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# Dowsing for Potential Temporary Autonomous Zones: A Psychotopology of the Alternative Lifestyles of Nomadic Artisans in Mexico

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# DOWSING FOR POTENTIAL TEMPORARY AUTONOMOUS ZONES: A PSYCHOTOPOLOGY OF THE ALTERNATIVE LIFESTYLES OF NOMADIC ARTISANS IN MEXICO

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by

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## Abstract

By using qualitative data gathered from semi-structured interviews and participant observation, this study performs a psychotopological investigation of the lifestyles of nomadic artisans in Mexico in order to determine if the spaces created through the performance of such lifestyles are conducive to the germination of Temporary Autonomous Zones (Bey, 1990). In so doing, it analyzes these artisans' understandings and performances of time, space and mobility and the ways in which they lend themselves to free demonstrations of creative activity. It also examines whether or not such free expressions of creative activity, which are a fundamental part of these alternative lifestyles, are coupled with demonstrations of psychic nomadism and a rejection of psychic imperialism. Overall, the findings suggest that the lifestyles of these artisans may be conducive to the germination of a TAZ. However, such an occurrence is largely dependent on the artisans' subjective intentions and the achievement of unity among them.



Keywords: Mexico, nomadic artisans, la banda, Temporary Autonomous Zones, time, space, mobility, creativity, psychic nomadism, psychic imperialism, epistemological freedom.

*Quienquiera que desee música en vez de ruido,*
*alegría en vez de placer,*
*alma en vez de oro,*
*trabajado creativo en vez de negocio,*
*pasión en vez de bufonadas,*
*no encuentra hogar en este trivial mundo nuestro.*
*-Herman Hesse*

*Whoever wants music instead of noise,*
*joy instead of pleasure,*
*soul instead of gold,*
*creative work instead of business,*
*passion instead of foolery,*
*finds no home in this trivial world of ours.*
*-Herman Hesse*

*A los artesanos.*

# Table of Contents

# List of Tables

# List of Appendices

# Chapter 1

## Introduction

Globalization, a hardly recent phenomenon, is increasingly understood to be quite complex in its various manifestations. The dominant paradigm of globalization as a process through which the Global North has benefitted at the expense of the Global South is being replaced by a multi-scalar understanding of the intricacies and nuances that take place therein (Sassen, 2003). New hierarchies have been created, old ones have been challenged and sometimes destroyed, and lateral meaning-making within said hierarchies has been ossified, challenged, and has also shape-shifted as a result of contact with differing understandings and practices. Inequalities have surfaced and deepened within both the Global North and Global South such that agents from both spaces have been made aware of one another and, on occasion, have joined in struggles against a common global oppressor (De Sousa Santos, 2007, 2008). Such lateral solidarity, awareness and critical consciousness have been enabled by the increased mobility of both ideas and social agents.

These realities of what has been conceptualized as globalization, glocalization and transnationalism challenge the constraining ordering and controlling project of modernity under capitalism insofar as they enable critical consciousness and the agency of global social actors (De Sousa Santos, 2007, 2008; Hannerz, 1996). Moreover, at the benefit of the subaltern, the collisions involved in such processes often serve to highlight points of contention, or the areas in which said agency may be demonstrated.

These areas, or marginal zones, are fundamentally incompatible with and highly critical of the ordering and controlling project of modernity under capitalism. Social actors within such zones are able to draw upon spatially-situated ways of both knowing and being, and simultaneously and strategically utilize transnational cultural flows to challenge normalized practices and construct alternatives. Although such alternatives are ultimately enabled by globalization, which has disseminated that which they attempt to challenge, the cracks and fissures within the global project of modernity under capitalism have allowed for the collaboration and development of critiques. It is within this current global context that marginal zones, as an alternative to the controlling and ordering project of modernity under capitalism, may be examined.

Modernity has been criticized by theorists such as Zygmunt Bauman as a project that is "rational, planned, scientifically-informed, expert [and] efficiently-managed" (1989: 432). When this highly efficient ordering project is coupled with profit-driven capitalism, it results in the all-encompassing fragmentation and alienation of the lives of those therein.

In an attempt to understand the ways in which this alienation and fragmentation is buttressed, and whether or not it may be avoided, I examine the alternative lifestyles of nomadic artisans in Mexico who seek to avoid the controlling and ordering mechanisms of modernity under capitalism.

A critical component of the alternative lifestyle practiced by these artisans is the way in which it allows criticisms of normalized "reality" to inform the creation of epistemologically and ontologically divergent ways of knowing and being.

Therefore, I first examine whether or not these individuals' epistemologically and ontologically divergent ways of knowing and being allow them to transcend the alienating and fragmenting project of modernity under capitalism.

Then, in order to determine if such ontologically divergent practices may have an impact on a larger scale, I perform a psychotopological investigation of these artisans' alternative lifestyles to assess if they are conducive to the germination of Hakim Bey's Temporary Autonomous Zone (TAZ. 1990). According to Bey, the TAZ performs a type of ontological warfare so as to challenge widely held normalized assumptions and practices in the search for liberating alternatives.

Bey claims that spaces conducive to the development of a TAZ must critique normalized assumptions and performances, allow these critiques to inform the practice of alternatives, enable the free demonstration of creative expression, and demonstrate psychic nomadism while rejecting psychic imperialism. Therefore, I allow the following research questions to guide this psychotopological investigation of the alternative lifestyles of nomadic artisans in Mexico: How do these artisans both understand and practice time, space, and mobility as part of an alternative lifestyle, and what are the negative critiques and positive alternatives that take place therein? Do these understandings and practices allow for the free expression of creativity, and what is the relationship of these expressions of creativity to alienation, or a lack thereof, within this lifestyle? And finally, are there demonstrations of psychic nomadism and rejections of psychic imperialism within these understandings and practices?

In the next chapter I examine the existing literature concerning time, space, mobility and creativity and the ways in which each may be practiced so as to either buttress or subvert the controlling, ordering, fragmenting and alienating project of modernity under capitalism. I then elaborate on the TAZ and the process of a psychotopological investigation though which potential spaces of freedom may be identified.

In the third chapter I introduce these nomadic artisans and their alternative lifestyles. I then explain the process of this investigation and its strengths and limitations.

The fourth chapter contains the results of the psychotopological investigation, which has privileged the narratives of these artisan individuals.

Finally, chapter five situates these results within the existing literature and, in so doing, discusses whether or not the alternative lifestyles of these nomadic artisans are conducive to the germination of a TAZ. To conclude, I discuss the importance of the TAZ and other areas in which future research may also search for spaces of freedom.

# Chapter 2

## Literature Review

In this chapter I review portions of the existing literature on time, space, mobility and creativity, as well as several epistemological and ontological challenges to the ways in which they have been controlled, ordered, understood and practiced.

I begin with a discussion of worker alienation and the ways in which this alienation has spread beyond the workplace to encompass all elements of human existence, which results in fragmented and alienated *life.* I then discuss the two spheres in which this fragmenting process of ordering takes place: time and space. However, I argue that the strategic use of mobility, or movement through time and across space, may allow for the transcendence of this ordered time and space and, in so doing, create alternative zones in which unalienated activities, such as creative expression, may be performed. Finally, I discuss Hakim Bey's (1990) Temporary Autonomous Zones (TAZs), as an alternative space in which the themes of time, space, mobility and creativity are fused. I conclude this chapter by posing several questions concerning the ability to identify spaces that may be conducive to the germination of the TAZ.

### Marx and Alienation

According to Marx, the hierarchical and exploitative nature of capitalism has serious consequences for workers. Because workers do not own the means of production they are forced to sell their labour power in order to survive. This lack of

control over the production of labour results in four types of alienation. First, workers are separated from the product of their labour. Second, they are alienated from the process through which this product is created. Third, workers are alienated from themselves and, thus, from their inherent creative potential. Finally, they are alienated from other human beings and, therefore, from humanity as a whole (Marx, 1978: 74-5). Cumulatively, these types of alienation inhibit the ability of said workers to reach their full potential, or what Marx refers to as species-being (1978: 77). I elaborate on this process below.

The commodification of the product of labour results in what Marx calls the "objectification of labour" or, "the alienation of activity and the activity of alienation" (1978: 71, 74). In other words, an alienating activity, such as the process of labouring under capitalism, necessarily negates the possibility for the worker to find fulfillment and satisfaction and confirm him or herself. Therefore, work, as an unfulfilling activity, is performed as a means to an end, and not to attain any personal satisfaction or express creative or spontaneous desires.

Because this process alienates workers from their self-expression, desires, and ultimately, themselves, they are incapable of entering into genuine and meaningful relationships with other human beings. When coupled with the dogmatic individualism espoused by capitalism, this alienation from self and others provides a serious obstruction to the realization of species-being.

Marx believes that species-being develops over time when an individual is able to demonstrate his or her will, which manifests organically in demonstrations of free and creative spontaneity, by continually performing unalienated activity, or

demonstrations of species-life (1978: 75-7). Importantly, Marx discusses the ways in which humans create even when they do not *need* something; they create for the sake of beauty because it provides them with a sense of fulfillment (1978: 76). However, this process of the spontaneous creation of beauty to achieve fulfillment *only* takes place when humans are free from need and from estranged labour or, simply put, not alienated (Marx, 1978: 76-7). Therefore, for Marx, the ability to spontaneously create something of aesthetic value, as a way of achieving species-being, is a non-alienated process that is fundamentally incompatible with capitalism (1978: 76). We will return to the importance of creativity as a fulfilling human impulse later in this chapter.

Coping with Alienating Employment Situations

Attempts to minimize perceived alienation, which stems from a lack of control over the production of labour, have led some individuals to limit the amount of time that they spend in alienating employment situations. These self-imposed constraints on exposure to workplace alienation have manifested in tactics such as the acceptance of flexible or temporary employment in order to spend more time partaking in leisure activities.

Patricia and Peter Adler (2003) have studied flexible labour at resorts in Hawaii, where they have found "seekers," or workers that intentionally choose flexible seasonal employment in popular tourist destinations. Such workers knowingly "seek out" employment in areas that they would like to spend time in such that flows of tourism and "high seasons" often dictate their globetrotting patterns. Their decision to partake in seasonal and flexible employment is

intentional and strategic insofar as it allows them to adopt an uncommitted attitude towards employment that facilitates the enjoyment of leisure activities. Geographically specific activities (such as surfing in Hawaii) commonly play an important role in the process of selecting an area for employment, making seekers already less invested in work than in leisure. This lack of commitment to work is likely reinforced by the undesirable tasks that short-term employees, such as seekers, are routinely allocated. Therefore, the ontological nature of seekers' employment often results in a strict separation between work and leisure, as it is plausible that only the latter provides intrinsic rewards, fulfillment and meaning.

Similarly, Catherine Casey and Petricia Alach (2004) have examined the lifestyles of temporary women workers. However, unlike many of Alder and Adler's seekers, who tend to be young adults in search of adventure, Casey and Alach discuss women who have made a long-term commitment to temporary work as a lifestyle choice. This commitment to temporary employment positions may be reflective of an increasing normalization of alternative employment and lifestyle arrangements (Casey and Alach, 2004: 477). These alternative employment situations, or, according to Casey and Alach, "emancipatory alternatives," are often sought out by women who feel that traditional employment opportunities do not align with their personal values (2004: 465). They explain that "...efforts to alter relations to conventional marketized work appear to be motivated by alternative value aspirations of quality of life--including quality of work--in which non-economic qualities are emphasized" (2004: 461). Thus, not only have these women opted out of traditional employment because they find it incompatible with a life of

"quality," but doing so has also allowed them to pursue this quality, or meaningful fulfillment, in their leisure time. Because they have limited the time that they participate in work, these women explain that they have been able to obtain several benefits: the time for other pursuits and priorities (such as volunteering, more intense involvement with family and the pursuit of personal hobbies), the freedom and flexibility to travel, and relief from mundane and monotonous work and tiresome workplace politics that are often a part of steady employment. In sum, although such temporary workers have limited the amount of time that they spend in alienating employment situations, they have still maintained a strict divide between alienating work and non-alienated quality leisure time.

Therefore, both Adler and Adler's seekers and Casey and Alach's temporary workers have found strategic ways to minimize their subjection to alienating situations in order to pursue more fulfilling and meaningful activities. However, I argue that such strategies are problematic insofar as they continue to perpetuate and normalize the alienating divide between work and leisure that has resulted from the control of the social within modernity under capitalism. I elaborate on this divide below.

## Social Ordering, Divisions and Alienated Life

> *"...the abolition of work is the first condition for the effective supersession of commodity society, for the elimination within each person's life of that separation between "free time" and "work time"-- those complementary sectors of alienated life-- that is a continual expression of the commodity's internal contradiction between use-value and exchange-value."*
> (Situationist International Online. "On the Poverty of Student Life": 14)

The culture of modernity, and its fundamental characteristics of the control and ordering of the social, have been critiqued by Zygmunt Bauman as a type of civilizing mission in which rationality and efficiency are given precedence over other human faculties such as emotionality and empathy (2001: 2, 10). This emphasis on efficiency has resulted in hyper-controlled work environments that have been promoted by the prototype of scientifically managed labour (i.e., Taylorism and Fordism). According to E.F. Schumacher this form of highly structured and monotonous work imposes a type of violence on the human spirit and its spontaneous nature; it is "an offensive against the unpredictability, unpunctuality, general waywardness and cussedness of living nature, including man" (1989: 17).

