NARRATIVE IDENTITIES OF YOUNG CHILEANS

Mainstream convergences and deviant struggles

by

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DEDICATION

Dedicated to:

My wife and children, for their patience, caring and love
My mother and sister, for being my family and simply be, by my side
My grandfather, he taught me to read at three, now I can’t go educationally further
My grandmother, she taught me to see the world with suspicion, she trained me to live
Myself, for going against all odds
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Memento mori…

Human life is sometimes lavish of emptiness, inexorably real, maddeningly deaf. Some people live life –for better or worse- naturally connected. Most of them cannot imagine being isolated amidst the multitude, so similar but atypical, watching everyone passing by, uninterestedly.

I am the older son of a middle-lower class single mother. My grandparents raised me. I grew up in a small town, in a somewhat “under-class” neighbourhood: in no particular temporal order… three houses away, people suddenly turned “enemies”, mocking the fate of my family (suffering the harshness of political prison); across the street, the grandchildren of a retired policeman turned offenders; one block away people trafficked drugs…

From the beginning, my social skills kept me nailed to the ground, where I learnt to dwell and endure. I learnt to thrive pushing my limits, quite often way too far, way too hard, way too painful. I learned the hard way in many senses, feeling an outsider in the ordinary realm of everydayness, so close, yet so distant to anyone. When I turned 33 years old, I discovered that my experience has a fashionable label, “Asperger syndrome”, now dissolved and changed into “autism spectrum disorder”. “You’ve been lucky” –said the psychiatrist who diagnosed me- “I guess”, –I responded.

Besides the subjects of my dedication, I want to acknowledge the handful of people who stopped to take me seriously, in chronological order, thanks to:

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All the participants and the people who helped me to meet them. I hope have done justice to your stories.

*Memento mori*… life is sadistically short when you realised it.
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SUMMARY

Since the last part of the 20th century, several sociological perspectives have emerged endorsing the interweaving of social structure and the individual agency, serving to a new comprehension of social phenomena and their factual dynamics. In criminology, the conceptions about crime and its relationship with the mainstream cultural structure have been questioned –endorsing that allegedly conventional values may also form part of deviant manifestations.

The purpose of this study is to disclose conventional standpoints in the accounts of young male adults who have committed property crimes, comparing them with socially well-regarded individuals –a comparison of “maximally different” people.

Consequently, two sets of accounts were gathered through in-depth semi-structured interviews, representing both deviant trajectories (12 participants, average age: 23 years old) and conventional ones (6 participants, average age: 23 years old). The analysis focused on differences and similarities between and within groups aiming at narratives related to everyday experiences and culturally-charged standpoints – especially examining critical “neoliberal” values and experiences related to individualism.

The results show multiple points of convergence. This is particularly evident around valued goals such as family care and surprisingly, the rejection of consumerism. Moreover, future appraisals are also remarkably convergent, despite the notorious differences in past and present experiences.

The results may be valuable in a twofold direction. First, the knowledge about the pro-social aspects of young offenders may improve social interventions. On the other hand, showing conventionalism in vulnerable groups often labelled as deviant may settle a more profound social critique around endorsed mainstream values in the Chilean consumer Society.
INTRODUCTION

For the present work, a combination of sociological and criminological accounts have been put into discussion, offering different ways to observe how lives “maximally different” are able to be compared and how this comparability relates to the broader social realm. The stories that will help us come from young incarcerated men and young men finishing their studies in business.

Social sciences have been often divided on determining the pre-eminence of one dimension of human life, either social structure or individual agency, whichever the discipline or the different approach within a discipline, a chosen and preferred way to explain features and relationships of human beings interacting with each other is endorsed, emerging intellectual demarcation and proneness to confrontation. Sociologist Anthony Giddens addresses this debate in his book “The Constitution of Society”, arguing that a more comprehensive way to understand the interplay between social structure and individual agency falls instead into a “duality of structure”. Duality, according to which the structure is better understood “as the medium and outcome of the conduct it recursively organises”, granting a dynamical conception of structure, which spirally attributes movement and abstraction to the actions of every individual.

Therefore, Giddens acknowledges the role of the individual in the recreation of social structure since “the structural properties of social systems do not exist outside of action but are chronically implicated in its production and reproduction” (Giddens, 1986, p. 374). In other words, both social structure and the agentic action of any individual constitute an imbricated duality that should not be conceived separately. Human action embedded in a particular socio-cultural and historical context helps produce and reproduce dynamically and temporally the same context in which every action is framed in everyday social existence.

Likewise, the field of criminological research has fallen prey to this dualistic distinction (Fleetwood, 2016), often favouring an approximation acknowledging a separation between structure and individual agency. We consider this approach
problematic since a covert or overt focus in one dimension of social life leads to an inevitable overlooking of the other, paying none or less attention to other elements and their potential interplay. In this sense, for example, focusing on personal narratives as detached from broader structures does not consider the interplay between both elements. As Fleetwood (2016) argues, an account that recognises duality instead of dualism is needed, “which maintains a focus on individual subjectivity and meaning-making through language, but which captures the interplay between individuals and social structures, not in opposition, but in a relationship” (p. 179).

In this regard, several academic proposals have emerged in recent times pointing to the importance of addressing social structure and the agency capability of any individual (King, 2012; LeBel, Burnett, Maruna, & Bushway, 2008).

Thus, while the epistemological distinction concerning the duality of the structure has been overtly declared, the next step is to theorise and develop articulated observations that, in addition to methodological approaches, may guide social research initiatives regarding such duality.

Emerging approaches for accessing the structurally situated agent experience are based upon the concept of narrative identity (Arciero & Bondolfi, 2011; Fleetwood, 2016; Ricoeur, 1992; Somers, 1994). As Fleetwood (2016) states, the “[a]nalysis of narratives can trace social structures, and examine how they structure action through narrative” (p. 186), since narratives can be understood as junctures or “hinges” between individuals and society (Fleetwood, 2016; Presser, 2009). This analogy hints at the dual implication of narratives. Besides the stillness of a hinge as a point of conjunction, at the same time, it also enables mobility. As a point of convergence, a hinge enables both bonded elements to move and interact. In this sense, narrative identities assist continuity and change.

Within this dynamic conception of duality, narrative identities can be traced in the interplay of the uncertainty of the future and the already lived experience, which goes back to the present deriving onto new on-going experiences —facing the horizon of life towards death (Ricoeur, 1992). In this sense, the three dimensions of time are
thought to be enmeshed together, moment to moment, implying experiential co-influence.

Moreover, this understanding acknowledges identity as situated and embedded in a particular temporal and spatial context. Emerging accompanied by the multiple aspects of self, among which situational and narrative dimensions occupy a critical role (Gallagher, 2013; Gallagher & Daly, 2018; Gallagher & Zahavi, 2012). 

Regarding narratives from a sociological standpoint, Margaret Somers (1992, 1994) distinguishes several narrative dimensions among which public (collective) and ontological (individual) are mainly related to the construction of a narrative identity. We then follow that narratives reverberate with structural constraints, conforming reflections of a particular societal disposition. Therefore, they serve to any member of that given society to endow their personal history in a shared social meaning, an evolving cultural sense embedded in “webs of significance” (Geertz, 1973), shared and available to any individual.

According to Clifford Geertz (1973), culture is ideational but “does not exist in someone’s head”, it is unphysical, but it is not covert from the public. Thus, cultural meanings and the narratives that spring from them are symbolically present but materially absent; they dwell in spaces and realms, allowing to be felt but at the same time elusive to fully apprehension. Culture is like the water and its currents in the sea, ineludibly present but hard to grasp, gushing everywhere and everyone.

And as an interplay of significances –continues Geertz- “culture is not a power, something to which social events, behaviours, institutions, or processes can be causally attributed” (p. 14). Instead, culture is a context within which the interplay of those interworking significances can be intelligibly and “thickly-described”. In short, culture cannot be blamed for causing social phenomena but only for making them comprehensible. As Godart and White (2010, p. 581) assert, agency enacts culture “by practices, sustained by rhetorics, story-lines, and plots through styles, mobilised in narratives” –and then further institutionalised as time goes by. Godart and White

1 For instance, embodied, experiential, affective, and behavioural elements, among others.
conclude that culture is a web “spun by identities” where any individually discernible narrative is part of a broad fabric from which such individuality is intelligible. Consequently, we think that narratives and the accounts derived from them are the way to access personal history and structural opportunities and constraints.

Subsequently, the notion of narrative identity opens the question about the extent of sharing the significances that culture illuminates. If social structure and culture is shared and reproduced by agents in their everyday lives, as long they can be construed as a “web of significances”, a minimal but significant “dosage of culture” must be, as a result, pooled among all members of society. Despite the different approaches to social life, a minimal token of mutual intelligibility is needed to render common understanding.

Therefore, going back to the metaphor of culture as water, this water must be “wetting” more than what can be readily grasped by social sciences, something that necessitates a revisited “sociological imagination” (Mills, 1959). Also, since we are interested in both “centre” and “margins” of society, this interpretation should lead to new considerations about crime and social deviation, a new “criminological imagination” (Young, 2011).

This world has seen changes in its conceiving of the phenomenon of deviance. In early modernity, deviant behaviour and the citizens who practised it were often considered people marked by the deficit, in the sense that “modernist gaze views the other not as something alien, but as something or somebody who lacks the attributes of the viewer” (Young, 1999, p. 5). This standpoint assumed the cultural uniformity of a given society, from which “to deviate” meant precisely that in spatial and symbolic terms: being situated and acting outlying the centre, being “off tracks” of the seemingly orderly and homogeneity of conventional society. Rehabilitating the deviant meant including them in the mainstream order.

Reaching late modernity afterwards (Giddens, 1991; Young, 1999), a noticeably pluralist thinking started to settle down –which accompanied by rising neoliberal perspectives and costumes- progressively transformed the formerly “inclusive”
modernity into a gradually more “exclusive” late modern society (Young, 1999). The seemingly more cohesive “communitarian pool” of early modern society is then now broken up into several pieces. Can we now discard the notion of dominant (hegemonic?) influences agreeing with pluralist perspectives?

In this regard, a decent leap forward will imply a step back: revisiting the classics. The work of Robert K. Merton (1938, 1968) about social anomie clearly illustrates the point mentioned above. In his extensively cited work “Social structure and Anomie” (Merton, 1938, 1968), Merton proposes a central hypothesis that crime and deviance “may be regarded sociologically as a symptom of dissociation between culturally prescribed aspirations and socially structured avenues for realising these aspirations” (Merton, 1968, p. 188). In other words, as Hayward (2004, p. 158) puts it, crime occurs when is a discrepancy between “what the social structure makes possible… and what dominant culture extols”.

However, Merton argued that for those placed in the lower strata of society, dominant culture “makes incompatible demands”. Up to a point that crime and vice appear as “normal” reactions to circumstances where “the cultural emphasis upon pecuniary success has been absorbed, but where there is little access to conventional and legitimate means for becoming successful” (Merton, 1968, p. 199). As Young (2003, p. 406) puts it, the success goals were unaltered, yet “the cash to achieve them merely was achieved by illegal means”.

A supplementary appraisal was carried out by David Matza & Gresham Sykes (1961), who argued in a somewhat denouncing tone about “subterranean values” present in the mainstream culture endorsed by American adolescents. They defied the traditional view of deviation as a product of personal or contextual disturbances, where “to deviate” was understood as the mere act of distancing from the conventional society. Matza and Sykes argue that rather than “standing in opposition to conventional ideas”, the delinquent observe the dominant norms but “render them ineffective in practice” (Matza & Sykes, 1961, p. 712). Briefly stated, the authors assert that the values behind juvenile delinquency are “far less deviant” than they are usually depicted (Matza & Sykes, 1961,
p. 713), which invites a reconsideration of what is covertly accepted in conventional society –namely, covertly mainstream.

The authors describe three central values that are kept at a “subterranean” level, however, shared by most young people or even by the wider society. In the first place, regarding an emotional level, Matza and Sykes underscore the tendency to search for excitement, or the so-called “thrills” (see also Katz, 1988), which many adolescents would not just seek, but also create the conditions for their occurrence. Secondly, deviant and conventional adolescents look for “quick success” through which an individual leaps fast into higher status —disregarding conventional work and sometimes disdain those who practice those traditional avenues². Lastly, the authors highlight the everyday relevance of aggression and violence, acknowledging recurrent expressions of “machismo” and displays of toughness as proofs of masculinity. These values, we will see throughout this work, are directly related to what can be described as “neoliberal values” (i.e. hedonism, materialism and narcissism).

Times have changed, and capitalism has changed with them. Regarding excitement and hedonism, McGuigan (2014, p. 232) describes “if liberal capitalism cultivated puritanical habits… then, neoliberal capitalism has reversed matters by cultivating a hedonistic spirit that is no longer dysfunctional to business”. In other words, the search for “thrills” is now widely profitable. High hopes for “big scores” are still a subject matter in criminological accounts nowadays (Paternoster & Bushway, 2009, p. 1123) which are also critically addressed, for instance, in the figure of the celebrity (Young, 2007, p. 185).

Despite the apparent inclination to reject it, Young (2011) warns that violence it is now broadly romanticised and enjoyed. Violence, says Young (2011, p. 196), is “central to our culture”, particularly when we observe “Hollywood, video games and our

² It results of interest the analysis of Matza & Sykes around this point, since the authors claim a simultaneous disregard both for work and for the people who commit to the regimen implied in it. This disdain in turn, can be easily found in a Chilean neologism associated to deviancy: the expression “perkin”, which is seemingly traced back to a TV series of the middle 80s that portrayed the figure of “Perkins” a servile butler. Likewise, the term “perkin” is associated to servility, meekness and domination, attitudes widely and openly rejected by offenders. This attitude is also found in the work of Steve Hall and colleagues (2008) in England with terms such as “dafties” or “divvies”.
constant wars”. In addition, violence is “not the monopoly of the poor”, often pointed as inherently violent and rude, but whose openly hostility pales in front of mainstream entertainment offering a wide range of crude and vicious content for the fashionable streaming consumer (Ferrell et al., 2015 Ch. 4). Lastly, there is special awareness about the features of “mainstream masculinity” nowadays (Connell, 2005), that opposing to the “subterranean” character described by Matza and Sykes, currently it has turned into “hegemonic” and openly deserving exhaustive inspection (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

Therefore, as can be already perceived, based upon the notion of duality of structure, we believe that the complexity of the cultural dynamics within late-modern neoliberal societies, make possible to study shared and hybridised modes of understanding social reality. Either living amidst the seeming comfort of middle class or the roughness of lower classes, we would be able to find conventionality everywhere, even within the lives of the “deviant”. As the root notes of a song, we invite the reader to be aware and attentive to the interrelation between social structure and everyday agency expressed in the narratives and accounts selected for Section III. And as was mentioned, a combination of sociological and criminological accounts have been put into the discussion for the present work, offering different ways to observe what we wanted to show: how lives “maximally different” are able to be compared and how this comparability relates to the broader social realm.

However, this broader social realm is a specific one. For the present study, we focus our attention upon Chile; since “Chilean case” appears as “exemplary” of neoliberalism for several reasons: we highlight the earliness and the characteristics of its implementation (Harvey, 2005; Solimano, 2012), its “resilience” in time (Madariaga, 2020), and the socio-cultural impact it provoked (Larraín, 2014; Ruiz & Boccardo, 2014).

Inasmuch as the mode of access to such sociocultural reality is the narrative accounts of the participants, we need to advocate the relationship between the act of speaking, identities and the consequent bonding with society. Hanna Arendt (1998) says
that we human beings appear in the world through our speaking, revealing our identities in the way and disclosing, as a result, the cultural references providing intelligibility to our words. This comprehension is the key from which we expect the reader to approach the following work. We are aware that we have chosen different theoretical and philosophical perspectives whose linkage may appear peculiar at times, to say the least. This decision is deliberate. We think that a sole, rigid set of concepts and ideas, a “framework”, may limit the development of novel viewpoints – perhaps even restricting the results beforehand. Instead, a mix of reasonably coherent perspectives may help open new questions and support being “surprised” by the results.

After this introduction, a first section about the main theoretical foundations of this work is offered. We develop further the notion of identity (Chapter 1) as will be understood through the subsequent chapters. For this purpose, we begin with a general description of the concept towards its elaboration through narrative identity. After a brief revision of traditional criminological standpoints about identity, we will reach the conception within critical criminology (primarily cultural criminology).

Chapter 2 will explore the intriguing phenomenon of cultural sharing and hybridisation as the starting point for interpreting the findings, examining along the way perspectives that support cultural crossover to a lesser or greater degree. In this line, the idea of cultural values shared by “maximally different” people is deemed plausible, supporting the results described in Section III.

Following the realm of cultural background, Chapter 3 offers a synopsis of Chilean social reality's particularities since the neoliberal model's installation through “violence and democracy” until its historical implosion in the 2019 outburst – being this circumstances and covid-19 pandemic, the prominent context of the interviews. This chapter contributes to the general discussion by discussing “Global North” and Chilean perspectives about neoliberalism and its cultural values – whose influence upon the phenomenon of crime is deepened in Chapter 4.

After commenting in Section II on the methodological details, Section III (Findings) opens with an entire Chapter (5) devoted to introducing the participants.
Chapter 6 begins the discussion of findings by exploring and comparing narrative accounts about “social dimensions” thought to be of general interest here: religion, political opinion, belonging to social organisations, thoughts about work and education, and the participant’s perspective about class and social justice.

Afterwards, going back to the topic initiated by Merton about goals and means, Chapter 7 explores the participant’s viewpoint about the above mentioned “neoliberal values” up to arriving at a surprising and remarkable finding of “family” as a shared goal and impelling force of action.

Lastly, Chapter 8 develops the critical dimension of time discussed around the notion of narrative identity. For this purpose, the analysis of past and present experiences within participants’ accounts will be contrasted with their future appraisals. And then present a peculiar convergence of narratives about personal projections.

Finally, we finish with Section IV, a summary and presentation of the key conclusions.
SECTION I
THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

Chapter 1
NARRATING IDENTITIES

1.1 The concept of identity

What is identity? How may this concept be understood? The term identity has been an object of debate within social sciences, from anthropology to “mainstream”3 sociology, the concept of identity has appeared as subjugated –or even secluded- to social, cultural, ethnic or sexual dimensions of human social life (Haviland, Prins, McBride, & Walrath, 2014; Scupin & DeCorse, 2016; Kottak, 2015; Ferrante-Wallace, 2015; Macionis, 2014). Therefore, the term “identity” has gained sense in conjunction with those categorical elements of human existence, yet being seemingly empty of sense on its own.

This apparent emptiness of meaning could have led to scholars such as Handler (1994), to question the analytical usefulness of the concept of identity. Handler, understanding identity as attached to widespread sociological terms such as “culture”, “tradition”, “nation”, and “ethnic group”, argues that the concept of identity appears only in western culture and could not be used across societies without a prior questioning.

Zygmunt Bauman (2011, p. 18) describes identity as a “modern invention” defined by the times when it emerges. Hence, a now needed project in contexts of uncertainty (Bauman, 2011b; Giddens, 1991; White, 2008), but was once part of the “chains” of tradition, biology, and local culture that keep individuals fastened, but secure nonetheless (Fromm, 2005). Consequently, it makes sense that mainstream sociology invites us to consider the situational or contextual “nature” of identity, as subject to

3 The term “mainstream” is used here to distinguish positivistic-prone sociological standpoints in opposition to critical branches within the discipline.
specific social categories (e.g., peasant, parent, Chilean), and their different variations throughout the life course of human beings (Bruce & Yearley, 2006).

Thus, concerning a social pre-eminence over the concept of identity, a preliminary nexus between identity and culture commences being outlined. Analysing national identity, sociologist Jorge Larraín (2010) affirms that identity is a more specific concept than culture since building an identity implies plotting a story, which only utilizes –through a process of selection and exclusion- some of the meanings present in the broader culture. Standing out at the same time, sentiments such as loyalty and fraternity associated with the selected shared cultural meanings. In this regard, Cuevas Valenzuela (2009, following Anderson) enforces this idea indicating that the relationships between citizens of a nation are imaginarily intertwined, as they mutually participate in a “communion image”, which is described by reciprocal loyalty although individuals do not know to each other. Identity then manifests through several discourses, which “construct a narrative about the nation, its origin, and fate” (Larraín, 2010, p. 6). Therefore, the concept of identity besides conceptual and affective elements would also possess a particular shared temporal dimension; a sense projected to the future, which situates personal identities not only dependent on sociocultural elements but historical meaning as well.

Without impairing the broader conditions giving sense to identity, an alternative definition built from the individual dimension of human life is perhaps likely expected. For instance, from an anthropological standpoint, Kottak (2015, p. 104) argues that though it is true for cultural identities that members of a particular ethnic group share “beliefs, values, habits, costumes and norms” due to a common background, they nonetheless can define themselves as different and unique, ensuing those cultural shared characteristics. In other words, even though every individual member of society represents her culture, it is at the same time, a unique representative of that particular culture and obtains distinction in reference to the common sociocultural background. Kottak (2015) also indicates that anyone’s identity is “used” in different ways according to the context on which that person is found, a disposition now influenced by
globalization processes that have forced people to learn and enact diverse social roles and to adjust their behaviour and identity depending on situation and context. As Bauman (2011b, p. 18) regarding the differences between identity construction in modern versus postmodern times keenly asserts:

Indeed, if the modern ‘problem of identity’ was how to construct an identity and keep it solid and stable, the postmodern ‘problem of identity’ is primarily how to avoid fixation and keep the options open. In the case of identity, as in other cases, the catchword of modernity was creation; the catchword of postmodernity is recycling.

These affirmations shed some preliminary light about the importance of also considering the individual aspects involved in the concept of identity. Not because of its incidence or analytic power by itself, but in regard to understanding the broader processes that the on-going transition from modernity to postmodernity (Morrison, 1995) have unleashed. In this sense, preliminary sketching of what identity is would require to consider both the individual and the social world, and not only regarding their mere interaction but their position in history and temporal processes. Keeping this in mind and addressing a concept of identity focused on the individual, we find sociologist Anthony Giddens (1991, p. 5) who regarding late-modernity, eloquently expresses:

[S]elf-identity becomes a reflexively organized endeavour. The reflexive project of the self, which consists in the sustaining of coherent, yet continuously revised, biographical narratives, takes place in the context of multiple choice as filtered through abstract systems.

This notion of (self) identity given by Giddens is usefully defined as “the self as reflexively understood by the individual in terms of his or her biography” (Giddens 1991, p. 244). Even though Giddens proposes this definition, perhaps, hastily mislabelled as individualistic, the author comprises his notion in a sociohistorical analysis of late-modernity (Giddens, 1990), and based upon a compelling theory of structural interrelations (Giddens, 1986). According to which, an individual (agent)
engaged to give continuity to his or her biography by means of reflexivity, in a context of uncertainty and disembedded experience—an experience of “under-determination and free-floatingness” (Bauman, 2011, p. 19).

A context, nonetheless, that is actively co-constructed day-to-day, as Giddens (1986, p.2) argues “[I]n and through their activities agents reproduce the conditions that make these activities possible”, a shared context then, which not only settles the foundations to personal biographies but also through reflection, it favours “a framework of ‘care’ and the development of ‘shared histories’ with others” (Giddens, 1991, p. 126). Constructing a self-identity according to Giddens is being related to others and social structure, situated in a particular moment of history, subject to significant temporal dynamics. How can identity be then investigated?

1.2 Narrative identity

How, indeed, could a subject of action give an ethical character to his or her own life taken as a whole, if this life were not gathered together in some way, and how could this occur if not, precisely, in the form of a narrative? (Ricoeur, 1992, p. 158).

The concept of narrative identity is addressed by the French philosopher Paul Ricoeur, who takes into account both processes and experiences of continuity and discontinuity in human lives. Lives which are, by definition, embedded in a complex cultural and historical context and unavoidably part of constant existence. Lives that are not chosen since existence was not taken but imposed. However, since they are ongoing, everyone needs to take care of what was conceded, and here is where narratives enter the scene: “[B]y narrating a life of which I am not the author as to existence, I make myself its co-author as to its meaning” (Ricoeur, 1992, p. 162).
Narrative identity—according to Ricoeur—articulates both the “what” and “who” of an individual\(^4\). The notion of character (“what”) as an emergent of “sameness”, corresponds to the “acquired dispositions and sedimented identifications-with” that such identity has gathered throughout its life and from which, together with the everyday involvement on novelty experience (“ipseity”), articulates the possibility of a sense of identity (“who”):

…narrative identity stands between the two; in narrativizing character, the narrative returns to it the movement abolished in acquired dispositions, in the sediment of identifications-with. In narrativizing the aim of the true life, narrative identity gives it the recognizable features of characters loved or respected. Narrative identity makes the two ends of the chain link up with one another: the permanence in time of character and that of self-constancy (Ricoeur, 1992, pp. 165–166).

It is in its character that the particular situatedness of everyone can be accessed. Taking into account that such character and the whole chunks of references from which that self is identified, are moreover tokens of the social, political and historical environment onto which that identity founds its development. Consequently, the constancy of self in the on-going occurrence of its life finds meaning and orientation beneath the lights of its character, maintaining the possibility of transformation since character cannot be considered as a closed artefact but rather as an open book under constant revision and updating. This updating is accounted through narrative, as the critical ability that enables cohesion and, at the same time, transformation\(^5\).

In psychology and psychiatry, and inspired by hermeneutical phenomenology, Arciero & Bondolfi (2011) argue that the ability to structure personal experience in a constellation of micronarratives—and therefore in a meaningful, plotted story—is developed in parallel to the process of identification and construction of personal

\(\text{\textsuperscript{4}}\) While Ricoeur writes about both individual and community identities, for the purpose of this manuscript, the concept of narrative identity will be stated as an individual enterprise.

\(\text{\textsuperscript{5}}\) It should be noted that is not the intent of the present manuscript to make an exhaustive discussion of the vast oeuvre of Paul Ricoeur (what is far of being a possibility for the author), but just to present key assertions that connect his philosophy with the sociological and psychological proposals discusses below.
identity. This narrative ability allows pre-reflexive self-recognition in the construed story, constructing identity within the narrative act.

Starting from that comprehension, Arciero & Bondolfi (2011) discuss the concept of narrative identity understood as the intermediation exerted by a plotted story, over the composition and re-composition of the dialectical sedimentation of personal experience (sameness) and the experiential occurrence of every moment (ipseity). As Ricoeur (1992) pointed in the last cited passage, connecting “the permanence in time of character” and the experience of “self-constancy”. In other words, personal identity appears in the interplay of people historically sedimented inclinations and their constant becoming, moment to moment. This personal identity conception is found as strongly related to culture and one of its most prominent elements: language, enrooted in the personal experience of being-in-the-world (Arciero & Bondolfi, 2011; Heidegger, 2010[1927]), an experience which in turn gives sense to words and stories in a world shared with other members of a given community:

The experience of self, which is absolutely personal, thus points to a shared world, conceived as a meaningful complex that is immediately grasped and on the basis of which something is brought to understanding, manifesting itself (Arciero et al., 2018).

Thus, according to this perspective, every individual shares a historical and cultural world, which precedes any particular agent and acts as a structure of shared meaning, permitting to every individual apprehend and acknowledge the own experience at her encounter with the world at any given time. Identity then comes to be configured by every individual in her clash with such historical and social world, employing narrative to articulate her personal history, and implying in this task, cultural, emotional and cognitive elements with a sense of spatial and temporal situatedness. Culture and identity are consequently intertwined, shaping a comprehensive framework for every agent about everyday reality and about who is being identified within such reality –and consequently getting closer to a self-understanding in such inescapable encounter with her particular context.
Now, despite the noticeable acknowledgement of identity immersion on broader human processes, how this kind of perspective articulates within the investigation of, for instance, cultural dynamics?

In reminiscence with Paul Ricoeur and acquiescent to the relational perspective in social sciences (Emirbayer, 1997; White, 2008), sociologist Margaret Somers proposes a conceptual framework based upon the notion of narrative identity. Somers (1994, 1992), indicates that narratives are “an ontological condition of social life” (p. 614), which in turn can be understood as a “mechanism for organizing and generating social meanings” (Bearman and Stovel, 2000, p.70, in Godart & White, 2010, p. 579). In the same line, Godart & White (2010) argue that “[N]etworks of meanings, stories, or other socio-cultural formations form narratives when they are mobilized by identities” (p. 579), and hence, continually constraining or enabling social action.

Concisely, narrative identity –according to Somers- is understood as a narrative articulation of history, involving cultural, cognitive, and emotional elements, both spatially and temporally situated⁶.

This conception is confronted with a representational category-based understanding in social sciences such as those mentioned above, according to which, every concept has “ontological” essence, on the contrary, from a relational perspective “concepts cannot be defined on their own as single ontological entities; rather, the meaning of one concept can be deciphered only in terms of its ‘place’ in relation to the other concepts in the web” (Emirbayer, 1997, p. 300). In the words of Margaret Somers:

An… engagement with this new ontological narrativity provides an opportunity to infuse the study of identity formation with a relational and historical approach that avoids categorical rigidities by emphasizing the embeddedness of identity in overlapping networks of relations that shift over time and space (Somers, 1994, p. 607).

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⁶ However, at the same time the content of those elements is left “empty”, namely, available for meaning and further interpretation. In this sense, this notion of narrative identity is only indicative (see Rodríguez, 1997, p. 161, about formal indications in hermeneutical phenomenology).
Somers (1992, 1994) then characterized four main kinds of narratives: ontological, public, conceptual, and metanarratives. Ontological narratives are those concerned with the relational individual situated in a particular social context, enmeshed in interpersonal networks, and refer to what someone is and in consequence, constitute a condition to action.

In the second place, public narratives “are those narratives attached to cultural and institutional formations larger than the single individual” which “range from the narratives of one’s family to those of the workplace (organizational myths), church, government, and nation” (Somers, 1994; p. 619). Otherwise, as Paul Ricoeur notes: “[T]o a large extent, in fact, the identity of a person or a community is made up of these identifications with values, norms, ideals, models, and heroes, which the person or the community recognizes itself” (1992, p. 121). In other words, an essential part of what everyone is corresponds to the referencing frame from which anyone has been able to identify-with.

In third place, Somers (1992) ascertains the notion of metanarratives, which are defined as those narratives installed as ex-temporal social truths, like “Capitalism vs. Communism” or “the Individual vs. Society”. She argues that this kind of narrativity operates at a “presuppositional level of social science epistemology” (p. 605) usually operating beyond awareness of the people involved.

Finally, the narratives concerning sciences and especially social sciences, are those called “conceptual narratives” (Somers, 1992, 1994), whose construction are thought to emerge mediated by both ontological and public narratives.

Summing up, like any narrative, says Somers, narratives are “structured by emplotment, relationality, connectivity, and selective appropriation” (Somers, 1994; p. 618), claiming that:

7 These features of narratives account that making something able to be understood narratively, a particular history and relationality between several narrative elements is needed, constructing thematic plots based upon a “significant network” or a given “configuration of relationships” between experienced events, whose connection through selective appropriation provide the necessary meaningfulness in a personal story-life.
The “narrative” dimension of identity… presumes that action can only be intelligible if we recognize the various ontological and public narratives in which actors are emplotted. Narrative identities are constituted by a person's temporally and spatially variable place in culturally constructed stories composed of (breakable) rules, (variable) practices, binding (and unbinding) institutions, and the multiple plots of family, nation, or economic life. Most important, however, narratives are not incorporated into the self in any direct way; rather they are mediated through the enormous spectrum of social and political institutions and practices that constitute our social world (Somers, 1994, p. 625).

1.3 Why (narrative) identity?

…it may well be that the most dramatic transformations of personal identity pass through the crucible of this nothingness of identity (Ricoeur, 1992, p. 166).

It is followed then that narrativity and narratives are both on-going processes and products of interrelated dynamics, going back and forward in the instauration of different identities. Ontological narratives in specific are nurtured from public narratives and not so infrequently also from conceptual and metanarratives. The milestone work by Serge Moscovici, “Psychoanalysis” (2008), could be an easily graspable example of this phenomenon, which concerns how theoretical assumptions –seemingly reserved only to scholars- reach the laypeople and influence their thinking and particular experience about social reality.

Subsequently, we can think about identity as compounding and linking concept, whose scope can be extended from an individual (as usual), but also, for instance, to theoretical, organizational and cultural identities as Harrison White does, thinking about narratives as sources of what he terms “footing” (Godart & White, 2010; White, 2008). Finding footing, according to Godart & White (2010), comes to be as when “[A]n identity is triggered out of attempts at control. Finding footing is the primordial urge that

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8 In brief, Moscovici’s work points out to the installation –within in lay people- of psychoanalytic categories of understanding and explanation of common social phenomena (i.e. repression), that is, social representations about how people act in social life.
sets identities into motion within their biophysical and socio cultural contexts... Footing is a search for perduration” (Godart & White, 2010, pp. 569–570); in other words, narratives help to achieve some certainty in a world of continuously unleashed uncertainty. This effortful dynamic is revealed as continuity facing discontinuity, is what allows identities to acknowledge, endure, and finally thrive. In summary, this latter notion is accurately described in White’s first thesis about the concept of identity: “[i]dentities emerge from turbulence seeking control from within social footings that can mitigate uncertainty” (2008, p. 17).

Existence then implies turbulence, and the by-definition social-existence outlines its own source of struggle, the same way as it underscores its source of endurance. Likewise, the presence of footings—in words of Harrison White-enable reflexivity “both in the sense of an understanding of structure by agency” (“structural reflexivity”) and “in the sense of an understanding of agency by itself” (“self-reflexivity”) (p. 570).

Godart & White (2010) subsequently conclude that culture understood as a web of significances (Geertz, 1973), is “spun” by identities, making in the process “the fabric of individuals’ lived experience” (Godart & White, 2010, p. 568). Hereafter, every individual narrative identity, while able to be distinguishable separately (“unique”),

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9 These sociological distinctions skim the Heideggerian ontological premises to be discussed below. As is lucidly explained by Ramón Rodríguez (2014):

The practical-ontological self-reference is, then, the idea that presides the whole ontological analysis, until the point that the “existentials” are no other thing that concepts which unfold the complex structure of the practical self-reference character. The praxis, ontologically understood, is not then a moment counterpoised to theory, it cannot be viewed as a bounded sector of human life besides others, it neither can be viewed as a point of view among others, but as something subjacent and that is in force both in practical and theoretical behaviors: theory is a form of practical-ontological self-reference (p. 123, personal translation).

In other words, praxis and theory are threads of the same ontological fabric. Narratives as ways to understand life can be retrieved likewise, as theories of life, and therefore as unescapable elements of praxis in a constant process of self-reference. Referencing that is not self-centered, but contextually situated and existentially extended (Gallagher, 2013; Gallagher & Daly, 2018).

10 In this case, White specifically refers to what he terms as “netdoms” or the combination of “network” or web of social relations and “domains”, the “array of... signals -including story sets, symbols, idioms, registers, grammatical patternings, and accompanying corporeal markers- that characterize a particular specialized field of interaction” (Mische & White, 1998, p. 702). In short, “[N]etdoms constitute the fabric of socio-cultural life, wherein domains -through stories- provide the interpretive texture, while networks -through relations- supply the social texture” (Godart & White, 2010, p. 567).
ultimately cannot avoid being part of a broad sociocultural fabric from which that individuality is finally made intelligible.

To sum up, narratives and narrative identity can be theoretically conceived as the pivotal point on which the classical structure and agency debate can be encompassed, and perhaps most importantly, accessed. As Fleetwood (2016) states “[a]nalysis of narratives can trace social structures, and examine how they structure action through narrative” (p. 186) since narratives can be understood as junctures or a “hinge” between social structure and agency (Fleetwood, 2016; Presser, 2009). These self-referencing narratives are thought of as socially embedded; then, personal history is inexorably contextual history at the same time.

Individual identities mirror the “zeitgeist” of their particular time and space. As a result, a pressing question arises, bothering around on how a narrative identity is gathered nowadays, in times of late-modern consumer societies, when the instability of social narratives threatens identity? (Bauman, 2011b; Giddens, 1986, 1990; Young, 1999, 2003) Or when is strained by the neoliberal imprint? (Guzmán-Concha, 2017; Hall & Winlow, 2015; Ruiz & Boccardo, 2014).

But first of all, as the present work intends to be framed within criminology, we offer a brief revision of the concept of identity as is employed in several criminological studies.

1.4 Identity Theory in Criminology

As could be expected, the literature concerning identities is undoubtedly vast and exhaustive (Paternoster & Bushway, 2009), comprising academic fields as diverse as neurosciences (Varela, 1997) and international relations (Catalinac, 2007). However, it is more commonly found within the social sciences.

In this last field, while recognizably ambiguous (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000), the concept of identity has been indubitably useful to conceptualize various social phenomena, leading to some scholars to focus in developing greater conceptual
precision and academic usefulness (see for example Abdelal et al., 2006, for the case of collective identities).

In the field of criminological studies we found notable efforts to revitalize the concept of identity under the scope of research on desistance from crime. In this regard, the identity theory of desistance (ITD) proposed by Paternoster & Bushway (2009) certainly crafts a landmark since they propose both a firm theoretical standpoint and a coherent methodological approach supplemented by an incipient research agenda.

Thus, Paternoster & Bushway (2009) from a Rational Choice Theory (RCT) standpoint (Paternoster et al., 2015) argue that the notion of identity is better understood as an individual-level construct, complemented with concepts such as self, agency, and will, which serve as a comprehensible foundation to understand the process of ceasing law offending, the so-called desistance (Laub & Sampson, 2001; LeBel et al., 2008; Maruna & LeBel, 2010). Desistance from crime according to Paternoster and colleagues (Paternoster et al., 2016; Paternoster & Bushway, 2009; Rocque et al., 2016) is presumed to be a temporal phenomenon, which begins when accumulated discontent crystallizes due to the increase of failure experiences and the consequent awareness of them. That turns the actual self of the subject into a reality to be avoided, which in turn, mobilises the incipient “desister” into a path of wilful desistance from crime.

Nevertheless, for that wilful motivation appears in order to become desistance, it has to occur several previous processes which, in the overall, “net more benefits than costs” in adopting and thriving a conventional life. A key concept in this occurrence is what Paternoster & Bushway (2009) –following Baumeister- call “crystallization of discontent”; understood as the act of linking “previously isolated dissatisfactions and senses of failure in life” (p.1123), then establishing a projective evaluation of the prospects of offending, now perceived as expected failures, and bringing forth sentiments of discontent as a consequence. This feeling of discontent, in turn, would affect the intermediation between two time-related dimensions of self: the working self and the possible self.
The working self is defined as “that component of the self that can be accessed at the moment and is based upon the individual’s here-and-now experience” (Paternoster & Bushway, 2009, p. 1112), an experience rendered from past experiences, making a point of reference from which identity and actions converge. Consequently, people keep offending because they favour an identity committed to crime that treasures the successes of crime, assessing them as “typical outcomes”. While failures, on the contrary, are kept isolated and unconnected from the self, crime persists. The information perceived by the working self does not allow consideration of antisocial behaviour as a matter of current concern.

The second component of self is called the “possible self”, described as “conceptions of the self in future states”, and consisting on “goals and aspirations as well as anxieties and fears that the individual has as to what they could become” (Paternoster & Bushway, 2009, p.1112). Paternoster & Bushway (2009) point out that this possible self is limited by the social environment, emphasizing the importance of counting with a “realistic self” regarding the chances of successful desistance from crime. In this regard, the authors (Paternoster & Bushway, 2009) argue:

An individual's actions must coordinate or balance the individual's goals, aspirations, and fears with what is possible or feasible within the social environment. Behavior, then, is not driven solely by human agency but is influenced by the social and cultural environments within which action takes place (p.1114).

The interrelation between the current working self and the possible self establishes directions to behaviour in order to achieve regulation and motivation towards experiences of self-enhancing. In the context of a desistance process, this projection allows avoiding the “feared self”, basically the personal notion about the kind of person whom one does not want to become\textsuperscript{11}. To fulfill this purpose, the possible self provides a

\textsuperscript{11} “The feared self is likely to be one such ‘avoidant motive’ that initiates self-change only to be supplemented over time with a more positive possible self-the conventional self one wants to become.” (Ray Paternoster & Bushway, 2009, p. 1118)
“blueprint for self-change” which lastly “lead one toward a positive possible self and away from a feared self” (p.1115).

It is then followed that according to Paternoster & Bushway (2009) self and identity\textsuperscript{12} direct actions, in this case, both antisocial or prosocial behaviours. Therefore the study of identity concerns the investigation of both motivation and maintenance of behaviour.

Identity, understood simply as a sense of who one is, results relevant for numerous reasons, the most important of which, at least for our concerns, is that it motivates and provides a direction for behavior. A person’s actions are seen as expressions of his self-identity -people intentionally behave in ways that are consistent with who they think we are. (Paternoster & Bushway, 2009, p. 1111)

Contrasting their theoretical proposal, the authors draw on to three major desistance and identity perspectives: Laub and Sampson “desistance by default” perspective (Laub & Sampson, 2001; Sampson & Laub, 1993; Sampson & Laub, 2003); Giordano, Schroeder, & Cernkovich (2007) symbolic interactionist approach; and Maruna (2001; Maruna & LeBel, 2010) general desistance theory.

The main difference between the Paternoster & Bushway, and Sampson & Laub perspectives lies in the less significant role the latter researchers put on human agency, in addition to that they do not consider identity change as relevant for the processes involved in desistance from crime. Conversely, Paternoster & Bushway emphasize the necessary presence of a “wilfully” determination for change. The same consideration can be put forward concerning the work of Giordano and colleagues (2007), who relies to a greater extent on interactional processes, while Paternoster & Bushway –in line with RCT- understand intentional self-change as being “more cognitive, internal, and individual” (Paternoster & Bushway, 2009, p.1106). Lastly, in an examination of the theory proposed by Shadd Maruna and his collaborators (2001; Maruna & LeBel, 2010),

\textsuperscript{12} Paternoster & Bushway do not clearly distinguish both terms in their theoretical proposal, tending on contrary, to merge them.
Paternoster & Bushway contrast the requirements for change required in both proposals: while Maruna argues that desistance is a process of re-interpretation of the criminal past, Paternoster & Bushway propose that a brand new identity is required to desist from crime (Paternoster & Bushway, 2009, p.1107-1108).

As was mentioned before, ITD is pretended to be both a conceptual framework and methodological recommendation. In order to perform a preliminary empirical test to their theory, Paternoster & Bushway (2009) relied on the Cambridge Study in Delinquency Development (CSDD)\(^{13}\) data. For the analysis, the authors employed a modified time-series technique focusing on the prevalence of behaviours, producing an estimate of the probability of convictions according to age. In this first approach, the authors found evidence to conclude that the trajectories of desistance are non-stationary. Then analytical techniques sensitive to “structural breaks” would be more attuned to ITD.

Several studies take as reference the mentioned work on ITD (Na et al., 2015; Na & Paternoster, 2019; Paternoster et al., 2016; Rocque et al., 2016), remarkably favouring quantitative longitudinal methodologies to address the relationship between identity and desistance\(^{14}\).

Using cohort data\(^{15}\) from the Rutgers Health and Human Development Project (HHDP), Rocque and colleagues (2016) constructed a summary score and a bivariate dependent variable of crime and delinquency based upon nine items from the HHDP\(^{16}\) and contrasted with another score from a constructed pro-social identity scale\(^{17}\). Those

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\(^{13}\) CSDD consists in a longitudinal survey of 411 South London males between the years 1961 and 1981 covering different items related to offending trajectories.

\(^{14}\) Indeed, somewhat controversial, Paternoster & Bushway explicitly declares in their note 65: “We would like to make it absolutely clear that our use of others’ qualitative data is strictly limited to the purpose of illustrating a point about the theory, and that such qualitative data is silent with respect to the validity of the theory. None of the qualitative data we use provides evidence or support for the theory. The validation of our theoretical argument awaits independent empirical research...” (Ray Paternoster & Bushway, 2009, p. 1117).

\(^{15}\) Sample: youth general population from 12 years old to their early 20s.

\(^{16}\) The item asked about: avoid payment, breaking and entering, used a weapon in a fight, auto theft, armed robbery, assault, vandalism, petty theft, and major theft.

\(^{17}\) “We are interested in what one thinks about one’s self, their personal identity, and not the extent to which one identifies with social groups—their social identity” (Rocque et al., 2016, p. 56, note 1)
variables were analysed through three methods: descriptive and growth curve techniques to explore the shape of the identity trajectories over time, bivariate analysis to investigate the relationship and direction between variables, and multilevel growth curve models to inspect the trajectory trend over time. The principal findings include a significant relation with age and identity, evidencing a practically linear growth over time for identity measures, but then decreasing around age 25. Moreover, they found that identity exerts negative—but moderate—impact on crime, and in contrast, peer delinquency shows a somewhat stronger but positive bivariate correlation with that dependent variable. These results guide Rocque and his colleagues to conclude that while several factors of social control impact positively on desistance—as proposed by both Sampson & Laub and Giordano and colleagues—those factors “without changes in identity are unlikely to be enough to effect behavioral reform” (Rocque et al., 2016, p. 65). This suggests that a desistance mechanism would imply a preceding identity shift, that would turn valuable the social control alternatives available in the context.

Similarly, Na and colleagues (2015), in a sample of severe drug-involved adult offenders, attempted to test the main principles of the ITD proposed by Paternoster & Bushway. To achieve this goal, the authors took the history of arrests of the subjects on the sample, assessing desistance and its relationships to measures of self-identity and intentional self-change, for finally finding partial support for the theoretical proposal in question.

Using a survival time methodology, Paternoster and colleagues (2016) tested the association between a constructed variable of “good identity”, a measure of intentional self-change, and a score on desistance assessed by recorded arrests. The study bases over a sample of recently released from jail adults followed through 20 years. The study showed a high rate of re-arrest with a low survival rate until the year 20 (5%). Nevertheless, the authors could retrieve some evidence about the importance of agency manifestations in the process of desisting from crime, a key element in the ITD. Moreover, the subjects reporting good intimate relationships and satisfaction with their
jobs tended to have longer survival times, also presenting some support for aspects of desistance defended by Sampson & Laub (1993, 2003).

The most recent effort to support ITD corresponds to the work of Na & Paternoster (2019). Using data from a representative sample of adolescents in South Korea, they assess how a prosocial identity is related to violent behaviour through the mediation of their social networks. The authors designed the study around negative binomial random-effects models to assess effects within individuals and through the presence of mediators on the outcome variable, modelling longitudinal path analyses regarding the mediation processes under study. Their findings confirm an inverted relationship between prosocial identity and violent behaviour throughout time, an identity that is informed by social interactions but tightly bonded with the actions and decisions intentionally made, which partially confirms the importance of agency implication proposed in Paternoster & Bushway identity theory of desistance. Lastly, Na & Paternoster found that the role of identity and its relationship with violent behaviour is mediated by the reluctance to associate to violent peers, results akin to the proposal of other criminological perspectives such as risk factors theory (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Bonta & Andrews, 2010).

However, the studies mentioned above are not utterly conclusive, a couple of conclusions can be summarized in terms of achieved evidence. The first piece of evidence is about individual agency and its role in influence the process of desisting to commit crimes. Agency is a fundamental element in Paternoster and Bushway ITD and could be interpreted –in their theoretical framework- as a moderator both to desist than to persist by articulating motivation, which is further oriented depending on the kind of possible conceived self through the process of desistance.

Moreover, a second general finding that emerged from ITD studies is the necessity of improved measures of identity. Most of the studies reviewed above make explicit their use of sub-optimal measures of identity as initially described by Paternoster & Bushway (2009). Though relevant, the findings are based upon “proxy” variables, adjusted to the existing available data, and even though this can be understood
as a limitation, it is conversely worthy of taking such evidence as part of an accumulative and on-going process of knowledge construction.

For this latter reason, also looking for qualitative evidence opens up the chance of a more comprehensive understanding of the relationship between identity and antisocial activity (both desistance and persisting), advocating for the benefits of a mixed-method perspective in criminology (Maruna, 2010). This methodological approach can also be defended through what LeBel, Burnett, Maruna, & Bushway (2008) call a “subjective-social model” (p. 139), which emphasizes the interaction between both social and subjective factors influencing antisocial persistence and desistance. According to this framework, identity, and especially identity transformation is considered as part of the most critical subjective-level themes in criminological literature (LeBel et al., 2008, p. 136).

Qualitative evidence concerning the relationship between identity and antisocial activity is extensively addressed by Veysey, Martinez, & Christian (2013) who reviewed 29 qualitative studies of different designs, methodology, and samples, exploring the mechanisms underlying the process of desistance from crime. Within their findings, the authors claimed confirmation of already existing evidence concerning this topic, highlighting, for instance, the role of quality intimate relationships, motivation and commitment to change, pro-social values with its concordant social behaviour, and the narrative re-evaluation of criminal activity.

Most recent qualitative research involving the topic includes the work of Alisa Stevens (2012) addressing serious offenders residing in therapeutic communities. Using a methodology comparable to ethnography, the author explores the narratives of people in the process towards desistance, highlighting the importance of reconstruction of identity through narrative reframing.

In the same way, the work with young probationers carried by Sam King (2013) focusing on early narratives found several themes around the notion of desistance. Described by narratives remarking clarity about the past life events, some sense of powerlessness regarding their previous actions –mostly when related to drugs and
alcohol- and morally-guided reformulations of their personal significations –emerging the chance for pro-social changes through visualisation of alternative identities.

As was observed before, a narrative notion of identity, therefore, implies paying attention to time and life-stories moulded throughout a life-span. As King (2013, pp. 150–151) eloquently says, “narratives are constituted of subjectively meaningful life-course events, which are internalized and reconstructed to provide coherence and understanding to the life as a whole”. The same author continues pointing out that:

Some events will allow for continuity within the identity and narrative, whereas others will prompt re-evaluation, revision and questioning, in order to maintain overall coherence, and this may entail subsequent identity change in order to fit with the altered narrative. Such re-evaluation is likely to occur when existing narratives and identities are challenged, often in the aftermath of particular life-course events (King, 2013, p. 151, quotes omitted).

As may be noted, both qualitative and to some extent, quantitative criminological studies indicate the notion of narrative changes around a former antisocial identity as an essential feature throughout the process of desistance from crime. That is to say that the studies reviewed point out the significance of changing narrative identities, particularly from an identity engaging antisocial actions and beliefs towards identities defined as pro-social instead. Akin to this notion Veysey and colleagues (2013) conclude their literature review by highlighting the importance of a reorientation concerning antisocial activity in agreement to a narrative conception of identity.

It is noteworthy to say that thinking about the narrative conception of identity in criminology will entail an existential (temporal) understanding of desistance (Farrall, 2005), and a new exploration of the role of human moral values (Ward & Marshall, 2007), in the process of desistance. Additionally, as LeBel and colleagues (2008) remark, the process of desistance involves both structural and agentic features and subsequently, to address this matter, an approach that considers both dimensions is greatly recommended (Farrall et al., 2010; Farrall & Bowling, 1999).
Here is where the notion of narrative identity may become useful as a conceptual and methodological reference to study the relation and dynamics of agency and social structure. Therefore, regarding the questions posed before\textsuperscript{18}, the next section explores some specifics of identity construction in times of late-modernity and its relation to the crime phenomena.

1.5 Identity struggles in the late-modern consumer society

In comparison to earlier times, late modernity has brought progress in several areas of present societies\textsuperscript{19}, especially regarding the concept of “quality of life” and its proposed measurements. For instance, Heylighen & Bernheim (2000) discarding both relativist and pessimist interpretations of contemporaneous progress, argue that progress is an objective occurrence. Similarly, Veenhoven (2010, p. 120) concludes “[W]e now live longer and are healthier than ever before and we are probably also happier. There are good reasons to believe that this trend will continue in the near future”.

However, as Bauman (2000, p. 132) somewhat ironically asserts, “[P]rogress’ stands not for any quality of history, but for the self-confidence of the present”. The beauty is in the eye of the beholder\textsuperscript{20}.

Modernity and its measures of progress – says Stearns (2012) – is “double-edged”: while has shown improvement in life and death related statistics, education coverage and

\textsuperscript{18} How a narrative identity is gathered in late-modern consumer societies, when identity is threatened by the instability of social narratives and strained by the neoliberal imprint?

\textsuperscript{19} It is probably arguable that such asseveration arises from an intellectual tradition where “the average measure” is predominant; a field where concepts such as “leverage” or “outliers” are often misrepresented or just plainly excluded. This appears as problematic because a study of deviation is by definition, the questioning of seeming outlying phenomena, circumstances both highlighted by the mainstream but at the same time veiled in ultimate sense.

\textsuperscript{20} Bauman then continues: “The deepest, perhaps the sole meaning of progress is made up of two closely interrelated beliefs - that ‘time is on our side’, and that we are the ones who ‘make things happen’… To people confident of their power to change things, ‘progress’ is an axiom. To people who feel that things fall out of their hands, the idea of progress would not occur and would be laughable if heard. Between the two polar conditions there is little room for a sine ira et studio debate, let alone a consensus” (Bauman, 2000, pp. 132-133). Thus, progress-related “optimists” tend to be those who experience the proper empowerment to believe in progress, those who stand in the side of the winners.
wealth creation, modern people tend to be dissatisfied with that “progress” (Stearns, 2012), something often associated with the very processes running throughout modernization (Peña, 2020; Stearns, 2012), but also regarded to an unbalanced economy, where macroeconomics do not coincide with what people live in their everyday local and intimate contexts (Mayol, 2019). This imbalance and the inertia from riding the modern Juggernaut (Giddens, 1990), produce a vertiginous experience around two main dimensions of daily life: insecurities of status and economic position (Young, 2007). Accordingly, modernity demands fulfilling the task of achieving personal progress, a quest relying solely on the individual (Bauman, 2000, 2011b), just after mourning the decay of traditional communities, the contemporaneous equivalent of “paradise lost” (Bauman, 2001). Moreover, as Young (1999) writes, when communities perish, identities are invented, and in addition to the rise of consumerism and pervading individualism, its nastiest manifestation – narcissism - stands out (Giddens, 1991, p. 172):

Consumer capitalism, with its efforts to standardise consumption and to shapes tastes through advertising, plays a basic role in furthering narcissism. The idea of generating an educated and discerning public has long since succumbed to the pervasiveness of consumerism, which is a ‘society dominated by appearances’. Consumption addresses the alienated qualities of modern social life and claims to be their solution: it promises the very things the narcissist desires – attractiveness, beauty, and personal popularity- through surrounded by mirrors; in these we search for the appearance of an unblemished, socially valued self.

Among the different academic fields that address the topic, for cultural criminology (Ferrell, 1999; Ferrell et al., 2015; K. J. Hayward & Young, 2004), late modernity brought the notion of progress ultimately associated with the values of consumerism. Widespread values enmeshed in different social groups, having distinctive repercussions over those structurally vulnerable. Lyng (1990, p. 870) argues that the currently on-going consumption imperative characteristic to any capitalist society “leads many people to the marketplace in the search for self and encourages the development of a consumer-oriented narcissism”, which in turn, conducts individuals “to purchase identity-relevant
goods”. It follows that this is a commonplace phenomenon, which disregards social status or class distinction; however, its diverse consequences are by no means equally shared in the different social position an individual develops.

In that regard, Jock Young (1999, 2003), following Merton (1938) and his famous treatise on anomie, describes the modern society propensity to engulf its members into several paradoxes. For instance, the author coins the term “social bulimia”, describing a late-modern irony of cultural inclusion escorted by and increasingly manifest economic exclusion. This is patent in the phenomenon of consumerism. Normalizing lifestyles revolving around consume as a mean to achieve what is meant to be achieved, the cultural goal for anyone who wants it and tries sufficiently hard to pursuit it. An everyday endeavour, enforced by mass media and virtually any feature of urban environments (K. J. Hayward, 2004). There is cultural inclusion since consumer culture “has convinced most individuals that freedom is readily attain-able” (Winlow and Hall, 2007: 395, quoted in Martin, 2009); however, at the same time, the late modernity society repels numerous people to a status of economic exclusion, which one of its most popular indicators is the level of income inequality, a cold index lived as economic exclusion and as stark disaffiliation from social bonds (Castel, 2000).

…is not only expressed in terms of access to material goods -cars, clothes, apartments- it is also evidenced in a loss of identity… It is not just relative deprivation, then, that they confront but ontological crisis. One solution to crisis of identity is to emphasize features… they tend to essentialize themselves. (Young, 1999, p. 94)

In this essentializing process the “who” of a person or group of people is lost, as Hannah Arendt (1998) puts it, the movement from the “who” to the “what” of a person allows the specificity of that person escape us, making way to the loss of a sense of togetherness and resulting attitudes of “for or against”.

Thus, taking as a baseline the inextricable dynamics between agents and society known in Giddens words as the duality of structure (Giddens, 1986), it helps to
understand that this economic exclusion has led to historical processes situating people and often entire populations in dynamics of ontological insecurity (Giddens, 1986, 1990; Hall et al., 2008; K. J. Hayward, 2004; Martin, 2009; Young, 1999, 2003).

According to Giddens (1990, p. 114), being ontologically secure means counting with “basic trust in stable circumstances of self-identity and the surrounding environment”. In contrast, being ontologically insecure refers to “feeling physically and psychologically at risk in an unstable and changing world” (K. J. Hayward, 2004, p. 153), a term associated with the so-called “risk society” defended by Ulrich Beck and Anthony Giddens (Beck, 1992; Giddens, 1991), which call for attention to hazards linked to the everyday experience of “futural” uncertainty (Giddens, 1986, p. 62). A somewhat always present ontological feature (Godart & White, 2010), but which is put into evidence in late modernity, as long as it is put as an object of reflexivity, primarily through the processes of reflexive identity construction (Giddens, 1991). In this regard, Giddens (1991, p. 5) describes the mandatory task of constructing their own identities imposed on every agent to sustain a “coherent, yet continuously revised, biographical narratives”, while immersed in their particular local and global socio-cultural context. Highlighting the already mentioned inescapable structural bonding in the act of the agent, and its on-going reflexivity heading for the uncertain future (Giddens, 1986). In consequence, the experience of ontological insecurity implies that:

...self-identity is not embedded in our sense of biographical continuity, where the protective cocoon which filters out challenges and risks to our sense of certainty becomes weakened and where an absolute sense of one’s normality and becomes disoriented by the surrounding relativism of value (Young, 1999, p. 14).

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21 Padilla (2020) explores potential dimensions of ontological insecurity distinguishing between centrifugal and centripetal experiences depending on the “sources” of insecurity.
22 In similar line, Bauman (2011, p. 19) eloquently asserts: “‘Identity’ is a name given to the escape sought from that uncertainty. Hence ‘identity’, though ostensibly a noun, behaves like a verb, albeit a strange one to be sure: it appears only in the future tense. Though all too often hypostasized as an attribute of a material entity, identity has the ontological status of a project and a postulate”. 

32
Concerning uncertainty and risk in times and places of consumer societies, the search and finding of anchoring or footing (Godart & White, 2010; White, 2008) may become a central occupation, especially for particular agents who look outwardly for stability (Arciero & Bondolfi, 2011). Being immersed in a context where consumption is defended as a fundamental right (Banks & Moxon, 2013; K. J. Hayward, 2004) and as a basis for identity construction (Hall et al., 2008; K. J. Hayward, 2004; Larraín, 2014; Lyng, 1990), arrange several consequences as Keith J. Hayward (2004, p. 161) keenly asserts:

…what people are now feeling deprived of is no longer simply the material product itself, but rather, the sense of identity that products have come to bestow on the individual… This deprivation of identity appears to many individuals as a deprivation of a basic right, and thus consumption becomes not simply something that is culturally desirable, but something that is fundamentally expected -what one might describe as a changing rights discourse in relation to consumer practices. [emphasis in the original]

Hence, for many people, consumer late-modernity feels like a vertiginous motion, comparable to riding a tireless monster that never stops. However, also as claustrophobic survival, dwelling in a delimited but porous sphere that prevents free movements but allows us to see the local outer spaces through small holes and the distant yet mediated realms through mesmerizing screens. Sometimes it is equipped with a tiny keyboard from where release some blended feelings, while the spinning effect of the inertia starts to numb the body and heart.

These are some of the reasons why the construction of identities is seriously threatened, amidst structural burdens and cultural baselines pressing for acquiring desirable commodities. Especially in the case where economic backgrounds do not ensure decent participation (i.e., economic exclusion), leading straight to what is called “relative deprivation” (Hayward, 2004; Banks & Moxon, 2013; Young, 1999), the infringement of one of “the two basic facets of social order within advanced industrial

23 Also known as the “Juggernaut” (Giddens, 1990).
societies... the principle that rewards are allocated according to merit" (Young, 2003, p. 399). In order words, the realisation that one of the most essential progress-related promises in late-modern societies is, in fact, mere charade (Ferrell et al., 2015). It is perhaps intuited, thus, that the experience of relative deprivation is common to different groups in late-modern societies. To the extent that Young (1999, pp. 8–9) argues that this social experience is present as the basis of both transgressive behaviour and the popular demand for social control:

Such a gradient of inclusion and exclusion engenders, according to Edward Luttwak (1995), both chronic relative deprivation amongst the poor which gives rise to crime and a precarious anxiety amongst those better off which breeds intolerance and punitiveness towards the law-breaker. Like pincers on our society, crime and punishment stem from the same source. What I am suggesting is that both the causes of criminal violence and the punitive response towards it spring from the same source. The obsessive violence of the macho street gang and the punitive obsession of the respectable citizen are similar not only in their nature but in their origin. Both stem from dislocations in the labour market: the one from a market which excludes participation as a worker but encourages voraciousness as a consumer, the other from a market which includes, but only in a precarious fashion. That is, from tantalizing exclusion and precarious inclusion. Both frustrations are consciously articulated in the form of relative deprivation.

A second basic principle in contemporaneous societies is related to the mutual respect of people’s sense of identity and social worth, understood as justice of recognition. When a violation of this facet occurs –argues Young (2003, p. 399)- misrecognition and ontological insecurity arise, sowing the seeds for social struggles24. Thus, in the context of a late modern consumer society, ontological insecurity correlates with forms of deprivation (Hayward & Young, 2004; Young, 1999). That in turn, hint cultural and radical criminologists to propose a dreadful connection between deprivation, exclusion and ontological insecurity, with crime and deviance, in contexts characterised by

24 Young (2003, p. 399) continues: “My assessment is that in both these areas late modernity brings with it a sense of randomness: a chaos of reward and a chaos of identity”.
rampaging consumerism (Hall et al., 2008; K. J. Hayward, 2004; Martin, 2009; Young, 1999, 2003).

