

Bakizu urtiak egon ber zeala eta ahal dezun ondoen irten ber dezula (Ekhine). Halaxe adierazi zuen Ekhinek, kondenarekiko kontzientzia irmoa erakutsiz zein espetxean igaro beharreko aldia ahalik eta era osasuntsuenean eramaten saiatu behar zela azpimarratuz. Finean, kondena, hots, espetxean igaro beharreko aldia, denbora baino ez baita; egunak, asteak, hilabeteak zein urteak, presoak zenbatzera irits daitezkeelarik bertan igaro beharreko minutu bakoitzaren segundoak. Elkarrizketatutako emakumeek kartzelan sartzeko hasiera data izan zuten moduan, iraungitze data ere ipinia zuten, egun horren etorrera zutelarik bizi-arnas.

Denbora suspertu den gaia izan da elkarrizketetan, preso egonda denborak garrantzi berezia eta ezberdina duela adierazi digute elkarrizketatuek. Izan ere, askatasunean eta askatasunik gabe denborak beste esanahi bat duela azaleratu dute emakumeek. Espetxean igarotako aldiak denbora galduaren esanahia hartzen du preso ohi hauentzat. Denbora bizi baino, berau desagerrarazi nahiko balute bezala; erre, deuseztatu, ezabatu eta ahaztu. Espetxean emandako denbora guztia galdutzat jotzen da, ezer onik emango ez dietenaren ustean, euren bizitzako urte batzuk giltzapean pasatzera behartuak dauden heinean. Beste batzuek, aldiz, denbora galdu horren kontzientzia izan arren, denbora hori zerbait ona egiteko erabil daitekeela uste dute. Oztopoak tarteko, ahal dutena egiten saiatzen dira denbora tarte horretan egindakoa ahalik eta probetxuzkoena izan dadin. Denboraren aurkako borroka horretan, jarduera fisikoa burutzea denboraren aurkako estrategia eraginkor bat zen elkarrizketatuentzako, espetxean burututako egonaldiak iraun artean. Ariketa fisikoa egitean, ekintza hauek hasiera eta amaiera zehaztua dutenez, denbora azkarrago pasatu ohi da, oharkabea. Ondorengo aipu honetan antzeman daiteke denbora azkar pasatzearen sentimendua:

Lo que más me gustaba de verdad era, el ¿sabes?, el quemar, el moverte, porque estás en el módulo, y estás como sentada, apalancada... y es que... las horas no se te pasan. Entonces yo iba ahí y yo quería seguir toda la tarde, porque las horas... tú entrabas y de repente piiiinii se había terminado. Y decías joe, ya me gustaría estar todo el día así para que se te pasara rápido la hora. Y ya sabías que después de terminar de entrenar simplemente ibas a cenar y pa dentro. Y mañana otro día, y menos tiempo. (Mariana)

Marianaren aipuan ikus daitekeen moduan, denbora azkar pasatzeak eragin zuzena zuen euren denboraren aurkako borroka pertsonal horretan zein egoera psikologikoan. Espetxean, zenbat eta egunak luzeagoak egin, gero eta gogorragoa izango da bertan igaro beharreko denboran bizi izandakoa, norbanakoari frustrazio eta antsietate maila altuagoak sorraraziz. Bihar beste egun bat izango da, eta denbora gutxiago, hori da buruan duten ideia nagusia, denbora gutxiago kalera irteteko, askatasuna usaintzeko, askatasunaz gozatzeko. Jarduera fisikoa burutzean, denborak beste dimentsio bat hartzen du, denbora orokorraren barruan kokatzen den tarte bat baita. Kirola egitera doazenean, tratamendu barruko eskaintzan zein eskaintzatik kanpo, jarduera hauek eguneko jarduna betetzen laguntzen diete. Modu honetan eguna motzagoa egiten zaie. Halaber, asperdurarekin, sedentario izatearekin eta motibazio ezarekin ere erlazionatua dago ezer egiteko ez izatea eta, beraz, denbora ez pasatzearen sentsazioa izatea. Elkarrizketaturiko emakume presoan esanetan, jarduera fisikoa egitea lagungarria zen egunen aurkako borrokan. Aldi berean, honek ondorio zuzena eta positiboa zuen euren egoera psikologikoan eta, beraz, baita euren bizi kalitatean ere.

2.3.2. Harresiak apurtzen, kirola ihesbide

Emakume preso ohien esanetan, espetxean praktika fisikoak burutzeak askatasun sentsazioa zein ihesbiderako aukera ematen zien. Jarduera fisikoaren

bitartez, espetxean zeudela ahaztu eta, preso egonik ere, aske sentitzen ziren lipar batzuetan.

Me sentía libre. Porque te olvidas totalmente de todo, te da igual la persona que tengas a tu lado, o dónde estás metida. Te da igual todo, simplemente te dedicas a jugar. Y la emoción que se vive, nunca la he vivido ni en la calle. Nunca. (...) Te sientes totalmente libre. Es que te olvidas por completo de dónde estás. (...) Porque te sientes libre, tú corres, y nadie te detiene. Eso sí, es algo infinito... porque es un círculo lo que vas a hacer, pero... es diferente. Te sientes libre por un momento, corres. Solamente te dedicas a correr. Simplemente con el hecho de ver ese campo, piensas que estás como que... saliendo a la libertad. (Nadia)

Preso egonik, muturreko menpekotasun egoeran, askatasun printza txiki horiek pertsona bizidunak zirela gogorarazteko balio ziela adierazi zuten, espetxeko harresiak apurtu eta askatasunean bizi zireneko sentsazioak piztuz. Bestalde, Nadiak dioen moduan, kaleko bizitzako ariketa fisikoarekin alderatzean, emozio ezberdinak bizi zituzten. Kanean eta espetxean jarduera fisikoak esanahi ezberdina hartzen duela dirudi, espetxean jarduera fisikoa askatasuna irudikatzen duen oihalaz janzten delarik. Espetxean daudela ahaztu eta jolastu baino ez dute egiten, gainontzeko guztia alde batera utziz. Berdin zaie hiltzaile, lapur edo trafikoarengatik kondenaturik dauden pertsonekin aritzea, jokatzeari baitute helburu. Kanean egingo lituzkeen epaiketa horiek guztiak alboratuz, harreman sare askotarikoak sortuz. Jokutzen daudenean ez ditu inork gelditzen; ez funtzionarioek, ezta harresiek ere. Mugatuak daude hala ere, espazioa delarik askotan mugarik handiena; haatik, korrika saioak egitea eremu berebetean birak ematea baino ez da, nekea edo *recuento*-aren abisua agertu arte. Patioa edo kiroldegia askegune bihurtzen da, nahiz eta, halaber, beraien askatasuna itxitura batek mugatu.

Askatasun sentrazioaz gain, ihesbide gisa agertu da jarduera fisikoa elkarrizketetan. Jarduera fisikoa ezberdin bizi dute, momentuan aske sentitzeko tartea da, barruan dituzten tentsio, amorru zein frustrazioei irteera bat ahalbidetuz.

Toda esa libertad que tú tienes fuera, y toda esa cosa con bienestar, con salud, con buen vivir, en la cárcel es mal vivir, mal rugir... y no sé, es distinto. Hasta cómo tú pateas la pelota es distinto. Fuera, es... un ejemplo, fuera es arte, patear una pelota, ¿no? Pasar, cabecear... un movimiento de cuerpo... dentro... es... es desesperación. Sí. Es un movimiento brusco, tú buscas una salida, no es la misma cosa. A veces en un partido tú sabes que si tú das con más delicadeza a la pelota, tú sabes que va a entrar, y va a ser bonito, y si tú estás fuera tú haces esto tranquilamente, tú tienes ese determinamiento para pensar y dar ese toque suave. Ahí no. Por más suave que tú tocas la pelota, es un toque brusco. (Simone)

Simoneren hitzek adierazten dute jarduera fisikoaren bidez deskargatu egiten direla, aterabide bat bilatzen dutela. Futbolaren kasuan, adibidez, amorrua ostikadetan askatzen da, maiz kontrolaezin bihurtzen zaizkien tentsio horiek guztiak praktika motorrean zuzenean eragiten dutelarik. Simoneren hitzetan, ostikadak bortitzak dira, gogorrak, indartsuak, barruan duten ernegazio hori guztia askatzeko adinakoak. Beraiek nahi ez duten arren, indartsu ateratzen da baloia, kolpe leunak egiteko gai ez balira bezala. Mugimenduaren kontrola galduta, gorputzean giltzaperatua egotearen ondorioz sorturiko emozioek agintzen dutela dirudi. Simonek alderaketa argia ikusten du espetxe kanpoan zein barruan egindako kirolaren inguruan: kanpokoa arte bezala definitzen du, ederra; barruan, berriz, etsipen hitzez definitzen du. Espetxeko bizitzarekin lotzen du, kanpoan duzun ongizate horrek guztiak okerrera jotzen duela arrazoituz. Askatutako emozio horiek guztiek era berean erlaxatu egiten dituztela adierazi zuten emakume preso ohiek. Espetxeko giroa lasaiagoa eta emakume presoentzako onuragarriagoa bihurtuz, euren arteko zein

funtzionarioekiko gatazkak gutxituz. Izan ere, emakumeen hitzetan antzeman daitekeen moduan, jarduera fisikorik ez balego giroa askoz ere gogorragoa izango zelako ustea nagusitzen da:

Buf... buf... no quiero ni imaginar porque... buf... sería... buf... sería lo peor, la peor condena, estamos condenados, peor... y así fatal, y así fatal. ¿Si no puedes practicar nada? ¿Ni un gimnasio ni nada? (...) buf... peor que de lo que es ¿e? Mucho peor, mucho peor. Yo creo que las tensiones serían mayores, las personas se explotarían con más frecuencia, no que no exploten, pero... cualquier cosa creo que desquiciaría a uno... si no tuviera esos escapes, jugar un partido de fútbol... e... no sé, vaya al gimnasio, se descarga allí... hacer una actividad de danza... yo creo que sería bastante peor. (Simone)

Ihesbiderako tarte horiek kenduz gero, jarduera fisikoan askatzen duten tentsioa presoeri barruan geldituko litzaiekeela uste dute elkarrizketatuek, euren umorean zein egoera psikologikoan eraginez. Praktika motor ezberdinetan tentsioak askatu egiten direla adierazi zuen Simonek, futbolearen edota dantzan jardutean espetxetik kanpo sentitzeko abagune txiki guztiez baliatzen zirelarik. Kondena zigor gogor bat baldin bada, jarduera fisikorik gabe pertsonari jar dakioken kondenarik gaitzena izango zela adierazi zuen Simonek, jarduera fisikoaren onurak azpimarratuz. Honek espetxeko giroan ere eragin zuzena izango luke preso ohien esanetan, giroa oraindik eta gogorragoa zein estresagarria izatea ekarriko bailuke.

2.3.3. Kirola, espetxean bidelagun

Kirola *bidelagun* bezala definitu zuen Haizeak. Jarduera fisikoetan parte hartzeak emakume presoari dakartzkion onurak elkarrizketa guztietan izan zuen presentzia esanguratsua, kartzelako praktika motorren garrantzia berretsiz.

Kirola? Bai, bai, gauza askotako baliyou e? Ondo eoteko, e... psikologikoki ondo eoteko nik ustet behintzat kriston pila iteula... ni behintzat, nik uste hori ez banu eduki, ez dakit ni e... non sartuko nintzan, ze depresiyotan o ze... ze nere haurrarekin banaketa oso gogorra izan zan eta nei horrek lagundu in dit aurrea eramaten, nik hori ez banu eduki ez dakit... eske ez dakit... (Ekhine)

Ekhine bere haurrarengandik banatu zuten espetxean sartzean. Kartzelako sarrera ia beti bakardadean izan ohi da, familia zein bikote edota lagunengandik banatzea oso gogorra suertatzen zaielarik presoiei. Euren inguru sozial-afektiboa desagertzen da, gutun, telefono dei zein bisiten antolaketara makurtu eta espetxearen asmoen arabera baldintzatzen dira. Banaketa horren ondorio larriei jarduera fisikoaren bidez buelta eman ahal izan ziela jakinarazi zuen Ekhinek, mota honetako ekintzetan parte hartzerik edukiko ez balu askoz ere okerrago egongo zela adieraziz. Jarduera fisikoa euskarri bat bihurtu zen beretzat, ondo sentitzen lagundu eta depresioa bezalako gaitzei aurre hartzea ahalbidetu ziolarik. *Beraiek ez dine zainduko, heu zaindu ber den* (Ekhine). Norbere burua aurrera ateratzea norberaren esku dagoela zioen Ekhinek, espetxe politikak zein funtzionarioek beraien osasunaz kezkatzen ez zirela ziurtatuz. Arazo askotarikoei irtenbidea emateko gako bezala aurkeztu da kirola elkarrizketetan. Kezkei, arazo psikologikoei zein lo egin ezinari aurre egiteko baliagarri izan zaio Haizeari, ondorengo aipuan adierazten duen bezala:

Neke fisiko horrek laguntzen din, psikologikoki laguntzen din, azkenean espetxean kirola egiteko helburua hori da, nekatzea. Nekatzea fisikoki gero ondo lo egiteko. Kezkak baldin bazkan edo ez ba hago relajatua, azkenen... bueltak emateixkion buruari. (Haizea)

Nekatzea dute helburu, nekeak lo egitea errazten dielako ustetan. Kezkek gauetan erasotuz gero, loa lapurtu eta atsedena galarazten die. Horrenbestez, bizi kalitate mailak beheranzko joera hartu ohi du. Espetxean, lo egiteko ordutegia

ere mugatua dago. Gauean lo egin ezean, goizean berdin-berdin jaiki eta zenbaketarako prest egon behar dira eta espetxeak egunari ezarritako ordutegia ere errespetatu beharko dute, nola edo hala. Hori horrela izanik, lo egiteko ordutegian lo egitea garrantzitsua da presoentzat, deskantsatu ezean hurrengo egunak are eta gogorragoak suertatu ahal baitakizkioke, gaixo erortzeko arriskua handitzen delarik. Praktika motorren bidez, gorputza mugitzean neke fisikoa sortu eta erlaxatu egin ohi dira. Hori horrela izanik, jarduera fisikoa burutzeko arazoietako bat bezala aurkeztu da nekea elkarrizketetan, honek lo egitea errazten diela argudiatuz, egunerokotasunean lagungarri izanik.

Jarduera fisikoak arlo ezberdinetan sortutako onurak behin eta berriz ageri dira elkarrizketetan; aldi berean, emakumeentzako kirol eskaintza urriaren salaketa zein praktikatzeko dituzten oztopoak ere agertu ziren. Haizeari pasarte hau etorri zitzaion gogora emakumeen espetxeko kirolaz mintzatzean:

Eta ni oroitzen naiz, zea, Badajozea jun zan neska bat, ba hor hitzeiten eta esate zigun, frontoi bat zeola patioan, pareta, eta nik nahi nuke pala bat. Pala bat, pilota bat, jolasteko. Eta esaten ziola zuzendariak, zuk zertako? Jolasteko, kirol pixkat egiteko. Ta esaten ziola, moduluan badaukazu josteko makina bat. Eta ez aber, nik ez det nahi josi, nik nahi det kirola egin... ez zun lortu. Bai ite zun korrika, baino... bere, zea, planteamendua zan: zuk zertako behar dezu kirola egin, zuk badaukazu josteko makina. (Haizea)

Haizearen kideari emandako erantzunaren arabera, badirudi espetxeko zuzendariarentzat emakumeentzako josteko makina egokiagoa zela kirolean aritzea baino. Kirola egitea behar ez zutela argudiatuz, josteko makinarekin bere beharrak asetuko zituelakoan. Espetxeko gizonezkoen aldean josteko makinarik ez dagoen bezala, emakumezkoen gunean futboleko jarduteko baloiak ikustea ere zaila izaten da. Jarduera fisikoa egiterako orduan, nor bere kasa moldatzen zirela adierazi du Haizeak, espetxeko politikak eskainitako emakumeentzako

kirol aukera eskasaren aurrean. Espetxeko zuzendari zein funtzionarioek lagundu baino oztopoak ipintzen zituztela zioen. Izan ere, tratamendua erakunde nagusi batek bidali arren gauzatu behar dutenak espetxeko langileak direnez, aldaketa gutxi gertatzen dira espetxearen errealitatean. *Ez da kuestioa eskatzea edo... aldatu behar dira buruak* (Haizea). Langileen pentsaeran eragin ezean, zail ikusten da benetako aldaketa bat egotea espetxeko tratamendu zein egunerokotasunean.

2.4. Eztabaida

Elkarrizketaturiko bost emakume preso ohien bizipenen oroitzapenetan oinarrituz, jarduera fisikoaren rola aztertu nahi izan da ikerlan honetan, betiere beraien bizi kalitatearekin erlazionatuz. Emaitzetan aurkeztutako aurkikuntzek erakutsi dute emakume hauentzat espetxean gauzatutako jarduera fisikoak eragin positiboa zuela beste hainbat ikerlanen ekarpenekin bat etorritik (Castillo, 2005, 2006; Chamarro *et al.*, 1998; Courtenay eta Sabo, 2001; Hagan 1989; Martos-Garcia *et al.*, 2009). Era berean, jarduera fisikoaren bidez espetxean bizi kalitate maila hobetzen zela ere adierazi zuten (Hagan, 1989; Negro, 1995). Espetxean jarduera fisikoa burutzeak eragin positiboa zuela ondorioztatu daiteke Fernández-Ballesteros eta Macías (1993) zerrendaturiko bizi kalitatearen eragina duten faktoreei erreparatuz. Hala nola, osasunean, gaitasun funtzionaletan, norbere burua zaintzeko gaitasunean eta bere bizitzarekin pozik sentitzeko aukeretan. Bost emakume hauen esanetan, faktore multzo honi erreparatuz gero, jarduera fisikoaren bidez emakume presoek bizi kalitate maila hobetuko lortu daitekeela dirudi. Aipatu alderdi hauek, era berean, kanpo faktore batzuen menpe daude, presoek baliabideetatik zein aukeretatik at. Besteak beste, bizitokiaren kalitatea, hezkuntza edo kultur eskaintzaren aukera edo kirola

praktikatzeko eskaintza espetxearen esku baitaude. Emakume presoen bizi kalitate maila hobea eskuratzeko, bi eragilek dute zeresana: espetxe politikak (zuzendaritzak eta langileek), batetik, kanpo faktoreak ebaluatu zein hobetuz; eta presoek berauek, bestetik, euren egunerokotasunak ahalbidetzen dizkien aukerak baliatuz.

Denboraz mintzatu dira elkarrizketatuak, praktika motorrei eskainitako tarte horiek euren eguna laburtzen ziela argudiatuz. Ikerlan honek bat egiten du, beraz, askatasunik gabe bizi diren pertsonen jarduera fisiko bidez denbora azkarrago pasatu ohi zaiela dioten ekarpenekin (Martos-Garcia *et al.*, 2009). Espetxean eta espetxetik kanpo denborak esanahi ezberdina hartzen duela azaleratu dute. Askatasunean, denboraren erabileraren inguruko filosofia hegemonikoa *Carpe Diem*-arena dela esan daiteke. Horazio¹⁴ poeta erromatarrak ‘egunak bizi eta orainaz gozatu’ mezua ospetsu egin zuen; adierazpen horrek mendeak iraun ditu, baita euskal literaturara etorriz ere. Sarrionandiak¹⁵ dioen moduan, pospoloak lez egunak behin bakarrik erretzen direlako. Espetxean oster, egunak bizkor erre nahi dituzte, pospolo kaxa ahalik eta azkarren xahutuz kondenari amaiera eman eta aske izango diren egunarekin amesten duten heinean. Honek emakume presoen kasuan garrantzi berezia du, kondenaturik dauden emakumeen zigor denbora gizonezkoena baino luzeagoa izan ohi baita (Gallego, Cabrera, Ríos, eta Segovia, 2010). Kirola denbora erretzeko erreminta eraginkorra dela adierazi dute elkarrizketatuek, honek euren bizi kalitatean modu positiboan eragiten duelarik aldi berean. Espetxean igaro beharreko aldia leunagoa suertatu ahal zaie egunak azkarrago pasatuz gero, psikologikoki hobeto egoten lagunduz.

¹⁴ Horazio, *Odak, I* (K. a. 13.)

¹⁵ Sarrionandia, J., *Akordatzan* (2004)

Espetxeko hormetatik ihes egiteko aukera dela adierazi dute elkarrizketatuek, ariketa fisikoetan parte hartuz aske sentitzera iristen zirelarik. Presoei askatasuna lapurtu diete, euren bizitzaren kontrola euren eskuetatik at dago kartzelako atea zeharkatzen dutenean. Preso daude, kontziente dira horretaz eta zaila egiten zaie hori ahaztea, baita behin espetxea atzean utzi ondoren ere. Preso egonda aske sentitzeko espazio gisa agertu dira kirol espazioak, patioa zein kiroldegia, honek espetxean daudela ahazten laguntzen dielarik (Fornons, 2008). Preso egonik, muturreko menpekotasun egoeran askatasuna dastatzea garrantzitsua dela dirudi. Berlinnek (2001) askatasunari emandako zentzu positibo eta negatiboa indartzen dela ikusi da emaitzetan, ariketa fisikoa egiten ari direnean beraien buruari ipinitako helburuak bete eta euren egunerokotasuna mugatzen duten harresiak urrunago sumatzen dituztelarik. Askatasuna vs askatasun eza dikotomia leuntzen laguntzen duela dirudi. Presoak gizartetik aldentzen dituzte, gizarteari egin dioten kaltearen ordainaren ustean. Askatasunik gabe, askatasunerako, bizitzarako, prestatuko dituztelakoan, espetxeak pertsona jakin batzuk (eta beste batzuk ez) giltzaperatzea ahalbidetzen du (Gallego *et al.*, 2010). Askatasun eza eta askatasunaren banaketa bortizki bizi dute, jarduera fisikoan aritzean harresiez gaindiko libertate sentazioa hartzen dutelarik presoen esanetan. Era honetara, espetxeen zeregina birgizarteratzera zuzendua bada, aske sentitzen diren lipar hauek indartu behar lituzke espetxe politikak, benetan kalea hartzen duten egun hori xamurragoa izan dakien. Jarduera fisikoa egiteko aukera kenduko baliete, espetxeko giroak okerrera egingo lukeela uste dute ikerlan honetako elkarrizketatuek, bat eginik beste ikerketa batzuen emaitzekin (Fornons, 2009; Martos-Garcia *et al.*, 2009). Gizonezko zein emakumezkoen kasuan antzeman da, ariketa fisikoa egongo ez balitz, giro estresagarriagoa eta bortitzagoa nagusituko litzatekeela. Jarduera fisikoak espetxeko egunerokotasunean eragin positiboa du, maila ezberdinetan zeresan esanguratsua izan duela erakutsiz. Bidelagun bezala definitzean, espetxean eman beharreko denbora tarte guztian laguntza euskarri baten pare ipini dute.