Similarly, and in agreement with Marx, the late French philosopher and sociologist Henri Lefebvre has argued that, by leaving workers little control over the process of production, these hyper-controlled and industrialized work environments have stripped the process of labouring of meaning and value (2002: 69). Importantly, this absence of meaning has also been extended to other realms of human life and, in so doing, has differentiated and fragmented work from leisure time. Lefebvre explains that before industry was modernized, individuals achieved a sense of social and personal identity through the process of labouring (1991: 68). However, as work has lost its meaning and become increasingly alienating, individuals have begun to distance themselves from the process of labouring and, thus, no longer use work as a means of constructing identities. Consequently, this separation of self from work, which had previously provided value and meaning for

*all* areas of life, has led to an attitude of apathy concerning life outside of work as well (Lefebvre, 1991: 69). Because labouring itself fails to provide individuals with meaning, value-laden ideas and judgments about work are formed outside of work (Lefebvre, 1991: 70). These ideas often categorize the process of labouring as a "necessary evil" and a means to an end, rather than a way in which intrinsic needs may be fulfilled. In so doing, workers are able to justify their involvement in labouring as economically necessary, insofar as it sustains their lives outside of work, or allows them to "sustain themselves" and "live well" during their leisure time (Lefebvre, 1991: 70). Therefore, this process effectively allocates meaning to the realm of leisure, and maintains its ideological fragmentation from work.

Here, Lefebvre explains that although meaning has been relocated to the realm of leisure, this meaning is nothing more than a consumerist facade that only results in more alienation. Simply put, the process of fragmentation means that all of life has become alienated, an assertion that becomes clear when we examine work and leisure in a dialectical manner (Lefebvre, 2002: 29-30). Lefebvre asserts that the "vicious cycle" between work and alienation involves a process in which "we work to earn our leisure, and leisure only has one meaning: to get away from work" (2002: 40). As discussed above, alienated labour involves the imposition of a series of violent controls on the worker, a process for which the worker believes that he or she must be compensated. This compensation takes the form of leisure time, and the extent to which workers believe that such leisure time is "owed" to them speaks volumes about the alienating nature of labour (Lefebvre, 2002: 30,40). In contrast to alienated labouring, leisure is understood as the realm of relaxation and rest, an

orientation that frequently lends itself to passive consumption (Lefebvre, 2002: 32; Situationist International, 1960). However, because the consumption of commodities under capitalism is always an alienated activity, this means that consumptive leisure time is not only passively alienating insofar as it is ontologically dependent on the ideological facade of a diametric opposition to alienated labour, but that it is also *actively* alienating when it is defined by a belief in one's entitlement to consume as compensation for participating in alienated labour.

In sum, fragmentations such as those found between work and leisure compose the totality of everyday life under capitalism, and because they are hyper-organized and ordered, such fragmentations fail to leave room for an "outside" or non-fragmented and non-alienated sphere (Lefebvre, 1991: 31). Due to the ordering and controlling projects of modernity under capitalism, *life* as a whole has become alienated.

By returning to Adler and Adler's seekers and Casey and Allach's temporary workers, it now becomes apparent that tactics such as limiting time spent in alienating labour to pursue what is understood as non-alienated leisure only perpetuates the ideological divide between work and leisure that buttresses alienated life. Seekers and temporary workers are still required to sell their labour power by participating in non-fulfilling tasks that lack meaning and thus, do not contribute to the development of species-being. Although these approaches are strategic, they have not stepped outside of the epistemological framework of modernity and its diametric opposition between work and leisure and, in so doing, sustain lifestyles that are controlled, ordered and fragmented.

The Ordering of Time and Space

I argue above that the diametric opposition between work and leisure is buttressed by an ideological belief in the actual and normalized fragmentations of these spheres that, ultimately, results in alienated life. This ideological normalization stems from and is sustained by the project of modernity that has attempted to order and control the social. In particular, the two social spheres of time and space have been subjected to a process of intense organization. My contention here is that life has become fragmented and alienated through the stringent control of both time and space.

According to Kevin Hetherington, a desire for increased profits has utilized the "factory model" to intentionally reorder both time and space (1997: 111, 123, 135). This model allows the working day to be dependent on the measurement of time, rather than on the measurement of specific tasks as it was previously (1997: 23). This imposition of quantified and objective understandings of time on the worker has allowed the capitalist to control the precise amount of time that said worker performs labour in order to also control (i.e. maximize) the amount of profit that is acquired. However, the capitalist must also simultaneously control the space in which labouring takes place in order for such impositions of time to be successful (Hetherington, 1997: 123).

Importantly, the ordering project of modernity has not been restricted to the control of time and space within the workplace. Hetherington explains that "The factory re-ordered working space, just as it re-ordered working time. But its ordering effects went well beyond this: communities, cities and regions, indeed

nations, were re-ordered by the factory....as well as...the very being of humans" (Hetherington, 1997: 111).

This re-ordering of both time and space is a demonstration of power and control that has attempted to homogenize the ways in which these two realms are understood and practiced and, in so doing, control or eliminate difference therein (Hetherington, 1997: 23). Not unlike the previous example of the imposition of quantified and "objective" time on the immediate and localized process of labouring, the attempt to order and homogenize time and space on a macro-level is simultaneously an attempt to control or eliminate variance and spontaneous difference. In order to understand the nuances of these processes I now turn to an examination of time and space within the ordering project of modernity under capitalism. I also discuss several individuals and groups that have intentionally rejected this imposed re-ordering so that they may practice time and space in ways that are less fragmenting and, therefore, less alienating.

Time

According to Alberto Melucci (1989: 103), everyday time under the organizing project of modernity within capitalism is experienced in relation to two reference points: first, the machine, and second, a finalistic cultural orientation. Melucci argues that the machine creates a new dimension of time; one that is artificial and objective. This artificial and objective understanding of time is imposed through the use of the clock, a process that negates the subjective experience of perceived rhythms due to its homogenizing nature (Melucci, 1989: 103). Therefore, the use of a machine, the clock, to homogenize and "objectify" time,

not only trumps understandings and experiences of circadian rhythms, but also enables the simultaneous quantification and commodification of time itself. In so doing, the clock correlates understandings and practices of time with the epistemological leanings of commodity exchange. As explained by Melucci (1989: 103), time "is a universifiable measure which permits the comparison and exchange, by means of money and the market, of performances and rewards, Time is a measurable quantity...which is based upon instrumental rationality."

According to Melucci the second reference point through which time is experienced is a finalistic cultural orientation. In other words, "Time has a direction and its meaning derives from a final point" (Melucci, 1989: 103). If time has been objectified and homogenized, as demonstrated by the use of the clock to impose artificial time, then it is aligned with the ordering project of modernity under capitalism. Therefore, this finalistic cultural orientation is arguably the absolute ordering and homogenization of the social so as to enable widespread control.

John Urry also critiques "clock time" and its imposition on what he calls "kairological time," or an intuitive and learned understanding of time that draws on past experiences to determine when future events will or should occur (2000: 112). Here, clock time has foisted itself upon experiential memories (the past) to interfere with immediate understandings (the present) that determine possible actions (the future) by preemptively deciding that an event will take place at a certain predetermined and quantified time (Urry, 2000: 112). In so doing, clock time not only homogenizes experience, but it also necessarily subjects understandings and

practices of past, present and future subjective experiences to an "objective" and artificial paradigm.

Urry lists several crucial characteristics of clock time that are worth mentioning here:

> -The disembedding of time from meaningful social practices and the apparently natural divisions of night and day, the seasons and movements of life towards death.
> -The precise timetabling of most work and leisure activities.
> -The orientation to time as a resource to be managed rather than to time as activity or meaning.
> -The widespread use of time as an independent resource that can be saved and consumed, deployed and exhausted.
> -The synchronized time-disciplining of schoolchildren, travellers, employees, inmates, holiday-makers and so on.
> (Urry, 2000: 129).

Similar to Melucci and Urry's claims that homogenized clock time has been imposed upon individuals as part of an organizing project, Lefebvre (2004) also argues that what may be understood as natural rhythms have faced a similar infliction. According to Lefebvre, what is needed is rhythmanalysis, or a new science of rhythms that explores the intricacies and nuances of the ordering impositions of modernity. Rhythms, however, are not conceptualized here in a colloquial manner. In a nod to the necessarily interdependent nature of time and space, Lefebvre explains that "Everywhere there is interaction between a place, a time and an expenditure of energy, there is **rhythm**. Therefore: a) repetition; b) interferences of linear processes and cyclical processes; c) birth, growth, peak, then decline and end" (emphasis in original. Lefebvre, 2004: 15).

Lefebvre poses three hypotheses for rhythmanalysis. First, time within the everyday is measured in two ways: by fundamental, or natural rhythms and cycles,

and by quantified and imposed monotonous repetitions (Lefebvre, 2004: 74). Second, quantified time has been imposed on natural rhythms such that the latter have been fundamentally altered; "So-called natural rhythms change for multiple, technological, socio-economic reasons... For example, nocturnal activities multiply, overturning circadian rhythms" (Lefebvre, 2004: 74).[1] And third, quantified time has become unified and monotonous, while simultaneously serving a dividing and fragmenting function for all realms of social life. Although time is homogenized, when different tasks are allotted specific and distinct times in which they must take place, homogenized time also becomes fragmenting. Moreover, this process of fragmentation and differentiation is not value-neutral. When tasks are differentiated and fragmented, they are re-positioned in a hierarchical manner. In this way, for example, work has become fragmented from leisure, but it has also simultaneously become regarded as more important, which demonstrates the value-laden attributes of the process of fragmentation and division.

Rhythmanalysis emphasizes the importance of the body, as a subjective unit of experience, when examining the violence of imposed rhythms during the process of organization and attempted homogenization. This process takes place through a type of training, or what Lefebvre calls "dressage" (2004: 39). Dressage not only perpetuates rhythms by teaching individuals how to adhere to them, but it also

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[1] Here, Lefebvre's assertions that the body and its rhythms have been fundamentally changed by the imposition of institutionally-informed rhythms is not unlike Foucault's biopolitics, or the ways in which the body has been fundamentally impacted and permanently changed by institutionally-enforced and generated modifications in an imposition of the surrounding habitat on the living (Foucault, 2008).

buttresses the desire to do so (while simultaneously discouraging subversion) with an ideological understanding of behaviours that are and are not acceptable (Lefebvre, 2004: 41). Ultimately, dressage, as a form of "rhythm training" is an internalized form of control that lends itself to the organization of time within everyday life (Lefebvre, 2004: 75).

Ultimately, however, Lefebvre does not believe that the internalized mechanisms of dressage have resulted in an elimination of rhythmical difference and the complete and totalized control of the social. On the contrary, Lefebvre argues that the ontological nature of rhythms always already precludes invariability; true rhythms are complicated and necessarily produce difference through repetition (which Lefebvre claims is a mathematical certainty, 2004: 6-7). Because time in everyday life is both subjective and objective, or both internal and social, there will always be instances in which internal bodily rhythms do not agree with imposed rhythms, a conflict that may lead to what Lefebvre claims is a "dispossession of the body" (Lefebvre, 2004: 75). This conflict between the biological and physiological and the social can cause stress within the body itself such that antagonistic schisms are inevitable and result in an inability to guarantee stability. These inevitable forms of difference and instability necessarily negate homogeneity and complete order within the social (Lefebvre, 2004: 81).

By stepping outside of the epistemological understandings of ordered time as purported by modernity, Lefebvre claims that real time is created not through a totalizing imposition of order, but rather, through the antagonisms and conflicts that result from an attempt to do so (2004: 9, 78, 79). The complex rhythms of the body

and thus, of the social, when confronted with imposed homogenous time, react in such a way that complete order is implausible due to the inevitability of turbulence and schisms (2004: 78). Such complexity may be understood by examining what Lefebvre identifies as the three categories of time within the study of rhythms: the cyclical, the linear and the appropriated (2004: 30, 76).

The cyclical, which has larger and less complex intervals than the linear, "originates in the cosmos, in the worldly, in nature" and thus, may be understood as natural time (Lefebvre, 2004: 30, 76). In contrast, linear repetitions originate from social practice and human activity, such as impositions of homogenized time. They are short repetitions that are created by "the monotony of actions and of movements [and] imposed structures" (Lefebvre, 2004: 8, 30). Cyclical and linear repetitions overlap to form a type of relativistic and antagonistic unity, an often dominating and compromising struggle, and a complex interplay that is, in essence, time within the everyday.

Finally, the third category, appropriated time, although discussed only in passing by Lefebvre, is arguably of great importance. According to Lefebvre, appropriated time is

> a time that forgets time, during which time no longer counts (and is no longer counted). It arrives or emerges when an activity brings plentitude, whether this activity be banal, subtle, spontaneous, or sophisticated. This activity is in harmony with itself and with the world. It has several traits of self-creation or of a gift rather than of an obligation or an imposition come from without. It *is* in time; it *is* a time, but does not reflect on it (emphasis in original. Lefebvre, 2004: 76-7).

What is striking about appropriated time is that it is achieved with the performance of an activity, and when this performance is able to overcome the

imposition of homogenized and quantified ("counted") time on the act of doing. It is unclear if appropriated time, as a type of "time within time," exists outside of, within, or in a marginal realm in relation to the antagonistic unity of cyclical and linear time. However, the harmony and lack of obligation found within manifestations of appropriated time do demonstrate that, wherever this appropriated time exists, it necessarily does not concede to the ordering project of imposed efficiency and rationality that stems from linear repetitions. Therefore, appropriated time introduces and conceptualizes a temporal space for harmony and fulfillment either within or adjacent to the antagonistic unity of cyclical and linear time. Lefebvre's assertion of appropriated time within the study of rhythms demonstrates that although the modernizing project has attempted to order, control and homogenize time, there is necessarily always already variance therein. Moreover, this variance and difference sometimes manifests in spaces that enable the pursuit of "self-creation" through fulfilling and non-alienated activities, an assertion that draws a crucial link between appropriated time and the development of species-being.