Another relevant element to comprehend the notion of identity from a cultural criminology framework corresponds to the embodied nature of identity (Giddens, 1991; Katz, 2002). As Giddens (1991, pp. 56–57) clearly describes, “[T]he body is thus not simply an ‘entity’, but is experienced as a practical mode of coping with external situations and events… Essentially, the body plus power equals agency”. As was discussed before, this intimate experience of agency is mandated to achieve a sense of identity through reflection in the vertigo of late modern societies. Embodied experiences such as those so-called “edgework” (Lyng, 1990) –controlled risk-taking involving thrilling activities, some barely legal, other certainly illegal (e.g., skydiving, illicit racing, graffiti drawing)- serve at the same time as identity catalysers in vulnerable contexts (Ferrell, 1997b), yielding some feeling of control over dangerous situations, a sort of generated short-lived milieu within the broad overwhelming late-modern circumstances.

As Hayward (2002, p. 1) puts it, “in an increasingly socially precarious world, many individuals are seeking to construct identity for themselves by engaging in practices (including criminal practices) that involve what I wish to call a ‘controlled loss of control’”. This embodied feature roots identities to a particular ontological standpoint, attuning people emotionally and physiologically to their immediate situation (Lyng, 1990). Offering scholarly prevalence to those often-neglected aspects of human experiences, such as pleasurable feelings and sensuous abilities (Katz, 1990), and in consequence of activities that arouse adrenaline rushes (Ferrell, 1999).

Hence, there are inward (emotions) and outward (culture referencing) agents features entangled with late-modern sociocultural contexts, defined by the awareness of crisis whereas values such as self-fulfillment, expression, and immediacy, are seemingly dominant (Hayward & Young, 2004). Agents and their particular structural disposition are dynamically involved, producing and reproducing conditions of existence through
different relationships and towards multiple directions, being in this sense, constitutive to identity and agency (Emirbayer, 1997).

The social “never stands still”, says Harrison White (2008, p. 6), but this ongoing sociocultural relationality through time and space is conditioned by the factual circumstances both evident and concealed in the complexity of human everydayness. The conditions of existence of many individuals are directly affected by structural dispositions.

As Hayward and Young (2004, p. 267) assert in regard to the opportunities for self-fulfillment, expression, and immediacy, “the possibilities of realizing such dreams are strictly curtailed by the increasing bureaucratization of work (its so-called McDonaldization) and the commodification of leisure”; then remarking a thoughtful criminological standpoint: “[C]rime and transgression in this new context can be seen as the breaking through of restraints, a realization of immediacy and a reassertion of identity and ontology. In this sense, identity becomes woven into rule-breaking”.

In sum, identity for cultural criminology involves not only representational aspects of self but a constantly evolving way of embodied comprehension of social reality, which by definition keeps agents and sociocultural structure dynamically bonded. Thus, to understand identities is to comprehend individual biographies, but at the same time, is to acknowledge culture, locales, and structural constraints. The embodied but also narrative nature of human beings inclines people to what seems meaningful (e.g., pleasure, pride, “liveliness”, etc.) in the particular and complex sociocultural reality within those agents are situated. This is the reason why –in a world of unleashed uncertainty- ontological insecurity leads people to act for the sake of retaining a share of control (Hayward, 2004). The interrelated web of narratives present in a social context collaborates with the attainment of some certainty, which in turn, relentlessly sediments new and refashioned narratives into narrative identities forged within uncertainty. In consequence, inasmuch as culture and meaning permeate the majority of society corners (Ferrell et al., 2015), and narratives derived from that culture are comparable to junctures or “hinges” between social structure and society
(Fleetwood, 2016), it is arguable that tracing narrative identities constructed and reconstructed within late-modern consumer societies may contribute to elucidate both mainstream convergences and deviant struggles between people from different social milieus.
Chapter 2
MAINSTREAM CONVERGENCES AND DEVIANT STRUGGLES

2.1 Introductory excursus: brief departure about the ontological condition enabling human understanding

Solving the puzzle about what society is it results in a non-simple task. It could be argued that every member of society has “felt” what society is throughout her life, but without assure that everyone understands it in similar ways. Even mention the term “membership” it results in a predisposed conceptual notion of society\textsuperscript{25}, which is not necessarily shared by everyone\textsuperscript{26}.

That kind of disagreement precisely is what illuminates the concealed notion required to sustain the basis of the present study.

It is our viewpoint that a disagreement involves the epistemological consideration of an appearing object in relation to a particular point of reference, from a specific self. A self that is complexly patterned in different fashions from minimal and embodied aspects to normative and narrative dimensions (Gallagher, 2013; Gallagher & Daly, 2018), which in turn, through a dynamic and intertwined process renders the subject of the discussed epistemological appraisal. The subject appears in relation to the worldly reference and inevitably merged with it, as Jack Katz (2002, p. 269) puts it:

So long as one breathes there is no gap between self and world. It is an observable fact that my self is always rooted in the world, never really as free-floating and subject to vanishing from moment-to-moment as my routinely impoverished self-awareness may suggest.

\textsuperscript{25} Society as something like a “social club”.
\textsuperscript{26} Relational sociology proponents for instance, argue that traditional conceptions of society and actors as separate beings “ignore the ontological embeddedness or locatedness of entities within actual situational contexts” (Emirbayer, 1997, p. 289), affirming that actors are ontologically embedded in a particular network of social relations, from which the notion of actor turns meaningful. The concept of society –says Somers (1992, p. 608)- “is rooted in a wholistic and falsely totalizing way of thinking about the world”.

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Despite the world –including the “social” world distinction- can be perceived and known according to different standpoints, the experience of being-in-the-world implies being in the world without ontological distinction, since being-in says Martin Heidegger (2010, p. 54)\textsuperscript{27}:

\[\ldots\text{designates a constitution of being of Dasein}^{28}, \text{and is an existential}^{29}. \text{Thus, we cannot understand by this the objective presence of a corporeal thing [Körperding] (the human body) [Menschenleib] “in” a being objectively present. Nor the term being-in designate a spatial “in one another” of two things objectively present, any more than the word “in” primordially means a spatial relation of this kind. “In” stems from innam-, to live, habitare, to dwell. (emphasis in the original)}\]

The world is thus not understood as a container or an object by itself, but rather the world –says Heidegger (2008, p. 170)- “is not the mere collection of the countable or uncountable, familiar and unfamiliar things that are at hand” and neither “a merely imagined framework added by our representation to the sum of such given things”, but rather it expresses an experiential condition, a milieu and horizon where human life develops, opening three fundamental possibilities: a) dealing with other human beings in a shared world (Mitwelt); b) relating to things in the surrounding everyday world (Umwelt); and c) dealing with the world of its own thoughts, feelings and experiences (Selbstwelt)\textsuperscript{30} (Escudero, 2009). In this sense, the world “worlds” and “is more fully in being than the tangible and perceptible realm in which we believe ourselves to be at home” (Heidegger, 2008, p. 170). Therefore, being-in-the-world is the inexorable

\textsuperscript{27} While thinking the social sciences through the work of Martin Heidegger certainly is not a straightforward and perhaps, wanted enterprise, a rudimentary contemplation of his ideas appears as necessary ever since any human study of the “humanness” is situated in different paradigmatic approaches but seemingly set up by the not always recognized ontological foundation described by Heidegger.

\textsuperscript{28} “Heidegger uses the expression Dasein exclusively to indicate the ontological constitution of human life, which is characterized by its openness (Da) to Being (Sein) and by the ability to question itself for its sense” (Escudero, 2009, p. 40, own translation).

\textsuperscript{29} The notion of existential is used by Heidegger in his Being and Time as a formal indication to the ontological character of Dasein in contrast to an ontic distinction, roughly speaking, non-Dasein beings (Escudero, 2009).

\textsuperscript{30} This latter is not considered in Being and Time.
condition, experienced from birth to death, of dwelling right where we are, being this, the basis for human understanding: the agony of life as shared existential condition serving for the sake of mutual convergence.

In consequence, despite the different viewpoints motivating and underscoring human disagreements, a sense of “shared humanity” prevails (Chernilo, 2014); from which any human being in their inseparability with the world can render the experience of a world shared with others, or as Heidegger puts it, since the world of Dasein is a “with-world [Mitwelt]. Being-in is Being-with Others” (Heidegger, 2010[1927], p. 116). In other words, both world and Being may be thought as part of the formal distinction of human existence; despite the notion or feeling concerning the term society anyone could stand, being human is unavoidably Being-with Others in a shared world. And this is the primordial root for any human understanding.

2.2 Debating enclosed cultures: sociological and criminological classical studies on cultures and subcultures.

The sociologist Robert K. Merton argued that a shared ground in society corresponds to the goals prescribed by that society. Goals spread throughout culture along with the means by which those goals are intended to be fulfilled (Merton, 1938, 1968), recognising the differences in hierarchy and integration of the prescribed goals, forming a “frame of aspirational reference”, from the dominant goals prevailing in that particular society (Merton, 1968). From this latter notion, it is followed that societies –through their culture specifics and dynamics- frame actions and condition dispositions upon their dwellers, towards on-going temporal orientations. That is, connecting present actions to future endpoints while instituting the conditions for developing a sense of purpose and direction in the way.

While Merton does not depreciate the role of “biological drives of man”, and neither their relation to cultural values, the author emphasises that biology does not determine cultural dispositions and the ways through which people regard the
achievement of those goals. In other words, while natural desires are thought to be present and perhaps “energising” human action, the final behaviour is directed and limited through human constructions, particularly institutionalised norms (Merton, 1938).

As was mentioned, regardless of the affiliation between cultural goals and institutionalised norms, differences in integration and hierarchy of the approved goals are expected. As Merton describes “the cultural emphasis placed upon certain goals varies independently of the degree of emphasis upon institutionalized means” (Merton, 1968, p. 187). In other words, even though a society publicly proclaims general means to achieve cherished goals, in the case where less importance is applied upon the former, the strength of cultural values would not diminish accordingly. A situation that arranges a certain context where unbalanced enforcement of goals and means is rather conceivable, and even, takes place commonly.

Acknowledging this asymmetry is what encourages Merton to formulate his central hypothesis: “aberrant behavior may be regarded sociologically as a symptom of dissociation between culturally prescribed aspirations and socially structured avenues for realizing these aspirations” (Merton, 1968, p. 188). This assertion leads in turn to a fundamental question in Merton’s work: “Which of the available procedures is most efficient in netting the culturally approved value?” (Merton, 1968, p. 189). In consequence, the author (1968, p. 189) employing a sports metaphor explains\textsuperscript{31}:

\begin{quote}
…the institutional rules of the game are known to those who evade them. But cultural (or idiosyncratic) exaggeration of the success-goal leads men to withdraw emotional support from the rules… The process whereby exaltation of the end generates a literal demoralization, i.e., a de-institutionalization, of the means occurs in many groups where the two components of the social structure are not highly integrated.
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{31} The exaltation of the premise “winning the game”, rather than “winning under the rules of the game” (Merton, 1968, p. 189)
With this in mind, Merton then recognises a strong emphasis within the American society on the value of money as a symbol of success. A symbol described as indefinite and relative since that in its acquisition pursuit “there is no stable resting point”. Whenever a person achieves some level of earnings, another higher position will appear, establishing in this sense, an elusive or perhaps unattainable goal. However, despite this predicament, the people in the United States are “bombarded on every side by precepts which affirm the right or, often, the duty of retaining the goal” (Merton, 1968, p. 191). Glimpsing in turn, what later is broadly discussed by cultural criminology in regard to the cultural consequences of mass media in late-modern societies.

It follows that according to Merton complying with conventional rules involves great extents of discipline and self-control, comprising nonetheless, high potential for strain in everyday circumstances. Thus, how does society mould its citizens for the sake of conventionality? Concerning this dilemma, Merton (1968, p. 191) alludes to formal institutions, arguing that

The family, the school and the workplace – the major agencies shaping the personality structure and goal formation of Americans- join to provide the intensive disciplining required if an individual is to retain intact a goal that remains elusively beyond reach, if he is to be motivated by the promise of a gratification which is not redeemed.

Successively, the combination of monetary success as a cultural goal, and the inclination to understate conventional means render a particular milieu ruled by three main axioms: i. “all should strive for the same lofty goals since these are open to all”; ii. “present seeming failure is but a way-station to ultimate success”; and iii, “genuine failure consists only in the lessening or withdrawal of ambition”. Consecutively, these three axioms inspire a major sociological conclusion (Merton, 1968, p. 193):

32 “…even in the face of repeated frustration.”
33 This is then problematized by cultural criminology discussing about how those institutions also encourage the goals and values socially cherished.
…these axioms represent, first, the deflection of criticism of the social structure onto one’s self among those so situated in the society that they do not have full and equal access to opportunity; second, the preservation of a structure of social power by having individuals in the lower social strata identify themselves, not with their compeers, but with those at the top (whom they will ultimately join); and third, providing pressures for conformity with the cultural dictates of unslackened ambition by the threat of less than full membership in the society for those who fail to conform.

These consequences delineate a seemingly inescapable situation, fundamental for later critical discussions in criminology (Ferrell et al., 2015; Steve Hall et al., 2008; see below), and which places people economically vulnerable in even harder circumstances. These consequences early anticipate what is now lived under late-modern consumer societies, where individualism34, upward class referencing and social disaffiliation, pave the road to violent social outburst (Mayol, 2019, see section 3.1 below).

Merton (1938, 1968) then addresses how people can respond to the alluded harsh cultural circumstances, describing for this purpose, “types of more or less enduring response”, which are embodied as ways of adaptation to specific circumstances. Emphasising, however, that those types of response do not correspond to specific types of personality (Merton, 1968, p. 194), but represent instead, ways to adapt and cope to particular situations, not categories about fixed mind-sets. Thus, the behaviour concerned to the adaptation to particular circumstances does not necessarily determine the way through which the same individual copes under other situations or relating to different pressing matters.

In his proposal, Merton revises the importance of economic activity then decides to explore this social dimension in regard to four modes of adaptation, which were called conformity, innovation, ritualism, and retreatism35 and then analysed through the scope

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34 With an emphasis in exculpate structural social dispositions, holding individual actions of agents as the main responsible over personal fates.
35 Briefly, “conformity” involves acceptance both of cultural goals and the institutionalized means to achieve them; “innovation” values goals but rejects the conventional means; “ritualism” implies refusal to goals but acceptance of means; and finally “retreatism” implies refusal both to goals and means.
of divergent utilisation of culture goals and institutionalised means. For the present study, it will be further described the so-called “innovation” mode of adaptation, which involves acceptance of cultural goals but a refusal of the institutionalised means culturally prescribed.

In this regard Merton (1968, pp. 199–200) states that concerning economic success and status, the articulation of values and norms within an inflexible structural background —what is known to elicit anomie— increase the chances of deviation since the pressures for success were almost absolute and unavoidable. Following the sports metaphor previously mentioned, while is intended that people play the game under the same rules, some people were assigned with the inclined part of the playing field, and without shoes, therefore marking a goal is notoriously harder to achieve.

It is the combination of the cultural emphasis and the social structure which produces intense pressure for deviation… Despite our persisting open-class-ideology, advance toward the success-goal is relatively rare and notably difficult for those armed with little formal education and few economic resources... Of those located in the lower reaches of the social structure, the culture makes incompatible demands.

Furthermore, Merton (1968, p. 200) acknowledges that the simple aggregate of values and structural limitations do not suffice as an explanation about the emergence of deviation in different positions of society. Another relevant structural constraint is needed to be put in play, something that elicits experiences similar to confinement:

…other aspects of the social structure, besides the extreme emphasis on pecuniary success, must be considered if we are to understand the social sources of deviant behavior. A high frequency of deviant behavior is not generated merely by lack of opportunity or by this exaggerated pecuniary emphasis. A comparatively rigidified class structure, a caste order, may limit opportunities far

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36 Merton, however, also suggests another distinct way of adaptation called “rebellion”, positioned as an adaptation of “genuine transvaluation”, which presumes “alienation from reigning goals and standards” (Merton, 1968, p. 209).

37 Without mentioning that Merton already recognises that even the privileged tend to bend the rules for the sake of reaching success, making even more unequal the playing and results of the game.
beyond the point which obtains in American society today... Otherwise said, our egalitarian ideology denies by implication the existence of non-competing individuals and groups in the pursuit of pecuniary success. Instead, the same body of success-symbols is held to apply for all. Goals are held to transcend class lines, not to be bounded by them, yet the actual social organization is such that there exist class differentials in accessibility of the goals. In this setting, a cardinal American virtue, “ambition,” promotes a cardinal American vice, “deviant behavior”.

Even though Merton writes about divergences and differences between groups, his proposal about convergences is of greater relevance to the present study. “[G]oals are held to transcend class lines, not to be bounded by them” –as Merton states- and therefore, cultural influence is comparable to the currents of the sea, wetting and infusing regardless where people are located in the “communitarian pools”38 of social life.

Still, before advancing with the argument of convergence, a brief review of the approaches which claim deviancy as part of distinct sub-cultures results convenient39.

With particular distinctions to what suggests Merton (1938, 1968)40 as anomie, the early notion proposed by Émile Durkheim (1960[1893]) regards a deficiency in regulation with a consequent deterioration of solidarity; mainly observed in divisions of labour. This conception was subsequently extended into his explanation of suicide (Durkheim, 1897, 2005), understood as an apparently individual act, but which may

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38 The metaphor of social pool is thought as a metaphor of cultural dynamics and influence where many pools are placed along the sea shores, either a fancy well-made one or a rough tide rock pool, there is a common element that every pool shares: their water and its currents that are persistently keeping things in motion. It is argued that culture resembles this water, culture as a complex web of meanings that moves through the different dimensions of social life “wetting” people in the process. In this sense, culture can be understood as part of those social currents and society as a sea, thus, despite the different pools where different people swim, that cultural “water” bathes the pools indistinctly of the different characteristics of the individuals. Concerning this metaphor it is interesting to note the expression used by Émile Durkheim in his book “Suicide” (2005, p. 55; [1897, p. 84]) about the “social currents” [les courants sociaux] referring to those social forces influencing the life actions of people.

39 Whereas it is not the intent of the present manuscript to do an exhaustive revision for the sake of space and articulacy.

40 The concept of anomie in Merton is basically defined as “the breakdown of the regulatory structure” (Merton, 1968, p. 211), as a result of the uneven relation between cultural concerns and the structurally permitted access to goals and personal stability.
occur as a consequence of abrupt changes in social stability, despite even of the conditions of comfort achieved by such society.

An interesting example given by Durkheim lies in the anomic suicidal response to modern ambition, characterised by the pursuit for economic prosperity. Durkheim argues that “[t]o pursue a goal which is by definition unattainable is to condemn oneself to a state of perpetual unhappiness” (Durkheim, 2005, p. 209). And since the “measure of ‘monetary success’ is conveniently indefinite and relative” –as Merton also underscores- “…there is no stable resting point” (Merton, 1968, p. 190). Therefore, such situation leads to suicide through the alteration of the social order, now based upon unstable points of reference.41

In somewhat marked departure to the work of Merton, contemporary subcultural theories present a seemingly divergent approach towards cultural pluralism, divergence and deviation. Even though under the “subcultural theory” label some dissimilarities and even conflicts are observed (Blackman, 2005), framed as subcultural, it dwells two major theoretical traditions. The first established in the United States and the second in Great Britain. Antecedents of the American school are the Chicago School of Sociology of the first half of twentieth century, and the work of Albert Cohen, Richard Cloward, Gresham Sykes and Ervin Goffman in the second part of the past century (Blackman, 2005; Ferrell et al., 2015). British incipient subcultural theories are found in the first part of the 20th century as well, which based upon psychoanalytical positions. After that, the most recognized British subcultural theories were addressed by the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) based in Birmingham (Blackman, 2005; Shildrick, 2006; Shildrick & MacDonald, 2006).

Regarding the American proposal, Blackman (2005) acknowledges Robert Merton influence, but especially Albert K. Cohen ideas in the development of subcultural appraisals, being this latter scholar who lastly popularised the term “subcultural” (Cohen, 1955). Amongst his theory, Cohen responded to the claim made.

41 Owing to his emphasis in normative undermining, have been commented that Durkheim ideas are related to a moral decline, sustained by a deteriorating sense of community and rising individualism (see Hookway, 2014).
by Merton that criminal behaviour is only an innovative way to achieve mainstream goals. In turn, Cohen argues that crime may be assumed as merely transgressive (Ferrell et al., 2015), a reaction to the imposition of dominant middle-class values. In the meantime, rejecting and reversing those values, and then engendering a process of “reaction formation”, to face the frustration of not meeting cultural criteria. This movement alleviates these feelings through transgressive cultural work, which in turn, sustains an unruly subcultural status (Ferrell et al., 2015) –rejecting “in an exaggerated fashion any remnants of middle-class values” (Cavender, 2010, p. 181).

British responses to these developments were carried by the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS, see Clarke, Hall, Jefferson, & Roberts, 1976), based in the University of Birmingham. Reinterpreting Cohen ideas on subculture and the developing labelling theory\textsuperscript{42}, the CCCS stressed the importance of “writing from below”, that is, recovering the stories and history written by the common people who experience what is going under investigation. Subcultures then “could be ‘read’ as texts, texts that revealed the nature of power and inequality”\textsuperscript{43} (Ferrell et al., 2015, p. 48).

A contemporary reading to the CCCS work made by several authors (Blackman, 2005; Hesmondhalgh, 2005; Martin, 2009; Shildrick, 2006; Shildrick & MacDonald, 2006) defends traditional subcultural CCCS notions in contrast to post-subcultural theories –which centre their attention in more stylistic demeanours. Those authors reject post-subcultural standpoints, devoid of critical approximations to consumer culture to sustain and give sense to those so-called “lifestyles” (Hesmondhalgh, 2005). For instance, Martin (2009) criticises the vein of cultural criminology that emphasises the relevance of styles, endorsing the recovery of a keen critical approach in observance to the continuity of the working-class youth predicaments studied by CCCS, and the current “chav phenomenon” in England. In this sense, Martin (2009, p. 138) observes

\textsuperscript{42} According to Ferrell and colleagues (2015), Labelling theory may be seen as a response to Criminology positivism, arguing –among other things- that social reality fails to fall into accurate representations, but operates through on-going process of meaning changing according to any audience and situation. Emphasizing the repressive role of labelling, that underscores power and marginalization. From this point of view, what is understood by “deviance” is not the failure of social control systems but their success (Ferrell et al., 2015, p. 39).

\textsuperscript{43} “…and popular culture could be more relevant and revealing than high culture.”
the particulars of chav phenomenon as signs of “transformations in working-class identity” and contemporary English culture and community, occurring within consumer-capitalist contexts.

In a similar vein, Shildrick & MacDonald (2006) addressing post-subcultural criticism, re-examine the trajectory and notions of the CCCS concluding that the analysis of “young people’s cultural identities, practices and affiliations as a crucial part of any attempt to provide a more holistic, explanatory study of youth” (p. 135). Furthermore, Shildrick (2006, p. 63) questions the adequacy of the concept of lifestyle, since it is “underpinned by the importance of consumerism for the development of youthful identities”, arguing that lifestyles do not capture the importance of context and the prevalence of structural inequalities. Then concluding that the individualist standpoint the concept of lifestyle bears, it conceals the courses through which that kind of individuality and its consequent identity is constructed.44

While structural factors “do not wholly determine cultural identities” conclude McCulloch and colleagues (2006), it is rather argued that young people tend to associate with persons from similar social backgrounds. Then settled that “subcultural affiliation is in large part an expression of class identity”, defending that despite the post-cultural viewpoint on structural irrelevance, “inequality and social class are still real issues in young people’s lives” (McCulloch et al., 2006, p. 540).

Rounding up, subcultural theories from a critical and sometimes radical standpoint endorse processes of social questioning and intellectual caution, yet highlighting the need for a distinct understanding of the so-called “deviant” (sub) culture while retaining the analytical importance of the social context and its structural grievances. To revise subcultures is to take social structure under consideration. Therefore, to understand subcultures requires a comprehensive revision of structural subtleties, especially those related to culture, its pervasive dynamics and the social

44 This debate recalls the interesting pointy made by Young (1999) about “the paradox of individualism”: while individualism is often perceived as a malaise eroding community, it is at the same, potentially defended since individualism founds seemingly relevant attitudes such as self-expression and protection to the individual.
relations that sustain those dynamics. As David Matza (1969, pp. 84–85) eloquently declares, both what we condemn and what we treasure “are not only part of the same seamless web” but rather, “they are actually woven of the same fibers”. Interpretation which opens the question about the separateness of social groups and cultural realms. As Howard Becker (1963, p. 9) states “social groups create deviance by making the rules whose infraction constitutes deviance, and by applying those rules to particular people and labeling them as outsiders”\(^\text{45}\). As a result, speaking about subcultures means the acknowledgement of the presence of power relations within the social fabric, which is itself dyed by shared cultural meanings.

### 2.3 Cultural criminology and the bulimic society: cultural hybridization in exclusionary urban contexts.

Instead of analyzing crime as the effect of a social contradiction, it has been treated as if it were a choice of the subject, almost conscious and voluntary, and not a complex effect of the emergence of new cultural patterns that cross the entire society and that they generate, in some sectors, a greater propensity for classical crime and in others a greater propensity for corruption or “dirty business” (Moulian, 1997, p. 136, own translation).

As we already notes, the work of David Matza and Gresham Sykes (Matza, 1969; Matza & Sykes, 1961; Sykes & Matza, 1957) share some ideas with Robert Merton viewpoint, launching the dispute on the presence of mainstream covertly valued dispositions, which in the case of adolescents commonly labelled as “deviant” are rather openly manifested. In regard to juvenile delinquency, Matza & Sykes (1961) suggest that the figure of delinquents as mere antagonists of society is misleading, arguing that most of those individuals are “in agreement with the larger society, at least with regard to the evaluation of delinquent behavior as ‘wrong’” (p. 712). The authors then continue

\(^{45}\) Emphasis in the original.
explaining that instead of a lack of norms recognition, young delinquency is instead a problem of practical efficacy:

Rather than standing in opposition to conventional ideas of good conduct, the delinquent is likely to adhere to the dominant norms in belief but render them ineffective in practice by holding various attitudes and perceptions which serve to neutralize the norms as checks on behavior. “Techniques of neutralization,” such as the denial of responsibility or the definition of injury as rightful revenge, free the individual from a large measure of social control (Matza & Sykes, 1961, pp. 712–713).

Hence, according to Matza & Sykes, adolescent delinquent behaviour is closer to middle-class system values than usually was regarded in the early second half of the twentieth century. In this sense, the authors discuss several values that would be broadly shared, however, as they declare “the majority are usually too timid to express” (Matza & Sykes, 1961, p. 717) while people who commit crimes just render those values into practice. In regard to the “values of delinquency” which Matza and Sykes distinguish – the search for excitement, the disdain for work and the use of violence as signs of masculinity - the authors recognise that:

Whether these values are seen as pathological expressions of a distorted personality or as the traits of a delinquent sub-culture, they are taken as indicative of the delinquent’s deviation from the dominant society. The delinquent, it is said, stands apart from the dominant society not only in terms of his illegal behavior but in terms of his basic values as well (p. 714).

Yet, Matza and Sykes contend this notion, insofar as the sharing of broadly spread “subterranean values” they observe, which individuals hold to and believe in “but that are also recognized as being not quite *comme il faut*” (p. 716), alluding that in terms of criminological examination, “the easier task of analysis is to call such values deviant and to charge the individual with hypocrisy when he acts on them” (p. 716). However, as the authors keenly point, it is a common place for adolescents to pursuit “thrills”, pleasing
leisure, and brute aggression; provocatively concluding “the explanation of juvenile delinquency may be clarified by exploring the delinquent's similarity to the society that produced him rather than his dissimilarity” (Matza & Sykes, 1961, p. 719). Accordingly expressed as a research invitation, this assertion critically reveals some extent of cultural dishonesty and could be interpreted as a calling for equality and justice.

In a somewhat different line, however akin to the ideas of Matza and Sykes, Howard Becker (1963) argues that the creation of people labelled as “outsiders” is a task which involves society as a whole - implying that the antisocial behaviour is “a consequence of the public reaction to the deviance rather than a consequence of the inherent qualities of the deviant act” (p. 35). A process that involves power differentials in the making of rules and their subsequent enforcement, turning people into outsiders and delinquents not through the mere legal system apprehension but rather through the labelling dynamics that ultimately undermine the possibilities to redeem those labels.

Thus, for many so-called “outsiders”, attaining non-deviant, “normal” effects become an excruciating task. While concurrently those activities are needed in the everyday, then regarding their illegal activities they “do what they do for much the same reasons that justify more ordinary activities” (Becker, 1963, p. 192). As Merton and Matza & Sykes argued, criminal activities emerge in challenging contexts for the sake of practical efficacy.

Deviation – says David Matza- is a common feature of society, a society running into late-modernity where material success and the acquisition of wealth become dominant “because alternative goals lose momentum in modern urban society” (Matza, 1969, p. 98). Then deviation and its derivative subcultures cannot be studied

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46 “In fact, most societies seem to provide room for Saturnalias in one form or another, a sort of periodic anomie in which thrill-seeking is allowed to emerge” (Matza & Sykes, 1961, p. 716).
47 A process which –by the time Becker wrote- was obscured and undervalued by academia: “Sociologists have generally been reluctant to take the close look at what sits in front of their noses I have recommended here. That reluctance especially infected deviance studies” (Becker, 1963, p. 194).
48 “I do not mean society, the abstraction. By society, I intend the concrete and immediate society the subject momentarily exists in; I mean his project –what he is doing in the world at a moment in time. Subjectively and existentially, the project is society” (Matza, 1969, p. 132).
separately to mainstream culture and social structure. As Clarke and colleagues (1976, p. 13) contend some years after:

We must, first, see subcultures in terms of their relation to the wider class-cultural networks of which they form a distinctive part. When we examine this relationship between a sub-culture and the ‘culture’ of which it is a part, we call the latter the ‘parent’ culture… What we mean is that a sub-culture, though differing in important ways—in its ‘focal concerns’, its peculiar shapes and activities—from the culture from which it derives, will also share some things in common with that ‘parent’ culture.

In the same vein, cultural criminology (Ferrell, 1995, 1999; Ferrell et al., 2015; Ferrell & Sanders, 1995; K. J. Hayward & Young, 2004; Presdee, 2004)—as a contended response to the twentieth-first century dominant criminology—gather and re-examine the work both of Robert Merton and Subcultural perspectives, endorsing a call for justice as part of its intellectual goals.

For cultural criminology, matters such as crime, social exclusion, and social control, alike as human identity and justice, cannot be understood unconnectedly to concepts such as meaning, power and emotion. Thus, according to this approach, the study of crime and people who “deviate” cannot be represented in fixed ways. Unfolding the regularly transgressed boundaries of meaning and space: for instance, as the limits between violence and entertaining are blurred, and when crime is boosted by crime control.

Much of the discussion in cultural criminology is founded in the late 20th century criminological subcultural debate initiated by the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS). In definitional terms, the main representatives of the CCCS Clarke,

50 Specifically the seminal article published in 1938 titled “Social Structure and Anomie” (Merton, 1938).
51 Through, for instance, the success of TV series based upon crime and aggression.
52 For Cultural criminology, the role of “thrills” is of real importance to understand some forms of crime. For instance, Jack Katz in his “Seductions of Crime” (Katz, 1988) emphasizes that profoundly emotional experience in the origin of crime, which in turn, may be underscored to argue that police persecutions, for example, can enhance motivation to commit crimes instead of reducing it: “risk is a challenge not a deterrent” says Young (2003).
Hall, Jefferson, & Roberts (1976) argue that sub-cultures, in many ways, derive from mainstream culture; an interpretation that raises questions about the adequacy of, for instance, thinking about “criminal sub-cultures” as enclosed entities. In turn, according to CCCS and cultural criminology, a previous examination of the convergence points between that particular sub-culture and its “parent” or mainstream culture is required.

Jeff Ferrell, one of the early and leading proponents of cultural criminology, argues that much of the sub-cultural meaning, identity, and action is organized around the notion of “style” (Ferrell, 1995, 1997a; Ferrell & Sanders, 1995). Styles based upon particular ways of behave and look, belonging to groups often labelled as outsiders, what in turn help to establish a self-identity through belonging and visual representation. Image frames identity – states Ferrell (1999)- highlighting the importance of style and visual features in the understanding of any sub-cultural group, such as gang members and “badasses” (see also Katz, 1988, ch. 3). It is worthy to note that Ferrell’s consideration of styles, intrinsically addresses the relationship sub-culture/parent-culture mentioned above, since any style can be understood as being rendered as a form of distinction against mainstream references. The only way to analytically distinguish a defined “style” is taking it as confronting model facing the common ground of cultural meanings.

In so doing, Ferrell (1997a, p. 23) explains that people “construct ‘personal style’ as a political force, a sartorial shove against imposed boundaries of individual and group identity”. In sum, the construction of a stylised identity concerns its opposition to the broad culture available but, at the same time, its embedded reference to it.

...criminal events, identities, and styles take life within a media-saturated environment, and thus exist from the start as a moment in a mediated spiral of presentation and representation. Criminal events and perceptions of criminality are reported on by the media less than they are constructed within the media; their existence is inevitably measured more by ratings points than by rates of crime. Criminal subcultures reinvent mediated images as situated styles, but are at the same time themselves reinvented time and time again as they are displayed within the daily swarm of
mediated presentations. In every case, as cultural criminologists we study not only images but images of images, an infinite hall of mediated mirrors. (Ferrell & Sanders, 1995, p. 14)

Now more than ever, the dynamic and pervasive influence and permeation of different cultural meanings are rendered in everyday life, challenging the traditional conceptions about deviated sub-cultures. In this regard, mass media plays a crucial role and as Ferrell & Sanders (1995) mention, it is established as a sprawling commonplace in late-modernity\(^3\). Therefore, cultural criminology, assert Hayward & Young (2004), stresses the mediated nature of reality in late modernity, understanding that media and behaviour (in this case crime) is not a linear phenomenon, but resembles instead, a “mediated spiral of presentation and representation” on-going and dynamic. Suggesting the presence of a “hall of mirrors” where images and images of the images are presented and represented, interpreted, mediated and re-interpreted, forging meaning amidst different scales of power relations.

It follows that mass media surpass traditional physical separations, easing the flow of cultural meanings such as values and narratives, which in turn makes cultural sharing a rather prominently manifestation.

As was briefly revised before, cultural criminologists are concerned with social exclusion. However, they are cautious to made simplistic descriptions of social reality, admonishing the sometimes categorical imperative present in the distinction between exclusion and inclusion. For instance, Jock Young (2003, p. 390) asserts that exclusion/inclusion division:

\[\text{…it mistakes rhetoric for reality, it attempts to impose hard lines on a late modern city of blurred demarcation and crossovers. It posits a hermetic localism in an age of globalization. Furthermore, it neither captures the intensity of the exclusion—the vindictiveness—nor the passionate resentment of the excluded while painting a far too calm and rational picture of the fortunate citizens—the included.}\]

\(^{33}\) About the considerable importance of the notion of risk in late-modernity, Giddens (1991, p. 4) states that media play a central role in the influence of distant occurrences into present events and in consequence, over the construction of everyone’s self.
Social exclusion and inclusion are plagued with complexity: while excluded people are usually seen as distant and different, Young (2003, p. 394) reviewing the ethnographic work of Carl Nightingale\textsuperscript{54} demonstrated that the representation of urban cultural separateness is rather naïve than real:

For instead the ghetto was the apotheosis of the USA. Here is full immersion in the American Dream: a culture hooked on Gucci, BMW, Nike, watching television 11 hours per day, sharing the mainstream culture’s obsession with violence, backing, at the time of the study, Bush’s involvement in the Gulf War, lining up outside the cinemas, worshipping success, money, wealth and status—even sharing in a perverse way the racism of the wider society. The problem of the ghetto was not so much the process of it being simply excluded but rather one that was all too strongly included in the culture but, then, systematically excluded from its realization\textsuperscript{55}.

Consequently, Young (1999, 2003) uses the concept of social bulimia to describe late-modern societies where the “liberal mantra” of liberty, equality and fraternity is chorused while at the same time\textsuperscript{56}, the exclusion is systematically practised. The author, therefore, recognises the presence of blurred social boundaries and cultural hybridisation, framed amid openly segregated yet covertly compounded urban spaces (Hayward, 2004, 2012). Environments where people try to regain control over their lives, almost unavoidably immersed in a disquieting world branded by ontological insecurity (Ferrell et al., 2015; Giddens, 1990, 1991; K. J. Hayward, 2004).

A world where, as Giddens (1991) points out, is progressively harder to achieve a stable set of references, threatening identity through unstable social narratives and an enhanced but disembedded self-reflexivity, demanding to question even modest certainties in front of numerous daily choices. Following this impression, Young (1999, p. 14) keenly asserts:

\textsuperscript{54} Carried out in black ghettos of Philadelphia.
\textsuperscript{55} These findings are strikingly similar to what Romero Miranda (2018) describes about Chilean male offenders conceptions on manly beauty.
\textsuperscript{56} “…in the job market, on the streets, in the day-to-day contacts with the outside world.”
Such a situation breeds ontological insecurity, that is where self-identity is not embedded in our sense of biographical continuity, where the protective cocoon which filters out challenges and risks to our sense of certainty becomes weakened and where an absolute sense of one’s normality and becomes disoriented by the surrounding relativism of value. Individualism, with its emphasis on existential choice and self-creation contributes significantly to such insecurity, while the pressing nature of a plurality of alternative social worlds, some the result of such incipient individuality, manifestly undermines any easy acceptance of unquestioned value.

Therefore, the on-going juggernaut of late-modern society carries structural changes, but at the same time accompanied by widespread cultural changes:

…patterns of desire have been transformed; the global village engendered by the mass media has become an ever-present reality; the old patterns of reward and effort have been redefined; institutionalized individualism has permeated areas of social life hitherto sacrosanct; the naturalistic language of the market place has challenged and threatened the metanarrative of social democracy and modernity (Young, 1999, p. vi).

Those cultural changes, mainly based upon the notion of individualism, permeate the daily life of late-modern societies tainting social interactions with disguised aggression or blatant violence through processes of othering and essentialism (Young, 1999, 2003), in an effort to obtain what it is desired no matter the cost, even at the expense of others. By “othering” is intended to describe a three stages spiral process which consists in the identification of other people as strange others. It begins with highlighting crucial personal qualities and then denigrating those who supposedly lack –in essence- of valued features, and who lastly –as a way to defy that derogatory labels- adopt and embrace57. The essential negative qualities carried in prejudices and stereotypes are lived through exclusions, reinforcing over and over the image of strange others, and creating

57 As Ferrell (1992, p. 117) says “the practical constraints on making a career of stickups are such that one cannot simply adopt violence as an instrumental device, to be enacted or dropped as situational contingencies dictate... you must live the commitment to deviance. You must really mean it.”
in the way a suitable “enemy” to blame and punish. As Young (2003, p. 403) puts it “if unfairness provides a rationalization for violence, dehumanization permits it”.

Those who are essentialized and made “others” usually live in unconcealed economic exclusion and spatial segregation; struggling to achieve a minimal income to subsist amid increasingly expensive contexts, forced to live in residences product of planned urban marginalisation. However, at the same time assaulted by advertising and plastic dreams within cities’ shared spaces –where promises of better lives, status and recognition are relentlessly shown.

The energy generated in this bulimic society –which absorbs and rejects- decants in resentment and prospects violence. As mainstream values constitute the normative life of the excluded, standardising the underclass and enforcing the over-identification with consumerism and hedonism. However, at the same time setting them up as an object for the hatred of those who proclaim abiding the law (Young, 2003, p. 411). For this reason, a new but somewhat controversial task arises for critical criminology, in the words of Hall and Winlow (2015, p. 47):

For us, critical criminology must find ways to theorize the paradoxical condition of subjectivity in late modernity. ‘The powerless’ are certainly victimized actors in the structural sense. However, in the cultural sense many of ‘the powerless’ seem to be quite driven to escape their condition by adopting some of the exploitative and predatory habits that are reproduced by the system’s fundamental exchange logic –get more out than you put in –and practised by the worst examples from ‘the powerful’, the elite business and political class.

All in all, cultural criminology endorses a study of crime and deviance from a critical and sceptical standpoint; acknowledging the omnipresent individualism and

58 “The process of othering has, therefore, a self-reinforcing circularity. Thus, in order to create a ‘good enemy’ we must be able to convince ourselves that: (1) they are the cause of a large part of our problems; (2) they are intrinsically different from us—inhbiently evil, intrinsically wicked, etc. This process of resentment and dehumanization allows us to separate them off from the rest of humanity (us) but it also permits us to harden ourselves to deal with the special instance of a threat. We can act temporarily outside of our human instincts because we are dealing with those who are acting inhumanely. This technique of neutralization permits the transgression of our general prohibitions against violence” (Young, 2003, p. 400).
consumerism as pervading cultural traits (Ferrell, 1995; Ferrell et al., 2015; Hayward & Young, 2004; Young, 1999, 2003). Therefore it is observed the need for a kind of criminology serving to undermine prejudice and hypocrisy, taking both structural conditions and individual struggles experienced in everyday life into account. Cultural criminology advocates for the recognition of grounded meaning, understanding the inadequacy of traditional structural dualism, emphasising dualities and complexities embedded in a social context encumbered with processes of cultural hybridisation.
Chapter 3
THE “CHILEAN MIRACLE” IN RETROSPECTIVE: THROUGH THE LENS OF 2019 OUTBURST

3.1 The end of Chilean neoliberalism? “Son tantas weás que no sé que poner”

Undoubtedly, historical moments are more accessible to be remembered than the wanderings and concatenation of events that –sometimes unforeseen- unleash social milestones worthy of being written in history books. It is right to no lesser extent than judging such moments when one is still perplexed about their occurrence is no simple task, but perhaps is this complexity which nurtures the necessity to address the topic and attempt comprehension. The same as when more intimate but decisive events require the revision and renewal of on-going thoughts and stories about personal life, people embedded in social contexts in crisis are existentially pressed for to understand what is going on around them.

Plate 1. Protest banner “there are so many things that I don’t know what to write”

Source: jaidefinichon.com

59 “There are so many things that I don’t know what to write”. 59
The October 18\textsuperscript{th} of 2019 probably will be reminded multiple times and through different means for several Chilean generations. Depending on where this day and the days that followed surprised people, certainly will engrave the future stories about the day that was the definite starting point of the Chilean “estallido social”\textsuperscript{60}. This chapter is an attempt to settle in general terms the current academic understanding of this unprecedented event—which constitutes one of the foremost contexts of the present study.

However, before reviewing the proposed causes for the social outburst, we first will look back through the main elements that triggered the event, a descriptive chronology of events is offered in virtue of general comprehension.

According to some media (Urrejola, 2019), the first clear precursor corresponded to the call made by high school students in Santiago to evade the pay for Metro\textsuperscript{61} transportation services. As a reaction against the increasing price of subway tickets in $30 pesos\textsuperscript{62} which will adopt other prominent meaning afterwards. The increased price ticket was announced on October 5\textsuperscript{th} and taking effect the following day, raising instant criticism and further energy by unfortunate commentaries expressed by government ministers\textsuperscript{63}. An early but smaller evasion performed by Instituto Nacional\textsuperscript{64} high schoolers (Díaz Montero, 2019) planted the seeds for October 14\textsuperscript{th}, when the Chilean government decided to close five Metro stations, incorporating police forces to regular Metro guards to deter payment evasion. Determinations were then accompanied by new ill-fated comments\textsuperscript{65} from government officials, legislative personnel\textsuperscript{66}, and Metro related authorities\textsuperscript{67}, which ended up igniting “day zero”: October 18\textsuperscript{th}, 2019.

\textsuperscript{60}“Social outburst”.
\textsuperscript{61}The Santiago’s subway train.
\textsuperscript{62}less than USD$0,05
\textsuperscript{63}For example, Economy Minister Juan Andrés Fontaine said that who wake up early will find a cheaper price (CNN Chile, 2019a) or Estate Minister Felipe Larraín arguing that despite the increasing in ticket prices, “for whom want to give flowers, the flowers are cheaper now” (CNN Chile, 2019b)
\textsuperscript{64}Considered one of the most important and successful public schools in Chile.
\textsuperscript{65}Transport Minister Gloria Hutt and Interior Subsecretary Rodrigo Ubilla, arguing that the increased price did not impact on high school tickets (El Mostrador, 2019).
Day zero involved massive evasions in multiple Metro stations, performed by
dissimilar people, not only high schoolers. The government acted by means of police
repression, triggering further arrests and turmoil (Estallido Social, 2019a), government
representatives labelling common evaders as “delinquents” (CNN Chile, 2019c), with
multiple strike invocations at one side, but arsons, looting and uncontrolled violence at
the other (Flores, 2019). Meanwhile, President Sebastián Piñera dined pizza with his
family (puranoticia, 2019).

Both manifestations and uproar continued in day one (October 19th), prompting
the government to command a state of emergency. This measure saw the arrival of
military forces onto streets pressing curfews over general population (Estallido Social,
2019b; Urrejola, 2019). President Piñera declares being “at war against a powerful,
unforgiving enemy who respects nothing and no one” (El Desconcierto, 2019). Day five
observed the joining of other Chilean regions in mass social protests and raging
upheavals. The government attempted to appease manifestations through meagre
measures such as nullify Metro price increase, but the general scenery indicated an
unmatched historical moment. On day 7 (October 25th), more than one million people
gathered around Plaza Baquedano68 (CNN Chile, 2019d) clamouring “Chile woke up!”
amidst Chilean and Mapuche flags.

Social manifestations endured for months, however recurrently overshadowed by
violence and confrontation. Sociologist Alberto Mayol (2019) distinguishes three main
types of social expression in the Chilean outburst. The most important, perhaps, involves
people who went out to streets to protest against the Chilean society model, a neoliberal
account commonly pictured as an economic “miracle” imposed in the 1970s under
Pinochet’s military dictatorship. Furthermore, Mayol distinguishes two other groups of
people: those who carried out lootings and those who went out to streets to destroy

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66 Center-left Senator Felipe Harboe judging evasion as a “unacceptable millennial expression” (Jara,
2019).
67 A former Metro Board president, Clemente Pérez saying that evasion “did not ignite anything” and
general population rejects the manifestation (24horas.cl, 2019).
68 The center of manifestations and a socially conflictive location frequently portrayed as the ground zero
of social class inequality demarcations in Chile. This location was then informally renamed as “Plaza
Dignidad” [Dignity Square].
things. The former group –Mayol reflects– “vindicates consumer society’s order, worshipping its objects, but without paying for them… violate the method and vindicates the goal”, the latter group those “who destroys and burns… questions completely the order”. Meanwhile, a fourth group appeared, those “who march and paint the walls try to give meaning to chaos” (Mayol, 2019, p. 98). In the end, USD$3,000 million in tax revenue were lost (Aravena, 2020).

Consequently, one important question arises: what explains the 2019 Chilean social outburst? Despite the unfortunately recurrent catchphrase, “nobody saw it coming” (Sepúlveda Espinoza, 2020), some scholar references draft the tracks of the 2019 Chilean outburst. Most of them focus their attention on the Chilean model, pompously referred to as the key behind the so-called “Chilean economic miracle” (Solimano, 2012), and frequently associated with the term “neoliberal” (cf. Duquette, 1998; Harvey, 2005).

Perhaps the older, more relevant book regarding this matter corresponds to Tomás Moulian’s “Chile actual. Anatomía de un mito”69 (Moulian, 1997), where the author revises the antecedents of the installation of the Chilean model under military dictatorship, going through the democracy transition formally initiated in the period 1988-1990, and up to the end of the last decade of the twentieth century. Moulian among others issues, revises various processes of de-politicization70, commodification, and expanding consumerism71 observed throughout 1990-1997, where a sense of order is imposed to contrast the chaotic years preceding democracy, according to which, the achieved order reflected the natural but consensual state of affairs:

69 “Current Chile: Anatomy of a myth”.
70 This process shares some similarities with Hannah Arendt’s notion of “loss of the world” which, according to d’Entreves (2019) corresponds to “the restriction or elimination of the public sphere of action and speech in favor of the private world of introspection and the private pursuit of economic interests”.
71 Hall and Winlow coined the term “pseudo-pacification” to identify this kind of process, through which they attempt to explain “how capitalist culture stimulates and pacifies the urge for immediate gratification in order to generate amongst individuals the desire for consumer objects, which feeds into market demand and economic growth” (Hall & Winlow, 2015, p. 21).
In the predominant discourse about the justification of politics, society is conceived as a final stage or state, without historicity, coming from a sort of “atavistic pact”. Historicity would represent the menace of returning to the chaotic beginning, surpassed by the “consensual pact” (Moulian, 1997, p. 46).\textsuperscript{72}

How a markedly unequal society –questioned Moulian (1997)- does not endure rebellions, protests, social effervescence or even traces of nonconformity? A proper answer to that question –continued the author- it demands a global analysis of the domination system and its social integration mechanisms (Moulian, 1997, p. 96). Among those mechanisms, Moulian distinguishes mediatised images of national success and the development of rampaging consumerism (see also Moulian, 1998). However, consumerism\textsuperscript{73} -says Moulian (1997, p. 107)- “it’s never pure negativity”, it is, simultaneously “disciplining and pleasure”\textsuperscript{74}, it is ritualised hedonism in the everyday. Therefore, “the most important thing is that one thing and another are never produced separately. If they separated, the charm would be destroyed and the mechanics of domination would not work” (Moulian, 1997, p. 107). Thus emerges the figure of the “credit-card” citizen, who finds hope in plastic money while surrounded by the sprawling commodification of formerly public services and his life in general. The years to come will show how that dialectic hope decayed into the sediments to 2019 social outburst (see Pérez-Roa, 2019), enriched by feelings of frustration, anger and desperation.

Almost twenty years after Chile Actual, Alberto Mayol’s “El derrumbe del modelo”\textsuperscript{75} (Mayol, 2013) appraised the emergence of new social movements, fueled by discontent against how the Chilean neoliberal economic and political model was managed in the first twenty years of democracy by centre-left coalitions. With a

\textsuperscript{72} This consensual pact reminds to Gramsci’s concept of hegemony (Ramos Jr., 1982) and the features of a “one-dimensional society” according to Herbert Marcuse (Farr, 2020).

\textsuperscript{73} Defined by Moulian (1997, p. 104) as “consumption acts that exceed the individual’s salary possibilities and go into debt, betting therefore with time”.

\textsuperscript{74} Discipline by committing to a debt and pleasure as acquisition of desired goods.

\textsuperscript{75} “The crumbling of the model”.

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somewhat Mertonian aura, Mayol pungently refers to the Chilean neoliberal model as predominantly anomic:

The model loves to go over the norms; it is anomic; it builds anomie, eats anomie, defecates anomie. It is not unlikely that every index associated with social disintegration increase while the model is in vogue. It is not unlikely that delinquency grows when the law of desire and the integration mechanism corresponds to the possession of objects. Businessmen themselves teach how to skip the rules, to break the limits (Mayol, 2013, p. 154).

Thus, the cycle of the neoliberal schema imposed in Chile throughout the military regime and enhanced under centre-left government, came to install the dream of a better future, ardently lived during the course of the last decade of the twentieth century but then deflating in the first years of the twentieth-first, until its progressively decaying, then reaching the period that reaches today. A dream that culturally prized the exaltation of the individual and its de-politicization, focusing on entrepreneurship and exacerbated consumerism to achieve social integration (Mayol, 2013, p. 155).

Meanwhile, the ghost of the “hacendal”–recurrently considered even atavistic- was initially dissipated after gaining democracy, but then came again into the scene under the new values and rules of neoliberalism. The dream of a good life began to fade. And when the dream revealed as a mere charade, frustration and discontent appeared, but also the euphoric joy of “waking up”. It reads “Chile woke up!” in hundreds of handcrafted banners, flags and furtive wall paintings because “it was not 30 pesos, it was 30 years.”

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76 Perhaps the slogan “Chile, happiness is coming” used in 1988 plebiscite –which decided the continuation of military government or the transition into democracy was part ironically of the public narratives founding these dreams.
77 “Granting power to people has been signalled by inequality culture as a source of chaos, beastliness, instincts, before the wise reason which would inspire to the dominant groups” (Mayol, 2013, p. 156)
78 Relative to the colonial hacienda.
79 Suggestive to one of Hans Christian Andersen most popular stories, “The Emperor's New Clothes”, Mayol writes: “When the dreams were undressed from their original clothing and were naked in the form of treason (abuse), the neoliberal model lost its energy” (Mayol, 2013, p. 160).
80 See for example, ‘Chile Woke Up’: Dictatorship’s Legacy of Inequality Triggers Mass Protests (The New York Times, 2019).
Of all that has crumbled, there only remains a massive account to pay, a bill for all the past and all the present. That vast bill is the sum of all the responsible savings, all the privations, all the wounds. That bill is the suspicion for all broken promises. Chicago and its School of Economics will not pay that bill; the International Monetary Fund will not pay it either. That bill has already begun to be pay, from the first day, by we the Chileans (Mayol, 2019, p. 29).

In consequence, what explains the 2019 Chilean social outburst? Defending the processes of modernisation occurred in Chile since the 1990s, Carlos Peña in his “Pensar el Malestar” (Peña, 2020) recognises weak political institutions as antecedent in front of the scrutiny of social movements, and the revival of old quarrels against oppression. However, since injustice and unfairness are present in every society, and especially in Latin America, those social experiences –says Peña- cannot be considered as the cause of social outburst by itself. It is a plausible reason to justify events afterwards, but insufficient as a cause. Inequality, as a significant feature of, perhaps, almost every society, does reach stability in different stratified societies through modes of legitimation, regardless of the extent of inequality. The cause suggests Peña, must be “the material conditions of existence” experienced through a “drastic and sudden change”: a swift capitalist modernisation (Peña, 2020, p. 71) where a large mass of people lived enhanced standards of intergenerational status mobility, generating a substantial middle class “raised around the expansion of well-being and consumption” (Peña, 2020, p. 72). In consequence, Peña distinguishes three interrelated explanations to the Chilean social outburst: a) the yearning of younger generations who raised throughout democracy’s capitalist modernisation; b) the expectations created by Chilean modernisation itself, and c) the intrinsic mechanism of the capitalist market, which:

[While] successful in other spheres, it would not be able to produce cohesion… the market expands consumption, but not participation. It favours material well-being, but it does not grant recognition. It extends communication, but does not stimulate dialogue; it accents individuality

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81 “Thinking the discontent”
but erodes civic life. The market breaks the latch of tradition, but it does offer nothing instead. It liberates from misery but leaves people in the open. In a word, it confers freedom of choice, but that gift is accompanied by the impression that will is powerless, that in our collective life, we are abandoned to forces which we do not control (Peña, 2020, p. 77, own translation).

Consequently, besides the apparent defence to capitalist modernisation offered in the work of Carlos Peña –which is matter to further discussion\textsuperscript{82}, the importance of the lived experience of people is casually observed\textsuperscript{83}, then regarding the goals of this manuscript, it is worthy of putting it now into the scene.

Related to this latter, Kathya Araujo (2019) argues that the materialised events known as social outburst obey to a long-lasting cycle of social detachment, which cannot be understood without assessing the extent of the excesses occurred throughout the installation of the Chilean economic model. During this process, Araujo describes several structural demands over individuals: increased work flexibility (based upon an individual relationship between employer and employee), the limitation of public services, and a growing commodification of everyday life; what was accompanied by new social ideals, such as consumerism as a sign of status, and credit as a form of social integration. These new ways to understand life in society were based upon a strong focus on the individual and what is expected from any of them, the figure of the capital owner was cherished, in consequence, encouraging the acquisition of different goods such as real estates, academic degrees, and everyday goods, in the middle of relentless competitiveness (Araujo, 2019a).

Perhaps counterintuitively, Araujo –based upon her research findings and closer to what described Peña (2020)- describes pleased people for what has been achieved in

\textsuperscript{82} One argument often used by Peña to counter other social outburst analyses, is the –according to his perspective- unsatisfactory use of post facto normative (moralistic) reasons to explain discontent (especially those related to inequality and unfairness). This viewpoint is considered “too general” to be used as an explanation. Instead, Peña strictly focuses in economic indices –intergenerational inequality, raw access to education, official measures of poverty, access to consumption, which each of them can be nuanced by empirical data. Since he positively assesses the apparent results of Chilean modernisation, it is coherent to measure them with the same scales used to plead in favour of neoliberal reforms, for example, using indices based upon averages (see Pilling, 2018), a procedure which may throw positive results while inequality and deficient redistribution grows.

\textsuperscript{83} Yet, not addressed in depth by Peña.
the last years, especially in their perception of social mobility and educational access. In a similar vein, the author highlights some evidence in favour of the improvements in the area of poverty decrease and goods accessibility through consumption. In this sense and also similar to what explains Peña (2020), Araujo asserts that the neoliberal model altered the expectations of the population, shifting what people estimate as their “vital worthy minimum”, transforming then what it can be “legitimately aspired” (Araujo, 2019a, p. 20).

However, as a departing point from Carlos Peña’s ideas, while recognising the improvement in population life’s conditions, Araujo at the same time stresses the poor evaluation of people over their current quality of life and personal well-being. The critics point to how Chilean capitalism is unchecked and prone to inequality, for instance, in the labour market which exerts excessive pressures but with scarce retributions both in terms of social security and wage (Araujo, 2019a, p. 21). A worrying situation if we consider the presence of cultural values pressuring for consumption, and consequent accretion of multiple debts, which reached a certain point, rather than serving to hedonistic consumerism (Moulian, 1998), it begins to impact over the minimal provision for life (Araujo, 2019a; Pérez-Roa, 2019).

In the meanwhile, and after many years perceived as a low-corruption country (Transparency International, 2012), mass media publishes multiple corruption scandals in Chile. Which place excesses of the powerful in the foreground, initiating –according to Araujo (2019)- the cycle headed for people’s experience of disenchantment and irritation, up to finally reaching social detachment:

Consistently with individuals strengthening, it was generated the conviction among them that is possible, and even desirable, to act without institutions (beyond the fallacious, or not, that

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84 A poignantly situation, clearly observed as conditions for anomie formation from a mertonian perspective (Merton, 1938, 1968). Similar considerations are found problematic in different sub-areas of criminology: cultural criminology (Ferrell et al., 2015; K. J. Hayward & Young, 2004; Martin, 2009; Young, 2003), desistance criminology (King, 2012a), ultra-realist criminology (Hall et al., 2008) and several Chilean sociological and criminological standpoints (Mayol, 2019; Mettifogo et al., 2015; Moulian, 1998; N. Somma & Valenzuela, 2015).

objectively this can be). This conviction derived not only from the reinforcement of the self-image emerging from the experience of having faced ordinary life and its ups and downs, counting only on themselves for decades. It was the result, moreover, of the perception that it was a necessary defence against the institutions themselves, which began to be increasingly seen as abusive… or simply unable to respond to their demands, expectations and needs… In this way… disenchantedments were linked with strong detachments (Araujo, 2019a, p. 24, own translation).

And then, the unparalleled Chilean Big Bang occurred, as Alberto Mayol (2019) in his “Big Bang. Estallido social 2019” explains, who offers the analogy of a gravitational singularity to explain how 2019 Chilean outburst does not fulfil anything expected, neither in the amount of energy nor the magnitude unleashed. Mayol argues that a significant point of discussion for the sake of understanding the social outburst falls in the unbalanced economic approach settled in Chile during the neoliberal years. Where the economic status of Chilean households was disparaged or simply not taken into consideration for the sake of structural financial improvements. In this sense, the promise of the neoliberal project revolved around the creation of a flourishing and productive society, where the figure of enthusiastic entrepreneurs was cherished and preferred, people ready to innovate and compete to strengthen the private sector. The public sphere, on the contrary, embodied by the figure of the State, should decrease in size and influence. However, it should be ready to leap on to help the market and its private agents to fulfil their mission as primordial goods and services providers (Mayol, 2019).

Collective action was diminished and discouraged, individual enterprising valued and made part of the dominant narrative of progress. A notion of progress that –in practice- implied competition and overpowering, as Mayol says: “the economic agent must ‘win’, must ‘defeat’ the other” (Mayol, 2019, p. 105).

In this context, a cycle of crises developed through more than a decade embodied in different social expressions and well-articulated movements such as “not to profit”.

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87 Related to 2011 social demands calling for higher quality public education.
or “AFP no more”\textsuperscript{88}; which were fuelled by the progressive sensation of abuse appearing in mediatised scandals starring multiple private corporations and state representatives. However, the 2019 social outburst lost articulation and erupted like a “radical questioning to society as a whole” (Mayol, 2019, p. 76), being now visceral rather than thematic, chaotic rather than well-organised\textsuperscript{89}. A crisis –argues Mayol- driven by the seemingly trivial, but crushingly overwhelming relation between consuming and paying. Within a society where consumption is a synonym of social integration (Araujo, 2017; Larraín, 2006; Mayol, 2013, 2019; Moulian, 1997, 1998; Pérez-Roa, 2019; Ruiz & Boccardo, 2014) and minimum wages are not comparatively equated to dignified scenarios (see Durán & Kremerman, 2018). In consequence, the exploding social discontent came to “frustrate the whole operation of the social model and political system”, becoming “anomie-producer machines” (Mayol, 2019, p. 77) in the middle of a blatant problem of inequality\textsuperscript{90}.

Then, why 2019 social outburst occurred? First of all, Mayol (2019, pp. 72–73) distinguishes several conditions which –according to several authors- increase social discontent, of which Chile withstood all of them:

i. Increased scepticism towards public and political institutions.
ii. Distrust in democracy.
iii. Increased relativism and impoverished sense of social experience.
iv. People fearing people.
v. Systemic illegitimacy (economic and political).
vi. Rejection to commodification.
vii. Referents absence.