Kezkei aurre egiteko zein lo egiteko ezintasunaren aurkako tresna eraginkorra da emakume preso ohien esanetan. Espetxean dauden osasun arazo handienetariko bi lo egin ezina zein estresa izanik (Rutherford *et al.*, 2009), jarduera fisikoaren bidez gaitz hauei aurre egin eta euren osasun maila hobetzen lagun dakieke. Beraien buruaren zainketaren protagonista eta eragile nagusiak beraiek direla jakinik, egunerokotasunari aurre egiten lagundu die espetxean jarduera fisikoa burutzeak.

Izan ere, emakume presoek preso zein emakume izateagatik bizi duten diskriminazioa bikoitza da (Alvarado, 2012). Espetxearen inguruko estigma sozial negatiboari aurre egin behar diete, bai espetxera sartzean, bai behin kalera irtetean. Preso dauden emakumeei, gainera, gizarte patriarkalaren genero arauak apurtzen dituztela gehitu behar zaie. Generoak inposaturiko rola araberak, emakume zintzoak, lege betetzaileak eta arazoetan sartzen ez direnak izan behar baitute (Ramírez eta González, 2007). De Miguel-Calvori jarraiki (2014), ez-emakumearen definizioan kirolari hitza gehituz, diskriminazio estereotipatua indartzen duela antzematen da. Elisabet Almedak (2003) adierazi zuen moduan, espetxe politikaren tratamenduak generoak inposaturiko rola betetzen duen emakume eredu bultzatzen baldin bazuen, gaur egun historikoki jorraturiko eredu estereotipatu, femenino eta moralizatua izaten jarraitzen du. Tratamenduan aldaketak eman baldin badira ere, honen gauzatzearen erantzule nagusiak espetxeko langile zein zuzendariak dira. Euren aldetik pentsaera aldaketa bat egon ezean, espetxearen errealitatea iraultzea zaila ikusten da.

Jarduera fisikoa burutzea presoek osasunarentzat onuragarria izan dela baieztatu den arren, programa hauekiko atxikimendua arazo handi bat bezala aurkeztu da (Pérez, 2012). Arazo honen gakoa haien nahiak ez ezagutzean edo ez errespetatzean dagoela ikus daiteke, emakumezkoen kasuan jarduera fisiko eta kirola egiteko aukera urriak salatu baitira. Atxikimendua lortzerako orduan,

lehenik haien ahotsa entzun behar da, haien nahi eta beharrak identifikatu eta jarraian formazio egokia duen pertsona batek aurrera eramango duen jarduera fisiko eta kirol programa diseinatu zein gauzatu.

Emaitzek erakutsi dute elkarrizketatutako preso politikoez genero diskriminazioa argi ikusten zutela, eta preso sozialek, ideia lausotuagoa baldin bazuten ere, ikuspuntu honekin bat egiten zutela. Batzuen aldetik konformismoa antzematen zen kirol eskaintzaren urritasunaren aurrean, normaltzat hartuz, gizonezkoak gehiago zirela argudiatuz. 'Politikoez', berriz, salatu eta eurentzako aukera berdinak aldarrikatzen zituzten. Emakume preso orok kartzelan emakume eta kirolari izateak zenbait ondorio zituela antzematen zuten, baina kasu guztietan modu positiboan ikusten zuten, zerbait ona egingo balute bezala, probetxuzkoa.

2.5. Ondorioak

Ikerlan honetan jorraturiko informazioa aintzat hartuz ondoriozta genezake elkarrizketaturiko emakume preso ohientzat espetxean praktika motorrek zeresan handia izan zutela. Ariketa fisikoak preso bizi kalitatearen alderdi ezberdinetan sortzen zituen onuren hautematea agerikoa da, batez ere arlo pertsonalean jorraturiko bizi kalitateari dagozkion faktoreen pertzepzioan. Jarduera fisikoak, besteak beste, hiru rol bete ditu emakume preso esanetan: denbora azkarrago pasatzeko erreminta, askatasun zein ihesbide iturria eta beharrezko bidelaguna izatea. Beraz, praktika motorretan parte hartzeak eragin ugari eta askotarikoak dituela ondoriozta daiteke, kasu guztietan onura edo eragin positibo lez definitzen dituztelarik.

Emakume presoak euren genero arauak hautsiz preso erortzean, genero araei arrakalak egiten jarraitzen dute espetxean jarduera fisiko eta kirola burutuz. Espetxeak androzentrismotik izan dira eraikiak, gizonek eraikiak, gizonezkoentzat eraikiak. Emakumezkoak arrotzak dira espetxean, estereotipoetan oinarritutako aisia eskaintza urria dutelarik, kirola egiteko aukerak zein honi loturiko 'pribilegio' batzuk ere gizonezkoei zuzenduak baitaude gehienbat. Emakumezkoen aisia-guneetan, adibidez, josteko makina ipini eta kirola egiteko material baliabideak bigarren aukera batean utziz. Ikerlan honen emaitzek mahai gainean ipintzen dute emakume preso ohiek izandako kirol eskaintza motza gelditzen zaiela, honek sortzen zizkien onuren aldean. Baina, alderdi hau sakonago aztertu beharreko ikergaia izan daiteke, idatzi honetan ez baitugu nahikoa datu aurkeztu. Haatik, espetxeko politikan emakumei zuzendutako jarduera fisiko eta kirol eskaintza handitzea proposatzen da, elkarrizketetako datuetatik ateratako informazioen bidez osaturiko irizpideak kontuan hartuz:

- Talde zein banakako kirol jardueren entrenamendua eskaintzea, edota eskaintza handitzea, gorputz heziketako monitore baten gidaritzapean.
- Jarduera fisiko eta kirol eskaintzen gainzama kontuan izanik, bi talde osatzea, hastapen eta errendimendu mailak bereiziz.
- Espetxe barruan lehiaketa txikiak antolatzea, jarduera fisiko eta kiroltan parte hartzen ez duten emakumezkoei ikusle izateko aukera luzatuz.
- Jarduera fisiko eta kirol espazioak mistoak izatea, gizonezko zein emakumezkoei espazio beretan aritzeko aukera berak bermatzeko.
- Espazio zabaletan jarduera fisiko eta kirolen praktika sustatzea.
- Programatutako eta programatu gabeko jardueretan gorputz heziketako monitore baten presentzia bermatzea patio edo kiroldegiko orduetan.
- Espetxean emakume presoekin jarduera fisiko eta kirola landu behar duen hezitzailearen formazioa hobetzea.

Ikerlan hau gauzatzean, hainbat muga edo zailtasunekin egin dugu topo. Nabarmentzekoa da elkarrizketatutakoek osatzen duten lagina txikia dela. Ikusitakoak ikusita, eta elkarteetako arduradunen esanetan, ez da batere erraza espetxean jarduera fisikoa burutu duten emakumezko preso ohiak aurkitzea. Emakume preso ohiek kartzelan egindako jarduera fisiko eta kirolarekiko duten ikuspuntu sakonagoa eskuratzeko, eta emaitzen saturazioa eskuratu asmoz, emakume gehiago elkarrizketatzea beharrezkoa litzateke. Ikerketaren ondorioak indartu asmoz, interesgarria litzateke etorkizuneko beste hainbat ikerketa ildo proposatzea. Besteak beste, espetxeko langileak (bereziki zuzendaria eta kirol monitorea) galdekatzeak emakume preso ohiek esandakoekin alderatu eta bat egiten duten ala ez ikusteko aukera eskainiko luke. Halaber, espetxearen errealitateaz mintzatzean, bertan sartzea garrantzitsua litzateke; izan ere, elkarrizketatuek nabarmendu dezaketen bezala, bertan egon arte batek barruko jardunaz egin dezakeen ideia lausoa da. Hau da, etnografia bat gauzatzea oso lagungarria litzateke. Ikerlan honetan jarduera fisikoak betetzen dituen hiru rol nabarmendu badira ere, bere eragin esparrua zabalagoa dela antzeman da, etorkizuneko ikerlanetan sakondu beharrekoa, hain zuzen.

2.6. Erreferentziak

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HIRUGARREN KAPITULUA

Physical activity practiced by
incarcerated women:
a systematic review

3.1. Introduction¹⁶

The health care of inmates is an issue that has started to worry the international community, due to the large amount of professionals and researchers that state the negative impact of imprisonment on health. Nonetheless, it seems that participation in sport and physical activities is beneficial for health but female inmates account the lowest participations levels in the total prison population. This requires to look at the andocentric structure of prisons, in which sport –as a further element in the prison system– is conceived mainly for men. All in all, our aim of doing this research was to identify studies where researchers analyzed the participation of women inmates engaged in physical activities. We have done an analysis about the provenance, methodology employed, year of publication, thematic and the quality of the selected studies. Finally, we obtained 33 studies from many different countries, being able to draw on the current state of the theme from a cross-national perspective. All this will be helpful to give some proximate orientations for future researchers or health-allied professionals in the penitentiary context, to promote the participation of women inmates in physical activity.

¹⁶ Original paper: Martínez-Merino, N., Martín-González, N., Usabiaga, O., & Martos-García, D. (2017). Physical activity practiced by incarcerated women: A systematic review. *Health Care for Women International*, 38(11), 1152-1169. doi: 10.1080/07399332.2017.1368515

Women account for a tiny proportion of the prison population worldwide, being only the 5,4% (Walmsley, 2016). Even so, this percentage is considerably on the increase, thereby giving rise to an unprecedented degree of attention on the part of scientific literature (De Graaf, 2013). This growth in the number of studies is generating new perspectives regarding the issue of gender in prisons, revealing moreover how research has focused predominantly on the male population (Day, 2012). In any case, research conducted in prisons is beset with difficulties around the world (Wacquant, 2002), due mainly to the administrative procedure to be followed in order to gain access to the penitentiary centre (Kazemian, 2015) or to the restrictions imposed by prison committees (Bosworth, Campbell, Demby, Ferranti, & Santos, 2005). Despite this, women inmates are beginning to arouse interest in the academic sphere as regards a number of issues, including the impact of confinement on their health (Douglas, Plugge, & Fitzpatrick, 2009) –both mental (Butler, Allnutt, & Yang, 2007) and physical (Harner & Riley, 2013)–, nutrition (Smoyer, 2016), gender roles (Giallombardo, 1996), prison education (Rose, 2004), resistance (Bosworth, 1999), reintegration into society (Willging, Nicdao, Trott, & Kellett, 2016), maternity (Bloom & Brown, 2011), drug consumption (Simpson & McNulty, 2008), and the needs of incarcerated women from a cross-national viewpoint (Almeda, 2005). Not to forget that gender perspective is a transversal line that runs through all these research studies, in which the importance of the critical feminist paradigm is highlighted (Carlen, 1983).

As regards male inmates, since the time when Adrienne Clarke, Kevin Haag and Neville Owen (1986) announced the improved state of health that prisoners perceived thanks to a fitness programme in Australia, and John Hagan (1989) revealed the potential of motor activities with therapeutic aims in view, a succession of many of the new benefits or roles that physical activities foster among prisoners has been presented, also in the UK (Meek, 2014). Such as,

fomenting socialisation and communicative skills (Lleixà & Ríos, 2015), supplementing the social inclusion process (Nelson, Specian, Tracy, & DeMello, 2006), raising self-esteem levels (Vaiciulis, Kavaliauska, & Radisauskas, 2011) and enhancing masculinity (Sabo, 2001). Furthermore, sport and physical activities (SPAs) also constitute a powerful strategy when it comes to mitigating the boredom caused by routine (Murtaza, Uddin, Imran, & Bari, 2011), raising the level of prisoners' mental wellbeing (Battaglia *et al.*, 2015) and combating insomnia (Elger, 2009). They have even been applied as learning measures among juvenile detainees (Meek & Lewis, 2014b).

By means of systematic review (SR) about prison inmates, some others have been able to reflect the male predominance to which we refer above (e.g. Gois, Junior, De Araújo-Silveira, & De Paiva-Gaudêncio, 2012; Herbert, Plugge, Foster, & Doll, 2012). Nevertheless, we have identified a number of reviews focusing on women prisoners that have made a compilation of prior studies about the effects of correctional programmes (Tripodi, Bledsoe, Kim, & Bender, 2011), on interventions to improve mental health (Bartlett *et al.*, 2015), on giving up criminal activities (Rodermond, Kruttschnitt, Slotboom, & Bijleveld, 2016) and on treatments to cure drug addiction (Finfgeld-Connett & Johnson, 2011). Moreover, we should stress the substantial number of authors that focus on pregnancy and prison (Knight & Plugge, 2005a, 2005b; Mukherjee, Pierre-Victor, Bahelah, & Madhivanan, 2014; Shaw, Downe, & Kingdon, 2015). As regards SPAs, despite the increasing sum of studies about their influence on prison life –above all among male inmates–, to date we have not found any SR in scientific literature that compiles studies on the SPAs practiced by women who have been deprived of freedom.

All in all, our aim doing this SR was to identify and assess the quality of studies on women's participation in SPAs in prison. Furthermore, we sought to ascertain the methodological characteristics –type of research, sampling, data collection and data analysis techniques– of the selected research studies, as well as their central themes. Having done this study, our analysis from the results will hopefully provide sufficient information on the current state of the issue to provide a departure point for future research or SPA intervention through an international viewpoint.

3.2. Method

For the purposes of the present study we opted for a SR based on the review typology proposed by Grant and Booth (2009).

3.2.1. Search strategy: databases and inclusion criteria

We conducted our SR on the basis of the following electronic databases specific to the physical activity and sports sciences: Psycinfo (EBSCOhost), Sportdiscus (EBSCOhost), Medline (Ovid), Proquest Dissertation and Theses (ProQuest) and Eric (ProQuest). We applied our search strategy to three areas: SPAs, prison and women. These areas were linked together with the Boolean 'and', while inside each area we used a number of different terms or keywords (Table II), combining them with the Boolean 'or'. For the choice of these terms we used the Thesaurus of each database, cutting the terms short to obtain the widest possible range of results. We limited the search to those studies whose title and abstract were in English, although we included studies whose complete text was in another language. As regards the types of documents, empirical studies and reviews were

added –articles published in scientific journals, doctoral thesis and master’s degree dissertations– assessed or revised by academic peers or examining boards and published no later than 1st February 2017.

Table II. Areas and search terms.

Area	Terms
SPA	‘sport’ or ‘physical activity’ or ‘physical education’ or ‘fitness’ or ‘exercise’ or ‘leisure’ or ‘motor activity’
Prison	‘prison’ or ‘jail’ or ‘inmate’ or ‘imprison’ or ‘incarceration’ or ‘penitentiary’ or ‘convicts’ or ‘reformatory’ or ‘correctional institution’ or ‘detention center’
Women	‘woman’ or ‘female’ or ‘gender’ or ‘girl’ not ‘girlfriend’

SPA: sport and physical activities

We set three inclusion criteria for the selection of the studies: a) Women and young girls have to be included in the study. In cases where the study sample was mixed (men and women), we excluded studies in which the gender variable was not differentiated in the results. b) Researchers have to conduct their study in a penitentiary context or with people deprived of freedom serving sentence in open prison, ordinary or closed systems. We should point out that we included those studies in which ex-convicts (people who at the time of conducting the study had been released from prison) participated if they had been incarcerated for at least two years. We excluded studies conducted on prison and juvenile detention centre staff. c) The study was required to include an analysis of variables associated with women prison inmates’ participation in SPAs.

3.2.2. Selection process

Initially we generated a search list based on the title and abstract in the databases mentioned above and rejecting duplicates. Next, we included other studies following the pointers of the references contained in the selected studies (manual

search) or proposed by an expert on the subject –chosen by virtue of his long experience in the development of studies on prison inmates’ participation in SPAs and of their having published in this specific field over the last ten years.

The selection process was carried out by two researchers who, independently from each other, used an *ad hoc* verification list (yes = 1 / no = 2) to ascertain whether the documents met the three inclusion criteria mentioned above. Subsequently, the interobserver agreement was calculated using Jacob Cohen’s kappa coefficient (Cohen, 1960). We found an acceptable interobserver agreement (criterion 1=0.82; criterion 2=0.82; criterion 3=0.80) as well as we resolved discrepancies on the selection process through consensus agreement.

3.2.3. Data extraction and the quality of the studies

We analysed the selected documents in accordance with five quality criteria developed *ad hoc* (Table III). All the criteria were given a score –with the two researchers’ consensus– based on a binary scale (0/1). We took the scientific rigour criteria established on the proposal by Lincoln and Guba (1985) differing for the qualitative (credibility, transferability, dependence and confirmation) and the quantitative studies (internal validity, external validity, reliability and objectivity). Concerning mixed studies, we assessed it applying both the qualitative and quantitative rigour criteria. Thus, the quality of the study was determined by adding the scores for the five criteria.

Table III. Quality criteria used to analyse the publications.

Q1- Is the study aim explicitly defined?	0= No	1=Yes
Q2- Are the number of participants and the kind of sample specified?	0= No	1=Yes
Q3- Is the data collection instrument or technique explicitly described?	0= No	1=Yes
Q4- Is the analysis technique explicitly described?	0= No	1=Yes
Q5- Does the document meet a minimum number of scientific rigour criteria?	0= No	1=Yes

3.2.4. Content analysis of the methodological aspects and themes associated with SPAs

As regards methodology, and in reference to the types of studies, we conducted our analysis in terms of the type of methodology applied: qualitative, quantitative or mixed. And regarding sampling types, on the one hand the number of men and women was specified by the researchers (except in one study where the sample consisted of reports), while on the other, in accordance with the classification system proposed by Alan Bryman (2015), codification was made into four categories (probability sampling, nonprobability sampling, probability and nonprobability sampling and without specifying). Likewise, for the analysis of the instruments and techniques applied, we contemplated seven categories – body measurements, category system, ethnography, interview, observation, questionnaire and survey– that were not mutually exclusive; more than one category could therefore be assigned to those types of studies in which researchers employed more than one technique. And to conduct content analysis of the analysis techniques, and taking the classification proposed by Allen Rubin and Earl R. Babbie (2015) as our benchmark, we used three categories (descriptive, inferential and descriptive and inferential). With a view to completing the methodological aspects, we took into account the provenance (country) and year of publication of the studies (year of the viva voce in the case of end-of-course master’s degree dissertations and doctoral thesis).

The themes addressed by the investigators in relation to SPAs were organised in two groups: a) studies in which SPAs constituted the central research theme and b) studies in which SPAs were not the central theme but rather a variable that served to complement the main research subject. Thus, SPAs were regarded as the central theme in those cases where participants were asked through interviews or questionnaires/surveys about their experiences when engaging in

physical activities or where motor practices were used as independent variables in order to ascertain their effect on other, dependent variables. All those studies that did not comply with these characteristics were classified as secondary (or non-central) themes.

Furthermore, with a view to acquiring deeper knowledge of the themes studied in the selected works, we divided them into four families –benefits, barriers, participation levels and types of physical activities– that were generated on the basis of the codes which, according to a consensus reached by the four researchers engaged in the study, emerged repeatedly from the data. The physical activities were codified in accordance with the category system proposed by Pierre Parlebas (2002).

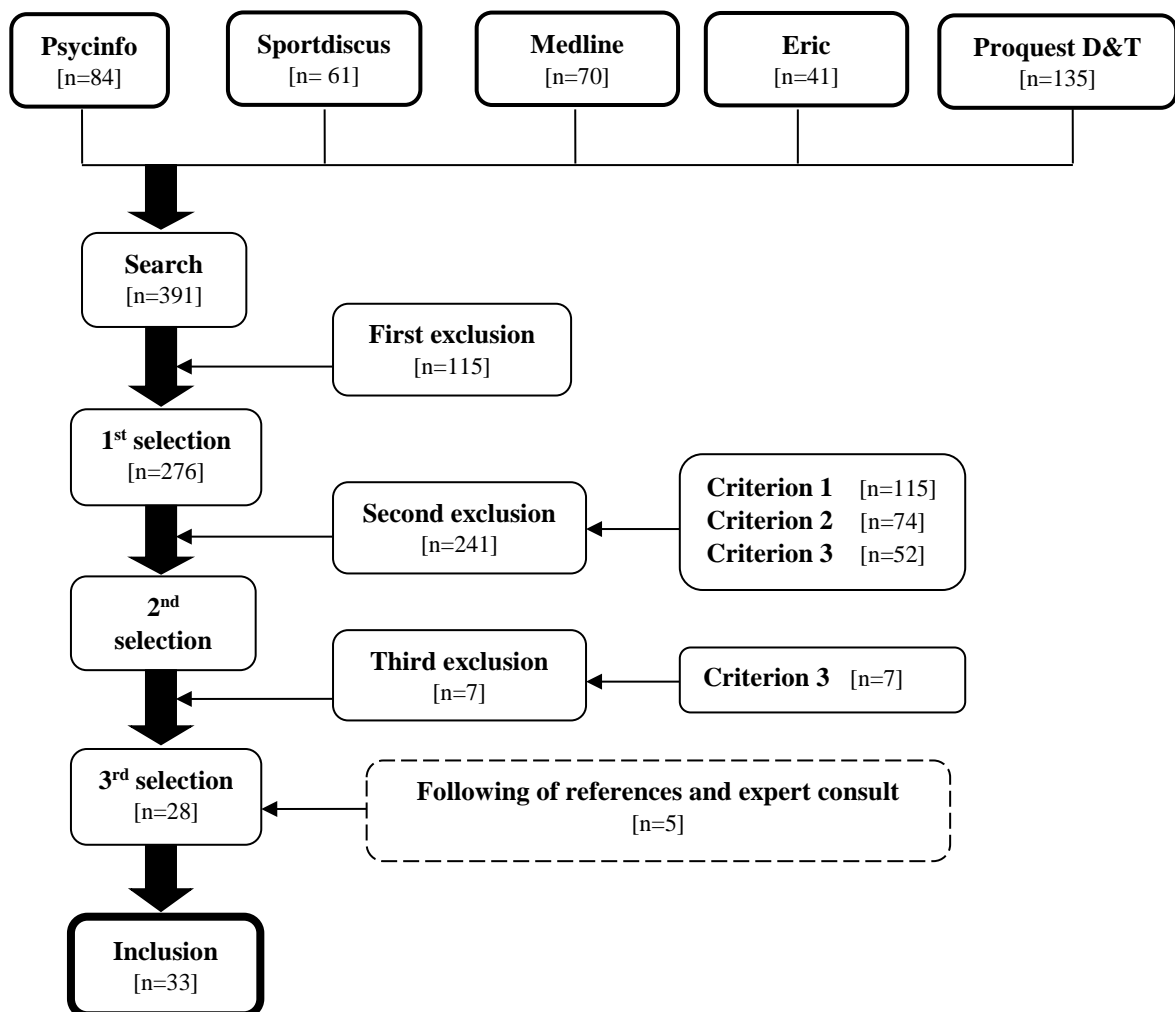
3.3. Results

3.3.1. Search for, selection and inclusion of studies

As shown in Fig. II, we obtained 396 studies of which –in the initial exclusion– those which were neither of an empirical nor a review nature, or did not conform to the typology described above, were rejected, alongside those that were repeated (n=115). In a second exclusion phase, after each researcher had made her own personal selection, those publications that did not comply with the three inclusion criteria (n=241) were ruled out. Fig. II shows how many did not meet criteria 1, 2 and 3. In the third and last exclusion phase those registers were reviewed over which the researchers disagreed, leading to the rejection on a consensus basis of seven studies (specifically, they agreed that these publications did not comply with criterion 3). Once the selection process –in which we ruled

out 368 documents– had come to an end, twenty-eight studies were chosen that met all the specified criteria. Moreover, through reference follow-up (n=3) and on advice from the expert (n=2) we added to the list a further five studies, thereby reaching a total of thirty-three publications in English (n=28), Italian (n=1), Basque (n=1), French (n=2) and Polish (n=1).