Reactions to the imposition of homogenized and highly controlled time on circadian, or natural, rhythms have resulted in the formation of groups such as the Slow Food Movement. By combining food, slowness and mindfulness, members of the Slow Food Movement have emphasized the relationship between the practice of slowness and bodily pleasure; and, in so doing, they have adopted what they believe is an ethical stance towards time and its relationship to the preparation and consumption of food (Parkins and Craig, 2006: 18-9, 140). The preparation of

quality food "takes time," and often results in meals that are both healthier and more enjoyable (Parkins and Craig, 2006: 140).

Members of the Slow Food Movement realize that such practices present a practical critique of the importance given to speed, efficiency and fragmentation within the modernist project of ordering under capitalism. As described by Parkins and Craig, "speed is seemingly equated with efficiency and professionalism, however, slowness can be an alternative set of values or a refusal to privilege the workplace over other domains of life. To declare the value of slowness in our work, in our personal life, in public life, is to promote a position counter to the dominant value-system of 'the times'" (2006: 1). Therefore, the Slow Food Movement has situated its ethical everyday practices within a critique of the macro-scale project of ordering. In so doing, they have provided an example of an alternative and more sustainable way of being and practicing time by refusing to accept the imposition of homogenized and objective time on activities within the everyday. In this manner, such practices are a form of deliberate subversion within a social world that has been highly and intentionally ordered (Parkins and Craig, 2006: 39). This ordering project, as it has been simultaneously imposed on space, has encountered similar acts of subversion, which I now discuss.

Space

Similar to time, space has also been subjected to the process of ordering in an attempt to obtain control through imposed hegemony. The desire for this hegemonic control has resulted in the "objective carving out" and structuring of understandings and conceptualizations of space that have generated actual, or ontic,

controlled and ordered physical space. This connection between the believed and practiced, or the conceptual and actual, plays an important role in the subversion of the homogenizing and ordering project. When space is understood or conceptualized in a divergent manner, it is able to be practiced differently and, perhaps, in ways that are not congruent with the ordering project. Therefore, the introduction of difference, even of differential understanding, through mobility across and through space, or through contact with alternative conceptualizations of space, threatens to challenge the ordering of ways in which space is understood and practiced. I elaborate below.

Lefebvre claims that the production of space involves the interplay of the following three concepts: spatial practice, representations of space and representational spaces (1991: 33). Spatial practice results in space itself through social relations and interactions, which are informed by representations of space (Lefebvre, 1991: 33). Representations of space are the conceptual and ideological ways in which space is understood as an abstract concept within the ordering project of capitalist modernity. As discussed above, because abstract conceptualizations of space result in spatial practices, these representations of space are ultimately responsible for the ways in which space is created and ordered, and the relations of power therein. Specifically, because representations of space are imbued with ideological and conceptual assertions of space that stem from the ordering project of capitalist modernity, they partake in the process of creating space that reproduces these specific interests and power relations (Lefebvre, 1991: 33).

Finally, representational spaces are margins that have not been subjected to the ordering project due to its necessarily incomplete nature (Lefebvre, 1991: 39). The ontological nature of representational spaces not only provides a place in which alternative, or less-/non-ordered, practices of space may occur, but through its existence, also highlights and provides a critique of the normalization of the ideological power structures at play in the production of space under capitalist modernity (Lefebvre, 1991: 39).

Importantly, it is the *interplay* between spatial practice, representations of space and representational spaces that results in the actual production of space under capitalist modernity. Spatial practices are behaviours and social interactions that result in the ordered utilization of space and, thus, manifestations of space. Hegemonic understandings of space, or representations of space, buttress and perpetuate ordered spatial practices. However, divergent and critical representational spaces provide a challenge to the assumed totalizing nature of hegemonic representations of space that may, ultimately, impact spatial practices and, thus, space itself through the recognition of alternatives. Therefore, Lefebvre's contentions concerning the production of space not only confirm the always already incomplete nature of the homogenizing and ordering project, but also draw attention to the crucial differentiation between abstract conceptualizations and understandings of space and the actual practice of space in the search for alternatives.

Similar to Lefebvre, Hetherington also notes the existence of marginal spaces, or what he calls "uncertain zones" and heterotopias (1997: 18). However, in

contrast to Lefebvre's assertions concerning the critical and transformative potential of representational spaces, Hetherington (1997) argues that, on the contrary, such spaces may actually be viewed as crucial elements of the ordering project of modernity. In an attempt to order and control the social, the allocation of divergent behaviours and practices to a marginal space allows for their controlled existence outside of other non-marginal space. Separating these carnivalesque or deviant behaviours from the everyday, and then designating a specific space for their practice only further buttresses the project of modernity as it, for all intents and purposes, controls deviance that would otherwise have the potential to subvert total control *within* ordered space (Hetherington, 1997: 8).

Although the function of these spaces, as sites for "controlled deviance" lends itself to the modernist project of ordering, the internal nature of these spaces themselves is fundamentally incongruent with the rest of social space. This incongruency manifests in differing ways of understanding and practicing freedom and control, in which freedom that is understood as lacking within the external ordering project is plentiful in marginal heterotopic spaces (Hetherington, 1997: 8, 11). Not unlike Lefebvre's representational spaces, Hetherington's heterotopias "challenge our perceptions of space as something certain and fixed" by demonstrating the possibilities of alternate orderings of space (1997: 18). By challenging normalized assumptions concerning the ordering of space, heterotopias not only reveal, but also confront the relations of power and control operating within the social world (Hetherington, 1997: 23). Their ability to draw attention to the power relations within any given space is possible through their ability to

highlight differences, to demonstrate how a space controls, disciplines and orders, and to show how resistance to that order can lead to transgressive freedom and change (Hetherington, 1997: 139). In other words, Hetherington's heterotopias may be understood as strikingly similar to Lefebvre's representational spaces, but with a particular emphasis on manifestations of control and freedom as they relate to marginal and, thus, also dominant spaces. However, the necessarily controlled and situated marginality of heterotopias is problematic in attempts to achieve widespread transgressive freedom.

For Hetherington, control takes place through ordering, which is an active "performance context" (1997: 35). Space is ordered through the processes and ways in which it is utilized (which, again, echoes Lefebvre's understanding of the production of space through spatial practices). By controlling uses of space through the creation of boundaries, and simultaneously homogenizing understandings and conceptualizations therein, freedom is limited to the extent that mobility is restricted both within and to certain spaces. If, as discussed above, the strict control over space involves "carving out" space and creating boundaries so that meaning and understandings within a space have the potential to be homogenized, then actions or practices that transgress boundaries allow for the potential to create new meanings. Thus, mobility, as an active way of performing space by transgressing boundaries and normative homogeneous assumptions and conceptualizations, has the potential not only to subvert existing power structures that have ordered space, but also to create new spaces with new meanings. If Hetherington's marginal uncertain zones, or heterotopias, ultimately serve the ordering project of modernity

by allocating deviance to specific spaces, then they do not contribute to the creation of real transgressive alternatives that provide a substantial threat to the ordering project of modernity. However, the practice of mobility, which necessitates the introduction of difference into spaces, allows the differing practices and understandings of space and freedom found in marginal spaces to be introduced and expanded to controlled, or non-marginal, spaces. In this manner mobility presents a real challenge to the ordering project of modernity under capitalism. Therefore, mobility is a key factor in the dissemination of differing understandings and practices of space in the attempt to achieve transgressive alternatives.

De Certeau (1984) also discusses the connection between mobility and differing understandings, and thus, practices of space. In particular, De Certeau explains the ability, while walking through the city, to break down and unpack the normalized meaning behind space so as to provide said space with new meaning (1984: 103, 105). In this way, mobility within a space allows one to "invent spaces" (De Certeau, 1984: 107). However, upon the suspension of movement, or mobility, said spaces are again subjected to preexisting ordering power structures that will attempt to recuperate them into a totalizing project (De Certeau, 1984: 106). Therefore, an awareness of mobility through space *as a continued process* proves to be a crucial component of an understanding of the control of spatial practices and their subversion.

Similarly, Ole B. Jensen calls for "critical mobility thinking" which is a way of understanding mobility within space as a subjective experience through which to politicize the everyday (2009: 154-5). This epistemological stance involves a type of

bodily-focused sense-making while moving through space that necessitates "meaningful engagement with the environment" (Jensen, 2009: 154). Here, Jensen's privileging of the corporeal in meaning making challenges the ordered and imposed nature of not only space in capitalism, but also the foisted nature of linear temporal rhythms, while creating new *mobile* spaces in which this "meaningful engagement with the environment" is possible.

Likewise, the Situationist International, a group of social revolutionaries associated with the 1968 uprising in France, also recognized the importance of mobility as a practice that has the potential to subvert ordered and controlled understandings and practices of space. They demonstrated this idea through the utilization of two tactics that are worth mentioning here: subversive cartography and dérive.

According to David Pinder, the practice of subverting cartography involves a process that demonstrates the impositions of power involved in map-making as an "objective" activity (1996: 407). This is achieved through the creation of alternative maps of the same physical space depicted in customary cartographic representations in which less ordered, and more subjective and visceral experiences are included (Pinder, 1996: 420). Similarly, by challenging the imposition of control that is achieved with efficiency and order, dérive, or "a technique of rapid passage through varied ambiences" involves the act of drifting with "antideterministic liberation" through an ordered space so that normalized ideas and practices of

space and mobility are undermined (Debord, 2006: 1-2).[2] Therefore, the tactics of both subversive cartography and dérive challenge the normalization of controlled spaces, which are ordered and structured so as to perform a specific and efficient purpose (such as a street that extends from point *a* to point *b*, and connecting point *a* to point *b* is understood to be its purpose), and in so doing, allow for the creation of new spaces through the practice of mobility.

I have attempted to demonstrate that the practice of mobility can be subversive and disruptive to social control and ordering. Through mobility, space can be practiced by groups and individuals in a way that introduces difference into controlled spaces and, thus, disrupts the project of ordering and homogeneity. This confrontation, however, has often resulted in the stigmatization of mobility as a practice, particularly when it is performed by individuals of different socio-economic backgrounds. Historically, this unfavorable reaction to travellers who embrace mobility as a lifestyle is apparent in stereotypes of the gypsy. According to Hetherington, such stereotypes and stigmas are "a testament to this fear of the travelling, displaced vagrant" in an attempt to maintain homogeneity and social order (1997: 64).

Similarly, the New Age Travellers, who have adopted a nomadic and bohemian lifestyle in Britain, also transgress symbolic and often invisible boundaries into "forbidden areas" such as private spaces and Stonehenge, which has, unsurprisingly, resulted in public outrage and the attempt to reinforce order

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[2] See also Monty Python's Ministry of Silly Walks and the "Annual Silly Walk March" in Brno, Czech Republic as examples of "inefficient" spatial practice. (*Monty Python's Flying Circus.* Episode 14 "Face the Press". 1970. and Silly Walk City March in Brno (2013). Retrieved on November 2nd, 2013 from: http://klutzy.net/silly-walk-city-march-in-brno-2013/ )

through imposed boundaries (Hetherington, 2000: 49, 133). The Travellers, however, intentionally oppose these boundaries through their alternative uses of space and, in so doing, demonstrate what they believe is an ethical stance with their nomadic lifestyles (Hetherington, 2000: 66). Such an ethical stance, they believe, provides an ontological example of different, or alternative ways of being and practicing freedom that are at odds with the controlling mechanisms of popular culture and society under modernity and capitalism (Hetherington, 2000: 7, 66). Hetherington explains that the travellers understand their life to be a "simple...nomadic way of life, which release[s] them from many of the pressures and (for them) unwarranted commitments of everyday routines" (2000: 7). Therefore, for the Travellers, mobility offers a lifestyle that enables spatial freedom as an alternative to the ordered and imposed control of fixidity. This way of performing space through mobility not only challenges the attempt to order and homogenize time and space, but also the fragmentation of spheres of life through routines therein. Importantly, by creating an alternative *lifestyle* with different understandings and practices of time and space, these individuals, like those belonging to the Slow Food Movement, have been able to significantly decrease the temporal and spatial constraints of *alienated life.*

To summarize, I have attempted to demonstrate that fragmented and alienated life is sustained and buttressed by the control and ordering of time and space within modernity under capitalism. Therefore, different, or alternative, understandings and practices of time and space that challenge imposed rhythms and boundaries allow for the creation of alternative lifestyles, such as those

demonstrated by members of the Slow Food Movement and the New Age Travellers, which may be more conducive to the development of species-being and, thus, the free practice of unalienated activity.

The Freedom to Create

Franco "Bifo" Berardi has written extensively on the impact that capitalism and modernity have had on the soul, or "the vital breath that converts biological matter into an animated body" (2002: 21). He argues that the soul has been inflicted with maladies such as panic, anxiety and depression (Berardi, 2009: 135). In particular, Berardi elaborates on panic and depression by claiming that panic stems from a feeling of being overwhelmed with constant and infinite stimulus (2009: 100). Panic is spurred by the chaos that is "an environment too complex to be deciphered by the schemes of interpretation we have at our disposal" (Berardi, 2009: 126). Depression is the inevitable collapse and lack of meaning that results from such constant chaos and the inability to maintain a stringent level of competitiveness in an increasingly fast-paced world that emphasizes individualism and exchange-value at the expense of the soul (Berardi, 2009: 102).