\textsuperscript{88} Related to 2013- social movement demanding for the end to the mandatory private pension system installed by the Military regime in 1980.
\textsuperscript{89} This is the meaning behind the title of the present section.
\textsuperscript{90} Addressing the question about why inequality came to produce such crisis now, considering that Chile has been unequal since its conception –up to the point to perceive inequality as “atavistic” (Moulian, 1997). Mayol (2019, pp. 93–94) argues, among other points, that nowadays it is not the same to think inequality in a consumer society (in contrast with a rural one) where social integration cannot be thought without monetary income; when inequality is systematically denied by facts and meritocracy proves to be a humiliating charade; where elites star public scandals due to law offences without facing judicial reprimand equivalent to the harm done.
viii. Income inequality.
ix. Unfairness perception.
x. Austerity politics.
xi. Increasing costs of food and basic services.
 xii. “Iron fist” state procedures.
 xiii. Increased education accessibility without the ensuing labour market.
xiv. A growing middle-class.
 xv. Greater exposition to independent news coverage.
xvi. Reduction in the ability to engender certainty in the individuals and meaning to her actions derived from the loss of resources (social institutions, social and cultural capital, etc.).

In a context characterised by the conditions mentioned above, the social outburst was perhaps a matter of time. It was an anomic outcome from a long-standing anomic process. As Merton (1968) said “no society lacks norms governing conduct”, but one of the most critical disjunctives of modern societies revolves around finding and choosing norms to regulate in highly pluralist environments (Peña, 2020) but without shared and stable normative references (Peña, 2020; Young, 2003).

In effect, society –says Mayol (2019, p. 42)- it can be described as “the structured sum of interactions where regulations about action, conceptualisation and feelings are constantly contested” in public and private settings, through everyday life’s complex dynamics. Where there are much more than agreement and conflict, and it is much more than a mere environment to maximising profits and revenues. However, those dynamics are indeed “explainable through the understanding of the normative structure”, since norms “are not crystallisations of coexistence” but “densified history” sedimented from “past interactions and the structured conflicts of that history” (Mayol, 2019, p. 42). In other words, norms make sense... in time.

In consequence, arriving at this point, Mayol presents the thesis of his book “Big Bang...” concluding that:

A normative imbalance produced the 2019 October rebellion. We define this phenomenon as... the incongruence in the relationship between society’s operational domain (decision making,
bureaucracy, production, or circulation of material or immaterial goods) regarding the foundations of its values and norms. The term imbalance refers to any permanent structuration of relationships that denies the values that society promotes. However, at the same time, it renders the compliance of operational goals that society pursues. Thus, the goals are accomplished, but the cultural foundations of the group are not respected. Society erodes (Mayol, 2019, pp. 42–43, my translation, my emphasis).

3.2 The origin of Chilean neoliberalism: The installation of the “Chilean model”.

Chile is often considered as an exceptional country regarding neoliberalism\(^91\) (Larraín, 2006; Lüders, 1993; J. G. Valdés, 1995), where—according to David Harvey (2005)—occurred “the first experiment with neoliberal state formation”. This exceptionalism is attributed—among other elements—due to the political and historical context of the implementation of the neoliberal system in Chile (Guzmán-Concha, 2017), carried out under an authoritarian regime\(^92\) and earlier than the now prevailing representatives of the model, the United States and the United Kingdom (Solimano, 2012).

The Chilean neoliberal model collected rejection and attachment (Araujo, 2017) and is frequently associated with General Pinochet dictatorship. However, its inception dates back to the beginning of the second half of the 20th century (BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE CHILE, n.d.), and whose main feature is the prominence of state-sponsored free-market regulations. Which were offered as corrective for the “economic inefficiencies” (BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE CHILE, n.d.; Ffrench-Davis, 2003) hauled by the public apparatus until the 1970s.

Neoliberal thought in Chile has as one of its antecedents the Klein Saks Mission\(^93\) in 1955 whose suggestions\(^94\) were not implemented but highly promoted by the

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\(^91\) The term “neoliberalism” is not univocal (see Ossandón, 2019). However, in this study is understood as a particular economic and political system, originated from the ideas of Friedrich von Hayek and the Société Mont Pelerin; and which spread latent features such as characteristic cultural dynamics and a way to understand social life.


\(^93\) Klein Saks was the visit of American economists whose mission ended in proposals for economic reformation (BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE CHILE, n.d.).
conservative newspaper El Mercurio. In parallel, the Economy Faculty of Pontifical Catholic University of Chile (UC) signed an agreement with the University of Chicago, from which emerged the later called “Chicago boys”. Chilean economists educated in Chicago as a response to mainstream economic approaches and who played a fundamental role with the arrival of the military regime (Solimano, 2012).

Ten years later, new intellectual fronts focusing on liberal economics were founded, until reaching the beginning of 1970s and the elaboration of “El Ladrillo” (“The Brick”), a radical reform program which “arose as a response to the process of economic decomposition that Chile experienced during the first years of the 1970s” (BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE CHILE, n.d.). And whose purpose was to formulate “an economic policy that would be applied by any government”95:

Weeks after The Brick was finished, the military coup took place on September 11, 1973. Thus, the new government already had an economic program prepared by specialists, who later formed part of the advisory team, either as ministers, undersecretaries of state or consultants (BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE CHILE, n.d.).

The Military Junta –the ruling organism in the first years of the military Regime- was divided in terms of ideological disposition, but prevailing in the end, the push of the neoliberal drive (BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE CHILE, n.d.). Consequently, the “navigation chart” of the neoliberal model in Chile, says Mayol (2019, pp. 29–30), was constructed by Chicago boys from “the most radical currents of economic liberalism”, amongst which the figure and thoughts of Milton Friedman96 stand out. Four main ideas supported his vision of the economy (Mayol, 2019, pp. 29–30): a) the economy should

94 Among these recommendations were reducing the fiscal deficit, increasing imports and diversify exports, attracting foreign capital, removing price controls, and reforming the tax system (BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE CHILE, n.d.).
95 “The authors raised the need to free up domestic prices, reduce the volume of the public sector, finance the fiscal sector and public enterprises, set a realistic exchange rate, lower external tariffs, form a capital market, modernize agriculture, open the land market and establish a policy of commercial, monetary, fiscal and tax decentralization, in addition to social security and social security” (BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE CHILE, n.d.).
96 Known for saying: “there is no such thing as a free lunch”.

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not pose problems of what ought to be, but of how things actually are; b) everything has a price; c) the state must not meddle in the market; d) social spending must be minimal and will be determined as the remainder of the community’s willingness or resignation to pay for public services.

Therefore, seven main reforms were installed from 1979, known as “the seven modernizations” (ten years before the so-called “Washington Consensus”, and whose focus centred around (BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE CHILE, n.d.; Solimano, 2012):

- Fiscal discipline and cuts in public spending;
- Tax reform and financial liberalisation;
- Setting a competitive exchange rate;
- Trade liberalisation;
- Foreign direct investment;
- Privatisation of state-owned companies;
- Deregulation and protection of property rights.

Thus, in a nutshell, the seven modernizations constitute “the moment of expansion of the market logic to all social relations and, simultaneously, of the reduction of the State and the atomization of civil society” (BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE CHILE, n.d.). Therefore, in practical terms, these reforms involved several actions whose primary purpose, according to Ffrench-Davis (2003), was to reduce the traditional role of the State as a promoter of inversion and industrialization –raising new notions of an unrestrained free market and the central role of private initiatives:

The main reforms were: elimination of price controls; the indiscriminate opening of imports; liberalization of the financial market, both in terms of access to new institutions, interest rates and the allocation of credit, followed at the end of the decade by a broad liberalization of international capital flows; reduction in the size of the public sector and restrictions on the actions of companies in the sector; return to their former owners of companies and expropriated lands; privatization of traditional public companies; suppression of most of the trade union rights
existing at the beginning of the regime; and a tax reform that, along with eliminating some distortions (for example, the cascading effects of the sales tax, by replacing it with the value-added tax), strongly reduced the share of direct and more progressive taxes (Ffrench-Davis, 2003, p. 71).

These actions were carried out for countering high inflation trends and several economic crises until the last years of the 1970s, when the instauration of a new political constitution (propelled by positive macroeconomic numbers\(^{97}\)) came to institutionalise the authoritarian regime. However, unstable economic conditions recorded in the early 1980s encouraged political discontent and movements against the regime emerged, even within those who supported the neoliberal reforms (Ffrench-Davis, 2003). The response, argues Ffrench-Davis (2003) materialise in more advantageous measures in favour of high-income sectors, including subsidizing policies, besides a enforced positions against work and collective organisations, deteriorating, even more, the income distribution. Yet, improving macroeconomic figures such as GDP, based upon higher rates of productivity and exports expansion\(^{98}\).

The installation of the “Chilean model” can be traced even today through eleven “pillars” (see figure 1) which constitute the legal and actual foundation of the neoliberal system. In effect, it is often conceived that post-dictatorship governments only came to “administer”\(^{99}\) the model, being only recently questioned by the social movements of the early 21st century, and their zenith with the social outbreak of 2019 (see Mayol, 2019; Solimano, 2012).

\(^{97}\) An idea widely accepted in post-Pinochet democratic governments, where economic growth was thought as the main legitimating element of the inherited model (see Solimano, 2012, ch. 4).

\(^{98}\) And the support of a circumstantial increase in the price of copper, the main product of Chilean exportation scheme.

\(^{99}\) As Andrés Solimano (2012, p. 88) remarks:

The Concertación administrations continued to keep macroeconomic forces stabilized because they believed that doing so was fundamental to economic growth, but they were blinded by the dogma that economic growth would filter down to the lower echelons of society and that the social agenda could be focused on poverty reduction with only mild attention to the middle class and no real effort to reduce the economic power of the rich elites. This is what could be called the “neoliberal trap.”
In the overall, the reforms carried out along the military regime were thought to replace prior policies drastically. They were altering the everyday life of the majority of Chileans by transforming essential areas such as social services (health, education, social security) into private or incompletely subsidised endeavours. In addition to new bureaucratic and administrative administration (“regionalisation”), besides work conditions which drifted towards more deregulated and “flexible” forms of employment. Regarding social services, a significant reform was conducted over the retirement system (made almost entirely individually capitalised for most citizens), with critical impact until nowadays (Gálvez Carrasco & Kremerman, 2020).

Arguably, these reforms came to re-found Chilean society as a whole, which, together with the cruel and atrocious political repression, it constituted an unforgiving historical rupture (Larraín, 2010), an open wound hard to heal until nowadays. In this regard, four different Commissions investigated serious human rights violations

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*It is consolidated with the labour reform of the second government of President Bachelet Source: Fundación SOL, reproduced with permission.

Plate 2. The 11 dictatorial pillars supporting the “Chilean model” (in force nowadays)

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100 The Political constitution pillar is eroded due to the current process of constitutional plebiscite emerged from 2019 social outburst.
101 Comisión Nacional de Verdad y Reconciliación (Informe Rettig) [National Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Rettig Report)]; Comisión Nacional de Reparación y Reconciliación [National Commission for Reparation and Reconciliation]; Comisión Nacional sobre Prisión Política y Tortura [National Commission on Political Prison and Torture]; and Comisión Asesora para la Calificación de Detenidos Desaparecidos y Ejecutados Políticos y Víctimas de Prisión Política y Tortura [Advisory Commission for...
committed throughout civic-military dictatorship; finding more than 30,000 people who suffered from some kind of human right violation such as political imprisonment, torture\textsuperscript{102}, “disappearances” and executions.

Nevertheless, despite the cruel imposition, it seems that the so-called end of the dictatorial model (the 2019 social outburst) reveals that the roots of the neoliberal worldview extend and provide support even to their inner crisis: the ways of understanding the social outburst sprout from the very heart of individualistic spirits simmered with neoliberal flavours (Solimano, 2012, ch. 3), and strengthening the same object that is demanded to be surpassed.

In short, regardless of the annoyance that surrounds the environment –or perhaps that is why the annoyance exists… Chileans are today more prosperous than ever and the misery had never been smaller and it has never been more cornered… These changes in the material conditions of existence have caused in turn, a set of cultural changes, a set of transformations in the subjectivity of Chilean men and women… Each person, each male or female Chilean, precisely because they are more individual, today wants to have their fifteen minutes of fame, show themselves to others, exhibit the vicissitudes of their lives and thus earn recognition. (Peña, 2020, p. 73).

3.3 In the meantime: The covert issue: the cultural effects

The almost abrupt installation of a new economic system implanted in times and spaces in conflict marked a social and cultural schism (Larraín, 2006). Through which, Chilean national history breaks up, starting a new chapter in its brief postcolonial history but which was deprived of a proper concatenation, an adequate emplotment in its public

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\textsuperscript{102} The National Commission on Political Prison and Torture (Valech Report) recognizes diverse methods of torture such as repeated beatings; deliberate bodily injury; hangings; assuming forced positions; electricity application; threats; mock execution; humiliation and harassment; undressing; assaults and sexual violence; witnessing, seeing or hearing torture from others; “Russian roulette”; witness shootings of other detainees; confinement in subhuman conditions; deliberate deprivation of livelihoods; sleep deprivation or interruption; asphyxia; and exposure to extreme temperatures.
narratives, leaving events and historical significances standing apart\textsuperscript{103}. Like an ill-healed bone fracture, Chilean society poorly attempted and attempt still nowadays to weld its structure, producing constant attrition whereas time passes and conjunctures move.

The sociologist Jorge Larraín (2010, p. 24) eloquently describes this situation, arguing that under Pinochet’s regime “modernity appears as something alien coming from the outside, as something that does not have a root of its own”\textsuperscript{104}. A situation which involves not only a national breakage as the product of political violence but further, a more pervasive transformation involving the everyday life of Chilean citizens (Araujo, 2017). As Solimano states, it also brought a cultural revolution (Solimano, 2012, p. 39).

As was mentioned earlier, numerous reforms started, unfolding social transformations which were both disavowed for many, but also acclaimed for others. These transformations brought new forms of social dynamics, offering a new model of society with novel expectations (Araujo, 2017), but at the same time, preserving stale colonial narratives (Larraín, 2010, 2014), where hacienda culture is still dominant (Mayol, 2013; Mayol et al., 2013). As Mayol (2019, pp. 118–199) describes:

\begin{quote}
In Chile, an operating system without cultural anchors was built… [which] systematically pierces the dominant value system in Chile, derived from hacienda as Chile’s historical social structure. Furthermore, while it penetrates that cultural foundation, it offers nothing on top. Just it promises the imaginary and compulsory of success, in addition to a generic expectation for a splendid future that will resolve our insignificant present.
\end{quote}

Ironically, those old narratives and cultural precepts are kept –in some sense- to give some significance to provide a demanded sense of continuity throughout the troubled times of transition to democracy. Continuity not well achieved nonetheless, since a distinctive product of Chilean totalitarianism was social polarisation. Once again, this polarisation was not just political, but also social, installing at the same time, a somewhat covert shared cultural framework which prevails still nowadays. As Larraín

\textsuperscript{103} It was a process predominantly “ahistorical”, says Moulian (1997).

\textsuperscript{104} This feature is also observed by Ossa (2020) in relation to 1980s Constitution.
central thesis claims: “one of the legacies of [Chilean] dictatorship is a profound cultural change, which manifests in the transition from an emphasis over collective movements to an emphasis on consumption as the basis for the construction of identities and the quest for recognition”.105

Even many years after the Military regime, Chilean society shows various traces of division. This division could be plausibly related to the above mentioned social fracture, and that paradoxically renders social cohesion106 although Chile shows low tolerance between classes and the highest rate of interpersonal distrust in comparison to the region (Valenzuela, 2008), and even more in comparison with the rest of the world (Padilla, 2018). This phenomenon of distrust is still predominant according to recent empirical data (Corporación Latinobarómetro, 2018).

Concerning this, Somma & Valenzuela (2015), assess three Latin American paradoxes regarding social cohesion, amongst which, two seems chiefly convergent with the present discussion. One of them explores the divergent relation between social tolerance and low levels of interpersonal trust. The authors conceive that precisely those low levels of social cohesion disfavoured the presence of delimited clans or groups and consequently, the prevalence of processes of “othering” (Ferrell et al., 2015; Young, 2003), characterised by the emergence of attitudes such as exclusion, discrimination, and polarisation (N. Somma & Valenzuela, 2015). Moreover, the authors (N. Somma & Valenzuela, 2015) also interrogate how in a context underscored by inequality and social stiffness, reigns the idea of inequality as a product of individual factors among its citizens. They argue that low social equality and status mobility should turn the

105 This situation poses a paradox since the same society punctured by polarisation is was also forced to assume and live according to a particular cultural viewpoint, which reminds to the concept of power (coercion and consensus) developed by Gramsci and especially to his “war of position” fought in cultural fields (see Ramos Jr., 1982).

106 Cohesion that does not emerges from geopolitical features, but rather on everyday similarities (N. Somma & Valenzuela, 2015) and from the marketed national self-image depicted –after the fall of Pinochet’s regime- as a model of progress to other developing countries (Larraín, 2010). It is not surprising then that Chileans “consume” national signs and national identity almost as fetishes, that is, as signs of belonging to that thriving imaginary community that shares a form of mundane nationalism (Cuevas Valenzuela, 2009). Cultural values dyed by consumerism which controversially make nationalism a form of social cohesion.
attributional gaze upon structural factors; however, this is not the case in Latin America\textsuperscript{107}, where the tendency to blame the individual for his or her inability to prosper seems to be the common ground. Additionally, the data reviewed show that on the contrary, Latin Americans tended to be somewhat optimistic about their social mobility chances\textsuperscript{108}, despite in fact, this optimism seems to be misguided (see Torche, 2005). Besides, Chilean citizens tend to patronise the neoliberal values concerning how to achieve goods and goals in life, even though a profound resentment towards “the model” or “system” is maintained (Araujo, 2017).

This endorsing attitude towards neoliberal values in Chile is studied by Ruiz and Boccardo (2014). They describe how Chilean classes tend to look after the higher classes regarding lifestyles and cultural references, especially about wellbeing, which is influenced by consumerism and mainly understood as the acquisition of goods and commodities\textsuperscript{109}. Not surprisingly, this social referencing creates problems as Somma & Valenzuela (2015) note. Consumer markets can threat social cohesion by offering desirable but inaccessible goods for the majority of the people, closing at the same time, the chances of achieving the socioeconomic status required to fulfil those desires. This phenomenon is understood as a contradictory inclusion and exclusion relationship under which consumer society pervades people through cultural values of consumerism, however, at the same time, it excludes them, regarding the conventional means to achieve the goals seemingly valuable in society, the so-called social bulimia (Ferrell et al., 2015; Steve Hall et al., 2008; Hayward, 2004; Martin, 2009; Merton, 1968; Young, 1999, 2003).

Now then, which neoliberal values distinguish in the Chilean context? And how they influence the social everyday experience of Chilean citizens?

\textsuperscript{107}At least until that period.
\textsuperscript{108}For instance, through the acquisition of educational diplomas.
\textsuperscript{109}Regarding wellbeing, it results interesting to contrast the views of Kathya Araujo (2019a) and Carlos Peña (2020). While the first depicts that Chileans recognize advancement in life’s conditions with the installment of neoliberal model, at the same time perceive that those improvements did not reach the experience of a better quality of life or personal well-being. By his part, Peña describes that neoliberal advancements established a paradox, where the increased access to goods and services longed for many times, once achieved they devaluated, producing frustration; in this sense –says Peña- wellbeing produces frustration.
Kathya Araujo (2017, p. 3) distinguishes the neoliberal order as not perceived as part of Chilean citizens conscience, in the sense that Chileans do not recognise themselves as “neoliberal subjects”. However, the neoliberal system indeed imposes its influence on a factual level, though, in the “facticity of the world” and therefore, establishing a “factual hegemony”. In this often naturalised social order, the individuals tend to situate against neoliberal premises, despite the fact they do recognise the “ideal figures” pressed to follow and embody. These ideals are mainly characterised as success figures, monetary success, revitalising the now classic Mertonian suppositions (Merton, 1938), but making them largely more complex, due to the distinctive manifold referencing and interconnectedness of our late-modern societies.

The neoliberal order is factually experienced, in the everyday experience, but also culturally encrypted –as a web of significances (Geertz, 1973), rendering cultural meaning throughout the on-going public and private interactions, embedded in intricate and layered social networks. Culture, as we discussed above, is made flesh in identities as “hinges” between structure and agency (Fleetwood, 2016) but whose construction is greatly challenged in late-modern times due to narrative discontinuities (Young, 2003) and the loss of a sense of community (Bauman, 2001). This circumstances impact on the culture-identity link due to, as James Côté (1996, p. 423) asserts, “social life in late-modern society is becoming increasingly problematic for the individual in terms of establishing a stable and viable identity based on commitments embedded in a community of others”. In other words, the very “social” feature of society is under risk in the present times of transition (Morrison, 1995).

Nevertheless, as we revised before (see especially section 1.2 and 1.3), whatever the case or form human societies take, human life seeks narrative understanding to scaffold its own existence, building and reshaping both ontological and public narratives (Somers, 1992, 1994). Regardless of the culture features in which whoever is immersed, he or she will make sense of his or her life based upon the cultural basis at hand and what he or she had to live.
Among the peculiarities of late-modern societies, perhaps the dwindling of institutions as points of reference is one of the greater relevance and even concern (CÔTÉ, 1996; Giddens, 1991); as a result, as Côté (1996, p. 423) says “without institutional support… individuals are left largely to their own internal resources more so than in the past”. This situation goes beyond in Chilean contexts (Araujo & Martuccelli, 2014), forcing the attentional focus on the individual and shaping everyday personal and interactional experience in fields of confrontation between people; it becomes a cooking pot for individualistic cultural comprehensions, where the particular configuration of the social milieu pushes people to think and feel that “you have to get by in life on your own” (Araujo & Martuccelli, 2011, p. 177), arranging the grounds for individualistic values.

Not surprisingly, considering the Chilean political, economic and cultural context, individualistic values and attitudes seem to be highly related to entrepreneurship orientation in general, disregarding national cultures (Hayton et al., 2002; McGrath et al., 1992). Following Hofstede's (1980) work on cultural differences, authors such as McGrath and colleagues (1992) explore differences between entrepreneurs and non-entrepreneurs finding that entrepreneurs tend to manifest certain attitudes regarded to four main dimensions proposed by Hofstede. In a nutshell, entrepreneurs tend to score higher in power distance measurements “reflecting a tolerance for inequality”; will favour the individual over collective action; have a high tolerance for risk-taking; and “will tend to have a highly ‘masculine’ orientation, will live to work, and treasure things and money” (McGrath et al., 1992, p. 116). Later revisions (Hayton et al., 2002) confirm this inclination.

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110 “…in Chile, and probably in Latin America as a whole, the situation is almost inverse: actors not only perceive themselves as unprotected by institutions but also in many cases have the feeling that they have to protect themselves from the prescriptions that these institutions transmit to them” (Araujo & Martuccelli, 2014, p. 35)

111 These dimensions are “power distance”, “individualism”, “uncertainty avoidance” and “masculinity”.

112 However problematizing the ways of measurement and the complexity associated with the dynamics between culture, nation and organisations.
While open to differentiate several distinctions (for example, Araujo & Martuccelli, 2014), Chilean post-dictatorship society was very early characterised as highly individualistic (Moulian, 1997, 1998). Predisposed to consumerism and façade-maintenance, where culture produces the idea that happiness consists in “to own”, which comes from outside” (Moulian, 1998, p. 34). Money then was soon transformed into other features such as power, identity and happiness:

...money is fetishised as power because it allows realising dreams... [it] defines people... much more than knowledge... or moral virtues... merit is measured by money... [and] self-esteem bonds to it. Altruism appears, in the frame of generalised competitiveness... as a waste (Moulian, 1998, pp. 33–34).

Larraín (2014, p. 136) several years later, endorses Moulian early diagnosis. He writes that Chile appears as a society “increasingly selfish, more individualistic, more unequal and unfair in the distribution of benefits, less respectful regarding others, more aggressive and less morally healthy”. All of the above, despite the recognition of the economic advances obtained throughout the democratic years after Pinochet’s regime.

Where did this start? Mayol (2013, p. 155) acknowledges the difficulty to date the period when culture intersects with neoliberal expectations, tempting a response around of early developments from the first years of political transition to democracy. From those years – says Mayol- Chile focused on the economic development instead of political improvements, what embodied in social life through a profound depoliticised individualism and social integration mediated by consumerism and entrepreneurship. The aim of entrepreneurship is success, monetary success, where inequality is a dreadful but “normal” consequence of the poor operational results by “those who have not known

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113 Araujo and Martuccelli (2013) distinguish two categories to understand individualism: institutional individualism and agentic individualism. In their own words: “within the framework of institutional individualism the role of institutional programmes in the production and interpellation of individuals as subjects is essential. Within the context of agentic individualism what takes precedence is the self-sustainability of individuals as social actors. In the first path, individuals must measure up to a model proposed by institutions. In the second, individuals must primarily achieve to get along by relying upon their own skills and competencies” (p. 35-6).
how to be entrepreneurs” (Mayol, 2013, p. 158). Chilean citizens, therefore, have had to learn to cope trusting basically “upon their own skills and competencies” with an inexorable sense of need for surviving (Araujo & Martuccelli, 2014). A condition already described in historical accounts (Larraín, 2010, 2014) but which is today revisited beneath the complexities of late-modern circumstances.

For instance, life in community implies rules and authority, but in Chile, authority is no longer a term that evokes respect, the meaning of authority links to power and tutelage, and then blurring the boundaries with the concept of authoritarianism (Araujo, 2019a). In a hedonistic realm says Moulian (1998, p. 17) “every limit seems to him a denial, any control, internal or external, repression”, especially when concerns the satisfaction of desires. In a context charged with competitiveness and commodification, democratic forms of authority are out of consideration, where individual rights are preferred over collective interests. As Araujo (2019, p. 29) states:

The possibility of more egalitarian relations is feeble in a context such as this because the signs of horizontality tend to be read as signs of weakness. The confrontational use of power and the ability to prevail over others are considered by many, as essential to face social life.

This conflictive relationship with authority runs in line with gender and masculinities (Connell, 2005), and also in line with the description of entrepreneurs briefly mentioned above. Accordingly, Romero (2018) describes the seemingly paradoxical features of young Chilean offenders concerning masculinity. Close to what Araujo and Martuccelli (2013, 2015) describe, Romero describes how to be a man “is to visualise actions from uncertainty and facing the possible negative outcome, but trusting in the personal abilities to deal with it” (Romero Miranda, 2018, p. 114). Being a man means to embrace a lifestyle immersed in danger and harm, accepting the risk and making it a way to build self-identity. Frequently, this risk-taking is directly related to the projected images, mounting a notorious spectacle in the search for overthrowing the walls of authority (Mayol, 2019, p. 184). Hardened images of masculinity often performed in the common spaces, such as the subway in Chile’s capital where once the poor were
excluded, now, when the subway reaches the margins of a segregated Santiago, the weak are pushed out (Araujo, 2019b). The cultural effects of Chilean neoliberal reforms were rendered and sheltered by seeming altruistic values; values such as competition impartiality and the resultant merit, and fuelled by ambitions of escalating in a “perfectly mobile society” – a society where the personal effort meant to be rewarded with social ascension (Araujo, 2019a). Under the morally sanitised validation of personal responsibility, that pushed many Chileans to reach the “Chilean Dream” at any cost. By any means necessary. Wherewith, the aim of “winning” the other must be “defeated” (Mayol, 2019, p. 105). As Moulian (1997) promptly foresaw, that sort of human understanding recreates interactions that tend to “weaken the primary bonds of affectivity, friendship, social cordiality for the sake of ‘winning’”. Deeply ingrained in private and public spaces since winning were turned desire, and therefore into the “sustenance of the Self” (Moulian, 1997, p. 143).

Thus, this “lay” capitalism made flesh in the common urge of having things (often including academic diplomas), with the exalted figure of the “owner” (Araujo, 2019a), where consumption transfigured into the unavoidable mean to achieve social integration (Araujo, 2019a; Larraín, 2014; Mayol, 2013, 2019). Success intimately relates to money and the power it provides (Moulian, 1998, pp. 33–34). Therefore, as we mentioned before, the premise “winning” equals “having” produces known results Moulian (1997, p. 143) argues, as “it is an experience of everyday life where the epic delights of the winners are by necessity, built on the tragedies of the losers”.

Unhopefully, as cultural criminology warns (Ferrell et al., 2015), those “losers” form part almost in every case the so-called “underclass”, also frequently under the gaze of middle-classers signalling what it is wrong with society, and highlighting from whom any “decent” person must run away.  

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114 As was seen before, this manifestations related to masculinity are already described in works of critical criminology (see for example Lyng, 1990; Matza & Sykes, 1961; Merton, 1968; Young, 2003), also in criminological gender studies (Messerschmidt & Tomsen, 2016) and especially in the study of masculinities (Connell, 2005; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

115 “The profoundly precarious position of most of those ‘included’ in late-modern society in turn spawns anger, vindictiveness and a taste for exclusion. From this precarious social perch, it can all too easily seem
Something also problematised by Giddens (1991, p. 5) who, describing the late-modern imperative of choosing “life-styles”, acknowledges that the poor “are more or less completely excluded from the possibility” of making those choices. Moreover, concluding with that “modernity… produces difference, exclusion and marginalisation” (Giddens, 1991, p. 6 emphasis in the original) and establishing –in the case of Chilean reality- a late-modern “market ethics” based on commodification and entrepreneurship:

It is a kind of “market ethics”, where morality does not appeal to an intimate notion of what is right or wrong, or to an image of the common good –denying any possible ethical questioning of any transaction as long as the buyer “accepts” the price and conditions set by the seller. It is a combination of the spirit of competition with the values of the utilitarian doctrine, according to which everything has an economic value and the social optimum is that each individual strives to maximise it at every opportunity. Hence, the praised “entrepreneurial spirit” of Chilean capitalism, rather than being reflected in the bosom of a thriving modern petty bourgeoisie, given the marked traditional profile that the latter retains, is transferred to these new salaried middle groups (Ruiz & Boccardo, 2014, p. 132, cites omitted, own translation).

As we previously observed, the entrepreneurial spirit carries within it an individualistic drive (Hayton et al., 2002; McGrath et al., 1992) and was imposed though dictatorial times and beyond (Larraín, 2006). This imposition was an attempt to overcome the harshly unequal framework of the long-lasting hacienda culture. Entrepreneurship offered as a new “good of salvation”, where the individual attitude to be ambitious and seek success portrayed as the new way to surpass old stigmas of poverty. As Mayol (2019, p. 158) puts it, the entrepreneurial spirit was settled as “a framework of values that must be elaborated as a project” tolerating inequality for the sake of the long yearned success.

that the underclass unfairly live on our taxes and commit predatory crime against us. It can seem that we are afflicted by our own hard work and decency, while they are free to hang about and pursue-pleasure. It can seem that –they are all we are not, that they are not restrained by the same late-modern inequities as are we. Such a process is, of course, not one of simple envy; the precariously included are seldom eager to swap places with the disgraced and impoverished excluded. But the very existence of the excluded, their imagined moral intransigence and unearned indulgence, makes the uncertain circumstances of the included somehow more unbearable” (Ferrell et al., 2015, p. 61).
Nevertheless, this craving for success, as being primarily associated to possessing (or pretending to own) things, it was strengthened by the early introduction of massive sources of credits and loans (Larraín, 2006; Moulian, 1998). They transformed, in Mertonian terms, the “frame of aspirational reference” (Merton, 1938, 1968) of the Chilean population, altering both the cultural goals and the institutionalised means to achieve those goals. As Larraín (2014, p. 227) argues “buying and consuming are culturally determined acts”, which also “provide status and a sense of belonging to an identifiable group” as late-modernity demands (Giddens, 1991). Furthermore, in consequence, as Pérez-Roa (2019) revises, credits and loans came to serve to fulfil many of those desires and needs (invented or cruelly necessary) that Chilean consumer society cherished. In other words, credit served Chileans as the “walking stick” for the sake of “enjoying” the neoliberal promise. The figurative and practical stamp of this orthopaedic device denotes all the meaning and sense necessary to describe these circumstances.

Nevertheless, somewhat ironically, as several authors have emphasised around the events of 2019 Social Outburst (Araujo, 2019a; Mayol, 2019; Peña, 2020), was precisely the dissociation between “merits and rewards” underneath the deceptively enhanced life’s conditions that ultimately ended corroding the embellished promise of progress.

If we assume the thesis that in our consumer societies social recognition passes through the promotion of consumer behaviours associated with certain particular life models, and that consumer loans constitute the means to specify the aspiration of freedom of choice (Bauman, 2008). The excess of indebtedness would be the result of the inherent belief in the neoliberal

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116 In this regard, it is interesting to note what Hall and colleagues (2008) propose concerning the seemingly distinct essence of different subcultures. For Hall and his colleagues there is no other cultural background than what consumer societies sanction as valid: “Core values based on competitive individualism and the individual's quest for social distinction had become doxic; customary and taken for granted as the primary culturo-economic context for the logic of practice” (Hall et al., 2008, p. 198). An asseveration sustained by their research with working class youths tending to crime:

This is what we could see throughout our interviews: the wish to avoid the humiliation heaped on those who fail to use symbols provided by consumer culture to distinguish themselves from the ‘herd’, the reviled undifferentiated collective. Localised ‘sub-cultures’ were simply variants of this desire, some of whose members break the law of other means are not readily to hand and if socialisation into core values is strong but socialisation into socially and legally acceptable normative strategies weak (Hall et al., 2008, p. 203).
ideology, according to which one can claim equality through consumption, ignoring social inequities and structural obstacles that make its realisation impossible (Pérez-Roa, 2019, p. 88, own translation).

Another set of cultural features installed after neoliberal reforms are what could be roughly called as the inclination to hedonism and narcissism in Chilean residents, two interrelated modes of facing social life already associated to the global notion of individualism and consumerism.

For several authors, hedonism is a manifestation of the general capitalist culture. For instance, from critical criminology, Hall and Winlow (2015) speaks about capitalist processes of “pseudo-pacification” when “capitalist culture stimulates and pacifies the urge for immediate gratification in order to generate amongst individuals the desire for consumer objects, which feeds into market demand and economic growth” (p. 21). Jock Young (2003, p. 411) describes how the “underclass” adopts consumer mainstream values, which ironically reinforces their social exclusion:

The values of the majority constitute the normative life of the minority and generate the bulimia that fuels their discontent. The very similarity of the underclass, indeed its over-identification with the values of consumerism and hedonism, sets itself up almost like an unwitting target for the resentment of the included.

However, that is not a concern for many youngsters avid to get what the system overwhelmingly offers. Based upon an ethnographic research, Steve Hall and his colleagues (2008) agree with the assumption about the oblique sharing of mainstream cultural values, poignantly stating that what their participants117 want, was just “a piece of the action” of what the consumer capitalist system can offer118. This quest for short-

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117 English underclass youths.
118 “What they value fundamentally is not at all distinct from the foundational value system that currently structures social engagement in the western world. They want the security that a measure of financial success can bring, but they also hope to push past this point and access the opulent heights of indulgent hedonism and haute bourgeois status whose images are now broadcast incessantly across the globe by the marketing industry and mass media. They want respect and financial, emotional and psychological security. They want success in their chosen field. They want to know that their lives count for something.
term (and often short-lived) gratification could be a sign of the vaporous and ephemeral sensation that leaves the experience of living in late-modernity. As Bauman (2011, p. 25) states, implying the pervasive uncertainty of late-modern era, “whatever you are after, try to get it now, you cannot know whether the gratification you seek today will be still be gratifying tomorrow”.

The quest for gratification is often related to traits of narcissism. A self-centred predisposition showed by individuals but culturally settled in social structure. Merton already wrote about it in the words of Andrew Carnegie: “be a king in your dreams. Say to yourself: ‘My place is at the top’”, pointing to how common people are involved in an American culture which emphasise “the symbolism of a commoner rising to the estate of economic royalty” (Merton, 1968, p. 192). Lyng (1990) denounces a “consumer-oriented narcissism” that pushes people to buy and own material goods for the sake of achieving a likeable identity. Giddens (1991, p. 172) with his usual sophistication argues around how consumer capitalism tends to “standardise consumption and to shape tastes through advertising”, playing with this “a basic role in furthering narcissism” and declaring a “society dominated by appearances”:

Consumption addresses the alienated qualities of modern social life and claims to be their solution: it promises the very things the narcissist desires – attractiveness, beauty, and personal popularity- through surrounded by mirrors; in these we search for the appearance of an unblemished, socially valued self.

Image appears decisive for narcissism, since every image is mirrored in the current “hall of mirrors” (Ferrell, 1995; K. J. Hayward & Young, 2004), a somewhat adolescent

And above all, they believe in this value system. They do not question the acquisitive and competitive nature of contemporary social life. They do not grasp the vacuity of consumerism, or the oppressive social system and exploitative economic system that has cast them and their ancestors to the bottom of the pile and watches intently to gauge how many will try to climb back up as an indication of the strength of its hegemony. Rather, the constant waves of consumer symbolism and the partial democratisation of opulence in the consumer/service economy renew their desire to acquire, to go out and be seen to be successfully wrestling significance from a harsh world. They aren’t disgusted that they have so few of the material advantages that others might have in abundance. Instead they want a piece of the action and will continue to search for ways to overcome the multitude of impediments that restrict their access to a place of significance in the hyper-real spectacle that services consumer economy” (Hall et al., 2008, pp. 86–87).
feature (CÔTÉ, 1996) turned mainstream, no longer a subterranean value (Matza & Sykes, 1961) but a mainly conventional and extensively cherished cultural goal. A narcissism of “minor differences” as Jock Young (2003, p. 403) states, differences which, need constantly to be constructed and make explicit, though sharing a common cultural matrix and paradoxically not accentuating “style” distinctions but, in fact, structural differences instead (K. J. Hayward, 2004). Indeed, as Keith Hayward (2004, p. 182) points out, in the case of youngsters from lower classes, unavoidably trapped “in a world of frustration and exclusion”, the acquisition of “commodities such as jewellery, sports apparel, designer watches and mobile phones, act as symbolic messages of power and status”. And this is observed in Chilean neoliberal society as well.

The search for embellishing the body is present in general population, but finds its almost cartoonish representation in underclass young males (Romero Miranda, 2018), who constantly look for “beautify” their bodies, not only as mere physical manifestation but also a symbolic portrayal of a yearned status. The body, as Romero (2018) puts it, it is the only thing that is actually owned, “the body is the homeland… necessary to adorn, but not necessarily to care”:

Face, arms, feet… showcase for sneakers, a highly symbolic element for young people due to their commercial value and brand (which allow to erase the stigma of poor or marginal subject) and his association as vector of a successful crime trajectory (“the choro\(^{119}\) dresses well because his job allows it”) (Romero Miranda, 2018, pp. 119–120, own translation).

Tomás Moulian already described the mainstream branches of narcissism in the late 90s (Moulian, 1997), in conflict with the notion of community, which is only possible –says Moulian– “when the ensnaring anxiety of narcissism disappears” (p. 143). In the Chilean hall of mirrors, the individual distinction is measured according to the codes of social media, the number of followers, visits, searches, likes. The individual, says Alberto

\(^{119}\) The term “Choro” –commonly related to Chilean jail slang (“coa”)– refers to the person able to establish an attitude and reputation of a tough, hardened individual, who is prepared to take risks and face their consequences and whose means are often quarreling with the law –comparable to what Ferrell (1992, p. 117) describes: “you must live the commitment to deviance. You must really mean it”.

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Mayol (2019, p. 184) seeks fame, “at its best he strives for recognition… in the worst case, seeks to make the news” or seeks to be the superman, “dismiss all authority and tear down the highest walls of society” forming part of the incessant and enslaving media spectacle.

Nevertheless, the cultural articulation of neoliberal values, the covert legacy of Pinochet dictatorship as Larraín (2014) states, permeates every corner of Chilean society; especially around its “margins”, where “popular” individuals dwell and create and recreate cultural practices and meanings. A necessary move to give sense to the struggling structural circumstances almost unavoidably forced to live. The cultural articulation of neoliberal values constitutes much more than a “moral decay”.

In popular contexts says Araujo and Martuccelli (2015) the ability to enjoy the moments in life is “perceived and valued as personal virtue” (p. 98), finding light in dark places and times, twisting the hand of fate, and regaining some control in the process (Giddens, 1990; K. J. Hayward, 2004). Furthermore, Araujo and Martuccelli (2015, p. 100) continue, dwellers “faced with the evidence of the harshness of life” come to realise that “the important thing is to learn to enjoy the sporadic and fleeting moments of joy”, moments of joy which are eminently social in nature, marking both the residues of a somewhat desperate flight from demanding individualism and the hints for “new forms of solidarity and involvement” (Araujo, 2017, p. 2).

This popular hedonism is neither the despair of the poor nor the evasion of the marginalised. It is, rather, an active attitude towards the world; a posture that seeks full life in passing moments. A conscience knowing that life, in any case, is and will be hard, that the constraints will be and are fierce, and that in front of them there is no place neither for uselessly heroic visions nor exaggeratedly tragic representations; an attitude that is not only an escape but, on the contrary, a way of endowing oneself with a supplement of pleasure in order to support existence (Araujo & Martuccelli, 2015, p. 102).

120 Here, “popular” relates to a diverse grouping of common people, especially those dwelling in poor areas and characterised as from “lower classes”.
This “hedonist” attitude of Chilean people which is characterised as reluctant to any limit and imposition (Moulian, 1998), finds its manifestation in popular families through indulgence and permissiveness, especially towards children and adolescents. As an ill-fated sweetener for living embedded in a consumer-oriented context where pleasures are enhanced for the sake of a self-perpetuating system. As Ferrell and his colleagues (2015) note, following the work of Paul Willis, lower-class young boys promptly find that conventional institutions no longer meet the conveyed promises. Inasmuch as school, for instance, “offers only limited possibilities of mobility and that their attempt to ‘succeed’ in the educational rubric of the school is largely a charade” (Ferrell et al., 2015, p. 50).

Henceforth, Chileans learn to cope mostly by recurring to their abilities to navigate throughout everyday social life, seeking pleasure and self-indulgence to support the burden of their lives but damaging the fragile social bonds experienced on the streets. These skills recreate, in turn, interactional inequalities devitalising any form of authority (Araujo, 2016, 2019b), merging authority with authoritarianism, and nurturing, however, a concerning paradox:

There has been a substantial rejection of forms of exercise authority based on force and tutelage. However, people continued to consider that authoritarianism is essential to face social life, some out of conviction, and others as an effect of what they perceive as the failure of the use of more dialogic or democratic forms of exercise authority. Insofar as there is a tendency to use authoritarianism as key for indiscriminate critical interpretation, the ability to differentiate between authoritarianism and authority appears veiled. Therefore, authority becomes difficult to discern, recognise and legitimise because it is equated with authoritarianism (Araujo, 2019a, p. 28).

Still, despite the first impression of a moral decline, as Larraín (2014) asserts, Chilean individualist society has more intricate peculiarities than the mere description of an egotistical, selfish and unruly bunch of individuals sharing common spaces.

It is now apparent that human beings can cope in diverse contexts, bearing even the harsher of experiences. As Anthony Giddens puts it in his Consequences of Modernity (Giddens, 1990), while it is inaccurate to portray modernity as a more
threatening reality than pre-modern times, late-modernity carries its own burdens, transforming society into an innovative straining reality. For instance, as the traditional trust environments started to decline\(^\text{121}\), and the new scenarios of a globalised and highly weaponised world begin to surge, novel sentiments of risks and insecurity arise. Besides, the disarticulation of meaningful narratives mainly conveyed through tradition become obsolete and lack of credibility. Tradition – says Giddens – contributes to what he terms as ontological security, a human condition characterised by the sustenance of “trust in the continuity of past, present, and future”, connecting such historical or temporal trust to “routinised social practices” (Giddens, 1990, p. 105).

In other words, with the deterioration of traditional narratives and practices, every individual “dis-embeds” her or his own existence, shatters his or her temporal continuity, forcing individuals to reflexively re-conduct attention to his own existence. However, this focus upon individuality may derive in unedited consequences, as Giddens remarks (1990, p. 105), since it may pose the distressing threat of personal meaninglessness.

As the folk Chilean saying says “the need has the face of a heretic” and the needs of many Chileans since the inception of neoliberal system revolve around both material, but also ontological domains.

As Jock Young (1999) in his The Exclusive Society points out, there are paradoxical experiences concerning inclusion and exclusion in late-modern societies, which derive not only in material deprivation but also in an ontological one. In the weakening and even loss of identity: namely, personal meaninglessness. As Keith Hayward puts it “what people are now feeling deprived of is no longer simply the material product itself, but rather, the sense of identity that products have come to bestow on the individual” (K. J. Hayward, 2004, p. 161). Likewise, as Larraín (2014) suspects, consumption came to occupy the space that stronger narratives left in Chilean society, which is similar to what Keith Hayward observes for the case of England, where

\(^{121}\) Specifically, Giddens alludes to four conditions: kinship relations, local communities, religious cosmologies and tradition (Giddens, 1990, p. 102).
consumptions transformed in something “culturally desirable”, something even “fundamentally expected” (K. J. Hayward, 2004, p. 161).

In this context is where the “hyper actor” appears (Araujo, 2019a; Araujo & Martuccelli, 2014, 2015) a conception coined as a term specific to Chilean context. Araujo and Martuccelli (2015) describe how lower-class Chileans experience the unavoidable necessity of taking care of their own lives without adequate institutional support, and then pushed to be agents in a “strong sense”. Agents called to perform in manifold scenarios, prominently diverse as self-limitation, self-care, material survival and even the production of meaning, in other words, they have to become hyper actors (Araujo & Martuccelli, 2015, p. 92). Agents charged with the imperative of showing “strong character”, assuming along the way, “the structural make-up of loneliness and vulnerability present in Chilean society” (Araujo & Martuccelli, 2015, p. 93). This vulnerability demands to take advantage of opportunities (Araujo & Martuccelli, 2014), being skilful, “vivo” (see Chapter 4) and be responsible for him or herself.\textsuperscript{122}

In Chile today, the individual must display a set of consistencies which seek to achieve a peculiar form of pragmatic consistency. With this notion, we are not referring to psychic self-esteem, but a specific form of confidence in one’s practical competencies; that is, in the skills individuals possess and through which they strive to cope with the situations they must confront. It is a source of pragmatic assurance in a society perceived as a permanent source of insecurity (Araujo & Martuccelli, 2014, p. 32).

\textsuperscript{122} Which in turn, according to Araujo (2017, p. 11) it could open new chances for social transformation: “Paradoxically, then, the push for self-determination constitutes an accepted and celebrated impulse to overcome the obedient submission that a long-maintained tutelary model imposed and from which the national elites have, constantly but always renewed, sustained their power”.

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Chapter 4

ANTISOCIAL IDENTITY OF YOUNG CHILEANS: WHAT HAS BEEN EXPLORED SO FAR?

The paradox of cultural inclusion and socioeconomic exclusion opens up the question about how Chilean people can find ways to achieve the almost mandatory emblems of prosperity constituted by consumer goods. Concerning this, Somma & Valenzuela, (2015), openly contend the arranged field for unconventional means to achieve goods, arguably establishing what Hayward & Young (2004) describe by “a constant interplay of moral entrepreneurship, moral innovation and transgression”. In Chile, where winners and losers dwell, apparently, “you have to survive even by stealing” (see plate 3).

Plate 3. Graffiti mural painted in a highly touristic Chilean town. Written with slang and popular saying, it declares: “you have to survive even by stealing”.

Credit: photography by the author, reproduced with permission of the artist (maher).
As was seen, this situation sociologically constitutes—in words of Robert Merton—a crucial sociological aim, “to discover how some social structures exert a definite pressure upon certain persons in the society to engage in nonconforming rather than conforming conduct” (Merton, 1968, p.186).

These accounts are of particular relevance taking Chilean context into consideration, especially those milieus where the most vulnerable citizens live. Settings that as Zambrano & Pérez-Luco (2004, p. 126) argue “does not offer the opportunities to develop resources, learning and skills compatible with the social requirements” but quite the opposite “forces to unfold creativity on surviving, increase the possibilities of transgressing the norm”. Contexts where the everyday life nurture the experience that “you have to get by in life on your own” (Araujo & Martuccelli, 2011, p. 177, 2015).

In this vein, Larraín (2010, 2014) already indicates that one of the national identity traits of the Chilean people is the ability and predisposition to “bend” the rules, appearing as rightful, while at the same time, continually looking for means to extract revenues from different circumstances. The author refers to this attitude as making “pillerías” [rogueries] in line to what Julio Mafud (1965) described as “viveza criolla” [creole cunning] in Argentina, defined as “opportunistic depredation (…) the readiness to obtain a maximum advantage at the least opportunity, without sparing means, consequences nor harms to other people” (Latinamerican studies, n.d., own translation).

This definition is consistent with the negative traits observed in Chile through the Visión Humana Consultant survey “Chilescopio Identidad Nacional 2012” (Visión Humana, 2012), which highlights the assertion “buscar siempre la pillería” (“always looking for rogue actions”) as one of the most frequently identified traits in 86% of the respondents. The definition of “pillería” used in the survey converges with the earlier “viveza” definition:

(…) an expression of the precarious relationship of Chileans with norms and rules. While Chileans are renown by favour rules, is at the same time a transgressor to they own benefits. What is not given by conventional ways, they access it by original ways and frequently outside or at the edge of the law. (Polizzi, 2012, own translation)
Thus, a proper definition of Chilean “viveza” corresponds to a generalised identity trait, rooted in the Chilean culture, described by the de facto acceptation of obtaining personal benefits over opportunities, without skimping means or even harming other people. This trait expressed in actions and conducts known as “pillerías”, “vivezas” or “avispadas” and has a traceable drive in the pursuit of irreverent success. As Moulian (1997, p. 140) says “The [old-fashioned] ascetic moral of service… does not sympathize with current criteria of success”, criteria according to which any sign of horizontality is perceived as “signs of weakness” in the everyday social experience (Araujo, 2019a, 2019b), and openly expressed as a lack of masculinity in antisocial contexts (Romero Miranda, 2018).

Nevertheless, despite this attitude can at first sight be labelled as cunning, rogue and plainly despicable, Larraín (2010, 2014) deepen its interpretation arguing -in line with Zambrano and Pérez-Luco (2004)- that bending the rules can be further understood as ways of subsistence. As Araujo & Martuccelli (2013) describe, some “personal abilities” are present in Chilean population, for whom to be “skilful” as the ability to “take advantage of opportunities” appears as a valued or even required skill to endure amidst structurally vulnerable conditions. The development of these social abilities evidences a somewhat oblique but complex social background underneath, where experiences of ontological insecurity could covertly be in play (Hayward, 2004; Hayward & Young, 2004; Young, 1999).

As was previously mentioned, the concept of ontological insecurity is based upon the work of Anthony Giddens (1986, 1991) and was primarily outlined by Young (1999), and refers to the existential threats that individuals experience in late-modernity, especially in neoliberal societies.

Chilean social and cultural background offers multiple vectors of ontological insecurity (see for example, Araujo, 2019a; Araujo & Martuccelli, 2011, 2013; Mayol, 2019; Moulian, 1997), which are notably more impactful over vulnerable populations.

\[\text{123} \text{ This is astonishingly akin to what Robert Merton (1968) refers to the “American wit”.} \]
Especially young Chilean offenders who raise predominantly from those vulnerable statuses (Romero Miranda, 2018; Zambrano Constanzo & Pérez-Luco Arenas, 2004), and who often suffer from severe and multiple problems, among which drugs abuse and mental health issues are within the most commonly recognized.

Regarding the latter, for instance, in general terms the Chilean society has severe problems with mental health, both epidemiologically (Vicente et al., 2016) and institutionally, that is, concerning the formal means to address mental health issues (Errázuriz, Valdés, Vöhringer, & Calvo, 2015; Valdés & Errázuriz, 2012). As was mentioned, Chilean young offenders are particularly vulnerable concerning mental health (Gaete et al., 2017), presenting high prevalence of antisocial personality disorders and mood disorders (anxiety and depression), and being particularly worrying the incidence of drug-use related disorders, being marijuana the most common consumed drug, which is highly associated with other comorbidities.

Dörr, Espinoza, & Acevedo (2014) found marked difficulties of young users to outline their lives according to a personal project, affecting their temporal lived experience, through the disarticulation of the three dimensions of time (past, present, and future), resulting in troubles to anticipate life events. These difficulties, argue Dörr and colleagues (2014), lead to feelings of emptiness and solitude through the perception of a non-motivating or uncertain future. This latter results important since the ability for projecting oneself into the future has been found as a fundamental element on desistance narratives (King, 2013). Therefore, as Dörr and colleagues (2014) argue, if past and future are not incorporated it disables a proper referencing process from where projecting the own future. Consequently, as long as the temporal structure is not “repaired”, hardly would be possible the promotion of the desistance process.

Another essential dimension of Chilean youth corresponds to the role of paternity, especially regarding the difficulties mentioned above of interlacing past with future. For instance, Valenzuela & Wiegand, (2015), found that while the evaluation of

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124 What can be interpreted as difficulties of employment from a perspective based upon the conceptualization of narrative identity.
fathers tend to decline conforming social class descends, there is a generalized perception in young Chileans regarding poor relationships with their fathers, especially regarding emotional support and the time expended with them. This phenomenon results consistent with the findings of Dörr and her colleagues (2014) of young marijuana users since they highlight the importance of the father figure for young offenders and other studies addressing adolescent-father relationships in general (Hoeve et al., 2009; Tremblay et al., 2017).

Chilean institutions seem not account for these circumstances. In addition to the judicial public institutions in charge of taking care of youth offending\textsuperscript{125}, where worrying conditions are frequently reported (Sanfuentes & Espinoza, 2017), Chile has implemented alternative prevention projects to address the issue. However, these efforts have not obtained satisfactory results either (Allende & Valenzuela, 2008), which shows some institutional unfitness to perform acceptable levels of service (Mettifogo et al., 2015) and even presenting social neglect towards offenders in general.

An adequate level of service is necessary taking into account the characteristics of young Chilean offenders. From a desistance paradigm (McNeill, 2006), Mettifogo and colleagues (2015) studied transitional factors and narratives of change in Chilean young offenders, understanding desistance as the progressive process of deceleration in criminal activity, associated to the desire to quit their lifestyles related to offending.

The authors take two concepts as of particular relevance in regard to that definition: identity and self-efficacy. A desistance-related identity, according to Mettifogo and colleagues (2015), comprehends a self-definitional rupture from past antisocial experiences, emerging a desistance desire from the perception of increasing risks and costs of offending; from which a process of establishing life goals consequently begins. This notion is similar to what Paternoster & Bushway (2009, see section 1.4) propose in their Identity Theory of Desistance, according to which the desire

\textsuperscript{125} In charge of the governmental institution called National Minors Service (Servicio Nacional de Menores).
to avoid the “feared self”, motivates the once offender to look further towards attainable and conventional pro-social goals.

Regarding the notion of self-efficacy in desistance, Mettifogo and his colleagues (2015) follow Bandura’s theory of self-efficacy to argue that a person who is capable of overcoming the perception of existential drift, getting rid of the personal evaluation of a doomed future, can achieve in turn, the perception, and motivation to defeat life obstacles and quit the antisocial lifestyle (Maruna, 2001). In other words, when offenders can cope and thrive away from feelings of ontological insecurity, they can progressively start to desist. A modern problem which could transform in a major concern for criminological science; as Hayward (2004) clearly insists: “[the] success in tackling the contemporary crime problem depends upon acknowledging the ‘ontological insecurity’ of feeling physically and psychologically at risk in an unstable and changing world” (p. 153).

Consequently, Mettifogo and colleagues (2015) then used the notions of identity and self-efficacy as categorical axes from which analyse the narratives of change (or persistence) in Chilean young offenders. This is how confirming previous findings, the authors distinguish narratives of desistance and persistence, finding that while each group was clearly identifiable between pro-social and antisocial/pro-criminal narratives, both groups shared conventional goals about, for example, accessing to employment, starting a family and finishing school. In other words, both “desisters” and “persisters” were unidentifiable regarding expectations and life goals.

Another interesting finding in the work of Mettifogo and colleagues (2015) is about the role of friends in the process of desistance. Traditionally understood (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Bonta & Andrews, 2010), an individual surrounded by antisocial peers is at higher risk of recidivism. Nevertheless, Mettifogo and colleagues (2015) found that, on the contrary, while surrounded by the same antisocial peers but who are starting desistance processes as well, it will in turn support desistance on every member of the group –concluding then that the process of change is strengthened when is collective and not merely individual.
This notion supports the necessity of a model of desistance that not only consider individual actions but take into account social and interactional elements as well (Arévalo Navarro et al., 2014), emphasizing the role of narratives in the transformation of young once-offenders.

Henceforth, as we already outline in section 1.4, identity appears as an essential concept in crime and desistance research, particularly a notion of identity that includes the interrelation between individual agents and social structures, and conceives identity as a non-reified phenomenon, especially to study young offending and desistance processes (Mettifogo Guerrero & Sepúlveda Prado, 2005).

In this line, Mettifogo and Sepúlveda (2005), explore the impact of institutional contexts on young people (i.e. state shelters and justice detention centres), where former non-antisocial identities turn into antisocial ones. Often against the youngster own expectations, who see frustrated their alternate prospects of building an identity and a resulting conventional lifestyle. Therefore, the doom of an antisocial identity permeates every dimension of those young people, regularly blurring any other prospective horizon of possibility and establishing feelings of ontological insecurity.

Bearing in mind both individuals and social structures come to address mediating social phenomena such as culture and its by-products. Zambrano and Pérez-Luco (2004) contend culture and identity as gravitating aspects to understand young Chilean offenders, they define culture as the “system of knowledge which provides a model of reality through which we give sense to our behaviour” (p. 117), and then involving a shared web of meanings.

A shared web of significances from which any member of a society can understand both the social context and her or his own life, shaping subsequent points of reference that will help to develop a sense of continuity. From this, acknowledged circumstances and expected anticipations are moulded, the basis for ontological security (Giddens, 1991). However, not any regularity counts for establishing this socially mediated experience. Following Ignacio Martín-Baró and Maritza Montero, Zambrano & Pérez-Luco (2004) claim that the instauration of accustomed situations mediated by
culture can lead to the habituation and acceptation of unacceptable situations such as social injustice, poverty, and discrimination. In this sense, the values and interests of dominant classes can be adopted by lower classes (Hall & Winlow, 2015; Ruiz & Boccardo, 2014), being a plausible explanation to the increased consumerism among young offenders (Hall et al., 2008; Zambrano Constanzo & Pérez-Luco Arenas, 2004) and the “exploitative and predatory habits” found within the powerful now reproduced by the “powerless” (Hall & Winlow, 2015).

Delinquency therefore –assert Zambrano and Pérez-Luco (2004)– corresponds to a counterculture emerging as undesirable deviation which needs to be controlled for the sake of the social order. But paradoxically, delinquency is a phenomenon which is however produced and reproduced as a residual effect of the asymmetrical relationships present in society. Also in the words of Tomás Moulian (1997, p. 137):

The paradox consists in that the architects of the neoliberal society cry out in alarm due to the increase in crime which is result, surely unwanted, of their own work. Economic delinquency, be it by the poor or “white collar”, it results, obviously, from a multiplicity of factors. Among the models with greater interpretive capacity dwells the hypothesis that they are an effect of hasty modernization processes that leave no time for the reconversion of “marginal” individuals, combined with the widespread development of commodification and the hegemony of the “mercantile spirit” which incites to earn money by any means [own translation].

This phenomenon is described by Romero Miranda (2018) through his illustration of the Chilean “flaite”126 through their new manifestations of masculinity, comes to illustrate the perplexing relationship between inclusion and exclusion outlined above (Young, 1999, 2003). As follows, Romero (2018, pp. 126–127) argues that the Chilean “flaite ghettosexual” and his seemingly sophisticated preoccupation for his appearance:

126 Interestingly alike to what Hayward & Yar (2006) and Martin (2009) describe for British “chavs”, a slang term which mixes notions of subculture, style and class. As Martin (2009, p. 125) puts it, the chav phenomenon is characterised by the efforts of a particular group of young people from lower classes practising “differentiated attempts at seizing control… a combination of transgressive acts, mundane activities like hanging out on street corners and expressivity through dress and style under ‘consumer capitalism’.”
…is mediated and filtered by the material scarcities of his environment, this is, the poverty that marks his everyday life and the sociocultural deprivation of his life-courses, that comes in result in a cultural relativism, a sui-generis adaptation… which only makes sense in the margination perimeter, within the boundaries of peer recognition, but it is stridently out of tune at other places [cites omitted, own translation]127.

Subsequently, regarding the phenomenon of Chilean young offending, antisocial identity according to Zambrano and Pérez-Luco (2004, p. 128) is understood as a “sense of self”128 socially influenced but constructed away from the mainstream culture based upon patterns extracted from everyday experience and which tends to be shared and rooted within a social group “that validates and promotes roles, rules and social representations within a antisocial counterculture”.

Based on that definition, it can be expected that any process of desistance necessarily will entail individual and societal intervention in regard to a widening of

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127 This cite is extracted and adapted from a more lengthy one: “De esta suerte, la depilación del cuerpo, el sacado de cejas, la tintura de pelo, el delineado de ojos, el uso de pantalones apretados, la importancia del perfecto peinado, la exhibición premedita del calzoncillo, el uso de joyas, anillos y brillantes, entre otros elementos, circunscriben un nuevo tipo de diferenciación, una que busca escapar de la naturalidad y sencillez del modelo clásico o patriarcal, para enaltecer al cuerpo masculino como propulsor y promotor del deseo, del gusto por la ropa o marcas conocidas, de la preocupación por tratamientos para el cuidado de la piel y pelo, del uso de maquillaje, del interés por un cuerpo ejercitado y depilado, del conocimiento en tendencia de modas y adscripción al buen gusto, pero todo esto mediado y filtrado por las propias carencias materiales de su entorno, a su haber, la pobreza que marca sus realidad cotidiana y la deprivación sociocultural de sus trayectorias de vida (Reguillo, 2000), que dan como resultado un relativismo cultural, una adaptación sui generis del hombre metrosexual (Yáñez, 2006; Sandoval, 2004) que finaliza en una erótica masculina construida desde el barrio (hombre ghettosexual), de la pobla, de los estrechos pasajes y las esquinas mal iluminadas, desde la iniciación sexual en hogares de menores, de la actividad sexual temprana y sin protección al calor de la droga y el alcohol, desde la piel tersa, “licita, a lo divo poblacional, a lo princeso”, sin mácula ni pelos, desde su andar balanceado, “pulento”, que camufla el fierro de plástico o sin balas (pistola), del movimiento cadencioso de su pelvis que humedece la vista y la tanga de las guachas (mujeres), desde los recados mandados por las minas que lo tildan de “gueno, de rico y de ficha” por su corte de pelo y sus zapatillas costosas, por su pantalón ajustado y el polerón “Adidas” que tantas cuadras le costó, por su chaqueta “Lacoste” que desentona con las pilchas de los vecinos, desde los tatujajes y cortes que adornan sus brazos donde penden pulseras sin brillo y donde el cuerpo, por ende el domum corporis, adquiere relevancia absoluta en razón de una belleza masculina endógena, arrabalera, que sólo cobra sentido en el perímetro de la marginación, en los límites del reconocimiento entre iguales, pero que desentona de forma estridente en otros lares, en otros campus, en otras realidades que asimilan su sofisticación con lo burdo, lo ridículo, lo chabacano y picante”.