Fig. II. The systematic process used to obtain the definitive selection of publications after three exclusion periods.



3.3.2. Quality of the studies

Regarding the quality of our selected studies (Table IV), of the total of 33, eight met all the criteria specified in Table III, 14 met four and 11 met three. Thus, the average score of all the analysed publications was 3.8 points out of five. The deficiencies encountered in those studies that did not comply with the five criteria related to the lack of information on the kind of sampling and to scientific rigour criteria.

Table IV. Scores assigned to the studies for each of the five quality (Q) criteria.

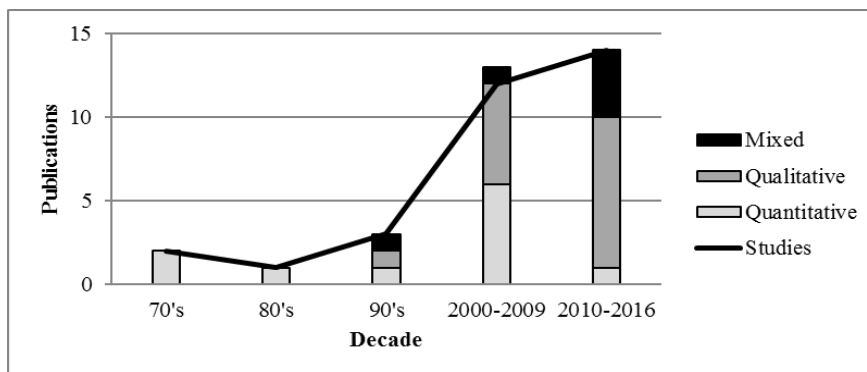
References	Year	Country	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Total
1. Andrews and Andrews	2003	UK	1	0	1	1	1	4
2. Belknap	1996	USA	1	0	1	1	0	3
3. Bucci	1989	Italy	1	0	1	1	0	3
4. Buzzini <i>et al.</i>	2005	USA	1	0	1	1	0	3
5. Cashin <i>et al.</i>	2008	Australia	1	1	1	1	0	4
6. Davila-Figueroa	2011	USA	1	1	1	1	1	5
7. Day	2012	UK	1	1	1	1	1	5
8. De Graaf	2013	Canada	1	1	1	1	1	5
9. Douglas <i>et al.</i>	2009	UK	1	1	1	1	1	5
10. Elwood-Martin <i>et al.</i>	2013	Canada	1	0	1	1	1	4
11. Flanagan	2011	USA	1	0	1	1	0	3
12. Fryer	2005	USA	1	1	1	1	1	5
13. Gallant <i>et al.</i>	2015	Australia	1	0	1	1	1	4
14. Garnier <i>et al.</i>	1996	France	1	0	1	1	0	3
15. Harner and Riley	2013	USA	1	0	1	1	0	3
16. Harner <i>et al.</i>	2010	USA	1	1	1	1	0	4
17. Jones	2013	USA	1	0	1	1	1	4
18. Leberman	2007	NZ	1	0	1	1	1	4
19. Lewis and Meek	2012	UK	1	0	1	1	1	4
20. Martinez-Merino <i>et al.</i>	2015	Spain	1	1	1	1	1	5
21. Martos-Garcia <i>et al.</i>	2009	Spain	1	0	1	1	1	4
22. Meek and Lewis	2014a	UK	1	0	1	1	0	3
23. Orton	1977	USA	1	1	1	1	0	4
24. Ozano	2008	UK	1	1	1	1	1	5
25. Peterson and Johnstone	1995	USA	1	0	1	1	0	3
26. Piot and Cliquennois	2009	France	1	0	1	1	1	4
27. Plugge <i>et al.</i>	2009	UK	1	0	1	1	0	3

28. Sas-Nowosielski	2000	Poland	1	0	1	1	1	4
29. Straub and Felock	1974	USA	1	1	1	1	1	5
30. Summar	2001	Mexico	1	0	1	1	1	4
31. Tibbetts	2015	USA	1	0	1	1	0	3
32. Young <i>et al.</i>	2005	Australia	1	0	1	1	1	4
33. Yuen, Arai and Fortune	2012	Canada	1	0	1	1	0	5
All studies			33	11	33	33	19	3.8

3.3.3. Provenance, year of publication and method employed

Of the 33 documents included in our review¹⁷, 24 were articles published in indexed journals, eight were doctoral thesis and one was a master's degree dissertation (MDD). As we observe in Table IV, 16 studies were from America (2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 23, 25, 29, 30, 31, 33), 13 from Europe (1, 3, 7, 9, 14, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 26, 27, 28) and four from Oceania (5, 13, 18, 32). The first document to use the SPA variable in a study conducted on women prison inmates was published in 1974, located at the State of New York. Between that date and 2016, it was in 2013 that the greatest number of publications appeared (a total of four), while the decade that began in 2010 (n=14) was the most productive. Furthermore, we observe an increase in the number of mixed and qualitative studies (Fig. III) in comparison with quantitative ones, which are decreasing.

Fig. III. Frequency of publications and type of studies per decade.



¹⁷ The numerical reference of each study corresponds to the order established in Table IV.

As regards the kind of research applied to each study (Table V), the qualitative type prevails (n=17) as opposed to ten quantitative and six mixed. Most of the authors restricted their sample to women (n=22), while 11 conducted research with the participation of men and women. In these latter documents, with the exception of one (13), the number of male prisoner participants was twice or three times greater than that of female prisoners. In three studies, the authors do not specify the exact number of men and women who participated (4, 21, 26), although they differentiate the gender dimension in the results. The greatest number of women participants was 505 (27), while the smallest was five (17, 20). As regards sampling, the most common approach was nonprobabilistic (with recourse to convenience sampling, purposive sampling, maximum variation sampling or snowball technique) in the case of nine studies, in comparison with the two that employed probabilistic sampling (with recourse to random or cross sectional random sampling). Moreover, in one case (23) employed both, probabilistic (in men) and nonprobabilistic sampling (in women). The remaining investigators, which except for two (21, 28) did not specify the kind of sampling employed, but provided indications on the kind of sampling such as the inclusion and exclusion criteria participants should meet (n=13) or the deliberate participation of all possible participants from the prisons selected (n=5).

Table V. Methodological analysis of the obtained results.

No.	Study type	No. participants	Sampling	Data collection	Type of analysis
1.	Qualitative	20 (5F and 15M)	WS	(I)(O)	Descriptive
2.	Quantitative	68F	WS	(S)	Descriptive
3.	Quantitative	20 (4F and 16M)	WS	(Q)	Descriptive
4.	Quantitative	9446 F and M	WS	(Q)	Descriptive and inferential
5.	Quantitative	914 (167F and 747M)	P	(Q)	Descriptive and inferential
6.	Qualitative	45F	NP	(I)	Descriptive
7.	Qualitative	16 (3F and 13M)	NP	(I)	Descriptive
8.	Qualitative	12F	NP	(I)	Descriptive
9.	Qualitative	37F	NP	(I)	Descriptive
10.	Mixed	16F	WS	(BM)(I)(Q)(S)	Descriptive and inferential
11.	Mixed	189F	WS	(I)(Q)(S)	Descriptive and inferential
12.	Qualitative	35F	NP	(E)(I)(O)	Descriptive
13.	Qualitative	36 (15F and 21M)	WS	(I)	Descriptive

14.	Qualitative	29F	WS	(I)	Descriptive and inferential
15.	Qualitative	65F	WS	(I)	Descriptive
16.	Mixed	17F	NP	(BM)(I)(Q)	Descriptive and inferential
17.	Qualitative	5F	WS	(I)(O)	Descriptive
18.	Qualitative	27F	WS	(I)	Descriptive
19.	Quantitative	144 reports	WS	(CS)	Descriptive and inferential
20.	Qualitative	5F	NP	(I)	Descriptive
21.	Qualitative	20 (F and M)	WS	(E)(I)	Descriptive
22.	Qualitative	44F	WS	(I)	Descriptive
23.	Quantitative	147 (43F and 104M)	NP and P	(Q)	Descriptive and inferential
24.	Qualitative	9F	NP	(I)	Descriptive
25.	Mixed	43F	WS	(BM)(I)(Q)	Descriptive
26.	Qualitative	F	WS	(I)(O)	Descriptive
27.	Quantitative	505F	WS	(BM)(Q)	Descriptive and inferential
28.	Quantitative	168 (40F and 128M)	WS	(S)	Descriptive and inferential
29.	Quantitative	80F	P	(Q)	Descriptive and inferential
30.	Mixed	60 (12F and 38M)	NP	(O)(Q)(S)	Descriptive and inferential
31.	Mixed	24F	WS	(I)(S)	Descriptive and inferential
32.	Quantitative	212F	WS	(S)	Descriptive and inferential
33.	Qualitative	61F	WS	(I)	Descriptive

Notes

F: female; M: male

WS: without specifying; NP: nonprobability sampling; P: probability sampling.

(BM): body measurements; (CS): category system; (E): ethnography; (I): interview; (O): observation;

(Q): questionnaire; (S): survey.

The data were collected mainly by the interview –in its different versions: in-depth, discussion groups or focal groups– (n=22), followed by questionnaires (n=11), surveys (n=7), observation (n=5) body measurements (n=4) and ethnography (n=2). In this respect we should point out that in 13 studies, researchers combined two or more data collection techniques. And as far as analysis techniques are concerned, in 20 studies, the authors used descriptive data analysis while the rest combined this with inferential analysis (n=14).

3.3.4. Subject matter of the studies

Of the total number of the SR, in 22 studies, researchers took SPAs as their central theme, while the remaining 11 supplemented the main theme by examining issues such as health (2, 8, 9, 15, 25, 27, & 32), leisure (6, 23, & 33) or women inmates' day-to-day experiences (12). Among those studies in which the main subject was SPAs, seven were grouped together as interventions, in which an

analysis was made of their relationship with rehabilitation (1), the benefits of the programme (10), prevention of heart diseases (11), health (14) or mental health (16), experimental apprenticeship (18) and dropping out of school (30). On the other hand, when inmates were asked, through interviews or questionnaires/surveys, about the experiences generated by the practice of physical activities (n=15), authors analysed variables such as motivation (3 & 31), attitude towards practice (28 & 29), perceptions of physical education (17), participation levels in SPAs (4 & 19), psychological wellbeing (5), quality of life (20), rehabilitation (13 & 24), identity transformation (17), the meanings women inmates attach to physical activity practice (21, 26) and the benefits they obtain and barriers they face in prison (22).

A number of recurrent themes appear throughout, even the heterogeneous nature of the selected documents. For example, different researchers have detected certain allegedly benefits that women inmates perceive as having derived from the practice of physical activities, such as an increase in social relations (6, 7, 12, 13, 17, 18, 22, 24, 25, 26, 31, & 33), both among inmates themselves and between inmates and prison staff; improved mental health (10, 13, 16, 22, 24, & 31) and quality of life (12 & 20); reduced stress (10, 13, & 17) and hopelessness (5) and the perception of a somewhat lesser degree of anxiety and depression (16); increased happiness (13) and better mood (17); an improved sensation of wellbeing (30) and relaxation (21) and the emergence of feelings of pleasure and amusement (7, 10, & 13); coming to forget the fact that they are incarcerated (13, 20, 21, 24, 26, & 31), thereby giving constructive vent to frustration and anger (13 & 20); improved perception of self-image, self-esteem (14, 16, 22, 24, & 31) and self-confidence (18 & 24); the sensation of improved health (13, 16, 20, & 31) and the belief that they have attained greater awareness of their own state of health (7) and of their bodies (16); perception of the fact that physical activities help them desist from crime (7 & 13) and drugs (7, 13, 21, & 25)

and favour the construction of a new identity that might transform their lives (7 & 24); and the opportunity to undertake personal and interpersonal apprenticeship (18).

On the negative side, a number of authors address the obstacles women prison inmates encounter when it comes to engaging in SPAs, mainly the following: an overlap between visiting times, work periods and parole and the gym schedule (7, 9, 15, 16, & 22); strict security measures imposed when it comes to gaining access to SPA facilities (10 & 25), resulting even in access denial (31) or standing in long queues in order to use sporting material (8); long waiting lists for certain activities (8, 15, & 31), which denotes a lack of qualified personnel (13); prison architecture uncondusive to and the lack of open space for the practice of SPAs (9, 16, 19, 20, & 31); lack of variety for the practice of SPAs (10, 13, 15, 20, 21, & 22); and low involvement rates due to lack of motivation (7, 22, 24, & 31) or ill-humour (17).

The level of participation in SPAs (or attitudes towards them) is another common issue in different studies. In two of them (28 & 29) –conducted on adolescents– negative attitudes or indifference were detected, another (4) stresses low participation rates among minors. As regards adults, lower participation rates have been detected among female (32) as opposed to male inmates (19 & 21) in both SPAs and recommended daily activity (27). Furthermore, it has been noted that the kind of prison (8) and of prison policy –which varies greatly from country to country (27)– interfere with women inmates' participation and their opportunity to accede to such motor practices.

Turning to the kind of motive practices offered in prison, we may divide these into two groups attending to the social interactions they foster. In socio-motor

activities, there is a social interaction, whereas in psychomotor activities, there is no interaction (Parlebas, 2002). As regards the socio-motor category, the disciplines that most frequently appear in the results are volleyball (6, 8, 12, 26, & 30) and basketball (6, 8, 23, & 30), followed by badminton (8 & 14), table-tennis (30), boxing (6) and softball (13). On the other hand, aerobic is the most practiced activity among individual activities (2, 8, 14, & 25), although other activities appear such as yoga (8 & 16), cycling (31), weight-lifting (2) and fitness training (10). Not to forget, the fact that researchers from one study (18) note interest on nature activities for women inmates. As regards the SPAs most in demand among these inmates, dance –zumba and aerobic–, volleyball, yoga and swimming are the most mentioned (31), followed to a lesser extent by tennis and horse-riding (23) and team games in general (3).

3.4. Discussion

Our intention doing this study was to identify and assess the quality of research conducted on prison inmates related to the practice of sport and physical activities by women inmates. Likewise, from the gender equality perspective, our SR will contribute to correcting the imbalance between studies about men and women, recently detected by Kaitlyn De Graaf (2013), which currently exists in scientific literature. As far as we know, this is the first SR to focus specifically on the quality of studies on SPAs practiced by women prison inmates.

The number of studies finally included for our analysis is noticeably low in comparison to the corpus of publications that have appeared separately on incarcerated women or else on SPAs. Although two decades ago have gone by since Clarke, Haag and Owen (1986) highlighted the virtues that SPAs generate

among prisoners, it was not until the beginning of this century that the number of publications in this field increased substantially. This considerable upturn may be due to the colossal growth in the prison population as from the 1990s. And although this phenomenon is observed mostly in the US (Wacquant, 2002), it is equally reflected in most European countries (OCDE, 2010) and, as a result, may have aroused interest on the part of researchers.

In this respect, America and Europe constitute the provenance of most of the studies, particularly the US and the UK, two countries with high percentages of prison population. According to Roy Walmsley (2016) the US, with over 2,000,000 prisoners, occupies first place in the American ranking while the UK, for its part, takes third place in Europe behind Russia and Turkey.

As regards quality criteria, we underline how high scores are obtained by most of the investigators. Even so, we should also point out that sampling and scientific rigour criteria are the aspects that achieved lowest scores. In this context, many of the researchers stress the restrictions (population, security, prison regime and so on) that they encountered when it came to conducting their studies. It need not surprise us, therefore, that given the difficulties encountered in carrying out certain measurements researchers should have opted for less reliable alternatives (instruments). Moreover, in some studies there is no mention –due perhaps to the publication format– of scientific rigour criteria, which does not mean that they were not taken into consideration, since most of the doctoral thesis provide indications on rigour criteria.

Turning now to the methodology employed, most of the studies conducted on women prison inmates –and taking SPAs as the variable– are qualitative in nature, although some were carried out in combination with quantitative

methods. Along the lines suggested by De Graaf (2013), it seems that qualitative research leads us to a deep understanding of situations and meanings from the information provided by the women inmates themselves. Furthermore, according to Joanne Kate Day (2012) it is particularly valuable when it comes to maintaining sensitivity and capturing the essence of the individuals in a social context so marked by stigmas as the prison environment. Thus, the consideration is that in the case of this population there is an overall tendency to learn about and attempt to reach an understanding of experiences –in this case of SPAs– rather than to study them from a quantitative perspective. Following this line of thought, the selected qualitative studies are characterised by the use of nonprobabilistic sampling –snowball, maximum variation sampling, representative or volunteer sampling–, which is very commonly applied to qualitative research (Bryman, 2015). Moreover, the interview was the most used technique to describe and understand the subjectivity of women prison inmates, since it is regarded as an effective, inclusive technique by which to elicit the perceptions of women prisoners (9) and bridge the gap between interviewers and interviewees (7). Likewise, a number of researchers expressed the desire to provide a voice to silenced or forgotten population, such as women prisoners (6, 8, 12, 20, & 24). Lila Kazemian (2015) mention the value of the interview technique where she feels most comfortable as a researcher, even in a high stressing environment such the prison. This atmosphere of comfort seems to have positive repercussions on both interviewers and interviewees, thereby fostering the provision of information of greater quality and reliability. In some studies the interview was conducted in combination with other techniques such as observation (1, 12, 17, 26, & 30) or ethnography (12 & 21), with a view to acquiring deeper knowledge of everyday prison life by identifying and understanding the symbology of prison subculture (Wacquant, 2002). Indeed, participative observation contributes to establishing empathy with and proximity to both the group and the participants' feelings (1).

The quantitative studies, which abound in the field of SPAs (Gratton & Jones, 2010), conformed to the usual format of questionnaires and surveys (2, 4, 5, 23, 25, 27, 28, 29, & 32), except for one case in which researchers conducted a content analysis (19). In general, authors addressed larger populations and the choice of this technique provided them with data on a bigger scale, offering a numerical view of reality. In most cases, inclusion and exclusion criteria were applied when it came to selecting participants. The central aim of these investigators was health, in which an analysis was conducted of SPAs as a variable with which to complement a test battery. Their starting point was the hypothesis that the practice of SPAs in prison might have positive repercussions on the health of women inmates.

As regards those researchers that employed mixed methods, they mostly use the nonprobabilistic sampling technique collecting through surveys or questionnaires (10, 11, 16, 25, 30, & 31) combined with a number of techniques by which to supplement the information thus gathered: interviews (10, 11, 16, 25, & 31), body measurements (10, 16, & 25) or observation (30). In this respect, Erica S. Tibbetts (2015) stresses that the inclusion of qualitative and quantitative measurements in the studies may avoid biased findings.

Our analysis from the results of the SR reveal that allegedly benefits constitute one of the most recurring themes (3, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 31, & 33), in consonance with those obtained in other studies on male prisoners, such as those which allude to improved quality of life (Hagan, 1989), those which contend that the practice of SPAs facilitates future inclusion into society (Meek, 2014) and helps make serving sentence more bearable (Murtaza *et al.*, 2011), and those which regards SPAs as a useful means towards socialisation and communicative skills (Lleixà & Ríos, 2015). Likewise, they

verify, as Meredith Nelson *et al.* did in the past (2006), that SPAs may make a major contribution to relinquishing drug consumption (7, 13, 21, & 25). Nonetheless, women prison inmates face against countless obstacles when it comes to engaging in SPAs (3, 8, 9, 15, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22, 25, 27, & 31), which indicates that we still have a long way to go before this practice becomes standard in women's prison departments. Continuing along these lines, the level of participation in women inmates is very low in comparison to the recommended levels for society or to those of men prisoners. Furthermore, in relation to the kind of physical activities, it seems that gender influences the choice of practices (Pfister, 2015), being the practices regarded as 'feminine', the most practiced by women (volleyball, aerobics, zumba and so on). We have not found if they practice these activities because they are really interested in them or because of the limited range of activities available in prison regimes. In cases in which SPAs are even banned, this might respond to the domesticity strategy aimed at women offenders (Almeda, 2005). In most of the documents included in the SR, SPAs constitute the central theme, which might indicate the major interest they have aroused among researchers in the sports sciences field.

Some authors from the select studies point out the difficulties involved in conducting research in prison, as Mary Bosworth *et al.* (2005), Lila Kazemian (2015) and Loïc Wacquant (2002) did in the past. The most serious problems include gaining access to the prison in order to conduct research (6, 21, & 31), finding members of the prison staff who are genuinely interested in the research (6), the permanent need for acceptance on the part of the institution in order to proceed with the study (16), the fact that recording interviews is not allowed (15), the host of ethical consideration to be taken into account given the sensitive nature of the data collected (13) and finding women inmates willing to collaborate in the study (31).

3.5. Conclusions

Having done this study, we have provide the means to become familiar with the kind of studies conducted in many countries situated at three different continents on women prisoners in relation to the practice of SPAs. In addition, we have point its repercussions on aspects such as mental and physical health or social relations both during their time in prison and after release.

In our opinion, the relatively scarce studies on SPA with women may be explained because of the obstacles conducting research in prisons and the fact that the practice of physical activities is encouraged more among men than among women. It seems that there is a growth research tendency in prisons located at the UK and USA.

Despite the benefits perceived by the women prisoners, acquaintance with the barriers mentioned in different studies will provide specialised knowledge so that future researchers or health-allied professionals may anticipate and attempt to design methodological strategies with which to overcome them.

Thus, the methods applied in the different evaluated documents foster reflection on how the issue of SPAs may be addressed from a variety of perspectives, although we should point out that in the prison context qualitative research is the most widely employed. In any case, methodology should respond and adapt to the aims of the study, whenever the context (and the institutions) permit. In view of the high quality of the studies analysed, we may be able to take the results as a reference point, in that the kinds of activities in most demand or those that have proven to be most popular among women inmates provide important

information when it comes to proposing new potentially successful intervention programmes.

The increase in the female prison population has contributed to fostering reflection on prisons and their androcentric structure, in which sport –as a further element in the prison system– was conceived neither for nor with women. Women prison inmates exist and some –those who can and want to– practice SPAs while serving time, as we learn from the studies mentioned above. It is clear that the different prison policies and interests have much to do with the fact that participation in SPAs is lower among women than men. It may be that with new scientific cross-national studies we may be able to bring about a real change in order, up to a certain point, to make women’s time in prison more bearable.