By drawing on Félix Guattari, Berardi argues that art, as the ability for an individual to impose his or her will on the immediate surroundings, is an excellent "temporary organizer of chaos," or chaoid, that may be an important tactic with which the chaos and resulting panic of modernity under capitalism may be negated (2009: 135). In this way, Berardi explains that art may be a therapeutic healing tool when the soul is faced with imposed chaos that leads to panic and may ultimately result in depression. Art and creativity allow for a slowing down, and a

reprioritization of the enjoyment of life through "the liberation of time for culture, pleasure and affection" rather than the constant and overwhelming competition for monetary profit (Berardi, 2009: 219). Therefore, art as a therapeutic chaoid not only allows an individual to directly impact the world around him or her and reorder something tangible, but it also allows for a reordering of priorities that give precedence to the soul and enjoyment. Art provides an epistemological shift that can

> change the focus of [an individual's] depressive attention, to re-focalize, to deterritorialize the mind and the expressive flow. Depression is based on the hardening of one's existential refrain, on its obsessive repetition. The depressed person is unable to go out, to leave the repetitive refrain and s/he keeps going back into the labyrinth. The goal...is to give him/her the possibility of seeing other landscapes, to change focus, to open new paths of imagination (Berardi, 2009: 216).

The importance of the imaginary and the potential for art as a therapeutic chaoid is reinforced by Ellen Dissanayake's claim that there exists a universal impulse to make and create (1988: 7). This impulse manifests in what she explains is the process of "making special" (1992: 40). She argues that humans gain pleasure from making something that was considered ordinary into something special with their hands (1992: 42; 1995: 3). As explained by Dissanayake:

> There is an inherent pleasure in making. We might call this joie de faire (like joie de vivre) to indicate that there is something important, even urgent, to be said about the sheer enjoyment of making something exist that didn't exist before, of using one's own agency, dexterity, feelings and judgment to mold, form, touch, hold and craft physical materials, apart from anticipating the fact of its eventual beauty, uniqueness, or usefulness (1995: 3-4).

Thus, the pleasure of creating, or giving into the creative impulse, involves several factors: creation with one's capabilities, control over the process of creating, corporeal and emotional sensations, and the absence of concern for the exchange value or commodification of the final created product. Interestingly, when we

juxtapose the creative process that Dissanayake describes with Marx's four types of alienation it becomes clear that the process of creating is necessarily unalienated. Importantly, in Dissanayake's creative process, the individual has control over the product and process of labour. The creative impulse involves producing by expressing one's faculties towards the world around him or her, physical and emotional satisfaction and enjoyment from the process of creating, a lack of the influence of another party in determining the end result of the created product and, finally, a lack of separation or commodification of said product from the worker as it is not produced as a means to an end but, rather, for the fulfillment inherent in the process of production.

The ability of an individual to express him or herself through activity that impacts the creation of his or her surroundings is an expression of species-life, which, as discussed above, when performed repeatedly results in the achievement of species-being. Therefore, not only is art as a creative activity therapeutic in its ability to negate the panic and depression that stems from modernity under capitalism, as demonstrated with Berardi's utilization of art as a therapeutic chaoid and the comparison of Dissanayake's description of the process of creation to Marx's alienating relations of production, but it also lends itself to the development of human fulfillment, or species-being.

Time, Space, Mobility and Unalienated Lifestyles

Thus far this review of the literature has examined alienation and the ways in which fragmented and alienated lives, which do not allow for the free expression of

the creative impulse, are buttressed by the control and ordering of time and space within modernity under capitalism. In particular, linear and quantified "clock time" has been imposed on kairological, or cyclical, time and natural rhythms. Similarly, space has been ordered and controlled such that understandings and practices of alternatives have been relegated to the margins, a differentiation that, I have attempted to demonstrate, may be subversive when it is coupled with mobility, or the introduction of difference into various spaces.

Importantly, a recurrent theme throughout this analysis has been the necessarily interconnected nature of the epistemological and the ontological, the believed and the practiced, or the conceptual and the actual. By examining the ordering and controlling ways in which time and space are understood, one is able to alter the ways in which they are practiced and, in so doing, create alternatives that are not subjected to the ordering and imposed nature of controlled time and space. Examples of such alternatives have been provided with discussions of the Slow Food Movement and the New Age Travellers.

Although members of the Slow Food Movement and the New Age Travellers have given us partial understandings of such alternative practices and lifestyles, they are lacking in their ability to simultaneously address all of the facets of unalienated life that have been discussed here. Therefore, I now turn to Hakim Bey's (1990) Temporary Autonomous Zone, which explicitly addresses and fuses time, space, mobility and creativity, while also providing a zone in which they may be understood and practiced concurrently in an alternative manner. Crucially, while allowing for the fusion of these alternative practices these zones also intentionally

challenge power-laden epistemological assumptions and normalized ontological practices, and the relationship between them.

Temporary Autonomous Zones

Hakim Bey has described Temporary Autonomous Zones (TAZs) as alternative spaces that provoke a type of "ontological anarchy" which challenges the normalization of epistemological understandings that are buttressed by modernity under capitalism (1990: 1). Bey has intentionally avoided defining the TAZ itself so as to avoid the construction of political dogma, but also so that he is able to "fire off exploratory beams" with differing understandings of the TAZ that allow for a more inclusive project in the search for alternatives (1990: 2). He does, however, mention several elements that must exist in a space in order for it to be conducive to the manifestation of a TAZ. These are negative critiques and positive alternatives, demonstrations of psychic nomadism, the ability to freely engage in creative expression, and the rejection of psychic imperialism. The identification of these elements conducive to the germination of a TAZ takes place through a psychotopology, or the practice of "dowsing for potential TAZs" (Bey, 1990: 5). I now turn to a discussion of the TAZ, after which I explain four of the elements that must exist in a space for it to be conducive to the manifestation of a TAZ.

The TAZ's critique of the everyday within modernity under capitalism strikes at normalized conceptualizations and ideas that buttress ordered control and a lack of freedom. As explained by Bey, the TAZ is like

> ... a guerilla operation which liberates an area (of land, of time, or imagination) and then dissolves itself to re-form elsewhere/elsewhen...

> Babylon takes its abstractions for realities; it is precisely *within* this margin of error the TAZ can come into existence... its greatest strength lies in its invisibility ... As soon as the TAZ is named (represented, mediated), it must vanish, it *will* vanish, leaving behind it an empty husk, only to spring up again somewhere else, once again invisible because undefinable in terms of the Spectacle. The TAZ is thus a perfect tactic for an era in which the State is omnipresent and all-powerful and yet simultaneously riddled with cracks and vacancies ... The TAZ is an encampment of guerilla ontologists: strike and run away ... The strike is made at structures of control, essentially at ideas [and] begins with a simple act of realization (1990: 4).

Therefore, the guerilla ontology of the TAZ necessarily takes the controlling and ordering mechanisms of time and space to task by challenging the ways in which they are understood and practiced (through ideas, ie- epistemological foundations). This challenge allows the TAZ to create alternative understandings and practices of time and space in the margins, or "cracks and vacancies," that are necessarily inherent in the always already incomplete ordering project. By moving between such marginal spaces, the TAZ is able to be situated in an ontic, although temporary location in both time and space. In this way, its necessarily temporary and mobile nature means that it transcends the mechanisms of control inherent in these areas, and is "freed from time and place" (Bey, 1990: 6, 9). Its strength lies in this mobility, or its "air of impermanence, of being able to move on, shape shift, re-locate to other universities, mountaintops, ghettos, factories, safe houses, abandoned farms -- or even other planes of reality" (Bey, 1990: 2). The TAZ's mobility and "air of impermanence" both enables and necessitates the practice of "keep[ing] on the move and liv[ing] intensely" (Bey, 1990: 20). Thus, the TAZ allows for alternative understandings and practices of time and space, as both are simultaneously performed during the practice of mobility from one marginal space to another in ways that challenge the ordering and controlling project.

According to Bey, the first element required for a space to have the potential to manifest a TAZ is a negative critique coupled with a positive alternative. Because the TAZ is an alternative, and as such, is necessarily reactionary to and divergent from another way of understanding and being, Bey explains that a space which may spur a TAZ must demonstrate a negative criticism of the current paradigm that requires the construction of an alternative, while this positive alternative must demonstrate the unalienated activities and pursuits that may exist within an alternative and liberated space (1990: 2). Simply put, a negative critique of "reality" encourages and allows for the creation of a positive alternative.

The second element required for a potential TAZ is the epistemological freedom that is demonstrated through psychic nomadism, which is attainable through mobility. Bey explains that the adoption of alternative practices of space through mobility may by practiced by and take the form of

> gypsies, psychic travellers driven by desire or curiosity, wanderers with shallow loyalities (in fact, disloyal to the "European project" which has lost all its charm and vitality), not tied down to any particular time and place, in search of diversity and adventure (Bey, 1990: 7).

Alternative practices of mobility, such as those demonstrated by Bey's gypsies, psychic travellers and wanderers, allow for psychological liberation from normalized conceptualizations and understandings through "psychic nomadism." Bey defines psychic nomadism as

> a de-centering of the entire "European" project, open[ing] a multi-perspectived post-ideological world view able to move rootlessly from philosophy to tribal myth, from natural science to Taoism -- able to see for the first time through eyes like some golden insect's, each facet giving a view of an entirely different world (1990: 7).

For Bey, Psychic nomadism, through its explicit and open-minded examination and adoption of alternative epistemologies, may be viewed as a type of "virus" that introduces difference into that which has been subjected to the ordering and homogenizing project (1990: 8). Therefore, psychic nomadism as an epistemologically variant "virus" produces a space that may be compatible to the manifestation of a TAZ not only because psychic nomadism requires mobility, but also because it necessarily challenges understandings of time, space, and "reality" while simultaneously providing multiple alternatives.

The third element necessary for the potential manifestation of a TAZ is the freedom of creative expression. Bey argues that true and meaningful art has been suppressed, but that it may be realized within liberated zones. He explains that

> the only solution to the suppression ... of Art lies in the emergence of the TAZ. I would strongly reject the criticism that the TAZ itself is "nothing but" a work of art ... I do suggest that the TAZ is the only possible "time" and "place" for art to happen for the sheer pleasure of creative play, and as an actual contribution to the forces which allow the TAZ to cohere and manifest (1990: 23).

Importantly, although Bey argues that the performance of art "for the sheer pleasure of creative play," or what are completely unalienated demonstrations of creativity, may only take place within the TAZ itself, he also explains that creativity and art are *required forces for the emergence and manifestation of the TAZ.* Therefore, creative expressions must not only be present in potential spaces, but they are also fundamentally necessary for the potential germination of a TAZ.

Finally, the fourth element that Bey expresses is necessary for the inception of the TAZ is a lack of psychic imperialism. Similar to the Situationist International, Bey claims that the "objective" project of ordering and controlling

through cartography, or "the closure of the map," is never truly complete, and that autonomous zones and margins always exist (1990: 5). Importantly, however, Bey believes that these autonomous and marginal spaces are both physical *and* mental (1990: 5). Therefore, the project of ordering has not only failed to completely control the tangible, but it has also failed to completely colonize the mind and its understandings of time, space and liberation through the process of psychic imperialism (1990: 5).

Bey believes that some individuals have willingly accepted the epistemological assertions of the project of modernity under capitalism, and in so doing, have been subjected to the mental dominance of psychic imperialism. However, those who have demonstrated more reluctance and reflexivity have noticed the power relations at play in these assertions, and thus "know in what ways we are genuinely oppressed, and also in what ways we are self-repressed or ensnared in a fantasy in which *ideas* oppress us" (emphasis in original, Bey, 2009: 24). Thus, individuals that have evaded psychic imperialism to the extent that they realize its controlling, oppressive and repressive mechanisms, also have the mental space available that is required for the manifestation of a TAZ. This mental space is identified through the process of psychotopology, or the search for "spaces (geographic, social, cultural, imaginal) with the potential to flower as autonomous zones " (1990: 5).

Psychotopology

This review of the literature has examined the alienating and fragmenting ways in which time and space have been ordered in such a way that, ultimately,

imposes a type of violence on the ability to achieve fulfillment through the practice of unalienated activity such as expressions of creativity. Moreover, I have also argued that due to the fragmenting nature of hyper-ordered "reality" under modernity and capitalism, what are needed are *unalienated lifestyles* in which time, space and mobility are both understood and practiced differently. Importantly, however, such unalienated lifestyles require a space in which they may take place; a space that necessarily challenges the epistemological assumptions, and thus ontological practices of the ordering project of modernity under capitalism. Such spaces that may be conducive to these lifestyles, and also encourage their practice on a larger scale, are TAZs. However, at this time, the literature does not contain information concerning alternative *lifestyles* that have the potential to germinate a TAZ. These spaces of possibility may be identified through the implementation of Bey's psychotopology.