128 “Experiences, feelings, capabilities, motivations and yearnings”.

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perspectives and expectations in young offenders, which, in turn, allow them to endorse new motivations and sources of meaning, and accordingly renewed identities and prosocial prospects.

However, such definition inclines the notion of antisocial identity towards a somewhat closed “counterculture”, which –despite the manifest peculiarities of the antisocial phenomenon- veils the previously discussed processes of hybridization amidst blurred social and cultural borders (Ferrell et al., 2008; García-Canclini, 1990; Young, 2003).

In consequence, a conception attentive to both processes of differentiation and hybridization in identity formation is required to understand Chilean young people who have committed crimes, especially property offences. The present work pretends to establish one of the stones required to pave that academic and critical road.
SECTION II
METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN

QUALITATIVE ASSUMPTIONS

Very few [studies] tell us in detail what a juvenile delinquent does in his daily round of activity and what he thinks about himself, society, and his activities (Becker, 1963, p. 166).

Young Chileans who have offended the law –and are sanctioned because of that- are actually deviant? How conventional are in comparison to undergraduate students? If we understand societies metaphorically as seas, and their water as cultural meaning and purpose, focusing on specific sea pools may set specific boundaries for the sake of epistemological robustness. Nevertheless, widening the scope of the examination would lead to assume and integrate the notion of cultural hybridization (Young, 2003) owing to meaning interweaving, that is, cultural references shared by members of a particular society. It is giving sense to what Geertz (1973) called the web of significances.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGICAL PLAN

Ontological and epistemological justification

This study was conducted under hermeneutical-phenomenological inspiration (Aspers & Kohl, 2013; Heidegger, 2010). A statement which, to some extent, illuminates the nature of the relationship between interviewee and interviewer, whose characteristics related to the present research, lie in the unrestricted respect of the accounts of the participants, also recognising the interpretive limitations of the interviewer associated with their particular position, orientation and biographical dynamics. In this way, the interviewer is open to transformation in the encounter with the participant, his personal history and the meanings that emerge from it.
Accordingly understanding the context of the participant as particular, and his condition of person inescapably affected and interrelated with their broader spatial, temporal (historical) and sociocultural contexts, where the participants construct their identities.

It is argued that identity is present in the act of speaking, or much better in Hanna Arendt’s (1998, p. 179) words: “in acting and speaking, men show who they are, reveal actively their unique personal identities and thus make their appearance in the human world”. In the active effort to present a cohesive point of view and character amidst personal stories, every individual presents who he is. Moreover, personal stories (narratives) “can trace social structures” (Fleetwood, 2016, p. 186) insofar as “ontological narratives are, above all, social and interpersonal” (Somers, 1994, p. 618). As a final point, from some phenomenological stance (Howarth, 2004), world and subject are inevitably inseparable. When accounts appear, inevitably, narrator and his world appear as well. An embodied, socially, culturally and historically embedded speaker appears.

Epistemologically, the concept of paradigm have been defined succinctly as “worldview”, from which, different ways of conceiving and approaching social reality can be distinguished. Although some disconformity around the forms through the paradigm discussion has been carried out is able to be offered, following Guba & Lincoln (1994) and Creswell (2012), we can state that an adequate way (among other possible) to understand the problem which orients this investigation comprises an interpretivist inspired approach. That is, an approach whose features relate to the social nature of knowledge and the subjective “construction” of it (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

As Creswell (2012, p. 20) states, for constructivism every individual seeks “understanding of the world in which they live and work”, for which he or she develops

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129 …or ‘she’. The pronoun ‘he’ is used here only due to participants’ gender.
130 Founded for example, on the Heideggerian notion of “ontological difference”, from which, the classic discussion about paradigms has only focused in conceiving social reality as “ontic” spatial world (i.e., a thing) to the detriment of an approach from fundamental ontology, according to which, individuals historicity and non-essentialism are respected.
“subjective meanings of their experience” directed towards objects and things. ① These meanings, Creswell (2012) continues, are habitually “negotiated” socially and historically, which should be noted, is similar to that proposed by Somers (1992, 1994) regarding the fabric of narratives and the codependency between their different dimensions. ② This network or interweaving of narratives, in turn, obeys a particular temporal and spatial context—which must be considered in the same way for the investigative interpretation of the meanings of those who live in such contexts and build their ways of conceiving reality from such meanings (Creswell, 2012). For this reason and as Creswell (2012, p. 20) states, the goal of constructivism-inspired research will be “to rely as much as possible on the participants' views of the situation”.

This statement illuminates the nature of the relationship between interviewee and interviewer, whose characteristics related to the present research lie in the unrestricted respect of the accounts of the participants, also recognizing the interpretive limitations of the interviewer associated with their particular position, orientation and biographical dynamics. In this sense, adhering to the impossibility of finishing the interviewer’s understanding of himself, ③ the investigative attitude is resolved by means of the hermeneutical turning towards the person of the participant, his personal history and the meanings that emerge from it. Understanding in turn, the context of the participant (umwelt) as a particular person inescapably affected and interrelated with their broader spatial, temporal and social context. In this way, the researcher inquires and encourages clarification by the participant about his own story and the ways to arrange it in the interview. From which, an unfinished and dynamic hermeneutical circle is established, concerning continuity and change.

However, in short, a socio-constructivist paradigm, while illuminating, does not determine the proposed research. Even when it contemplates the narratives arranged by

① Regarding this last point, the relationship with phenomenology and its notion of "intentionality" stands out.
② In this way, for Somers, narratives distinguishable as "ontological" or referring to the individual history of a person, are inextricably linked to the "public" or cultural narratives present in a society. In the same way to conceptual narratives and metanarratives.
③ That is, as a human being in constant evolution and not as an object whose components can be scrutinized.
the participants, at the same time it recognizes the constant movement of both the lives of the participants and the narratives that accompany it. Therefore, in this way it is intended to actively avoid all essentialism or disrespect due to the possibility of transformation of both the participants and the researcher himself. This research addresses this epistemology, taking into account that the identity construction of the young people to be interviewed is in a phase of transition to adult life, converging personal experiences in a local context, with the narratives and events of the broad sociocultural context. This convergence is considered compatible with the socioconstructivist paradigm insofar as it advocates the rescue of agency and personal meaning but at the same time recognizes the conditioning relevance of the sociocultural context. It is believed that the approach used in the present research advocates for the inseparability, interplay and dynamism between both dimensions. Consequently, as will be seen throughout this text, a “worldview” that is open to observing both agency and structure and the dynamic articulation of these dimensions through time is of utmost importance for this research.

Method

The present study is thought to be mixed in the sense that it approaches to explorative and descriptive designs, according to the descriptions made by Mayring (2014, p. 12). Explorative concerning the development of new categories “out of the material” (inductive); descriptive in regard to the use of a deductive approach using theory-based categories (Mayring, 2014, p. 12).
As Elo and colleagues (2014) recommend, for the sake of trustworthiness, the researcher-interviewer maintained a mindful attitude in order to not direct the participant’s answers in a way that was excessively inductive.

All interviews were recorded (audio only) and transcribed\textsuperscript{135} verbatim using foobar2000 audio player. The analysis were carried out with MAXQDA (VERBI Software, 2019). MAXQDA is one of the most widespread software package for qualitative and mixed methods research.

**Sample characterisation**

For the purposes of the present investigation, two categories of people “maximally different” were gathered:

- Men over 18 years of age, who have been sanctioned for a crime “against property” according to the Chilean penal code (e.g. theft). This last characteristic is proposed due to the qualities that this type of crime represents in theoretical terms (obtaining material goods and/or money) and the abundance of these cases in the Chilean justice system. This group aims to theoretically represent “innovative” people (Merton, 1938) who affirm neoliberal values in socially deprived contexts (as affirmed by cultural criminology, ultra-realist criminology, among others).

- Male students of commercial engineering over 18 years of age, who are theorized as representing “conventionalism” (Merton, 1938) or “conformity” to the norm in the Chilean sociocultural context. Therefore, people who would affirm neoliberal values in normatively respected contexts.

\textsuperscript{135} By the researcher himself as Bengtsson (2016) recommends.
After some difficulties gathering participants, the researcher had access to recruitment through two institutions: an adult penitentiary centre and a university.

To gain access to penitentiary centres, the researcher sent a formal letter supported by Centro Justicia y Sociedad (ISUC, Chile) to regional directors of Gendarmería de Chile, requesting for support and contact authorization of incarcerated people. After authorization, an initial contact with an inside collaborator (a member of the psychosocial intervention team), was conducted. This preliminary contact was accomplished in several occasions and aimed to establish a working agreement, describe thoroughly both methodology and research rules, and coordinate the interviews. Invitation to participate and research directions were issued by the researcher and consequently offered by the collaborator inside the prison. Afterwards, the collaborator offered a pre-selection of participants according to the requested profile (male, over 18 years old, ever sanctioned for a crime against property) and the appraisal of “cooperative” according to their professional criteria. This preliminary list of potential participants was associated to a strict interview schedule (with a prearranged Zoom link) and a signed informed consent. Both researcher and officers sought the absence of coercion, making explicit the absence of benefits for participating.

With the intention of minimizing any coercion, the researcher interviewed all potential participants privately. In this occasion, the condition of voluntariness and the commitment to report potential coercion was made again explicit and the researcher openly invited to cancel the interview in response to the will of the potential participant. Every potential incarcerated participant upheld his decision to participate. Every potential incarcerated participant was then selected to interviews.

For students of commercial engineering, the researcher contacted different universities asking for the diffusion of the invitation to participate (see Appendix 2) in the research through institutional social media (eg. student unions webpages, Facebook and Instagram). After some unsuccessful attempts, one faculty agreed to publish the invitation, receiving ten emails or WhatsApp messages from potential participants. The

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136 https://justiciaysociedad.uc.cl
researcher contacted back the prospective participants describing the research overall and the method of data collection to be done. Ultimately, six students consented to participate. Once a participant agreed the terms and the date of interview, the researcher email each participant one day before the arranged day for interviewing, sharing the link for establishing the virtual meeting and attaching informed consent template for digital signing. Every participant signed and sent their informed consent prior to the interview.

Due to the covid-19 pandemic (Cucinotta & Vanelli, 2020), the interviews were conducted via Zoom virtual platform\textsuperscript{137} with the aid of a semi-structured procedure, whose guide (see Appendix 1) was approved by the ethical review board of the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile. The interview guide covered specific topics such as social affiliations and common practices, as well as broad open topics about the personal and social present and future. In general terms, the guide touches on issues about sociocultural goals and means (Merton, 1968; Young, 2003, 2007) in addition to questions about national contingency and struggles. All interviews were recorded (audio only) and transcribed verbatim by the researcher.

In summary, every participant voluntarily signed informed consent and chose the name displayed throughout this document. Every participant in the study voluntarily accepted to participate and was able to abandon it at any time, as well as report any type of abuse exerted by the researcher. The person responsible for the selection of participants was ultimately the author of the present manuscript even when participants were referred by third parties (for example, direct contact professionals or friends). The characteristics of participants are males between 21 and 27 years old. Two categories of people can be distinguished depending on their institution of origin: incarcerated in a prison (CCP by its Spanish acronym) administered by Gendarmería de Chile (average age: 23) and Commercial Engineering students (average age: 23). The demographics and pseudonyms of the participants are described in the following table:

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\caption{Participants.}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|}
\hline
\textbf{Category} & \textbf{Characteristics} \\
\hline
Incarcerated & Males, \textit{average} age 23 \\
\hline
Commercial Engineering & Males, \textit{average} age 23 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{137} Chile implemented a strict protocol of zero visits to imprisonment installations, insofar only internet interviews were approved by national corresponding administration.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pseudonym*</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Condition</th>
<th>Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marcianeke</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Incarcerated</td>
<td>5 years in prison. Parole suspended due to covid-19 pandemic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diego</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Incarcerated</td>
<td>3 years in prison (3 years remaining). 8 months to be able to apply for parole.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cristofer</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Incarcerated</td>
<td>27 months in prison (less than 10 months remaining)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esteban</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Incarcerated</td>
<td>41 months in prison.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bastián</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Incarcerated</td>
<td>20 months in prison. Close to be able to apply for parole.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individuo NN</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Incarcerated</td>
<td>1 year in prison (29 months remaining).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francisco</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Incarcerated</td>
<td>23 months in prison (25 months remaining).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patas cortas</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Incarcerated</td>
<td>31 months in prison (5 months remaining).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fabián</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Incarcerated</td>
<td>38 months in prison (2 months remaining).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federico</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Incarcerated</td>
<td>19 months in prison (30 months remaining).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>José</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Incarcerated</td>
<td>3 years in prison (2 years remaining). Close to be able to apply for parole.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrés</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Incarcerated</td>
<td>5 years incarcerated (1 year remaining). Close to be able to apply for parole.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrés</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>Recently graduated. Working in his professional field.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stevens</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>Last year. Finishing on time. Studying.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Status</td>
<td>Last year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esteban</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>Last year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RaG</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>Last year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacinto</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>Last year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mito</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>Last year</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*every participant was asked to choose his pseudonym of preference.

Understood as a generic purposive sampling (Bryman, 2012), it is foreseen that the groups differ notoriously around diverse points and analytical axes. However, it is also expected that the participants present points of convergence, especially in regard to culturally accepted social goals (Hall et al., 2008; Merton, 1938; Young, 2003), and the traits and values that characterized entrepreneurship (McGrath et al., 1992) for the sake of achieving social success through consumerism and luxury goods.

The number of participants was defined by unit of analysis (sample) criteria, based on “informational needs” for the sake of confidently answer the research question (Bengtsson, 2016). In this sense, the optimal sample size “depends on the purpose of the study, research questions, and richness of the data”, being the saturation of the data the preferred indicator of an suitable sample size (Elo et al., 2014, p. 4). It is believed this was the case for the present study.

**Analytical definition and procedure**

As Bengtsson (2016, p. 8) sustains, one definitional aspect of qualitative research—such as the present study—corresponds to its contribution to “an understanding do the human

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138 The trustworthiness issues are acknowledged by the author (Elo et al., 2014) (see Conclusion).
139 “By definition, saturated data ensure replication in categories, which in turn verifies and ensures comprehension and completeness” (Elo et al., 2014, p. 5 cites omitted).
condition in different contexts”, a statement that covertly underlines the often-overlooked “messiness” of human lives. In this regard, and considering the framework of the present study, a suitable analytical methodology corresponds to Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA) (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005; Mayring, 2000, 2014; Schreier, 2014). QCA is identified by Philipp Mayring (2000) as a “bundle of techniques for systematic text analysis” to reduce and give order to information (Bengtsson, 2016; Schreier, 2014). Such information can be “all sort of recorded communication” such as observations, notes, or interviews transcriptions being this latter the case for the present study.

The order can emerge from the systematic appraisal of information, (and) or from the text itself, advocating for flexibility in the treatment of information. As Schreier (2014) asserts, the focus of qualitative content analysis is on description and is not bonded to any discipline (Bengtsson, 2016), a feature that also opens the possibility of discussion between different sciences. In this regard, the same information corpus can be interpreted from different angles and viewpoints, founding the published work on selective decisions made by the author.

Qualitative content analysis distinguishes from traditional content analysis (see Krippendorff, 2004) as broader its scope including both measurement tools –as traditional content analysis does- and qualitative analytical devices, preserving the advantages of quantitative content analysis. In this sense, QCA is thought to be an approach susceptible to mixing methods (Mayring, 2014).

In this line, Mayring (2000) depicts four features of QCA: a) the construction of a model of communication, where the text material is meant to fit into; b) the predetermination of rules of analysis according to which all the analysis should be carefully carried step by step, distinguishing different content analytical units; c) positioning revised categories as the center of the analysis, which can be constructed from an inductive or deductive approach or a mix of both developments; and d) establish clear criteria of reliability and validity to present an analysis worthy of being inter-
subjectively comprehensible. QCA is meant to embody (in this study), a moderate constructivist approximation (Mayring, 2014).

Elo and colleagues (2014) highlight that a condition for successful content analyses is counting with concepts able to describe the research phenomenon, given this, a process of abstraction is required where comprehensive categories are constructed. As Mayring (2000, p. 40) suggests, “the category system constitutes the central instrument of analysis”, which also contributes to helping “to make it possible for others to reconstruct or repeat the analysis” stressing the scientific character of QCA. In the case of the present study, categories were constructed both through inductive and deductive procedures as are described by Mayring (2000), whose detailed description is presented below.

The process of deductive category application (Mayring, 2000)\(^{140}\) begins with a research question and an object of analysis (text) for which several theory-based categories and subcategories are built.\(^{141}\) These categories must be based upon a thorough description of the definitions, examples and coding rules to be used (recorded in a coding agenda). The first revision of categories is carried out along with a formative check of reliability, whose results derive in a preliminary revision of the definitions used and their mutual referencing with the research questions. Once this revision fulfils the expectancies necessary for a quality procedure, it starts the final work throughout the texts, interpreting the results which may include quantitative evaluation\(^ {142}\) (e.g. frequencies); this closing application involves a final check of reliability. This approach, according to Hsieh and Shannon (2005), provides with support (or not) for theories with the chance of “refine, extend, and enrich” the conceptual frameworks used.

In the case of inductive or data-driven categories construction\(^ {143}\) (Schreier, 2014), it shares the same starting point with the research questions and the selected object of analysis (Mayring, 2000). After such beginning, categories emerge from a systematic

\(^{140}\) Also known as “directed content analysis” (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005) or concept-driven categorization (Schreier, 2014).

\(^{141}\) The theories used are described in the first section of this volume.

\(^{142}\) Used only as guides of relevant topics for analysis.

\(^{143}\) Defined as “conventional” by Hsieh and Shannon (2005).
formulation, out of the material, and whose procedure subsumes old categories and builds new ones. Once ten to fifty per cent of the material is revised, a consequent category revision must be carried out. The final stages of this category construction approach share the same procedure as deductive development, concerning application, interpretation, and reliability checking and feedback circle. This coding strategy mainly aids for lived experience description and concept development (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).

The whole structure of categories is called “coding frame” (Schreier, 2014). The coding frame, according to Schreier (2014, p. 175) must meet several requirements: a) unidimensionality, that is, categories should comprise one aspect of the analysed units; b) for the sake of intelligibility, categories should be mutually exclusive; and c) all the material should be covered exhaustively, that is, the coding frame can represent most of the text.

The coding frame used in the present study is detailed in table 2, which was inclined to analyse the information from a “manifest” perspective, namely, describing “what the informants actually say”, remaining close to the text (Bengtsson, 2016).

Throughout the coding process, repeated code assignation was conducted, starting the new coding in different pages for the sake of enhancing stability and reliability (Bengtsson, 2016). Likewise, considering that only one coder worked upon the material, coding reliability check was carried out through a two-time assessment (Schreier, 2014, p. 178), comparing the same sections of the material. For this, proper segmentation of the material was needed, defined as the division of the material into units, so that each unit “fits into exactly one (sub)category of the coding frame”, specifying both unit beginning and ending precisely (Schreier, 2014, p. 178). Some “positional” codes were used for the sake of direct the attention of the author in regard to a specific circumstance. For instance, the code “everyday life” points to extracts related to daily activities or concrete experiences identified as currently familiar. Moreover

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144 In contraposition to an “latent” or “interpretive” approach seeking for the “underlying meaning of the text” (Bengtsson, 2016, p. 10).
“spotlight” codes were also used to highlight theoretically important relations, such as comparatives between and within “groups” or self-explaining phrases theoretically prominent.

Categories were piloted, applied and revised through the on-going coding process. As Schreier (2014, p. 180) warns, “researchers who are working on their own should try to keep track of their reasons for interpreting the unit differently each time and arrive at a final meaning in this way”. This process allowed not just methodological examination (eg. in terms of consistency and validity) but also the construction of a research “narrative” that supported the structuration of the final written contents; making the code framework “suitable for answering the research question” insofar as “presenting the findings involves presenting the frame and illustrating it through quotes” (Schreier, 2014, p. 180). This procedure also minded criteria such as credibility, dependability, and transferability (Bengtsson, 2016, p. 13).
### DEDUCTIVE CATEGORIES\(^{145}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Definition</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Coding rules</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Experiences of ontological insecurity</strong></td>
<td>Expression of a sense of discontinuity (e.g., instability, uncertainty) in self-identity, especially in the biographical continuity and mainly due to external circumstances. Frequently accompanied by emotions such as anxiety and distress.</td>
<td><em>I: and what could happen ... so bad according to you that your job opportunities are seen as threatened? P4: is that ... again, it's a ... no, I couldn't give that a name, because anything could happen, I just know that ... it's like a kind of latent fear in me and this situation in general may has helped exacerbate it a bit. That's it.</em></td>
<td>Clear expression of discontinuity and related emotions though phrases that indicates experiences of confusion, boredom, uncertainty, nonsense or vague discomfort that last for a period of time (perceivably long), which are vaguely attributed to the articulation between context and vital purpose, with a special emphasis on the lack of social recognition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Experiences of relative deprivation</strong></td>
<td>Expression of a sense of broken relationship between merit and reward. Especially in relation to other people.</td>
<td><em>P9: uh, the rich will want to get richer right?! They don't think for others, y'know, they think for themselves. Because they are few, small families that ... that fill their pockets ...</em></td>
<td>Any phrase that indicates experiences of perceived injustice or inequality, but without a correlate of evident material deprivation and in reference to others, either up or down the social ladder.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Consumerism valuation</strong></td>
<td>Expression of a positive and indiscriminate evaluation of consumer goods and services.</td>
<td><em>P5: about consumerism? that we are very good at spending? [I: for example] nah, I think that if people want to pamper themselves, if they can, they have to y’know… if they can.</em></td>
<td>Any phrase that suggests appreciation of consuming material goods, especially if they are relatively luxurious or not strictly necessary. Pleasure is appreciated in acquiring desired and hinted objects as a way of acquiring status or personal value.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Search for hedonism</strong></td>
<td>Expression of a frequent and familiar search for pleasurable activities and avoidance of unpleasant events.</td>
<td><em>I: and on the contrary, how important is to have a good time? P5: a lot ... a lot, for me, it's like everything ... I kind of question</em></td>
<td>Any phrase that indicates performing actions for the mere fact of getting pleasure from doing it. Mentioning a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{145}\) Selection of the most frequently used.
a lot what is the point of, almost, practically, what is the point of living
certain habituation or habit to seek pleasant experiences over another type.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attitudes of “essentialism” and “othering”</th>
<th>Identification and characterisation of kinds of people or determined groups of people according to several features from which the participant demarcates and contrasts himself.</th>
<th>…so no, I don't like gypsies because I find their culture unpleasant. They are stinky more on top! And they are… no! they are disgusting, I don't like them.</th>
<th>Any phrase that suggests membership and/or rigid classification to a relatively well-defined group. Also that the same attitude is observed towards other people.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acceptance of conventional social goals</td>
<td>Expression of acceptance of neoliberal goals (earn money and material stuff).</td>
<td>E: and you, do you like to buy things for example? P7: obvious! Yeah! yes... like everyone! having, dressing well ... I take advantage of the money a lot if I have it.</td>
<td>Any phrase indicating of conventional social goals from a neoliberal perspective, especially economic success.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acceptance of conventional social means</td>
<td>Expression of acceptance of neoliberal means (unrestricted “entrepreneurship”).</td>
<td>I: Do you have any goal, any objective, any plan to achieve? P5: yes poh, get out of here and... go to Santiago, buy things and sell them here, like my family does.</td>
<td>Any phrase indicating acceptance of conventional social means from a neoliberal perspective, especially any type of personal entrepreneurship.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### INDUCTIVE CATEGORIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Definition</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Coding rules</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Caring roles</td>
<td>Expression of acceptance and valuation of caring roles related to family (not just breadwinning).</td>
<td>I: What things are important to you in life? P5: nah, poh, give my son a good life...</td>
<td>Any phrase indicating acceptance of broad parental roles (caring roles, not just breadwinning).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Class” demarcation</td>
<td>Expression of belonging to a particular kind of people contrasted by income or status.</td>
<td>P1: I am more than a bunch of jerks, I have lived more than ... I have not had everything paid for in life, I have managed</td>
<td>Any phrase expressing belonging to a particular group or kind of people qualitatively distinguished from well off</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

146 Selection of the most frequently used and theoretically relevant.
| **Lockdown strain** | **Expression of feelings of current tension associated to being restrained. Often accompanied by feelings related to uncertainty about the future.** | **to get ahead alone, you get me or not? I didn’t born in a golden cradle... So in that sense that is why I am like that, I am not arrogant, neither contemptuous, none of that, on the contrary, I try to be ... as much of a person as possible.** | **Have you been feeling stressed or overwhelmed lately? P11: suddenly, just like that ... being in lockdown ... suddenly one gets psyched like that, I don't know.. for anything, paf...** | **I: ...circumstances that you have had to live in the last time and that you feel like you are locked up or you are crushed. P6: I think so; I think that what I had mentioned to you about not knowing what I am going to do tomorrow.** | **Any phrase expressing feelings of strain associated to being confined.** |
SECTION III
FINDINGS
Chapter 5
Who am I? introducing participants

Undergraduates

Andrés 24, Student, Recently graduated. Working in his professional field.

-E: ¿cómo encuentras que va tu vida en la actualidad?
-Andrés: eh, mi vida en la actualidad considero que es [énfasis: muy] privilegiada, en el sentido de que mis papás están juntos, mi familia en general, fuera de mis papás es súper unida, eh... tengo trabajo, en un tiempo súper difícil, pude titularme de mi carrera en los años que correspondían... me ha ido súper bien... en todo sentido.

-E: ¿cómo te describirías a ti mismo?, como un personaje dentro de una historia por ejemplo, ¿Cómo sería este personaje?
-Andrés: un personaje de estos que siempre le gusta andar aprendiendo cosas, la verdad, un poco, llega a ser un... eh... para otras personas tal vez no les guste mucho, por ejemplo, hace poco me metí a invertir cosas y cada movimiento de los dineros yo intentaba buscarle una explicación.

-E: ¿cómo describirías tú el contexto en el cual estás? En general, lo que se te ocurra.
-Andrés: eh, la verdad es que la situación de vida que me tocó igual es súper estable, entonces yo puedo llegar a ser de esa manera de querer aprender muchas cosas y no preocuparme de otro tipo de cosas. Por ejemplo usar todo mi sueldo para mantener la casa. Ehm, eso me permite enfocarme más en lo que yo quiero lograr o en lo que me gustaría aprender o ser a futuro, todo gracias a que el ambiente, el contexto en el que estoy es estable y es [énfasis: privilegiado] por así decirlo.

-E: How do you find your life is going right now?
-Andrés: eh, my life today I consider to be [emphasis: very] privileged, in the sense that my parents are together, my family in general, apart from my parents is super united, eh... I have a job, in times that is super difficult to have one, I was able to graduate in the corresponding term... it has gone very well for me... in every way.

-E: How would you describe yourself? As a character in a story for example, what would this character be like?
-Andrés: one of these characters who always likes to learn things ... for other people may not like them very much, for example, recently I started to invest things and each movement I tried to find an explanation for the money.

-E: How would you describe the context in which you are? In general, whatever comes to mind.
-Andrés: eh, the truth is that the life situation that I got is super stable, so I can become that way of wanting to learn many things and not worry about other kinds of things. For example, spending all my salary to maintain the house. Ehm, that allows me to focus more on what I want to achieve or what I would like to learn or be in the future, all thanks to the fact that the environment, the context in which I am is stable and is [emphasis: privileged] so to speak.
Stevens, 22, Student, Last year. Finishing on time. Studying.

-E: ¿cómo va tu vida en la actualidad, a modo general?
-Stevens: hm, bien... bien como a modo personal, me siento feliz, eh, me siento tranquilo, pero preocupado a la vez, como lo que a mí más preocupa es el tema de salir de la universidad ahora y siento que el mundo está muy mal por así decirlo... hay muchos problemas, los trabajos está muy malos, mi profesión en sí también no fue la mejor elección quizás, porque a mí me fue súper bien en la PSU y elegí esto y no sé si me da las mejores como... posibilidades laborales en realidad.

... tengo un pensamiento bien social de las cosas, no tan empresarial como la carrera en sí.

-E: justamente respecto a eso mismo ¿cómo te describirías a ti mismo? ¿cómo eres tú... según tú?
-Stevens: yo soy una persona como... algo extrovertido, en general, con un sentido bien como comunitarista de las cosas, como que yo no soy una persona que esté buscando siempre cumplir deseos y fantasías y... como con mucho, con muchas ambiciones por así decirlo, sino que soy feliz con lo que tengo, agradecí las cosas que tengo, que esa es más que nada mi filosofía de vida, agradecer lo que tengo y... me gusta como ver a mi entorno feliz, a las personas que me rodean y también me gusta mejorar yo, o sea hacer las cosas mejor, una mejora constante de mi persona.

-E: how is your life today, in general?
-Stevens: hm, well... well, personally, I feel happy, eh, I feel calm, but worried at the same time, because what worries me the most is the issue of leaving the university now and I feel that the world it's very bad so to speak... there are many problems, the jobs are very bad, my profession itself was also not the best choice perhaps, because I did very well at the PSU\(^{147}\) and I chose this and I don't know if it gives me the best like...job possibilities actually.

... I have a very social way of thinking about things, not as business like as the degree itself.

-E: precisely with respect to that, how would you describe yourself? How are you... according to you?
-Stevens: I am a person like... somewhat extroverted, in general, with a sense like communitarian about things, like I am not a person who is always looking to fulfill desires and fantasies and... at most, with many ambitions for so to speak, but I am happy with what I have, I am grateful for the things I have, that is more than anything my philosophy of life, to be grateful for what I have and... I like how I see my surroundings happy, the people around me and I also like to improve myself, that is, to do things better, a constant improvement of myself.

\(^{147}\) Standardized test used for college admissions in Chile.
Esteban, 27, Student, Last year. Finishing degree exam.

-Esteban: ¿cómo soy yo, según yo? Que pregunta más interesante... voy a tratar de... bueno yo soy un poco orgulloso pero no creo ser egocéntrico, digo “no creo” porque puede que lo sea pero no lo estoy percibiendo. Pero ¿cómo me describo yo? Eh... un tipo sencillo, busco vivir tranquilo, esa es como mi meta en la vida, mi meta esencial, vivir tranquilo, y no hablo solamente de dinero, vivir tranquilo para mí es menor cantidad de problemas posibles, menos cantidad de conflictos idiotas posibles... eh... que haya cierta fluidez en las cosas, ehm... una rápida respuesta a los problemas para seguir con ese estatus de tranquilidad... ganar un millón de pesos o dos millones de pesos, quinientas lucas, mientras yo esté tranquilo, yo bien. El dinero no es tan crítico -por ahora- eh... ¿que más? Me considero una persona sociable, de hecho soy bueno para hablar, pero malo para empezar a hablar, ¿no sé si me explico? Es como por ejemplo... cuando me invitan a carretes, no me gusta ir porque como que no gusta el viaje, pero como si voy y llego allá, me pongo a hablar caleta con gente... soy un poco raro... ¿que más me puedo describir? Tengo carisma, sí, pero como soy tan tranquilo, quiero estar tan tranquilo conmigo mismo que como que esas cosas están un poco atenuadas... soy honesto, no me gustan las mentiras, trato de no omitir nada de información, bueno entre mentir y omitir hay una línea no tan delgada, pero... pero soy del tipo de personas que prefiere vivir en el dolor auténtico que en una falsa felicidad. Y eso para mí es parte también de estar tranquilo. Prefiero mil veces que algo me duela, pero que sea auténtico [enfatiza] que sea real, es lo que es y que no me estén ahí, haciendo... una fantasía que no tengo por qué vivir. Y como uno, claro, es honesto, a veces tiende a ser demasiado honesto y... no medir donde ni como decir las palabras. Pero he tenido pocos problemas con eso.

-Esteban: what am I like, according to me? What an interesting question...I'm going to try...well I'm a bit proud but I don't think I'm self-centered, I say “I don't think so” because I may be but I'm not realizing it. But how do I describe myself? Eh... a simple guy, I seek to live in peace, that's like my goal in life, my essential goal, to live in peace, and I'm not just talking about money, living in peace for me means fewer possible problems, fewer possible idiotic conflicts... eh... that there be a certain fluidity in things, um... a quick response to problems to continue with that calm status... earn a million pesos or two million pesos, five hundred [thousand], as long as I'm calm, I'm fine. Money is not so critical -for now- eh... what else? I consider myself a sociable person, in fact I'm good at talking, but bad at starting to talk, I don't know if I'm explaining myself? It's like, for example... when I'm invited to [parties], I don't like to go because I don't like the trip, but if I go and get there, I start talking to people... I'm a bit weird... what else can I describe myself? ? I have charisma, yes, but since I'm so calm, I want to be so calm with myself that those things are a bit attenuated... I'm honest, I don't like lies, I try not to omit any information, well between lying and omitting there is a line not that thin, but... but I'm the kind of person who prefers to live in real pain than in false happiness. And that for me is also part of being calm. I prefer a thousand times that something hurts me, but that it be authentic [emphasizes] that it be real, it is what it is and that they are not there, making... a fantasy that I do not have to live. And since one, of course, is honest, sometimes I tend to be too honest and... not measuring where or how to say the words. But I've had few problems with it.
RaG, 23, Student, Overdue courses. On hold.

-E: ¿cómo te describirías a ti mismo?
-RaG: a ver, ¿cómo me describo? Es un quién soy... a ver, soy un hombre de 23 años que estudia una carrera que tiene un... rubro bastante... abierto... ehm... pucha a ver... planeo... planeo eventualmente salir del país, conseguir un trabajo y salir del país... tal vez establecerme en otro lado. Ehm, bueno, eso, en pocas palabras.

Una persona que eventualmente tiene esas aspiraciones...

-E: ok. Y por ejemplo, si fuese... el momento en el cual estás, fuese un capítulo de tu vida, si fuese como una novela, un libro, el género que tú quieras y tú eres el personaje principal de esa historia ¿cómo describirías a ese personaje principal?

-RaG: para comenzar diría que estoy recién en la página 23 de un libro de 100 páginas, así que recién es como el viaje del héroe en la parte cuando... ehm... se prepara o comienza a iniciar el viaje. Así que sé que le deparan muchas experiencias aún. Eso.

-E: ok... y términos como de contexto, entorno social, más cercano y más amplio, ¿cómo describirías a tu contexto?

-RaG: a ver, mi contexto... eh, suerte, nací en una familia de... una familia no acomodada pero que puede hacerse valer, no hay problemas económicos, que [ininteligible] las necesidades básicas... ehm... tampoco he sufrido de... de estas injusticias que uno puede sentir... ehm... en este tiempo...

-E: how would you describe yourself?
-RaG: Let's see, how do I describe myself? It's a who I am... let's see, I'm a 23-year-old man studying a degree that has a... fairly... open field... um... let's see... I plan... I plan eventually to leave the country, get a job and leave the country... maybe settle somewhere else. Um, well, that, in a nutshell. A person who eventually has those aspirations...

-E: ok. And for example, if it were... the moment you are in, it was a chapter of your life, if it were like a novel, a book, the genre that you want and you are the main character of that story, how would you describe that main character?

-RaG: to begin with I would say that I am just on page 23 of a 100-page book, so it is just like the hero's journey in the part when... uh... he prepares or begins to start the journey. So I know that many experiences still lie ahead. That.

-E: ok... and terms such as context, social environment, closer and wider, how would you describe your context?

-RaG: let's see, my context... eh, lucky, I was born in a family of... a family that is not well off but that can assert itself, there are no economic problems, that [unintelligible] basic needs... eh... I have not suffered from... from these injustices that one can feel... eh... at this time...
Jacinto 22, Student, Last year. Finishing on time. Studying and working in his professional field.
-E: you are the main character. What is this character like, how would you describe him, what battles does he have, what characteristics does he have?
-Jacinto: eh... I think that... that a super friendly person who likes relationships, a lot, comes in with friends with family, who likes to be on the move, who likes approval, perhaps. ... some time ago, I made friends with a college friend who before we got along very well, that is, we were distant. And he told me that he had a bad feeling for me because... because he found that everything was going well for me, like everything was very perfect, like I was always happy, like I was always smiling. And then I told him later and then he realized that I didn't, that it wasn't like that either. Perhaps with that it can be summed up, like suddenly I show myself like I'm happy and I do things well and I also consider it that way, but I also have my own more personal things, like personal obstacles and things like that. [E: yes, I understand] This is how I could define myself.
-E: And in what, what would be like the plot or the context of the story of this character [Jacinto: the plot?], the plot and the context, that is, like- [Jacinto: yeah, yeah, yeah] what scene is this character in, which is you.
-Jacinto: I think that now I am in a process of discovering that I am no longer like a child, like realizing that I have to... to deal with myself like this, like practically thinking about the future now... like what is it? What am I going to do for my life? Because a while ago I was like, I don't know, “when I get out of college, when I do this”, because I've had a lot of plans, in fact I'm like a very dreamy person and always when, I don't know, until five months ago I was very, I don't know, “I want to do this, this, this”, but now I'm realizing that I already have to start to... to almost uh... like... like order everything to actually do what I want to do. In this I am, as if realizing that already... I am already arriving as that starting point, in that chapter I am.
Mito, 22, Student, Last year. Finishing on time. Studying and in professional practice.

-E: Y entonces, considerando esto que me cuentas ¿Cómo te describirías a ti mismo? ¿quién es este personaje que se encuentra en ese momento bueno, como tú me lo mencionas?

-Mito: [pausa] yo creo que soy una persona... yo creo que soy una persona organizada, yo creo que soy una persona... que... muchas veces, muchas veces trata de mostrarse como a todo el mundo como... como una persona segura, como una persona fuerte a pesar de a veces, adentro tiene miedo, incertidumbre... a ver, yo luchó mucho con eso, también siento que soy una persona solitaria. A pesar de que yo soy súper sociable, yo soy súper bueno para conversar, tengo harto amigos se podría decir, mi polola y todo. Pero siempre soluciono mis cosas de forma personal, ehm... me considero una persona también... mmm... miedosa del futuro, me da mucho miedo el futuro la verdad. Me considero una persona... una persona igual que... no sé cómo decirlo, perseverante se podría decir. Siempre trato de luchar por lo que me gusta, siempre trato de hacer algo, no gusta estar parado, siempre trato de moverme, siempre, siempre, siempre estoy trabajando en algo, en cualquier cosa, no importa si estoy de vacaciones, me gusta estar haciendo algo. Para mí, cada día tiene que ser productivo. No sé si eso responde la pregunta la verdad [E: [ríe]] porque igual siempre es difícil responder el... cómo “¿quién eres tú?, describete a ti mismo”.

... Yo creo que esta persona [él] está en constante- constantemente... eh... preocupado de uno mismo, preocupado de los otros, de que todo esté bien, siempre trata de mantener todo bajo control en sus manos aunque a veces se descontrolen las cosas. Yo creo que... [pausa] que siempre tiene esos vaivenes de que a veces está muy motivado, muy decidido con algo, o quiere hacer esto, quiere hacer esto otro, después ¡fum! Baja y entra en un agujero donde, donde duda mucho de todas las cosas, se desmotiva mucho...
Marcianeke, 23, Incarcerated, 5 years in prison. Parole suspended due to covid-19 pandemic.

-E: How would you describe yourself? How are you according to you?

-Marcianeke: me? As a person… I as a humble person, I respect everyone, I don’t like being abusive and that others being abusive and… I like being respected by all the people. Even the quietest I think and… I’m happy, I like to go around laughing, sharing, playing for a while, messing around, laughing, throwing the joke… and sometimes when I’ve been wrong, I’m… I have that personality of being alone and… that no one talks to me and all that shit y’know. They are personality changes that I have but…but, so as not to contaminate others or so as not to fight with others, do you understand me or not? for not to fight with my family. And when sometimes I smoke a joint and stay there cool, that shit is like my treatment and it takes me out of the shit, but I’m a respectful person listen if I’m not bad enough to kill… an example like that, steal from a fucker to kill him and take away his phone, do you understand me? An example of being bad, do you understand me? I’m aware of what I do, I wouldn’t do a shit like that either, that is, I wouldn’t steal from a granny or one of those shit either, do you understand me or not? I wouldn’t steal from my neighbour either, none of that. I… I learned a lot of things y’know, a lot of things that are wrong and right… in life, when the years go by I learn that y’know. But I am a respectful and humble person y’know man. I don’t like to go around disrespecting anyone while they respect me.
Diego, 23, Incarcerated, 3 years in prison (3 years remaining). 8 months to be able to apply for parole.

-E: oye y respecto a eso, ¿cómo te describirías a ti mismo? ¿Cómo es Diego según Diego?
-Diego: ¿yo?... no yo me... como no pude estudiar, tuve que salir pa’ la calle a tener lo mío... si al final usted sabe que si no trabajas’i y no estudias’i algo no, no te dan pega o no tenís algo propio que tú trabajás.
-E: oye Diego y si tú fueses como el personaje de una historia, como un cuento, ¿cómo sería este personaje?
-Diego: amable. Con todos.
-E: Jack… y ¿en qué capítulo de su vida estaría?
-Diego: [ininteligible] ayudarlos a todos. No porque vamos a ser hombres, vamos a estar discriminando a alguien porque es lesbiana, porque le gustan los hombres, porque le gustan las mujeres, no poh… todos… son personas, no vamos a estar mirando a gente más allá. Tiene que [ininteligible] con todos no más, con todos porque todos tienen diferente opinión [E: mm, te entiendo] así uno puede compartir con varía gente, pero todo un límite, todo parte como tú… [ininteligible] y cómo tú… te entrevista’i

-E: hey and regarding that, how would you describe yourself? How is Diego according to Diego?
-Diego: me?… no I... since I couldn't study, I had to go out to the street to have my own... if in the end you know that if you don't work and don't study something no, no they give you trouble or you don't have something of your own that you work on.
-E: hey Diego and if you were like the character of a story, like a tale, what would this character be like?
-Diego: Kind. With everyone.
-E: Yeah… and what chapter of your life would you be in?
-Diego: [unintelligible] helping them all. Not because we are going to be men, we are going to be discriminating against someone because they are a lesbian, because they like men, because they like women, no... they are all people, we are not going to be looking at people beyond. You have to [unintelligible] with everyone, with everyone because everyone has a different opinion [E: mm, I understand you] so you can share with different people, but with a limit, everything starts as you... [unintelligible] and how you... interview...
Cristofer, 25, Incarcerated, 27 months in prison (less than 10 months remaining)

-E: ¿cómo te describirías tú a ti mismo? ¿cómo eres tú según tú?
-Cristofer: eh, antes de caer en la droga... era bueno. No andaba metiendo cosas malas, no andaba roando... no tenía necesidad. Y la droga empezó a meterme a robar... a hacer cosas malas. Pero yo desde chico he trabajado, tenía todas mis cosas, mi camioneta, mi camión... y la droga me hizo caer, me hizo perder todo.

-E: pero aparte de eso Cristofer, porque tú eres mucho más que... o sea, la droga no te define a ti completamente
-Cristofer: ¡ah no!

-E: ¿Cómo eres tú como persona, Cristofer?
-Cristofer: no, yo me considero buena persona, trabajador... eh, si tengo que ayudar a alguien, lo ayudo... no si de eso... trato bien a las personas, estando en la calle soy muy caballeroso. No falto de respeto con mi viejos.

-E: how would you describe yourself? how are you according to you?
-Cristofer: eh, before falling into drugs... I was good. I wasn't involved in bad things, I wasn't stealing... I had no need. And the drug started to get me into stealing... to do bad things. But since I was a child I have worked, I had all my things, my pickup, my lorry... and the drug made me fall, it made me lose everything.

-E: but besides that Cristofer, because you are much more than... I mean, the drug does not define you completely
-Christopher: Oh no, it doesn't!

-E: How are you as a person, Cristofer?
-Cristofer: no, I consider myself a good person, a worker... eh, if I have to help someone, I help them... not if that's the case... I treat people well, being on the street I'm very polite. I don't disrespect my parents.
Esteban, 25, Incarcerated, 41 months in prison.

-E: Oye y ¿cómo te describirías a ti mismo? ¿cómo eres tú?
-Esteban: ¿yo? Me considero una persona tranquila...
-E: … te decía que… que si tu vida fuese como una novela, como un libro… [Esteban: ya] ¿cómo sería el personaje que eres tú? ¿cómo lo describirías?
-Esteban: una persona de esfuerzo, de familia, de trabajo...
-E: una persona de esfuerzo…
-Esteban: [ininteligible] no tuve muchos lujos, igual fui pobre…
[ininteligible] soy un tipo de que trabaja...

-E: Hey and how would you describe yourself? How are you as a person?
-Esteban: me? I consider myself a calm person...
-E: … I was telling you that… that if your life was like a novel, like a book… [Esteban: ok] what would the character that you are be like? how would you describe it?
-Esteban: a person of effort, family, work…
-E: a person of effort…
-Esteban: [unintelligible] I didn't have many luxuries, I was poor…
[unintelligible] I'm a guy who works…
Bastián, 23, Incarcerated, 20 months in prison. Close to be able to apply for parole.

-E: ¿cómo te describirías a ti mismo Bastián? ¿cómo eres tú?
-Bastián: ¿yo mismo? Noo, ¡yo no soy mala persona! Poh
-E: por eso te pregunto, cómo te describes tú...
-Bastián: noo, tranquilo, sociable... buena persona, si puedo ayudar a alguien lo voy a ayudarlo... pero... no soy mala persona.
-E: oye y si tu vida fuese como un cuento, como una novela, como un libro ¿cómo sería el personaje principal? Que en este caso eres tú ¿cómo sería?
-Bastián: ¿cómo sería? Naah, un... cómo decirle... un luchador en la vida poh, he pasado tantas cosas... que ahora ya... ¡era! no quiero más...
-E: y ¿en qué capítulo estarías del libro? ¿en qué parte de la historia?
-Bastián: yo creo que estoy todavía estoy en el principio no más, porque me falta mucho.

-E: how would you describe yourself Bastián? How are you as a person?
-Bastián: me? Noo, I'm not a bad person! Y'know
-E: That's why I ask you, how do you describe yourself...
-Bastián: noo, calm, sociable... good person, if I can help someone I will help them... but... I'm not a bad person.
-E: Hey, and if your life were like a story, like a novel, like a book, what would the main character be like? That in this case it is you, how would he be?
-Bastián: how would it be? Naah, a... how to say it... a fighter in life y'know, I've been through so many things... that now... it was! I do not want more...
-E: and in which chapter would you be in the book? what part of the story?
-Bastián: I think I'm still at the beginning, only, because I still have a long way to go.
Individuo NN, 22, Incarcerated, 1 year in prison (29 months remaining).

-E: ¿cómo te describirías a ti mismo?
-Individuo NN: [pausa] ¿a mí mismo? [E: mm] alguien tranquilo [E: ¿ya?] no me gusta andar... con los demás, así, abusando de los demás, ¡noo! ¡tranquilo no más! Sí porque... hay que vivir tranquilo en realidad.
-E: ya, te entiendo, ¿es importante la tranquilidad para ti?
-Individuo NN: sí poh, sí poh. Hay que cuidarse. La salud del cuerpo y de la mente. Y cómo usted me dice, yo... me considero alguien, tranquilo igual. Sí, no. Lo que pasó fue algo inédito.
-E: oye y si tu vida fuese como... como una historia, como una novela, y tú eres el personaje principal... [P6: ¿cómo?] si tu vida fuese como una novela, como un cuento, como un libro... y tú eres el personaje principal obviamente. ¿cómo sería este personaje?
-Individuo NN: [pausa] el personaje sería yo poh
-E: sí, y ¿cómo sería?
-Individuo NN: tendría mi misma personalidad, mi misma... mi... mi mismo camino de vida... ¡sería yo! Sí usted mismo lo dijo. La novela. Sería yo, personal, tendría todas las características mías.
-E: ¿claro! Y ¿Cuáles son tus características?
-Individuo NN: no sabría decirle. Debo aprender a conocerme a mí mismo todavía.

-E: how would you describe yourself?
-Individuo NN: [pause] me? [E: mm] someone calm [E: ok?] I don't like hanging out... with others, like that, abusing others, noo! Just quiet! Yeah because... you really have to live in peace.
-E: ok, I understand, is peace of mind important to you?
-Individuo NN: yeah, yeah. You must take care. The health of the body and mind. And how do you tell me, I... I consider myself someone, calm down anyway. Since. What happened was something unprecedented.
-E: Hey, and if your life was like... like a story, like a novel, and you were the main character... [Individuo NN: how?] if your life was like a novel, like a story, like a book... and you are the main character obviously. what would this character be like?
-Individuo NN: [pause] the character would be me of course
-E: yes, and what would he be like?
-Individuo NN: I would have my same personality, my same... my... my same path of life... it would be me! If you said so yourself. The novel. It would be me, personally, it would have all my characteristics.
-E: of course! And what are your characteristics?
-Individuo NN: I couldn't tell you. I must learn to know myself yet.
Francisco, 24, Incarcerated, 23 months in prison (25 months remaining).

-E: Y… ¿cómo te describirías a ti mismo? ¿cómo es Francisco según Francisco?

-Francisco: ¿yo? No, yo soy una persona, en el sentido... que no me gusta ver... discriminación o... bullying, en ese sentido, yo, si puedo ayudar, voy a ayudar siempre. De crianza tenemos que somos buenos, somos buenas personas.

-E: ya. Y si… por ejemplo, tu vida fuese una novela, fuese un libro y tú eres el protagonista de ese cuento… ¿cómo sería este protagonista?

-Francisco: igual, ahí cambian las versiones porque... hacer eso sería un proyecto rico… [E: ¿cómo?] todo sería rico porque… si fuera algo bonito. En las comedias son todos gorditos, así que de algo... [ríe]

-E: [ríe] ya… y ¿en qué capítulo de tu vida estarías?

-Francisco: como en la mitad [E: en la mitad] estando aquí en la mitad, porque saliendo sería todo así... igual si fuera yo, puta una historia chistosa, sería chistosa igual [rían] [E: ya] yo igual aquí empecé a madurar... estoy... ahora, se me vendría la otra parte de la historia del [su apellido] me dicen [su apellido] a mi poh. Sería... ahora saliendo de aquí sería la otra... un [su apellido] renovado... si, más [ininteligible] más caballero... ¡más hombre poh! Si poh, ¡si era muy re cabro chico! Si... [ríe] si de verdad que hacía weás de cabro chico.

-E: And… how would you describe yourself? What is Francisco like according to Francisco?

-Francisco: me? No, I am a person, in the sense... that I don't like to see... discrimination or... bullying, in that sense, if I can help, I will always help. From upbringing we have to be good, we are good people.

-E: yeah. And if… for example, your life were a novel, it was a book and you were the protagonist of that story... what would this protagonist be like?

-Francisco: anyway, there the versions change because... doing that would be a pleasant project... [E: how?] everything would be pleasant because... if it were something nice. In comedies they're all chubby, so... [laughs]

-E: [laughs] ok… and in what chapter of your life would you be?

-Francisco: like in the middle [E: in the middle] being here in the middle, because going out would be like this... if it were me, fuck a funny story, it would be funny anyway [laughs] [E: ok] I... same way here I started to mature... I'm... now, the other part of the story of [his surname] they call me [his surname] to me y'know... It would be... now leaving here it would be the other... a renewed [his surname]... yeah, more [ininteligible] more gentleman... more a man y'know! Yeah, if I was a very childish guy! Yeah... [laughs] I really did silly childish stuff.
**Patas cortas, 21, Incarcerated, 31 months in prison (5 months remaining).**

E: ¿cómo te describirías a ti mismo?

-Patas Cortas: ¿yo? Una persona... hiperactiva, eh... social... con amigos... compañeros... eh... alegre cuando se puede ser... más allá no tengo mucho que decir de mí mismo, porque no me he tomado el tiempo tampoco de conocerme [ríe], igual es para muchos es complicado o de repente tampoco nos dejamos el tiempo para conocernos.

-E: ¿cómo así? Es interesante lo que me dices...

-Patas Cortas: claro, es que las personas de repente se fijan más en las personas que están a su alrededor que no se fijan en ellos mismos. [E: aah…] ...no encuentran sus virtudes ni nada.

-E: ya, te entiendo. Y si… por ejemplo, tu vida fuese como una novela, como un libro y tú eres el protagonista de este cuento ¿cómo sería este protagonista?

-Patas Cortas: [pausa] [ríe] buena forma de conocer a las personas... eh... yo como extrovertido, eh... audaz... eh... valeroso. [ríe] son formas de explicar un personaje de un texto. [E: sí pues] Buena forma de describirse a uno.

-E: y ¿en qué capítulo estarías de tu vida?

-Patas Cortas: al principio, con veinte años, 21 años, yo creo que al principio. Recién leyendo el cuento [ríe]

-E: estás escribiéndolo o lo esta’i leyendo. [?]

-Patas Cortas: lo estoy escribiendo. O tal vez redescubriendo.

-E: How would you describe yourself?

-Patas Cortas: me? A person... hyperactive, uh... social... with friends... mates... uh... happy when it can be... beyond that, I don’t have much to say about myself, because I haven’t taken the time to know myself [laughs], anyway for many is complicated or perhaps we don’t leave the time to get to know ourselves.

-E: how so? It’s interesting what you tell me...

-Patas Cortas: of course, it is that people sometimes pay more attention to the people around them than to themselves. [E: aah…] ...they don’t find their virtues or anything.

-E: yes, I understand. And if... for example, your life was like a novel, like a book and you are the protagonist of this story, what would this protagonist be like?

-Patas Cortas: [pause] [laughs] good way to know people... eh... I ‘m like extrovert, eh... bold... eh... courageous. [laughs] are ways of explaining a character in a text. [E: yes of course] Good way to describe yourself.

-E: and in what chapter would you be in your life?

-Patas Cortas: at the beginning, being 20 years old, 21 years old, I think that at the beginning. Just reading the story [laughs]

-E: you are writing it or you are reading it. [?]

-Patas Cortas: I’m writing it. Or maybe rediscovering it.
Fabián, 24, Incarcerated, 38 months in prison (2 months remaining).

-E: ¿cómo te describirías a ti mismo? ¿cómo es Fabián según Fabián?
-Fabián: mire, soy una persona reservada... no cuento muchas cosas de mí [ininteligible] a la gente... porque... igual me he criado solo, por eso. Así que... pero si tengo un respaldo que está en la calle, apoyándome siempre igual [ininteligible] estar más solo, estar más en la casa... mi familia igual es legal así que... si yo me describiría como una persona fuerte a pesar de todo lo malo que me ha pasado. A pesar de todo tengo ganas de seguir perseverando a la sociedad poh...
-E: y respecto a eso mismo, mira, imagina que tu vida ha sido como una novela, como un libro y tú eres el personaje principal de esta historia, ¿cómo sería este personaje?
-Fabián: ehm... bueno yo igual he cometido hartos robos, he sido malo igual... hecho cosas malas, he hecho cosas buenas igual pero no [ininteligible] y... nah poh, soy una persona que... no era seria poh. Me tomaba todo a la chacota, no me importaba... eso es medio complicado igual, tomar todo a la chacota. Porque uno toma conciencia después cuando está aquí poh. Cuando... ¡esta’i mal poh!
-E: y ahora, ¿cómo eres tú?
-Fabián: ...no, yo ahora tengo otro punto de vista. Por la edad yo creo que ya uno va... va tomando conciencia, analiza’i todo lo que te ha pasado y... [ininteligible]...bien
-E: sí te entiendo. Y entonces, de este libro, de esta novela, ¿en qué capítulo vas?
-Fabián: voy en la mitad de la vida ya poh.
-E: [ríe] ¿en la mitad?
-Fabián: sí poh, en la mitad de la vida. Es que uno vive la vida rápido, lleva una vida loca y es más rápida la vida [ininteligible] es más rápida la vida que llevamos los... [ininteligible]

-E: how would you describe yourself? How is Fabián according to Fabián?
-Fabián: look, I'm a reserved person... I don't tell people many things about myself [unintelligible]... because... maybe I grew up alone, that's why. So... but I do have a backup that is on the street, always supporting me anyway [unintelligible] being more alone, being more at home... my family is still legal so... yes, I would describe myself as a strong person despite everything the bad thing that has happened to me. In spite of everything, I want to continue persevering with society y’know...
-E: and regarding that, look, imagine that your life has been like a novel, like a book and you are the main character of this story, what would this character be like?
-Fabián: ehm... well I've committed a lot of robberies, I've been bad anyway... I've done bad things, I've done good things likewise but not [unintelligible] and... I'm a person who... wasn't serious. I took everything lightheartedly, I didn't care... that's kind of complicated...
-Because you become aware later when you are here y’know. That you are wrong y’know!
-E: and now how are you?
-Fabián: ...no, now I have another point of view. Because of your age, I think that you are... becoming aware, analysing everything that has happened to you and... [unintelligible]... well
-E: yes I understand. And then, of this book, of this novel, in which chapter are you going?
-Fabián: I’m in the middle of my life, y’know.
-E: [laughs] in the middle?
-Fabián: yeah man, in the middle of life. It's that you live fast, leading a crazy life and life is faster [unintelligible] life is faster than we lead... [unintelligible]
Federico, 21, Incarcerated, 19 months in prison (30 months remaining).

-E: ¿cómo te describirías a ti mismo?
-Federico: [pausa] eh... yo aquí... no sé, yo soy una buena persona, como soy en la calle... soy mala persona cuando lo tengo que ser... y más allá, soy el mismo. Soy el mismo que en todos laos.

-E: si por ejemplo tu vida fuese como una novela, como un libro, y tú eres el personaje principal de esa historia, ¿cómo sería ese personaje?
-Federico: un personaje... activo... un personaje... de repente feliz, medio bipolar [E: [ríe] ¿cómo así?] ...si poh, medio, no sé porque... de repente puede estar ahí sonriendo que... no me gusta, me molesta algo, me cambia la cara altiro ¿me entiende?

-E: ya, te entiendo, y ¿en qué capítulo de esa historia estarías? ¿en qué parte del libro?
-Federico: noo, en el capítulo “mejor que me vean sonriendo no más” [E: ríe] ¡sí poh! ¿me entiende? Nada más que eso.

-E: ya, te entiendo. Y ¿estarías como al principio, como a la mitad o terminando el libro?
-Federico: noo, irías al principio, que me vean así a la mitad, al final... sería mejor la historia ¿me entiende?

-E: how would you describe yourself?
-Federico: [pause] eh... me here... I don't know, I'm a good person, like I am on the street... I'm a bad person when I have to be... and beyond that, I'm the same. I am the same everywhere.

-E: if, for example, your life was like a novel, like a book, and you were the main character of that story, what would that character be like?
-Federico: a character...active...a character...sometimes happy, some bipolar [E: [laughs] how so?]...yeah, some, I don't know why...suddenly I can be there smiling that...I don't like it, something bothers me, my face changes on the spot, do you understand me?

-E: ok, I understand, and in which chapter of that story would you be? in which part of the book?
-Federico: noo, in the chapter “better that they see me only smiling” [E: laughs] yeah man! Do you get me? Nothing more than that.

-E: yes, I understand. And would you be like at the beginning, like in the middle or at the end of the book?
-Federico: noo, you would go to the beginning, that they see me like this in the middle, at the end... the story would be better, do you understand me?
José, 21, Incarcerated, 3 years in prison (2 years remaining). 
Close to be able to apply for parole.

- E: ¿cómo te describirías a ti mismo?
- José: ¿cómo describirme del tipo de persona que soy yo?
- E: ¿cómo eres tú, según tú?
- José: bueno, yo ahora estoy más tranquilo, a lo que era antes, ahora estoy más tranquilo ya, más relajado, más piola ¿me entiende o no?
Ya otro sistema así que... que te cambia así. Ya no soy ya lo que era que antes era colga’o, era insolente con las personas... ¿me entiende o no? Me gustaba andar peleando y todo eso... todo eso era mi sistema y ahora no, ya era ya, ya era [ininteligible].
- E: o sea, tú ves como un antes y un después... En ti.
- José: sí poh, yo veo como un antes y un después porque de repente igual me pongo a pensar así y digo “igual he cambiado harto a lo que, a lo que... era antes, a lo que soy ahora...”
- E: ya, oye y si tu vida fuese como una novela, como un libro, y tú eres el personaje principal de este cuento. ¿cómo sería este personaje?
- José: ¡noo! sería un personaje... así... alegre, contento. Sonriente a la vida no más, sí poh, sí poh.
- E: y ¿en qué capítulo de la historia estarías?
- José: [pausa] puta en un capítulo así de... de no sé... puede ser...
- E: ¿al principio, la medio, al final?
- José: no, eh, al principio, así como... no sé, hacer un personaje de papá, con la familia. ¿me entiende? Una novela así como tipo familiar así. [E: ya] sí poh.

- E: how would you describe yourself?
- José: how can I describe myself as the kind of person I am?
- E: how are you, according to you?
- José: well, now I'm calmer than I was before, now I'm calmer now, more relaxed, more cool, do you understand me or not? Already another system so... that changes you like that. I am no longer what I used to be, I used to be “hung up”, I was insolent with people... do you understand me or not? I liked to go around fighting and all that... all that was my system and not now, it was already, it was already [ininteligible].
- E: I mean, you see a before and after... In you.
- José: yeah man, I see like a before and after because sometimes I start to think like that and say “maybe I have changed a lot to what, to what... I was before, to what I am now...”
- E: Yeah, hey, and if your life was like a novel, like a book, and you were the main character of this story, what would this character be like?
- José: no! he would be a character... like that... happy, happy. Smiling at life no more, yeah, yeah.
- E: and in which chapter of the story would you be?
- José: [pause] damn in a chapter like this... I don't know... it could be...
- E: at the beginning, the middle, at the end?
- José: no, eh, at the beginning, just like... I don't know, playing a dad character, with the family, do you understand me? A novel as family kind sort of. [E: ok] yeah.
Andrés, 22, Incarcerated, 5 years incarcerated (1 year remaining). Close to be able to apply for parole.