3.6. References

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LAUGARREN KAPITULUA

Jarduera fisikoa egiten duten
emakume presoek antzemandako
onura eta oztopoak

4.1. Sarrera¹⁸

Espetxeratutako emakumeak guztiz ahaztuta daude (Almeda, 2003); ikusezinak dira gizartearentzat, eta ikusezinak gizonek zein gizonezkoentzat egituratutako espetxe sisteman (Fryer, 2005). Horrela, espetxean sartzea, berez, ondorio somatiko zein psikosozialak dituen sozializazio prozesua bada (Valverde, 1991), zailagoa da oraindik emakumeentzat, gainetik kendu ezinezko estigmatizatzea jasaten baitute: emakume presoak emakume 'gaiztotzat' hartzen dira; izan ere, euren generoari dagozkion rola nahiz legeak urratu dituzte (De Miguel-Calvo, 2016).

Zigorraren metamorfosiaren analisisian, Michel Foucaultek (1990) dio, mozorroen atzean gordetzen bada ere, zigorrak korporala izaten jarraitzen duela eta gorputz otzanak ekoiztea dela haren asmoa. Testuinguru horretan, jarduera fisikoa eta kirola (JFK) tresna dira espetxealdiaren ondorio kaltegarriak leundu eta espetxeratuaren osasuna hobetzeko (Meek, 2014). Gauzak hala, zenbait bizipenek erlazionatu egin dute JFKen praktika osasun mental eta fisikoarekin (Ionescu, Parisot, eta Irode, 2010), drogak uztearekin (Meek eta Lewis, 2012), komunikazio-zein sozializazio-aspektuekin (Lleixà eta Ríos, 2015) edota inklusio sozialarekin (Williams, Collingwood, Coles, eta Schmeer, 2015). Ebidentziak izanda ere, beharrezkoa da gai honi buruzko ikerketa berriak garatzea (Martos-Garcia,

¹⁸ Jatorrizko artikulua: Martínez-Merino, N., Martín-González, N., Usabiaga-Arruabarrena, O., & Martos-García, D. (2018). Beneficios y barreras identificadas por las presas que practican actividad física: una revisión cualitativa de la literatura [Benefits and barriers identified for incarcerated women that practice physical activity: a qualitative review of the literature]. *Retos*, 34, 44-50.

Devís-Devís, eta Sparkes, 2009b); adibidez, emakume presoen kolektiboa aintzat harturik.

Kalean, JFKek tradizionalki maskulinitate hegemonikoa izan dute (Hargreaves, 2002; Scraton eta Flintoff, 2013), eta horrek ekarri ditu emakumeentzat hainbat oztopo eta euren parte hartzea mugatzea (Fasting eta Sisjord, 1985; Kelly, Martin, Kuhn, Cowan, Brayne, eta Lafortune, 2016). Kirolak proiektatzen duen irudi maskulinoari (Scraton, 1995), baina, oztopo jakin batzuk gehitu behar genizkioke; hain justu, emakumeen kolektiboenak direnak (Bowles, Morrow, Leonard, Hawkins, eta Couzelis, 2002). Ez dezagun ahantz oztopoak, onurekin batera, erabakigarriak direla jarrera aldatzeko prozesuan (Prochaska eta Bess, 1994); hortaz, horiek identifikatzea beharrezkoa da emakumezkoen JFKetako parte hartzearen analisian.

Zerrenda ditzagun, beraz, emakumeen jarduera fisikoa oztopatzen duten arrazoiak: familia-ardurak, sortzen duten kostu ekonomikoa; JFK espazioetan ahalke sentitzea, familiaren nahiz bikotekidearen babes falta edo babes emozional falta (Dixon, 2009; Flintoff eta Scraton, 2001; Fasting eta Sand, 2015; Folta, Golderberg, Lichtenstein, Seguin, Reed, eta Nelson, 2008). Baina denbora falta da gehien azaleratutako oztopoa, eta jarduleen automotibazio zein determinazioarekin lotuta dago (Bowles *et al.*, 2002). Era berean, datuek islatu dute kirol-programetara edo gertuko aisia-espazioetara iristeko zailtasuna, eta horrek euren parte hartzea mugatu du (Siddiqi, Tiro, eta Shuval, 2011). Gainera, ikerlan berriek erakutsi dute, JFKetarako espazioak partekatzen direnetan, gizonezkoek kanpoko espazioak eta zabalenak hartu ohi dituztela; horrela, emakumezkoen praktika barnealdera zein espazio txikietara bideratzen da (Lamonedo-Prieto eta Huertas-Delgado, 2017). Gertrud Pfisterrek dio (2015) emakumezkoen JFKek duten bazterreko rola gure gizarteko botere-harreman hegemonikoen isla argia dela.

Bestalde, ikusi da emakumeek hautemandako onurek JFKetan parte hartzea sustatu dutela (Hargreaves, 2002), eta hala jaso du literatura zientifikoak (Warburton, Nicol, eta Bredin, 2006). Onurei esker, osasun mentalari dagokionez, estres eta autoestimu mailan hobekuntzak antzematen dira (Borges-Silva, Ruiz-González, Salar, eta Moreno-Murcia, 2017) edo antsietate eta depresio mailan murrizketa (Villaverde-Gutiérrez *et al.*, 2012). Gainera, emakumezkoek adierazten dute ondo pasatzen dutela (Raedeke, 2007) eta euren eguneroko arazoez ahazten direla (Emslie, Whyte, Campbell, Mutrie, Lee, Ritchie, eta Kearney, 2007). Bestalde, ariketa fisikoak harreman-sare berriak sustatzen ditu (Fernández-Lasa, Usabiaga, Martos-Garcia, eta Castellano, 2015), zeinetan emakumeek euren bizipen eta identitateak partekatu eta, euren aniztasunaren gaintik, unitate bat sortzen duten (Theberge, 1995).

Alabaina, emakume presoen egoera okerragoa da, espetxeen izaera androzentrikoaren ondorioz (De Graaf, 2013) eta emakume atxiloak, Sarah Lebermani jarraiki (2007), gizonezkoentzat diseinaturiko jardueretan txertatu direlako. Horregatik, berrikuspen honen helburua da JFKak praktikatzen dituzten espetxeratutako emakumezkoen ikerketak identifikatzea eta hautemandako onura eta oztopoak zehaztea. Azkenik, askatasunean bizi diren emakumezkoen literaturarekin ere alderatuko ditugu datuak.

4.2. Metodoa

Espetxeratutako emakumezkoek JFKetan parte hartzearen inguruan, aurretiazko berrikuspen sistematiko bat gauzatu zen (ikusi Martinez-Merino, Martín-González, Usabiaga, eta Martos-Garcia, 2017); asmoa ebidentzia zientifikoak identifikatu eta sintetizatzea zen. Gero, adar kualitatiboa garatzeari ekin zaio. Bi

prozedurak Grant eta Booth (2009) proposamenari jarraiki egin dira. Bilaketa estrategikoa hainbat datu-basetan egin zen (Psycinfo, Sportdiscus, Medline, Proquest Dissertation and Theses eta Eric), ikerketa-gaiari lotutako hiru aldagaiekin: JFKak, espetxea eta emakumeak. Hitz horien aukeraketa datu-base bakoitzaren tesauoroaren arabera egin zen, eta hitzen erroak erabiliz egin zen, ahalik eta emaitza aukera zabalena lortzeko. Bilaketa izenburua eta laburpena ingelesez zuten lanetara mugatu bazen ere, beste hizkuntza batean osatutako lanak onartu ziren. Onartutako dokumentuak binaka edo tribunal akademiko batek berrikusitako lan enpirikoak izan ziren, eta 2017ko urtarrila arte argitaratutakoak ziren.

Lehen bilaketak, bikoiztutakoak alboratuta, 28 ikerlan eman zituen. Dena den, adituen irizpideei jarraiki, beste bost lan gehitu zitzaizkien; Felis-Anaya, Martos-Garcia, eta Devís-Devísek (2017) egin duten moduan. Ikerlanek hiru inklusio-irizpide bete behar zituzten:

- a) Ikerlanaren lagina emakume edo neska gazteek osatu behar zuten. Lagina mistoa zenetan (gizon eta emakumeak), emaitzetan genero aldagaia berezitatea ez zuten ikerketak alboratu ziren.
- b) Ikerketa egin behar zen espetxe eremuan edo askatasunik gabe bizi diren pertsonekin (euren zigorra erregimen irekian, ohikoan edo itxian betetzen ari zirenak).
- c) Ikerketak aldagai batzuei buruzko analisia barnebilatu behar zuten; askatasunik gabeko emakumezkoen JFKetako parte hartzearekin zerikusia zuten aldagaiei buruzkoa, hain zuzen.

Edukien analisiari esker, JFKekin erlazioa zuten gai batzuk azaleratu ziren, eta horiek lau familiatan banatu ziren: onurak, oztopoak, jarduera motak eta parte hartze mailak. Horrela, 33 ikerlanetatik 27 hautatu ziren; hain justu ere,

emakumeen JFKekin erlazonaturiko oztopoak (n=18) edota onurak (n=21) lantzen zituztenak (VI Taula).

VI. Taula. Aztertutako ikerketen egileak, argitaratutako urtea, jatorria eta landutako gaia

Egileak	Urtea	Jatorria	Onurak	Oztopoak
Andrews eta Andrews	2003	Erresuma Batua		X
Belknap	1996	AEB		X
Bucci	1989	Italia	X	X
Cashin <i>et al.</i>	2008	Australia	X	
Davila-Figueroa	2011	AEB	X	
Day	2012	Erresuma Batua	X	X
De Graaf	2013	Kanada	X	X
Douglas <i>et al.</i>	2009	Erresuma Batua		X
Elwood-Martin <i>et al.</i>	2013	Kanada	X	X
Flanagan	2011	AEB	X	
Fryer	2005	AEB	X	X
Gallant <i>et al.</i>	2015	Australia	X	X
Garnier <i>et al.</i>	1996	Frantzia	X	
Harner eta Riley	2013	AEB		X
Harner <i>et al.</i>	2010	AEB	X	X
Jones	2013	AEB	X	X
Leberman	2007	Zeelanda Berria	X	
Lewis eta Meek	2012	Erresuma Batua		X
Martinez-Merino <i>et al.</i>	2015	Espainia	X	X
Martos-García <i>et al.</i>	2009b	Espainia	X	X
Meek eta Lewis	2014	Erresuma Batua	X	X
Ozano	2008	Erresuma Batua	X	
Peterson eta Johnstone	1995	AEB	X	X
Piot eta Cliquennois	2009	Frantzia	X	
Plugge <i>et al.</i>	2009	Erresuma Batua		X
Tibbetts	2015	AEB	X	X
Yuen <i>et al.</i>	2012	Kanada	X	

Oztopoak Rosie Meek eta Gwen Lewisen (2014) sailkapenaren arabera kodifikatu ziren: intrintsekoak –emakume atxiloen parte hartzean eragiten duten arrazoi pertsonalak– eta estrintsekoak –erregimen eta egiturarekin erlazonatutakoak–. Onurak, ordea, indukzioz kodifikatu, eta taldekatu egin ziren. Halaber, bost

kategoria zehaztu zituzten analizatutako ikerketek (VII Taula): a) onura sozialak, espetxeratutako emakumeei eta langileei buruzko informazioa biltzen zutenak; b) onura mentalak eta c) onura fisikoak, onura sozial eta fisikoei zegozkienak; d) erresistentzia-terminoa, adierazten zituena instituzioari aurre nola egiten zioten eta zigorra eramangarriagoa egiteko estrategiak; eta e) eraldaketa-kontzeptua, euren egungo bizimoduan eta etorkizunekoan (aske zirenean) aldaketa positiboa eragin ahal zuten onurak biltzen zituena.

VII. Taula. Analisisirako kategorizazio-sistema eta kodifikazioa

Onuren kategoria	Hitz gakoak - Kodeak
Sozialak	Harreman-sareak Komunitatea Laguntasuna Identitatea
Onura mentalak	Ongizate mentala Ihesbidea Ondo pasatzea Autoestimua
Onura fisikoak	Pisu korporala Tabakoa/Drogak Abilezia motorrak
Erresistentzia	Kontrola Denbora
Eraldaketa	Inklusio Soziala Ohitura osasungarriak

4.3. Emaitzak eta eztabaida

4.3.1. Onurak

Onurei buruzko datuen analisiak berauen taldekatzea ekarri zuen bost kategoriatan; hurrenez hurren, ordena honetan adierazten direnak: onura sozialak, mentalak, fisikoak, erresistentziakoak eta eraldaketakoak.

Hautatu gabeko tokian lagunak aukeratzen

Emakumeek uste dute JFKen praktika harreman-sare berriak ehuntzeko jarduera dela (Fernández-Lasa *et al.*, 2015), eta horixe erakutsi dute espetxeratutako emakumeei egindako ikerlanetatik ondorioztatutako onurek ere. Gauzak horrela, JFKetarako espazioak espetxeko girotik ihes egiteko, erlaxatzeko eta naturaltasunez sozializatzeko gune seguru gisa hautematen dira (Yuen, Arai, eta Fortune, 2012), baita harreman sozial berriak sortzeko leku bezala ere (Davila-Figueroa, 2011; Day, 2012; Gallant, Sherry, eta Nicholson, 2015; Jones, 2013; Leberman, 2007; Meek eta Lewis, 2014; Ozano, 2008; Piot eta Cliquennois, 2009; Tibbetts, 2015; Yuen *et al.*, 2012). Ezezagunekin bizitzera behartuta egonda ere, gimnasioa jendea ezagutu eta harremanak egiteko aukera bihurtzen da. Euren denbora norekin pasatu aukeratu ahal izatea baliotsua da beraientzat; izan ere, emakumeen kirol-taldeak ere interesak partekatzen dituzten pertsonekin osatu ohi dira, azken batean (Theberge, 1995).

Horiek horrela, JFKen atxikipenean eragiten duten aldagai gakotzat hartu dira talde sozial bateko kide izatea eta handik eratorritako adiskidetasuna (Flintoff eta Scraton, 2001; Wood eta Danylchuk, 2011). Tibbetts harago joan zen (2015), espetxean beste pertsonekin konektatuta sentitzeak atxikipen motorrean lagun

dezakeela esan baitzuen. Beraz, itxialdian gauzatutako JFKak erreminta interesgarri izan daitezke talde-lana sustatzeko (Leberman, 2007) edota komunitatea (Fryer, 2005) eta adiskidetasuna sortzeko (Peterson eta Johnston, 1995). Horrekin lotuta, badirudi emakume presoek taldekako jardueretan gozatu egiten dutela eta, gainera, espetxe barruan sostengu soziala ematen dietela JFKek (Douglas *et al.*, 2009; Peterson eta Johnstone, 1995). Diana Restrepo eta Paz Francésesek (2016) gaineratu zuten zigor-botere patriarkalak elkartasun-lotura guztiak apurtu nahi dituela; hortaz, halako espazio txikiak garrantzi bizikoak izan daitezke kartzelaren elkartasun ezaren patroiarri uko egiteko.

Halaber, Kimberley A. Ozanok (2008) esan zuen kirol-eremuetan autoritate-sentsazioa arindu egiten dela, preso zein langileak euren izenez deitzen baitira, eta euren identitate zati bat berreskuratzen dute, preso-zenbaki edo abizenetik harago. Ez dezagun ahantz, Goffmanen arabera (1988), espetxera sartzeak, beste gauza batzuen artean, “nork bere buruaren mortifikazioa” dakarrela, identitatearen zein aurreko aldiko rolaren gabetzea. Alabaina, izenak soilik erabiltzeak apurtu egiten ditu espetxeko harreman mota hegemonikoak (Piot eta Cliquennois, 2009). Era horretara, kolektiboen arteko botere-harremanak lausotu egiten dira.

Zigorretik ihesean: neure burua zainduz, ezagutuz eta maitatuz

Hainbat ikerketek aipatzen dute JFKen praktikak osasun mentalean duen onura espetxetik kanpo (Warburton *et al.*, 2006), baina espetxeen ikerketek ere argitu dute, JFKen bidez, osasun mentalean onurak nabaritzen direla (Gallant *et al.*, 2015; Martinez-Merino, Martín-González, Usabiaga, eta Martos-Garcia, 2015; Tibbetts, 2015). Ildo bereko ikerlan berriek (Harner, Hanlon, eta Garfinkel, 2010; Meek eta Lewis, 2014) egiaztatu dute ohitura aktiboek balio dezaketela presoan

depresioaren aurka; ongi egoten laguntzen baitiete, eta gozamen eta emozio positiboak sortzen dizkiete (Day, 2012). Gainera, zertxobait murrizten dituzte antsietate-zantzuak (Harner *et al.*, 2010) eta etsipena (Cashin, Potter, eta Butler, 2008), eta horrek ongizate mentala hobetzen du (Bucci, 1989). Kontuan izaten badugu, Jesús Valverdek (1991) azaldu bezala, espetxealdiko bizipena oso itogarria izan daitekeela metaketa bikoitzagatik (fisikoa eta psikologikoa), ulergarria da emakume presoek JFKak foku psikologiko positibotzat jotzea (Meek eta Lewis, 2014) eta jarduera horietan parte hartzeagatik energiaz beterik, zentratuta, indartuta eta gaztetuta sentitzea (Harner *et al.*, 2010). Zentzu berean, aztertutako ikerketek adierazten dute JFKek espetxeko kaos eta nahasmenetik ihes egiten lagundu ahal dietela, ezertan ez pentsaraziz (Fryer, 2005). Alabaina, euren kontuez argi pentsatzeko eta lasai egoteko denbora eskaintzen diete, aldi berean (Ozano, 2008; Tibbetts, 2015). Valverderengana itzuliz (1991), espetxeek, nahiz eta fisikoki handiak izan, ez dituzte bakardade zein erretirorako momentuak ahalbidetzen; hori dela eta, JFKak iheserako faktore bikoitza dira.

Hari beretik, identifikatutako ikerlanek nabarmentzen dute JFKek garrantzia dutela espetxeko eguneroko bizitzatik distraitzeko (Meek eta Lewis, 2014); izan ere, emakumeek giltzaperatuta daudela ahantz dezakete (Gallant *et al.*, 2015; Martos-Garcia *et al.*, 2009b; Ozano, 2008; Tibbetts, 2015). Egoera horrek momentuko askatasun sentimendua bultzatzen du (Martinez-Merino *et al.*, 2015), eta, honenbestez, egunerokoari aurre egiten laguntzen die, dudarik gabe. Ez hori bakarrik, zigorra gainditzeko sostengu bihurtzen da jarduera (Davila-Figueroa, 2011). Horrek guztiak, JFKen praktikak, alegia, espetxeko bizipena apur bat jasangarriago bihurtzen du (De Graaf, 2013) eta, modu berean, zigorrari aurre egiteko indarra ematen die (Harner *et al.*, 2010).

Onura mental terapeutikoetan sakondu denean jakin da metatutako tentsioa kontrolatzen laguntzen duela; baita energia negatiboak askatzen ere, eta

estresarentzako irtenbide ere badela (Gallant *et al.*, 2015; Jones, 2013; Martinez-Merino *et al.*, 2015; Martos-Garcia *et al.*, 2009b; Meek eta Lewis, 2014; Ozano, 2008; Tibbetts, 2015). Gainera, estres maila jaisteak emakume atxiloen energia maila eta loa hobetzen ditu (Elwood-Martin *et al.*, 2013); hala, askatasunean egiten den jarduera fisikoarekin harreman positiboa garatzen dute (Borges-Silva *et al.*, 2017; Warburton *et al.*, 2006). Azken finean, espetxeratutako emakumeek euren emozioak era seguru eta kontrolatua askatzeko gune aproposena da (Day, 2012; Ozano, 2008). Horrela, sozialki onartutako metodoak ikasten ari dira euren estres eta antsietatea askatzeko; eta, gero, askatasunean aplikatu ahal izango dituzte (Gallant *et al.*, 2015).

Thomas D. Raedkeren (2007) iritziz, jarduera fisikoarekin erlazionatutako programen antolakuntzan, ondo pasatzeko espazioa utzi beharko litzateke, horrek emozio positiboaren agerpena eta praktikarako atxikipena bultzatzen baititu. Berrikuspenaren emaitzek tokia egitearen garrantzia azpimarratu dute, batez ere testuingurua espetxea denean. Izan ere, ezaugarri ludikoko JFKek espetxeko asperdura ezabatzen dute (Jones 2013; Gallant *et al.*, 2015), baita gelditasunaren sentsazioa murrizten ere (Martos-Garcia *et al.*, 2009b).

Badirudi jarduera fisikoak positiboki eragiten duela askatasunean bizi diren emakumeen autoestimuan (Borges-Silva *et al.*, 2017; Flintoff eta Scraton, 2001) zein espetxeratutako emakumeenean (Douglas *et al.*, 2009; Leberman, 2008; Meek eta Lewis, 2014; Ozano, 2008; Peterson eta Johnstone, 1995; Tibbetts, 2015). Azken hauek nabarmentzen dute kirol-jarduerak euren burua estimatzen laguntzen diela, konfiantza handiagoa izaten eta euren gaitasunean sinesten (Fryer, 2005; Leberman, 2007). Adibidez, zeregin zailak burutzeak eta helburuak lortzeak egindakoaz harro egotea eta trebe sentitzea bultzatzen dute (Tibbetts, 2015). Era horretara, konfiantza gora doanez gero, beste identitate bat eraikitzen laguntzen dute (Ozano, 2008). Emakume atxiloek estigmatizatzeko eta diskriminazio

gogorrak pairatzen dituzte, gizartearen aurrean 'gaizto' izateagatik, eta, ondorioz, sozialki baztertu egiten dira (De Miguel-Calvo, 2016). Gainera, nabaria da estigmaren zama gogor eroriko dela haiengan, eta orduan sendotu dezakete haien identitatea eta ahalduntzea JFKek (Scraton eta Flintoff, 2013).

Bizitza osasungarrirantz

JFKen ohiko praktikak onura zientifiko asko ditu; bai lehen, bai bigarren mailako gaixotasun kronikoen prebentzioan (Warburton *et al.*, 2006), eta hala islatzen dute kartzelan bildutako datuek ere. Horiei dagokienez, hainbat lanetan aipatu da osasun fisikoan gorakada izan dela (Gallant *et al.*, 2015; Martinez-Merino *et al.*, 2015); eta, hain ingurune osasungaitzean (Valverde, 1991), erabakigarria da faktore hori (Tibbetts, 2015). Gainera, espetxeratutako emakumeak dinamikoago eta tonikoago sentitzen dira jarduera fisikoaren ondoren (Garnier, Minotti, eta Labridy, 1996): alde batetik, trebetasun motorrak hobetzen dituztelako, eta, bestetik, gorputz-postura hobetzen eta pisu korporala murrizten dutelako (Douglas *et al.*, 2009). Garnier eta besteek (1996) adierazi zuten presoek sentitzen zutela gorputzaren kontrol handiagoa zutela, eta erakutsi zuten gaitasun horrek gorputzaren ezagutza eta zaintza sustatzen dituela (Day, 2012; Harner *et al.*, 2010; Ozano, 2008). Hortaz, emakume atxiloek euren osasunaren gaineko kontzientzia hartzen dutenez, zenbait bizi-ohitura aldatzera animatzen dira, hala nola, espetxeko dieta hipokalorikoari aurre egitera (Flanagan, 2011; Garnier *et al.*, 1996; Meek eta Lewis, 2014; Ozano, 2008; Tibbetts, 2015), jarduera fisikoa maiztasunez praktikatzen (Flanagan, 2011; Tibbetts, 2015) edo tabako kontsumoa jaistera (Ozano, 2008).