This study has therefore taken up the task of "dowsing for potential TAZs," with a psychotopology of the lifestyles of nomadic artisans in Mexico (Bey, 1990: 5).[3] Importantly, however, the objective of "dowsing for TAZs" through a psychotopological investigation is *not* to identify where a TAZ does or does not exist. A misleading attempt to do so would be complicated by the fact that Bey has

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[3] Discussions of alternative lifestyles often lend themselves to descriptions of counter- or sub-cultures. However, these terms are problematic insofar as they assume homogeneity not only inside the boundaries of their groups, but also within a diametrically opposed other, or "mainstream", to which, in practice, they may not actually be all that opposed (Hetherington, 2000: 33). The likening of counter- and/or sub-cultures to the TAZ is problematic due to the necessarily incomplete nature of the homogenizing and ordering project, without which the TAZ, and thus spaces of potential where it may manifest, would be impossible. Moreover, Bey addresses the lack of ontological similarity that the TAZ shares with understandings of counter- and/or sub-cultures because of the positive liberation (and its affiliated non-alienated activities) offered by the TAZ in contrast to "the mundanity of negativity or counter-cultural drop-out-ism" (1990: 25).

intentionally not defined nor conceptualized the TAZ, because to claim that one has found a TAZ and, in so doing, name it as such, always already strips said TAZ of its power for liberation as it is then subjected to normative epistemological understandings and conceptualizations. Therefore, psychotopology does not attempt to identify existing TAZs, but rather, to "look for spaces *with the potential* to flower as autonomous zones" (emphasis added, 1990: 5).

Bey has addressed several factors with which these spaces of potential may be identified during the performance of a psychotopology: the diametrically opposed, but mutually interdependent negative critique of a "reality," and positive construction and practice of an alternative, demonstrations of psychic nomadism, the free performance of creative activity, and the rejection of psychic imperialism.

Thus, in order to perform a psychotopology of the lifestyles of nomadic artisans in Mexico I examine the following questions: How do these artisans both understand and practice time, space, and mobility as part of an alternative lifestyle, and what are the negative critiques and positive alternatives that take place therein? Do these understandings and practices allow for the free expression of creativity, and what is the relationship of these expressions of creativity to alienation, or a lack thereof, within this lifestyle? And finally, are there demonstrations of psychic nomadism and rejections of psychic imperialism within these understandings and practices?

# Chapter 3

## Methods

The objective of this study is to address a gap in the literature concerning examples of alternative lifestyles that are congruent with Bey's (1990) assertions of the spaces that may enable the germination of a TAZ. The examination of a potential TAZ is attempted here though a psychotopology of nomadic artisans in Mexico. In particular, this study is guided by the following questions: How do these artisans both understand and practice time, space, and mobility as part of an alternative lifestyle, and what are the negative critiques and positive alternatives that take place therein? Do these understandings and practices allow for the free expression of creativity, and what is the relationship of these expressions of creativity to alienation, or a lack thereof, within this lifestyle? And finally, are there demonstrations of psychic nomadism and rejections of psychic imperialism within these understandings and practices?

I begin this chapter with a discussion of nomadic artisans in Mexico that have adopted alternative lifestyles so as to provide the reader with background information concerning the individuals that have participated in this study, and the spaces and practices in which this psychotopology will take place. I then situate my own experience with this lifestyle within this discussion so as to acknowledge my involvement with these individuals, which strongly influenced my decision to perform this study. Following this discussion is a broad overview of the

methodology and recruitment of participants. I then provide a summary of the demographic characteristics of the participants and explain the data collection strategies. Further, I provide a more detailed explanation of and rationale for the conduct of the study and describe the interview questions and data analysis procedures. Finally, I conclude with an examination of the strengths and limitations of the study.

Conceptualizing The Alternative Lifestyles of Nomadic Individuals in Mexico

In present-day Mexico there is a nomadic lifestyle that has been practiced by individuals who are often referred to as "la banda," which roughly translates as "the gang."[4] Members of la banda travel across Mexico (usually by hitchhiking) and along the way are able to sustain themselves through a number of creative practices. The three most popular of these practices are making and selling jewelry (with precious stones, macramé, silver and copper wire, leather, and an assortment of other materials both bought and found) often on the street, in markets or in restaurants when permission to do so is granted, performing circus-like stunts such as juggling (known in Mexico as "malabares"), fire shows, contortionism, miming, or "extreme hula-hooping" (with several hula-hoops on fire) in the street or in other temporary venues (stoplights, restaurants, hotels), and finally, playing musical instruments (to sometimes, although not always, accompany the aforementioned performances) such as djembes, dun duns, accordions, guitars, violins, bongos, xylophones, flutes, berimbaus, and harmonicas on busses, streets

[4] "La banda" also exists and travels in other countries (particularly in Latin America), although several participants expressed that this lifestyle is most prevalent in Mexico.

and in invited venues such as restaurants and hotels (See appendix A.1.).[5]

These jewelry-making artisans, street performers and musicians tend to frequent similar areas of Mexico that they have heard of from other individuals who practice similar lifestyles. The frequency with which these areas (and their respective experiences) are discussed among la banda is so recurrent that it could be argued that there exists what may be a Mexican version of the "Hippie Trail" of the 60s and 70s that charted a route across Europe, Asia, India and Nepal, but instead is particular to these individuals in the present-day and focuses on areas like the jungles and mountains of Chiapas, the beaches of Jalisco, Nayarit and Quintana Roo, and several northern states that encompass desert regions. Also of importance is that, due to the nomadic and easily identifiable alternative nature of such lifestyles and practices, it is very unlikely that these individuals will arrive in one of these areas without, at least at some point, encountering another artisan, performer or musician that they know, or that knows someone with whom they are acquainted.

The incredible amount of variance found within what is understood as la banda is something of a conceptual nightmare for the sociologist attempting to not only conceptualize, but also operationalize alternative practices and lifestyles therein. These difficulties are further compounded by the narratives of individuals that, although they participate in these practices and often associate themselves

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[5] After a great deal of searching I was unable to find any academic literature on "la banda, " but I did come across an excellent personal narrative called *The Urban Circus: Travels With Mexico's Malabaristas* by Catriona Rainsford (2013) in which she describes two years that she spent living and travelling with "la banda" (which, based on my understanding, are individuals highly comparable to those addressed here). Her incredibly accurate and skilled description of the quotidian realities of these individuals necessitates an acknowledgement of her work here.

with those who do identify as members of la banda, do not themselves identify as such. In particular, individuals who partake in similar practices that do not identify themselves as members of la banda have primarily fallen into two categories: first, they are not from Mexico and they identify with a similar group in their own country, instead of la banda, for various reasons such as a lack of congruent beliefs or values concerning conduct within the everyday of such lifestyles. And, second, some individuals who partake in this lifestyle through the aforementioned activities, and sometimes even in tandem with individuals who do self-identify as members of la banda, identify themselves as solo travellers and beings and, as such, do not consider themselves to be part of any group, even one as fluid as la banda.

An important question that I addressed in interviews with such individuals was how they themselves conceptualize and understand this group (if it is even fair to assume enough cohesion among such individuals to call it a group).[6] Among those who do believe that there is a group, some of the responses I received were, of course, la banda, but also la familia (the family), un tribu (a tribe), roladores ("rolling" travellers), gitanos (gypsies), el colectivo (the collective), el colectivo por el acción de unión mundial (the collective for united world action- for the more politically-inclined), una raza (a race), and finally, a network. Importantly, however, many of the above terms do not exclude, but on the contrary, are often used in tandem with the term "la banda" to address other artisans, performers and musicians. Ultimately, then, although la banda is a common and colloquial term

[6] Although results of the interviews are typically not discussed until after the methods section, in this particular situation, it is helpful to bring participants' narratives into a discussion of the conceptualization of individuals who lead such lifestyles so as to avoid imposing a conceptual idea of who this "group" is in the attempt to describe them to the readers.

often used to describe such individuals who partake in these practices and alternative lifestyles in Mexico, *and as such is necessary to discuss here*, it is not an entirely appropriate conceptual definition for this study due to its imposed cohesion and (for some) values and beliefs. Therefore, in an attempt to explore a facet of such lifestyles in a more controlled manner, I have allowed this study to focus specifically on nomadic *artisan* (or, jewelry-making) individuals who have adopted alternative lifestyles in Mexico.

To qualify for this study, and in agreement with the above discussion of the three popular practices of individuals who lead such alternative lifestyles, artisans must sell jewelry that they themselves make with at least one of the following materials: stones, string, leather, wire, copper and/or silver, in at least one of the following areas: the street, markets or other (sometimes) authorized areas (such as restaurants). Moreover, they must have utilized this practice to support travels within Mexico, at least on one occurrence, if not on an on-going basis. [7]

It is also important to note, however, that due to the nature of these lifestyles and practices, although the focus on artisans as jewelry makers provided this study with a solid conceptual and operational basis, eight of the fifteen, or more than half of the individuals I interviewed, also practice some type of performative art (like fire-juggling) or a musical rendition during their travels, with which they also identify (although to varying degrees). I stress the importance of simultaneous identifications with such varying facets of this alternative lifestyle in part due to my

[7] Such requirements, in addition to the particular sampling methods that I discuss later in this chapter, allowed me to identify and exclude other Mexican artisans that did not have a commitment to an alternative lifestyle that is aligned with that which I have discussed.

own experience. Before I embarked upon this study, I had previously spent two years (cumulatively) partaking in this lifestyle in Mexico. Specifically, I was a type of amateur artisan who made jewelry that I sold on the streets of Jalisco and Nayarit, a practice that I supplemented with playing my guitar on sidewalks and city busses. Both practices were equally crucial to my adoption of this lifestyle, involvement with other artisans, performers and musicians, and, therefore, played a decisive role in my ability to travel with them in the nomadic performance of this lifestyle. Moreover, such personal experience played a key role in my decision to perform this study and the ways in which I did so, a process that I now explain.

Study Overview

Because it had been several years since I last participated in this lifestyle, I embarked upon the study by contacting a fellow artisan I had previously travelled with to inquire about the current nomadic patterns of such individuals. He suggested that I visit San Cristobal de las Casas in Chiapas and from there make my way to El Panchan, a bohemian camping spot popular with the artisans that is located just outside of the town of Palenque and about five hours away from San Cristobal. This visit occurred in November and December of 2012.

I identified two nomadic artisan individuals (by drawing on the criteria discussed above and my previous experience) within my first several days in San Cristobal who became the key informants for the entirety of the study. I approached them while they were selling jewelry and practicing malabares in the zocalo of San Cristobal and discussed my previous experience with the group and the current study; they expressed interest and agreed to participate. Moreover, these two

individuals also had plans to make their way to El Panchan, and invited me to accompany them several days later, at which point I began the process of participant observation by travelling and living with them and other artisans, participating in everyday activities and taking fieldnotes. The process of data collection through participant observation and the performance of seven semi-structured interviews in Chiapas ended in late December after which I returned to Canada.

Soon thereafter it became clear that I had run into some serious conceptual problems with "la banda" (which I discussed above) and would need to return to Mexico to perform further fieldwork in order to crystallize the parameters of the study *with the input of these individuals*. I was also concerned about the number of interviews that I had been able to perform and hoped to seek out more. To resume the study I contacted my two key informants in February of 2013 and met them in the fishing village turned surf-town of Sayulita in the state of Nayarit, where they were then staying. This second period of data collection lasted only two weeks in which I was able to perform another eight interviews, engage in several discussions with my key informants and other participants about the study and, in so doing, re-focus the study specifically on nomadic *artisans* that practiced this alternative lifestyle instead of attempting to inclusively address artisans, performers *and* musicians.

Therefore, in total, this study involved fifteen semi-structured interviews with nomadic artisans as well as participant observation during which I lived,

travelled and partook in everyday activities alongside the artisans. [8] To recap, the interviews and participant observation took place in the city of San Cristobal de las Casas, the town of Sayulita and the camping spot of El Panchan in the Mexican states of Chiapas and Nayarit between November and December of 2012 and again in February of 2013.

In an attempt to work within the confines of the relaxed and "go with the flow" lifestyles of the artisans, I allowed each participant to choose the time and place of his or her interview which resulted in an intriguing assemblage of interview experiences. The locations chosen by participants were a rooftop, a cabana and waterfalls in the Lacandon Jungle, excavated and unexcavated Mayan ruin archaeological sites, an abandoned new-age temple, the beach, restaurants, an outdoor market and, on several occasions, on the curb of a sidewalk behind the artisan's puesto, or makeshift shop. The interviews themselves had varying durations with the shortest being twenty minutes long, and the longest just exceeding an hour and a half. All were performed in person, thirteen in Spanish and two in English, audiotaped, and transcribed by myself upon my return to Canada. The transcriptions were then coded and analyzed, a process that I supplemented with my notes from participant observation.

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[8] As I have stated here, participant observation involved living, travelling and participating in everyday activities with these individuals. However, I intentionally did not participate in the selling of jewelry. My previous experience with this group allowed me to understand that to do so could potentially inhibit my ability to be (as easily) accepted into the group, as I may be seen as a type of competition (regardless of my severely lacking artisan skills in comparison to the incredibly talented individuals that participated in this study).

Recruitment of Participants

Three types of nonprobability sampling were utilized for this study: snowball sampling, purposive sampling and convenience sampling. Snowball sampling, or a technique through which one participant identifies other potential participants, and so on, was an informal method that was initially practiced with the help of my key informants (Singleton and Straits, 2010: 178). In several instances, these two individuals introduced me to other artisans and even took it upon themselves to set up interviews when I was not present. Some of the participants identified by the key informants then suggested other artisans for me to talk to, whom they usually introduced me to if we were not already acquainted. Due to the very social nature of these lifestyles (as such artisans often spend a great amount of time working in close proximity to one another and travelling together), word of the study spread quickly in both Panchan and Sayulita to the point that three participants approached me themselves to request that they be interviewed due to their interest in the study. Because this was an exploratory study, snowball sampling was particularly helpful insofar as it allowed artisans to identify others that they believed were relevant for the study and, in so doing, assist in providing a sample that *they* themselves as artisans believed was representative of their lifestyles.