- E: respecto a quién eres tú, ¿cómo te describirías a ti mismo? ¿cómo eres tú, según tú?
- Andrés: ¿yo? Igual soy medio, así... hiperquinético [E: ríe] Pero no tanto si... sí poh. De reírse, de compartir... sí poh. [E: como alegre] ¡sí poh!
- E: ya. Y si... si... si tu vida fuese como una novela, como un libro y tú eres el personaje principal de esa historia, ¿cómo sería ese personaje?
- Andrés: alegre poh.
- E: ya. Y ¿en qué capítulo de la historia estarías? ¿al principio, al medio, al final?
- Andrés: [ríe] no sé, ¡al principio yo creo!

- E: Regarding who you are, how would you describe yourself? how are you, according to you?
- Andrés: me? I'm still some, like... hyperkinetic [E: laughs] But not so much yeah... yeah. Laughing, sharing... yeah. [E: kind of happy] yeah y'know!
- E: yeah. And if... if... if your life was like a novel, like a book and you were the main character of that story, what would that character be like?
- Andrés: happy, man.
- E: yeah. And what chapter of history would you be in? At the beginning, in the middle, at the end?
- Andrés: [laughs] I don't know, at the beginning I think so!
As Giddens announces, we human agents are rooted in social structure. People emerge from social structure, producing and reproducing its elements and ways of realisation. Both human agency without structure and structure without agency are not possible.

This theoretical claim is better perceived in the evaluation of everydayness. Since life lived by means of routine is precisely the reproduction of structured understandings through meaningful praxis. “The basic domain of study of the social sciences…” says Giddens (1986, p. 2) “is neither the experience of the individual actor, nor the existence of any form of societal totality”, but rather, the practices framed in society which encounter order across space and time. The inescapable interaction between agents and structure, puzzlingly abstract in the paper, obtain plenty of meaning in the most simple of the human actions: “in and through their activities agents reproduce the conditions that make these activities possible” (Giddens, 1986, p. 2).

In this reproduction, familiarity is achieved (or in worse situations, yearned), predictability, the interlacing of the three temporal dimensions giving continuity to the natural discontinuous experience of human life. The orderly experience of the everyday is “a miraculous occurrence” (Giddens, 1991, p. 52) oriented at last to gain some security, ontological security:

Routine, psychologically linked to the minimising of unconscious sources of anxiety, is the predominant form of day-to-day social activity. Most daily practices are not directly motivated. Routinised practices are the prime expression of the duality of structure in respect of the continuity of social life. In the enactment of routines agents sustain a sense of ontological security (Giddens, 1986, p. 282).

Robert Merton (1938, 1968) already stated something similar founding social chaos on the rupture of such predictability:
In so far as one of the most general functions of social structure is to provide a basis for predictability and regularity of social behavior, it becomes increasingly limited in effectiveness as these elements of the social structure become dissociated. At the extreme, predictability is minimised and what may be properly called anomie or cultural chaos supervenes (Merton, 1968, pp. 213–214).

Following classic Mertonian analysis, such predictability is informed by institutionalised norms that limit any pursuit of cultural goals, establishing an understanding framework and a horizon of possibilities. Institutions, whose rules and resources establish such a field of the possible, are, in turn, conceived as totalities structurally bounded by extensive human practices (Giddens, 1986, p. 17), evoking such feelings of presence and absence, availability and volatility, oddness and familiarity.

Modernity, says Giddens (1991, p. 1), “must be understood on an institutional level”, because modernity characteristically disturbs the nature of everyday social life affecting “the most personal aspects of our experience”. Once again, social structure interlaces with individual lives, connecting seemingly distant elements such as foreign political affairs and the cost of a loaf of bread in the neighbourhood’s store.

However, living in (late) modernity is living in a world of contradictions and paradoxes. Such institutions which are even bodily felt\(^\text{148}\) are sometimes harshly present, but at the same time are constituted as liquid or even as a phantasmagorical presence, elusive but pungent, prone to distrust them, distant in time and space, “lifted out”, disembedded –as Giddens asserts. Specifically, Giddens refers with disembedding to “the ‘lifting out’ of social relations from local contexts and their rearticulation across indefinite tracts of time-space” (Giddens, 1991, p. 18). Arguably, this disembedding is also prone to be experienced with any social dimension, such as culture and norms, enabling the blurring, shifting, overlapping, and detaching of normative borders. Once again, experienced on a personal level: “the individual feels disembedded from the culture and institutions he or she finds themselves in” (Young, 2007, p. 3). Consequently, without such institutional provision individuals “are left largely to their

\(^{148}\) When you see how the cost of that loaf of bread rises, while your income does not… in a while.
own internal resources” (Côté, 1996, p. 423), paving the way for the upbringing of late-modern “hyper actors” (Araujo & Martuccelli, 2014).

However, is this so for everyone? How is this lived by people living “maximally” different lives? How conventional are young people from different life standpoints living in the Chilean consumer society? How do compare between and within groups?

As a first approach to these questions, we will revise several dimensions of “conventionalism” outlining experiential bridges and divergences in the participant’s accounts. These dimensions emerge as relevant from the discussion carried out through Section I. In the first place, taking into account the traditional religious standpoint of Chilean culture as sources of values and moral judgement (Mayol et al., 2013), we will explore the basic outlook of the participants on themes of religiosity and spirituality. In the second place, due to the now algid topic about politics (since 2019 social outburst), we will revise participants’ attitude on politics and politicians as well as their potential experience immersed in politics-related contexts. In the third place, the participants’ integration into social organisations will be inquired, reviewing their accounts on collective movements and communitarian values (Larraín, 2006; Moulian, 1998). Furthermore, accounts about work and education are explored, since such dimensions of social life are thought to be critical establishing the conventional bridge between childhood and adulthood in addition to being considered critical aspects of topics such as inequality and relative deprivation (Araujo, 2019b). Lastly, a section about class, economy and social justice is treated from the point of view of the participants, pursuing its link to themes of ontological insecurity and relative deprivation (Young, 1999, 2007).

6.1 Religiosity and spirituality

Despite secularisation is one of the defining characteristics of modernity (Giddens, 1990; Giddens & Sutton, 2015), Giddens and Sutton (2015) state that there is no evidence of a definitive decline of religion in the developing world. For instance, the
number of people declaring no religious affiliation has increased in Latin America, suggesting support for theories relating religiosity to wealth and human development (N. M. Somma et al., 2017). However, as Somma and his colleagues (2017) note, those findings are not conclusive of proper secularisation and therefore, may constitute reference to other phenomena instead.

In Chile, Larraín (2010) describes Chileans' religious experience as ritualistic and isolated, while at the same time tenacious and non-pervasive on everydayness. This notion resonates with Marcuse (1966, pp. 147–148) rationale according to which the idea of religion is conceived as lacking of objectivity. However, precisely this condition makes it emerge as an element for social cohesion, and whose existence does not alter the common course of social life. Likewise for Larraín (2010, p. 17) religion have to do less with transcendence or salvation but rather with “community catharsis” especially bonded to dates and social celebrations, that go beyond mere religiosity. In this sense, religion is more emotion-driven than spirit-driven, it has more to do with the “flesh” than with the “soul”. In this sense, as the work of Mayol and colleagues show (2013), religious concepts serve manifold purposes besides the theological, founding for instance, modes of understanding social life and the values implied in such dynamics.

In this line, Stevens, 22 years old, undergraduate student says that religion is not part of his life but adopting a spiritual stance brings him peace of mind:

...en general no creo en ninguna religión, pero como hay ciertos pensamientos que me... igual he tratado de ser más espiritual últimamente, como que me trae más paz. Claro, como las sutilezas de la vida a veces creo en el destino o cosas más así, como que me ha traído más tranquilidad creer un poco en eso. (Stevens, 22 years old)

Likewise, Jacinto, 22 years old, undergraduate student recognises a catholic influence due to his school education, but rejecting religion as institution and practice. Acknowledging a common saying in Chile where people believe “a la chilena” [á la

149 “In general, I don't believe in any religion, but as there are certain thoughts that... I have still tried to be more spiritual lately, as it brings me more peace. Of course, like the subtleties of life, sometimes I believe in destiny or things like that, as it has brought me more peace of mind to believe a little in that.”
Chilean], highlighting detachment or abstaining from direct relationship with religious institutions and people –this recalls the shifting valuation of the so-called post-materialism (Inglehart, 2009).

Entrevistador: y en términos religiosos, ¿practicas o sigues alguna religión o corriente espiritual?

Jacinto: yo creo que el catolicismo por un tema de formación, quizás, por el colegio que siempre eh... o sea, yo me considero creyente y como todos los jóvenes, “a mi manera”, pero creo, creo igual, no me gusta el tema de la iglesia ni nada de eso, pero sí creo. Suelo rezar a veces, me gusta, creo que hay que aferrarse a algo. (Jacinto, 22 years old)

By their part, every imprisoned participant recognised faith in God, while alike their undergraduate counterparts, they reject any form of systematic religious practice or formal institution. For example, Marcianeke (23 years old) with the common uprightness of offenders:

Entrevistador: oye y en términos de religión o espiritualidad, ¿tú crees en algo?

Marcianeke: ¡obvio! Yo creo en Dios poh. Yo creo en Dios si... si la fe nunca se pierde. Aquí... de repente cuando hace los curtos [cultos] yo iba a los curtos, poh. Iba con los hermanitos evangélicos de repente a escuchar la palabra de Dios. Pa’ que me ayudaran mi proceso porque aquí de repente igual la angustia culiá es grande y yo creo en Dios y de repente tú le rezá’i a Dios y las cosas te resultan bien poh. ¿me entiende o no? [E: mm] esa fe tengo yo de... de creer en Dios, esa es mi fe, poh y mi religión. (Marcianeke, 23 years old)

150 Interviewer: and in religious terms, do you practice or follow any religion or spiritual stream? Jacinto: Catholicism I guess, due to education, perhaps, for the school... that is, I consider myself a believer and like all young people, “in my own way”, but I believe, I do believe, I do not like the church or anything like that, but I do believe. I pray sometimes, I like it, I think you have to cling to something. [interpreted and slightly reduced]

151 Interviewer: hey and in terms of religion or spirituality, do you believe in anything? Marcianekke: of course! I believe in God, ya know. I believe in God… faith is never lost. Here ... suddenly when they did [evangelical] services I went to the services, ya know. I went... to hear the word of God. For to receive some help because here suddenly the anguish is great and I believe in God and suddenly you pray to God and things turn out well for you, ya know. Do you understand me or not? [I: mm] that faith I have… of believing in God, that is my faith, ya know, and my religion.
Then, religion is rejected as institution, but embraced as experiential (emotional) intermediary to face everyday reality.

6.2 Political opinion

Politics is often considered a main pillar of societies, established through formal institutions, rituals and procedures. However, besides this apparent concreteness and abstractness, the late-modern or post-modern everydayness is often characterised as one of disablement and disaffection\(^{152}\) instead.

For instance, Zygmunt Bauman (2011b, p. 33) describing the political disablement of men and women in postmodern times, equates the sources of this phenomenon to the springs of moral impairment. In fact, Bauman describes the detachment of people from “Politics” regarding the development of what he calls “life-politics”, that is, the management of life strategies in post-modern times.

I suggest that the context in which moral attitudes are forged (or not) is today that of life-politics, rather than social and system structures; that, in other words, the postmodern life strategies, rather than the bureaucratic mode of management of social processes and coordinating action, are the most consequential among the factors shaping the moral situation of postmodern men and women. (Bauman, 2011b, p. 33)

In this sense, Bauman (2000, p. 7) continues, the (liquidising) powers “have descended from the ‘macro’ to the ‘micro’ level of social cohabitation”, eroding the notion of citizenship and the public and its “public issues” of common concern. What can be termed as “public” is, according to Bauman (2000, p. 37) colonised by the ‘private’, being the ‘public interest’ narrowed to the “curiosity about the private lives of public

\(^{152}\) Torcal & Montero (2006, p. 5) describe political disaffection as an attitudinal attribute “characterized by a number of specific symptoms, including a sense of personal inefficacy, cynicism and distrust, lack of confidence in representative institutions and/or the representatives elected, the belief that political elites do not care about the welfare of their citizens, and general sense of estrangement from both politics and the political processes.”
figures”\textsuperscript{153}, turning incomprehensible any public issue which resist such reduction. Therefore, the individual is “the citizen’s worst enemy” insofar “individualisation spells trouble for citizenship and citizenship-based politics” (Bauman, 2000, p. 37).

In the case of Chile, Chilean people suffered a process of political distancing once democracy was recovered (1990 onwards). For instance, Larraín (2006, p. 333) describes a “de-politicisation” that “consistently shows a decrease in identification with political parties, a growing lack of interest in political affairs and a low evaluation of politicians”.\textsuperscript{154}

A process especially present in lower socioeconomic spheres (Larraín, 2006, p. 333) rendered through lack of communication regarding politics, and potentiated by the homogeneous circles recreated in social media (Bargsted et al., 2018). Now, while political disaffection is attitudinal and not directly behavioural (Bargsted et al., 2018, p. 1), there is some evidence that in the case of Chile, this attitude affects, in the end, both conventional and non-conventional political participation (Disi Pavlic & Mardones Arévalo, 2019). This phenomenon of distancing people from politics through critical attitudes nourishing avoidant conduct is crudely problematised by Bauman (2000, p. 39):

Let me repeat: there is a wide and growing gap between the condition of individuals de jure and their chances to become individuals de facto - that is, to gain control over their fate and make the choices they truly desire. It is from that abysmal gap that the most poisonous effluvia contaminating the lives of contemporary individuals emanate. That gap, however, cannot be bridged by individual efforts alone: not by the means and resources available within self-managed life-politics. Bridging that gap is the matter of Politics - with a capital ‘P’ It can be supposed that the gap in question has emerged and grown precisely because of the emptying of public space, and particularly the ‘agora’, that intermediary, public/private site where life-politics meets Politics with the capital ‘P’, where private problems are translated into the language of public issues and public solutions are sought, negotiated and agreed for private troubles.

\textsuperscript{153} In Chile, the idea and display of “farándula” (showbiz) entered the stage after the arriving of democracy in the 90s. Which exalts the lives of “famous” people and their private lives, it is seen as a mechanism of social control, directing the focus on “entertainment” and restraining then any revolting impulse (see Mayol, 2013).

\textsuperscript{154} In Chile, for instance, according to Latinobarómetro survey (Corporación Latinobarómetro, 2018), while in 1995 32% of respondents trust political parties, this attitude decreased to 14% in 2018.
As Somma and Valenzuela (2015) remind us, political participation relates to social cohesion, therefore, political disaffection and its consequent detachment from participation seem to nurture discontent if blended with alleged structurally-embedded toilsome living conditions—for instance, catalysing social revolts such as the occurred in Chile (Alvarado Espina, 2020). How, asks Valenzuela (2008, p. 11), “to obtain social cohesion when the cooperative foundation of civil society does not exist, and the State reveals itself rather incapable of producing effectively equitable institutional arrangements?”

University students are often part of an elite group of people who had the luck of accessing tertiary education. While such privileged position could be thought to exert some protection against political disaffection, the truth according to the narratives collected is that one word to describe how undergraduate participants feel about politics is disappointment. Contrary to what offenders state (see below), university students declared effective participation in both formal and informal political instances, which counterproductively shaped the very sources of their political disaffection. For example, Stevens, a 22 years old student who is in his last phase prior to graduation, states:

...yo en general de los partidos tengo súper mala experiencia, yo participé en la política universitaria fui parte del centro del alumnos de mi carrera... y no me gustó para nada lo que era la política universitaria, sentí que era muy de discursos de que “estamos representando a todos” pero en realidad no estaban representando a nadie... todos velaban por sus intereses, querían figurar, un ambiente muy malo, siento que la política universitaria es básicamente la representación de la política en sí, no me gusta mucho la política...155 (Stevens, 22 years old)

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155 I generally have a super bad experience with [political] parties, I participated in university politics, I was part of the Student Union of my career ... and I did not like at all what university politics was, I felt that it was very about speeches about “representing everyone”, but in reality they weren’t representing anyone... they all looked out for their interests, they wanted to feign, very bad environment, I feel that university politics is basically the representation of politics itself, I don’t like politics... [interpreted].
This stamp of individualism instead of common, public concern frequently appears within the students’ narratives, even unravelling politics from communitarian action, that is, presenting politics as something alien to common good and public concern:

...la verdad últimamente me he visto bastante decepcionado por todas las líneas políticas, yo, últimamente me he generado la mente de que más que política, debiésemos trabajar todos juntos, yo creo que gran parte de la población está teniendo este tipo de pensamiento, que no han sido capaz de responder a las demandas que todos tenemos, ningún sector, entonces no veo representado por ningún partido político la verdad.\(^{156}\) (Andrés, 24 years old)

As we can see, “politics” is equated to “political party” that is linked to politicians incapable of addressing public issues and impacting the everyday lives of Chilean people. Instead, they are seen as distant self-centred people, earning a lot for the sake of themselves.

In the case of incarcerated participants, three words define their attitude towards politics: indifference, antipathy and openly ignorance. These attitudes are complemented with a mediated understanding of politics:

Entrevistador: oye y... en términos políticos, ¿tienes alguna preferencia política, pertenecías a algún movimiento político?
Federico: eh, no. No me gusta la política a mí. Nunca me ha gustado, nunca me ha llamado la atención...
Entrevistador: ...si eres como de izquierda, derecha, centro ¿o nada?
Federico: noo, nada, es que no veo mucha... mucha noticia, mucha tele.\(^{157}\) (Federico, 21 years old)

\(^{156}\) The truth is that lately I have been quite disappointed by all political lines... I’ve made my mind that rather than politics, we should all work together, I believe that a large part of the population is having this sort of thinking... they have not been able to respond to the demands that we all have, none sector, and so I truly don’t see me represented by any political party. [interpreted and slightly reduced].

\(^{157}\) I: …in political terms, do you have any political preferences, did you belong to a political movement? Federico: uh, no. I don’t like politics. I’ve never liked it, it has never caught my attention ... I:... whether you are leftist, right-wing, centre, or nothing? Federico: noo, nothing, because I don’t see much ... much news, much TV. [slightly reduced and interpreted]
Regarding some causes of what can be understand as a special form of “political disaffection”, Marcianeke, for instance, displays a straightforward justification:

¡noo, yo no estoy ni ahí con eso! No me gust- no me interesan a mí los políticos y todos esos weones porque... ¡no tienen ni un brillo! Si uno se pone a ver la tele, hay cualquier gente sufriendo y los weones está reventados en la mea casa, tienen pa’ comer de toda la weá y no saben lo que es pasar hambre y frío. Y no ayudan a la gente pobre los weones, si es la que es, poh, vaya usted pa’ la [su población], hay cualquier gente que nunca le han ayudado. Entonces por eso yo no creo en eso, ¿me entiende o no? Yo no creo en los partidos políticos y weás así porque, porque aparte que uno se anda metiendo en weás, porque uno no puede ir a votar teniendo antecedentes, ¿me entiende o no? No se puede hacer eso poh. Entonces, no, me da lo mismo a mí eso.158 (Marcianeke, 23 years old)

While politics is patently related to political parties, this only contributes to the apathy or even antipathy against politics in general, advocating for a renascent notion of “pueblo” [people]:

Entrevistador: ah, está bien. Entonces como que no tienes una preferencia política...
Francisco: ¡no!
Entrevistador: ¿...de izquierda, de derecha, de centro...?
Francisco: ...no, por el pueblo no más poh
Entrevistador: por el pueblo
Francisco: ...por el pueblo. ¡síi poh!159 (Francisco, 24 years old)

158 Noo, I'm not [interested] with that! I don’t like- I’m not interested in politicians and all those [morons] because… they don’t have [any relevance]. If you watch TV, there are many people suffering and these [morons] are [enjoying] in their big houses, they have to eat all the stuff and they do not know what it’s to feel hunger and cold. And the [morons] do not help poor people… go to the [his neighbourhood], there are many people who have never received any help. So that’ why I don’t believe in it [politics], do you understand me or not? I don’t believe in political parties and stuff like that because, apart from the fact that one is getting involved in stuff [crime], because one can’t vote having a record, do you understand me or not? You can’t. So, no, I don’ care about that [slightly reduced and interpreted].

159 Interviewer: ah, okay. So you don’t have a political preference ...
Francisco: no!
Interviewer:… leftist, right-wing, centre…?
Francisco: ... no, for the people, nothing more.
Interviewer: for the people
Francisco:… for the people. Yeah! [interpreted]
Perhaps we are observing part of what Bauman (2011a, p. 55) calls the “ideology of the end of the ideology” in the on-going process towards post-modernism, a time when the de Tocqueville suspicions appear to be realised, when “the individual is the citizen’s worst enemy” (Bauman, 2000, p. 36). Insofar as the late-modern man and woman stands as an individual, disaffected from politics and its institutions, contemplating a near “fallout” of institutional practices (Offe, 2006, p. 34).

In this sense, the late-modern individual shows himself and herself as unconvinced and suspicious about old notions of social cohesion such as “common cause”, “common good”, “good society” or even “just society” (Bauman, 2000, p. 36). Here is when the “hyper-actor” (Araujo & Martuccelli, 2014) appears, cultivating distrust on meso and macro levels of society and turning the gaze inwards, to the intimal action sphere of every person.

As Offe (2006) hopes, a situation where new social movements can emerge, in addition to alternative modes of mobilisation and representation. However, as the same author warns, it is also ground for anti-liberal ideas to emerge, accompanied by consequent populist projects. A more severe prospection can give rise even to anti-democratic and authoritarian positioning (Offe, 2006, p. 43).

6.3 Belonging to social organisations

While ubiquitous, it is challenging to observe direct and concrete realisation of citizenship(ness) in the everyday. Giddens and Sutton (2015, p. 251) define citizenship as an “status” granted to individuals within political communities which brings certain rights and responsibilities. Those “rights and responsibilities” which constitute the foundation for citizen action and realisation are unmistakably not exempt of ambiguity and lack of apprehensibility.

In this sense, perhaps the notion of social organisation helps to exemplify the concrete realisation of politically influenced local organisations. Organisation, defines
Giddens (1991, p. 16) involves “the regularised control of social relations across indefinite time-space distances”, these social relations, embedded in the everydayness, constitute such organisations but at the same time help to constitute the acting self of the agent, whose “body and soul” become enmeshed in the process (Giddens, 1986).

For the case of imprisoned people, the only social organisation, if any, that they declare to belong was a sport club, specifically a football club. However, this involvement had only to do with playing in those organisations, not participating as a manager or club leader, however, the common answer was simply that they didn’t belong to any social organisation.

Entrevistador: ¿pertenecías a alguna institución social... como junta de vecinos... o club deportivo, cosas así?
Individuo NN: ¡noo! No... yo y mi volá.160 (individuo NN, 22 years old).

By their part, undergraduate students, despite their reduced number, showed a more diverse interest in social organisations and community participation. Likewise, even sharing the interest in sport associations, one participant told about his integration in his local football club's supporters association, narrating how his fellows and he have completed varied activities for the good of the team and institutional cohesion. Nevertheless, there is a common element of students concerning extracurricular activities which is the double experience of interest but at the same time the perception of lack of time:

Andrés: mm, la verdad es que me llaman mucho la atención las instituciones sociales, pero no tengo tiempo para participar en muchas de ellas la verdad pero todo lo que sea social, yo, muy feliz de ayudar. Por ejemplo en la universidad nos tocó en un momento hacer un proyecto que sea, de cualquier tipo, y con mi grupo de trabajo nos fuimos directamente a lo social. Entonces por ejemplo hicimos un concierto de música clásica en Santiago solamente para gente que no

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160 Interviewer: Did you belong to some social institution ... like neighbourhood council ... or sports club, things like that?
Individuo NN: Noo! No... me and my things.
In this sense, students seem to be more readily prepared to integrate in organisations alike to their preferences, despite recognising an impending decrease of time availability due to their studies or work inclusion.

6.4 On Work

Without a doubt, a successful insertion into labour market is one of the most (if not the only) important facets of social inclusion in general. School years are to some extent thought to prepare children to enter adulthood and the labour market as functional and useful members of such society.

Working has many meanings and short and long scale consequences for a society (or even the world as a whole). However, it represents a good example of the interrelatedness between agency and structure. A human agent if want to survive in a modern urban environment, needs almost imperiously to get a job and earn an income. Social structure, by its part, actually depends on the individual efforts of such agents to “function”. At the same time such functioning is hardly determined by reflexive efforts (Giddens, 1986, p. 297) finding, for instance, the perception of some unbalance of the higher education with the labour market, even in the most market-oriented undergraduate program in Chile, studied by the participants of this study.

161 Andrés: mm, the truth is that social institutions draw my attention, but I don’t have time to participate in many of them… but everything that is social, I am very happy to help. For example, at the university we had to do a project of any kind at one point, and with my work group we went directly to the social sphere. So, for example, we did a classical music concert in Santiago only for people who do not have the resources to, for example, pay to enter this kind of … and no, perfect, I, I would like to dedicate myself to that type of thing or help social institutions, I feel like it's the future to think that way [slightly reduced].
...al momento de salir al mercado laboral... no tengo muchos pitutos y cosas por el estilo, así que eso me genera un poco de incertidumbre, la salida al mercado laboral y una profesión más menos saturada.¹⁶² (Stevens, 22, last year)

Moreover, the need for “pitutos”¹⁶³ or contacts within the job market relates to somewhat unequal distribution of labour opportunities. Esteban, (27, defending honours) for instance, is a special case since he couldn’t finish his degree in the expected time, and at the time of the interview was working hard to defend his honours and achieve his diploma. Esteban describes him and his fellow students as “a plague” since business studies is one of the “most profitable at the university level”, then universities, according to him, tend to open many places to new students and collapsing the labour market in the process, exceeding the “supply” over “demand”. This situation extends even to the requisite of practicum previous to graduate.

Some others participants, on contrary, reported better fortune achieving both their practicum and even a first job experience:

Entrevistador: Ok, y ¿estás haciendo algo aparte de estudiar, tu ocupación actual?  
Jacinto: eh, sí, este semestre empecé a trabajar con un amigo que tiene una empresa de... producción audiovisual [que] se abrió al marketing digital, así que ahí me pidió ayuda, estoy trabajando en eso.¹⁶⁴ (Jacinto, 22, last year)

Entrevistador: ya, y ¿tu ocupación actual sería sólo estudiar o estás haciendo otra cosa?  
Mito: estudiante y practicante. De hecho, hoy día hablé con mi jefe porque terminó mi primera práctica, tengo que hacer dos y voy a empezar a trabajar ahora, con mi profesor también, un mes. Así que igual estoy entre trabajando y estudiando.¹⁶⁵ (Mito, 22, last year)

¹⁶²... at the moment of going out to the labour market ... I don't have many [contacts] and things like that, so that generates a bit of uncertainty, the [insertion] to the labour market [with] a more less saturated profession. [interpreted]
¹⁶³ Job opportunities offered by acquainted people able and willing to help in labour insertion. Sometimes without any criteria of merit.
¹⁶⁴ E: Ok, and are you doing anything besides studying, your current occupation? -Q5: uh, yes, this semester I started working with a friend who has a... audio-visual production company [that] opened up to digital marketing, so there he asked me for help. I'm working on that.
¹⁶⁵ E: ok, and what is your current occupation? just studying or are you doing something else? -P6: student and practitioner. In fact, today I talked to my boss because I finished my first practicum, I have to do two
It is worth to note about how both accounts highlight the importance of be acquainted with someone able and willing to help them with their job insertion, nevertheless, there are other experiences, such as the one of Andrés (24 years old, recently graduated) who describes some ease on his insertion into labour market, emphasising the role of internet platforms such as LinkedIn to search and actually find a job in his professional area.

Entrevistador: ya, correcto, o sea ya estás metido en tu carrera, o sea, en lo que estudiaste...
Andrés: claro, igual llevo menos de un año, pero mi primer trabajo y ha sido una bonita experiencia.
Entrevistador: sí, pero te metiste al tiro a tu área, no es una cosa que tuviste que buscar pega en otro lado en otra cosa...
Andrés: claro, es que tenía la empresa más o menos vista, entonces fue como “voy a postular a todos los cargos que hayan y para quedar en cualquiera”... y ahí quedé, esa fue mi estrategia166 (Andrés, 24 years old)

In the case of the incarcerated participants, eight declared being involved in some kind of job before incarceration. Two participants were studying, levelling high school or training some work-related skill. Just one defined his former status as “staying at home” without any specific occupation and the last one declared being actively involved in offending:

Marcianeke: ¡no! Si yo no estudiaba... yo cuando estuve en el Libertad Asistida porque yo pitié un delito, tenía una causa de menor. Estuve ahí, las delegadas, ellas me trataban de buscar pega y... y nunca pudieron, entonces, a mi esa weá me aburrió y quebranté el beneficio. Después andaba quebrantado en la calle antes de venirme preso, tenía que firmar 541 días, dos veces a la semana. Y ellas como me trataban de buscar pega, iban conmigo al [un supermercado] para

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166 Interviewer: yes, correct, that is, you are already involved in your career, that is, in what you studied... - Andrés: of course, I have been less than a year, but my first job and it has been a beautiful experience. - Interviewer: yes, but you got [already] into in your area, it is not that you had to look for elsewhere, in something else -Andrés: of course, I had the company more or less seen, so it was like “I'm going to apply for all the positions there [to be hired] in anyone”... then I was, that was my strategy. [interpreted]
trabajar de eso, ¿cómo se llama esa weá así? Empaquetador parece [Entrevistador: ya, sí]. De eso eh... nunca me dieron pega, como yo era de la [población local socialmente estigmatizada], los weones de repente igual te discriminan, cuesta caleta tratar de salir adelante, ¿me entiende o no? Entonces yo... quebranté el beneficio, tenía que firmar 541 días... y no firmé más, porque quedé quebrantado y después cumplí los 18 y me vine en cana, porque ya me andaba metiendo en weás. Porque no... no pude salir... de la escuela culiá del delito porque como que la misma gente ter trata de incentivar en eso porque uno busca trabajo y toda la weá y te cierran las puertas ¿me entiende o no? [Entrevistador: mmm] y por esa weá yo llegué preso, si no, no hubiera llegado preso, si esta weá de estar preso no es pa’ nadien, ¿o no, oiga? [Entrevistador: no poh] es fome estar preso poh. Yo me [“parquéé” ?] cinco años, cinco año nuevos y es fome vivir esta experiencia. De repente así como que revienten los cascos, toda esa weá te va haciendo mal pa’ la mente...

(Marcianke, 23 years old)

Nevertheless, from those who worked prior to their incarceration, some describe life struggles related to drugs as a main cause of losing a job and even incarceration. Whereas the exact circumstances that involved them in problematic drug consumption were not able to be discussed in detail, Francisco, for instance, refers the emergence in his life of “disorderly” conduct:

Entrevistador: ya, entiendo. Y antes de caer privado de libertad, ¿cuál era tu ocupación, a qué te dedicabas? ¿Trabajabas, estudiabas?

Francisco: [interrumpe] es que sabe lo que pasa es que yo... yo trabajo desde temprana edad, como desde los 16, 17 por ahí. Trabajo, soy... maestro de pintura [E: ya] y... empecé a... a desordenarme la vida, empecé a probar cosas y... ¡aquí estoy poh!

Marcianke: no! If I was not studying ... when I was in probation because I committed a crime, I had a cause as juvenile. I was there, the officers, they tried to find me [a job] and ... and they never could, so that [situation] bored me and I broke the benefit. Afterwards, I was [revoked] on the street before I came to prison, I had to sign 541 days, twice a week. And since they tried to find me a job, they went with me to [a supermarket] to work on that, how is that [thing] called? Packager I think [Interviewer: yeah, yeah]. They never gave a job, as I was from the [socially stigmatized local neighbourhood], [people] discriminate you, it is difficult to try to get ahead, do you understand me or not? So I... I broke the benefit, I had to sign 541 days... and I didn’t sign any more, because I was [revoked] and then I turned 18 and came to [jail], because I was already [doing wrong]. Because I couldn’t... I couldn’t get out ... from the [fucking] crime school because as the same time people try to encourage you in such things because you look for a job and all the stuff and they close the doors, do you understand me or not? [E: hmmm] and because of that I was imprisoned, if not, I would’nt have been imprisoned, if this [thing] of being imprisoned is for nobody, isn’t? [E: is not] is [hard] being in prison poh. I [served] five years, five New Years and it’s [hard] to live this experience. Suddenly, [is like a lot], all that thing is doing bad for your mind ...
Entrevistador: ¿qué probaste?

Francisco: no, si era la droga, pasta base... todas las drogas que andábamos ahí. Pensando como cabro chico como... inmaduro.168 (Francisco, 24 years old).

Being “immature” is a common response to diverse problematic circumstances (see below, chapters 7 and 8) and a key element of the present study since demarcates a narrative turning point in the life stories of the incarcerated participants; which relates, in this case, to a process of full involvement in the labour market in contrast of being “disorderly” or “mess up”. In other words, of being a “kid” or a “man”.

6.5 Thoughts about education

The notion of “education” is possibly one of the common elements of every society. Consequently, learning, whatever the subject or skill is something that appears as “natural” to human lives and structural in sociological terms, an institution connecting generations of people and perpetuating diverse societal dimensions through formal and informal instruction (Giddens & Sutton, 2015).

As Durkheim suggested, education permits inculcating the common values of a society, being still one of the main sources of influence of national values in late-modernity (Young, 2007), among which, the notion of meritocracy has an important place in western contexts (Young, 2003). However, as most (if not all) dimensions of late-modern societies, the educational process is plagued with paradoxical phenomena. Typical analytical resources such as class divisions or plain socioeconomic status invite to think about the real chances of young people to “advance” towards actual success

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168 Interviewer: ok, I understand. And before being incarcerated, what was your occupation, what did you do? Did you work, did you study?
Francisco: [interrupts] you know what happens is that I ... I work from an early age, like from my 16, 17 around. I work, I’m... a painter [E: ya] and… I started to… mess up my life, I started trying things and… here I am ya’know!
I: what did you try?
F: no, if it was the drug, coca paste [similar to crack] ... all the drugs that we were there. Thinking like a kid like ... immature.
without proper education (Merton, 1968), while at the same time the notion of advancement can be questioned since such social “movement” is often directed towards a particular, dominant, set of values and ways of understanding life in such and such society (Clarke et al., 1976). Clarke and his colleagues (1976, p. 51), for instance, argue about how pursuing advancement through education may lead working class youth to “cultural disorientation”, when their experience and self-identity based around mobility, force them to “make a difference” with respect to older generations, turning to the dominant culture and rejecting the “parent culture” in the process. This cultural referencing emanating from education disparages any class determination, and even implies a somewhat coarse “equality” and hegemony.

In the case of Chile, similarly to what Clarke and colleagues state, Araujo and Martuccelli (2011, p. 167) writes about a “positional inconsistency” of people’s position in social life, which is produced by multiple elements non reducible to the sole idea of “class”:

To the triad (employment, income, education) is added a plurality of other factors, such as social capital, the nature of social networks, forms of belonging, social stereotype differentials, the ability to access and control the dominant cultural codes, the importance of places of residence (neighborhoods), the fact of owning or not owning your home, the effects that personal and family life (separations, deaths, and others) have on social trajectories. [own translation]

Thereby, in Chile the idea of social mobility through education was “boosted” in the first years of the return to democracy, basically expanding the supply and offer of all levels of education. This development leads both to an “objective” growth in the measurements of education access (Peña, 2020) and the perception of citizens of social advancement (Araujo, 2019a, p. 19). However, this sudden expansion appears disconnected and uprooted and is subject to adverse interpretations since the drive and direction of such “growth” is not properly mediated by the whole social structure; converting education into a mere goal in itself, devoid of purpose other than of enlarging statistical figures. In
this sense, Mayol (2019, pp. 72–73) lists this state of affairs as a condition for social discontent and one of the possible determinants of 2019 Chilean social outburst.

Chilean higher education for instance, contemplated an explosive increase in enrolment, but accompanied by an increase in the value of university system fees and student debt (Pérez-Roa, 2019, p. 90), which in turn, paradoxically augments the chances of unemployment and financial indebtedness, starting a vicious circle of objective impoverishment and subjective frustration. As Ruiz and Boccardo (2014, p. 64) argue, depending on the manifold origin of the new aspiring students, they will come to occupy similar assorted social hierarchies, but tending to maintain social differences despite achieving similar educational accomplishments. This situation has the double edge of the enrichment of the creditor.\textsuperscript{169}

Utilising the expression of Seamster and Charron-Chénier (2017), educational loans seem to be a “predatory” institutional practice, which is presented as an opportunity for the social and economic progress of the most vulnerable individuals but, in the long term, they reproduce the inequality and their insecurity, thereby allowing the dominant social actors to obtain significant benefits. (Pérez-Roa, 2019, p. 96, own translation)

Nonetheless, without disregard for the above, the incarcerated participants of this study seem to be noticeably distant from such reality, insofar as higher education (and its economical struggles), does not even appear in their accounts. On contrary, they tend to refer elementary school difficulties seasoned with some educational disinterest and eventual resignation:

\textit{Individuo NN: yo, en realidad era re flojo en el colegio... quedé repitiendo cuatro veces. Tres veces en la básica, y cuando pasé a primero medio no quise seguir estudiando, ya tenía 17.}\textsuperscript{170}

(Individuo NN, 22 years old).

\textsuperscript{169} Often involving both individual and public sources of income, for instance through a system called “state endorsed credit” (CAE by its acronym in Spanish).

\textsuperscript{170} Individuo NN: I was actually super lazy at school... I kept [failing and taking the level again] four times. Three times in elementary school, and when I went to high school, I didn’t want to continue studying, I was already 17.
These difficulties are the background experiences of incarcerated participants, who are not alien to the sense of achievement that educational grades may confer, reinforcing the interpretation of frustrating and exclusionary experiences over plain apathy, at least at their current life-course stage.

José: no y ¡bacán! Bacán tener el cuarto medio ¡es bacán poh!
E: qué bueno… ¿y eso lo pudiste sacar allá dentro?
José: sí poh, aquí poh. Dos cursos en uno.
E: estás al otro lado entonces, vas a alcanzar a terminarlo.
José: ¡sí poh! Noo, alcanzo a terminar de más. Igual, cualquier cosa si no alcanzo a terminarlo, voy a terminarlo en la calle no más, en una nocturna, porque igual el cuarto medio me sirve. 171
(José, 21 years old)

In stark contrast, as Giddens (1986, p. 91) warns us “agents whose lives are spent in one type of milieu may be more or less ignorant of what goes on in others”, and consequently undergraduate students tend to assess their reality from their particular individual position.

Jacinto: …considero que ingeniería comercial no es la… la gran cosa ahora.
E: ¿ya? ¿cómo así?
Jacinto: considero que ya… la carrera es casi un commodity.
E: ¿ya? Me podrías explicar eso por favor…
Jacinto: que cualquier persona puede tener una carrera ya.172 (Jacinto, 22 years old)

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171 José: no yeah great! It’s great to have [completed high school] is great y’know! -Interviewer: how good ... and could you get that there? -José: yeah, here ya’know. Two courses in one. -Interviewer: you are [on the right track], you will be able to finish it. -José: yeah! Noo, I'll manage to finish it loosely. Anyway, if I can’t, I’m just going to finish it on the street, at night, because high school [diploma] [will help] me.

172 Jacinto: …I consider that commercial engineering [business studies] is not the… the big thing now. Interviewer: yeah? In what sense? Jacinto: I consider that now… the [bachelor] degree is almost a commodity. Interviewer: ok? Could you explain that to me please ... Jacinto: that anyone can have a [bachelor] degree now.
This account mirrors the common attitude of all undergraduate participants, whose perception about education is levelled to their particular realities, namely, despite some differences in their perception about their ability to enter the labour market, every participant, no matter their current circumstances, refer education\textsuperscript{173} as something normal and expectable.

6.6 Stories of Class, Economy and Social Justice

Social class and class formation's concept presents a broad intellectual landscape in social sciences. This starting point sprouts manifold problems, for instance, Clarke and his colleagues (1976, p. 10) from a English subcultural standpoint taking for granted the notion of class, focus their attention on the everyday experience and highlight the importance of culture as the “way of life” of the class or group. Such ways is substantiated by its meanings, values and ideas, in short, how the world is appreciated and experienced. However, regarding class formation in English contexts, Somers (1992) also assesses the problematic nature of taking social classes for granted from preformed standpoints and socio-historical causal accounts, leaving the notion of social class unfounded.

Giddens and Sutton (2015, p. 121) for instance, from an introductory standpoint claim that the concept social class has been lengthy debated, offering a general conceptual articulation between occupation, property, wealth, and lifestyle choices. They propose that may exists some consensus over consider the term as “a form of social stratification that characterises modern industrialised countries” but with spreading scope since capitalism has advanced pervading other nations around the globe. Recognising its relevance, Giddens and Sutton venture a definition affirming that “classes are large groups of people who share common economic resources, and who greatly influence the type of lifestyle they can lead. Possession of wealth and occupation are the main bases of class differences” (2015, p. 122). Therefore, being openly

\textsuperscript{173} Higher education.
reductionist, social classes can be understood as categories for how much money people earn and how this articulates with their everyday experience of life. This notion includes the three common temporal distinctions of past, present and future insofar as the personal stories permeate the present situation, opening (and delimiting) prospective possibilities. However, as Honneth (2007, pp. 68–69) describes, currently an statement about class as a collective project is hard to enunciate, notwithstanding that these can be viewed as times of new social class formation amidst a disarray of aesthetics (Harvey, 1990 ch. 21).

Whatever the case, the imaginary of classes are part of common discourse, connected to notions such as economy, fairness and justice. In this sense, for our incarcerated participants, “class” differences are explicit and constitutive of Chilean society. For instance, Marcianeke describes how, despite his evident disadvantageous situation, he attributes positive traits to himself precisely due to the unfavourable circumstances he had to bear in life, which make a distinction between him and people who have had “everything paid in life”, namely, whose basic and further necessities are already satisfied.

Marcianeke: yo soy más que una cachá de weones, sí yo he vivido más que... yo no he tenido todo pagado en la vida, yo he sabido salir adelante solo, ¿me entiende o no? [E: sí poh]... yo nunca nací en una cuna de oro, entonces en ese sentido por eso yo soy así, no soy agrandado, tampoco soy miraror en menos, nada de eso, al contrario, trato de ser... lo más persona posible.174 (Marcianeke, 23 years old)

Nevertheless, we also found accounts that establish similarities between their situation and that of higher classes, particularly in the means to acquire things in life, while at the same time recognising differences in the treatment received, making explicit their perception about the unequal justice distribution.

174 Marcianeke: I am more than a bunch of blokes, if I have lived more than ... I haven’t had everything paid in life, I have managed to get ahead alone, do you understand me or not? [E: yeah] ... I [didn’t] born in a golden cradle, so in that sense that is why I am like this, I am not [conceited], I [don’t look down anyone], none of that, on the contrary, I try to be ... as much “person” [roughly translated as “gentle”] as possible.
Diego: Pero pa’ eso, hay que tener plata. Si al final todos roban, pa’ armarse... Piñera, fue pa’ l sur, estafó un banco... estafó ¿cuántos millones se fueron? Muchos millones, se fue pa’ otro lado, lo invirtió y volvió, con la plata lavada ¿de dónde sacó la plata? Nadie sabe... pero aquí uno se roba una gallina, se roba un chocolate en el supermercado, te ponen meses.175 (Diego, 23 years old)

E: o sea, ¿hay diferencias dices tú?
Bastián: sí porque la clase alta no es como uno poh, no, no, o sea todos los chilenos tienen las mismas condenas pero ellos siempre no se vienen en cana. Más encima son personas inteligentes, que ha estudiado…176 (Bastián, 23 years old)

In the last case, Bastián with some perplexity makes the distinction with higher class people who, according to him, are “intelligent people” who “have studied”. It contrasts a common premise about the relationship between crime and education, according to which, accessing to education and associated pro-social opportunities would contribute to distancing from crime. In this line, individuo NN states a point towards the chance of despite some similarities, in the end, there are differences indeed:

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175 But for that, you must have money. If in the end everyone steals, to arm themselves ... Piñera [current Chilean president], went south, swindled a bank ... swindled, how many millions? Many millions, he went to other place, he invested it and came back, with the money laundered, where did he get the money from? Nobody knows ... but here you steal a chicken, steal a chocolate in the supermarket, they put months [sanctioned] on you.

176 Interviewer: I mean, there are differences, you say? - Bastián: yeah because the upper class is not like one y’know, no, no, I mean all Chileans have the same sentences but they always don’t fall into jail. Moreover they are intelligent people, who have studied...

177 Interviewer: so you tell me that there is not much difference between the rich and the poor, just the opportunities that are presented to them ... -individual NN: noo! no ... -Interviewer: they are all [cunning],
This sort of argument goes in the fashion with a now popularised phrase: “el rico se hace más rico y el pobre más pobre” [the rich get richer and the poor get poorer], also stated by most of our participants. It implies an essential difference between a constructed group categorised as “rich” and another regarded as “poor” who oppose both in living conditions and in how members of both groups perceive and appraise their lives. In this sense, for our participants, the figure of the rich appears as a hybrid: somewhat imaginary but also a concrete figure surrounded with commodities and comfort\textsuperscript{178}.

While with nuances, this difference is also perceived by undergraduate students, who tend to describe themselves as “privileged”.

E: ¿cómo es eso –ya que lo mencionaste- cómo de ser alguien “privilegiado”? ¿Cómo definirías o cómo describirías a alguien “privilegiado”? 
Stevens: ya, primero, privilegiado porque no tengo que trabajar por ejemplo y mis papás cubren mis necesidades básicas, y bien o sea, me puedo... no sólo me alimento, sino que me alimento bien, puedo realizar actividad física, ehm... y un montón de cosas, he podido conocer otros países y otras culturas... he podido tener una educación más o menos buena también. Mis papás también son profesionales los dos entonces me han podido inculcar eh... varias cosas en mi educación y... en general me he involucrado con personas buenas que también eso ayuda bastante... así que en varios sentidos soy privilegiado, o sea... también por cómo me veo siento yo que soy como privilegiado porque nunca he tenido problemas por mi apariencia, como le decía anteriormente.\textsuperscript{179} (Stevens, 22 years old)
This notion of being privileged may be used to define people in similar situations and explain differences in the outcome of a particular educational path. For instance, Esteban, who is in somewhat disadvantageous situation compared to Stevens, that is, behind on graduation deadlines, explain how some of his classmates whose living conditions can be described as “privileged” – according to Stevens position- tended to accomplish their degree easily and on time to the expected formal schedule.

It is worthy to note that Esteban disclosed a particularly critical stance compared to his colleagues, showing some ambivalence in identifying with his studies and its implications. In this regard, while he recognises common elements with those privileged classmates, he also distinguishes himself from the rest, even describing an extremely stereotypical “type” of business student called “zorrón” characterised by ambition, arrogance, upper-class orientation in addition to certain superficiality. It is believed this “kind” of person would be attracted by degrees such as business studies but prone to attend distinctive private institutions as Jacinto also agreed. Esteban went further defining how the more prestigious or expensive the university is, more attractive it

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180 But in general, most of the people who finished in time were people who didn’t have relevant financial problems, had a more or less calm life in that regard, were focused on the studies, on the university and were able to dedicate the necessary time. In addition, they also had their goals, their expectations and their forms ... configuration, let's say, perhaps they had a firmer base, which also determines success in the degree right at the beginning.

181 A way to say “big [male] fox”.

182 Another undergraduate participant, Mito, also highlights a tendency to talk especially about parties and luxury.
results to “zorrones”. However, he is also clear in affirming that his degree embraces assorted people, including middle-classers aspiring social mobility.

Ahora, tampoco es que todos sean zorrones, hay mucha gente que estudia comercial, incluido yo porque es una comercial que aspira bastante, tiene esta capacidad de adaptarse... es una carrera que ha atraído mucho la atención de la gente clase media que busca salir, como yo... 183

(Esteban, 27 years old)

Therefore, we can agree with Giddens and Sutton (2015, p. 124) when they state that class has not become irrelevant for people, however, we contradict their claim that people may not perceive themselves as belonging to a particular social class. These people, both students and incarcerated, consider themselves as “middle-class” and “poor” 184 respectively, highlighting how the “class” within which anybody born constitutes an important determinant of his or her appraisal of social reality and even his or her chances in life.

Such chances and appraisals are deep-seated in social reality and in the same way that such reality, ambivalence and ambiguity reign. For the case of “white-collar” crime, especially illegal collusion, while students repudiate abuses of the system they also understand that they go hand in hand with the rules of the “game”.

E: y tú, considerando lo que estudias y ya que está como de moda, entre comillas “moda”, este tema de lo que ha pasado con el tema del caso Penta, caso pollos, caso confort, etc. Etc. ¿qué piensas tú de eso?
Rag: pienso que son ejemplos de... un sistema de Estado tardío de que demuestra sus errores en ciertas situaciones, siendo un país pequeño muy concentrado, con pocos competidores, relativamente nuevos, es una multitud de factores que lo hacen ideal para que ocurran estos abusos para... para... no quiero decir sistema pero como para “el juego” en general. Y... están

183 Now, it is not that they are all [zorrones], there are many people who study business, including me [because is for people who] aspires a lot, she has this ability to ... it’s a degree that has attracted a lot of attention from middle-class people looking to get out, like me ...
184 Patas Cortas, eloquently describes: “...everyone has their needs, upper class, middle class, lower class, but there is another class, which is the one who doesn’t have... the one who lives on the streets, the one who goes hungry, the one who does not have to eat one day, the next neither, the after they do, then no...
mal, están... [ininteligible] a hacer trampa, si me venís a hacer trampa, el tema de los pollos, si me venís a hacer trampa con una necesidad como es la comida, obviamente me voy a sentir ofuscado. Por el caso del Penta, en general el tráfico de influencias, de nuevo, es un asuma de factores de un sistema que está viendo en este momento, está probando sus límites, como un programa, como los [ininteligible] está viendo este tipo de áreas que... que con el tiempo se han demostrado pueden ser abusables y pueden ser utilizadas, en general todo el tema de las licitaciones, como se demuestran y... no sé, una suma de factores de cómo está establecida la política... no sólo en el país, sino el tema de las políticas exteriores y cuál es la posición del país respecto a estas y... bueno, me ofuscan, pero sé que así funciona el sistema y que generalmente no existieran ese tipo de cosas... (RaG, 23 years old)

As we can see, while RaG openly declares his feelings about white collar crime is also honest in his assessment about how the system works, which is a meaningful opinion since is precisely his area of study. This ambivalence is shared by others of his colleagues, for instance Mito, who advocates for a vindication of the figure of the “entrepreneur”.

Mito: la verdad es que a mí me da mucha rabia que pasen esas cosas [ríe]... me molesta mucho porque... como te había mencionado antes, a mí no me gusta la gente ambiciosa y... es re fácil ser millonario haciéndola por el lado ilegal o por el lado donde sobrepasa 'i a otros- cuando uno habla de otros no habla solamente de las personas, puede sobrepasar al gobierno, puede sobrepasar al medioambiente, puede sobrepasar a sus trabajadores... a cualquier grupo de interés que al final tiene contigo... eh, para mí, yo soy del pensamiento que es súper fácil hacer, tener plata así, es súper fácil ser multimillionario y ser una persona de renombre así... cualquiera lo puede hacer, pero... eso no es ético, eso no se puede hacer. Y encuentro que no es responsable de su parte, no dan un buen ejemplo y bueno, por la culpa de ellos el, el, el nombre “empresario” está súper manchado hoy en día, porque uno piensa en un empresario y uno

185 Interviewer: and you, considering what you study ... this issue of what has happened with the issue of the Penta case, the chicken case, the comfort case, etc. Etc. [collusion] what do you think of that? -RaG: I think they are examples of ... a late state system that shows its errors in certain situations, being a very concentrated small country, with few, relatively new competitors, it is a multitude of factors that make it ideal for these to occur abuses for ... for ... I do not mean system but as for "the game" in general. And ... they’re wrong ... if you come to cheat me ... with a need such as food, obviously I'm going to feel obfuscated ... I don't know, a sum of factors of how the policy is established ... not only in the country, but the issue of foreign policies and what is the country's position regarding these and ... well, they obfuscate me, but I know that this is how the system works ...
In the case of incarcerated people, the common assessment was “everyone steals”, especially when profiting from cunning [“astucia’”] practices. However, once again, while they recognise “shared” means [“stealing”], they also make the point around differences between “the rich” (they) and “the poor” (us), especially concerning the sanctions involved in white-collar crimes.

E: ya, te entiendo. Ok. Y... respecto a este tema del dinero que estábamos hablando... no sé si supiste los casos de colusión, de caso confort, pollos, caso Penta [Esteban: ¿las estafas se refiere usted?] claro, ¿qué piensas tú de esas cosas?
Esteban: estaba mal poh, mal porque son gente que... de alguna u otra manera trata de sacarle dinero a los que no tienen poh, y a los que consumen se los hunden. [Entrevistador: súper. Te entiendo.] como que quieren aprovecharse... cuántos años robaron y... y no les hacen nada poh. (Esteban, 25 years old)

Despite “nobody does anything”, however, if society institutions take actions about the issue (judicial procedures), the common perception among these incarcerated men is that rich people never would be sanctioned the same way as they have been, despite that the

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186 Mito: the truth is that it makes me very angry that these things happen [laughs] ... it bothers me a lot because ... as I mentioned before, I don't like ambitious people and ... it's easy to be a millionaire doing it on the illegal side or on the side where you push others around- when you speak of others, you don’t only speak of people, you push the government around, you push around the environment, you push around your workers ... I think that it is super easy to do, have money like that, it's super easy to be a billionaire and be a renowned person like that... anyone can do it, but... that's unethical, that can't be done. And I find that it is not responsible on their part, they do not set a good example and well, because of them ... the name "businessman" is super stained nowadays, because you think of an entrepreneur and you think of the pig that eats everything and doesn't give a damn about everything around it and I think it's not like that, I mean ... you have to clean up that businessman's name a bit.

187 Interviewer: I understand. Okay. And... regarding this issue of money that we were talking about... I don't know if you knew about the cases of collusion, the [toilet paper] case, chickens, the Penta case [Esteban: are you referring to the scams?] Of course, what do you think of those things? -Esteban: it was wrong y’know, wrong because they are people who… in some way or another try to get money from those who don't have y’know, and they sink who consume. [Interviewer: super. I understand.] ... like they want to take advantage ... how many years they stole and ... and [nobody] does anything y’know.
quantifiable elements to compare (amount of money) are by no means comparable. Therefore, same as RaG described before, Bastián for example remarks the conditions within this kind of crimes occur:

\[
\text{Se les da la mano a ellos porque a ellos nunca les va pasarle na’... Porque a ellos no le van darle meses preso, le van a darle ¿qué? El servicio a la comunidad o cosas así. Y son ¡miles de millones que se roban!}^{188}\quad \text{(Bastián, 23 years old)}
\]

These “rules of the game” are the only attribution to structural factors made by these people to conditions of inequality, marking a clear distinction between the forthcoming Chilean society and their contrasting personal future (see chapter 8). Namely, these incarcerated people think about themselves as able to act “outside” the structural constraints imposed by their home society.

Once we revised and compared the topics selected for this Chapter, the following discussion –using the Mertonian analytic framework- will observe values, goals and means within the accounts of our participants. Such endeavour will be carried out considering the late-modern revision offered by cultural criminology and the Chilean critical sociology presented in Section I –pursuing the intention of disclosing mainstream convergences and deviant struggles.

\[^{188}\text{They are given the opportunity because nothing will ever happen to them ... Because they’re not going to give them months in prison, they’re going to give them what? Community service or things like that. And there are billions that are stolen!}\]

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Chapter 7
VALUES, GOALS AND MEANS: MAINSTREAM CONVERGENCES AND
DEVIANT STRUGGLES

7.1 Neoliberal values and attitudes

The one-dimensional individualistic antisocial portrayed in the literature (CÔTÉ, 1996; Hall et al., 2008; Hall & Winlow, 2015; Lyng, 1990; Treadwell et al., 2012; Wearing et al., 2013) is put into question. The caricatured figure of the late-modern neoliberal delinquent (see sections 1.3, 3.3 and Chapter 2), narcissistic, hedonistic and above all individualistic, is the contrasting “straw man” from which our analysis starts and is oriented.

The swinging gaze from such critical stereotypes to what our participants have to say is the following sections’ leading (in-tension) intention. In the way, we also consider the “deviancy” of our undergraduate participants and how the very term “deviate” begins to blur or is re-drawn. Having said that, the following text is meant to be somewhat confusing. If we question the meaning of deviancy, then what is the “conventional”? The answer to that question, perhaps, lies in the point of reference from where the reader addresses the accounts of these participants. Since real life is never as clean as described in the books, the perhaps ambiguity of the passages below aims to question deviancy (and conventionalism) and have in mind that the meanings and horizons opened may constitute transitional narratives for new meanings and horizons. The perhaps naïve but iconoclast treatment of those “straw men” is seen here beneath the lights of optimism as signs of “novel” cultural horizons.

7.1.1 Ambition

In contrast to what is depicted in critical accounts such as the ultra-realist perspective by Hall and colleagues (2008), the incarcerated participants of this study did not show
evident signs of ambition. For ultra-realism (Hall et al., 2008), an unseen feature of late-modern crime is that, contrary to what was once stated by Cohen (1955), young offenders do not want to clash with middle-class mainstream values, but on the contrary, they would want “a piece of action” (Hall et al., 2008, p. 87), instead they want:

…the security that a measure of financial success can bring, but they also hope to push past this point and access the opulent heights of indulgent hedonism and haute bourgeoisie status whose images are now broadcast incessantly across the globe by the marketing industry and mass media (emphasis in the original).

Nevertheless, these participants recognised that they shared such values of success and money valuation (when they were young), but currently, ambition-related accounts were not prevalent. However, at the same time they were able to acknowledge the “mainstream” character of profit-seeking, for instance, explicit in the words of Bastián:

¡es que todos lucran! Noo poh, porque todas las personas, las personas siempre van a tratar de rescatar algo\(^{189}\) (Bastián, 23 years old)

**Undergraduate** participants also share to some extent this assessment. For instance, half of the participants describe some accounts related to ambition:

Andrés: hmm, la verdad es que cuando uno empieza a trabajar y todo eso, se pone un poquito más ambicioso\(^{190}\) (Andrés, 24 years old)

However, most of the statements refer to the disapproval of ambition as an end (or means) in itself:

...pero considero que el hecho ya de ganar por ganar y estar siempre buscando ganar, ganar como sin tope no le veo sentido.\(^{191}\) (Jacinto, 22 years old)

\(^{189}\)…is that everyone profits! No yeah, because everyone will always try to catch something. [interpreted]

\(^{190}\)Hmm, the truth is that when you start working, you get a little more ambitious.
Indeed, for instance, Mito identifies such value-laden attitude as a sign to frown upon people who show evident positive valuation to ambition.

...a mí algo que no me gusta mucho de la gente es la ambición. A mí eso, me molesta mucho porque siento que muchos de los problemas que tenemos hoy en día es porque las personas son muy ambiciosas. Las personas siempre quieren más, siem... no sé, siempre, siempre tienen como esa, como esa cuestión de tener de, aprovechar... por el bienestar propio.¹⁹² (Mito, 22 years old)

In the same way, incarcerated participants also question those values¹⁹³, finding then ambivalence in the narratives of both groups of participants. We find both acceptance and questioning of what can be understood as “neoliberal values” —in line with what Araujo (2017) and several other scholars similarly describe (see, for instance, Larraín, 2014; Mayol et al., 2013).

The existence of this ambivalence is clarified in the words of Araujo, who suggest that the “neoliberal order is imposed from the facticity of the world and not through consciences” (Araujo, 2017, p. 3). Therefore, neoliberal (mainstream) values are not abstract entities floating without overlapping everyday lives. On the contrary, these phenomena that scholarly can be distinguished and understood as “neoliberal” have actual, concrete embeddedness within social life.

Neoliberal background renders substantial practices framed within institutional settings: it constitutes real life, actually, daily. And as such, the same way a cage constitutes the world for a captive animal, all this institutional environment demarcates what is possible and what is not within these contexts (predominantly urban contexts),

¹⁹¹ …but I consider that winning for the sake of winning and always looking to win, winning like no limit, I don't see any sense in it.
¹⁹² …something I don't really like about people is ambition. That bothers me a lot because I feel that many of the problems we have today is because people are very ambitious. People always want more, they always want to have... um... I don't know, always, always they have this thing of having, taking advantage of... for their own well-being. [slightly reduced and interpreted].
¹⁹³ “…people are sometimes wrong about that, that they focus on material things” (Fabián, incarcerated)
forcing therefore to adopt, adapt and even cherish the cage itself\textsuperscript{194}. In this line of thought, there are not many alternatives to neoliberal values since it constitutes what is valuable in itself.

Is that so? Let us see what we found for the case of other “common” neoliberal values: materialism and consumerism.

7.1.2 Materialism and consumerism

In neoliberal or late-capitalist societies, materialism and consumerism are often associated with individualism and, therefore, narcissistic and hedonistic characters (Hall et al., 2008; Wearing et al., 2013, see the following section). Likewise, legal or illegal consumer-oriented activities are usually described as scaffolds for expression and identity-formation (K. J. Hayward, 2004; Martin, 2009; Young, 1999).

As we mentioned, neoliberal realities tend to be perceived as hegemonic and absolute (Hall & Winlow, 2015; Treadwell et al., 2012), and even protests and social discontent have been presented as emptied of alternatives to neoliberal politics (see Ruiz & Boccardo, 2014, regarding the Chilean context).

However, as the work of Mayol and colleagues propose (2013), neoliberal public narratives are not the sole cultural references that give meaning to Chilean lives. Another traditional, atavistic cultural matrix (related to hacienda) pervades Chilean ways of understanding social life and competing with entrepreneurship, individualism-driven neoliberal framework. Therefore, different cultural articulations may be found in Chilean’s accounts.

While it is hardly plausible suggesting the achievement of a novel cultural matrix, the accounts gathered for the present report suggest the on-going formation of different ways to value social realities.