JFKek bizimodu osasungarria izateko gaitasuna ematen diete (Meek eta Lewis, 2014); modu horretara, euren ongizate orokorra (Ozano, 2008) nahiz bizi-kalitatea hobetzen dituzte (Martinez-Merino *et al.*, 2015). Zenbaitetan, gainera,

drogen aurkako prebentzio-arma ere bihurtu izan da ariketa fisikoa (Martos-Garcia *et al.*, 2009b; Ozano, 2008; Peterson eta Johnstone, 1995).

Zigorra jasaten eta laburtzen

Espetxeko egunerokotasuna zaintzaile eta espetxeratuen arteko etengabeko botere-negoziaketan ezaugarritzen da, eta, Valverderen (1991) ustetan, azken horiek aurre egin ala men egin besterik ez dute. Testuinguru horretan, atxiloek hainbat erresistentzia-estrategia garatzen dituzte egoera desorekatuari aurre egiteko (Bosworth eta Carrabine, 2001). Horregatik, JFKak tresna interesgarriak izan daitezke espetxeari aurre egiteko eta haien gorputzen gaineko kontrola apur bat berreskuratzeko (De Graaf, 2013). Emakume atxiloek adierazi zuten garrantzitsua zela JFKak euren buruarengatik egiten ari ziren zerbait izatea, eta ez espetxearentzat; borondatez erabakitakoa izatea (Ozano, 2008) eta ez derrigortuta. Gainera, alternatiba irudimentsuak sortu dituzte –material birziklatuarekin praktikatzea, ziegan jardutea edota espetxeratuen artean saioak zuzentzea– eta ahaldundu egin dira instituzioaren aurrean.

Horrez gainera, JFKek haien denbora ongi kudeatzeko erraztasunak ematen dizkiete espetxeratutako emakumeei (Meek eta Lewis, 2014). Alde batetik, lanpetuta daude (Fryer, 2005), eta, bestetik, denbora-pasa gisa laguntzen dietela adierazi dute; alegia, denbora pertsonalaren zein zigorraren ihesbide direla (Martinez-Merino *et al.*, 2015; Ozano, 2008). Badirudi jarduera motorrek –denboraz mugatuak daudenez (hasiera eta amaiera dituzte)– zigorra arinago doan sentazioa sortzen dutela (Martinez-Merino *et al.*, 2015), eta, ondorioz, aske uzteko data eta familia ikusteko aukera gertuago sentitzen dituzte presoek (Jones, 2013). Roger Matthewsekin (2009) bat eginez, esan behar da espetxe barruko nahiz kanpoko denbora, bera izan arren, ez dela berdin hautematen; izan ere, epaiak giltzapean eman beharreko hilabete edo urteak zehazten baditu,

denboraren garrantzia berebizikoa da. Beraz, azpimarratuko genuke jarduera fisikoak erlojuko orratzei abiadura sentsazioa ematen diela, eta ez dago esan beharrik zeinen esanguratsua den hori emakume atxiloarentzat.

Biziak eraldatuz

Hainbat lanen ikerketa gaia izan da JFKek birgizarteratzeko erreminta gisa bete dezaketen rola (Gallant *et al.*, 2015; Martos-Garcia *et al.*, 2009b; Meek eta Lewis, 2014; Ozano, 2008). Emaitzen artean, ageri da titulu bat lortu nahi izateak JFKekiko nolabaiteko interesa piztu dezakeela, etorkizuneko lan-aukerak eman baititzake (Day, 2012). Bien bitartean, espetxe barnean, kirol-hezitzaile aritzea interesgarria izan daiteke lan-eskarmentua eta gaitasun sozialak lantzeko (Ozano, 2008). Esan bezala, emakume atxiloak kontura daitezke jarduera fisikoarekin erlazionatutako irteera profesionalak badaudela (Meek eta Lewis, 2014).

Horrenbestez, JFKak espetxean esku hartzeko tresna interesgarria izan daitezke, jarrera sozialak bultzatzen dituztelako (Fryer, 2005) edota helburu izan dezaketelako etorkizuneko inklusio soziala edo birgizarteratzea (Gallant *et al.*, 2015). Gainera, zigor-denboran hartutako zenbait ohitura osasungarri askatasuneko bizitzan ere mantentzen daitezke, eta bizimodu osasungarria bultzatu (Meek eta Lewis, 2014). Hala ere, hori ez da lan erraza, espetxeek ez baitute betetzen eraiki zirenean bete nahi izan zuen funtzio bat bera ere (Restrepo eta Francés, 2016); bereziki, birgizarteratzearena (Martos-Garcia *et al.*, 2009a, 2009b). Espainiar estatuan, adibidez, nahiz eta Espetxeen Lege Organiko Orokorrean (1979) helburu gisa jarri “zigortuen birgizarteratze eta berreziketa”, espetxeke egonaldia giltzaperatze eta zigorrarekin erlazionatzen da. Zergatik? Beste gauza batzuen artean, diziplinazko erregimena heziketa tratamenduen eta beharren gainetik jartzen delako (Martos-Garcia *et al.*, 2009a).

4.3.2. Oztopoak

Erregimenaren kontrako noranzkoan: eskasia oparoa denean

JFKak egiterako orduan, espetxeratutako emakumeek daukaten lehen arazo estrintsekoa oztopo instituzionalak dira (Plugge, Foster, Yudkin, eta Douglas, 2009; Tibbetts, 2015). Hortik aparte, lanak edo eguneroko jarduerak, bisitak eta baimenek JFKen praktika baldintzatzen dute (Day, 2012; Harner *et al.*, 2010; Harner eta Riley, 2013; Meek eta Lewis, 2014). Nahiz eta harrigarria iruditu, denbora soberan dagoen ingurunean, emakumeek arazoak dituzte, lanetik edo familiarik kanpo, JFKak egiteko tarteak lortzeko (Day, 2012); are gehiago, bata ala bestea erabaki behar izaten dute (Meek eta Lewis, 2014). Horrekin lotuta, Joanne Belknapen (1996) ikusi zuen talde-kiroletako seme-alabak zaintzen zituzten emakumeen parte hartzea askoz ere baxuagoa zela ardura hori ez zutenekin alderatuta. Hari beretik jarraituz, ikerlan berriek baieztatu dute familiaren edo bikotearen eskakizunek emakume atxiloen praktika motorrean eragiten dutela (Day, 2012; Meek eta Lewis, 2014). Dirudenez, familia-loturek pisuzko kontratu psikologikoa ezartzen diete emakume presoek (Restrepo eta Francés, 2016), eta euren erabaki pertsonalak mugatzen dituzte. Besteen zaintza nor berearen aurretik jartzen duela nabari da, bai espetxean zein askatasunean (Sraton eta Flintoff, 2013). Horri dagokionean, Marlene A. Dixonek (2009) azaldu zuen ama langileak jatorduez baliatzen zirela jarduera fisikoari tarte bat eskaintzeko; izan ere, lanetik itzultitakoan, familiaren kargu egin behar zuten. Espetxean, ordea, ordutegiak zein mugimendu askeak oso mugatuta daude (Martos-Garcia *et al.*, 2009a). Horren adibide bat aipatze aldera, baliteke modulua eta gimnasioa banatzen dituen distantzia oso handia ez izatea; baina sarbideak, hainbat giltza, ate eta irekiko dituen norbait behar dira.

JFKetan parte hartzea emakumeen inguru ekonomikoak zein botere harremanek baldintzatzen dute (Flintoff eta Scraton, 2001). Espetxeko testuinguruan lotura hori nabarmendu egiten da, are gehiago erosahalmen baxua duten emakume presoentzat, erabakitzera behartzen baitituzte: lan egin eta diru-sarrerak lortu ala JFKetan parte hartu (Harner eta Riley, 2013). Azken batean, ordaindutako lanpostuak izan ohi dira diru-sarrerak lortzeko aukera bakarra espetxean; alde batetik, norberaren egoera samurtu dezakete, eta, bestetik, dirua kanpora bidaltzeko aukera eman diezaiekete.

Bestalde, ez dirudi presondegi-erregimenak emakume atxiloentzako JFKak sustatzen dituenik. Gabezia horren arrazoitzat eman ohi dute, besteak beste, sortzen duten kostu ekonomiko altua (Day, 2012; Plugge *et al.*, 2009). Arestian aipatu bezala, JFKen arloa, historikoki, menperatze maskulinoak ezaugarritu du (Scraton eta Flintoff, 2013), eta, zentzu horretan, espetxea ez da salbuespena. Espetxean gutxienak emakumeak direnez, diskriminazio hori justifikatutzat jotzen da (De Miguel-Calvo, 2016), eta desoreka horrek presondegiko jarduera guztietan eragiten du. Horrekin lotutako gertaera baten berri eman zuten Martos-Garcia eta besteek (2009): kiroldegi batean, hezitzaile batek jarrera nabarmen sexista zuen, eta, horren ondorioz, batez ere gizonezkoentzat pentsatutako eskaintza zeukan; eta, noski, emakume presoentzako jarduera gutxi zeuden. Generoa, askatasunean egindako beste ikerlan batzuetan errepikatu den bezala, (Flintoff eta Scraton, 2011; Fasting eta Sand, 2015; Pfister, 2015), jarduera motorrarentzako oztopo gehigarritzat har daiteke.

Hori guztia dela eta, espetxeko langileria traba esanguratsua izan daiteke jarduera fisikoa sustatzerako orduan. Horrela, segurtasuneko zaindari baten ausazko erabakia muga nabarmena izan daiteke JFKak praktikatzeko; esaterako, ate bat ez irekitzea erabakitzen badu (Martos-Garcia *et al.*, 2009a, 2009b; Tibbetts, 2015). Espetxeak atxiloengan duen boterea, askotan langileen kolektiboek

darabiltena, ahalguztiduna izan daiteke batzuetan, eta Restrepo eta Francés (2016) jarraiki, presoak infantilizatzea eta euren autonomia hertsatzea lortzen du. Gauzak horrela, ez da harritzekoa emakume atxiloek adieraztea espetxeko langileen pentsaera aldatzeko beharra dagoela (Martinez-Merino *et al.*, 2015); izan ere, JFKetan parte hartu nahi izatea arau sozialen urraketa bailitzan ikusarazi nahi da (Pfister, 2015).

Horregatik guztiagatik, emakumeek pribilegiotzat daukate kartzelako JFKen programetan parte hartu ahal izatea; izan ere, aukera hori gal ez dezaten, zenbait arau bete behar dituzte eta euren jarrerak ere zertxobait egokitu (Gallant *et al.*, 2015). Emakume presoek inposatzen zaien etengabeko diziplina, beraz (Foucault, 1990), amaigabeko kontrol beldurgarri eta eraginkorra bihurtzen da (Restrepo eta Francés, 2016). Hori dela eta, Holly Harner eta besteek (2010) euren ikerlanean azaleratu bezala, emakume atxiloak urduri jartzen ziren yogako saioa amaitu eta zenbaketara garaiz iritsi behar zutelako; izan ere, diziplina-zigorra jaso zezaketen berandu iritsiz gero.

Aukera faltak eta aurrez aipatutako gabeziak (Day, 2012; De Graaf, 2013; Douglas *et al.*, 2009; Harner eta Riley, 2013; Gallant *et al.*, 2015; Martinez-Merino *et al.*, 2015; Martos-Garcia *et al.*, 2009b; Meek eta Lewis, 2014) negatiboki eragiten dute espetxeratutako emakumeen JFKen parte hartzean. Batzuetan, euren parte hartzeak gatazka sortzen du kirol-instalazioen erabileran (Harner eta Riley, 2013); beste batzuetan, espetxeko gabeziek eragin egiten dute kirol materialaren aniztasunean (Martinez-Merino *et al.*, 2015), eta horrek emakumeak alternatibak bilatzera behartzen ditu: aerobic-ariketak bideo-zintekin egiten dituzte (Fryer, 2005), eskailerak *step* gisa erabili edota ziega barnean jarduten dira (De Graaf, 2013). Nahiz eta eskasia espetxe-testuingurutik kanpo berdin gerta daitekeen, ez da zuzenean jarduera oztopatzen duen elementua. Jazoera hori, ordea, nahiko ohikoa da espetxeko aspektu guztietan, eta gainditu beharreko

muga nabaria da. Bestalde, David Gallant eta besteen (2015) eta Sally G. Jonesena (2013) bezalako ikerlanek azpimarratu dute JFKetan espezialista diren langile gaituen falta dagoela, eta hutsune hori arrunta da espetxean, funtzionario gehienak administrazio, segurtasun, erregimen eta zaintza-lanetara mugatzen baitira (Valverde, 1991). Horrezaz gainera, JFKen hezitzaileak dauden espetxeetan, instituzioaren zuzendaritzatik urruti jardun ohi dute, tratamendubatzerdean aitortza eta ahotsik izan gabe (Devís-Devís, Martos-García, eta Sparkes, 2010).

Espazioei dagokienez, emakumeek azpimarratzen dute jarduerarako espazio libreen gabezia, edo daudenak praktikarako ezegokiak izatea (Douglas *et al.*, 2009; Harner *et al.*, 2010; Martínez-Merino *et al.*, 2015). Ildo horretan, Lewis eta Meekek (2012) adierazi dute espazioa antolatzeke elementuek zuzenean eragin dezaketela emakume presoek parte hartzea baxuagoa izan dadin. Horma horiez landa, egoera bestelakoa da; kanpoan gauzatutako jarduera fisikoak orokortuak dira, eta emakumeen atxikipena motibatzen dute (Siddiqi *et al.*, 2011).

Hori guztia dela eta, emakume atxiloek adierazi dute nahiko zaila dela kanpora (Day, 2012; De Graaf, 2013), jardueretara (Martos-García *et al.*, 2009b) eta kirol-espazio zein materialetara heltzea (Tibbetts, 2015). Halaber, zerrendatutako zailtasun horiei hauek gehitu behar zaizkie: espetxeko etengabeko aldaketak, sailkapen-gradua (Harner *et al.*, 2010), instituzioaren eta emakume atxiloen arteko komunikazio gabezia (Meek eta Lewis, 2014), bertan behera uztea programatutako jarduerak behin eta berriz (Harner eta Riley, 2013), eta kirol-ekipamenduen eskuragarritasuna murrizten duen segurtasun zorrotza (Elwood Martin *et al.*, 2013; Peterson eta Johnstone, 1995). Finean, egoerak ez du ariketa egiteko gogorik pizten.

Motibazio bila zementu artean

Oztopo estrintsekoetz gain, ikerlanek erakutsi dute, kartzelan jarduera fisikoren bat praktikatu (edo ez) hautatzerakoan, arazo intrintsekoak ere agertzen direla (Meek eta Lewis, 2014): adina (Belknap, 1996), motibazio falta (Day, 2012; Ozano, 2008), nagitasuna eta ezagutza falta (Tibbetts, 2015) edo umore txarrez egotea (Jones, 2013) izan daitezke ariketarik ez egiteko lehen oztopoak. Espetxearen arkitektura bera zementuzko blokea izateak ere, emakumeei galarazi egiten die jarduteko motibazioa (Tibbetts, 2015). Ildo berean, automotibazio falta bada askatasunean bizi diren emakumeek identifikatutako oztopo bat ere (Bowles *et al.*, 2002), eta eragin egiten du jarduera fisikoan parte hartzeko edota berekiko atxikimendua izateko.

Askatasunean bizi diren emakumeei egindako ikerlanetan, aipatu izan dute kirol-espazioetan lotsatuak edo jazarriak sentitzen direla (Fasting eta Sand, 2015; Folta *et al.*, 2008). Espetxean, badirudi fenomeno hori anplifikatu egiten dela; dauden zaintza-mekanismoengatik, emakume atxiloak ikaratuta egon ohi dira eta proiektatzen ari diren irudiaz kezkatzen dira (Meek eta Lewis, 2014). Era berean, badirudi euren irudi eta fisikoak adierazten duenagatik kezka handiagoa dutela gizonezkoek baino (Andrews eta Andrews, 2003). Zentzu berean, Martos-Garcia *et al.*-ekin (2009b) bat eginez, emakume presoak objektu sexual eta iraingarritzat hartzen dira; kiroldegira joatea ligatu nahi izatearekin lotzen da, eta ez jarduera fisikorako behararekin. Egoera horrek testuinguruaren konnotazio sexista areagotzen du, eta emakumeek kiroldegiko jardueretan parte hartzea oztopatu.

JFKei buruzko jarrerari dagokionez, badirudi aurretiazko bizipen txarrek, hasiera batean, erresistentziak eragiten dituztela, edo emakume batzuek, zeregin

berri edo zail batekin topo eginik, jarduera utzi egiten dutela. Eta horrek besteen parte hartzean negatiboki eragiten du (Jones, 2013). Horrekin lotuta, entrenatzeko norekin jardun ez izatea (Day, 2012) gainditzeko dagoen beste oztopo bat da; izan ere, arestian aipatu bezala, askatasunean bizi direnek ekintza horiekiko atxikipena taldean jardutean garatzen dute, eta gauza bera gertatzen da preso daudenekin (Flintoff eta Scraton, 2001; Wood eta Danylchuk, 2011).

Berrikuspen honetako ikerlanetan, JFKetan parte hartzeko motibazioan zuzenean eragiten duten beste oztopo intrintseko batzuk hauteman dira; besteak beste, droga kontsumitzea eta gaixorik egotea (Day, 2012). Wanda Radatti Buccik (1989), adibidez, kontatu zuen nola emakume atxilo toxikomanoek JFKetan jarduteko beharra ikusten zuten, baina ez zuten, inolaz ere, jarrera aldatzen eta drogamenpekotasunari aurre egiten. Azpimarragarria da jarduera fisikorik ez egiteak emakume presoak asperrarazi egiten dituela, eta euren bizitza zuzenduko duen inolako helbururik gabe uzten (Douglas *et al.*, 2009). Ondorioz, 'medikamentuak' bilatzen dituzte: tabakoa, janaria eta loa (Harner eta Riley, 2013; Tibbetts, 2015). Horiek guztiek bizimodu sedentario eta pasibora bideratzen dituzte, eta bizitza-mota hori are larriagoa da espetxean; izan ere, ikusi dugun bezalaxe, giltzaperatzeak berak osasuna larri kaltetzen du (Valverde, 1991). Kontuak kontu, emakume atxiloek sinesten dute ez direla gai inolako jarduera motorrik gauzatzeko (Tibbetts, 2015), eta sorgin-gurpilean sartzen dira. Argi gelditu da, horrenbestez, zergatik duten espetxeratutako emakumeek, preso daudenen artean, JFKetako parte hartze maila baxuena (Lewis eta Meek, 2012).

4.4. Ondorioak

Emaitzak aintzat harturik, esan daiteke JFKen praktika onuragarria dela espetxeratutako emakumeentzat, bai harreman-sare sozial osasuntsu eta konfiantzazkoak ehuntzeko, bai osasun fisiko zein mentalerako. Gainera, zigorra jasaten laguntzen die, espetxealdiko errutina aspergarria zereginenez betetzen; horrela, 'ordaindu' beharreko egunak arinago doazela sentitzen dute. Azkenik, aztertutako ikerlanek mahaigaineratu dute JFKak oso baliotsuak direla espetxeratutako emakumeen inklusio sozialerako; eta haien bitartez, euren identitate zati bat berreskura dezakete edo autokonfiantza eta segurtasunean oinarritutako nortasun berria eraiki. Era horretara, hurrengo erronkan –'askatasunean' bizitzearena– lagunduko dien ahalduntze-prozesua elikatzen dute.

Dena den, emakume atxiloek dituzten trabek JFKekiko interesa oztopatzen diete. Instituzioak emakume presoengan duen boterea azpimarratzekoa da, beraz; izan ere, ikerketen emaitzek azalatu moduan, presondegiko erregimenak nabarmen eragiten du. Ez hori bakarrik, aisia aktiboa izateko gaintitu beharreko hesi garaiena da. Hori guztia gutxi balitz, emakume atxiloek espetxeko berezko giro mugatzaile eta depresiboari aurre egin behar diote.

Askatasunean bizi diren emakumeen JFKen inguruko ikerlanen literatura zientifikoa begiratzean, emakume atxiloek ere badituzten antzeko zenbait onura eta oztopo zerrendatu dira; horien artean, patriarkatuaren eragina. Parte hartzaileek azaldu zuten familia edo bikote-eskakizunek eragin egiten dutela euren jardute fisikoan, besteen zaintza lehenesten baitute norberarenaren aurretik. Bestalde, badirudi JFKetan emandako denbora euren kezkei ihes egiteko aukera zela emakumeentzat.

Hala ere, espetxean dagoen giro itogarria dela eta, jarduera fisikoak onura eta oztopo ageriagoak sortzen dizkie emakume atxiloek. Baliteke kirol-espazioetarako sarbidea edo material eskasia eragozpen izatea kaleko emakumeentzat, baina traba sinbolikoak dira, azken finean. Espetxean, ordea, sentitu, ukitu eta bizi egiten dira harresiak, alanbre-hesiak, ateak eta sarrailak. Langileek eta kamerek egiten duten etengabeko zaintzak gogorarazten die giltzapean, kontrolpean eta zigortuak daudela. Horrek guztiak euren “debeku” eta “askatasunen” jakitun egiten ditu emakume presoak.

Lan honetan aurkeztutako datuek baieztatu dute espetxeratutako emakumeekin eta emakumeentzat pentsatutako JFK programak sustatu, hobetu eta sortu egin behar direla. Horretarako, gomendatzen dugu egituratutako programak ezartzea, zuzendaritzak babestuko dituenak eta egoki formatutako JFKetako profesional batek gidatutakoak; guztiak, emakumeekin adostuta. Aipatutako programek ase beharko lituzkete emakumeen beharrak, eta, euren jarduerak lasaitasunez egiteko, espazio eroso eta seguruak baliatu.

4.5. Erreferentziak

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BOSGARREN KAPITULUA

Frictions, cracks and
micro-resistances: physical
activity and sport as strategies to
dignify imprisoned women

5.1. Introduction¹⁹

Agency and resistance can empower inmates to challenge the punitive power experienced in prisons (e.g. Bosworth, 1999; Ugelvik, 2014). Some ways for prisoners to challenge and resist penitentiary social control may include the participation in sport and physical activity (Martos-Garcia, Devís-Devís, & Sparkes, 2009a; Norman 2015). However, research in this area is yet to explore whether, and if so how, incarcerated women engage sport and physical activity as acts of resistance or micro-resistance. Underpinned by the notion of friction (Digeser, 1992, p. 995), and applying this concept within a penitentiary context (Rubin, 2015), this research aims to shed light on how sport and physical activity are used by incarcerated women to confront social control and negotiate power relations.