The second type, purposive sampling, or "a form of sampling [in which] the investigator relies on his or her expert judgment to select units that are representative of the population" and that "aim to represent a wide range of perspectives and experiences" was utilized in the recruitment of participants for several interviews, but became particularly useful in the town of Sayulita (Singleton

and Straits, 2010: 173; Boeije, 2010: 36). Due to particularly lax regulations for street vendors, the town of Sayulita is something of a hub for artisans. The large number of artisans that have congregated in the town has resulted in their fragmentation into three notable groups that sell their wares in different and distinct areas of the town. I was able to observe these divisions through my participant observation, and with purposive sampling intentionally sought out and performed interviews with individuals from each of the three areas.

Finally, convenience sampling, or selecting participants that are simply conveniently available (Singleton and Straits, 2012: 173), was often utilized in conjunction with purposive sampling so as to identify artisans from different age groups, nationalities, of differing genders and that utilized different techniques in their work. This combination of convenience and purposive sampling allowed for a type of homogeneity amongst the participants to the extent that they all fit the criteria required for the study, but also allowed me to address heterogeneity among different artisans by intentionally seeking out variance within said criteria.

Due to the participatory nature of my involvement that allowed me to spend a great deal of time with these artisans on a daily basis, convenience sampling often took the form of interviewing one artisan and then subsequently setting up an interview with the artisan that happened to have his or her stall next to the initial participant (or was in the vicinity for some other reason). Naturally, artisans that observed others being interviewed (usually at a bit of a distance to allow for some privacy, at the discretion of the participant) inquired about the study, which provided me with an opportunity to invite them to participate. Overall, the

recruitment of participants was not problematic. On the contrary, the majority of participants expressed quite a bit of interest in the study and indicated that they were pleased that it was being performed.

Description of the Participants

As discussed above, in order to be eligible to participate in this study, participants must sell jewelry that they themselves make with at least one of the following materials: stones, string (usually a specific kind from Brazil), leather, wire, copper and/or silver[9], in at least one of the following areas: the street, markets or other (sometimes) authorized areas (such as restaurants). Also, they must have utilized this practice to support travels within Mexico, at least on one occurrence, if not on an on-going basis.

Of the fifteen individuals who participated in this study, five were women and ten were men. They varied in age from nineteen to fifty-seven years old. Eight were Mexican citizens and seven were from countries in other parts of North America, South America, Central America and Europe. These individuals had been living and travelling as nomadic artisans for varying amounts of time, the shortest being one year and the longest forty. Three descriptors of participants that are typically addressed but that were particularly delicate during the process of this study are educational level, socio-economic status and "race." Firstly, when I asked participants about their level of education, the majority told me the amount of time

[9] These particular materials were used by nomadic artisans who practiced alternative lifestyles, in contrast to other vendors who, for example, sold jewelry that they did not make themselves, or certain indigenous artisans that performed intricate beadwork. In fact, the trade of such materials (in particular semi-precious stones) amongst these nomadic artisans is worthy of a study of its own.

that they had spent in formal education. A minority (six), however, disputed the question and challenged its inherent conceptualizations (in particular "level of education") by explaining that there are numerous types of educational experiences that one can attain and not all are limited to what is understood as formal education (which is an excellent critique of institutionalized and ethnocentric experiential conceptualizations). Second, socio-economic status is not a descriptor that would have made much sense for this study, since such nomadic artisans often live simply and modestly (although some may have more economic resources than others, the typical conceptualizations of middle and upper class were not transferable to this context). Finally, the category of "race" which is always already a socially-constructed and thus relational and contextual descriptor is necessarily complicated by the context of Mexico, its colonial past and the international backgrounds of these individuals. Moreover, the contextual nature of such descriptors makes their transference into a Canadian context (such as that required for this thesis) complicated (for example, a person that is considered "black, "white" or "blonde" in Mexico may not be in Canada). Therefore, I instead asked individuals to express if they identified with any cultures or groups (such as indigenous groups, etc.). When explicitly relevant to the study at hand, these identifications are addressed in the results chapter. A table of descriptive information of the participants has been included below.

Table 3.1 Participants' Descriptive Information (at time of interview)

| Pseudonym[10] | Age | Gender | Country of Origin | Length of Time Living as a Nomadic Artisan (Years) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Vianne | 28 | F | England | 4 |
| Edu wi fies | 37 | M | Spain | 1 |
| Rasta | 30 | M | Mexico | 12 |
| Pezuña | 30 | M | Mexico | 15 |
| Coatl Zint Contreras | 32 | M | Mexico | 17 |
| Kolibri | 22 | F | Mexico | 6 |
| Pakal | 25 | M | Mexico | 10 |
| Payaso | 19 | M | Mexico | 4 |
| Eliza | 46 | F | Germany | 10 |
| Caito | 23 | F | Argentina | 1 |
| Cigarra | 25 | M | El Salvador | 3 |
| Ánima | 30 | F | Canada | 5 |
| Formacio | 23 | M | Mexico | 6 |
| Francisca | 40 | F | Spain | 5 |
| Changoleon | 57 | M | Mexico | 40 |

Data Collection: Interviews and Participant Observation

The objective of this study, a psychotopological investigation of the lifestyles of nomadic artisans in present-day Mexico, required an examination of the ways in which these artisans understand and perform time, space, mobility and creativity, and the critiques and incentives that have led to these understandings and practices. Furthermore, due to the alternative nature of these lifestyles in which time, space and mobility are understood and practiced in what is arguably a divergent manner,

[10] For confidentiality reasons pseudonyms have been used. Participants were given the opportunity to choose their own pseudonym, although not all accepted in which case I assigned one.

the interviews also required a bit of background information on each participants' understanding and rejection of traditional, or more ordered and controlled ways of practicing time, space and mobility.

Interviews therefore began with several questions concerning demographic and background information, and then progressed to a series of questions regarding personal identity and values. This led to an assortment of questions about life as a nomadic artisan, such as where they obtained the idea to pursue this lifestyle and what first attracted them to it. This was followed by several comparative questions that encouraged participants to describe their lifestyles, and if they believed that such lifestyles were "alternative," to elaborate and explain how. For example, "How is your life as a nomadic artisan different now than it was before you decided to live this way?" I then asked participants about daily routines and future plans. Finally, I concluded the interviews with an opportunity for each participant to share his or her thoughts, criticisms or anything that they believed was important but had been left out (See Appendix B for the interview questions).

The interviews were informal, but semi-structured which allowed me to pursue conversational threads that were of interest and pertinent to the study objectives as they arose, but still ensured that I was able to address certain pre-selected topics that were of particular relevance. The casual nature of the interviews was necessary as there were often interruptions, particularly when the interview took place near the artisan's puesto, or stand, so that they were simultaneously working and occasionally tending to customers. Also, the nature of my involvement with this group -- that I had also been spending quite a bit of time with many of the

artisans during participant observation and outside of the interviews themselves -- meant that conversations or events that had occurred previously were sometimes referred to during the interviews. My fieldnotes were incredibly helpful in these occasions as they often (although not always) allowed me to have both a record of *my understanding* of these events, and an audio recording of *the participant's* as well. In some situations this allowed me to informally cross-reference events to ensure that I had not been imposing my understanding on an event or discussion and, in so doing, enhance my understanding of the ways in which some of these artisans themselves understood their surroundings and the events therein.

Because the process of taking fieldnotes is a necessarily subjective undertaking, and I was more interested in understanding how these individuals themselves understood and practiced that which they found meaningful, the majority of my notes attempted to relay "what had happened" as clearly and candidly possible. In so doing, I summarized key points of conversations, and described events and routines. However, I do recognize that such summaries and descriptions are never "objective," and therefore, in order to avoid imposing my understandings of events on the process of data analysis as much as possible, I gave precedence to the narratives obtained through interviews, and only occasionally supplemented them with my observations, as recorded in fieldnotes, in the findings.

## Data Analysis

As explained above, I allowed the narratives obtained through interviews to provide the majority of the data for this study and only occasionally supplemented them with personal observations from my fieldnotes and understandings that were

garnered during the process of participant observation. More importantly, because I was interested in the ways in which these artisans *themselves* understand and practice time, space and mobility, the interviews allowed me to directly involve the narratives of these individuals so that their own voices became the focus of this study.

After I transcribed these narratives, or interviews, I analyzed them by allowing recurring themes to surface inductively through the process of coding. Four dominant codes quickly emerged: time, space, mobility and creativity. I utilized these as higher-level codes in a hierarchical coding scheme through which sub-codes emerged. This process involved creating "coding trees" that allowed me to discern the various sub-codes belonging to each of the four higher-level codes (Boeije, 2010: 110). In order to perform a psychotopological investigation, I then analyzed these "code trees" for negative critiques and positive alternatives within the artisans' divergent practices of time, space and mobility. I also analyzed performances of creativity and the ways in which these appeared to be restricted or enabled by relationships to the other three higher-level codes. Finally, I examined all categories for demonstrations of psychic nomadism and the avoidance of psychic imperialism.

My experiences through participant observation were particularly important during this coding process as they allowed me to draw upon the contextualized nature of these narratives, and in so doing situate them within what I believed were the correct locations of the coding scheme. For example, there is a great amount of slang and jargon that is utilized by these artisans that have specific and contextual

meanings. When these were utilized for emphasis during the interviews, I was able to understand what they meant, but also the syntactic ways in which they impacted the meaning behind the narrative. Without participant observation, through which I learned to refine my understandings and use of this slang, I may not have been able to understand and code the narratives obtained through the interview process accurately.

Rationale for Methodology

As discussed above, the importance of the narratives of these artisans that were obtained through the interview process in an attempt to gain access to their personal understandings and the practices of their lifestyles, cannot be understated. Therefore, the inclusion of semi-structured interviews, which allowed me to address issues crucial to the objectives of the study but also attempted to allow the artisans a great amount of freedom in the divulgence of their narratives, was necessary for the objectives of this research.

Moreover, the ability to obtain data concerning the understanding and performance of alternative lifestyles as practiced by these individuals required participant observation for two reasons. First, in order to secure interviews with these individuals I was required to "meet them on their terms," a practice that necessitated the adoption of similar lived rhythms. For example, the laidback nature of such lifestyles made the scheduling and performance of interviews a relaxed process that would have been frustrating and inhibiting (for both the participants and myself) if I had rigorously imposed practices of space and time on the proceedings (such as an inflexible time and date that may have caused the

participants to feel pressured). Moreover, the nature of participant observation, in that I was "always around" allowed for such flexibility and the prioritization of other non-mechanical rhythms during the scheduling and performance of interviews, a reality that these individuals have adopted. Therefore, the experiences and knowledge that I gained through participant observation (and my previous experience) allowed me to adopt the lifestyle practiced by the artisans for a time so as to understand the nuances of social interactions and proceedings therein that enabled my ability to request and secure the interviews that were crucial for this study.

Second, participant observation was necessary for my ability to gain entree into this group. Although, as mentioned above, these artisans tend to be sociable with outsiders (indeed this is usually required for their line of work as vendors), concerning inter-group social nuances and proceedings, and personal lifestyle practices, the ability to gain access to information and certain activities is highly restricted. Simply put, because of the stigmatization and harassment that such individuals often face within Mexican society, due to their practice of alternative lifestyles, they are often skeptical of outsiders. In this regard, when I first met my key informants I intentionally explained my past involvement in similar activities so as to gain their acceptance. Thereafter, my connection to these two individuals was a determining factor in my ability to be accepted by artisan individuals in both Panchan and Sayulita, particularly the ease and almost immediate manner in which this acceptance took place.

Strengths and Limitations of the Study

Due to the conceptualization challenges (that I discussed at the beginning of this chapter) and the nonrandom process of participant recruitment, the findings of this study are necessarily non-generalizable to a larger population. However, the objective of the study is not to generalize, but rather, to examine the particularities of the narratives of these individuals that relate to their personal understandings and practices of an alternative lifestyle. Moreover, given the unknown parameters of those living as nomadic artisans in Mexico (some claimed that there are hundreds of individuals participating in this lifestyle, an assertion that does not contradict my observations), I am more interested in attempting to represent the narratives of the particular individuals that participated in this study as honestly and accurately as possible.

Although the recurrent themes of time, space, mobility and creativity notably surfaced *in each and every interview*, there were both subtle and substantial differences amongst the discussions of these themes by each artisan. However, I am confident that theoretical saturation was achieved insofar as the coding categories of the aforementioned themes required for a psychotopological investigation were addressed such that the data eventually failed to create new sub-themes within these higher-level codes. This saturation allowed the data to sufficiently fill out the necessary theoretical categories.

Several other limitations may have resulted from my particular characteristics as a white, non-Mexican female researcher. Due to these descriptors, and therefore the necessarily contextualized nature of my position that was always

already present in each and every situation that I observed and participated in, I may have been granted and/or denied access to particular information, situations and individuals, which may have impacted the results of this study. Similarly, my connection to my two key informants also necessarily played a role in my relationship to these artisans, as such relationships were, for all intents and purposes, often mediated by the ways in which said informants were viewed by other artisans.

By the same token, however, I prefer to view the rapport that I established with my key informants and other artisans throughout the process of this project as invaluable strengths. By maintaining a situation of open and continuous dialogue I was able to partake in numerous discussions with artisans about the study, their criticisms, feedback and suggestions, and also the ways in which I could alter my own interactions with the artisans so as to enable more open communication and access more research opportunities. For example, my key informants were principal instructors of my "rhythm training" that allowed me to more authentically adopt the lifestyle of these artisans and, therefore, to be more accepted by them throughout the course of the study and the process of data collection.