Regarding materialistic drives prone to consumption, \textit{incarcerated} participants defend a non-individualistic approach of purchasing commodities based upon a

\textsuperscript{194} The “neoliberal self” in plenitude (see McGuigan, 2014).
predominantly gendered role of care for their current or potential families (see section 7.3 below). For instance, it is worthy to note how Marcianeke, regarding the act of purchasing commodities, immediately directs his response to his family:

_E: comprar cosas, por ejemplo, cuando puedes comprar cosas ¿te gusta? ¿te hace sentir bien?_
_Marcianeke: ¡obvio que sí! Todo por ayudarlos a ellos, sí a uno- a mí me da lo mismo las weás materiales, porque yo he sido- así como he tenido, no he tenido poh. Yo prefiero mil veces ayudar a mi familia que tapizarme a mi mismo. Tapizarme, comprarme una pinta... comprarme una pinta, comprarme una ropa, a mí me da lo mismo eso. Prefiero ayudar a mi familia, a mi taita, prefiero que el refrigerador esté lleno, que nunca le falte nada que comer. Trato de hacer lo mejor que puedo._

(Marcianeke, 23 years old)

In this regard, Francisco’s account supplements Marcianeke’s point of view. Francisco acknowledges the “mainstream” quality of the pleasurable experience of buying commodities. However, he steps aside and declares his current inclination to buy “just what’s missing”:

_E: y a ti ¿te gusta comprar cosas por ejemplo?_
_Francisco: ¡obvio! Sí poh, sí... ¡a todos! tener, vestirme bien... aprovecho harto la plata si... pero de comprarme cuestiones, no, no, lo que falte no más._

(Francisco, 24 years old)

Considering this and other accounts, we argue that money is not idealised but is weighted as essential to subsistence. This assessment may denote a deeper but at the same time “pedestrian” relationship with money and its essential trading function, which might be somewhat unnoticed in younger years.

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195 _E: buy things, for example, when you can buy things, do you like it? It makes you feel good? Marcianeke: yeah, of course! Everything to help them, yes to me- the material things don't matter to me, because I have been- just as I have had, I haven't had y’know. I prefer a thousand times to help my family than to upholster myself. Upholster me, buy me a [outfit]... buy me some clothes, that doesn't matter to me. I prefer to help my family, my [dad], I prefer that the refrigerator is full, that there never lacks something to eat. I try to do the best I can._

196 _E: And you like to buy things for example? Francisco: of course! Yeah, yeah... everyone! to have, to dress well... I take advantage of the money a lot... but buying things, no, no, just what’s missing..._
E: ¿qué piensas de obtener dinero y cosas materiales? ¿qué tan importante es eso para ti en tu vida?
Diego: mire, el dinero, si no tenís dinero, no compra’i cosas para comer... porque no va’i náh al supermercado y le va’i “oiga regáleme un cuarto de carne molida”. O vamos a llegar al fin de mes y es pagar agua, luz y gas... 197 (Diego, 23 years old)

In this regard, once again, a “class distinction” appears between people who can and who cannot afford a more comfortable life. Fabián, for instance, distinguishes that consumerism as an utterly individual phenomenon is prevalent among people who have a minimum basis of material subsistence fulfilled. This line of thought converges with our suggestion about life stage differences regarding consumerism: in earlier stages, despite all negligence, a minimal subsistence basis (provided by some caregiver) might allow focusing consciousness towards consumer goods. Similarly, middle-classers living within a minimum sustenance basis can get carried away by materialistic yearnings. However, arriving in adulthood and embracing caring roles, such intentionality is redirected to subsistence and family welfare.

E: ya, ya... por ejemplo... hace poco hubo una ministra que dijo que... con la plata del retiro del 10% la gente se iba a comprar teles y cosas así... ¿qué piensas de eso?
Fabián: pa’ la gente que no le falta ¡obvio! Obvio que van a aprovechar de siempre querer algo más... pero pa’ la gente que le falta, que necesita, no poh, no es así, ellos la usan pa’ su familia... 198 (Fabián, 24 years old).

197 E: what do you think about getting money and material things? How important is that to you in your life?
Diego: look, money, if you don't have money, you don't buy things to eat... because you don't go to the supermarket and you say "hey, give me a quarter of ground beef". Or we are going to reach the end of the month and it is to pay water, electricity and gas...
198 E: ok, ok... for example... recently there was a minister who said that... with the 10% of the retirement money, people would buy TVs and things like that... what do you think of that? 
Fabián: for the people who are not lacking, obviously! Obviously they are going to take advantage, always wanting something more... but for the people who lack it, who need it, no way, it's not like that, they use it for their family...
Once again, Fabián shows how mainstream values, in this case, consumer-related values, are not alien to him and his immediate world. However, he declares how consumerism related to luxury items turn unnecessary in the face of need.

E: ya. ¿Pero a ti te gusta comprar cosas?^199?
Fabián: ¡obvio como a todos! todos tenemos sus gustos y cosas así, pero... no me llama mucho la atención porque a veces uno gasta la plata en cosas que pueden servir para otras cosas, como por ejemplo... uno se malgasta la plata y... hay que guardarla en caso de alguna emergencia o tu familia esté enferma o alguien, un ser querido. Uno los puede apoyar así, monetariamente poh. En vez de comprar unas zapatillas de 200 lucas, mejor gasta’i de 100 o 50 lucas unas zapatillas, guarda’i el resto, va’i ahorrando, pa’ cosas necesarias. Yo encuentro que la ropa y lujos son todos innecesarios, malgasta la plata no más.199 (Fabián, 24 years old)

As Marcianeke told us, “tapizarse” [upholstering] is the Chilean slang word to name the act of wearing luxury items. Going “upholstered” is—as Patas cortas defines—wearing “chains, watches... Jordan shoes, Jordan sweatshirt, a complete Jordan outfit” and constitutes a common way to identify people who are interested in showing “status” (Hall et al., 2008; K. J. Hayward, 2004; Romero Miranda, 2018; Young, 2003).

While the Chilean version of this struggle arguably also remedies experiences of ontological insecurity (see section 1.5), it also serves as a stigma eraser for “the poor or marginal subject”, as Romero (2018) states. This latter sheds light on the cruder, material dimension of deprived lives, emerging the question about how ontological and material deprivation intertwine and interplay (see section 7.3 below and Conclusion).

It is worthy to note how going “upholstered” raises a paradox. Many disadvantaged young people “adorn” themselves with prohibitive commodities. They cover their (often scarred, badly tattooed, and brown-skinned) bodies and get (literally)

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199: E: Yeah. But do you like to buy things? Fabián: Obviously, like everyone! we all have our tastes and things like that, but... it doesn't really catch my attention because sometimes you spend money that can be used for other things, for example... you waste money and... you have to save it in case something happens emergency or your family is sick or someone, a loved one. You can support them like this, monetarily y’know. Instead of buying 200 bucks sneakers, it is better to spend 100 or 50, save the rest, save money, for necessary things. I find that clothes and luxuries are all unnecessary, just a waste of money.
upholstered like a cheap couch. Therefore, in an effort to show earned status, they visually label themselves as delinquents and marginals –implying some positive consequences limited to the confines of their local neighbourhoods (Romero Miranda, 2018).

This phenomenon resembles the “chav” phenomenon in British realms (K. Hayward & Yar, 2006; Martin, 2009). Regarding the latter, Martin (2009, p. 140) reflects how “chavs” do not identify as such and also would lack something similar to a “class consciousness” –condition attributed to relative confinement within their disadvantaged environments. This latter raises questions about the complexities of cultural hybridisation (see section 2.3).

According to their accounts, going upholstered is commonplace in the immediate contexts of incarcerated participants. Individuo NN is clear in this respect, but he also distinguishes that although such expressions are present, there is room for “dissent” since valuing going upholstered is a subject of personal choice.

E: ya. Pero ¿tú crees que hay… chicos como de tu edad o en la calle que tú ves o ahí mismo donde estás que les interesa ese tema de andar tapizado con cosas, o no?

individuo NN: ¡síi pooh! En este tiempo se ve harto eso. Pero depende de la persona200 (individuo NN, 22 years old)

Of those who “choose” to upholster themselves, Federico gives us some hints about the personal meaning of such particular practice. Federico remarks several dimensions about going upholstered: a) an aesthetic one, whose signification might point in turn, both to inward and outward directions (namely, identity formation and inter-subjective expressivity); b) a specific meaning related to money as a sign of mainstream hybridisation or “bricollaged” culture (K. J. Hayward & Young, 2004; Young, 1999, 2011); c) a “neo-Mertonian” interpretation where instead of the classical and simpler cultural delivery about money accumulation, in the current times of “Global Merton”

200 E: yeah. But do you think that there are… boys your age or in the street that you see or right there where you are who are interested in that style of going upholstered or not?
Individuo NN: yeah! These times you see that a lot. But it depends on the person
(Young, 2007, p. 155), the message now argues Morrison (1995, p. 301) “is taking control of our destiny”, money would allow taking control, and upholstering is a way of letting others know; and d) perhaps the more “Chilean” of the above, Federico tells us that going upholstered is a way to show that anyone literally “se sacó la mugre” [“brushed off the dirt”] (see Mayol et al., 2013, p. Chapter 2), namely, that he or she was able to remove the stigma of poverty.

E: por ejemplo, del comprar cosas, del tener, algunos jóvenes me hablan de “andar tapizado” de comprarse cosas de lujo, zapatillas, cadenas y cosas así, ¿qué opinas tú de eso?

Federico: que en la calle tú hacís plata poh y con plata… te compra’i ropa, te compra’i zapatillas… una cortaita de pelo… y su andar bien en la calle, como pudimos andar si hay gente que son una mierda de persona, andan más cochinos ¿me entiende?

201 (Federico, 21 years old)

However, as we mentioned, the same individual can recognise different valuations depending on the life “stage” he is living in. As we will discuss later (see section 7.3), a recurrent theme among incarcerated participants was the importance and meaningfulness of gender roles of care. The assumption of these ways of relating to others marks a turning point in these people's lives, driving them to overcome the mainstream longing for money and materialistic impetus.

E: y… por ejemplo, algunos jóvenes me hablan de lo importante que es andar tapizado como dicen ellos, comprarse sus zapatillas [Andrés: ah, si poh], su cadena… ¿qué piensas de eso tú?

Andrés: sí poh. Noo, no ya no… yo nada de eso ya. Lo básico no más humilde...

E: ah, ¿pero antes sí?

Andrés: Ah, no, antes sí, si era así… Pero ya después cuando tuve a mi hijo… ya no era lo mismo ya. Tenía que luchar para él. 202 (Andrés, 22 years old).

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201 E: For example, about buying things, about having, some young people talk to me about “going upholstered” buying luxury things, sneakers, chains and things like that, what do you think of that? Federico: yeah cuz in the street you make money y’know and with money… you buy clothes, you buy sneakers… a haircut… and you walk well on the street, how could we walk… since there are people who are crappy person, they go dirty, do you get me?

202 E: And… for example, some people tell me about how important it is to going upholstered as they say, buying shoes [Andrés: ah, yeah], some jewellery… what do you think of that? Andrés: yeah. Noo, no no no… to me… not anymore. Just the basic… humble…
Therefore, the materialistic and individually-centred attitude of upholstering is left behind with the birth of a child. New values emerge and settle in the minds and hearts of these people. Once individualistic and prone to hedonistic narcissism (see the following section), now the same people shift to caring gendered roles, shifting their goals as well. Now a house turned into a home appears within their awareness, homes also filled with goods, but now with the intention of living a family life where nothing is missing in the house.

E: ¿qué piensas dinero y cosas materiales? ¿qué tan importante es eso para tí?
Fabián: [pausa] eh... tener... me gustaría si... tener una vida estable no más poh, que no falte nada en la casa. Para vivir bien no más pero así de lujos no ... tener bien a la familia más que nada. Si la idea es ser feliz no más.203 (Fabián, 24 years old)

About materialism and consumerism, undergraduate participants mainly refer to accounts of austerity overall. Each of these participants recognises the phenomena of materialism and consumerism and usually tend to position themselves as “critical insiders”. Since everyone states a critical perspective about the phenomena, at the same time, such themes are relevant parts of their field of study.

E: ¿qué opinas tú de eso, del consumismo en general?
Esteban: bueno, a ver... puedo opinar mucho de eso... en mi campo, marketing trabaja directamente con el consumismo, tratamos de estimularlo para poder vender y que la empresa surja y crezca y qué se yo... no muera en el peor de los casos. Ehm...pero el enfoque que tiene el consumismo actualmente igual tiene que cambiar, o sea, está cambiando, es cierto, pero debió

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203 E: ah, but before... did you?
Andrés: Oh, no, before, yeah, I was like that... But later, when my son born... it wasn't the same anymore. I had to fight for him.

Fabián: [pause] eh... having... I would like ... just to have a stable life y'know, with anything missing in the house. Living well, that’s it, but not in such luxuries... having the family well more than anything. The idea is just to be happy.
As we can see in this first account, Esteban focuses on the problematic aspect of consumerism related to environmental impact. Consumerism is problematic since its expansion produces waste. This line of thought leads Esteban to argue about a “circular economy” to deal with the excessive growth of commodities production.

Mito (22 years old) shares this perception alluding to a lack of empathy by consumers, pleading for “a little of responsibility”. Mito also focuses on environmental problems and makes an interesting distinction: “people really care a little about what is happening in the world, as long as they are at home with the things they want”. This participant distinguishes between the intimate milieu of home and the outside world, an idea that invites to think about cultural ways to conceive the “public” and the “private”

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204 E: What do you think about that, about consumerism in general? Esteban: well, let's see... I can say a lot about that... in my field, marketing works directly with consumerism, we try to stimulate it to be able to sell and for the company to emerge and grow... doesn't die in the worst case. Eh... but the approach that consumerism currently has still has to change, that is, it is changing, it is true, but it should have changed 40, 50 years ago, that is, we are generating a lot of waste...

205 ehm... I am in favor of the circular economy and that waste is a process error, a bad product process design, that is, ehm... I open a noodle wrapper and that package is thrown away, it is not used in anything, it is a waste. Recycling is important, then, among other things. Because of course, the resources are finite and although consumerism will always exist because we have to consume things to live at least, at least, there should also be a share of responsibility of the companies even if it means sacrificing margin, if in the end... ehm, twenty years from now the world is in ruins, eh, consumerism is not going to save you, that is, nobody is going to want to buy things...
and their consequent correlates in individuals experience. This thought goes in line with the radical separation between “family” (home) and other people, for instance, related to values of solidarity. According to this thinking, everyone’s immediate, intimate experiential space is conceived as ultimately separated from “the rest” of societal milieus.

Let us state the evident: these participants have studied to perform as “managers” of consumerism. However, their outright response about their standpoint about the topic is against the tide. Saving, austerity, money management and non-materialistic attitudes are the most common within their statements. Resembling living in a cultural sea as depicted in the Introduction of the present document, Stevens tells us how he has attempted (an active attitude) not to join that current, preventing being carried away by the cultural tides.

...pero yo siempre he tratado de no unirme a esa corriente o sea, mi celular es súper básico... y cosas así... nunca me han llamado mucho las marcas y cosas... (Stevens, 22 years old)

This way, Andrés values saving money and managing it properly, namely, investing it to fulfil his goals but also recognising “consumerism attacks”, resembling some sort of “sickness” he can deal with reasonably well.

E: ...respecto al tema como del consumismo, ¿qué opinas tú de eso? A ti, por ejemplo, ¿te gusta comprar cosas así como “consumistamente”? Andrés: la verdad, yo soy más de las personas que buscan ahorrar, a veces... muy pocas veces, muy pocas veces me dan ataques de consumismo ... pero siempre con un tope, no sé, no voy a gastar más de 100 lucas y chao. Pero en el fondo siempre trato de asignar bien las platas, siento que es bien importante eso, de hecho tengo como una meta, comprarme un propiedad en el mediano plazo y después de eso ya dedicarme a viajar y hacer otro tipo de cosas, pero respecto al consumismo, yo no soy muy amigo del consumismo. (Andrés, 24 years old)

206 but I have always tried not to join that trend [current], that is, my cell phone is super basic... and things like that... brands and things have never caught me much...
207 E: ...regarding the topic of consumerism, what do you think of that? To you, for example, do you like to buy things like “consumeristically”?
Consumerism is a sort of malaise whose sources lie very outside them for these participants. From such a position, they observe other people who are financially uneducated and live consumerism as “an obsession” (as Mito says). This point is where irony discloses: those whose most known professional task is promoting consumerism judge those who fall prey to it.

E: ¿qué opinas tú del tema del consumismo, de la importancia de los bienes materiales y qué significado puede tener esto para la gente?

Jacinto: o sea... a modo personal yo lo considero... no sé si la palabra... pero... una estupidez igual. Eh, pero tampoco es como que diga que la gente es estúpida porque, porque ese es el modelo. O sea es como que a la gente le venden que la felicidad es el consumismo. O sea, es como “mira yo tengo tal tele, entonces soy feliz”. Entonces creo que lamentablemente esa es la educación que recibieron todas las personas, independiente de su clase social. Creo que esa es como la... es como todo y de hecho es como se sostiene el sistema. Yo lo considero que no va porque, porque no sé, como andar cambiando las cuestiones porque quiero algo más grande, algo más bonito, lo último a mi no... no me llama eso. [E: ya...]

People are enslaved. However, that is the model. Regardless of social class, that is how things are meant to be. Wealthy people consume and act as referents for the lower classes (Ruiz & Boccardo, 2014), encompassing a frame of aspirational reference

Andrés: the truth is, I'm more of a person who wants to save, sometimes... very rarely, very rarely I get attacks of consumerism... but always with a limit, I don't know, I'm not going to spend more than 100 bucks and that's it. But deep down I always try to allocate the money well, I feel that this is very important, in fact I have as a goal, to buy a property in the mid-term and after that dedicate to traveling and doing other kinds of things, but regarding to consumerism, I am not very fond [friend] of consumerism.

208 I: What do you think about the issue of consumerism, about the importance of material goods and what meaning can this have for people?

Jacinto: I mean... personally I consider it... I don't know if the word... but... stupid just the same. Eh, but it's not like I say that people are stupid because, because that's the model. In other words, it's like they sell people that happiness is consumerism. I mean, it's like "look I have such a TV, so I'm happy". So I think that unfortunately that is the education that all people received, regardless of their social class. I think that's like the... it's like everything and in fact it's how the system is sustained. I consider that it doesn't work because, because I don't know, how to keep changing the issues because I want something bigger, something more beautiful, the latest thing... that doesn't catch my attention. [E: ok...] I think that people are also enslaved by these things.
(Merton, 1968, p. 187), especially for those who are not well educated in financial issues.

E: ¿qué opinas tú de este fenómeno del consumismo?
Stevens: es que eso es un vicio que viene como... sistemáticamente, si la gente no tiene educación al respecto yo... estaba de acuerdo, o sea, si la ministra fue desafortunada con los dichos, dije “oh, la vieja loca” pero otra parte no está tan alejado de la realidad, o sea, eh... las expectativas con respecto al consumo en Chile son muy altas, porque también siento que es un producto de la desigualdad misma, porque si hay gente que es muy rica y que tiene... que consume un montón de cosas, porque Chile es un país abierto al mundo que tiene alto nivel de productos y cosas así y esas personas pueden consumir, no sé, cosas espectaculares, todos van a apuntar a eso (Stevens, 22 years old)

7.1.3 Narcissism and hedonism

This capitalism, endowed with a tremendous productive capacity, needs to install consumption as desire in subjectivities. However, as it abhors the possible tardiness of this desire, of the tendency to simmer, it also seeks to install, inside everyone, the voracious impulses towards consumption, the hedonistic attitude. Opposed to the stoic attitude that also works in the logic of desire, the first operates attracted by vertigo, privileging speed, thus neutralising self-control mechanisms (Moulian, 1998, p. 22).

In contrast with “stoical” and traditional capitalism, its neoliberal revision cultivates a “hedonistic spirit” with profitable effects (McGuigan, 2014; Moulian, 1998). In this

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209 Minister Zaldívar to those who withdrew 10% [from retirement funds]: ask to see people buying "essential items" and not "[buying] plasmas [TV]" (https://www.elmostrador.cl/dia/2020/08/05/ministra-zaldivar-a-los-que-retiraron-el-10-pide-ver-gente-comprando-articulos-de-primera-necesidad-y-no-saliendo-con-plasmas/).

210 E: What do you think of this phenomenon of consumerism? Stevens: is that this is a vice that comes like... systematically, if people are not educated about it I... I agreed, that the minister was unlucky with the sayings, I said "oh, the crazy old woman" but some of it is not so far from reality, I mean, um... the expectations regarding consumption in Chile are very high, because I also feel that it is a product of inequality itself, because if there are people who are very rich and have... that consumes a lot of things, because Chile is a country open to the world that has a high level of products and things like that and if those people can consume, I don't know, spectacular things, everyone is going after that.
context, for instance, the phenomenon mentioned above of consumerism renders a hedonistic, pleasurable experience that becomes problematic since the possibilities of access to goods and services are not readily available to everyone. However, despite the evident disadvantages, “underclassers” have been found guilty of over-identification with the values of consumerism and hedonism (Young, 2003). In addition, Chilean consumerism has been associated with the process of status improvement and identity-formation (Larraín, 2014, p. 226), somewhat like an “ontological imperative”.

Considering such assumptions would be a truism to state that the compulsory incentive of hedonistic consumerism might drive some sorts of antisocial behaviour (Hall et al., 2008). Therefore, some Chilean people from the lowest strata of society would commit some kind of crime for the sake of obeying the prevailing cultural mandate.

Nevertheless, like any other human experience, hedonism\textsuperscript{211} interplays with multiple dimensions of people’s life. The indicated side of hedonism related to consumerism often veils another important facet whose manifestation is also questioned but equally misunderstood: the simple act of “having fun”. As Wearing and colleagues (2013, p. 374) tell us:

> In examining the literature, it has become evident that most reasons for participating in deviant leisure relate to the pursuit of pleasure, resistance and escape from mundane social norms, be it through unique personal expression, relaxation, rebellion, risk and self-actualisation.

The authors highlight that the foundation of deviant adolescent self-identity “relates directly to the seeking of pleasure and hedonism”. Needless to say that these forms of pleasure-seeking constitute easy targets for vilification (K. J. Hayward, 2002). However, a more comprehensive (and sympathetic) mode of interpretation is what Araujo and

\textsuperscript{211} Defined as “living and behaving in ways that mean you get as much pleasure out of life as possible, according to the belief that the most important thing in life is to enjoy yourself” by Cambridge Dictionary online (https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/hedonism).
Martucelli (2015, p. 102) offer, pointing to the existential dimensions of the hedonistic activities of the lower classes as a whole:

This popular hedonism is neither the despair of the poor nor the escape of the marginalised. It is, rather, an active attitude towards the world. A posture that seeks to live fully throughout passing moments. A conscience that knows that life is and will be hard nonetheless, that constraints will be and are fierce, and that in the face of them, there is no room for useless heroic visions or exaggeratedly tragic representations. An attitude that is not only an escape but, on the contrary, a way of providing a supplement of pleasure to be able to endure existence.

What do our incarcerated participants have to tell us about it? Perhaps a product of confinement, reflection about life is common among these participants. Marcianeke, for example, tells us how life—according to his sensibility—is a fleeting and perhaps short experience. Therefore, enjoying life does not appear as an attitude attached to a superfluous cultural directive but a meaning embedded in his existential horizon.

_E: oye y ¿qué tan importante es para ti “pasarla bien”?_

Marcianeke: _o sea... porque los años van pasando, que de repente uno es cabro y de un abrir y cerrar de ojos ya esta ‘i viejo ¿me entiende o no? Hay que disfrutar la vida porque uno no sabe lo que pasa en el mañana, uno no sabe si va ‘i a llegar a ser viejo ¿me entiende o no? No sabe lo que le depara el futuro, el destino, no sé qué wea, pero uno no sabe eso entonces hay que disfrutar el día a día no más ¿me entiende o no? El día a día no más, agradecer a Dios que esta ‘i vivo y tenís tu salud y todo eso._

(Marcianeke, 23 years old)

In the same line, this life-course distinction present in Marcianeke’s account is also distinguishable in most incarcerated statements. For instance, Andrés refers to how his adolescence was regarded as a stage of “having fun”. However, once he arrived at a

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212: I: Hey, and how important is it for you to “having a good time”? Marcianeke: ...years go by, suddenly you're a kid and in the blink of an eye you're already old, do you get me? You have to enjoy life because you don’t know what happens tomorrow, one does not know if one is going to become old... You don't know what the future holds for him, destiny ... so you just have to enjoy every day, do you understand me or not? Just day by day, thank God that you are alive and you have your health and all that. [reduced and interpreted].
particular stage in his life, he “matured” –highlighting something similar to a “turning point” (King, 2013).

_E: Y pasarla bien ¿qué tan importante es para ti?_
_Andrés: ¿pasarla bien? Era cuando cabro- cuando era adolescente igual poh. Sí poh. Ahí la pasaba ‘i bien, pero ya... cuando ya después crecís uno madura..._

(Andrés, 22 years old)

This meaning is also found in the account of Bastián, who specifies how the presence of his child in his life not only changed his teenager’s habits but, more interestingly, it transformed the very significance of “having fun”.

_E: ya, ya. Ok. Oye y pasando a otro tema... pasarla bien ¿qué tan importante es para ti... pasarla bien?_
_Bastián: ¿pasarla bien? ¡ya la pasé bien cualquier tiempo ya! [E: ríe] sí poh, ya es tiempo de madurar ya... [E: [rie] fue mucho ya dices tú] ¡sii poh! No, yo creo, pa’ mí ahora de antes que me viniera en cana –si yo era que me desordenaba no más- pa’ mí, “pasarla bien” era estar con mi hijo, sacarlo a pasear, que saliéramos a comer... ir a los juegos. Verlo feliz a él era- es mi felicidad [E: ya, te entiendo] ¡que la mano cambia cuando soy papá!

(Bastián, 23 years old)

This new meaning of having good times is for no reason anecdotal. In this way, Fabián extends the thought about the manifold character of “having fun”, waning any assumption of “one-dimensional” significance. Remarkably, the examples of Bastián and Fabián strengthen the impression about the meaningful place that gender roles have in the lives of these participants in general (see section 7.3 below).

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213 I: And having a good time, how important is it to you?
Andrés: have a good time? It was when I was a teenager y’know, yeah ... There you had a good time, but now... when you grow up, you mature...

214 I: Yeah, yeah. Okay. Hey and moving on to another topic... having a good time, how important is it for you... having a good time?
Bastián: have a good time? I already had a lot of good times! [E: laughs] yeah y’know, it's time to grow up now... [E: [laughs] it was a lot you say] yeah dude! No, I think, for me now, even before I came to jail... for me, "having a good time" meant being with my son, taking him out for a walk, going out to eat... go to the games. Seeing him happy was- it's my happiness [E: I understand you] that the things changes when you are a dad! [reduced and interpreted].
As if it were a mirror’s reflection, *undergraduate* students tend to present comparable accounts to their incarcerated contemporaries. Reminiscent to the above mentioned Marcianeke’s standpoint, Andrés also points to an “existential uncertainty”:

**E:** ¿qué tan importante es para ti pasarla bien?

Andrés: [ríe] eh, a veces no tengo como mucho tiempo para pasarla bien pero siento que es lo más importante, si no sabemos cuándo después no vamos a estar más y... y uno no puede pasar toda la vida haciendo cosas que no le hagan estar lo más feliz posible o estar pasándolo lo mejor posible, siento que lo más importante en la vida es pasarla bien.216 (Andrés, 24 years old)

Having a good time is central for Jacinto as well, locating such experience as the right impulse for living:

**E:** ¿qué tan importantes es para ti, pasarlo bien?

Jacinto: mucho... mucho, eso pa’ mi, es como todo... como que me cuestiono mucho cuál es la gracia de, de casi, prácticamente, de cuál es la gracia de vivir... pero yo creo que si estamos en esta es para festejar [ríe] de hecho como que mi lema pa’ siempre es un tema de... una banda uruguaya, que es “festejar para sobrevivir”.

215 E: How important is it for you to have a good time?

Fabián: … you can have a good time in many ways… I prefer to be with my family and have a good time… you can have a good time anywhere! Laughing... sharing... and... with small things you have a good time.

216 E: How important is it for you to have a good time?

Andrés: [laughs] eh, sometimes I don't have a lot of time to have a good time but I feel that it's the most important thing, if we don't know when we won't be here anymore and... and you can't spend your whole life doing things that you don't like or making you not happy as possible or have the best time possible, I feel that the most important thing in life is to have a good time.

217 E: How important is it for you to have a good time?

Jacinto: a lot... a lot, for me, it's like everything... I kind of question a lot what is the meaning of, almost, practically, what is the meaning of living... but I think that if we are here is to celebrate [laughs] in fact, as my motto forever is a song of… a Uruguayan band, which is “celebrate to survive”.

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However, similar to what our incarcerated participants have told us, the experience of “having fun” is not one-dimensional or simply party-related but embraces other sorts of experiences, especially sharing time with other people.

E: y quizás un poco relacionado a eso, ¿Qué tan importante es para ti “pasarla bien”?  
Stevens: “pasarla bien” ¿en qué sentido? Es que para mi... yo lo paso bien por ejemplo, estando con la gente que quiero... en cualquier ambiente en general porque yo por ejemplo en la universidad lo pasaba bien, aunque estuviéramos estudiando, estuviéramos sacando la vuelta en la clase, la pasaba bien y bueno carreteando también la pasaba bien, eh... estando con mi polola también lo paso bien, con mi familia en general... la paso bien... (Stevens, 22 years old).

7.1.4 Individualism

Being the phenomenon of individualism a recurrent and extended topic in the literature revised in the first section, this was not the case for our participants overall.

In the case of undergraduate participants, they address somewhat the topic through reflection about some personalities who are overly and overtly ambitious and even opportunists, disregarding other people. Within this scenario is where the figure of the “zorrón” (“big fox”) appears. The zorrón is who wants to climb socially, having the monetary accumulation as a sign of status and success (á la Merton), but that also presents the characteristic of coming from wealthy backgrounds. This combination makes the zorrón (or “zorrona” for the case of women) someone arrogant and individualistic—accordingly, as they study the (arguably) closest undergraduate degree to neoliberal values, the faculties of our participants are milieus especially susceptible to “foster” zorrones and zorronas.

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218 E: And perhaps a little related to that, how important is it for you to “have a good time”?  
Stevens: “have a good time” in what sense? It's that for me... I have a good time, for example, being with the people I love... in any environment in general because, for example, at the university I had a good time, even if we were studying, we were doing nothing in class, I had a good time And well, I also have a good time partying, eh... being with my girlfriend I also have a good time, with my family in general... I have a good time...
Pero ese es como el estereotipo, pero el zorrón como que uno siempre trata, como entre el chiste y lo que trata de asignarle desde el entorno... como que termina sobrestimando el estereotipo... pero... como lo encasillan un poquito más de lo que es en realidad, de lo que podría ser... eso es como un zorrón, puede tener plata, viaja, que se yo, le gusta la nieve, la playa... y tiende a ser inconsciente con las causas sociales, ¡me consta, me consta! en mi carrera hay harta gente así que me consta... y somos muy individualistas, eso también.219 (Esteban, 27 years old)

Going further, Esteban follows his thought and attempts to explain why that happens within his school, offering a “class” counterpoint.

Que se le olvidan las raíces [ríe] de donde vienen, se ponen más arrogantes, más individualistas, porque eso sí pasa, se ponen, la mayoría de vuelve individualista, pero no en las carreras de las universidades con menos prestigio, en las más prestigiosas pasa mucho, la [su universidad]... claro, buscamos eso y tenemos otras aspiraciones y al mismo accedemos a una entre comillas “mejor calidad de ingeniería comercial”220 (Esteban, 27 years old)

However, this “endemic” spawning of individualism appears also as a caricature of mainstream circumstances. Mito, for instance, starts thinking about government officers and ends up arguing about a generalised pandemic of individualistic people. Up to the point that the “world is rotten” because of them –evoking on the way, the now-standard rational choice maxim.

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219 But that’s like the stereotype, but the [zorrón] that one always tries, like between the joke and what you try to assign from the environment... like you end up overestimating the stereotype... but... how they label him a little more than he is in reality, of what could be... that’s like a [zorrón], he can have money, he travels, who knows, he likes the snow, the beach... and he tends to be unconscious with social causes, I know, I know! In my degree there are plenty of such people, so I know... and we are very individualistic, that too.

220 That they forget their roots [laughs] where they come from, they become more arrogant, more individualistic, because that does happen, they become, most of them become individualistic, but not in the less prestigious university degrees, in the most prestigious universities happens a lot, in [his university]... of course, we look for that and we have other aspirations and at the same time we access to, between quotation marks “better quality of commercial engineering”.

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Para mí, todas las personas siempre buscan un beneficio propio. Siento que el mundo está podrido por gente que, que busca el beneficio propio –no todas- pero hay mucha que es así.\textsuperscript{221} (Mito, 22 years old).

This way, the vice of a neoliberal society is disclosed and judged by the agents who supposedly were instructed to protect it.

\textit{E: y ¿algo más se te viene a la mente con esta palabra, como individualista? Por algo aparece, por eso te pregunto.}

Stevens: claro, quizás... perverso también... perverso... \textit{[E: ¿cómo así perverso?] perverso... es que... siento desde donde nacen los males de la sociedad en general es en base a no tener una visión comunitarista, un poco lo que ha pasado con el, con esto del capitalismo por así decirlo... que nos lleva a buscar obtener el máximo beneficio de nuestras personas, o sea a costa de... el fin justifica los medios, o sea nosotros vamos a ser los mejores, vamos a ganar más que nadie y da lo mismo el resto o sea, vamos a obtenerlo a costa de lo que sea y sin cuestionar lo que estamos haciendo o sea... yo cuestiono todo lo que hago y hay gente que hace no más y es tan feliz como siendo lo que sea aunque esté moralmente pésimo y hace no más... y está todo el día preocupado de hacer también productividad y cosas así.}\textsuperscript{222} (Stevens, 22 years old)

Meanwhile, \textit{incarcerated} participants remain mostly silent about this topic. Seemingly, the thematic addressing of individualism is yet obscure for these people. While they bear the meanings within, at the same time, they distance themselves from such significations.

\textsuperscript{221} For me, all people always seek their own benefit. I feel that the world is rotten by people who seek their own benefit – not all of them – but there are many who are like that.

\textsuperscript{222} E: And does anything else come to mind with this word, such as individualistic? It appears for a reason, that's why I ask you.

Stevens: Of course, maybe... perverse too... perverse... \textit{[E: how perverse?] perverse... it's just that... I feel from where the evils of society in general are born, it's based on not having a communitarian vision, a little what It has happened with this capitalism so to speak... that leads us to seek to obtain the maximum benefit from our people, that is, at the expense of... the end justifies the means, that is, we are going to be the best, we are going to win more than anyone and the rest doesn't matter, I mean, we're going to get it at any cost and without questioning what we're doing. I mean... I question everything I do and there are people who just act and are as happy as doing whatever, even if it is morally lousy and just do it... and he's all day worried about doing productivity and things like that.
Marcianeke: yo soy más que una cachá de weones, si yo he vivido más que... yo no he tenido todo pagado en la vida, yo he sabido salir adelante solo, ¿me entiende o no? [E: sí poh] a mí, yo nunca nací en una cuna de oro, entonces en ese sentido por eso yo soy así, no soy agradado, tampoco soy miraor en menos, nada de eso, al contrario, trato de ser... no, lo más persona posible.  

(Marcianeke, 23 years old)

7.2 Moral imperatives

Culture can be both continuity and change for cultural criminology since “both highlight the collective construction of shared meaning, if in different domains” (Ferrell et al., 2015, pp. 6–7). Consequently, through continuity and change, culture drives, for instance, the on-going negotiation of morality and identity, whose persistently interplay revolves around the inherited and shared cultural references. References that convey meaning and provide intelligibility in everyday life and consequently, in this sense, moral imperatives can be thought of as a “mainstream” phenomenon.

What do our undergraduate participants tell us about it?

Regarding ethical standpoints and moral imperatives, the notion of “education” and its derivatives emerge as a critical concept, especially concerning interpersonal attitudes and public conduct. Values about tolerance, humility, authenticity and care for others revolve around the moral axioms presented by most of these participants.

E: ¿qué cosas son importantes para ti en la vida?

Andrés: ... tener una buena educación, yo siempre he pensado que todos merecemos ser educados para poder crecer tanto como sociedad como personalmente y valoro mucho que las personas puedan ser tolerantes con las otras personas porque a partir de la intolerancia se crean malos ratos...  

(Andrés, 24 years old)

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223 Marcianeke: I am more than a lot of suckers, I have lived more ... I haven’t had everything paid in my life, I’ve known how to get ahead on my own, do you get me? I didn’t born in a golden cradle, so in that sense that's why I'm like that, I'm not haughty, I'm not contemptuous either, nothing like that, on the contrary, I try to be... as [kind] as possible.

224 E: what things are important to you in life? -Andrés: ... having a good education, I’ve always thought that we all deserve to be educated in order to grow both as a society and personally, and I really appreciate that people can be tolerant with other people because bad times are created from intolerance.
In contrast, Andrés follows in this line of thought, arguing that people who affirm that they are “better” are the kind of people he does not like—stating the principle of equality in the way.

...no me agradan las personas que son muy... que andan diciendo que ellos son mejores que los otros, no congenio con ese tipo de personas, en ningún momento... [E: ¿y por qué no?] Porque siento de que todos somos iguales y a pesar de que alguien pueda parecer mejor que otro no hay por qué decirlo225 (Andrés, 24 years old)

Stevens shares this perspective regarding the importance of tolerance in interpersonal interactions (especially about political opinions). Also, he highlights the lack of coercive attitudes and leans on relativism and different experiences to find his moral principle of tolerance.

Pero por ejemplo, si vamos a la política yo en general trato de ser bien tolerante, siento que cada persona, si piensa algo es porque tiene su experiencia, quizás le falta información, quizás es, por otra forma de ver la vida pero trato de ser bien respetuoso con todos... aunque hay cosas que están absolutamente mal [E: ríe] más allá de la visión... pero... trato de ser bien respetuoso y entender que todo es bien relativo y yo puedo ir también cambiando mi visión política de las cosas o... social.226 (Stevens, 22 years old)

Notwithstanding the preceding, Stevens also describes how a person should comport to merit tolerance. Authenticity seems to be a proper term for it since “…one shows what one wants to show but showing something that one is not is the worst”.

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225 ...I don't like people who are very... who go around saying that they are better than others, I don't get along with that type of person, at any time... [E: and why not?] Because I feel that we are all the same and although someone may seem better than another there is no reason to say so.

226 But for example, if we go to politics, in general I try to be very tolerant, I feel that each person, if they think something, it is because they have their experience, perhaps they lack information, perhaps it is because of another way of seeing life, but I try to be very respectful with everyone... although there are things that are absolutely wrong [E: laughs] beyond the viewpoint... but... I try to be very respectful and understand that everything is quite relative and I can also change my political vision about things or... the social.
Lastly, concerning morality and care for others, Esteban offers the “shopping cart theory”, accompanied by a lay example of what Žižek (2008, p. 138) concludes: “a moral deed is by definition its own reward”.

...las personas buenas dejan el carrito donde corresponde... [E: ¿ya?] y porque básicamente si tú dejas el carrito de supermercado en cualquier lado nadie te puede decir nada porque no tiene por qué, no hay ninguna ley que te diga que no lo puedes hacer, no hay penalizaciones de por medio y no hay ninguna recompensa por hacerlo, así como a nivel de una recompensa, como estimulo o incentivo extrínseco, pero sí hay una recompensa intrínseca para uno, que es como “ah, lo dejé ahí, donde corresponde, me voy tranquilo porque hice lo que debía hacer”.

(Esteban, 27 years old)

Once again, the value of authenticity mentioned above now acquires the specific sense of moral authenticity: “so in the end own principles, are also important issue... if you are not faithful, then you aren't a trustworthy person” (Esteban).

Similar ideas emerge from incarcerated accounts. Statements concerning notions of equality and non-discrimination are frequent within these accounts. As Francisco tells us, “we are all people, all of us”, so as equals, the right way of treating people – according to most of incarcerated participants- is through a non-discriminatory attitude.

Cristofer: no soy así yo, no discrimino a nadie, no...no soy racista, nah, nada de eso... [E: ya te entiendo] todos somos personas de carne y hueso. (Cristofer, 25 years old)

Consequently, narratives about themselves often involve depicting characters with moral virtues such as respect or kindness, as Diego concisely refers:

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227 ...good people leave the cart where it belongs... [I: ok?] because basically if you leave the supermarket cart anywhere no one can tell you anything because you don't have to, there is no law that tells that you can’t do it, there are no penalties involved and there is no reward for doing it, as well as at the level of a reward, as an extrinsic stimulus or incentive, but there is an intrinsic reward for you, which is like “ah, I left it there, where it belongs, I am going calmly because I did what I had to do”.

228 Cristofer: I'm not like that, I don't discriminate anyone, no...I'm not racist, nah, nothing like that... [E: I understand you] we're all people of flesh and blood.
Moreover, like their undergraduate counterparts, most of these participants also value authenticity. And on the contrary, “false people” carry feelings of envy and constitute depictions of hypocrisy.

While acknowledging the differences, it might be argued that the value of “respect” is the incarcerated homologous of undergraduate’s “tolerance”. Both terms imply some sort of recognition of the other and a consequential benevolent attitude towards them. However, in the case of incarcerated people, this “respect” seems to involve more profound layers of interpersonal recognition, even charged with emotional tones.

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229 E: Hey Diego, and if you were like a character in a story, like a tale, what would this character be like? Diego: kind. With everyone.

230 E: Are there people or any kind of people you don't like? -Bastian: eh, noo! I try to get along with everyone no more, I don't play bad blood with anyone... but I do not like fake people. -E: ok? How so? - Bastián: false, because there are false people, because you realize that they are false… [E: how do you realize?] you realize that they are false… because of their attitudes, their looks, looks of envy… a lot of things. I don't talk to those people and I just leave them there… I don't talk to them.
Andrés: no sé, como muy barsa...
E: ¿ya? ¿cómo sería eso?
Andrés: como sin respeto, cosas así.
E: ¡ah!, sin respeto... ah... y ¿cómo eres tú en comparación?
Andrés: no, es que yo siempre he rendido a las personas siempre con respeto...hacerte querer pa' que te quieran.231 (Andrés, 22 years old)

7.2.1 Conventional goals

While often misunderstood, classical Mertonian (Merton, 1938) account on normativity and goals did not argue that monetary success was the only valued goal present within (U.S.) society and therefore the sole source of strain. Merton was clear that multiple, culturally mediated purposes interplay in everyday living within societies. In this line, and contrary to what is expected of “innovative criminals”, the incarcerated participants of this study also express conventional values and goals –most of them revolving around the conception of “family”. Esteban’s account is an excellent example of this interest, depicting different layers of meaning. For instance, his reasoning is based upon his personal story, negatively appraised, but whose adverse stamp serves as an example by contrast and references different and benign futures for his children.

E: ...¿qué cosas son importantes para ti en la vida?
Esteban: ¿para mí? [E: sí] yo... mis hijos, mis dos hijos, ellos son los- mis metas, quiero sacarlos adelante, que no vivan lo que he pasado yo...232 (Esteban, 25 years old)

Bastián’s account, by its part, more specifically denotes the usual notion of the “consumer-delinquency” (Treadwell et al., 2012) associated with the status-related

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231 E Are there people or any kind of people you don't like? -Andrés: of... I think so... E: ok? what are those people like? -Andrés: I don't know, like very [shameless]... -E: ok? what would that be like? -Andrés: like without respect, things like that. -E: ah! no respect... ah... and how are you in comparison? -Andrés: no, it's that I've always paid respect to people... make yourself loved so that they can love you.
232 E: ...what things are important to you in life?
Esteban: for me? [E: yes] ... my children, my two children, they are the- my goals, I want to move them forward, so they don't experience what I've been through...

E: ¿qué tan importante- qué piensas tú de obtener dinero y cosas materiales? ¿qué tan importante es para ti?

Bastián: para mí es... bueno no es tan importante así como de darme lujos, pero... para tener un... bien a mi hijo si esa es la meta mía [E: ya] nada más que eso, si yo... a mí me da lo mismo, pero quiero tenerlo bien a él.²³³ (Bastián, 23 years old)

The indication mentioned above does not mean that we think that do not exist people who commit crimes for the sake of the neoliberal values of individualism-related consumerism, narcissism and hedonism (Giddens, 1991, p. 172). On the contrary, as we revised before, the phenomenon of “upholstering”, for example, is familiar to these participants. However, despite the pervasive presence of such tendency in their lives and other people's lives, all these participants currently value other sorts of commodities.

E: algunos chicos me hablan de “andar tapizado”, comprarse joyas... cosas caras, zapatillas...

Francisco: a mí, yo no, ¡nool! yo de tener mi casita bien... un autito y era, bien vestido como siempre y era. Lo demás... joyas, anillos, esas cuestiones no me gustan poh. No soy de andar así, ¡nool!²³⁴ (Francisco, 24 years old).

However, as we have already seen in section 7.1.2, most of these people recognise the presence of such tendency within their lives, valuing material goods. But now, they acknowledge having “priorities”.

We believe that this duality of meaning is a clear indicator of alternative cultural values. Different culturally valued goals may coexist. Let us consider, for example, the

²³³ E: how important- what do you think about getting money and material things? how important is it to you?
Bastián: for me it's... well, as giving myself luxuries is not that important, but... to have... my son well, that's my goal [E: ok] nothing more than that, if for me... I don't care, but I want to have him well.
²³⁴ E: Some guys talk to me about "going upholstered", buying jewellery... expensive things, sneakers...
Francisco: Not me, noo! [having my house well, I’m fine]... a little car and that’s it, well dressed as always and that’s it. The rest... jewellery, rings, I don't like those things y'know. I'm not going for that, noo!
meanings and narratives surrounding the educational topic (section 6.5). We discover that tertiary education does not appear in the intelligible horizon of our incarcerated participants. Despite that, for some scholars, university education is taken so much for granted that it has even lost its value (Peña, 2020, pp. 126–127). The mainstream goal of accessing tertiary education for the sake of social mobility (Pérez-Roa, 2019) does not exist on the horizon of these incarcerated participants.\(^{235}\) It does not exist as a valued goal.

Therefore, going back to conventional goals, when these participants refer to “care-oriented” consumerism, they speak from a valid and meaningful (subcultural?) standpoint. However, that is seemingly unnoticed in the literature reviewed, which is prone to only focus on the individualistic variant of such phenomenon. Consequently, the hegemonic conventionalism of individualistic consumerism is then interrogated: when Fabián, in the following quote, talks to us about the importance of “focusing on people”, he, in some sense, has become a deviant, a pro-social deviant.

\(E: \) ¿qué piensas tú del consumismo?

Fabián: que la gente... la gente igual a veces está mal en eso, que se enfoca en cosas materiales y... el consumismo de ellos es eso, trabajan pa’ nah, pa’ darse lujos, pa’ comprarles cosas innecesarias. Sí poh, eso es lo que pienso yo, a mi manera, que si... toda la gente pensara igual... sería otra historia. Estaríamos más enfocados en las personas, más... en otras cosas.\(^{236}\)

(Fabián, 24 years old)

Granted, these pro-social deviants speak about purchasing goods and services. However, it seems that the harshness of their stories has turned their gaze upon the essential elements of life maintenance, focusing on a “caring-consumerism” based upon subsistence.

\(^{235}\) And as Mayol and his colleagues (Mayol et al., 2013, p. 219) clarify, even “lying” is not relevant methodologically speaking since speakers “always speak in a horizon susceptible of validity”.

\(^{236}\) \(E: \) what do you think of consumerism?

Fabián: that people... people are sometimes wrong about that, that they focus on material things and... their consumerism is that, they work for nothing, to afford themselves luxuries, to buy unnecessary things. Yeah, that's what I think, in my own way, that if... all the people thought the same... it would be another story. We would be more focused on people, more... on other things.
E: ok. Y ¿qué piensas tú de conseguir dinero y cosas materiales? ¿qué tan importante es eso para ti?

Francisco: tener dinero en el día a día es necesario... [E: ya] necesario. Si poh... cosas materiales, noo. Por eso le digo, si usted tiene- yo tengo plata en la casa no vai a comprarle cosas materiales... en el día a día uno se gasta poh. [E: mm, sí te entiendo] más encima, a mí me gusta fumarse un cigarrillo... ¡se gasta!237 (Francisco, 24 years old)

José: ...uno estando en la calle tiene que cerciorarse ... una... ¿cómo se llama? Un sistema económico que... no sé poh, en la casa, hay que... hay que pagar cosas, hay que pagar el agua, la luz, el gas... ¿me entiende o no? Comprar mercadería, ir al supermercado, también los niños, que los niños tienen que ir a la escuela, tienen que tener sus cosas de ellos, ¿me entiende o no?238 (José, 21 years old)

Therefore, what goals do these participants value? And how “conventional” are they? Let us revise other accounts.

E: ya. Y entonces, de aquí a diez años ¿cómo te ves?

Patas cortas: casa, hijos, pareja... su autito, eh, terminar sus estudios si se puede, que aquí terminé- estoy terminando tercero y cuarto [E: ah que bien] ...conocer algún país... salir de Chile, conocer todo Chile...239 (Patas cortas, 21 years old)

E: ya... mira, imagínate... en diez años más ¿cómo te ves en diez años más, cómo estarías en diez años más?

237 E: okay. And what do you think about getting money and material things? how important is that to you?
Francisco: having money on a day-to-day basis is necessary... [I: ok?] necessary. Yeah y’know... material things, noo. That's why I tell you, if you have- I have money at home, I'm not going to buy material things... on a day-to-day basis one spends y’know. [E: mm, yes I got you] besides, I like to smoke a cigarette... money is spent!

238 José: …when you're on the street, you have to make sure... and... what's the name? An economic system that... I don't know, at home, you have to... you have to pay for things, you have to pay for water, electricity, gas... do you understand me or not? Buy merchandise, go to the supermarket, also the children, children have to go to school, they have to have their things, do you understand me or not?

239 E: yeah. And then, ten years from now, how do you see yourself?
Patas cortas: house, children, partner… a little car, eh, finishing studies if I can, I'm finishing third and fourth [E: ah, that's good]... getting to know a country... going out Chile, getting to know all of Chile...
Andrés: con mi hijo, mi casa, mi familia... ¡todas mis cosas! (Andrés, 22 years old)

E: ¿tienes algún plan para el futuro, tienes alguna idea, eres optimista, pesimista...?
Marcianeke: no, yo... yo trataría de... de tener todas mis cosas, formar una familia, tener hijos... y tener un buen trabajo donde gane harto. Pa’ que mi hijo no pase lo mismo que pasé yo poh. Tener a mi familia bien y en ese sentido.
E: ¿piensas que puedes lograrlo?
Marcianeke: [pau] yo creo que sí poh... tantas cosas que he vivido que... yo creo que sí, yo soy fuerte... no me hecho a morir. [E: ya] obvio que si porque no me gustaría que mis hijos pasen lo mismo si yo algún día yo tengo... tengo hijo o hija, ¿me entiende o no? Trataría de darle lo mejor poh. Que estudien, que cuando sean grandes tengan un buen trabajo, todo eso. (Marcianeke, 23 years old)

If these dreams and goals are going to be fulfilled is not relevant at this moment. However, it is relevant to note the distinction between those goals and the individualistic antisocial goals portrayed above is now evident.

At some risk of appearing redundant, undergraduate participants also appear pretty conventional. While it would be expectable to encounter hard-core defenders of the neoliberal values among these participants, the truth is that the accounts of these people appear rather balanced and reflective, somewhat ambivalent, but manifestly self-critical.

In the first place, while recognising the importance of monetary success, Mito also advocates for achieving a balance between “happiness” and earning money, which will in turn, support a “good living”.

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240 E: ok... look, imagine... in ten more years, how do you see yourself in ten more years, how would you be in ten more years? -Andrés: with my son, my house, my family... all my things!
241 E: Do you have any plans for the future, do you have any ideas, are you optimistic, pessimistic...?
Marcianeke: No, I... I would try to... to have all my things, start a family, have children... and have a good job where I earn a lot. So that my son doesn't go through the same thing I went through y'know. Have my family well.... -E: do you think you can do it?
Marcianeke: [pause] I think so, yeah... so many things I've experienced that... I think so, I'm strong... [I don't give up] [E: ok] obviously I will, because I wouldn't want my children to go through the same thing if one day I have... son or daughter, do you get me? I would try to give him the best y'know. That they study, that when they grow up they have a good job, all that. [slightly reduced and interpreted]
E: ¿qué piensas del obtener dinero y cosas materiales? ¿qué tan importante es esto para ti?
Mito: yo creo que hay que tener una, hay que tener un equilibrio, un equilibrio entre tener dinero y poder vivir bien, tener tus cosas, lo que tú quieras, no sé, viajar, cosas así, pero al mismo tiempo, eh... estar feliz con lo que tú estás haciendo.²⁴² (Mito, 22 years old)

As we have seen above (see section 8.1.2), Jacinto went further, judging consumerism as “stupidity”, but he reflects afterwards and acknowledges that this is how the “model” works. That is how according to Jacinto, purchasing goods is a synonym for happiness in this model, and people tend to be enslaved to such a desire.

It is noteworthy that these participants do not describe themselves as severed from the cultural (and embodied) attachment to consumer dynamics and their associated “pleasurable” experiences. The already quoted account by Andrés (see section 8.1.2) is a helpful example of this assertion. While Andrés is well provided with educational tools to counter any consumer impulse, he recognises the emergence of “consumerism attacks” and the need for “allocate the money well” since he sustains greater projects for his life (i.e. travels and purchasing real estate). This declaration is an excellent illustration of the tension between the mainstream tendency to consume and ways to counter them: in the case of incarcerated participants, the elevation of caring-consumerism by prioritising their families; advanced financial knowledge about how the “model” works, in the case of undergraduates. Manifestly, the mighty drive for consumption is something deserving a comprehensive approach from different points of view, both for and against this phenomenon (see, for instance, Browne et al., 2015; Shaw & Bagozzi, 2018).

Last but not least, the following quote by Stevens reflects well how within undergraduate accounts also appear goal alternatives to the now atavistic and “enslaver” monetary success.

³⁴² E: what do you think about getting money and material things? how important is this to you?
Mito: I think… you ought to have a balance, a balance between having money and being able to live well, have your things, whatever you want, I don't know, travel, things like that, but at the same time, eh... be happy with what you are doing.
E: ¿qué piensas tú del obtener dinero y cosas materiales?
Stevens: yo creo que está súper bien... está súper bien obtener dinero, está bien superarse a mí me gusta ver a la gente triunfar en general, también tengo ciertas pretensiones, también me gustaría ganar cierta cantidad de dinero y tener una vida tranquila, o sea, obviamente. Pero en su justa medida o sea, si por ejemplo llegar a tener una empresa en su momento o un emprendimiento o algo... lo dejaría hasta cierto punto no más no buscaría siempre... y crecer y crecer y crecer... porque siento por ejemplo que los máximos millonarios del mundo son personas que están constantemente en ganar y ganar y crecer y crecer entonces no les da el tiempo como para... vivir simplemente, el ocio, y cosas súper fundamentales, el amor, la amistad, reírnos, salir, lo que sea.²⁴¹ (Stevens, 22 years old)

7.2.2 Conventional means

As was expected, undergraduate participants soundly reject any illegal means to fulfil their interests. Instead, these people declare to prefer the “traditional way”, as RaG says, who defined it as: “studying, get a job, many jobs... gather money... join another group-like climbing... that's the traditional way”. In this sense, Mito complements this notion by alluding to the traditional value of the “hard work”, eyed with suspicion by Matza and Sykes (1961)²⁴⁴ many decades ago but now following their intuition, it seems to be a value genuinely defended by a small (already privileged?) portion of society. Indeed, it is plausible to argue that to value working hard, an individual should start such endeavour with some advantage that allows him or her to raise such appraisal –like our participants self-depiction as “privileged”.

²⁴¹ E: what do you think about getting money and material things?
Stevens: I think it's super good... it's super good to get money, it's good to improve... I like to see people succeed in general, I also have certain pretensions, I would also like to earn a certain amount of money and have a quiet life, that is, obviously. But to the right extent, that is, if, for example, I managed to have a company at the time or a venture or something... I would leave it up to a certain point, I would not always seek... and grow and grow and grow... because I feel, for example, that the greatest Millionaires of the world are people who are constantly winning and winning and growing and growing, so they don't have the time to... live simply, leisure, and super fundamental things, love, friendship, laughing, going out, whatever.
²⁴⁴ “…to characterize the dominant society as being fully and unquestioningly attached to the virtue of hard work and careful saving is to distort reality.” (Matza & Sykes, 1961, p. 716)
Mito: yo soy de la idea de que hay que trabajar duro para conseguir lo que uno quiere, que uno tiene que trabajar, trabajar, trabajar y que- porque, igual, bueno igual mis aspiraciones a veces son un poco altas, entonces yo igual me imagino que algún día voy a poder ser una persona que... emm... que tenga algo importante, que influya harto en la gente, que influya en harta gente también. Y para eso uno tiene que hacer un camino súper grande si las personas que son así, generalmente llevan, no sé, treinta años trabajando en sus cosas... Son gente con años de experiencia. Yo creo que hay que trabajar duro, hay que trabajar duro. (Mito, 22 years old)

It is noteworthy how Mito shows a “sophisticated” conception of ambition that concerns other people and is not just an isolated enterprise of money collection. This “influence” over other people is meant to be positive and rewarding both to him and the people he would potentially influence – an opposite standpoint from the situation depicted in the following quote.

E: este tema de lo que ha pasado con el tema del caso Penta, caso pollos, caso confort, etc [corporate collusion]. ¿qué piensas tú de eso?
RaG: pienso que son ejemplos de... un sistema de Estado tardío que demuestra sus errores en ciertas situaciones, siendo un país pequeño muy concentrado, con pocos competidores, relativamente nuevos, es una multitud de factores que lo hacen ideal para que ocurran estos abusos para... no quiero decir sistema pero como para “el juego” en general. Y... están mal... hacer trampa, si me venís a hacer trampa, el tema de los pollos, si me venís a hacer trampa con una necesidad como es la comida, obviamente me voy a sentir ofuscado. (RaG, 23 years old)

245 Mito: I am of the idea that you have to work hard to get what you want, that you have to work, work, work and... because, well... sometimes my aspirations are a bit high, so I imagine that one day I will be able to be a person who... um... who has something important, who influences people a lot, who influences a lot of people too. And for that, one has to go a long way... people who are like that have generally spent, I don't know, thirty years working on their things... They are people with years of experience. I think you have to work hard, you have to work hard.
246 E: This issue... of the Penta case, the chicken case, the comfort case, etc [corporate collusion]. What do you think about that? RaG: I think they are examples of... a late state system that proves its mistakes in certain situations, being a small, highly concentrated country, with few competitors, relatively new, there are a multitude of factors that make it ideal for these abuses to occur for... I don't want to say system but as for “the game” in general. And... they're wrong... cheating, if you come to cheat on me, the chicken thing, if you come to cheat on me with a need like food, obviously I'm going to feel [bewildered/annoyed].
In contrast to the “traditional way”, confronting the cases of corporate collusion and state corruption, undergraduate participants altogether reject such means to achieve business goals. In this sense, as beginners peers, they distinguish themselves from such (antisocial) business people.

Nonetheless, as Andrés says in the following quote, such (antisocial) practices are not alien to them either, since he can situate himself in such scenarios but declaring to choose licit means since “consequences” may occur.

Andrés: la verdad, siempre está la tentación de irse por el camino más corto, digamos, que sea legal o no sea legal [carraspea] pero yo creo que es más cuerdo pensar en las consecuencias que eso puede traer, si es que falla digamos a llegar directamente a hacerlo, yo no haría algo que sea ilícito ara lograr lo que estoy buscando... a pesar de que sea algo muy pequeño o un vacio legal, no... porque eso podría traer consecuencias, entonces siempre pienso, si hago esto ¿qué va a pasar? Creo que esa es la fórmula.247 (Andrés, 24 years old)

Evidently, among such “consequences” found criminal law prosecution. However, Stevens offers another alternative, pro-socially encouraging and suggestive of a rudimentary zemiological standpoint (see Boukli & Kotzé, 2018).

E: ¿y qué harías tú en caso de que pudieses ganar una fuerte suma de dinero pero no necesariamente por medios lícitos?
Stevens: noo, no lo haría de ninguna manera, o sea... porque si no es un medio lícito probablemente le estoy generando un daño a alguien, o sea, es justamente lo que hablábamos antes, el individualismo.248 (Stevens, 22 years old)

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247 Andrés: The truth is, there is always the temptation to take the shortest path, let's say, whether it's legal or not [he clears his throat] but I think it's wiser to think about the consequences that this can bring, if it fails let's say to get to do it directly, I would not do something that is illegal to achieve what I am looking for... even if it is something very small or a legal loophole, no... Because that could have consequences, so I always think, if I do this, what It will happen? I think that's the formula.

248 E: And what would you do if you could earn a large sum of money but not necessarily by legal means? Stevens: Noo, I wouldn't do it in any way, I mean... because if it's not a lawful means I'm probably harming someone, I mean, it's precisely what we were talking about before, individualism.
As we expected, incarcerated accounts are rich in shades and nuances regarding conventional and illicit means.

In these cases, as it is evident, illegal means are on the table. However, experiences of ambivalence distinctive in the transition to desistance from crime are also present (Burnett, 2004). These “would-be desisters” (King, 2012b, 2013) know first-hand the pros and cons of offending. However, incarceration tends to re-centre their awareness on the actual consequences of antisocial behaviour, emerging with this awareness, the possibility of turning points capable of a) establishing long-term desistance or b) strengthening the desensitisation from the criminal justice system.