Prisoners are seen as individuals who have breached the social pact, and thus they constitute a threat to society. These 'non-productive' individuals are locked up in prisons and subjected to corrective techniques (Foucault, 1995). A common view is that prisoners are in debt to the society where they were expelled from, and thus deserve to be punished. With these thoughts in mind, Angela Y. Davis

¹⁹ Original manuscript: Martínez-Merino, N., Martín-González, N., Usabiaga, O., & Martos-García, D. (Under second review) Frictions, cracks and micro-resistances: physical activity and sport as strategies to dignify imprisoned women. *Qualitative research in sport, exercise and health*.

(2016a, p. 35) may not exaggerate when noting that “prisons have become a black hole into which the debris of contemporary capitalism is deposited”.

The advent of modern capitalist societies reinforced new forms of social relationships, economic production and private property. These capitalist developments gave rise to antisocial behaviours like looting, theft and delinquency, which are not tolerated by powerful social forces (Matthews, 2009). Owing to this, penal codes were established to protect societies from punishable behaviours. This resulted in the rise of numerous new offences, with respect to regularity, law and order (Foucault, 1996).

The art of punishment is a symbolic game of power and control, in which punishment is used to make offence less attractive (Foucault, 1995). Offence is perceived as a transgression of a “just” and “egalitarian” society, and it is often sanctioned by usurping the only element that all citizens have in common: their individual freedom (Matthews, 2009). Surprisingly, these efforts have not resulted in a reduction of crime rates. This may be because incarceration does not seek to suppress criminality, but to warn citizens about the consequences of non-conformity, reminding them that their behaviours are controlled by strong social forces (Foucault, 1995; Matthews, 2009). Consequently, prisons become a storehouse of ‘undesirables’ (Wacquant, 2009).

Almeda (2005) added a gender perspective to Foucault’s historical and philosophical analysis of the metamorphosis of penalty. Specifically, Almeda highlighted the evolution of the discrimination suffered by women in Spanish prisons, from the origins of the deprivation of freedom until today. According to her, imprisonment not only serves to “Discipline & Punish”, but it also seeks to ‘correct’ incarcerated women through sexist treatment, in order to domesticate them. Spanish punishment reinforces the patriarchal structure of society by

fostering and building certain behaviours, stereotypes and gender roles (Almeda, 2005; De Miguel-Calvo, 2016). Women prisoners are seen as transgressors of not only social laws and sanctions, but also of gender norms. As a result, women prisoners must be 'corrected' (De Miguel-Calvo, 2016). Importantly, the consequences of confinement, including stigmatisation, are often more harmful for women than for men. Restrepo and Francés (2016) identified a patriarchal punitive power, when they referred to the close relationship they found between punitive and patriarchal power.

According to Foucault (1995), during the 18th century and the early 19th century, there was a shift in the paradigm of prisons which resulted in an enhanced integration and cultural change. Since then, prisoners have been considered human beings with human rights, despite the fact that they are imprisoned. Following this, similar to health, culture, work and education, access to sport is also considered a human right (Meek, 2014). Thus, opportunities to participate in physical activity and sport have increased in Spanish prisons (Martos-Garcia, Devís-Devís, & Sparkes, 2009b).

Nevertheless, women only represent a small amount of all the prison population (7.42%)²⁰ in Spain. Further, only three Spanish prisons out of 69 are women-only, meaning that women are often incarcerated in small units within male-dominated prisons (Almeda, 2005). In Spanish prisons women have limited opportunities to participate in cultural activities or work (Almeda, 2005; De Miguel-Calvo, 2016). When these are available, they often include traditional female activities such as cooking, sewing, cosmetics, hairdressing, and so on. The range of sport and physical activity programmes on offer vary between prisons. As opposed to mixed gender prisons, female-only prisons are more likely to

²⁰ Statistics of the first week of January, 2018:
www.institucionpenitenciaria.es/web/portal/documentos/estadisticas.html?r=s&asem=2018&msem=1&dsem=8&ts=GENE

provide structured sport and physical activity programmes. When sport and physical activity are offered in mixed prisons, these are frequently tailored for men, which limits women's opportunities to participate (Martos-Garcia *et al.*, 2009a). Furthermore, when physical activity programmes are offered for women, these often include activities that are traditionally seen as feminine, such as volleyball, badminton, Zumba and aerobics similarly found in a recent revision (Martinez-Merino, Martín-González, Usabiaga, & Martos-Garcia, 2017). With regards to the daily schedules, prisoners have limited opportunities to remain in their cells. Prisoners are often forced to leave their cells and spend time in the common areas, in their work shifts, or in the scheduled activities, unless they have been given a special permission or are in solitary confinement. There is often a small yard in the prisoners' unit where they can participate in physical activity or sports. Most prisons also have a sports hall, although in many occasions these need renovating. Prisoners who may want to use the sports hall have to be registered to confirm their eligibility to use the facility. Eligibility is based on a number of criteria, including their current situation and behaviour (Martos-Garcia *et al.*, 2009a).

5.1.1. Resistance, agency and frictions

The notion of *friction* proposed by Ashley T. Rubin (2015), together with Foucault's and Goffman's theories on power and prison, are the key theoretical concepts underpinning this study. According to Foucault (1982, 1990), discipline and control are key concepts within industrial and capitalist societies, and these power relationships are deep-rooted within the social fabric. For Foucault, power –the action of one person over another– always brings resistance, which can be as creative, mobile and productive as the power that generates it. Hence, rebels may display a wide array of reactions, responses and inventions to confront a source of power. Rebellion is aimed at minimising the effect of power.

Punitive power is exerted within prisons as a corrective technique to transform women into docile and useful citizens (Foucault, 1995). However, similar to life outside prison, the type of power that is displayed in prisons is not static. When dominated, individuals may display a range of behaviours, from rebellion to absolute submission. Such constant dialectic between power and confrontation is a likely reality to be found in prisons (Crewe, 2007), and prisoners can create various strategies of resistance (Bosworth & Carrabine 2001; Ugelvik, 2014). For Bosworth (1999), exploring women's ability to negotiate power (i.e. agency exploration) can help us understand how women evaluate and negotiate power relationships under maximum domination.

Prisoners use strategies of resistance to create free spaces that enable them to escape from the tedious prison routine. For Thomas Ugelvik (2014), escaping frees inmates from their prisoner status. According to Mary Bosworth and Eamonn Carrabine (2001), resistance can be a prisoner's way of demonstrating that they have not been fully deprived of their personal autonomy. By resisting, prisoners show that they are active, capable and skilled individuals, able to transform power relationships.

In this sense, Foucault's (1982) framework of war or play can help contextualise the strategies used by prisoners to confront power. In a prison environment, confrontations are wars between two groups, where strategies are practical mechanisms to deal with power relationships. The relevant literature shows that prisoners use various tactics in search of a more pleasurable imprisonment experience, both in terms of short sentences (Schmid & Jones 1993) and long sentences (Hulley, Crewe, & Wright, 2015). The concepts 'resistance' or 'strategy' have been related to Goffman's (1961) notion of 'secondary adjustments'. Prisoners use these adjustments to distance themselves from the role the 'total institution' has given them. They do this by using techniques or any other

available means to achieve unofficial goals. By doing so, prisoners' lives are modified and improved.

For instance, Rubin (2015) distinguished between the notions of secondary adjustment or resistance and friction. For her, a behaviour is seen as 'resistance' when it is intentional. Therefore, it is essential to know the prisoners' intention when behaving in a way that may be seen as an act of resistance. In this sense, resistance implies a conscious action that holds a political interest and/or a destabilising intent against powerful prison authorities.

The term 'friction' refers to the reactive behaviours that result when people try to find themselves in controlled spaces (Rubin, 2015). In short, frictions are daily actions of micro-resistance, where prisoners actively create their own space to regain some control over their own lives. It should not be overlooked that when entering a total institution such as a prison, people undergo a mutilation of their personality, by which they lose part of their identity and any notion of control over their lives, as they are separated from their natural, social environment (Goffman, 1961). Therefore, according to Rubin (2015), frictions can be understood as natural or automatic actions, motivated by human needs and occurring in an extremely controlled environment.

5.1.2. Sport and physical activity as frictions?

Sport and physical activity can be used as secondary adjustments, a form of escapism that prisoners may experience as liberating (Goffman, 1961). Several authors have confirmed that participating in physical activity and sport can have an evasive effect on imprisoned women (Gallant, Sherry, & Nicholson, 2015; Martos-Garcia *et al.*, 2009a; Tibbetts, 2015). In their studies, they emphasised that physical activity and sport provide women with a sense of momentary freedom

through which they can overlook their confinement, thus positively impacting on their quality of life (Martinez-Merino *et al.*, 2017). Although physical activity and sport can become a tool for social control (Martos-Garcia *et al.*, 2009b), Norman (2015) concluded that they can act as an opposing force in prisons, by confronting the social control and constant oppression that prisoners are subjected to. With reference to this, De Graaf (2013) agreed that the physical body is a space of control and resistance for prisoners, with the practice of movement becoming a tool to re-appropriate the prisoners' own body control. The aim of this study is to explore how women use sport and physical activity as micro-resistance or friction weapons, and to understand the meaning of these behaviours. To do so, this study seeks to answer the following research questions: (i) Can sport and physical activity become tools to confront social control in prison?; and (ii) How can prisoners face the patriarchal punitive power through sport and physical activity?

5.2. Method

Research is dependent on the phenomenon it studies, so choices about methods have to consider the particularities of the research context. For these reasons, the research standards and requirements for studies undertaken within prisons are different from those studies that include other human groups (Schlosser, 2008). Due to their confinement, prisoners are highly vulnerable individuals. For example, such vulnerability was evident when our participant Izar questioned some aspects of our research:

Why are you studying the prison? Prison is pain, it's suffering... it hurts to talk about all this, you know? Why would you want to study this pain?

This questioning was also reported by Daniel Martos-Garcia and José Devís-Devís (2017), and suggests that delving into the sub-cultures of stigmatised people entails not only issues related to methods, but also to the epistemology underpinning the study. Understanding the complexity of these issues can be an intense and challenging experience (Bosworth, 1999; Norman, 2018). Thus, it is important that researchers in this field are prepared to cope with unpredictable difficulties and ethical dilemmas.

This study is unique in many ways. First, it explores the understudied phenomenon of women's lives within androcentric institutions (De Miguel-Calvo, 2016). Second, it combines the notions of stigma and vulnerability (i.e. the stigma of being a prisoner and the vulnerability of being a woman). Third, as opposed to the male-dominated samples traditionally used in the field of sport and physical activity research in prison (Meek & Lewis, 2014) or at liberty (Hargreaves & Anderson, 2014), our unique study includes a female-only sample to shed light on these issues from a gendered perspective.

Using a qualitative methodology, we seek to explore the following: (i) the sport and physical activity experiences of imprisoned women; and (ii) the meaning and symbolic representations women make of those experiences. By doing this, we aim to understand whether sport and physical activity are frictions within this context. To achieve this, we chose a semi-structured, in-depth interview approach to explore women's accounts.

5.2.1. The participants

The inclusion criteria for this study were: 1) to be a woman; 2) to have spent at least one year in prison; and 3) to have participated in any sport and/or physical activity when they were imprisoned. Participants were recruited through social

associations that worked with women during their stages of criminal justice involvement. We contacted six associations within the geographical area where most of the research team is based. Four associations did not provide any contacts, perhaps meaning that none of the few women they worked with had participated in sport or physical activity during their time in prison. Two associations facilitated a list with the names of women who met the inclusion criteria. The managers of each association acted as gatekeepers and contacted potential participants, providing them with an overview of our research. Each manager then facilitated the contact details of each woman who voluntarily agreed to participate in our study. Following this, snowball sampling was used (Noy, 2008), to recruit the desired number of participants. Data collection took place during 2014-2016 with 16 participants, who were not imprisoned at the time of data collection.

All participants had been previously incarcerated in Spanish prisons. Three participants completed their sentence in the same prison, and 13 were incarcerated in more than one prison (sometimes up to 8 different prisons). Participants' age at the time of the interview ranged between 21 to 63 years old. The most frequent crime was against public health (related to drug dealing) (n=10), and the sentences varied between three to 18 years. Two participants had criminal records for theft or shoplifting, but for most women this was their first (and only) experience of imprisonment. Out of the 16 participants, 10 had completed their sentences, and six were still in third grade imprisonment. This grade referred to a situation where they are 'free' during the day but they have to return to sleep in a centre of penitentiary institution.

Four participants had a history of drug abuse, and most had participated in some form of physical activity and/or sport before entering prison. One participant had

participated in professional sport, but most of them had done it as a leisure activity, during school-age.

5.2.2. The interview ethics and procedure

During the first point of contact with participants, we explained to them the aims of the study and provided an opportunity for participants to ask any questions about it. We highlighted that it was important for us to listen to their stories first-hand, but also that they did not have to answer any questions they did not feel comfortable with. Participants who agreed to voluntarily participate in the study signed a consent form prior any data collection took place. Interviews were tape recorded and included four key sections: (a) opening questions about the participant's life before being arrested; (b) her experiences in prison; (c) experiences of exercise and/or sport in prison; (d) life after confinement. All interviews were transcribed verbatim.

When developing relationships with people who have been deprived of liberty, it is important to show a respectful attitude towards them as this helps build trust and rapport (Davis, 2016b). Therefore, the interviewer displayed an attitude of care and respect towards participants, which facilitated a fluent and comfortable conversation. Under no circumstances did the interviewer mistrust the accounts provided by any of the interviewees. The use of open-ended questions meant that participants could choose what questions to answer and how to answer them. At the beginning and throughout each interview, the interviewer reminded the participants that they did not have to answer any questions if they did not want to. To conclude the interview, we asked participants how they felt during the interview and we provided an opportunity for them to ask any questions or share further comments. The role of the interviewer was to guide the conversation, providing opportunities for each participant to share their stories (Kvale, 2007).

After the interview had been transcribed, we shared the transcripts with participants in case they wanted to confirm the accuracy of the transcript, add something else, or resolve any uncertainties. Following Schlosser's (2008) recommendation, participants were invited to choose a pseudonym to ensure anonymity.

5.2.3. The analysis

Women's stories were analysed inductively (Taylor *et al.*, 2016). First, we identified the themes that emerged from the transcripts. Second, we found key codes and with these, we formed categories, which were linked to current literature. One of the recurring themes emerging from the data was that of 'friction', which was associated with concepts such as agency, control, time, imagination, confrontation and survival. Given the gap in the scientific literature about the micro-resistances women prisoners can experience when participating in sport and physical activity, and its value within the tussle of prisoners' power relationships, the current literature on the overall themes was consulted to progress an in-depth analysis.

5.3. Results and discussion

5.3.1. Rebellion against control: they can't deny me this

For many years, prisoners have disturbed and obstructed penitential order, despite being aware of the negative consequences these behaviours can entail. This was evident in the accounts provided by some participants:

Monica: All of that was because I came up against control and I was against the authority which was imposed on me in there... which, well, we have spoken about it many times, that the normal thing, in a person, OK mentally, more or less as I said, is to rebel. Because being treated like treat us isn't natural. I don't know, not as a person, I'm not going to say as an animal, but not as a human being. Yes, control, too much control, too much control and too little empathy. [...] So, we deal that with small acts of rebellion. It's related to taking substances and eluding reality.

Cassandra: Amanda, she sewed up her mouth. The cuts, they were a bit much...

Monica: Look, it is clear that, as the measures are so desperate, a lot of them... they take their own life. That is, to cope. [...] So, if there was an escape valve, there, in that place [solitary confinement], there would not be so many hangings... maybe... Not that there were many but, let's see, since I, since... I was there, there were a few... eh? There were a few ...

Women prisoners perceived this as a form of domination, and in this context they considered it natural to rebel against such control. As a result, they created diverse strategies to disobey the institution. For example, they got involved in minor confrontations, such as stealing syringes from the nurses, organising sabotage, sit-downs, and by even getting involved in violent acts against staff. These behaviours have provided them with 'small victories' against the prison as an institution. Even if they only lasted a few minutes, women prisoners achieved a destabilisation of order through the above actions. According to these women, being involved in these acts of rebellion gave them 'a lot of life'. As Ugelvik (2014, p. 6) noted, prisoners "do freedom" and create spaces of freedom by confronting against power.

Likewise, the interview excerpts revealed the existence of recurring self-harm in prison. Self-harm has been interpreted as a way of regaining control over one's body through pain (De Graaf, 2013). Taking this further, Matthews (2009) described suicide as an extreme form of resistance and confrontation within the

institution. Unfortunately, suicide rates are high in prison (Fazel, Grann, Kling, & Hawton, 2011) and, as the interviewees pointed out, these are often aggravated by the isolation regime. The few 'escape valves' mentioned by Monica, are often in the form of sport and physical activities (Gallant *et al.*, 2015; Goffman, 1961; Martinez-Merino *et al.*, 2017; Martos-Garcia *et al.*, 2009a; Tibbetts, 2015). This practice makes it possible for some women to move forward and face their sentences. This is what Ana said:

The judge decided that my daughter could not be with me anymore, so last year was very traumatic for me, and that's when I exercised the most. That was the only way for me to deal with my sadness, my anger and my restlessness... being unable to live with her, the separation ... exercise was the only way I had to survive. (Ana)

In her attempt to have control over her life, Ana regained the desire to live (Rubin, 2015). In her words, exercising helped her to accept estrangement from her daughter, without relapsing into drug-taking, and also preventing a chronic form of depression. In this respect, and in accordance with Norman (2015), sport and physical activity crystallised into a symbolic instrument of survival.

By virtue of its nature, the prison setting has almost total control over the inmates therein, a control that is a constant succession of punishments and rewards (Foucault, 1995). Amongst the internal mechanisms of repression, being put into solitary confinement is usually the punishment most feared by inmates. Solitary confinement in Spanish prisons often involves being confined to a cell for around 21 hours per day with severe curtailment of communication with the outside world. However, women encountered frictions even in such hostile environment:

You just go ahead and do it, they can't deny me this. In my case I could leave the isolation cell for two hours or two hours and a half but I did my own stretching exercises in my cell. Who was going to stop me doing them in my cell? And what's

more... you find a way of doing it, one way or another. And if you have no way, well I don't know but I can tell you! Some people run in their cells! [...] So when you are let out into the exercise yard for two hours, you come out as strong as a bull! Round, and round, and round the yard I would go, they can't deny me this. (Haizea)

Limitations to sport and physical activity and the constant tussle of rewards and punishments are not exclusive to solitary confinement. As pointed out by Martos-Garcia *et al.* (2009a, 2009b), prison-based activity largely rests upon a weak balance between therapeutic objectives and the demands of security, with the latter generally being the most important consideration. In this sense, sport and physical activity can also play a controlling role in modifying behaviours in prison. This is only allowed when behaviour conforms to the setting which in many cases is equivalent to submission. As Goffman suggested (1961), this amounts to a patent mutilation of the self. However, Goffman conceded that by way of small acts of resistance, labelled as secondary adjustments, power is challenged thereby strengthening the identity of the inmate. In consequence, the very practice of sport and physical activity is seen by our participants as a mechanism of personal affirmation, akin to a crack in the rigid disciplinary structure. Hence, participants were committed to it:

I did aerobics in front of the TV. I used to grab two bottles of water and... (Haizea)

There are many possibilities, aren't there? Running, jumping over a stone, going up and down the stairs... grabbing a broomstick and hooking a bucket of water onto each end and you do it like this [she goes through the motion of using a bar-bell], there's always an option. (Beatriz)

Women's agency and their micro-resistances against the limitations associated to their imprisonment also affected human and material resources. Although therapeutic or recreational activities were conspicuous by their absence in this

current study, the range of options typically available to women in Spanish prisons are aimed at reinforcing traditional female roles (Almeda, 2005; De Miguel-Calvo, 2016). In this context, physical activities have a scant presence (Martinez-Merino *et al.*, 2017; Meek & Lewis, 2014).

As Bosworth pointed out (1999), the women found their own way to get around the limitations of the prison setting. For example, participants made their own sporting equipment, their own world of sport, with anything they could use. Also, by helping each other they could compensate for the lack of qualifications among them.

There was a batuka aerobics instructor, her classes were great. Apart from giving us good advice and helping us, she believed it was the best way to kill time [...] She had learned to survive through physical exercise, in other words, doing sport. She offered batuka to us, it was really an immense help there. (Eguzki)

Prisons often lack qualified professionals or staff with an expertise on sports. This gap has not improved substantially, in view of the data presented in a recent study by Devís-Devís, Martos Garcia, Valencia-Peris & Peiró-Velert (2017).

It is important to note that the prison setting necessarily imposes a certain degree of physical punishment. This is because the body of the prisoner is locked away, controlled and disciplined (Foucault, 1995). Confinement in such a small space limits bodily mobility and leads to stiffness and seizures. Certain natural physical needs are created, such as the need to move; however, this situation is at loggerheads with the system and hence certain frictions take root (Rubin, 2015).

In this sense, Carolina affirmed that the need to move in prison is so essential that, should there be no possibility of moving, they would create a way to do so; her claim effectively ratifies her resistance to total submission:

I cannot imagine a place so confined over such a long time and with so many people not doing some kind of physical activity. I don't know but we would think of something, don't you think? We would not allow ourselves to wither away. As for me, if I saw a bench or something I would start exercising on it, right there and then. (Carolina)

The prisoners devise spaces where they regain control over themselves, as described by Rubin (2015), in this case resorting to sport and physical activity. Paradoxically, even in utter captivity the women enact gestures of micro-resistance in the form of small decisions, thereby affording themselves greater degrees of independence and freedom (Bosworth, 1999; Ugelvik, 2014).

According to Matthews (2009), the architecture of the prison implicates separating the inmates from the outside world, which results in a disconnection from the four elements of western culture (i.e. earth, air, fire and water). However, participants suggested that by participating in sport and physical activity they could (re)connect with these elements, which are thought to be essential to life. This is how Ekhine positioned herself regarding the penitentiary institution, thereby avoiding a sense of complete obliteration within herself:

I often reminded it to myself, when I went for a run in the yard in the wind and rain, and I thought: you've taken everything away from me, but you won't take this, nature still comes to me. (Ekhine)

5.3.2. The never-ending race against the clock

The notion of separation from the outside world is not only physical, but it also manifests itself in the slow passing of time. For women prisoners, the time spent doing sport and physical activity seems to go quicker (see also Martos-Garcia *et al.*, 2009a, 2009b). In prisons, time is at the core, with court sentences having a time limit. Based on the extension of capitalist production models, time has truly become a utilitarian commodity, something valuable and intrinsic to the very essence of incarceration (Matthews, 2009). Consequently, if prison is understood as a space where women prisoners receive ‘treatment’ –to undergo correction and return as ‘cured’ women to society– it does not make sense to impose a penalty without a time limit (Foucault, 1995). However, the perception of time inside and outside of prison is totally different (Matthews, 2009). Following from this, prisoners battle with the passing of time by means of various evasion strategies such as taking drugs. Along this line of thought, one of the women interviewed defined sport and physical activity as a ‘healthy drug’, due to its positive effect in the perception of time.