# Chapter 4

## Results

The objective of this study is to perform a psychotopology of nomadic artisans in Mexico so as to identify whether or not their alternative lifestyles may be conducive to the manifestation of a TAZ.[11] I allow the following questions to guide this process: How do these artisans both understand and practice time, space, and mobility as part of an alternative lifestyle, and what are the negative critiques and positive alternatives that take place therein? Do these understandings and practices allow for the expression of creativity, and what is the relationship of these expressions of creativity to alienation within this lifestyle? And finally, are there demonstrations of psychic nomadism and rejections of psychic imperialism within these understandings and practices?

Several important themes that surfaced during the process of data analysis were, of course, time, space, mobility and creativity, but also epistemological freedom, and the exemplary impact of an alternative lifestyle. These themes and subthemes are elaborated upon below. Ultimately, the results show that the lifestyles of these nomadic artisans *may* be conducive to the manifestation of a TAZ. However, the subjective intentions of each individual artisan and his or her desire to

[11] It is important to mention that the term "lifestyle" and its variations may be used in a number of different ways, each with their respective theoretical nuances. For example, Lefebvre (1995) makes a crucial distinction between the "style of life" as a traditional and communal-based mode of existence, and present-day commodified "lifestyles" that are highly intertwined with hyper-stimulation and the individualistic "cult of the interesting" (Gardiner, 2002). However, the participants in this study explicitly used the term "lifestyle" when describing their realities, and I have therefore done the same here.

participate or not participate in a TAZ would undoubtedly be a determining factor considering whether or not a TAZ may actually develop.

Time

A common theme within discussions of time is the slow and relaxed pace of life as a traveling artisan. When describing the pace of their everyday lives, seven of the fifteen artisans explicitly use terms like tranquil, peaceful or relaxed. Eleven of the fifteen participants describe personal control over time within their everyday lives due a lack of a routine or schedule, which allows them to perform, or not perform activities at their own pace (such personal control was not mentioned by the remaining four participants). As explained succinctly by Caito, "When you control your time, you control your life."

Artisans often compare this slow and relaxed pace of their lifestyles to the frantic speed of their previous experiences under imposed time. For example, Ánima, a female artisan who spends half of the year in British Colombia, Canada, and the other half working as an artisan in Sayulita, Mexico, explains that

> "When I'm [in Sayulita] I'm really relaxed. I walk slower, I don't take things personally, there's just no stress. There's no "I need to do this, I need to do this!" [rushed and frantic]...I feel really released in my life from things that people feel repressed by, like the rat race. I am so far from being in the rat race right now it's, you know, it's...wonderful."

Therefore, not only does Ánima reject the imposition of strict clock time on the cyclical rhythms of her everyday practices, but she actually allows such cyclical rhythms to dictate her travel patterns, and thus lifestyle practices. She explains that "ever since I've been eighteen, I've lived my life by the seasons" and allows said seasons, as natural rhythms, to determine when she moves. Her decision to give

precedence to kairological time and natural cyclical rhythms is a crucial part of her lifestyle as an artisan that is, in many aspects, incompatible with the rigid ordering and homogenizing project of modernity.

Two other artisans, Pakal and Formacio, also discuss the importance of natural and instinctive rhythms and understandings of time. By drawing on his knowledge of the Mayans' cyclical understanding of time, and using this to inform his own practice of time while also critiquing mechanized clock time, Pakal explains that "The Mayans looked up to see the stars in the sky rather than at a television or a clock. Unfortunately, humans no longer look at the stars to see what's happening in the system around us." Similarly, Formacio emphasizes the connection between cyclical rhythms and nature, and explains that both have been overlooked with the imposition of mechanized linear time:

> "We [the artisans] are in contact with the earth; we are in contact with the spiritual part of man more than the majority of people that have their jobs to do everyday and normally have a routine. And they forget, no, about this spiritual part, but they remember it when they're on vacation, when it's Sunday and they have time for themselves. So we [the artisans] always have time for ourselves and we are always more in contact with this spiritual part than other people."

These excerpts from the interviews demonstrate that the artisans privilege kairological and natural rhythms over imposed and mechanized understandings and practices of time. In so doing, they create alternative ways of being and living through which they practice time differently by moving slower, taking their time to perform activities, and allowing natural rhythms to be liberated from the imposition of clock time. Moreover, this precedence that is given to subjective natural rhythms or kairological time appears to sometimes enable the practice of appropriated time,

or a "time outside of time" that is achieved during the performance of creative activity. Caito, Edu wi fies and Ánima all describe situations in which they have experienced appropriated time. Caito's narrative suggests that her lack of a daily routine allows for the realization of appropriated time,

> "I wake up whenever I wake up because I don't have a watch. Then I stay lying down *until I feel like it's time* to drink a coffee or something, and if I feel like weaving [making jewelry], then I weave, and I can do that for hours until I have the desire to do something else [emphasis added]."

Edu wi fies discusses the importance of giving precedence to natural rhythms during the process of creative production, and how this too can enable appropriated time,

> "You do what you want to do [in this lifestyle]. For example, I haven't worked on my art for almost two weeks because what I've made recently hasn't been of quality. Most likely it will change in a 'click!' and I'll have a lot of ideas and need to produce art. The interesting part of producing art is when you get an idea. When you get an idea it's like time stops. You forget to eat and you work for many hours until you finish. And when you've finished it's very satisfying; it's a unique process."

Finally, and similar to Edu wi fies, Ánima describes her experience of appropriated time as "Making things that you love. I mean, sometimes I'll sit at my house and I'll make jewelry for like eight hours without getting up, without having a glass of water, without smoking a cigarette. And I love it! I lose track of time."

The importance that the artisans place on the relaxed and natural practice of time, especially given its significance for their creative processes, becomes clear as they provide critiques of its diametric opposition, imposed, mechanized and ordered time.

In her interview, Caito explained her frustration with the impact that imposed and ordered time has had on her father's life. Her father's job is demanding

and allows little time for his passion, writing. When Caito has encouraged him to pursue the latter, her father has said that he intends to do so, but not until he retires and has the time. Caito expresses the following in relation to this conversation with her father,

> "All of the people who work their whole lives spend their lives in the system, until the system says "ok, you are of no use to me now," and then they begin to enjoy life. That's why I say you never know what is going to happen tomorrow and what if I die tomorrow and I spent eight hours daily dedicated to people that don't care about me and pay me whatever they want? ... And in the end there's nothing left for me, I've died, and what did I do with my life?"

Therefore, Caito believes that her father's experience of time in the everyday not only negates his ability to pursue his passion, but also fragments said passion and postpones it to a later time, both of which are effects of the ordered and controlled practices of time that she critiques above.

Similar to Caito, who critiques the denial of enjoyment that results from the fragmenting imposition of organized and ordered time, another artisan, Francisca, also argues that the relegation of enjoyable and personal activities to a specific and controlled time is detrimental to human dignity. She explains that, for her, such imposed practices of time, in which you relinquish control over the temporal aspect of activities, may result in an inability to choose when you may perform personal acts. She discusses an incident in which a former boss approached her desk and told her "Go smoke a cigarette now." The situation left her feeling stripped of her dignity, and resulted from an inability to control the ways in which she practiced time, and thus, the performance of activities therein.

Space

Due to their nomadic practices the artisans are frequently confronted with the organizing and controlling project of space for three main reasons (none of which are fundamentally mutually exclusive from the practice of mobility). First, movement across space introduces a traveller to boundaries and physical limitations that an individual who is confined to one space may not be aware of. Second, introduction to a new space in which an artisan may not be familiar with spatial practice requires that he or she learns of and adapts to said practices quickly. And, finally, introduction to new spatial practices allows the artisan to compare that which he or she has experienced in the past to the present and, in so doing, select the preferred space. This choice or conscious selection of space may be impacted by the amount of organizing and control, or lack thereof, within. I now elaborate on these three spatial themes: spatial boundaries, practices of space and the selection of space, and the relationship of each to control.

During the interviews the theme of spatial boundaries was often discussed. Intriguingly these boundaries are not always understood as undesirable. In particular, several artisans are concerned about the boundary between nature and the city, and that the latter is unjustly imposing itself on the former during the process of development. Cigarra expresses an internal conflict over his role in this boundary crossing as an artisan that uses precious stones in his work. He claims that "The stones that we [the artisans] sell, they come from the shitty mines that are ruining the world, no. And they're, in some respects, working for us. We're making them rich, we're part of their market." Cigarra then explains that mining has had a

largely negative impact on the land in numerous Latin American countries, which has also resulted in serious social injustices. Pakal also expresses concern for the amount of development that is taking place in Latin America, for which, he believes, foreign interests are largely responsible. In this regard he calls for a more strict enforcement of international boundaries so as to protect Mexico's natural resources from foreign exploitation. He articulates a sentiment that is also popular among indigenous peoples in southeastern Mexico: "the land belongs to the people that work on it."

The artisans then discuss the impact that development has had on nature and the ways in which this influences the performance of their lifestyles.

The artisans' travel routes privilege rural, and sometimes rustic, areas with natural beauty rather than cities and more "developed" zones. For example, many artisans congregate in the bohemian camping spot of Panchan in the jungle in Chiapas rather than in the town centre of Palenque, although the latter may provide more access to both Mexican and international tourists and thus, increase their chances of making a sale. Therefore, the emphasis that many artisans place on nature conflicts with the development that is happening at a rapid pace in Mexico. This development, for Rasta, means that "the land itself is gone and has been replaced by so much cement so that there are no longer any natural places to enjoy." This process has resulted in what Pakal, Rasta and Changoleon all call "Babylon," which is infringing on the natural spaces available for the artisans to perform their lifestyles.

Intriguingly, although Pakal, Rasta and Changoleon all call for a more stringent enforcement of borders by the Mexican government so as to protect

natural resources from foreign exploitation, and the natural spaces for the performance of their lifestyles from the encroachment of "Babylon," there is also a desire expressed by some artisans for the opening up of international borders to allow them to travel more freely. [12] Both Pakal and Caito discuss the constraints that international borders have had on their ability to travel to other countries as part of their nomadic lifestyles. Pakal explains the limitation of not having a passport and how this has impacted his ability to access other countries and spaces, and the financial and bureaucratic constraints in Mexico that may have hindered his ability to even obtain said passport. Similarly, Caito has the dream of travelling by land from Mexico to Alaska before returning (also by land) south to her home country of Argentina. She expresses a concern over the ability to obtain a visa for the United States in order to have access to the Pacific coast that would take her to Alaska.

It is not only international borders that the artisans claim restrict them from space. The artisans explain that they are also sometimes excluded from local spaces due to discrimination. Similar to the New Age travellers in England, who have been excluded from areas such as Stonehenge, it is not uncommon for an artisan to have experienced a situation in which stereotypes and discrimination resulted in his or her inability to access or enter a space. Seven, or almost half, of the participants discuss incidents in which they encountered problems when they attempted to access a space (such incidents were not mentioned by the remaining eight

[12] Although simultaneous calls for both the strengthening and opening-up of borders by the artisans may seem contradictory, when these desires are situated within the political climate of neoliberalism and the global North's exploitation of the global South, it is very apparent that this strategic opening and closing of borders has led to the benefit of the former at the expense of the latter. Therefore, the only consistency within this strategic exclusion from and simultaneous opening-up of space is the benefit of those who profit from neoliberalism, which makes the artisan's seemingly inconsistent understanding of borders appropriate.

participants). All seven believe that their exclusion was due to their appearance, which they assume identifies them as individuals that practice an alternative (and, in Mexico, often stigmatized) lifestyle.[13] Pakal, an artisan with long dreadlocks and a large jade piercing through his nose, discusses an incident in which he attempted to sell his wares on the street in the city of Aguascalientes and was approached by a police officer who told him, "We don't care where you came from, but we don't have your kind of people in our city and we don't want you here." The police were not aware that Pakal is from Aguascalientes and was home visiting family. This controlled exclusion, or inability to enter and occupy space based on appearance, is a form of discrimination that impacts many aspects of the artisans' lives such as where they may sleep and dine, modes of transportation that are accessible to them, and also the areas in which they may and may not sell their wares.

Although an inability to enter space due to boundaries is frustrating for these individuals, the imposition of spatial boundaries, as a demonstration of control, on present and immediate practices of space is also a common experience. Three of the fifteen participants discuss incidents in which they have been taken to jail for selling jewelry or juggling in the street. [14] Payaso explains the panic that he felt in jail after being arrested for selling his artwork in the streets of Mexico City,

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[13] Also of importance is the traditional indigenous clothing that many artisans use. Due to the deeply rooted racism that indigenous groups still face in Mexico, two artisans suggested that their dress and "indigenous appearance" may have also contributed to their exclusion from space.

[14] Although only three of the participants discuss this in their interviews, it is very likely that quite a few of the artisans had spent time in jail due to the stigmatized nature of their activities and lifestyles, and the need to partake in such activities (like selling jewelry in the street or juggling with fire at stoplights) that are not always legal in order to survive. Importantly, however, this experience is quite common and is not looked down upon in Mexico to the degree that it may be in other countries such as Canada, particularly among the artisans themselves.

> "They took my freedom; it was total oppression. I was there all night, for thirteen hours, and without contact with my wife and son. They were worried! And just for selling jewelry; for selling bracelets to feed my family!"