E: ¿cuál crees tú que es la forma de conseguir lo que quieres en términos materiales?
Esteban: bueno, ahora con lo que pasó quiero cambiar mi vida, conseguir mis cosas con esfuerzo, responsable... porque al final... lo fácil se pierde rápido igual.
E: ¿tú pensabas distinto antes?
Esteban: sí, igual era cuático antes, cuando joven, como lo que hice, nunca pensé que iba a llegar aquí poh. No pensé que iba a caer preso, que iba a quedar así, con... ocho años y... no, esto fue un cambio pa’ mí.249 (Esteban, 25 years old)

Nevertheless, crime has multiple edges and tends to be a dreadful phenomenon. Starting from that “crime” is not univocal: the “same” antisocial act has different, “ethical” ways to manifest, as Diego bluntly tell us:

Diego: y siempre, antes de hacer todo, siempre miro, siempre miro, miro mucho. Observo, miro, cómo puede hacerse para no hacer tanto daño, pa’ que no se den cuenta, siempre soy así como... porque yo no me encuentro malo... yo nunca he bajado a alguien de un auto... si me robaba un auto, me lo robaba cuando no había nadie arriba del auto... no era mucho daño. Pero [ahora,

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249 E: What do you think is the way to get what you want in material terms?
Esteban: Well, now with what happened I want to change my life, get my things with effort, responsibly... because in the end... easy things are quickly lost anyway.
E: Did you think differently before?
Esteban: yes, it was [awful] before, when I was young, what I did, I never thought I would get here y’know. I did not think that I was going to be imprisoned, that I was going to be like this, serving... eight years and... no, this was a change for me.
However, despite their familiarity with the antisocial “world”, these people are not (entirely) absorbed by such realm. Perhaps such involvement with the criminal realm allows them to reflect and form judgements about the consequences of breaking the law.

In this sense, while undergraduates can reflect on the consequences of crime, these incarcerated people actually and currently live under such consequences: interpersonal violence, lack of primordial freedom, detachment from their families, stigmatisation, etc. Those are some of the “consequences” that offending carries, and these people are aware of them and conscious that offending, one way or another, is reached by law enforcers.

E: y si por ejemplo podrías conseguir mucho dinero... pero no necesariamente por medios legales... y sabes que no te van a... no te van a pillar fácil ¿qué harías?  
Bastián: [pausa] ¡nno, es que... al fin y al cabo todo trae su consecuencia poh! Si yo... varios años que andaba delinquiendo, y al fin y al cabo, todo cae... así que no... no lo pensaría... ya no ya.  

Federico also considers it is easy to get caught nowadays, especially when offenders begin spending the money they get, suggesting –somewhat ironically- saving the money for the sake of not getting caught.

Being in prison is hard. But as we mentioned, it implied manifold consequences, not just “losing freedom”. This complex experience bears the potential of being the “ultimate” deterrent; however, contrary to what some may think, it is not a final answer.

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Diego: And always, before doing everything, I always look, I always look, I look a lot. I observe, I look, how it can be done so as not to do so much harm, so that they don't notice, I'm always like this... because I don't feel bad... I've never gotten someone out of a car... if I stole a car, I stole it when there was no one inside... it wasn't much harm. But [now, other people] force down- they hit the baby, they hit the dad, they hit ... they kill y'know. Because they don't have this [indicates his head].

E: And if, for example, you could get a lot of money... but not necessarily by legal means... and you know that they are not going to... they are not going to catch you easily, what would you do?  
Bastián: [pause] noo, it's just... after all, everything has its consequence, y'know! If I...I had been delinquent for several years, and after all, everything falls...so no...I wouldn't think about it...not anymore.
to crime. These people live in their own flesh the harshness of prison but also lived many years with offending as part of their lives. Therefore, crime and deviancy are not just practical experiences, also have deep emotional roots (Katz, 1988; Lyng, 1990). Within multifaceted cultural contexts, they are interplaying both with “necessity” and desire.

E: mmm, te entiendo. Oye y... te pongo en una situación hipotética, ya, tú sales y de repente te aparece la posibilidad de conseguir mucho dinero pero no necesariamente por medios lícitos y piensas que nadie te va a descubrir ¿qué harías?

Marcianeke: ¿qué haría yo? Trataría de... ¡de no sé poh! La misma necesidad te lleva eso, la ansiedad también [E: ¿cómo así, la ansiedad?] la ansiedad de que... del hambre de hacer plata, de tener dinero ¿me entiende o no? Entonces en una situación así, yo me tiro en benyi... ¿me entiende o no? Pero... pero ¿cómo se llama esta weá? Ahí son dos opciones poh, ahí tenís que pensarla en el momento pero si te va ‘i muy rápido pa’ la calle, volvi rápido preso ¿me entiende?

No es lo que he aprendido aquí, poh. Entonces cuando uno se va la calle no tiene que irse muy ansioso y así a la primera situación tirarse volando ¿me entiende o no? Entonces no haría eso yo, porque ya, con todos los años que hice preso... aburrido de nuevo caer preso ¿me entiende o no? Sería fome caer preso de nuevo [E: sí, te entiendo] entonces yo no andaría así muy rápido en la calle, esta ‘i propenso a eso poh. Que de repente uno trata de analizar las cosas antes de hacerlas, no de tirarse volando, porque cuando te tira ‘i volando obvio que... esta ‘i propenso a caer preso de nuevo y durís poco en la calle, que esa weá no tiene ni un brillo ¿me entiende o no?

E: mmm, I understand. Hey and… I put you in a hypothetical situation, now, you go out and suddenly the possibility of getting a lot of money appears but not necessarily by legal means and you think that nobody is going to discover you, what would you do?

Marcianeke: what would I do? I would try to... I don't know y’know! The very need brings you that, the anxiety too [E: how so, the anxiety?] the anxiety that... of the hunger to make money, to have money, do you understand me or not? So in a situation like this, I throw myself into [bungee, directly]... do you understand me or not? But... but what is this shit called? There are two options y’know, there you have to think about it at the moment but if you go very quickly to the street, I came back quickly to prison, do you understand me or not? It's not what I've learned here, y’know. So when you go to the streets you don't have to go very anxious and so at the first situation throw yourself flying, do you understand me or not? So I wouldn't do that, because now, after all the years I've been in jail... it's boring to go to jail again, do you understand me or not? It would be [boring, “bad”] getting caught again [E: yes, I understand] then I wouldn't walk like that very fast on the street, you are prone to that y’know. That suddenly one tries to analyse things before doing them, not to throw yourself flying, because when he throws you, it's obvious that... he's prone to falling in jail again and you don't last long in the street, that weá doesn't even have a shine do you understand me or not?

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Interestingly, some passages by our incarcerated participants lead to the idea of comparability between the “rich” and the “poor” – the reviewed “class” distinctions appear again (see section 6.6). In a sort of “moral mix”, Fabián (a la Robin Hood) tells us that an illegal acquisition of “big money” will lead him to “help others”, the needy ones. And then, he contrasts his intentions with what some businessmen did some time ago (or perhaps they are still doing!).

E: entonces, si por ejemplo… pudieras conseguir mucha plata, pero no necesariamente de forma legal y que alguien no se diera cuenta ¿qué harías tú?
Fabián: [pausa] ¿yo? Si tuviera mucha plata… aunque sea de forma ilegal… ayudaría a los demás. A los demás, a los que necesitan no más…
E: y por ejemplo, con esto… del tema de las colusiones del caso Penta, pollos, del caso confort, de grandes empresarios que se ponen de acuerdo para ganar más plata entre ellos, ¿qué opinas tú de eso?
Fabián: eh, ¡los ricos van a querer hacerse más ricos no más poh! Ellos no piensan por los demás poh, ellos piensan en ellos. Porque ellos son pocas, familias chicas que… que se llenan los bolsillos…²⁵³ (Fabián, 24 years old)

Perhaps unthinkable at first, comparing “common delinquents” with “businessmen” was already done by Moulian more than twenty years ago (1997, p. 141, 1998, p. 71). This comparability extends here even to the abilities necessary to commit crimes. In this regard, Patas cortas states (without judging the illegal acts per se) that such businessmen who appeared in the media convicted of collusion just “lacked intelligence” (“viveza”, see Chapter 4).

²⁵³ E: So, if for example… you could get a lot of money, but not necessarily legally and someone didn't notice, what would you do?
Fabián: [pause] me? If I had a lot of money… even illegally… I would help others. To others, to those who need no more…
E: And for example, with this… about the collusion of the Penta case, chickens, about the comfort case, about big businessmen who agree to earn more money for themselves, what do you think about that?
Fabián: hey, the rich only want to get richer y’know! They don't think about others y’know, they think about them. Because they are few, small families that… that fill their pockets…
E: oye y respecto a eso mismo, eh, quizás supiste el tema del caso pollos, caso confort, caso Penta… [Patas cortas: sí] de estos grandes empresarios que se coluden para ganar más dinero… ¿qué opinas tú de esas cosas?


E: ¿ya? ¿cómo así?

Patas cortas: que igual llegaron a ellos [E: aah, ya, ya] una gran estafa para que después con el tiempo vieran el papeleo, de impuestos internos y se dieran cuenta de que faltaba o que estaba robando.254 (Patas Cortas, 21 years old)

It can be argued that, to some extent, some of these participants do not judge illegal acts in general since they drag a lengthy criminal record, and therefore, such behaviours are expected. Despite the evident familiarity with crime, all these people can think beyond such rationale and value conventional values like working and doing (non-illegal) personal efforts. Within an antisocial realm, these moral imperatives allow them to distinguish themselves from those currently committing crimes.


individuo NN: que se siente rico… conseguirlo con el esfuerzo de uno… [E: ya] es distinto que le den la plata o andar robando. Porque yo cuando veo a la delincuencia de ahora… le roban a la misma gente esforzada.255 (individuo NN, 22 years old)

Read as “hard-working people” who share direct social milieus with these participants, also referred to as “the poor”. In this sense, the middle-class is not thematised by almost none of these people, glimpsing a perhaps referential “isolation” and a practical gap limiting them to appraise other social groups from “the experience”. In other words, this
impression leads to relativising what Young (2003) proposes and instead agreeing with Bauman (1998 Ch. 4) about cultural hybridisation. It puts into question the actual presence of cultural referentiality across social classes. True, lower classes know something about higher classes; however, this knowledge appears greatly limited and mediated. As Bauman says, in a supposedly globalised world, some people (the majority) are secluded to the local, sometimes a significantly reduced one.

Going back to conventional means, it is noteworthy that the often harsh and solitary lives these people have lived served as something similar to “training” for life. As is expected, not everything is inexorably deleterious. Within their locales, they develop skills unusual in mainstream ways to achieve goals. For instance, the account of Diego helps to compare two different paths of getting “education”: the modern way based upon formal education (i.e. getting a diploma) versus the “old-fashioned-way” of observation and practice:

Diego: a mí me han llegado mecánicos con profesión a preguntarme cosas, como se arma un auto, cómo se cierra esa cuestión, titulado así unos cartones y en pah y... y yo digo “¿y no sabís... cómo hacerlo... y tú estudiate?”... voh estudiaste pa’ eso... y si yo aprendí mirando no más poh, escuchando y mirando... tú con un cartón tenís que enseñarme a mí poh, si yo no sé... yo, lo que sé lo sé mirando no más, no lo aprendí... como tú256 (Diego, 23 years old).

In the end, it results evident that so-called delinquents are more than mere rule-breakers. These people have learned how to navigate throughout life for better or worse. As Esteban told us above, some have learned that “easy things are quickly lost”. Therefore they are inevitably trying to live a decent life and attempting to get their “things with effort, responsibly” –aspiring to wander a conventional path.

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256 Diego: Professional mechanics have come to me to ask me things, how to assemble a car, how to close that stuff, graduated [with large diplomas] and paf and... and I say ”and you don't know... how to do it... and you studied?”... you studied for that... and I learned just by observing y’know, listening and observing... you have to teach me y’know with a [diploma], I [shouldn’t] know... what I know I know by just observing, I didn’t learn it... like you.
7.3 Family and gender roles

What is important for our undergraduate participants? In a nutshell, what they declare to value most are their families.

E: ¿qué cosas son importantes para ti, en la vida?
Esteban: ¿en la vida? Mm, veamos... las personas que uno escoja como importantes, siempre van a ser el “top”, digamos, en este caso, mis papás, mis hermanos, mis perros, mis perritas.257
(Esteban, 27 years old)

However, while most of these participants mention their extended families as important, their parents are, above all, the most important people in their lives. As Mito says, answering the same question: “I think my parents... I wouldn't say my family, because not all of my family I really feel that they are important to me”. This appreciation leaves the impression of high levels of gratitude towards both parents, often seen as a “parental unity” whose stories together are narrated as characterised by affection and commitment. Therefore, is not surprising that most of these participants include their parents (i.e. their “past”, see section 8.1) in their plans for the “future”, as Andrés eloquently tells us:

E: ¿qué ideas tienes tú para el futuro, para ti, qué te depara el futuro?...
Andrés: bueno, como había mencionado antes lo primero que quiero es comprar una casa, quiero darle la tranquilidad a mis papás ... es que es una casa para nosotros, como familia y después yo viviría en la casa con mi pareja... entonces dejaría a mis papás en una casa que sería de nosotros también, quiero darles esa tranquilidad que es mi primera meta. Mis papás lo han dado todo por mí, entonces me toca258 (Andrés, 24 years old)

257 E: What things are important to you in life?
Esteban: in life? Mm, let's see... the people that one chooses as important, will always be the "top", let's say, in this case, my parents, my brothers, my puppies...
258 E: What ideas do you have for the future, for you, what does the future hold for you?…
Andrés: well, as I mentioned before, the first thing I want is buying a house, I want to give my parents peace of mind ... it is a house for us, as a family and then I would live in a house with my partner... then I would leave my parents in a house that would be ours too, I want to give them that peace of mind that is my first goal. My parents have given everything for me, so it's my turn.
This devotion to their parents extends the simple gratitude for having received commodities or peaceful environments. Their stories alongside their parents identify them as people with some advantages, from the starting point of having both parents at home, stability and the essential support for developing their drive for “learning... and not worry about other things” as Andrés also refers. Indeed, their family life and stories lead to assess themselves as “privileged”: namely, having a caring two-parent family, minor interpersonal conflicts and adequate income to live tranquilly.

Nevertheless, these participants mention no categorical gendered roles, none have children, and their love stories do not involve significant levels of commitment. In some sense, undergraduates are just beginning their lives as adults (see Chapter 8).

Incarcerated participants also value their families. However, in this case, the idea of “family” is somewhat idealised and reminisces to a redemption figure. Their harsh and solitary family past breaks and transforms into a completely different family life perspective, now founded by them. These families are founded on another set of

259 Perhaps something considered “normal” in developed countries (https://www.oecd.org/els/soc/SF_1_3_Living-arrangements-children.pdf)
260 E: how is that - since you mention it - how to be someone “privileged”? How would you define or how would you describe someone “privileged”?
Stevens: Well, first, privileged because I don't have to work, for example, and my parents cover my basic needs, and well, I mean, I can... not only eat, but I eat well, I can do physical activity, um... and a lots of things, I have been able to know other countries and other cultures... I have been able to have a more or less good education as well. My parents are also professionals, both of them, so they have been able to instil in me, uh... various things in my education and... in general I have been involved with good people who also help a lot... so in many ways I am privileged
values, preceding values that contradict or at least question the customary relationship between crime and hyper-masculinity (for example, violent behaviour) and the presence of such traits in people who commit crimes (Messerschmidt & Tomsen, 2016).

For instance, Marcianeke—arguably the most “antisocial” of these participants—refers to a thought-provoking, multidimensional appraisal of (heterosexual) relationships, guided by a non-violent principle.

E: ¿y polola, pololo?
Marcianeke: ¿polola? ¿yo? [E: sí] yo sí pero pa’l paso no más, o si no, no me gusta tirar el carro a mi [E: rie] o sea, un pololeo que dure harto poh, ¿cacha’i o no? [E: ya, te entiendo] me gusta así pasarla bien un rato no más, porque usted sabe después lo que viene... [E: rie] después pasa’i rabias, anda’i tirando el carro y todo, no, no va eso conmigo, no me gusta ser así. Menos... terminar así... entrando en el juego de repente de levantarle la mano a la mujer, yo no soy de esa volá. Si ahora los weones andan matando a las mujeres, es fome la weá, ¿sí o no? [E: sí poh, eso no debería ser y me alegro que tú no lo hagas] ¡no, yo no! Porque yo soy de otra volá, yo sé de respeto, yo nunca le levantaría la mano a una mujer... prefiero... ignorarla a levantarle la mano a una mujer. No es la mano, poh. Si yo igual tengo mamá, tengo hermana, tengo sobrinas, toda la weá, [E: sí poh] ¿me entiende o no? Entonces por eso yo pienso así yo creo poh. Hay weones que no tienen ná y yo cacho que por eso son así poh. Los weones nunca han sido queridos. Yo creo que por eso son así los weones, poh. [E: mmm, puede ser] vivo con mi taita y con mi hermana, ¡sí puede ser eso! Yo no, yo respeto a las mujeres, yo no soy como los weones.261 (Marcianeke, 23 years old)

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261 E: and girlfriend, boyfriend?
Marcianeke: girlfriend? Me? [E: yeah] I have but only for a moment, and if not so, I don't like to "pull the wagon" [E: laughs] I mean, a long-term relationship y'know? [E: ok, I got it] I like just to have fun for a while, because you know what comes later... [E: laughs] after that you have bad times, you pull the wagon and stuff, no, I don't like such things, I don't like to be like that. Plus... end like that... going into the game of sometime hitting the woman, I am not that way. Today you have assholes murdering women, [it is bad such things], isn't? [E: yeah, that shouldn't be and I'm glad for you not doing it] I don't! No! Because I'm like another way, I know about respect, I'd never hit a woman... I prefer... ignore her instead of hit a woman. [It's not the way] y'know. I have a mom, I have a sister, I have niece, all those, [E: yeah] do you get me? So I believe that it because of that I think this way y'know. There are assholes who don't have anyone and I think that that is the reason why they are that way. Those fuckers have never been loved. I believe that is the reason why they are like that y'know? [E: hmm, possibly] I live with my dad and my sister, yeah, that might be the reason! I don't, I respect the women, I'm like those assholes.
Hence, in the case of Marcianeke, what could be considered in other milieus as other forms of violence –ignoring and “taking lightly” compensate for avoiding the ultimate violence: hitting and killing.

It is noteworthy that Marcianeke is one of the few among these participants who do not have children; his notion of family includes only his father and sister. However, despite this condition, this eloquent participant shares with his peers the same most important goal: having the family well. In this sense, we think that family life involves both goals and means. Having a family or having the family well may be a valued goal, and the ways to fulfil such goals may be conventional or “innovative”. These features convert this dimension of human life as a remarkable unit of analysis in terms of cultural valuation from a Mertonian or “neo-Mertonian” perspective.

What they “didn't have” is a usual drive for these people. In this sense, their full of neglect stories give sense to current goals of breaking the intergenerational continuity of such stories. Giving what “didn't have” is an act of recognising their unforgiving lives as youngsters and consequently the compassionate appreciation of the other in the face of their children –who do not deserve to live such un-forgivingness. This way of being has nothing to do with antisocial callousness (as traditional accounts on antisocial profile describe, see Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Bonta & Andrews, 2010).

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E: ¿qué piensas de obtener dinero y cosas materiales? ¿te gusta comprar cosas, por ejemplo?
Esteban: no, no soy tanto así... no, lo material que tengo yo y quiero arrendarla, para vivir con mi hijo, si es de ellos, no es mío.
E: ya. O sea, conseguir cosas materiales y el dinero, para ti, tiene relación con tu familia.
Esteban: en realidad sí porque yo lo que hice, lo hice por ellos, por querer darles lo que no tuve yo.262 (Esteban, 25 years old)

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262 E: What do you think of getting money and material stuff? Do you like to buy things, for example?
Esteban: no, I am not so that way... no, material things I have [his apartment] and want to rent it, for living with my son, because it is theirs, not mine.
E: ok, so, getting material things and money, for you, it's related to your family.
Esteban: indeed it does because what I did, I did it for them, because I wanted to give them what I didn't have.
Bastián: ...Mi papá también, me vine en cana yo y... se había ido pa’ la calle de doce años. Mi papá también ha pasado toda su vida preso [E: ¿en serio?] y entonces... sí... yo veo como si yo fuera mi hijo... ¿se da cuenta? Y que él pase las mismas cosas que pasé yo cuando era chico, que la gente es humilladora... ¡no quiero!

E: “humilladora” ¿cómo?

Bastián: sí porque cuando no tienes- cuando tenís pura mamá- en la escuela son humilladores, hasta la misma gente grande poh. Y yo, conmigo han sido así... [E: y eso, tú te pones en el lugar de-] ¡claro! Me pongo en el lugar de mi hijo... y yo, yo, sé cuando él me dice que “ah”- me dice “que soy mentiroso”, que le digo que siempre voy a llegar luego. Y que “nunca llego” y que “van a pasar los años y yo no voy a llegar” me dijo la otra vez. ¡y me dejó mal poh! (Bastián, 23 years old)

This quote is a clear example of how temporal unity (see Chapter 8) gives “flesh” to personal narratives and past experiences “illuminate” some aspects of present lives “refracting” such light into the future. In a nutshell, past carelessness illuminates their children’s faces and then refracts to better future contours for them.

E: respecto como a las cosas más materiales... ¿te gusta como comprar cosas?

Cristofer: sí para tener, si uno se dispone, siempre lo va a tenerlo. Yo como me disponía a tener todas mis cosas, las tuve. Me fui a arrendar con mi pareja, de todo, todo compré, todo de cero... mi cama, la cama para mi hijo, tenía que aprender a comprar el gas, saber pagar la luz, el agua... tenerle los pañales a mi hijo que estaba recién nacido... eh, comprarme la cocina de a poco, tenía que tener la plata para invertir en la verdura... ¿me entiende? Y así me iba dándome

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263 Bastián: ...My dad too, I came to [jail] and... he had gone to the street after serving twelve years. My dad has also spent his whole life in prison [E: really?] and then... yes... I see as if I were my son... do you realize? And that he goes through the same things that I went through when he was a boy, that people are humiliating... I don't want to! -E: “humiliating” how? -Bastián: yeah because when you don't have- when you only have a mother- at school they are humiliating, even grown-ups y'know. And I, with me they have been like this... [E: and that, you put yourself in the place of-] of course! I put myself in my son's place... and I, I know when he tells me that "ah"-he tells me "that I'm a liar", that I always tell him that I'll come later. And that "I never made it" and that "years will pass and I'm not going to make it" he told me the other time. And he left me bad, man!

264 Why this is so is a matter for further investigations, however,
As is indicated, this motivation (turned valued goal) has “family” as the target. For Marcianeke, “having the family well” may also involve their parents—as in the accounts by his undergraduate peers.

However, for most of these participants, these motivations outline interesting shapes, perhaps what can be called a “new masculinity” (Bergara et al., 2008; Messerschmidt & Tomsen, 2016). Classical and contemporary criminological accounts (Matza & Sykes, 1961, p. 713; Young, 2003, 2007) emphasised the generalised tendency within male offenders to present “hyper-masculinities”\(^{267}\), a way of being that involves specific (and resulting) masculine gender roles (Messerschmidt & Tomsen, 2016). We believe that gender roles (as other ways of being) imply both material and ontological satisfaction (and deprivation). Therefore, the dynamic articulation of such dimensions serves both to “survive” and to support processes of identity-formation. In this case, we observe that having the “fridge full”, and subsequently the act of “filling the fridge”, means not only

\(^{265}\) E: regarding material stuff... do you like to buy things?
Cristofer: yeah, I do, for having stuff, if you have the disposition you always will have. As I had the disposition to have all my things, I had'em. I rented with my partner, everything, I bought everything, everything from nothing... my bed, my son's bed, I had to learn how to buy gas, know how to pay for the electricity, water... having the nappies of my newborn son... eh, buying the kitchen step by step, I had to have the money to invest in vegetables [for his shop] do you get me? And so I was going on and... and I was several years, like that, fine, all my stuff, my son's mother never lacks anything, never lacks a pack of diapers for my son, nothing.

\(^{266}\) …trying to make money, that’s it, money, because… if you don’t have money you don’t do anything either, trying to keep your home, I don’t know, with the fridge full, giving money to my dad, my brother, everyone, you got me or not? Then, what I like to do the most is money, for me before doing all that what I have said.

\(^{267}\) Alike to such callousness-related traits (antisocial) highlighted by mainstream offender supervision literature (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Bonta & Andrews, 2010)
surviving, but neither feeding the ego (as going upholstered may involve, for example) – it implies both experiences.268

How these people describe their relationship with their children goes further than the traditional and one-dimensional “breadwinner”, a man (commonly) who pays but does not care about sharing time with their children. Their “role” is limited to providing material things. In that regard, in contrast, consider the following account by José.

José: ¡noo! prácticamente hay machucaos que se lo ponen a la mujer y era, y quedó preñá’ y era, nos vemos “yo me voy y chao a mí no me pida’i nah” y era, la weá así de simple. Yo no, yo tengo otra mentalidad, yo tengo dos hijos, ya, me separé de la mamá de los dos, y era, pero a mí no me van a quitar la comunicación con ellos ¿por qué? Porque son mis dos hijos ¿me entiende? [E: súper] …yo siempre lo he recalca’o a las mamá de mi hija y de mi hijo, “a mí, no me va’i a tirarme la comunicación con mi hijo, aunque tú tenga’i otro machuca’o, tenga’i éste o éste, a mí me da lo mismo”, a mí lo que me interesa mis dos hijos... ¿me entiende? Igual cuando yo me fui de la casa, ¡no me llevé nah! Me lleve mi pura... me fui con lo puesto no más ¿me entiende o no? Cuando me separé de la mamá de mi hijo... me fui con lo puro puesto no más. Yo le dije a ella “yo no me voy a llevar nah’ de ti pero no porque... porque yo... porque yo te quiera a ti o te ame a ti, ¿por qué? Porque viene un hijo en camino –le dije- él que necesita todas estas cuestiones, no tú ni yo, él”. [E: ya. Súper.] A la mamá de mi hija también le dije lo mismo. Ella me decía, “pero llévate tus cosas”, “no –le dije yo- no me interesa nah”, a mí me interesa que mi hija esté bien.269 (José, 21 years old)

This line of thought evokes the suggestion of Moulian (1998, p. 71) about the necessity of giving more “seductiveness” to alternative existential projects and life’s senses to clash with the “shallowness of hedonism”. New ways of understanding crime and its address should involve both material and ontological dimensions, for example, caring about poverty and the personal (and collective) projects that emerge from such deprivation. The thorough investigation of that interplay may help to comprehend better the act of break a rule. What is the meaning of fraud for who commit such a crime? What is the meaning of company collusion for those managers in charge? As Messerschmidt and Tomsen (2016, p. 8 following Willott, Griffin, and Torrance (2008).) describe: “they [socially privileged men] described themselves as “normal men” who engaged in financial fraud unpretentiously to provide for their families and to protect their employees and their employees’ families from economic ruin”.269

Jose: no! There are assholes who fuck the woman and that’s it, and she got pregnant ‘and it was, see you ‘I'm going and bye, don't ask me anything and it was, as simple as that. Not me, I have another mentality, I have two children, now, I separated from the mother of the two... but they are not going to take away my communication with them, why? Because they are my two children, do you understand me? [E: super] …I have always emphasized it to my daughter's and son's mothers, “I'm not going to throw away communication with my son, even if you have another man whether this one or this one, it doesn't matter to me”, what interests me is my two children... do you understand me? The same when I left the house, I didn't take anything!… I left with just what I was wearing, do you understand me or not? When I
Granted, describing a man abandoning home as something “positive” and remarkable may be questionable (it is). However, the main point that we want to highlight is that despite the couple's relationship being broken, José still insisted on being close to his children, directing the analysis towards that point: “family” means mostly their children, positioning partners as secondary. This relevance of children is shared by every participant who is currently a father, and its drive is remarkably strong, which is evident in the following quote by Cristofer.

E: ya te entiendo. Es como súper... valorable el hecho de que tú... estés como decidido a hacerte cargo de tu hijo ¿no? No es como tan... porque siempre se habla del papito corazón y siempre a los hombres nos tiran que somos como malos padres... pero tú demuestras lo contrario.

Cristofer: ¡noo! Si yo, ¡si mi hijo es mi todo! Yo estando en la calle yo igual, en la calle cuando empecé con la droga, no lo veía, por lo mismo porque no tenía, no tenía como acercarme pa’ allá poh. Así que iba todas las noches y siempre le tiraba plata por debajo, por la ventana, le abría, que la mamá de mi hijo tenía un departamento en el primer piso. Y le abría la ventana yo así y le golpeaba y le decía “toma”, y le pasaba plata... no si nunca le faltó a plata a mi hijo, nada, yo estando en la droga me acercaba de tres, cuatro de la mañana... y le abría la ventanita despacio así pa’ que no escucharan mis suegros... y le dejaba plata y todo y me iba. Y me salían a buscar... y estuvimos harto tiempo así, igual recaí mal.270 (Cristofer, 25 years old)
True, sneaking money on early mornings for his son “never lacked money” does not sound like a “new masculinity”, far from it. However, what we want to outline is the parenting impulse that, in this case, puts the child above everything, even the physiological craving for taking drugs. Indeed, this participant is the same that wants to take full responsibility for his child custody.

Human lives are not simplistic depictions based upon ideological standpoints. Thus, despite their disadvantageous positions, these participants recognise both individualistic and caring possibilities amidst material deprivation. Leaving a window opened to enter the discussion about new masculinities (Connell, 2005; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Messerschmidt & Tomsen, 2016). Entering adulthood and taking responsibilities, especially the birth of a child, encourage these agents to undertake the roles of “caring” breadwinner – by any means required. Therefore, for these people, crime is not “bad” but troublesome because it may cause separation from children (besides the evident loss of their freedom). None even sustained that abandoning their children was an option.

Last but not least, we think that the apparent development of a more “collective” value-laden parenting perspective, seems to be originated and expanded from the individual nucleus and now enlarged to “embrace” family. However, this experience is still (experientially) distinguished and detached from broad society (see Chapter 8). Consequently, on the verge of an experienced threatening future, some question arises: is this caring parenting a first step towards the return of a renewed form of collectivism or just the ultimate “bunkerisation” of the individual?

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271 In this case, something similar to crack: “pasta base” [coca paste].
272 Even though a ‘pro-social’ activity is idealised insofar as crime makes them susceptible to incarceration. A phenomenon already described in the literature, see for instance, Carlsson (2013) and his exploration of persistence and desistance from crime.
Table 2. Some key aspects of Chapter 7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mainstream convergences</th>
<th>deviant struggles</th>
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<td>▪ Consumerism: for the family (“filling the fridge”).</td>
<td>▪ Consumerism (OTHERS): going “upholstered”.</td>
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<td>▪ Materialism: “satisfying needs”.</td>
<td>▪ Narcissism: good presentation (haircut, sneakers, outfit).</td>
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<tr>
<td>▪ Hedonism: alongside people, non-materialistic.</td>
<td>▪ Hedonism (OTHERS) having fun= “disorder” (as adolescents).</td>
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<td>▪ Hedonism: life uncertainty.</td>
<td>▪ Gender roles (caring) → “turning points”.</td>
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<td>▪ Family (somewhat related to the present, strong focus on the future).</td>
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<tr>
<td>▪ Consumerism (OTHERS): going “upholstered”.</td>
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<td>▪ Materialism: saving and investment.</td>
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<td>▪ Family (highly relevant in their past, present and future).</td>
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<td>▪ Consumerism: circular economy.</td>
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<td>▪ Consumerism (OTHERS): financially ignorants.</td>
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<td>▪ Consumerism (OTHERS): “obsession”, “stupidity”.</td>
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Chapter 8
NARRATIVE IDENTITIES THROUGH THE GLASSES OF TIME

Time has convoluted meanings. However, the experience of past, present, and future can be understood as enmeshed, although often considered linear and consequential. The future, or what is not there yet, can impact the present and even the past. People’s projects and dreams influence their actions and shed light on their present, directing them towards such ends, and likewise, such aspirations come to redirect the interpretation of everyone’s personal histories and how such stories are related to each other. Under the light of a bright future, what once was pure misery may redirect the view to meanings of effort and merit, from fate to challenges, from suffering to thriving. In the same way, former experiences mould present perception, opening distinct possibilities for the future that nourish processes of appraisal formation.

Sociocultural meanings support this phenomenon and turn the gaze upon different facts depending on people’s different positions in social life. As we revised before, meanings and modes of interpretation of social reality are not born ex-nihilo but within a web of meanings that precedes any individual. Moreover, as the very notion of “web” may indicate, “threads” of meanings entangled to each other forming fabrics of signification that render an individual’s worldview the same way as a pencil has meaning besides a desk and a piece of paper.

The thought about “personal future” involves intertwining constituents that give substantiality to such appraisal, while personal history infringes our appraisals about our future, only part of the totality of past experiences involves this interplay. On-going interpretations exerted by the actualisation of such experiences “dye” the fabric of meanings covering even the simple enunciation of an appraisal. Let us not forget the inevitable implication of social and extended meanings and circumstances that also supports such appraisals and from which the “separated” category of “national future” also emerges.
In the case of Chile, Larraín (2014) describes a traditional way of anticipation characterised by presenting future appraisals doomed predominantly by the past. Such appraisals consider a coherent unity of agency and structure, as Chileans are described as assessing their social future as interrelated to their personal future. Namely, as broader past events condemned us, the whole future is also fated. Being this fate –also argues Larraín- the origin of the traditional hedonistic attitude towards social reality.

For instance, fatalistic appraisals were expected to emerge as different disruptions have afflicted Chilean history (being 1973’s coup the most recent and dreadful). However, it does not seem to be the case for the present study. Since the accounts of these participants show how most of them refer structurally disembedded experiences. Namely, appraisals that broke the structure-agent continuity and, on the contrary, constitute accounts depicting diverging projections for every individuals and their shared country –regardless of the participants' dissimilar personal stories. Therefore, can these appraisals be understood as consequences of the pervading neoliberal conditions? Surely, this constitutes an enquiry for future investigations.

8.1 Past

A common antecedent for most incarcerated participants is what can be defined as a “harsh past”, defined chiefly by carelessness and solitude. Parents are often remembered and depicted as absent and unconcerned, which fuelled a strong commitment towards self-sustaining coping strategies, being José’s account a comprehensive illustration of this point:

¡Exactamente! A mí prácticamente a mí, mi amá no me puede venir a decir “hijo, cambie”, mi apá no me puede decir “hijo cambie”, ¿por qué? Porque ellos no me criaron, no me dieron una enseñanza. Ellos no me pusieron en una escuela me dijeron “anda, estudia, saca una profesión, sé profesional”, ¡no! Prácticamente me crié solo.273 (José, 21 years old)

273 Exactly! …my mom cannot come to me to say “son, change”, my father can’t tell me “son, change”, why? Because they didn’t raise me, they didn’t teach me. They did not put me in a school and told me “go,
Outlooks about single-parenthood and delinquency antecedents are widespread (Dornbusch et al., 1985), however, despite the “common sense” assumption of the single mother “by default”, these young Chileans also shows a single father family arrangement. This modality indeed disputes the typical mother’s role assumption but somewhat does confirm results regarding single-father families and delinquency (see, for instance, Demuth & Brown, 2004). In this regard, Marcianek discloses how his parents got separated, and he, facing the outcome of state residence care, highlights his father’s role as he who “rescued” him for such fate, however, at the same time we cannot dismiss his lengthy involvement with crime.

Yo vivo con mi taita, con mi madrastra, con mi hermana y mi hermanastro. Que yo cuando chico ellos pelearon y... y se separaron y yo fui a vivir con mi papá, me iban a llevar al internado, y él nos rescató, mi taita porque mi amá nos dejó solos porque... se sintió bloqueada mi mamá con tantos problemas que tenía... y se fue con mi hermano chico y yo quedé viviendo con mi hermana. Así que vivo con mi papá y mi hermana y mi mamá vive con mi hermano chico.274

(Marcianek, 23 years old)

School days were not a source of fulfilment either. As Diego’s account informs us, often these personal stories present an intricate relationship with the school since common traits identified later as “crime-related” such as “difficult temperament” (Andrews & Bonta, 2010, pp. 172–177) mark retrospective interpretations:

study, get a profession, be a professional”, no! I practically grew up alone. [slightly reduced and interpreted] 274 I live with my dad, with my stepmother, with my sister and my stepbrother ...when I was a boy they fought and ... and they separated and I went to live with my father, they were going to take me out the [children’s home], and he rescued us, my father because my mother left us alone because ... my mother felt blocked with so many problems... and she left with my little brother and I stayed with my sister. So I live with my dad and my sister and my mom lives with my little brother.
Diego: ... en el mismo colegio me daban pastillas... donde era hiperquinético... pero yo sabía lo que hacía si yo no hacía cuestiones malas, era peluzón no más ¡como todos poh! 

(275) (Diego, 23 years old)

These interpretations, in turn, describe fates of on-going repercussions associated with present-day difficulties, as Diego continues:

Diego: leer, me cuesta mucho mucho leer, mucho mucho... pero yo creo que fue más por las pastillas... 

(276) (Diego, 23 years old)

Consequently, such repercussions translate into a dynamic of losing and looking for opportunities. In this sense, as we also discuss in section 7.3, while ontological fulfilment exerts intense pressures in late modernity, these processes cannot be understood without their interplay with material deprivation/fulfilment. For this case, under the light of selves abandoned to their fortune, strong agencies emerge from experiences of inexorable individuality, and therefore, within this scenario, crime or deviation emerges as a feasible alternative:

Diego: ... como no pude estudiar, tuve que salir pa’ la calle a tener lo mío... si al final usted sabe que si no trabajá’i y no estudia’i algo no, no te dan pega o no tenís algo propio que tú trabajás. 

(277) (Diego, 23 years old)

This interpretation is shared by Patas cortas, who clearly describes similar experiences but from a different family background, where crime is considered something “normal”:

...yo buscaba el dinero porque no había trabajo- o sea, hay trabajo, pero el ámbito donde yo me crié, siempre fue así, mi familia, padre, madre, así que... no teníamos otro punto de vista como por...

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275 Diego:... at the school they gave me pills... I was hyperkinetic... but I knew what I did if I didn't do bad things, I was just [naughty], like everyone else you know! [interpreted]
276 Diego: reading, it costs me a lot, a lot, to read, a lot, a lot ... but I think it was more because of the pills ...
277 Diego: since I couldn't study, I had to go out to the streets to have my stuff ... whether in the end you know that if you don't work and don't study, you don’t [get a job] or you don't own something for you to work. [interpreted]
ejemplo alguien que tiene a su mamá trabajadora, a su papá trabajador... que trabajan para siempre ser alguien más... poder trabajar, poder estudiar... yo no, yo tenía a mi padre delincuente, mi madre delincuente... y en ese punto de vista, ¿qué me quedaba a mí? Que yo también tenía que ser delincuente. 

(Patas cortas, 21 years old)

Either product of plain abandonment or pro-criminal neglect, deviance and crime appear, closing the circle described by sensitive theorisations such as labelling theory. Deviant acts appear as prominent, veiling the whole conditions and historical dynamics that made possible the act.

Diego: No tener estudios ya te miran en menos ya... a veces puedo estar leyendo algo y aonde me cuesta leer. 

(Diego, 23 years old)

In this line, Bastián further describes people who “look down”, describing them as plainly “humiliating”: for instance, from the very fact of being abandoned by one of his parents. Thus, it is noteworthy that his interpretation is based on his childhood experience, namely, the presented meaning of “humiliation” emerges from the complex emotional experience of an abandoned child.

E: “humilladora” ¿cómo? Bastián: sí porque cuando no tienes- cuando tenís pura mamá... en la escuela son humilladores, hasta la misma gente grande poh. Y yo, conmigo han sido así... 

(Bastián, 23 years old)

Such experiences give flesh to the current horizon of interpretation, now concerning their own children, interrelating past with present-day experiences:

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278 ... I was looking for money because there were no jobs - that is, there is, but the area where I grew up was always like that, my family, father, mother... I had no other point of view, such as someone who has his working mother, his working father ... who always work to be better in life… working, studying ... not my case, I had my delinquent father, my delinquent mother ... and at that point of view, what was left to me? I had to be a criminal too. [slightly reduced and interpreted]

279 Diego: Not having studies people look down on you... sometimes I can be reading something and it is difficult for me to read. [interpreted]

280 I: "humiliating" how? -Bastián: yeah because when you don't have- when you have only a mother ... at school they're humiliating, even the grownups y'know. And... they have been like that with me...
E: y eso, tú te pones en el lugar de- ¡claro! Me pongo en el lugar de mi hijo... y yo, yo, sé cuándo él me dice que “ah”- me dice “que soy mentiroso”, que le digo que siempre voy a llegar luego. Y que “nunca llego” y que “van a pasar los años y yo no voy a llegar” me dijo la otra vez. ¡y me dejó mal poh!\(^{281}\) (Bastián, 23 years old)

For their part, *undergraduates* describe a different history overall. One common term participants used to describe themselves was “privileged”, recalling personal experiences of tranquility, family support and overall stability—as we already noted in Chapter 7. For instance, RaG describes his family as “not well off” but without financial problems, which in turn, has protected him from the unfair conditions, now mediatised by the media coverage since the 2019 social outburst (see chapter 3).

...nací en una familia de... una familia no acomodada pero que puede hacerse valer, no hay problemas económicos... las necesidades básicas... eh... tampoco he sufrido de... de estas injusticias que uno puede sentir... eh... en este tiempo.\(^{282}\) (RaG, 23 years old)

Another participant, Andrés, further describes some qualities of contexts considered prosperous, highlighting notions of peacefulness and mutual understanding as ingredients for things to “go well”.

es que siento que si hay un entorno que es pacífico y entendedor del otro, del prójimo, las cosas en general tienen que andar bien y eso es lo que ha sucedido por lo menos en mi familia ...\(^{283}\)

(Andrés, 25 years old)

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\(^{281}\) [I: and you put yourself in the place of-] of course! I put myself in my son's shoes ... and when he tells me that "you are a liar", cuz' I always tell him that I come later. And that "I never arrive" and that "the years will pass and I will not arrive" she told me the other time. And he left me bad y'know!

\(^{282}\) ... I born within... a family that is not well off but can assert itself, there are no financial problems ... basic needs ... eh ... I have not suffered from ... these injustices that one can feel ... eh ... at this time

\(^{283}\) I feel that if there is an environment that is peaceful and understanding of the other, of others, things in general have to go well and that is what has happened at least in my family. [slightly reduced and interpreted]
In contrast, accounts concerning the social past were found to be negative, especially in explaining social revolts and change in social arrangements. In this respect, Esteban is categorical in his statement\textsuperscript{284}.

\textit{Pero históricamente, si no queda la embarrada, no pasa nada. Históricamente siempre tiene que quedar la embarrada grande para que pase algo... en todos lados, todos los cambios de imperio, la edad media, todas esas cuestiones, quedó la embarrada para que pasara algo... y así llegamos hasta el día de hoy.}\textsuperscript{285} (Esteban, 27 years old)

\textbf{8.2 Present}

As we mentioned, the “present” is considered here as intimately articulated with the past (and the future). In the case of the undergraduates’ present, it is characterised by being “very busy” regarding personal projects such as their studies and incipient job opportunities. Moreover, hobbies and leisure activities appear, showing diversification of interests and time use. Among those activities highlight reading, music (playing and listening), and casual football, however, more structured occupations in areas different from their main study field are found as well, depicting opportunities for curiosity and exploration.

In the same line of variety, the use of social media –as a primary activity nowadays–\textsuperscript{286} is characterised as wide-ranging in terms of platform and consequent use. In this regard, social mainstream media platforms such as Facebook and Instagram are widely used for social meetings and information consumption, but other less known hubs such as Discord are also mentioned. Nonetheless, important to allude to is the extended use of LinkedIn as the leading platform for seeking job opportunities.

\textsuperscript{284} It is noteworthy to mention that this kind of argumentation was common ion social media around the events of 2019 social outburst.

\textsuperscript{285} But historically, if [there is no disaster], nothing happens. Historically, the [big mess is needed to] something to happen ... everywhere, all the empire changes, the Middle Ages, all those issues, the the [big mess is needed to] something to happen ... and that's how we continue to this day. [slightly reduced and interpreted]

\textsuperscript{286} Especially in times of covid-19 confinement.
The participants’ accounts—framed within the context of the covid-19 pandemic—refer to discomfort due to being forcibly confined, which is accompanied by a prevalent overall description of suffering from mild anxiety levels and some emotional instability. Their appraisal of the current social situation accompanies those feelings, emerging questions about their life choices and possibilities to navigate the uncertainties of adult life. Stevens, for instance, highlights the ambivalence between their overall “privileged” situations alongside his current perception of uncertainty:

*Stevens: hm, bien... bien como a modo personal, me siento feliz, eh, me siento tranquilo, pero preocupado a la vez, como lo que a mí más preocupa es el tema de salir de la universidad ahora y siento que el mundo está muy mal por así decirlo...* ²⁸⁷ (Stevens, 22 years old)

This appraisal is accompanied by questions about the possibilities opened by his undergraduate degree, assessing some handicaps of his situation, such as the lack of work experience and supporting contacts within a context of degrees overly supplied.

*...y elegí esto y no sé si me da las mejores como... posibilidades laborales en realidad. Entonces tengo como mucha incertidumbre respecto a la profesión y también siento que no hice tantas cosas mientras estuve en la carrera, como más currículum por así decirlo, entonces eso a mí me genera como harta incertidumbre, eh, al momento de salir al mercado laboral, además no tengo muchos pitutos y cosas por el estilo, así que eso me genera un poco de incertidumbre, la salida al mercado laboral y una profesión más menos saturada.* ²⁸⁸ (Stevens, 22 years old)

For his part, Jacinto further describes this emotional instability within the covid-19 context. In addition, he is clear about his regular active attitude towards life, involved in personal projects and engaged with his close community.

²⁸⁷ Stevens: hm, well ... well personally, I feel happy, uh, I feel calm, but worried at the same time, as what worries me the most is the issue of leaving university now and I feel that the world is too bad so to speak...

²⁸⁸ ... And I chose this [degree] and I don't know if it gives me the best... job possibilities actually. So I have a lot of uncertainty about the profession and I also feel that I did not do so many things while I was studying, like more curriculum so to speak, so that generates a lot of uncertainty for me, uh, when I went out to the labour market, also not I have a lot of [contacts] and things like that, so that creates a bit of uncertainty for me, entering the job market and a more less saturated profession.
How is your life going today? - Jacinto: eh, on a roller coaster I consider. Like sometimes I am - what happens is that I really like to get into projects, to be in a lot of movement, so when things are going well, or I see, maybe they are not going so well but I am doing things, I see that I am doing things and I feel good. But I don't know, sometimes being locked up bores me because I like meeting friends … and since I haven't seen anyone in a long time, sometimes I get down, then I get back to what I'm doing and there going up so that's basically it, that's how I am now. [E: ok ...] So for example in the morning I was there, I woke up fine and everything and then I had lunch and was [kind of jaded], I don't know, that's the way I am today. [slightly reduced and interpreted]
E: mm, y ¿tienes alguna preocupación acerca del futuro, de tu futuro?

Mito: Sí, sí, sí, tengo... [ríe] yo tengo mucho... yo creo que es algo de siempre, a mí me da mucho miedo llegar a un futuro y decir “¿dónde estoy?” igual, como “¿Por qué estoy acá?”... así, yo no debería estar acá, no soy feliz, acá. Eso me da mucho miedo.290 (Mito, 22 years old)

Lastly, one of the most prominent narratives of the undergraduates was the description of life’s transitions, specifically from their present stage to adulthood. In this line, Mito also refers to how he feels uncertainty at the verge of a self-sustained life involving economic autonomy and a life away from “youthfulness”. Almost like an unwanted fate, personal responsibility arises as an unavoidable certainty among a landscape of qualms, a perfect site for the emergence of ambivalent feelings.

¿cómo va la tu vida en la actualidad?

Mito: mmm... yo la verdad es que siento que estoy como pasando por un momento... yo creo que estoy pasando por un momento que igual de hace meses yo creo, donde han cambiado muchas cosas en mi vida. Me he dado cuenta de cosas que me gustan antes no sabía que me gustaban, empecé a crecer un poco y a tener un pie como dentro de la adultez, o de la responsabilidad, de hecho ya he pensado así como “oh, ya me queda poco para titularme y al final ¿qué voy a hacer después?”, o sea, me voy de la casa o estudio otra cosa, que lo más probable es que estudie otra cosa que es lo que quiero. Y entonces la verdad es que igual ha sido fuerte porque son cosas que a uno- a mí por lo menos no me gusta o siento que no quiero ser adulto todavía, siento que igual me siento como joven y todo, pero esa parte de adultez como de responsabilidad y... no sé, la verdad es que siento que me da miedo porque siento que no aproveché mucho mi pasado. Entonces... no sé si eso existe en todas las personas pero... a mí me pasó eso, eventualmente. Mucha incertidumbre, mucho misterio, ehm, no sé igual, contento igual con todo lo que me ha pasado, la verdad, feliz con todo lo que me ha pasado, por lo menos trato de seguir el camino que quiero tener, pero me da miedo igual estos pasos que estoy tomando de adulto.291 (Mito, 22 years old)

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290: mm, and do you have any worries about the future, about your future?
Mito: YES, yes, yes, I have... [laughs] I have a lot... I think it's something from always, I'm very afraid of reaching the future and saying "where am I?" ... like “Why am I here?”, well, I shouldn't be here, I'm not happy, here. That scares me a lot.
291 How is your life currently? Mito: mmm ... the truth is that I feel like I'm going through a moment ... I think I'm going through a moment that just as months ago I think, where many things have changed in my
As we grasped above, incarcerated people faced the ramming of personal “responsibility” noticeably earlier in their lives, establishing their own families or caring bonds with the dawn of their youth. In contrast, imprisonment mostly came to interrupt their precocious and incipient family life. A life, however, plagued with confusion and “wrong-doing”, conveying crime as the main element of their accounts’ plot. Such context stands background of these participants’ incarceration, which came to suspend their lives, turning their attention both to the concrete everyday routine of prison and their now impalpable life outside the “streets”.

Accustomed elements stand up as endearing. Freedom, home and family emerge as those “socio-existential anchorages” (Araujo, 2018) once taken for granted, but that are now away from their grasp, rouse feelings of missing and somewhat nostalgia. This circumstance is how the abstractness of the longed life entangles with the concreteness of prison’s severity, splitting aware and unaware experience and allowing the emergence of distressing emotions.

Entonces ya, era, volver al medio libre para estar con mi familia, porque... acá dentro se echa caleta de menos a la familia igual poh [E: me imagino] no valora’i eso cuando estás en la calle, pero cuando esta’i preso... es distinto poh ¿me entiende o no? Los echa’i caleta de menos...

(Marcianke, 22 years old)

life. I have noticed things that I like that I did not know I liked before, I started to grow a little and have a foot like in adulthood, or responsibility, in fact I have already thought like “oh, I have little to get a degree and in the end, what am I going to do next? ”, that is, I am leaving home or studying something else, which is most likely to study something else which is what I want. And then the truth is that it has been [shocking] because … I do not like it or I feel that I do not want to be an adult yet, I feel that I still feel young and everything, but that part of adulthood like of responsibility and… I don't know, the truth is that I feel that I am scared because I feel that I did not take advantage of my past. So… I don't know if that happens in all the people but… happened to me, eventually. A lot of uncertainty, a lot of mystery, ehm, I don't know … I'm happy with everything that has happened to me, truly, happy with everything that has happened to me, at least I try to follow the path I want to take, but it scares me these steps I'm taking as an adult. [slightly reduced and interpreted]

292 So then, it was, now going back to freedom to be with my family, because ... in here we miss the family a lot y’know [I: I imagine] You don’t value that when you are on the street, but when you are imprisoned ... it’s different y’know… you get me? I miss them a lot ... [slightly reduced and interpreted].

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This splitting experience opens horizons of meanings related to what threw them into jail and the conditions of such drift. The plot framework, therefore, includes the social context that enabled “deviancy”, making such concept part of an apparent oxymoron (“normal deviancy”\textsuperscript{293}), but which makes sense in the narratives of these people:

Porque no... no pude salir del... de la escuela culiá del delito porque como que la misma gente te trata de incentivar en eso porque uno busca trabajo y toda la weá y te cierran las puertas ¿me entiende o no? [E: mmm] y por esa weá yo llegué preso, si no, no hubiera llegado preso, si esta weá de estar preso no es pa’ nadien, ¿o no, oiga? [E: no poh] es fome estar preso poh. Yo me [“parqueé”?] cinco años, cinco año nuevos y es fome vivir esta experiencia.\textsuperscript{294} (Marcianke, 22 years old)

Consequently, distressing emotions appear. The toughness with what “administrative” criminology characterises “these” people (offenders, criminals) weakens and sometimes fades away, revealing the (out of sight) humanity of who is labelled as a “delinquent”.

De repente así como que revienten los cascos, toda esa weá te va haciendo mal pa’ la mente, ahí el procedimiento de los pacos, ¿me entiende o no? Ya con los meses así ya como después eso te va a afectando poh, con el tiempo...\textsuperscript{295} (Marcianke, 22 years old)

Emotions are mostly dispelled from criminological accounts, being perhaps the work of Jack Katz (1988, 1999), in contrast, prominent precisely owing to this omission. Mainstream crime explanations focus the gaze on the “negative” emotions of “negative” people (e.g. Andrews & Bonta, 2010). However, taking apart the defining indication of a criminal conviction, it is expectable, perhaps, that people who have committed crimes also experience a wide range of emotions as any other human being.

\textsuperscript{293} Already suggested by Robert Merton (1968, p. 185)
\textsuperscript{294} Because no ... I couldn't get out of ... the fucking crime school because like people try to encourage you... because you look for a job and stuff... and they close you the doors, you get me? [E: mmm] and because of that I was imprisoned, if not, I wouldn’t have been imprisoned, this shit of being imprisoned is not for anyone, or not, hey? [I: nope] is [harsh] being in prison y’know. I [“lost”?] five years, five new year’ eve... it is [harsh] to live this experience. [slightly reduced and interpreted].
\textsuperscript{295} Suddenly, just it is like [the mind] explode, all that shit is turning your mind sick... the procedure of the [guards]... you get me? Now passing the months it start to affect you y’know, over time ...
Patas cortas is a good example of this idea, who following the “normal deviancy” oxymoron, declares that according to his family antecedents, he “had to be a criminal too” (see above). Nevertheless, a “doomed criminal” is also capable of experiencing diverse emotions: happiness, distress, and sadness revolve in this participant despite the characteristics of the context where he lives every day.

E: oye, y ¿te has sentido como estresado o abrumado en el último tiempo?

Patas cortas: sí poh... aquí se vive con estrés, la tensión... felicidad, tristeza... son... sentimientos que aquí se viven, no normalmente porque normalmente uno vive un sentimiento como felicidad y le dura todo un día o dos días, aquí no, uno puede estar feliz... unos cinco minutos, después se pasa la felicidad y esta’i estresado, después triste, después de triste podís pasar a enojado... en un lapso de dos horas... ²⁹⁶ (Patas cortas, 21 years old)

The odd combination of monotony and danger sets the stage for these oscillating emotional experiences, where banal activities serve for filling the scene in an attempt to “distract the mind”, avoiding “psicosearse” [get (negatively)psyched, similar to emotionally overwhelmed]. Table tennis, table football, futsal, playing cards, and drinking mate tea are everyday activities for distracting the mind, which are described as interesting and communal despite the tedious (and looming) character of life in prison.

It is worthy to note how different the use of social media is for these people. In clear contrast to students, social media platforms are used only for messaging purposes, with Facebook the sole preferred platform and family being the primary recipient of such communication. This way, family, especially children, appears as a foremost drive for redemption and maintaining some contact with them, which is crucial in this on-going process.

²⁹⁶ I: hey, and have you been feeling stressed or overwhelmed lately? Patas cortas: yeah ... here you live with stress, tension ... happiness, sadness ... they are ... feelings that are experienced here but not normally, because normally one experiences a feeling like happiness and it lasts a whole day or two days, not here… you can be happy ... for about five minutes, then happiness passes and you are stressed, then sad, after sad you can become angry ... in a period of two hours ...
E: ...vamos a hablar primero del presente ... a modo general Bastián, ¿cómo crees que va tu vida en la actualidad?
Bastián: [pausa] pucha ehh, no sé es que aquí en la cárcel... como que no... me doy, igual me doy, me motivo igual yo porque quiero salir adelante igual poh... porque yo igual me crié sin papá y no quiero que mi hijo pase lo mismo poh. Igual me estoy - me estoy portándome bien, no peleo, niuna cuestión, para hacerla corta y estar lo antes posible con mi hijo, no ve que me echa de menos, igual él siempre ha estado conmigo. (Bastián, 22 years old)

Likewise, and contrasting with students, God also appears as a vital source for coping; however, in this case, as we also see also see in section 6.1, its mention hints some instrumentalisation instead of a disinterested faith.

E: ya. Y ¿cómo has salido delante de eso?
Fabián: con harto optimismo y esfuerzo no más poh... rezo todos los días, y le pido a Él que me dé fuerza nada más... trato de vivir esto no más porque esto me lo he buscado yo. Pero seguir luchando ... a pesar de todo. (Fabián, 24 years old)

8.3 Future

The present opens into a particular horizon of possibilities, and in this way, the appraisal of the present times opens meaningful projections. In this case and for almost all participants (students and incarcerated), the projection is a notoriously twofold reality: their individual future divorces from the structural, “social” level and move towards two different scenarios. While societal, broad (others?) future is assessed as obscure and adverse overall, individual future appears bright and successful. Finding also preceding research that has also outlined this phenomenon, stating that this hope “supposes a
certain detachment, a rupture between the social structure and the individual” (Mayol et al., 2013, p. 62).

8.3.1 Social future

Therefore, the initial assessment of incarcerated people of the social future begins with high prices and low incomes.

\[E: \text{...Oye, y términos nacionales... de lo que tú puedas saber de Chile y cómo está el contexto social, cómo están los conflictos, ¿cómo crees tú, cómo piensas, cómo ves tú la sociedad chilena actualmente?}
\]

\[Esteban: \text{eh... mal igual porque... igual está todo muy caro y la gente no está ganando lo que... lo que pueda consumirse, se les va la plata en arriendo, luz, agua y se les acabó el sueldo a la gente. En ese sentido está mal.}^{299}\] (Esteban, 25 years old)

A prominent “narco-culture” is added, which impacts the streets even to levels intolerable to these people supposedly “habituated” to violence and drugs.

\[\text{individuo NN: ...ahora que llego la cultura del narco, está fome la calle.}
\]

\[E: \text{¿Cómo así?}
\]

\[\text{individuo NN: sii porque... ¡está fome! Mucha juventud perdida.}^{300}\] (Individuo NN, 22)

In this context is where the split-reality mentioned above appears, for instance, in the categorical words of Fabián, after 38 months in prison, and ad portas of being released:

\[^{299}\text{I: Hey, and regarding our country ... about what you may know about Chile and how the social context is right now, the conflicts ... how do you see Chilean society today? –Esteban: uh ... bad because ... everything is very expensive and people are not earning what ... what can be consumed, they lose money in rent, electricity, water and people's salary has run out. In that sense is bad. [interpreted and slightly reduced]}
\]

\[^{300}\text{... now that the drug culture has arrived, the streets are [complicated]. –I: How so? –Individuo NN: yeah because… it's [complicated]! A lot of lost youth. [interpreted]}
\]
Entrevistador: súper. Hablemos ahora entonces… hablemos del futuro. Partamos por el futuro de Chile, ¿qué piensas tú que se viene para el futuro de nuestro país?
Fabián: noo, así como está la cosa en nuestro país… no sé ahí hay que… gente… así como se dice “está la cagá” en el país poh [E: ríe] capaz que haiga hasta un golpe de Estado, una wea así.
E: … Y entonces, tu futuro personal, ¿cómo lo ves?
Fabián: no, para mí, yo lo veo bien… así que… voy a formar familia, yo lo que me propongo, lo he conseguido. Tener bien a mi familia más que nada. Eso es mi futuro, eso es lo que tengo en mente. Tener mi familia, tener hijos… y apoyar a los míos no más poh.301 (Fabián, 24 years old)

In this line, incarcerated participants mostly believe in a forbidding future. However, whose primary characteristic is being “unchanged”, they expect an unfavourable national future, but that is basically the same reality they can grasp at present times. There will be no change, neither progressive nor regressive.

E: y respecto a eso ¿qué piensas del futuro de Chile? ¿qué proyecciones- qué crees que va a pasar más adelante?
Marcianeke: yo creo que va a ser lo mismo de siempre no más, no va a haber niún cambio… no va a haber niún cambio poh… va a seguir siendo pobreza. Van a aumentar los campamentos, todo eso va pasar, va a ser siendo lo mismo no más, si… si los políticos tienen controlado todo el país… los presidentes todo eso, tienen la cagá en el país. Entonces, yo creo que va a ser lo mismo, no va a haber niún cambio.302 (Marcianeke, 23 years old)

These accounts may raise questions about the sources of information or focus of perception where these people lay their gaze to conclude such statements. Bastián, for instance, is particularly honest in recognising that he struggles for stating an opinion

301 Interviewer: let's talk about the future… What do you think is coming for the future of our country? – Fabián: noo, the way things are in our country … as they say “there is the shit” in the country y’know … a coup may even occur… –Interviewer: … And… your personal future, how do you see it? –Fabián: no, for me, I see it good … I’m going to start a family, what I have proposed to myself, I have achieved. Supporting my family above anything else. [reduced and interpreted]
302 I: and regarding that, what do you think of the future of Chile? What projections- what do you think is going to happen? -Marcianeke: I think it will be the same as always … there will be no change … there will be no change y’know … poverty will continue. The [illegal camps] are going to increase … it will be just the same, since the politicians have controlled the whole country … the presidents all that, they have shit in the country. So, I think it will be the same, there will be no change. [slightly reduced and interpreted]
insofar he “does not watch much TV”, indicating a certain relationship between public aspects such as politics and media. It seemingly indicates that political involvement is reduced to a mere observant position, the same way people watch the news or soap operas.

Therefore, we can only theorise how these people construct their accounts regarding societal matters. One source may be rudimentary information from mainstream news, but most importantly can be the shared narratives of close people inasmuch as we already have seen how these people do not recognise a particular interest in social media, where other people, such as undergraduates, do actually obtain information.

One of the relevant starting points for these accounts is the events following the 2019 social outburst – events that none of the incarcerated experienced directly. Diego, for example, points to the vandalised public goods, arguing how public authorities must repair and replace the broken goods insofar as people would reproof the esthetical state of such goods.