This is a vital issue if we consider that women express feelings of being in a time void, removed from their lives and from their loved ones. Physical activity becomes an effective evasion strategy within the prison routine, as has been indicated in other studies (Hulley *et al.*, 2015; Schmid & Jones, 1993; Ugelvik, 2014). For the inmates, physical activity amounts to a micro-resistance that counteracts the sheer boredom of everyday prison life. As indicated by Rubin (2015), physical activity improves their experience of imprisonment. Marady talked about physical activity and the passing of time:

Of course. It makes the sentence lighter. It was an immense help to me. Because when I did sport the days seemed to pass more quickly. You know... a day in jail is long, it drags on. On the other hand, by doing sport, time just flies. (Marady)

Imprisonment changes the time that is lived in the physical, mental and social dimensions (Matthews, 2009). In the case of mental time, the most subjective one, jail is supposedly a period of introspective reflection, an opportunity to correct oneself through solitude and remorse (Foucault, 1995). But the truth is that the effects of loneliness and routine often lead to deep despair that may lead to depression and suicide. As we have discussed, taking part in sport and physical activity may help to regulate mental time in a positive way. With regards to social time, which connects the past, present and the future, and through which we can evaluate the changes experienced (Matthews, 2009), prisoners find it difficult to make the pertinent connections. Not surprisingly, one of the principles of imprisonment is to isolate prisoners from the outside world (Foucault, 1995), even though the rules that govern its operation express exactly the opposite: "Life in prison shall approximate as closely as possible the positive aspects of life in the community" (Council of Europe, 2006).

Following from this, participating in sport and physical activity can also serve as a connection to the future, in other words, to the exterior, as was the case with Ekhine. She used sport and physical activity to keep up contact with well-known popular marathons, ones that she symbolically 'ran' within the prison walls. The limits of the penitentiary discussed by Bosworth (1999) and De Graaf (2013), conditioned her practice in terms of time and space, but Ekhine created a strategy to belong to society despite finding herself behind bars:

Whenever there was a marathon on somewhere, I would say to myself: Right, I'm going to run it today and I was in fact creating my own marathon for as long as they let me, the longest time possible. (Ekhine)

Another participant, Simone, created parallel realities in her engagement with sport competitions. In this sense, Ugelvik (2014) expressed that a prisoner's imagination is a commonly used tool of resistance in that it provides respite from the sentence. While exercising, Simone gave free reign to her symbolic imagination:

Because I used to make a pelota match my own, for example, I would place a bet with myself, you're gonna get a third-grade regime, and bang-bang-bang, I would really go for it, right? That's how I set it up, I lived it. I would channel my wishes this way... just like in a game, right? Look, I would say, if I get that shot, or if I win a match, it's because I'm going to get some special permission, if I win I'll get, well, I don't know what. So, I gave the game all I had. I put everything into it as if all depended on me. Depended on that moment [...] I created those internal strategies, that imaginary space [...] I would do this for everything, right? Right from the moment we started a basketball or handball match, I would go deep into my fantasy and get high on it. And if I got eliminated... the feeling of frustration was tremendous, the deception was so deep. Because I had put everything into it ... I couldn't have put more into it. But I kept on creating those parallel worlds. (Simone)

In the study by De Graaf (2013), women prisoners express that physical activity provides a space where they can focus on themselves, in an attempt to regain control over their bodies. As Simone explained, participating in physical activity can be an act of disobedience and resistance:

In general, playing sports helps, you feel free... You feel as if you only depend on yourself... You decide how much you want to do. It is a bit of... I would say it is a bit of resistance and allowed disobedience. (...) It is disobedience because you [corrections officer] haven't got control over my body, I control my own body. Then you are never going to see what my limit is, because it is me who decides what my limit is. And I am not going to share it with you. Then you think I am weak, but I am stronger than you think. (Simone)

5.3.3. Eyes that (do not) see everything

Power in prison is anonymous, distant and impersonal, but in practice, the exercise of power is carried out through the staff (Crewe, 2007), who know the prisoners well. According to Nadia, it appears that sport and physical activity have a key positive connotation in the evaluation of a prisoner's behaviour:

Nobody did any of the activities. I don't know why people are like that, if you want, even if it is only so that the prison wardens can see you, because a lot of the times what you get depends on the wardens. They're the ones who are with you all day, even though they are in their observation booths, chatting, whispering to each other, drinking coffee... In any case, they are looking at you! They know exactly what you're doing and what you are not. They know absolutely everything and they know why you're in jail, what you did, they know... absolutely everything! So, if you want leave, do some activity, whatever you fancy, but do something! Even if it's just for yourself but nobody seems to want to do anything. They just want to sit down over there, in the yard if it's hot and in the common room if it's cold. Just sitting around watching the day go by. (Nadia)

According to the women interviewed, sport 'earned points'. As affirmed by Crewe (2007), conformity to and compliance with the prison discourse must be visible and formal. It means that the inmates need to do what they are supposed to do. However, as the author pointed out, their actions are done in a masked way but with underlying resistance, all this with the exclusive objective of gaining rewards. Sonia explained this:

On the other hand you could go out every day, in the morning and in the afternoon, well, it was something that you looked forward to, I would say that today I'm going out [...] just to pretend a bit, but you ended up doing it because you met up with others from other cell blocks, friends... (Sonia)

The women prisoners learn to 'go along with the game' to improve their situation, suggesting that they are ready to become active agents in negotiating their situation (Bosworth, 1999; Bosworth & Carrabine 2001; Ugelvik, 2014). In this case, as described by Norman (2015), prisoners take advantage of sport and physical activity in the face of the social control they are subjected to.

Socialization within the prison subculture is so intense and its disciplinary system so exhaustive (Foucault, 1995), that women prisoners have interiorized the extrinsic value of participating in activities. This echoes Martos-Garcia *et al.*, (2009b), and suggests the commodification of treatment in the 'great punitive market'. This market refers to how the punishments and rewards are negotiated within the prison. Notwithstanding this, apart from exemplifying a constant game that is played with the institution, some women have stated that participating in sport and physical activity has given them moments of collective pleasure.

Various studies have corroborated the value of exercise and sports in building up new social networks both outside the penitentiary setting (Fernández-Lasa, Usabiaga, Martos-Garcia, & Castellano, 2015) and within (Gallant *et al.*, 2015; Tibbetts, 2015). In this way, women felt that they made a stand against the lack of solidarity that characterises the prison setting (Restrepo & Francés, 2016), as well as creating an adaptation strategy for life behind bars (Hulley *et al.*, 2015; Schmid & Jones 1993).

Well really, at the end, you have a good laugh, you have an enjoyable time for a while, even though you are wary of being watched all the time, aren't you? They want to see you active, more or less active, don't they? (Natalia)

In any case, there is a very fine line that separates the intrinsic from the extrinsic in prison. Even in instances where utter control is clear (Foucault, 1995), some inmates evade vigilance and take advantage of it. According to Nadia, she found an ideal market to meet people from other cell blocks in the sports hall. In doing so, she could sell her illicit 'goods' (i.e. drugs). This contraband activity has been considered a form of resistance (Crewe, 2007; De Graaf, 2013; Ugelvik, 2014), and aims to make the prison experience more bearable. Although her intentions were not deliberately disruptive, Nadia defied patriarchal punitive power given that the sale and consumption of drugs is totally forbidden in prison:

I used to meet people and often, I'm not going to deny it, it was my opportunity to sell my stuff and that way I got some cash. [...] Look... you just fend for yourself. It's not so nice what you may have to do, you just have to make the best of it, to survive. (Nadia)

Previous authors have identified physical strength and muscularity as markers of masculinity, resilience and power within prisons (Jewkes, 2005; Martos-Garcia, *et al.*, 2009a). For example, Norman (2015) observed that men often lifted weights in their cells. Although these practices may not be as common amongst women prisoners, Beatriz did perform exercises to improve her muscular strength and gain respect from other prisoners:

The fact is that some used sport, only a few really, you could count them with your fingers, to strengthen their bodies. And just to let you know, I'm a L'Oréal type, do you get me? "Wow, what a body!" you might say. "Well, that's why I spend three hours a day in the gym, right?" There were also those who were like that. Ones for whom sport was their one and exclusive passion ... but they used it a little for that too, you know... as if to say... Look here! Here I am and I'm strong, I do sport, so don't mess with me, right? So, respect me. (Beatriz)

These 'masks' are used to intimidate other prisoners as much as the prison wardens. Bosworth (1999) affirmed that for prisoners these masks provided personal protection, a shield against the stress and pressure exerted by the setting. It amounts to gaining the respect of others, in this case, by exhibiting a strong and tough-looking body. In short, these masks, are nothing more than yet another survival strategy commonly used by prisoners in their adaptation to incarceration (Hulley *et al.*, 2015; Schmid & Jones, 1993).

5.4. Limitations of the study

Although this study makes an important contribution to knowledge; it is not free from limitations. As Norman (2018) reminds us, it is difficult to investigate in, and about total institutions like prisons and it seems that the prison walls are still high and hard to go through for suspicious outsiders. For this reason, we opted to interview women outside the jail context. Searching and looking for people who had been incarcerated was not an easy task, and doing it through social associations did have some limitations. Our sample of incarcerated women is also limited to those women who or were in contact with the social association we contacted. Furthermore, women generally represent only a small part of the penitentiary population, and most women have low levels of physical activity in prisons (Lewis & Meek, 2012.). Thus, finding women who had been physically active in prison and also willing to be interviewed was a challenging part.

5.5. Conclusions

Even though control and power in prison are exhaustive, certain small cracks appear, figuratively speaking, through which prisoners attain some measure of

evasion from their reality. According to the women interviewed, sport and physical activity may be a tool for micro-resistance when it comes to facing the power relationships surrounding imprisoned women, as well as providing a space that strengthens their identity and independence in captivity.

As observed in our study, sport and physical activity can become a symbolic survival instrument to cling to and they can provide an escape valve to relieve extremely desperate conditions. Furthermore, exercise helps the prisoners perceive that time passes more quickly and, making the sentence feel shorter. Sport and physical activity also have the potential to bring women closer to nature when exercising outside. By engaging in symbolic sport and physical activity practices, inmates can reconnect with the outside world and momentarily 'escape' from their prisoner status.

Participants used sport and physical activity to respond to social control. Being seen performing physical movement was not only pleasurable for participants, but it could award penitentiary benefits too. Participating in sport and physical activity was a form of body worship for some women, and building up muscles by 'sweating it out' was understood as a means of gaining social respect within a hostile environment.

Our research has elucidated the ways in which women negotiate and confront patriarchal punitive powers within prisons. In these systems, sport and physical activity can become manifestations of friction that lead to personal improvements in a hostile, often hopeless, environment. However, participating in sport and physical activity behind bars is not free from obstacles, prohibitions and limitations. In this context, the creation of micro-spaces of autonomy and freedom are worthwhile, valuable and precious.

5.6. References

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SEIGARREN KAPITULUA

Irteerako aterantz

6.1. Ondorioak

Tesi honen helburu nagusia espetxeratutako emakumeentzat jarduera fisiko eta kirolak dituen esanahiak aztertzea eta ulertzea izan da, eta beronen ibilbidea amaituta, helburua hein handi batean bete delakoan gaude. Ondorioak errazago ulertze aldera, tesirako abiapuntu moduan proposatutako galdera eta helburu zehatzen arabera antolatu dira:

- **Lehen helburua: zein rol betetzen du jarduera fisiko eta kirolak espetxeratutako emakumeentzat?**

Esanahien erraiak

Elkarrizketatutakoen hitzetatik abiatuta, jarduera fisiko eta kirola espetxeratutako emakume batzuentzat esanahi handiko praktika da. Beraien esanetan, praktika motorrak hiru rol nagusi bete ditzake giltzapean: 1) denbora azkar erretzeko erreminta izatea, 2) askatasun zein burdin arteko ihesbiderako bide izatea eta 3) aurrera egiteko bidelagun izatea.

Lehenengo rola lotura zuzena du espetxealdiaren barne logikarekin. Gizarte industrializatu eta kapitalistetan denbora balio produktiboa izatera pasatu denez, kode penalaren arau haustearen kalte-ordaina egunak lapurtzearen logikara mugatu da. Espetxeratuak denbora ordaintzera zigortu dituzte, egunak, asteak, urteak, kondena bera denbora zehatz jakin baten igaroaldia baino ez

baita, finean. Denboraren aurkako borroka honetan, jarduera fisiko eta kirolean jardutearen bitartez eguna motzagoa izatearen sentsazioan lagundu, eta, hartara, kondena bera xamurragoa suertatu ahal zaiela adierazi digute.

Bigarrenari helduz, praktika motorren bidez lipar txiki batzuetan bada ere espetxeko hormetatik sinbolikoko ihes egin eta aske sentitu ahal dira. Menpekotasun egoera honetan, askatasun printza txiki hauen bidez, jardueren egitura dela eta, kalean zireneko sentsazioak pizten dizkie jarduera fisiko eta kirolean jarduteak. Era berean, aske sentitzeaz gain, euren barnean dituzten tentsio, amorru zein frustrazioei irteera bat ematea ahalbidetzen diela diote elkarrizketatuek, deskarga edota terapia itzela izatera iritsiz.

Hirugarren eta azken rolari dagokionez, bidelagun bezala definitu zuen elkarrizketatu batek jarduera fisiko eta kirola espetxean, eta hainbatentzat ere hala izan dela ondorioztatu dugu. Beronen praktiken ondorio onuragarrien bidez, espetxealdia nolabait leuntzen laguntzen die. Haatik, hainbat arazori irtenbidea emateko tresna gisa aurkeztu da jarduera fisiko eta kirola, besteak beste: euren inguru sozio-afektibotik urrun egotearen amorruari aurre hartzea, insomnia edota bakardade sentsazioa gainditzen laguntzea. Era honetara, elkarrizketatu ditugun emakumeen arabera, euren egunerokoan makulu interesgarri gisa aurkeztu da jarduera fisiko eta kirola.

- Bigarren helburua: zeintzuk dira eta zer diote orain arteko ikerketa gaiari buruzko lan zientifikoek?

Hutsuneak abordatzen

Lehenik eta behin, ikerketa gai honekiko literatura zientifikoan hutsune bat dagoela azpimarratu beharra dago. Aztertutakoaren arabera, hiru gakoetan atzean

gordetzen da gure ustez hutsune honen arrazoia: batetik, espetxeari buruz ikertzeko zailtasunak; bestetik, emakumezkoak espetxeetan gutxiengoa izatea; eta, azkenik, jarduera fisiko eta kirola bera elementu maskulinoa izatea gure egungo iruditeria sozialean.

Hala ere, ikerketa kopurua areagotu dela agerian utzi du errebisio sistematikoak, 2010. urtetik aurrera nabarmen hazi baita. Espetxeratutako biztanleriaren gorakadak, eta bereziki espetxeratutako emakumezkoenak, zerikusia izan dezake susperraldi horretan. Aldi berean, ikerketa gaia ikuspuntu zein metodologia anitzetatik gauzatu daitekeela ikusi dugu, jarduera fisiko eta kirolaren aniztasuna agerian utziz. Nabarmendu beharra dago, ordea, metodologia kualitatiboa izan dela suspertu den metodo mota nagusia testuinguru honetan. Azkenik, aztertutako ikerketetan jarduera fisiko eta kirolak burutzerako orduan emakumeek topatzen zituzten onuren eta oztopoen gaia nabarmen suspertu da.

- **Hirugarren helburua: zeintzuk dira emakume atxiloek pairatzen dituzten onura eta oztopoak praktika motorra giltzapean burutzean?**

Onuren dantza

Literatura zientifikoan emakume presoek burututako jarduera fisiko eta kirolaren eraginari erreparatuta, espetxeratutako emakumeen bizi kalitatean zein osasunean oro har inpaktu positiboa izan duela esan daiteke. Ikerketetan ikusi ahal izan den moduan, osasun mentalarekin lotura zuzena du, depresio zein antsietateari aurre egiten lagunduz. Aldi berean, euren gaitasun motorrak hobetu, euren gorputza gehiago ezagutu eta beronen gain kontrol handiagoa

izatea ahalbidetu die jarduera fisiko eta kirol jardueretan parte hartu duten emakumeei.

Gainera, lagunak zein harreman sare berriak sortzeko aukera aparta dela erakutsi dute hautatutako ikerlanek, harreman osasuntsuak egiteko beta emanez emakumeei. Era berean, denbora azkar pasatzeko sentrazioaz lagundurik, kondena bera eramangarriagoa suertatzen zaiela ikusi da ikerlanetan.

Azkenik, espetxea atzean utzi eta kalea hartzen duten momenturako tresna interesgarri gisa aurkeztu dute ikerketek jarduera fisiko eta kirola. Izan ere, transformaziorako zein ahalduntzerako lagungarria izan daitekeela azpimarratu dute, kalea hartuko duten eguna leunagoa suerta dakiekeela aitortuz. Kontuan izanda momentu hori poztasun bezainbesteko beldur, ezjakintasun eta ziurgabetasunarekin bat doala, indar handia behar duten momentua dela ondorioztatu da, aurrez landu beharrekoa.

Oztopo lasterketa

Hala ere, praktika onuragarri gisa agertu arren, jarduera fisikoaren sustapenaren aurrean zenbait erresistentzia identifikatu dira literaturan, espetxe erregimena izanik horien artean nagusi. Espetxeak gizonezkoek gizonezkoentzat eginiko eraikinak direla nabarmendu dira. Abiapuntu honetatik, desabantaila egoeran jokatzeko espetxeratutako emakumeek, eta, ildo honi jarraituz, jarduera fisiko eta kirolerako duten aukera eskasa agerian geratu da, bai material, espazio zein eskaintza arloan ere.

Aurrekoa gutxi balitz, gizon eta emakumeak dauden espetxeetan gizonen begirako kudeaketa bat izatea gehitu behar zaio, emakumezkoak bigarren plano batean utziz eta gizonezkoen lehentasun guztia emanez. Espetxearen izaera

androzentrikoa, beraz, agerian gelditu da, emakumeei eskaintzen zaizkien aukerak gizonen araberakoak baitira, eta, oro har, gizartean tradizionalki femeninotzat hartzen diren jardueren eskaintza da nagusi.

Beste zenbait faktore pertsonalek ere eragiten dute parte hartzean, hala nola: familia eta bisitak, lan orduak edota motibazio falta izateak. Lotura sozial eta familiarrek emakumeen parte hartzea baldintzatzen dutela ikusi da. Euren inguru sozio-afektibotik urrun egoteak nolabaiteko erru sentazioa izatea bultzatzen du, eta, beraz, euren lehentasunen artean etxekoen zaintza eta arreta daude, jarduera fisiko edo kirolaren aurretik. Gauzak honela, emakumeen parte hartzea espetxe biztanleriaren artean baxuena dela ondorioztatu dugu.

- **Laugarren helburua: jarduera fisiko eta kirola baliatu al dezakete emakumeek espetxearen kontrol sozial eta araei aurre egiteko?**

Marruskadurak eta arrakalak

Aurkitutako onuren artean, espetxeko indar botere harremanen tirabiran marruskadurak sortzeko erreminta interesgarria izan daitekeela ikusi da ikerlanetan, eta hala adierazi dute elkarrizketatutako emakumeek ere. Izan ere, espetxeratutako emakumeei beraien bizitzaren gaineko kontrol txiki bat hartzeko beta errazten die praktika motorrak, autonomia eta independentzia apur bat irabaziz atxilo egonda ere, euren agentzia eta nortasuna indartuz era honetara. Gainera, kanpoko bizitzarekin lotura egiteko edota natura bera ere gertuago sumatzeko balio duela aipatu dute, horma bortitzenetan arrakalak sortuz. Jarduera fisiko eta kirola beraien egoera hobetzeko lagungarria izan daitekeela ulertarazi digute. Arestian aipatu bezala, nolabait, preso estatusetik eskapu

egiteko aukera sortzen da, askatasun sentsazio sinboliko batean murgiltzeko, hain zuzen ere.

Era berean, burdin arteko kontrol sozialari ziria sartzeko erabili daiteke. Jarduera fisiko eta kirolak duen esanahi positiboaz baliatuta, hain preziatuak diren sariak errazago eskuratu edo bestelako helburu batzuk lortzeko erabili ahal dira kirol espazio zein jarduerak. Hala ere, elkarrizketatu batzuek hasieran bestelako asmo batzuk izanda ere (droga salerosketa edota euren informetan jarrera positiboki baloratzeko puntuak irabaztea, adibidez), gerora gustura jarduten zutela aipatu dute. Gainera, euren gorputza indartu eta gorputz gihartsuak nolabaiteko segurtasun neurri gisa erabili ahal direla azaleratu dute. Hartara, espetxeko kontrol sozialari nolabait aurre egitea eta emakumeen agentzia agerian utzi du jarduera fisiko eta kirolak, euren bizitzen gaineko kontrol apur bat hartuz. Espetxealdia oztopoz eta zigorrez josita egonik, norbere eguneroko egoera nolabait hobetu ahal duten mikro-erresistentzia espazio hauen onura eta arlo honetan jarduera fisiko eta kirolak duen potentziala azpimarratu nahiko genuke.

6.2. Lanaren mugak

Espetxea eta bere testuingurua aztertzea ariketa zaila izan dela aipatu dugu 1.5.2 (ikerketa testuingurura hurbilpena) eta 1.5.7 (ikerketa prozesua) ataletan, eta lan honek ere baditu, ondorioz, zenbait egiturazko muga.

Nabarmentzekoa den muga eta oztopo nagusia espetxean bertan ikertzeko oniritzi formal bat eskuratzearen zailtasuna da. Honek, zuzenean jaso eta azter nitzakeen datu zein sinbologia oso bat alboratu behar izateaz gain, momentuan espetxeratuta zeuden emakumezkoen ahotsaren hutsunea erantsi dio lan honi.

Nahiz eta hirugarren graduan edota oraindik kondena betetzeko egoeran zeuden emakumeak elkarrizketatu, baldintza ezberdinean daudela iritzi diot, eta, beraz, agian emaitzak bestelakoak ziratekeen oraindik espetxeratuta egongo balira.

Era berean, espetxe edo bere testuinguruarekin aurretiazko inolako harreman zuzenik ez izatean, elkarrizketatuak bilatzeko zailtasuna gehitu zaio tesi honi. Testuinguruarekin harremana zuten elkarte zehatz batzuen elkarlana lortuta ere, ikerketako parte hartzaileak elkarte horiekin harremana duten emakumeetara mugatu dira. Aipatu bezala, jada emakume presoek kopuru urriak nahikoa baldintzatu badu lagina, espetxean jarduera fisiko edo kirola praktikatu izanaren irizpideak areago zaildu du parte hartzaileak lortzeko zeregina. Hala ere, nire aburuz, interesgarria litzateke, izan ditugun parte hartzaileak kontuan izanda, profil zehatz batzuetan gehiago sakontzea edo profil zehatz bateko partaide gehiago lortzea. Hala nola, gizarteak baztertutako etniak eta kolektiboak, baina espetxeetan nabarmentzen direnak; ijitoak edota momentuan droga kontsumitzaile diren emakumezkoak, adibidez.

Honenbestez, lan honek gai hau itxi eta ebatzi baino, galdera, eztabaida eta ideia berriei bidea zabaltzeko dielakoan nago. Horretarako, baina, beharrezko jotzen dut espetxe barrura sartu eta parte hartzaileekin berauen eguneroko bizitzan jarduera fisiko eta kirolak duen esanahia aztertzea.

6.3. Aplikazio praktikoak

Lan honen aplikazio praktikoak eraldatu nahi den espazio edo parte hartzaileetara begira osatu ditut: espetxeratutako emakumeak. Edonola ere, nire ustez, espetxean jarduera fisiko eta kirol esparru batean lanean dabilen edozein

pertsonarentzat, gure arloko ikasle zein ikertzaile edota erabaki politikoak hartzen dituztenentzat ere interesgarria izan daitezkeela uste dut.

Zoritxarrez, nire eragin zein ahalmenetik kanpo gelditzen da gaur egun esparru hau, nahiz eta hein txiki batean eragin, eta eragiten saiatu naizen. Espetxeko egunerokotasunean beronen erregimena gailentzen dela ondorioztatu dugu, eta honek espetxeratutakoen egunerokoan eragin zuzena izaten duela ere bai. Espetxe politika moldagarria eta malguagoa izan daitekeela ere ikusi dut, Belgikan, esaterako. Beraz, aldaketarako aukera egon badago, nire iritziz. Borondatea behar da horretarako, ordea. Aldaketak proposatzerako orduan, zehazki jarduera fisiko eta kirolarekin lotuta eta giltzaperatutako emakumeei zuzentzeko programa bat diseinatzerako orduan, jarraian aipatuko diren puntuak kontuan izatea interesgarria izan daitekeelakoan nago.

6.3.1. Eskaintza

- Emakumeentzat eta emakumeekin batera diseinaturiko programa bat izatea. Euren parte hartzea sustatzea erabakigunetan, eta euren nahi, interes zein aukeretara moldatzen saiatzea jarduera fisiko eta kiroleko eskaintza. Era honetara, euren parte hartze zein ahalduntzean lagungarri izan daiteke.
- Gizonezko eta emakumezkoek espazio beretan aritzeko aukera berdinak bermatzea. Espazioek mistoak izan behar badute, hala izan daitezken bermatu. Euren parte hartze maila igotzeko aukera berdintasunean jokatu behar da.
- Espazio zabaletan jarduera fisiko eta kirolen praktika sustatzea. Askatasun sentazioa handitu eta kale/kartzela dikotomia nolabait leundu dezakeelako, giltzaperatze sentazioa samurtuz.

- Kaleko jarduera fisiko eta kirol eskaintzen parte hartzea sustatzea, programaturiko irteera gisa (adibidez, lasterketa, ibilaldi neurtu, kirol lehiaketa...). Aurreko puntuari lotuta, giltzaperatze sentrazioa nolabait samurtu eta kalea hartzen duten egunerako lagungarria izan dakiekeelako, kartzela hormetatik kanpo halako jarduerak sustatzea interesgarria izan daiteke.
- Lehiaketa txiki edota kirol topaketak antolatzea kanpoko taldeekin batera. Horrelako saioetan aktiboki parte hartuko ez badute ere, ikusle bezala bertaratzeko aukera ematea gainontzeko emakumeei. Harreman sare berriak sortu eta kartzela zein kalearen arteko distantzia laburtzeko balio dezake, bai kanpotik datozenen sentsibilizazioari begira, bai barruan daudenen monotoniazko egun bat alaitzeko.
- Maila eta interesen araberako jardute taldeak osatzea (adibidez, hastapen eta hobekuntza maila). Era honetara, aukerak baldin badaude, euren parte hartzearen intentsitate zein talde aukeraketa bat gauza dezakete. Honela, jarduerarekiko konpromiso bat eska dakieke, beraiek erabakiz ekintzarekiko izango duten jarrera. Era berean, hezitzailearen saioen plangintza zein diseinua efizienteagoa izaten lagun dezake.

6.3.2. Barne antolaketa

- Gorputz heziketako profesional baten gidaritza izatea programak, eta programatu gabeko jardueretan hezitzaile formatu baten presentzia izatea patio edo kiroldegiko orduetan. Jarduera gustagarriak proposatzen asmatzen duen hezitzaile bat izanez gero, saioetarako atxikipena errazago lor daitekeela uste dugu.

- Espetxean emakume presoekin jarduera fisiko eta kirola landu behar duen hezitzailearen formazioa hobetzea, genero ikuspuntuan sakonduz. Testuinguru beraren izaera androzentrikoa kontuan izanda, genero ikuspuntua duen pertsona bat emakumeen ahalduntzerako onuragarria izan daiteke.
- Gorputz heziketako hezitzaileen iritziak espetxeko zuzendaritza zein tratamenduko batzordean tokia eta pisua izatea. Batetik, saioetan burutzen denak emakumeentzat ere sari zein helburu bat izan dezan, eta, bestetik, hezitzailearen iritzia baloratzuz bere lanari balioa aitortzeko.

Amaitzeko, norbere kabuz –inolako material zein aukera duinik gabe– jarduera fisiko eta kirola egiteko gai direla adierazi dugu lan honetan, baina horretarako benetan tematu eta sinistuta egon behar direla ere bai, eta hori ez da erraza izaten espetxean. Hala izanik, lan honek eta antzerakoek motibazio horretan lagundu dezaketela pentsatu nahi dut. Era honetara, izan dezaketen ondorio onuragarrien jabe izanda, eraldaketarako apustua egitea samurragoa suertatu dakieke.

6.4. Etorkizunerako proposamenak

Gaiaren konplexutasuna kontuan izanda, etnografia bat egitea benetan interesgarri bezain beharrezkoa dela azpimarratu nahiko nuke. Etnografia baten bidez nik jaso eta ikusi ezin izan ditudan hainbat datu eskura daitezkeela uste baitut eta, modu horretan, ikerketa gaiarekiko jakintza osatzea lortu.

Lanaren mugetan ikusitakoaren harira, heldu ez naizen beste profil bat aztertzea ere aberasgarria dela iritzi dut: zehazki, droga erabiltzaile diren espetxeratutako

emakumeena. Egun literatura zientifikoan gai honekiko dagoen hutsunea medio, jarduera fisiko eta kirolari lotutako euren bizipenak aztertzea etorkizunerako proposamen interesgarria izan daiteke. Espetxean droga gaur egungo arazoa izanik, jarduera fisiko eta kirolak zenbateraino eta nola lagun dezakeen ikertzea esanguratsua izan daiteke. Era berean, egun jarduera fisiko eta kirola praktikatzan ez duten emakumeek bestelako ikuspuntu eta informazio mamitsu bat eskain diezagukete. Benetan emakumeen parte hartzea suspertu nahi bada, beharrezkoa da parte hartzen ez duten emakumeen ahotsak mahaigaineratzea, beraiek baitituzte nik momentuz zehaztasunez erantzun ezin ditudan hainbat galderaren erantzunak. Bestetik, parte hartzen duten eta ez duten emakumeen bizipenak jasotzeaz gain, egunero beraiekin lanean dabiltzan funtzionario, gizarte langile, erizain zein espetxe zuzendariaren iritzia aztertzea ere interesgarria dela uste dut, espetxearen egunerokotasunaren logika bere osotasunean ulertu ahal izateko ikuspegi ezberdinetatik.

Bestetik, baztertutako kolektibo bati buruz aritzean unibertsitatea bezalako instituzio batean, egiturazko botere harremanak mantentzeko arriskuan gaude, nire aburuz. Hargatik, bazterretatik erdira ekartzeaz gain, euren agentziaren garrantzia azpimarratu nahiko nuke, beraiek ere jakintzaren ekoizpenean parte hartze aktiboa izatera animatuz. Horretarako, narrazio estiloan egindako ekarpenak berritzaileak izan daitezkeela pentsatzen dut. Alde batetik, jasotako jakintza errazago zein esparru anitzetara zabaltzeko aukera eman dezake, eta honek beronen inpaktu soziala handitzea lortu. Bestetik, bazterretatik erdira ekarriz, beraiek bihurtzen dira jakintza-ekoizpenaren protagonista; formula honen bidez euren parte hartzea erraztuko litzateke. Kolaborazioan egindako narrazioak, beraz, etorkizunerako ekarpen aberasgarria izan daitezke.

Azkenik, nazioarteko ikuspuntu bat izatea benetan garrantzitsua dela uste dut, eta, horretarako, nazioarteko ikerketak beharrezkoak dira. Tokian tokiko errealitatetik abiatuta, beste herrialdeetako espetxeetan jarduera fisiko eta kirola nola kudeatzen duten, zein kirol programa dituzten, hauetan zein helburu zehazten diren eta hauen aplikazioa nola daitekeen gauzatu aztertzea lan lerro interesgarria izan daiteke. Eredu ezberdinak egon badaude Europan bertan, baina hauen inguruko ezagutza zabaltzea falta dela uste dut. Jarduera fisikoak inklusio prozesuan eragin dezakeen bultzada ikusita, hori sustatzen duen eredu zein ekimen ezberdinak aztertzea beharrezkoa da, ematen ari diren urratsak sendotu eta etorkizunerako berriak prestatze bidean.

6.5. Aitorpen kontakizuna

Atzera begiratu eta ibilbide luze bat ikusten dut, malkartsua bezain jira-birakoa, eta bidearen amaierarekin batera heltzen da honi buruzko beharrezko hausnarketa. Atal honetan, beraz, ikerketan bizi izandako emozio, buruhauste, zailtasun zein poztasunei azpimarra berezia egin nahi nieke; eta era subjektibo batean gauzatuko dut, aitorpen moduan. Ikerketen atzean gauden pertsonok bizi ditugun sentimenduak mahaigaineratzea da ondorengo lerroen xedea; izan ere, ikerlariak ez baikara datuak biltzera mugatzen diren makinak, ezta parte hartzaileak horiek produzitzen dituztenak ere. Orri hauen atzean gorputz, ahots, sentipen eta bizipen anitz gordetzen dira.

Sarreran aipatu bezala, arrazoi eta kuriositate jakin batzuen ondorioz erabaki nuen espetxe testuinguruan burutzea ikerketa. Inoiz espetxeratua izan ez den beste edonor bezala, aurreiritziez gain gutxi nekien horma horien atzean gertatzen zenari buruz, eta are gutxiago doktorego tesi batek dakarren eskakizun

mailari buruz. Ezjakintasun handiarekin, bada, esango nuke hasi nuela bidea, inuzenteegi akaso. Hasiera honetan, ordea, bidea ezaugarritu duen aldagaietako bat doktorego aurreko laguntza eskuratu izana da. Laguntzarik jaso izan ez banu, ez dut irudikatzen nolakoa izango zatekeen prozesua, baina ziur naiz ez zatekeela berdina izango. Azken batean, egunean hainbat ordu eskaini ahal izan dizkiot, eta, nire soldatapeko lan orduak horretara mugatzean, askatasun gehiago eta zenbait erraztasun izan ditut.

Era berean, tesiaren oinarrian dagoen beste aldagaietako bat taldean aritzeko aukera edukitzea izan da. Jada lau urte pasatu dira gai berarekiko interesaren ondorioz bi ezezagunek Oiduiaren bulegoan topo egin genuenetik. Batetik, esan beharra daukat honelako bidaia batean barneratzea ausartzen den edonorentzat bereziki gomendagarria iruditzen zaidala prozesu berdinean murgildutako pertsonekin harremana izatea. Zalantzak eta beldurrak partekatzeaz gain, elkarri laguntzea baino ederragoa den gauza gutxi baitago hain bakartia izan daitekeen bidaia honetan. Bestetik, sarreran aipatu bezala, bizkarrezur eta helduleku funtzio garrantzitsua izan dute Nerianekin batera bi zuzendariak. Oidui egunerokoan aholkatu eta animatu nauelako, eta Danielek, hain gertu egon ez bagara ere, gaiarekiko jakintza eta ikuspegi kritikoarekin aberastu zein animatu nauelako. Elkarlanaren eta adiskidetasunaren balioa azpimarratu nahi nuke, beraz, ikerketaren nondik norakoak gidatzeaz gain, sustengu emozional honetan izan duten garrantziagatik.

Metodologiako zenbait ataletan aipatu bezala, hasieratik baldintzatua egon da nire bidea: espetxea ikertu nahi nuen, baina espetxeko ateak itxita zeuden niretzako eta eginkizun hori betetzeko. Honek tesiaren diseinuan eragin zuzena izan du eta baita, ondorioz, nik burutu beharreko bidean ere. Era berean, aitortu behar dut, tematu banintz eta ausarta izan banintz, kanpora joanda agian lortu

nezakeela beste nonbaiten etnografia burutzea; baina herrian gelditzea hobetsi nuen, etxean. Elkartearen pisuan egindako esku-hartze zein elkarrizketen bidez nolabait asetzen nuen sartze-gar hori, eta, bide batez, 'espetxeari' buruz ikertzen jarraitzen nuen.

Tesia birdiseinatzean, errebisio sistematikoa burutzea erabaki genuen, eta, egia esan, ez zen lan samurra izan niretzat. Zailtasuna ez zen soilik ordenagailu aurrean horren arrotz zitzaizkidan plataformetan horrenbeste ordu igarotzera ohituta ez egotearen arrazoiaren atzean gordetzen, baizik eta informazio asko kudeatu behar nuela oso ongi nola egin jakin gabe. Zalantzarik gabe, tesiaren lehen urratsetan benetan lagungarria izan den lan horrek sekulako buruhaustea eman zizkidan. Hala ere, tesi bat hasi behar duen edonori halako bilaketa bat egitearen gomendioa luzatu nahiko nioke, ikerketaren oinarriak finkatzerako orduan benetan lagungarria izan daitekeelako, frustrazioak alde batera utziz.

Elkarrizketetan, aldiz, batez ere hasierako urduritasunak uxatzea lortu ahala, erosoago sentitu nintzen. Nolabait ere, elkarrizketetan trebatu naizelako sentipena dut, zerbait ikasi dudalako sentazioa. Egia da ikerketa hasi aurretik ez nuela inoiz halako esperientziarik izan, baina, azkenean, zeregin gozagarria izan da. Pertsona sozialtzat dut nire burua, gustuko ditut hitz egitea, eztabaidatzea, ikuspuntu berriak ezagutzea eta halakoak, eta elkarrizketak horretarako tresna ona izan dira. Bai emakume ikaragarri 'gaiztoak' ezagutzeko parada eman didatelako, baita beraiengandik jasotako irakaspenengatik ere. Bide batez, elkarrizketak euren ezinegonak eta kezkek libratzeko zuen garrantzia azpimarratu nahiko nuke, euren barrenak askatzeko aukera bat izatera iritsiz. Honekin, gizartean estigmatizatu, baztertu eta isilduta egon ohi diren ahotsei konfiantzazko espazioen eskaintzaren beharra azaleratu nahiko nuke, osatze kolektiborako ariketa gisa. Izan ikerketan edo bestelako eredu informal batean,

tabu eta baztertutako gai zein norbanakoei babestoki bat eskaintzearen beharra agerian uzten du tesi honek.

Eta zer esan espetxeko bizipenari buruz? Berau itzela bezain beldurgarria izan dela esango nuke. Amorru zein poztasun handiko momentuz betea egon dena, baina baita malko eta irribarre askotakoa zein ahaztu nahiko nituzkeen baina beti gogoan izango ditudan instante biziz betea ere. Ez da erraza deskribatzen zer senti dezakeen 'kanpotarra' den norbait euren territorioan sartzean, 'beraietako bat' ez zarela ohartuta, beraiekin aritzea erabaki duzunean. Funtzionarioen begirada zorrotzei bezainbesteko arreta jartzen diezunean emakume preso batzuen goitik beherako azterketari. Eta etengabeko arretak, guztiari so eta adi egotearen obsesioak edonora laguntzen zaituenean. Adi ibili beharra egindako keinu edo esandako hitz bakoitzean, arreta eta tentu handiz. Aurrez aipatu bezala, ez da dena polita izan. Izan ditut nire deserosotasunak, nire ezjakintasunak, egoera kontrolatik at izatearen sentsazioa. Egon dira baita ere bertan egoteaz damututako egunak. Gure sarrerek zentzurik ba ote zuen galdetzen genionean gure buruari, benetan jarduera fisiko eta kirolak eurentzat esanahirik bazuen auzitan ipintzen genituenean. Baina izan dira bestelako egunak ere, esker onez, irribarrez, algarez, besarkadez eta umore onez betetako egunak. Geure buruari etortzen jarraitzeko animoak ematen zizkigutenak, "hurrengo astra arte!" alaitsu batekin agurtzen gintuztenean.

Bizipen honetatik hainbat ikaskuntza atera ditut, baita emakume gogoangarriak ezagutu ere. Emakume gogorak, ahaldunduak eta munduari aurre egin edota ziria sartu nahi izan dietenak. Denetarik ikusi eta gainditu dutenak. Damurik ez dutenak. Badira ere kolpatuak, zapalduak, isilduak eta bortxatuak izan diren emakumeak. Beste substantzia batzuetan arnasa bilatzen dutenak, begiak irekita izanda ere ezer ikusteko adina indar ez dutenak. Betirako lo sakonean

murgilduta bizi nahi dutenak. Esnatzeko eguna noiz iritsi desiratzen ez dutenak. Beraiek esnatzeko inoren zain ez daudenak. Bere burua zauritzen dutenak. Bere buruaz beste egiten saiatu direnak.

Honenbestez, bizipen aberasgarri bezain gogorra izan daiteke espetxera sartzea, geure gizartearen kontraesanen krudeltasunarekin gurutzatzea ez dela eroso kontuan izanda. Are gehiago, nolabait, zu zeu ere sistemaren konplize zarela sentitzen duzunean. Hein batean, badirudi gure kontraesanen arabera eraikitzen dugula geure burua, eta, agian, haiekin gurutzatu orduko, forma hartu eta argitara ateratzen dira, saihestezinak bilakatur.

Lanaren errora etorriz, emakume atxiloentzat jarduera fisiko eta kirolak espetxealdian zein etorkizunean izan dezakeen onura eta garrantzia agerian utzi bada ere, ikuspegi erromantikoegia eta sinplistegia edukitzea izango litzateke nire aldetik jarduera horien bidez gizartean erabateko inklusioa posible dela ondorioztatzea. Honek prozesu global baten beharra baitakar bere baitan, espetxeak dakartzan albo-kalte zein zaurien osatze lan nekeza, hain zuzen. Dena den, eta oztopoak izanik ere, jarduera fisiko eta kirola pertsona batzuentzat lagungarria izan daitekeela ikusi dut lan honetan.

Nire iritziz, birgizarteratzera iristeko, emakume bakoitzaren kasu bakoitza zehazki beraiekin batera aztertu beharreko kontua da, eta horren arabera esku-hartze edo laguntza plan bat gauzatu beharko litzateke, beraiek hala nahi izanez gero behintzat. Jarduera fisiko eta kirolak bide berri honetan toki bat izan dezake, beti ere emakumearen nahi eta beharraren arabera presentziarekin. Bide beretik, erakargarria izan daiteke euren aurreko testuinguru kutsakorretik alden du diren eta testuinguru sozial osasungarriagoan murgiltzeko aukera duten emakumeentzat.

Azkenik, ezin nezake amaitu hausnarketa hau espetxeko politikari lerro batzuk eskaini gabe. Nahiz eta ahots bakan batzuek, gutxiengoak, espetxealditik nolabaiteko ikaskuntza eta onura atera izana argudiatu, gehiengo zabalak kaltegarri bezala definitu dute aldi hori. Horietariko askok espetxealdiak eragindako zauriak osatzeke dituzte oraindik, eta, bertatik aterata urte asko pasa badira ere, orbainak agerian dituzte.

Giltzaperatzearen kalteak ikusteak espetxerik gabeko herri bat irudikatzen narama, zaila izan daitekeen arren. Maila pertsonalean, mendekuzko zigor sistema batean baino, justizia erreparatzailearen alde lerrokatzen naiz. Xede hori heldu artean, tratamendu eta zigorrak arintzearen aldeko alegatu bat egin nahiko nuke, kasu honetan, jarduera fisiko eta kirolaren bitartez, espetxealdian aukera berriak sortuz eta askatasun arnasak oparituz.

Mezu bat zabaldu nahiko nuke, espetxeetako horma luze eta mardulak eskalatu nahi dituzten ikerketak martxan ipintzearen alde, ikerketa honetan egin moduan, patio eta ziegetara argi izpiak jaurtitzeko. Hala ere, suposatzen dut aurkitutako oztopoak zenbatu ezinezkoak direla eta, prozesua bera ez dela beldur eta kezkez salbuetsia egon. Onartu beharra daukat txikia sentitu izan naizela tesiko lau urteetako momentu askotan zehar. Maiz zalantzan jarri dut ea ikerketak ez ote didan gainezka egingo, doktoregoa ez ote den erronka handiegia niretzako. Egoera honetara helduta, amaierara iritsita, argi daukadana da ikerketa bakoitzak zigilu pertsonala daramala, eta baliteke nirea xalotasunarekin josi izana.

Eta hemendik aurrera, zer? Batek daki honen ostean zer datorren, baliteke doktoregoa bide baten hasiera puntua baino ez izatea. Baliteke bide baten amaiera izatea. Galdera ikurren artetik, ordea, erronka ederra izan delako ideia

nagusitzen da. Argi dut, baita ere, zalantza eta beldurrez inguratuta egon arren, ikertzen jarraitzeko eta ikasten jarraitzeko gogotsu nagoela. Taldean, noski. Orain arteko bidaia honetatik jasotako ikaskuntzak nire motxilan gorde eta berriei ekiteko gogoz nago. Utopiak ibiltzeko balio omen duela gogorarazi zigun Eduardo Galeanok; bada, jarrai dezagun bidea egiten. Jarrai dezagun amesten, hausnartzen, zubiak eraikitzen eta, batez ere, irauli eta eraldatzen.

Gupida diogu
hormez haraindiko munduari:
lan bila dabilen laguna,
lanerako bizi den bestea,
umeak artatzeko astirik ez duen emakumea.

Pozten gaitu
lanik egin behar ez izateak,
idazteko denbora izateak,
ama ez izateak,
aspertzeko astia topatzeak.

Harrotzen gara
tonaka pena pilatzen den urtegian
irauten dugulako ur azalean.
Harritzen gara
penaz ito beharrean diren hainbesteren gogoak
gora jasotzeko dugun kemenaz.

Antzerki hutsa da hau guztia:
umore beltza,
ironia iraultzailea,
sistemarekiko satira.
Kristauek nahi luketen bezala
geure buruez gupida ez gaitezen
—leziorik ez, eskerrik asko—
zuen zibilizazioaz trufatzen gara.
Ez dugu maite gupida, pena eta erruen bazka.

Libre ezin, aske gara

Ekhine Eizagirre

Alde erantzira nabil