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303 Bastián: what will the future of Chile be like? Hopefully ... I don't know, things change - I'm really not very informed, I don't watch much TV, what do you want me to tell you! -I: but what you know no more, what sounds to you. Bastián: I don't watch much TV [laughs] -I:... you see it as we are on the right track or everything is the same, or on the wrong track... Bastián: it's always going to be the same! Yes ... it will always be the same. [slightly reduced and interpreted]
porque no... “ah, se cerró el cuento, se va a arreglarse solo”, hay que pintar esto. Y después uno va caminando y “oye, que feo está”, “está fea la plaza”... no la ven más allá poh, si al final después van a tener que arreglar igual las cosas...  

(Diego, 23 years old)

Individuo NN follows that line of thinking, alluding to the uncertainty of the times yet to come, however, referring to a particular characteristic of his fellow citizens: ignorance. According to this participant, ignorance is critical to understanding the uncertainty he sees towards the country’s future.

E: Me gustaría que me contaras tu impresión, tu punto de vista respecto a lo que se viene para el país... ¿cómo crees tú que se viene el futuro para el país? con todo lo que ha pasado.

individuo NN: es un lugar incierto el futuro... un lugar nublado. Depende de la decisión que tome la gente desde ahora no más. Encuentro que muchos son muy ignorantes como yo, no cachan ni una y porque uno les mete el cuento, caen rapidito. ¿me entiendes? Entonces es un lugar incierto para el futuro del país.  

(individuo NN, 22 years old)

The president’s figure is presented as fundamental for realising changes within the country’s reality. This perception is not entirely unfounded since it is documented that the Chilean president holds certain “legal primacy” (Bronfman Vargas, 2016) and political influence since his or her agenda is tended to be perceived as “chosen by people”. Therefore, Chile’s current negative viewpoint is then accompanied by the president as the foremost accountable agent, whose decisions would almost directly impact the country’s situation.

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304 I: I was wondering what you thought about that, about the destruction or the looting, what do you think about that? -Diego: I think that with that we do not get anything, it is like the government is going to lose - it is going to get money to fix things and to fix things they have to take workers to the streets ... not that ... "ah, the story is finished, it will fix itself ", you have to paint this. And then one goes walking and "hey, how ugly it is", "the square is ugly" ... they don't see it further y’know, if in the end they will have to fix things anyway ...

305 I: I would like you to tell me your impression, your point of view regarding what is coming for the country ... how do you think the future is coming for the country? with everything that has happened. Individuo NN: the future is an uncertain place ... a cloudy place. It depends on the decision that people make from now on no more. I find that many are very ignorant, like me, they do not catch a single one and because you tell them the story, they fall quickly. Do you get me? So it is an uncertain place for the future of the country.
E: Hablemos un poco del futuro... partamos por el futuro de Chile, ¿cómo –desde tu punto de vista- cómo se viene el futuro para nuestro país?

Francisco: ¡una mierda de futuro! [rien] una mierda de futuro. Sí poh, sí... si no cambian a ese Piñera va a ser una mierda. Nooo, es ahí va depende a lo que está pasando en el día a día, tiene que ser diferente, si ya, en el sentido, aquí el presidente, si el presidente es bueno, el mundo va a ser diferente en Chile...

E: ¿cómo crees que se viene el futuro para Chile?

José: bueno, prácticamente en el futuro de casi todo el país... ahí... va de mal en peor la cosa ¿me entiende o no? En vez de ir hacia adelante, vamos retrocediendo, retrocediendo hacia atrás poh. ¿me entiende? Y prácticamente ¿por qué eso? Por el sistema de la presidencia, que el presidente no toma conciencia de las cosas que está haciendo. ¿Me entiende o no? No toma conciencia de lo que está haciendo, él no toma conciencia de lo que está haciendo, no toma conciencia de lo que está pasando en el país, a nivel nacional. ¿me entiende o no?

The notion of “going backwards” is intriguing, insofar as “forwards” and “backwards” may imply –how it is usual- meanings of continuity or temporal linearity, implying persistent but dynamic points of reference. These “points” of reference may have to do with a particular “script” about a scene or scenes of their personal stories amidst broad national (or even global) situations. This way of conceiving current and novel circumstances may involve the trap of a “never-again” perception, acting as a “plot anchor” prone to produce negativistic appraisals of the future. This “anchor” would act, in turn, as a narrative pivot from where directing different contents into awareness, for

306 Let’s talk a bit about the future ... let’s start with the future of Chile, how - from your point of view - how does the future look for our country? P7: crappy future! [laugh] shit future. Yeah, yeah ... if they don’t change that Piñera it’s going to be the shit. Nooo, that’s where it goes depends on what is happening on a day-to-day basis, it has to be different, yes, in the sense... if the president is good, the world will be different in Chile...

307 E: how do you think the future looks for Chile? P11: well, practically in the future of almost the whole country ... there ... things are going from bad to worse, do you understand me or not? Instead of going forward, we go backwards, backwards y’know. Do you get me? And practically why that? Due to the presidential system, the president is not aware of the things he is doing. Do you understand me or not? He is not aware of what he is doing, he is not aware of what he is doing, he is not aware of what is happening in the country, at the national level, does he understand me or not?
instance, Fabián assesses the current situation of Chile as “crap” up to a point to think that “even a coup may happen”. That is, a coup may happen since an old order is – wilfully or not- yearned.

E: hablemos del futuro. Partamos por el futuro de Chile, ¿qué piensas tú que se viene para el futuro de nuestro país?
Fabián: noo, así como está la cosa en nuestro país... así como se dice “está la cagá” en el país poh [E: ríe] capaz que haiga hasta un golpe de Estado, una wea así. 308

Afterwards, Fabián continues, offering some hints to reach some light amidst such dark times, he is clear: “that they listen to the poor more”, evidencing disconnection between political authorities and people of his “class”, whose words may have the key both to social changes and for covering people’s necessities –being simply “listened” one among them.

E: o sea, no eres muy optimista.
Fabián: no, si al menos que... cambie todo radical, la gente va a seguir... 309
E: y ¿qué crees tú que debería cambiar?
Fabián: [pausa] ¡las cosas que piden la gente poh! Que haigan más... más colegios y... los estudios... sean más pagados y esas cosas. [E: ya. Súper] ...¡cosas que necesita la gente poh! 309
E: ¿cómo qué por ejemplo?
Fabián: que escuchen más a los pobres 309 (Fabián, 24 years old)

Concerning the needs of Chilean people, Patas cortas reflects on distinct “classes” of Chileans, each with different necessities. And interestingly, he distinguishes another

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308 E: let's talk about the future. Let's start with the future of Chile, what do you think is coming for the future of our country? Fabián: noo, the way things are in our country ... as they say “there is the shit” in the country y’know [E: laughs] even a coup may happen, such a thing.
309 E: I mean, you're not very optimistic. -Fabián: no, if at least... everything changes radically, people will continue... E: and do you think should change? Fabián: [pause] the things people ask for y’know! That they build more ... more schools and ... studies ... be paid and stuff. [E: ok. Super]... things people need y’know! -E: how what for example? -Fabián: that they listen to the poor more.
Later, he notes how the country could be defined as a whole but also as different realms depending on whom we are talking about and his or her life’s conditions. This statement opens political and cultural questions and disputes the notion of social interrelationship, for instance, giving way to examine what Young (1999, 2003) calls “social bulimia”, the dynamic interaction between social exclusion and cultural inclusion. Patas cortas

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310 E: already. Okay. And moving on to the subject of the future, how - according to your point of view - how do you think the future of Chile is coming? Patas Cortas: the future of Chile? [pause] I see ... not very good because ... maybe we don't take the necessary measures to do what Chile in quotation marks "wants", other than what Chile is defined in any case, because ... everyone has their needs and it's not the whole of Chile, so ... how? E: [interrupts] how... what is interesting that you tell me, could you please explain better? Patas Cortas: of course, it is that everyone has their needs, upper class, middle class, lower class, but there is other class, which is the one that does not have and lives on the street, the one who goes hungry, the one who one day doesn't have to eat, neither does the other, the other it does, then no... eh... I think that Chile is not defined by the name of Chile, it is defined by the people who are in it, like saying that Chile is Santiago, and Santiago is a pure commune. E: sure, sure. And then how... are you pessimistic, optimistic, neutral? Patas Cortas: neutral
account invites us to think (again) about a “totally excluded” group of people. At least, a group whose members perceive themselves as totally excluded.

Consequently, despite the overall pessimistic tonic of these participants’ accounts, optimistic accounts are found nevertheless. For instance, Esteban focused his attention upon a new public organism that emerged from the 2019 outburst: the Constitutional Convention, an unprecedented body whose formal function is to write a new Constitution, overcoming the current one, written originally in the context of military dictatorship.

E: y ¿cómo ves el futuro de Chile considerando esto?
Esteban: bueno, por lo que uno ve en las noticias... la nueva Constitución quiere cambiar eso...
E: y ¿piensas que va a servir? ¿o no?
Esteban: [pausa] ¡sí poh!, porque va a haber personas que no solamente son ¿cómo le explico? Que son familiares del presidente o de algún diputado que esté ahí poh. Viene gente que es de esfuerzo igual.
E: o sea, ves con buenos ojos lo que se viene...
Esteban: sí, sí poh311 (Esteban, 25 years old)

This account is supported by Andrés, who expresses a “wishful thinking” regarding the future, especially regarding the life’s conditions of most materially deprived people.

E: ¿qué crees tú que se viene para el futuro de Chile? [Andrés: ¿cómo que se viene como...?] En general, en términos económicos, sociales, políticos...
Andrés: yo creo que... depende de lo económico ¿o no?
E: lo que se te ocurra, ¿cómo se viene el futuro de Chile?
Andrés: yo creo que... se vengan las cosas más bien... [E: ¿ya?] Que se viene más tirado pa’ la gente pobre... que tengan más recursos igual.
E: ya. ¿eres optimista entonces con lo que se viene para el futuro?

311 E: and how do you see the future of Chile considering this? -Esteban: well, from what you see on the news... the new Constitution wants to change that [I: of course] I: and do you think it will work? or not? -Esteban: [pause] yeah!, because there are going to be people who are not only, how can I explain it? Not relatives of the president or a deputy who is there you know. It comes people who are of effort. -E: that is, you see with good eyes what is coming... -Esteban: yeah, yeah
Andrés: yo creo que sí.\(^{312}\) (Andrés, 21 years old)

*Undergraduate* participants share a negativistic tone overall. However, it is also possible to find some lights of hope. For instance, like Esteban from the incarcerated group, RaG believes a new Constitution could help improve Chile’s situation –in the long term, nevertheless.

E: súper. Y ya para cerrar, ya lo hemos conversado en parte, pero, ya como derechamente preguntarte ¿qué opinas tú del futuro de tu país, qué opinas del futuro de la sociedad chilena?

RaG: ya, pienso que da para tiempo, pienso que no es un tema que tras este estallido social se va resolver de aquí a tres años cuando cambie la constitución. Estos cambios, bueno, por lo poco que he estudiado, que he leído, son cambios que demoran por lo menos diez años, veinte años. Así que... creo que vamos a estar en esta especie de pantano por un rato más o menos largo...\(^{313}\)

This “long-term” makes RaG consider he stands for a “careful optimism” accompanied by the shift in the “paradigmatic” approach, which in turn would lead to changes in the following decades.

...¿optimismo cuidadoso se podría decir? [E: ¿ya? ¿cómo así?] ah, eh [E: ¿cómo definirías ese “optimismo cuidadoso”?] el optimismo cuidadoso por el hecho de que haya un cambio de paradigma pueda llevar a ciertas ventajas, no ventajas sino en general como un poco más de, de equidad, de felicidad, un poco, un poco pero como algo muy lejano y... que por lo menos desde mi lado yo lo veo como algo más posible en comparación de mis papás y como ellos son más viejos y en palabras de ellos “ah, no, estoy muy vieja para esto, me voy a morir antes de que

\(^{312}\) E: what do you think is coming for the future of Chile? [Andrés: What comes, How ...?] In general, in economic, social, political terms... -Andrés: I think... it depends on the economic aspect, doesn't it? -E: what comes to mind, how is the future of Chile coming? -Andrés: I think that... things are going to be better... [E: ok?] That it comes easier for poor people... who would have more resources as well. -E: now. Are you optimistic then with what is coming for the future? -Andrés: I think so.

\(^{313}\) I: super. And finishing, we have already discussed it in part, but, now rightly asking, what do you think about the future of your country, what do you think about the future of Chilean society? -RaG: now, I think that will take some time, I think it is not an issue that after this social outburst things will be resolved in three years when the constitution changes. These changes, well, from the little that I have studied, that I have read, they are changes that take at least ten years, twenty years. So ... I think we're going to be in this kind of swamp for a little while longer ...
In this same line, Andrés distinguishes that what could be expected for the future can be stated according to different dimensions, such as economic and “cultural” terms. While his expectation is negative on economics and political aspects of social reality, he underscores the potential changes regarding people’s awareness about their own conditions and other people’s lives in general –stating a sort of an incipient new “cultural” standpoint among the citizens of Chile. However, as he mentions, the economic landscape is subject to pessimistic appraisals, since Andrés thinks beyond his educational background and reflects on how things work in dimensions such as companies’ decisions, which, in addition to a perceived baseline of government corruption, gives shape to a context for protests justification. Andrés states that companies have “privileges”, and he wonders how, despite being constituted by “people”, companies tend to ride roughshod over other people, pointing perhaps, to ethical concerns.

*E:* Cuéntame un poco ahí tu opinión, tu perspectiva respecto al futuro de Chile como nación.

Andrés: yo creo que se viene... a ver... positivo en cuanto al pensamiento de las personas, las personas han estado mucho más atentas a lo que pueda afectar al entorno a la sociedad, están siendo más empáticas en cierto sentido, están pensando en la gente más vulnerable... hay un cambio social enorme en ese sentido y eso yo lo encuentro muy positivo. Pero, en el sentido de como país, como sistema país, lo veo muy negativo, ehm, si lo vemos como desde afuera las [¿críticas?] sobre Chile es negativa, nos dan malas calificaciones crediticias, el gobierno se ha mostrado muy corrupto... hace poco estaba leyendo un artículo que hacía como unas regresiones que especificaba que las AFPs estaban coludidas, entonces a mí me llama mucho la atención de que como esas cosas pasan frente a nuestros ojos y no somos capaces de hacer nada.

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314 … Careful optimism could one say? [E: ok? How so?] Ah, huh [I: how would you define that "careful optimism"?] Careful optimism because there is a paradigm shift can lead to certain advantages, not advantages but in general as a little more equity, happiness, a little, a little but as something very far away and... that at least from my side I see it as something more possible compared to my parents and how they are older and in their words “eh, no, I'm too old for this, I'm going to die before all these issues happen”... [E: laughs] so... I see it with optimism, not at all, that's for long, I'm talking about ten, fifteen years old, so... that’s it.
entonces, siento que se le da mucho privilegio a las empresas y si bien las empresas están formadas por personas, son capaces de pasar a llevar a las personas, yo no sé cómo lo hacen, pero digamos que en el mediano plazo lo veo negativo, negativo, como lo que podría ocurrir en el país, protestas, se sabe que se van a reactivar las protestas, hasta a menos que haya un cambio considerable... o en la constitución. Pero en el largo plazo yo sé que va a resurgir y las cosas van a estar bien porque se han mostrado cambios ya y a futuro yo creo que el país va a ser capaz de liderarse a sí mismo por así decirlo, como un todo y no como las, y no a una porción pequeña como ha sido hasta ahora, eso es lo que pienso.315 (Andrés, 24 years old)

While Andrés is unclear about how Chile’s conditions will change, he can deduce that it will be connected to the cultural changes he (and RaG) mentioned before. Andrés also hopes for a better future in longer terms, nevertheless.

Stevens holds a less hopeful appraisal. He shares with Andrés and the above-cited incarcerated participants the worry about Chilean rulers and the current economic situation. However, in this case, Stevens is less optimistic in the long term. The current situation makes him doubt the future, and consequently, he refers to even the chance of moving abroad.

E: ¿tienes alguna preocupación respecto al futuro, tu futuro?

Stevens: ¡sí! Sí o sea, mi futuro y el futuro... también me pasa con el futuro del país, siento que... estamos en un punto en que... y del mundo en general o sea, eh, hay cosas que están muy mal y siento que la salida de eso puede ser muy caótica en realidad, lo que va a pasar con la política

315 E: Tell me a little about your perspective regarding the future of Chile as a nation. -Andrés: I believe it’s coming ... positive in terms of people’s thinking, people have been much more attentive to what may affect society and the environment, they are being more empathetic in a certain sense, they are thinking about the most vulnerable people ... there is a huge social change in that sense and I find that very positive. But, in the sense of as a country, as a country system, I see it very negative, ehm, if we see it from the outside, the [criticisms?] About Chile are negative, they give us bad credit ratings, the government has been very corrupt ... I was recently reading an article that made some regressions that specified that the AFPs were in collusion, so I am very struck by how these things happen in front of our eyes and we are not able to do anything, so I feel that Companies are given a lot of privilege and although companies are made up of people, they are capable of riding roughshod over people, I don’t know how they do it, but let’s say that in the medium term I see it negative, negative ... What could happen in the country, protests, it is known that protests will be reactivated, even unless there is a considerable change ... or in the constitution. But in the long term I know that it will resurface and things will be fine because changes have already been shown and in the future I believe that the country will be able to lead itself as it were, as a whole and not as a small portion as it has been so far, that’s what I think.
ahora... los posibles gobernantes que vamos a tener siento que... son muy muy malos o sea... muy malos... siento que podría... aparte ya hay una recesión por parte de la pandemia, o sea, miro con malos ojos en general el futuro de este país... no lo veo muy bien, no descarto tampoco la idea de que se pueda emigrar a otros países... (Stevens, 22 years old)

Esteban shares the now typical appraisal around the presidential figure relevance. Also, he shares with Andrés the negative impression of Chilean companies, arguing that “companies loot us” but, in a moralistic turn, “you have to be better than the enemy”, advocating for non-destructive ways of confronting the abuses from the private sector.

E: y respecto al futuro de tu país. Bueno, de nuestro país, de Chile ¿Qué opinas de lo que se viene, considerando todo lo que ha pasado en este último tiempo?  
Esteban: a ver, mis expectativas es que el país va a seguir en una- al menos un año más va a seguir un poco turbulento, económicamente, desde alguna agencia internacional dicen que vamos a ser el primer país en recuperarse. ¡Vamos a ver, vamos a ver! Depende del presidente que venga a futuro, de lo que ocurra... son expectativas, son proyecciones no más... pero... yo creo que esta cuestión, el descontento va a seguir latente un buen tiempo más, al menos hasta que termine este gobierno, porque al final el descontento se asoció mucho a este gobierno. Somos muy selectivos los seres humanos, así que siempre- lo mismo con el tema de los estereotipos como que asociamos una persona a un escalafón, acá lo mismo, como asociamos un conflicto a un gobierno y se acabó, somos muy simplistas. Si esto viene, de un arrastre que atraviesa ideologías políticas, de hace mucho rato. Pero... yo espero, al menos espero que no se destruya tanto el país, que no quemen tantas cosas, no me gustan los saqueos en realidad, aunque las empresas nos saquean a nosotros, bueno, encuentro que hay que ser mejor que el enemigo, así que... no caer en su mismo juego, además que hay consecuencias para la persona que trabaja ahí, la pueden despedir porque bueno, cerraron, qué se yo, entre otras cosas. Así que es complejo... Estimo que va a venir otro estallido, no sé qué tan destructivo, pero va a venir y... y cuando llegue hay que ver qué va hacer el gobierno para apaciguar la marea. Si contrata, si...  

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*316 E: do you have any concerns regarding the future, your future? - Stevens: yes! Yes, that is, my future and the future ... it also happens to me with the future of the country, I feel that ... we are at a point where ... and the world in general, that is, uh, there are things that are very bad and I feel that the exit from that can be very chaotic actually, what is going to happen with politics now ... the possible rulers that we are going to have I feel that ... they are very very bad that is ... very bad ... I feel that it could ... apart from there is already a recession on the part of the pandemic, that is, I look with a bad eyes in general the future of this country ... I do not see it very well, I do not rule out the idea that it is possible to emigrate to other countries ...
compra más camiones guanaco o... o ataca la raíz del problema. [E: vamos a ver qué pasa, a ver si aprendió] No y lo que pasa, además de eso que la ciudadanía tiene que entender que lo que quiere a futuro no es como “ooh, cambiamos la Constitución y se arregló el país”, no, van a pasar caleta de años para que cambie esta cuestión de país feo que tenemos. Yo estimo que una generación como mínimo porque-o dos en realidad porque esta tiene que iniciar el cambio, la que sigue tiene que adaptarlo e incorporarlo y la tercera generación ya tiene que empezar a aplicarlo bien. Así que por lo general son tres generaciones de cambio. Voy a estar viejito si es que esta cuestión no se cae. 

(Esteban, 27 years old)

Therefore, despite some optimistic, long-term expectations, the shared impression is that Chile’s future is prone to adverse circumstances overall – even though the 2019 social outburst and its widespread “Chile woke up!” slogan provoked an initial, incipient hope about significant changes. This impression is evident in Jacinto statement:

E: y bueno, la última pregunta respecto al futuro, pero esta vez respecto al contexto más amplio, más- el contexto social chileno ¿cómo ves el futuro de Chile? Considerando todo lo que ha pasado obviamente.

I: and regarding the future of your country. Well, about our country, about Chile. What do you think of what is coming, considering everything that has happened in recent times? -Esteban: let's see, my expectations is that the country will continue in one - at least one more year it will continue to be a bit turbulent, economically, from some international agency they say that we will be the first country to recover. Let's see, let's see! what happens depends on the upcoming president... they are expectations, they are projections not more ... but ... I believe that this issue, discontent will remain latent for a long time, at least until the end of this government, because at In the end, discontent was closely associated with this government. We human beings are very selective, so we always - the same with the issue of stereotypes such as associating a person to a status, here the same, as we associate a conflict with a government and it's over, we are very simplistic. If this comes from a drag that crosses political ideologies, from a long time ago. But ... I hope, at least I hope that the country is not destroyed so much, that so many things are not burned, I don't really like looting, although the companies loot us, well, I find that you have to be better than the enemy, so ... not fall into the same game, besides that there are consequences for the person who works there, they can fire them because well, they are closing, what do I know, among other things. So it is complex ... I estimate that another outburst is going to come, I don't know how destructive will be, but it is going to come and ... and when it comes, we must see what the government will do to appease the tide. If you hire, if you buy more guanaco trucks [water cannon truck] or ... or attack the root of the problem. [I: let's see what happens, let's see if he learned] Yeah and what happens, in addition to that, citizens have to understand that what they want in the future is not like "ooh, we changed the Constitution and the country was fixed" No, it will take a long time for this ugly country to change. I estimate that a generation at least because-or two actually because it has to initiate the change, the next generation has to adapt and incorporate it, and the third generation has to start applying it well. So usually it's three generations of change. I will be old if this thing does not fall before.
8.3.2 Personal future

All the above accounts unmistakably conflict with accounts about the “personal future” of the participants. While social future is seen as uncertain or plainly adverse, both undergraduates and incarcerated participants personal futures tend to be presented predominantly as positive and benevolent. This discordance is mainly because such accounts originate from their current perceived (individual) abilities to thrive through difficulties. In this sense, we can argue about the split-reality phenomenon advanced above, where social expectations are not directly related to personal projections.

For the specific case of incarcerated participants, the motto “doing things right” exemplifies both the “means” and “goal” by which they think to overcome past and present troubles, and how they imagine or even plan a benevolent future –accompanied by children and partners, in their own house and driving their car. Andrés, for instance, remarks on the importance of “behave well” as a means to doing things right, stating the relevant role of his family for this purpose.

E: ¿qué te depara el futuro a ti, personalmente?
Andrés. ¿a mí, personalmente? No sé, salir de aquí, o cambiar mi vida, no sé… hacer las cosas bien con mi hijo, con mi familia…

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318 E: Well, the last question regarding the future, but this time regarding the broader context, more- the Chilean social context, how do you see the future of Chile? Considering everything that has obviously happened. -Jacinto: I think … since the outburst started I said “ah, maybe a change is coming”, but … with everything that has happened now I think everything will continue the same. I don't think there is a radical change. I think that generations and generations will have to pass, but… but just as at least in the short and medium term, I don't think there will be such a big change.
319 Self-evident conventionalism!
Marcianeké enfors elís asencion. Whilí es currently do es not hae children or a partner, he openly refors how he consiers coundin with such people among his goals and personal projections. Furthermore, he interestingly refors to “forsin a family” as a goal, in contrast to “having” a family, which in Spanish can be red as “owning” a family. Once again, he deles how earing “big mone” is relatd to earing roles (see Chapter 7). In this case for his (potenial) children “do not go through the same thing” that he went throug and, consequently, mening having his family well.

Marcianeké: no, yo... yo trataría de... de tener todas mis cosas, formar una familia, tener hijos... y tener un buen trabajo donde gane hartó. Pa’ que mi hijo no pase lo mismo que pasé yo poh. Tener a mi familia bien y en ese sentido.

E: ¿piensas que puedes lograrlo?

Marcianeké: [pausa] yo creo que sí... tantas cosas que he vivido que... yo creo que sí, yo soy fuerte... no me hecho a morir. [E: ya] obvio que sí porque no me gustaría que mis hijos pasen lo mismo si yo algún día yo tengo... tengo hijo o hija, ¿me entiende o no? Trataría de darle lo mejor poh. Que estudien, que cuando sean grandes tengan un buen trabajo, todo eso.321

(Marcianeké, 23 years old)

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320 I: what does the future hold for you, personally? -Andrés. For me? I don't know, getting out of here, or changing my life, I don't know… doing things well with my son, with my family… -I: now. Okay. Do you have any plan, any idea of what you have to do to make that happen? -Andrés: behave well no more y’know.

321 I: and for you, regarding yourself, like your personal future ... maybe family, rather personal, do you have any plans for the future, do you have any ideas, are you optimistic, pessimistic ...? Marcianeké: no, I... I would try to... have all my things, forming a family, have children... and have a good job where I earn a lot. So that my son does not go through the same thing that I went through y’know. Have my family well...

I: do you think you can do it?

Marcianeké: [pause] I think so y’know... so many things that I have experienced that… I think so, I am strong... I am not made to faint. [E: ok] obviously I will because I would not like my children to go through the same things if one day I have... I have a son or daughter, do you get me? I would try to give it my best y’know. That they study, that when they grow up they have a good job, all that.
Facing the question, “do you think you can do it?” Marcianeke nods and takes hold of his experiences to reaffirm his strength and redeem his personal story through the lives of his potential children. These impending goals and changes are often supported by the self-appraisal of a change in “mentality”, which recognises a different way to evaluate situations under the light of imprisonment.

While these statements are going to be realised or not is out of reach for the present study, rather, these lines strive to show participants’ accounts, according to which their appraisal changes due to incarceration. Consequently, in the following quote, José denotes how his focus shifted after three years in prison, treasuring his children and valuing being a father now, while assessing his former attitudes and behaviours as “crazy”. This novel standpoint can only be explained in light of the present awareness given by the particular conditions of incarceration.

E: ¿cómo ves tu futuro José?
José: bueno, mi futuro yo… oiga don Diego, yo estando en la calle, mi futuro pa’ mi… pa’ mi, lo que yo tengo todo planeado así… a mí me va a resultarme ¿por qué? porque como dije recién, yo ya me voy pa’ la calle y me voy con otra mentalidad ya, voy con otro chip no hacer cosas más de antes, ¿me entiende o no? O sea yo ya no voy a andar loqueando como antes ¿por qué? Porque ahora tengo dos responsabilidades que son mi hijos, entonces yo voy pa’ la calle y tengo que darles comida, tengo que darles sus cosas que ellos necesitan poh, ¿me entiende o no?322 (José, 21 years old)

Once again, José’s account conveys how these people assess their capabilities, according to which individual efforts (or hyper-agency perhaps) will bring what they want if they can focus on what they expect now. In this sense, crime and antisocial behaviour are voluntary acts amidst precarious conditions, where crime-related purposes originate from limited alternatives available.

322 I: how do you see your future José? -José: well, my future I… hey Don Diego, being in the street, my future for me… for me, what I have everything planned like this… it is going to work for me, why? Because as I just said, I'm going to go to the street and I'm going with another mentality now, I'm going with another chip, not to do things more than before, do you get me? I mean, I'm not going to go crazy like before, why? Because now I have two responsibilities that are my children, so I go to the streets and I have to give them food, I have to give them their things that they need y’know, do you get me?
Notwithstanding the foregoing, some participants are more cautious about the straightforward possibility of “change”. For instance, Individuo NN refers to his intention to change and recognises his sociocultural environment’s importance for this end. Therefore, he realises that he also needs to change such a setting if he wants to change, alluding to the importance of being “unknown” for desisting purposes.

Therefore, Individuo NN implicitly recognises another aspect of great importance: only on the streets is when he will know more clearly if he can plan different goals. Namely, the position where anybody observes reality is relevant to project goals and means to achieve them. While in prison, when provided with food and “housing”, they tend to care to survive the threats of interpersonal interactions. In parallel, they can “bracket” their lives and think about their now almost “ghostly” lives outside prison boundaries. This way, the concrete harshness of prison’s violence and divergent interactions (e.g. collectively cohesive pastimes) contrast with the abstractness disembodied (fanciful some will say) experience of reflecting about their past, current and future lives on the streets is when he will know more clearly if he can plan different goals. Namely, the position where anybody observes reality is relevant to project goals and means to achieve them. While in prison, when provided with food and “housing”, they tend to care to survive the threats of interpersonal interactions. In parallel, they can “bracket” their lives and think about their now almost “ghostly” lives outside prison boundaries. This way, the concrete harshness of prison’s violence and divergent interactions (e.g. collectively cohesive pastimes) contrast with the abstractness disembodied (fanciful some will say) experience of reflecting about their past, current and future lives on the

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323 I: your future? What do you think is coming for you? -Individuo NN: with the people that… that I ran into… first is to get out of here… be low-key… be like a ghost [I: laugh, right?] And go live elsewhere to be able to change. Because if I go back to where I am … one, the social circle where I live is going to take my job … and food out of my mouth. Then I’m going to have to fight a lot. On the other hand, in a place that no one knows me … the change will be easier and I will get back on track. That’s what I’m focused on… [I: super, and do you have like a-?] And when I achieve that… there I can just plan another goal, just! Just, just [I: and do you have such a plan?] Because I’m just starting the career I have planned. [I: ah ya, you have a plan] that y’know! [E: ya] that I told him. After that… I set another goal for myself.
streets. This intangible experience, somewhat untied from material constrictions, tends
to converge and confuse with the undergraduates’ accounts (see below) to the point of
being indistinguishable: Who is the student? Who is the offender?

E: ya, y si pudieses como... pensar en... no sé... diez años más en tu vida, ¿cómo te ves en diez
años más?
Esteban: [pausa] ¿en diez años más? ¡Con mi empresa, funcionando, ganado plata!
E: ya. Súper. ¡Qué así sea entonces! [ríe]
Esteban: ¡así va a ser!324 (Esteban, 25 years old)

Esteban has been in prison for forty-one months, and Patas cortas (the following quote)
for thirty-one months. This latter participant has even an elaborated plan to carry on,
implying real state, vehicles, businesses, and travelling. In fact, we could think of Patas
cortas as one representative of those he called who “does not have” (the “have-nots”), as
himself have said, however, at the same time a person whose “goals” are entirely in line
with what can be considered “conventional” in the neoliberal Chile.

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324 E: yeah, and if you could like... think about... I don't know... ten more years in your life, how do you
see yourself in ten years from now? -Esteban: [pause] in ten years from now? With my company, running,
earning money! E: ok. Super. So be it then! [laughs] -Esteban: that's how it will be!
Patas cortas: claro, soy optimista… neutro hasta el momento, pero cuando esté en la calle optimista…
E: ya. Y entonces, de aquí a diez años ¿cómo te ves?
Patas cortas: casa, hijos, pareja… su autito, eh, terminar sus estudios si se puede, que aquí terminé- estoy terminando tercero y cuarto [E: ah que bien] …conocer algún país… salir de Chile, conocer todo Chile…325 (Patas cortas, 21 years old)

As conventional as our undergraduate participants, who, as we already revised, acknowledge some privileges, but at the same time, perfectly recognise that they are actually aspiring to an even better status.

In this scenario, Andrés says, “deep down I have always tried hard, so why shouldn’t they things go well?” pointing to the now old meritocratic adage, which more often than rarely has proven to fail.

However, taking as a baseline the “privileges” that these participants declare to hold, we can theorise that is precisely such an advanced position that allows them to think and project in meritocratic terms326. But, when is an illusion? When effort and merit are “true” chances for better outcomes? How can we understand similar narratives in the incarcerated counterparts?

E: súper, y, o sea, en resumen, ves un futuro bien prometedor para ti.

325 E: on the other hand, your personal future, how do you see your future? –Patas cortas: good! Positive… entrepreneur [laughs] I: alright? in which way? Patas cortas:… with goals. Eh … yes, go out, make my house, I have my land, my little motorcycle … so I think then I’m going to get ahead. Build my house, work on my land. I: you have like a plan then. - Patas cortas: yeah, I have a plan now, what can I do when I get out of here and well. It's not much but you start from something! I: no but, you have an idea at least, that is, to have no idea of what to do to have more less built it, it's a lot you know. [Patas cortas: of course!] And have you thought about the steps to follow? - Patas cortas: I have the plans [laughs] [I: really?] Yeah man. I have my plan, my ideas, the goals I have to do to achieve it … -I: super. So you are optimistic about your future. - Patas cortas: of course, I'm optimistic … neutral so far, but when I'm on the street optimistic … -I: now. And then, ten years from now, how do you see yourself? - Patas cortas: house, children, partner … a car, uh, finishing my studies if I can, which I finished here- I'm finishing third and fourth grade [high school’s last years] [I: oh that's great] … get to know another country … leave Chile, get to know all of Chile …

326 While it is hard to define a “wellbeing threshold”, without a doubt Chilean baseline possibilities couldn’t compare to United States’ (see Killingsworth, 2021). Besides, this thought is put in doubt by the above quotes from incarcerated people, who lack of such “privileges” and still are optimistic about their future.
Andrés: sí, sí, o sea, eso es lo que uno espera, siempre pueden pasar cosas pero yo la mirada que tengo a futuro es muy optimista porque en el fondo yo siempre me he esforzado mucho, entonces, ¿por qué no deberían salir bien las cosas? (Andrés, 25 years old)

Coherently, undergraduate participants also think about starting or helping the family, having children, and developing their educational baselines, being Stevens’ account evident in this line:

E: ya... y ¿Qué planes tienes tú para el futuro, qué te gustaría hacer, cuáles son tus ideas, tus sueño?

Stevens: bueno... en general yo soy como bien cursi, a mí me gustaría... la gente de mi edad como que siempre quiere trabajar por el mundo, bueno, igual me gustaría viajar harto... seguir conociendo, pero igual yo quiero como casarme, tener un hijo, una hija y me gusta esa idea, como sentido de vida y laboralmente me veo en general trabajando para alguna empresa en realidad, no... y nada muy específico, me veo como trabajador más que nada, nada muy específico, sobretodo ahora como saliendo tengo que estar muy abierto a las posibilidades que existan y... porque está difícil el mundo laboral, o sea, trabajar en la empresa que más o menos quisiera pero como ingeniero comercial, obviamente, para mí eso es lo fundamental y de ahí comenzar a desarrollar una carrera y seguir estudiando, un postítulo y cosas así... (Stevens, 22 years old)

In parallel, working is fundamental, insofar as it is the activity that will allow having their families well. Once again, this is remarkably comparable to what we found in

327 E: super, and, in short, you see a very promising future for you. -Andrés: yes, yes, that is, that's what one expects, things can always happen, but the look I have for the future is very optimistic because deep down I have always tried hard, so why shouldn't they things go well?
328 I: now ... and what plans do you have for the future, what would you like to do, what are your ideas, your dreams? -Stevens: well ... in general I am kind of corny, I would like ... people of my age always want to work around the world, well, I would still like to travel a lot ... keep getting to know, but I still want to get married, having a son, a daughter and I like that idea, as a sense of life and work I see myself in general working for a company actually, no ... and nothing very specific, I see myself as a worker more than anything, nothing very specific, especially now as I’m going out, I have to be very open to the possibilities that exist and ... because the jobs’ world is difficult, that is, working in the company that more or less I would like but as a commercial engineer, obviously, for me that is the fundamental thing and from there to start to develop a career and continue studying, a postgraduate degree and things like that ...
incarcerated people: accounts implying assuming family responsibilities and roles of care for others.

Así que para el futuro, a ver... no, titularme, buscar pega como dije, seguir viviendo tranquilo, ayudar acá en la casa, sentir que soy un aporte, eso es importante, prontamente mi hermano se va a tener que ir a vivir con su pareja, así que me va a tocar a mi hacerme cargo acá de las cuentas y esa es una preocupación importante para mí, si no tengo empleo ¿cómo voy a pagar las cosas? Y... a nivel ya, fuera del dinero, vivir tranquilo, seguir con mi red de contactos, aumentarla, no tengo necesidad de buscar pareja ahora, pero si sale no me quejo... ehm... y... me proyect, no sé, de aquí a cinco años más ya... tratar de tener suficiente dinero para empezar a comprar algún bien inmueble, de preferencia la casa que habito.  

(Mito, 22 years old)

Furthermore, expectably, financial and market-oriented students also want to start a business and run their own companies. In the case of Mito, this venture is thought of as aligned with his interests: audio-visual content.

E: ¿Cómo ves tu futuro en términos generales?
Mito: en la parte profesional, yo la veo como... como de trabajo, uno al tiro se encajilla en el trabajo en todo caso, estamos en un mundo en el que uno se pregunta “oye tú ¿Quién eres? –no, yo soy psicólogo... soy ingeniero comercial”. Pero en la parte de trabajo por lo menos, yo me veo como una persona que se dedica a la parte del emprendimiento, de tirar algo propio, como una empresa, como también la parte de tener su tiempo como... para hacer contenido audiovisual y... capaz, hasta unirnos, por ejemplo, no sé, una productora audiovisual o una productora musical por ejemplo... ehm... pero siempre y cuando esto me dé una estabilidad económica como te digo. Para mí es importante tener una estabilidad económica.  

(Mito, 22 years old)

329 So for the future, let's see ... no, graduate, find a job as I said, continue living quietly, help here at home, feel that I am a contribution, that is important, soon my brother is going to have to go away and live with his partner, so it will be my turn to take care of the accounts here and that is an important concern for me, if I don't have a job, how am I going to pay for things? And... at the level now, outside of money, live quietly, continue with my network of contacts, increase it, I have no need to find a partner now, but if anyone comes I don't complain... ehm... and... I project myself, I don't know, from here to five more years now ... trying to have enough money to buying a real estate, preferably the house I live in.

330 I: How do you see your future in general terms? –Mito: in the professional dimension, I see it like ... like working, you quickly pigeonholed yourself working anyway, we are in a world in which one asks “hey you, who are you? –No, I'm a psychologist... I'm a commercial engineer”. But in the work part at
As the notion of narrative identities claim, past, present and future articulate safeguarding unity amidst the continuities and discontinuities of life. The accounts presented in this Chapter are part of this on-going and never-ending structurally intertwined dynamic. As we seen, regardless of the “maximally different” experiences and stories lived until the moment of the interviews, some appraisals tend to converge until they appear almost indistinguishable. This mainstream convergence, starkly contrasts with the deviant struggles that especially incarcerated participants have had to endure, and while we have taken some steps towards an explanation, it is still a matter or further investigation to unveil how this is even conceivable.

least, I see myself as a person who is dedicated to entrepreneurship, to build something of my own, like a company, as well as having my time like ... making audio-visual content and ... maybe, even joining, for example, I don't know, an audio-visual production company or a music production company for example ... ehm ... but as long as this gives me economic stability as I said. It is important for me to have financial stability.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>mainstream convergences</th>
<th>deviant struggles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Incarcerated</strong></td>
<td>▪ SOCIAL PAST: (non-thematised).</td>
<td>▪ PAST: hard and rough.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>▪ SOCIAL PRESENT: negative (poverty)</td>
<td>▪ PAST: broken, violent, negligent families.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>▪ PRESENTE SOCIAL: negativo</td>
<td>▪ PAST: work as necessity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>▪ SOCIAL FUTURE: negative (“crappy”, hopelessness).</td>
<td>▪ PAST: crime as part of their horizon of possibilities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>▪ PERSONAL FUTURE: positive ([fantastic]?331)</td>
<td>▪ PAST-PRESENT: (OTHERS): humiliating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>▪ PRESENT: imprisoned body, mind (and heart) on the streets.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Undergraduate</strong></td>
<td>▪ SOCIAL PAST: (non-thematised).</td>
<td>▪ PAST: fluid and peaceful.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>▪ SOCIAL PRESENT: negative (disorder)</td>
<td>▪ PAST: being “privileged”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>▪ PERSONAL FUTURE: positive ([promising]?332).</td>
<td>▪ PRESENT: from adolescence to adulthood (responsibilities).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

331 Very good but whimsical?  
332 That fulfils the promise of merit.
Incarcerated participants did not experience the 2019 Chilean social outburst, and interestingly, they do not share the feelings of hope produced after the outbreak (Miranda Ríos, 2021). For their part, while undergraduate participants did share some optimism, it already started to decline, according to their accounts. Undergraduate participants describe themselves as “privileged”, but sadly, the term “privilege” is used just as a descriptor for two-parent family and sufficient income. This “privilege” appears therefore as something uncommon within Chilean society: having both mother and father at home, tranquillity and enough money to live. Rather than a descriptor of privilege, it leaves the taste of deep socio-structural dilemmas.

In the end, both incarcerated and undergraduates share feelings of suspicion or plain pessimism about national circumstances and the projections derived from them, they mostly share a patent indifference about Chile’s future, highlighting a crudely “crappy” future for the Chilean society.

However, as we observed, they paradoxically share at the same time a promising prospection for their individual lives. This disembodding of their agentic experience from the broad social structure (Mayol et al., 2013; Young, 2007, p. 3) aligns with some Chilean research (Mayol et al., 2013; N. Somma & Valenzuela, 2015) about how Latin-American people, concerning individual problems, do not turn their attributional gaze upon structural dynamics. In turn, these participants outline a patent separation between social structure and their close experience –which is ubiquitous in their contrasting descriptions of societal and personal futures.

One interpretation relates to the common assumption of plain individualism in late-modernity, which, as an “entrepreneurship” value, has covered ground since the installation of the neoliberal system. Likewise, the neoliberal “way of living” has pervaded for decades in Chile, supporting for instance, what David Matza (1969, p. 98)
warned some decades ago: “success and wealth become preeminent because alternative goals lose momentum in modern urban society”.

In this context, Mayol and his colleagues (2013, p. 127) distinguish four “fundamental operations” in the process of “symbolic incorporation” of Chilean social structure. Among those four modes, the authors describe how fantasy serves as a symbolic operation amidst entrepreneurship cultural narratives that helps to avoid the suffering of material deprivation through the projection of a “future self” who will be able to achieve successful inclusion into a society of entrepreneurs. This way, the experience of present deprivation can be suspended, for a while.

The neoliberal “way of living” has pervaded for decades in Chile, however, Chileans are not just genetically (Valenzuela León, 2015) or ethnically (Casas Leiva, 2010) mixed. According to Mayol and colleagues (2013, 2013) two foremost cultural matrices interplay, compete, and converge, laying the groundwork for novel ways of living, creating the norms that make social reality navigable. Cultural matrices provide meaning, while modern or “post-modern”, colonial or aboriginal, different and divergent cultural arrays tug Chileans every day, compelling them to “see” things in a supposedly coherent way. Individual lives fall into these webs of meanings, threading intimate stories from cultural, public narratives, giving sense, drive and direction to individual lives.

Regarding individualism –in line with the theoretical foundation of the narrative identity’s concept- a rather existential interpretation can be offered since we thought the phenomenon of individualism obeys the oxymoron of “socialised-individualism”: more than twenty years of life embedded in curated cultural meanings sedimented personal experiences, narrowing the possibilities of interpretation and lastly, how life’s events are actually experienced.

Our particular “lifeworld” says Žižek (2008, p. 158) “is made up habits”, those implicit set of rules that indicate how to apply the explicit norms ordering a society, are

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333 Namely, modes by which individuals “incorporate material’s life conditions”
334 Hacienda and neoliberal.
“the very stuff our identities are made of” (Žižek, 2008, p. 164). Who we are is determined to some extent to the ways through which a society is ordered and the meanings that enable our social life “make sense”.

Chilean contexts provide the baseline to understand how (overly) individualistic individuals emerge, especially in environments where life turns even more problematic: deprived urban neighbourhoods. Araujo and Martucelli (2015, p. 93) describe how lower class people –living in such unforgiving realities- express themselves in heroic terms: “a modality of class individuality built assuming the structural character of loneliness and vulnerability present in Chilean society”. These realities are the setting where it turns necessary to have and develop a strong ‘character’ to confront reality. This character emerges as a resource of coping with structural restraints –pushing, therefore, to ‘get out of the challenges of everyday life’.

In other words, a cultural, existential and politico-economic embroilment is under way in neoliberal contexts. Thus, in neoliberal Chile, overcoming structural constraints is thought to be a matter of attitude (Mayol et al., 2013, p. 20) and consequently pushes people to turn into “hyper-actors” (Araujo and Martuccelli, 2013, 2015). In this sense, individualism is not a chosen set of values, but rather a difficult fate to escape.

Instead of analysing crime as the effect of a social contradiction, it has been treated as if it were a choice of the subject, almost conscious and voluntary, and not a complex effect of the emergence of new cultural patterns that cross the entire society and that they generate, in some sectors, a greater propensity for classical crime and in others a greater propensity for corruption or “dirty business”. (Moulian, 1997, p. 136)

A qualitative research report is a “representation by the author”, as Elo and colleagues (2014, p. 8) state. This statement means that inescapably what has been read throughout the numerous pages above brings the “humanity” and scope of the author. Such humanity includes emotional capriciousness, lucidity and blurriness of mind, boredom and passion. However, despite such humanity, we believe this work has followed a
defined set of criteria whose procedure is meant to be trailed the most logically possible (Elo et al., 2014, p. 8).

Transferability, conformability, and credibility are critical terms for the sake of achieving trustworthiness. In this regard, Elo and colleagues (2014, p. 6) propose a leading question “How can the reader evaluate the transferability of the results?”. For this purpose, Section II offered clear descriptions of participants’ culture, context, selection, and characteristics. Likewise, we hope that the presentation of the results has been open enough to bring different interpretations by the reader, nourishing the discussion about culture, crime, and conventionalism.

The reported findings were meant to reflect the participants’ voices considering their divergent life conditions and the special nature of the inquiry. Quotations by all the participants were presented, keeping in mind that this feature helps “confirm the connection between the results and data” (Elo et al., 2014, p. 7). Making an effort in every section to maintain clarity in the presentation of the argument, this procedure also enriches the data reported.

However, we are also aware that, as Bengtsson (2016, p. 11) states, “the researcher can never be certain that the method of data collection provides data that capture the real context of the informants. The words used by the informants may not correspond to the researcher’s view of their meaning”.

Once again, this work was a “representation by the author”. Therefore, reminiscent of the transformative comprehension of the phenomenological-hermeneutic method (Rodríguez, 2012), the accounts and life stories presented were treated not as information “objects” but as actual pieces of living experience. Experiences whose humanness impact the researcher’s own experience, transforming it. In this sense, not just conjectural, theory-driven suppositions were contrasted to the participants’ accounts but, most importantly, the notion about life that guides and leads to judgements and conclusions.

Accordingly, the initial presumptions which led the researcher to undergo this study were radically converted. The original idea of offenders as primarily heavy
consumers, sharing (simplistic) hybridised cultures from higher classes, was contested. These participants made evident that people who have committed property crimes are not individualistic quasi-psychopaths who only want to consume according to hegemonic commands—as Hall and colleagues (2008) may suggest. Also undergraduate participants demonstrate that business students are not (by default) individualistic egotistical people ready to predate resources and push around for the sake of success—as accounts such as McGrath and colleagues (1992) may describe. Notions about positionality and life’s stages emerged, and overlooked thoughts about continuity and change and the mutable nature of on-going human lives were refocused.

Nevertheless, these participants did indeed confirm one early intuition. As the opening quote affirms: some kinds of late-modern crime—and we dare to say-phenomena such as individualism are “a complex effect of the emergence of new cultural patterns that cross the entire society”–and not “almost conscious and voluntary” attitudes chosen by agents.

Similarly, as we granted in the beginning, agency and structure are inseparable. However, some structural forces paradoxically make believe that agents can and must be “hyper-actors” capable of escaping even structure constraints.

Chapter 6 gave us a general panorama about six “social dimensions” deemed relevant for comparison purposes. In terms of religiosity and spirituality, incarcerated participants showed themselves as “believers” but not religious, serving such belief for coping with the daily strains of prison life. Instead, most undergraduates declared being “formally” associated with a religion, namely, baptised, but not being religion practitioners and neither believers—recalling a post-materialist shifting valuation.

In contrast, all the participants tend to agree on their political opinion (or rather on their opinion about politics), going from indifference, antipathy and even an assumed ignorance in the case of incarcerated to a plain disappointment in the case of undergraduates. These attitudes were nurtured from different experiences nonetheless. Undergraduates declare political participation from where they got disillusioned, in contrast to incarcerated who never have felt any affection towards politics.
Regarding participation within *social organisations*, just one participant of each condition refers to active participation in a social organisation, both associated with football.

Concerning the participants’ opinion about *work*, everyone considers such activity the fundamental way of obtaining things. However, incarcerated declared a more prominent work experience than undergraduates who were mostly transitioning towards the labour world once they were finishing their studies.

Placing tertiary *education* as a referent for comparisons, undergraduates tended to assess such educational level as “normal” and “expected”, showing even a devaluing attitude towards such accomplishment. In the case of incarcerated, tertiary education was utterly absent from their accounts –evidencing that their horizons of expectation lack such “social ascension” alternative.

Lastly, Chapter 6 attempted to introduce the topic of class and social justice. We find that undergraduates felt themselves as “privileged”, presenting some ambivalence for the economic system (“unfair, but those are the rules”). Incarcerated constantly remarked the differences between “rich” and “poor” arguing that in the end, everyone is the same since “everyone steals”. They were arguing then for just a differential in how the criminal justice system judges.

Chapter 7 retook the discussed Mertonian/critical criminology theorisation about values, goals and means, taking “neoliberal values” such as hedonism, consumerism and individualism as points of reference. Regarding *consumerism*, incarcerated participants referred early inclination to going “upholstered”, namely, wearing luxury items. However, their current position shifted their priorities towards “filling the fridge”, namely, fulfilling their families' material necessities and their own identity requirements. Undergraduate participants were severe in assessing consumerist people as financially “ignorants”, focusing on the environmental harm of consumerism. Concerning *hedonism*, while participants from both groups argue early hedonistic “party-based” activities, every participant has placed “family” as the essential dimension of their lives nowadays. The family is where values, goals and means revolve around and motivate
participants to show “gratitude” for the privileges (undergraduates) and build a contrastingly strong family life through caring gender roles (incarcerated).

Related to the latter, Chapter 8 goes back to the foundations of narrative identity conceptualisation and finishes this study with the revision of experiential temporal dimensions. In this sense, almost every participant’s past and present social experiences converge since the national historical and current situation is viewed pessimistically. The above impression enters in conflict with the contrasting appraisals of participants’ past and present personal experiences. Undergraduates have lived through “privileged” times within caring two-parent families, minor interpersonal conflicts and adequate income to live tranquilly. The opposite for the case of incarcerated people who judge their pasts as riddled with neglect, violence and carelessness. However, such divergent accounts converge again when evaluating social and personal futures, being national future considered as adverse but personal prognosis remarkably plenty of success.

Concerning limitations, and notwithstanding the recently mentioned, we acknowledge the difficulties with transferability and generalisation of our results. While we expect similar findings in other locations, this is a matter of further research for differential investigation. Does the region where participants come from conduct different results? Are there divergent cultural perspectives about the topics discussed? In addition, the presence of sorts of bias is thought not to be easily remedied. Do the researcher’s limited perspective and scope be sufficient to propose decent results? Do the people who participate are good representatives of whom they are meant to represent? Probably not (quite). Nevertheless, since every participant was put into thinking about their peers, this inclusion of intra-group reflections is deemed to constitute a decent point of characterisation and comparison.

We reflect that a major limitation constitutes the method utilised. Originally, this investigation was planned to be carried out through face-to-face interviews, whose features would have enabled a deeper and more direct inquiry, focusing on facial expressions and straightforward clarifications. As was conducted, the study only allowed “content-focused” interviews characterised by the limitations of virtual communication.
Connection failures, listening hitches and other technical difficulties came to exert pressure upon the quality of the information gathered. Likewise, due to the strict Chilean policies concerning covid-19 pandemic, validation techniques such as post-hoc feedback sessions with the participants were not possible. Despite these sub-optimal conditions, the present study was conducted and presented the most rigorous and faithful possible to the accounts collected. Accounts which deemed to be credible according to the lengthy practitioner experience of the researcher (for the case of incarcerated participants) and his personal background (for the case of undergraduates). This latter constitute no assurance of validity, but its declaration is presented for the reader’s consideration.

In terms of projections, we think each presented topic is arranged to be revised and studied again through different methodologies. Albeit this work’s foremost hope was to question the essentialist viewpoint over people who have committed property crimes. We believe that the knowledge gathered around the conventional aspects of young men who have broken the law should support some consideration over the social interventions carried out in our country. Moreover, this research’s findings may help lay the groundwork for a more profound social criticism around the values approved by the consumer society. Especially considering the particular context and times we are enduring –after the 2019 social outburst, covid-19 pandemic, 2022 Russia-Ukraine war conflict, environmental crisis, rising inequality, *et cetera*.

As of last thought, as honest criminologists have declared, there will always be crime if there is human society. The challenge is eradicating the “excuses” that make crime pervasive in Chilean society. When living –material and immaterial- conditions consent to live dignified lives, we will sadly admit any growl for punishment as a “solution” for the unleashed criminality. Until then, social structure and the powerful agents who move its threads are enquired to assume their obligations and answer for any individualistic indifference.
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APPENDIX

1. Interview Guide

Pauta de entrevista estructurada y semi-estructurada

I. Preguntas estructuradas

- Edad.
- Delito sancionado (o carrera y año de carrera)
- Arreglos vitales actuales:
  - Ocupación (estudio, trabajo, etc.).
  - Participación y/o preferencias políticas.
  - Práctica e/o identificación con alguna religión o corriente espiritual.
  - Consumo de drogas.
  - Estructura familiar (incluyendo relación de pareja).
  - Integración a instituciones sociales (junta de vecinos, club deportivo, otras).
  - Actividades de esparcimiento (hobbies, pasatiempos favoritos, otras).
  - Uso de redes sociales (¿Cuáles? ¿Cuándo? ¿Dónde? ¿Con Quién(es)? ¿Por qué?)

II. Guía de entrevista (semi-estructurada)

Introducir Tópico 1: El presente: narrativas acerca de sí mismo (ontológicas), valores morales, medios preferidos, dificultades cotidianas

Consultar por: pregunta inicial, evaluación general de la situación de vida actual y dificultades en curso.
¿Cómo va tu vida en la actualidad?

¿Cómo te describirías a ti mismo? (profundizar...)

Consultar por: experiencias específicas y su relación con su identidad

Experiencias de:

- Inseguridad ontológica
- Deprivación relativa
- Discontinuidad Narrativa

Valoración de:

- General

¿Qué cosas son importantes para ti en la vida?

- Consumismo (importancia de los bienes materiales y sus significados)
- Hedonismo (importancia de buscar placer o goce)

Actitudes en torno a:
- Esencialización y “othering” [demarcación frente al otro]:

- Aceptación/rechazo de objetivos sociales neoliberales:

- Aceptación/rechazo de medios/normas sociales convencionales:

Introducir Tópico 2: El Futuro: Aspiraciones, Planes, Preocupaciones, Límites

Consultar por: límites morales:

¿Qué harías para conseguir lo que quieres?
¿Qué no harías para cumplir tus metas?

Consultar por: empleo, relaciones interpersionales, vivienda.

¿Podrías por favor contarme acerca de cualquier idea que tengas para el futuro?
¿Cómo ves tu futuro en términos generales?
¿Tienes alguna preocupación acerca del futuro?

¿Eres optimista con que cumplirás lo que quieres? ¿Piensas que la institución (Programa SENAME) en la que estás te ayudará con eso?

[cierre y agradecimiento]
2. Invitation to participate in the research (undergraduate students)

¿TE GUSTARÍA PARTICIPAR EN UNA INVESTIGACIÓN SOCIAL?

Si tienes entre 18 y 21 años, estudias Ingeniería Comercial y te identificas como sexo masculino, te invito a participar en una sola entrevista (de una hora, por zoom) para el estudio:

“Identidades narrativas de jóvenes chilenos: convergencias y conflictos”

El cual busca comparar los relatos de distintos jóvenes chilenos acerca de sí mismos y cómo entienden la vida

Podrás ganar una giftcard Cencosud de $25.000 por tu participación

Para más información escribe o llama a:
Diego Padilla Lobos (Investigador responsable)
E-mail: diegohpadilla@uc.cl
Celular (wsp): +56 9 8727923

(Si quieres puedes invitar a tus amigos pero no enviarme contactos sin sus consentimientos)
3. Informed consent

CARTA DE CONSENTIMIENTO INFORMADO

“NARRATIVE IDENTITIES OF YOUNG CHILEANS: MAINSTREAM CONVERGENCES AND DEVIANT STRUGGLES

[Identidades narrativas de jóvenes chilenos: convergencias y conflictos]

Diego Padilla Lobos
Facultad de Ciencias Sociales
Instituto de Sociología
Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile

Usted ha sido invitado a participar en el estudio “Identidades narrativas de jóvenes chilenos: convergencias y conflictos” la cual está financiada por modalidad de “tesista doctorado”, a cargo del investigador Diego Padilla Lobos candidato a Doctor en Sociología de la Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile y supervisado por el prof. Eduardo Valenzuela. El objeto de esta carta es ayudarlo a tomar la decisión de participar en la presente investigación.

¿Cuál es el propósito de esta investigación?

El objetivo de esta investigación es comparar los relatos de distintos jóvenes chilenos acerca de sí mismos y cómo entienden la vida. Especialmente en torno a valores, objetivos de vida y formas de conseguir sus metas.

¿En qué consiste su participación?

Participará en una sola entrevista personal y privada (sólo usted y entrevistador) de una hora aproximadamente, dónde se conversará sobre los temas recién mencionados (valores, objetivos de vida y formas de conseguir sus metas). Lo que se converse en la entrevista será pasado a un computador en formato Word, para saber cuál es su entrevista, se le pide que escoja un sobrenombre que NO sea su nombre o apodo que puedan reconocer sus amigos/as, por ejemplo, “mi nombre es Diego, quiero que mi entrevista diga que soy Bjørn”. Al finalizar la entrevista, el investigador le entregará una carta de agradecimiento puesto que se utilizará esta información para redactar su tesis de Doctorado. Para lo cual, su ayuda será indispensable.

Por participar en esta investigación usted entrará en sorteo de una giftcard Cencosud por $25.000.

¿Cuánto durará su participación?
Una entrevista de una hora, a una hora y media de duración.

¿Qué riesgos corre al participar?

El único riesgo evidente es el de aburrirse con la entrevista o que se pregunten asuntos que no quiera contestar. No está obligado a contestar preguntas que no quiera contestar y puede abandonar la entrevista en cualquier momento. También puede pedir la eliminación de su entrevista después que ésta sea realizada.

¿Qué beneficios puede tener su participación?

La participación en este proyecto no tiene beneficios directos para usted.

¿Qué pasa con la información y datos que usted entregue?

El investigador responsable mantendrá CONFIDENCIALIDAD absoluta con respecto a cualquier información personal obtenida en este estudio (nadie más sabrá que es usted). Usted podrá elegir el nombre que desee que salga en algún extracto referente a lo que ha dicho. Cualquier vulneración a su confidencialidad puede ser denunciada al Comité de Ética UC al contacto descrito al final de este documento.

Todas las respuestas y comentarios realizados dentro de la entrevista podrán ser grabados en audio sólo con su consentimiento (ver más abajo) y posteriormente transcritos en formato digital (Word) bajo el alias escogido por usted. Con esa información se realizará un análisis conforme a los objetivos de la investigación de tesis doctoral. Posteriormente, esta información será almacenada por 5 años a contar del término de la investigación (diciembre 2021) y sus datos podrán ser usados a futuro en nuevas investigaciones que sigan la misma línea investigativa.

¿Es obligación participar? ¿Puede arrepentirse después de participar?

Usted NO está obligado de ninguna manera a participar en este estudio. Si accede a participar, puede dejar de hacerlo en cualquier momento sin repercusión alguna.

¿A quién puede contactar para saber más de este estudio o si le surgen dudas?

Si tiene cualquier pregunta acerca de esta investigación, puede contactar a DIEGO PADILLA LOBOS, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile. Su teléfono es el +56 9 87272923 y su email es diegohpadilla@uc.cl. Si usted tiene alguna consulta o preocupación respecto a sus derechos como participante de este estudio, puede contactar a la presidenta del Comité de Ética de Ciencias sociales, artes y humanidades de la Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, profesora Sra. Inés Contreras Valenzuela, al siguiente email: eticadeinvestigacion@uc.cl.
HE TENIDO LA OPORTUNIDAD DE LEER ESTA DECLARACIÓN DE CONSENTIMIENTO INFORMADO, HACER PREGUNTAS ACERCA DEL PROYECTO DE INVESTIGACIÓN, Y ACEPTO PARTICIPAR EN ESTE PROYECTO.

____________________________________________          ___________________________
Firma del/la Participante                                                                            Fecha

____________________________________________         _____________________________
Nombre del/la Participante

_____________________________________________________________________________          ___________________________
Firma del la Investigador/Investigadora                                                            Fecha

☐ Autorizo que la entrevista sea grabada en audio.

☐ No autorizo que la entrevista sea grabada en audio.

(Firmas en duplicado: una copia para el participante y otra para el investigador)