Similarly, Caito discusses her experience of being arrested for juggling with fire at a stoplight in Tuxtla. She expresses the great impact that this sudden removal of freedom had for her, as someone who is used to living without such constraints,

> "I had no idea what they would do to me. To be enclosed, or rather ... all of the freedom that we lived, the travellers ... all of the freedom that we enjoy and that allows us to move ... and all of a sudden to be behind bars like an animal ... it was one of the worst sensations. I felt like they were, I don't know ... ripping out my soul. How can you enclose a person?"

Although the experience of being enclosed in a space was clearly frustrating for both Payaso and Caito, it is not uncommon to hear of an artisan that has also had his or her artwork stolen by the authorities during this process. To have their art stolen was incredibly insulting for these artisans who often prided themselves on and strongly identified with their work.

As discussed in the Literature Review, the exclusion of difference in an attempt to control and homogenize space (as demonstrated by the harassment of Pakal and the arrests of Payaso and Caito) does not mean that the ordering and controlling project of modernity is complete, but rather, that there are always already non-ordered and uncontrolled marginal spaces. However, participation in these marginal spaces, which are very much the realm of these nomadic artisans, requires a certain amount of knowledge of situated spatial practices therein. With this knowledge, nomadic artisans have the ability to strategically use space in such a way that they are not subjected to the constraints of organized and controlled spatial boundaries.

An example of the importance of knowledge of spatial practice is provided by the three artisans Ánima, Edu wi fies and Vianne. All three of these artisans explain that previous travels have provided them with the knowledge that it would be easier to find space to sell their wares in Mexico than in their respective home countries of Canada, Spain and England. The control of space in Mexico, although not completely lax, is such that they would not be as restricted in their spatial practices (such as selling artwork) to the degree that they would be in their home countries. [15]

In particular, Sayulita has become something of a hub for artisans, as it allows them to sell their wares in all areas of the city except for the main centre plaza. There is even an official 'Calle de los Artesanos,' or 'Street of the Artisans' where the majority of the artisans interviewed for this project in Sayulita spend their days. Streets such as la Calle de los Artesanos provide a type of marginal space that has not been subjected in its entirety to the process of ordering and control. Ánima explains that although the Mexican government has attempted to impose control on la Calle de los Artesanos by charging artisans that sell their wares there 250 Mexican pesos per month for the use of the space, the enforcement of this fee is lacking, and she hypothesizes that only about twenty-percent of the artisans have actually complied. This incomplete nature of control of the streets is also described

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[15] Particularly compelling is Vianne's description of her attempts to sell her hand-made jewelry in Brighton, England. After continually being harassed by the police for selling her things from a blanket on the ground she discovered an old law concerning a peddler's license that would allow her to sell her wares so long as she did so from some sort of cart or vehicle that had wheels. She was then able to sell her things out of a modified bike with a carrying area. She claims "that was the official way with [my bike], and [the police] would still move me but I had wheels and a peddlers license" which ultimately made her actions legal. Importantly, Vianne's experience suggests mobility as a tactic when dealing with controlled and organized space, which is a crucial argument that I address in more depth later in this chapter.

by the artisan Changoleon who explains that "We [the artisans] share freedom in the street, because there are no rules in the street. There is a right to sell here." Awareness of the politics of space, and thus, of the marginal spaces free from rigid control and ordering such as la Calle de los Artesanos, allows artisans to strategically situate themselves within what are the margins of the ordering project so as to avoid its imposing restrictions.

Finally, this awareness of spatial practice, as it either constrains or enables alternative lifestyle practices, also allows the artisans to intentionally choose and select which spaces that they will inhabit. The ability to choose where one will live and work (even if only for a short while) is a crucial aspect of the artisans' lifestyles. This process involves the selection of one space over another and, as such, requires a comparative understanding of spatial practice, and the values and epistemological leanings that buttress such practices. With this understanding artisans are able to decide whether or not the situated practices and values of a space are conducive to the life that they would like to create. For example, Vianne explains how her experience of living in London, England and being enrolled in the College of Fashion to study costume design was not aligned with how she views herself and the lifestyle that she prefers,

> "I've never considered going back and doing it again ... living again in that way. At the time, and still to this day, the thought of being ... the thought of living in that environment in London, it's just like I'm not going to handle these people! Or this kind of atmosphere ... And, you know, the pace of that kind of living in London, and that whole area, fashion and culture and blah blah blah ... I think maybe they aren't going to be the people I'll sort of mix with, or that it's superficial in some way."

Vianne then compares her current life in Sayulita to London,

> V: "[Sayulita] is a place I feel secure in and it's easy to sell here. It's a good place ... I've never once regretted it, you know, the decisions that I've made. I sometimes stop and think, you know, what else do I want? And I've got everything that I want. When I was a teenager my dream was to travel and, you know, make money out of what I made. And it's like, I'm doing it! I'm doing what I always wanted to do which is bonkers. So I guess that now, the friends that I had that dream with, they've all ended up being a lot more conventional and, you know, living in London in a flat and doing exactly that, and I'm over here on the Pacific beach in Sayulita selling artesania."
> A.P: "With a [pet] parrot on your head."
> V: "With a parrot on my head! [both laugh]. Exactly! Which is a good place to be."

It is not uncommon for the artisans to describe a situation or circumstance in a space that, ultimately, motivated them to move to a different space. Similar to Vianne, who left London because she did not feel that it was conducive to who she is, Eliza, an artisan from West Berlin, who has travelled throughout Latin America, also expresses the process of personally detaching herself from the values of the space of her home country,

> "It was like a turning off, they say. To leave one life and begin another. To say yes to a new life, no. I felt very young like a little girl. Like I had to learn to speak and I had to learn to walk again, but in another culture. I see it as my second life in this life. I felt that I had truly freed myself from many things belonging to the society that I grew up in. These were so many things that weren't mine, no. You leave them with time and you find yourself; you accept yourself. I became closer to myself."

Others mention having left their home towns or countries due to a lack of opportunities, and three of the fifteen mention having left when they were young (between fifteen and seventeen) due to oppressive or harsh treatment at home (it is particularly common for young females to be highly controlled by their families in Mexico, a situation that one participant explained was her incentive to leave).

The act of leaving a space, which may be influenced by various factors such as those discussed above, allows the artisans to intentionally and actively choose a space that is more conducive to the lives and values that they desire. However, the nomadic nature of these artisans' lifestyles means that they may adopt beliefs, values and epistemological leanings throughout their travels that are not necessarily situated in any singular space. Kolibri elaborates,

> "I like the culture here [in Panchan/Palenque]. But the culture here teaches you certain things while other cultures teach you important things as well. So I believe that there are valuable things in all of them. I don't identify with just one, I keep an open mind and choose what I like from each as I move from place to place."

Similarly, Coatl Zint Contreras explains that the process of travelling has allowed him to come into contact with spatially-specific indigenous knowledges, from which he has adopted several beliefs such as the importance of taking el Camino Rojo, or the the Red Path. According to Coatl Zint Contreras, el Camino Rojo is a

> "Latin-American tradition. It's the path of the warrior, of light, of learning, of love of respecting the earth, and of salvation. It's red because we have the power and courage to take this path in our blood. This comes from our culture, no. The White Path can also be the path of light, no, but it's the path of the Europeans so it's a bit ... [pause] ... different [laughs]."

Importantly, here, Eliza, Kolibri and Coatl Zint Contreras have all been able to recognize and adopt different values, beliefs and ways of understanding the world that they have been introduced to through their travels. This ability to openly examine, accept and adopt differing epistemological stances (particularly those that challenge the European project, such as el Camino Rojo) is assertedly a

demonstration of the psychic nomadism that Bey claims is necessary in a space that may potentially germinate a TAZ.

Mobility

For the purposes of this study, I have used travel and mobility interchangeably, as both entail movement across space and through time. In an attempt to solicit the artisans' thoughts concerning this part of their lifestyles, all participants were asked "What does travel mean to you?" The following themes emerge from their responses: travel as a lifestyle, the ability to experience new things, strength, control, freedom, liberation from "the system," and perhaps most prominently, learning and epistemological shifts.

All of the fifteen participants express that travel is something important to them. However, the aspects of travel that each chooses to highlight differ and some express more of a commitment to travel as a lifestyle choice than others. When asked what travel means to her, Vianne explains that,

> "It's pretty much everything. Yeah, the freedom of being able to travel, to see a place, to be here instead of, you know, the other side of the world ... I call myself a traveller because its descriptive of the lifestyle that I lead. My dream is just to see as much as I can of the world."

Similar to Vianne, Edu wi fies also views his decision to travel as a lifestyle choice,

> "Travel has turned into (pause) ... it has turned into the way that I see life, no. It's like a way of life for me now. I wouldn't be able to adopt any other lifestyle. I've been traveling until now, and life, well sometimes things happen where you have to drastically change your course, no. But for the moment, yes, I'll keep travelling, learning, experimenting, and escaping the monotony."

Kolibri, too, explains the importance of viewing travel as a way of life. For her, however, doing so has taken both time and experience,

> "We all begin [travelling] because of distinct situations. In my case, I left home due to problems there and I learned to make bracelets, but I didn't really like making them at the beginning although I still did it to make money. And after that, when I began to *really travel*, I noticed that there were many things I could make that I enjoyed making. And that was when I began to understand this as a form of life, no, and something that I find fulfilling, too [emphasis reflective of tonality in interview]."

The decision to travel as a way of life provides the artisans with certain benefits. For Edu wi fies, the benefit of new experiences that he gains through travel allows him to escape monotony. He elaborates,

> "I'm always looking for new things, to experience new things. The profoundness of these experiences is how I escape the monotony ... I'll try various new things, no, some time spent surfing, then time with my art. It's very fluid."

Another benefit of travel as a lifestyle, as identified by the artisans, is the ability to remove oneself from situations that may result in mental or physical stress. In this regard, six artisans believe that such a nomadic lifestyle allows them to avoid mental stress and possible psychological disorders that may have resulted (or persisted) from remaining in a traditional lifestyle. In particular, two artisans discuss their personal struggles with depression before they began travelling as nomadic artisans, and how relieved, and in the case of one, "alive," they feel after having adopted this alternative lifestyle. Critiques of stress are not limited to the realm of the psychological, however. The impacts of physical stress on the body, due to a lack of mobility, are a concern addressed by Changoleon (who actually shuddered when I used the word 'office'). He explains that,

> "Offices are uncomfortable. They produce phobias and stress. When you move its like 'ohhh, that hurts!' It hurts here, it hurts there [motions to different parts of his body], and that's what happens when you're behind a computer all day. It's like searching for a sickness. No, no, no!"

Another theme that surfaces on several occasions when discussing the mobile nature of life as a nomadic artisan is strength. Four artisans claim that to live and travel as a nomadic artisan, particularly when you must travel on your own, requires a great deal of strength (other participants do not mention strength). Two of these four explain that they were not aware of the amount of strength that they were capable of until they began to live this way, and that they are still and constantly in the process of learning about themselves, and recognizing and appreciating their abilities. Importantly, all four of these individuals are women, which suggests a brief, although notable pattern of a potential positive relationship between the adoption of such a lifestyle by women and the development of personal abilities and self-confidence.[16]

During the interviews, the freedom to travel was often equated with control over one's life. Formacio, Kolibri, Pakal, Coatl Zint Contreras and Cigarra all discuss the importance of being in control of your ability to travel and how this is achieved with a lack of a routine or obligations that require you to be somewhere at a certain time. Cigarra explains that,

> "I feel free right now, here today, no. I could grab my backpack and go to the next town, or wherever I want to go. I'm free ... I can go to the mountains, the lakes, a city, wherever ... and, you know, as a sociologist, it would be very difficult for me to be able to travel. I would have to work very, very, very much, for many hours everyday, to save money to travel. And working, I don't know, in some kind of bullshit as a sociologist because, in my country, it

[16] Although worth noting in this study, this potential positive relationship may actually be more telling of the ways in which traditional gender roles that are practiced in more conventional lifestyles discourage the development and demonstration of strength by women. By the same token, this realization of strength may have also been experienced by male nomadic artisans during their travels, but was simply not mentioned during the interviews. Unfortunately, such propositions and inquiries are ultimately beyond the scope of this study.

> would be difficult to be a sociologist and teach *what I want,* important things. Very difficult! [emphasis reflective of tone in interview]"[17]

Cigarra also elaborates on the political dimensions of his understanding of freedom and control over his life as a nomadic artisan and, in so doing, discusses another important theme that surfaced during the interviews: liberation and freedom from "the system. " According to Cigarra his lifestyle as a nomadic artisan also provides him with the

> "freedom to disconnect myself from certain parts of the system, I don't know, like the television. The negative parts of television. Yes, this is freedom. I don't watch much television and I don't believe in the bullshit that the newspapers say. I don't want them to convince me that we, you know, humans are bad. The newspapers here in Mexico want you to think that and be scared. And I feel like this makes me free, no. To know that all of that is a lie, it's a way for me to free myself. I'm not playing their game, no, their game of lies."

Therefore, for Cigarra, freedom is the ability to travel without constraints, and also, to a certain degree, the ability to remove himself from the ideologically-infused "games" and "lies" of "the system." This ability to remove or free oneself from the constraints of what many artisans identify as "the system" plays a crucial role in their ability to travel. Importantly, in this regard, travel as a type of mobility is something of a tactic with which these artisans are able to transcend temporal and spatial constraints, which they equate with "the system," in their practice of the everyday. Changoleon describes his use of travel as a tactic,

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[17] Cigarra studied Sociology for three years in El Salvador, and discussed social issues and social theory with a great deal of passion both in his interview and informally. Ultimately, he left school due to what he claims is the mediocre and oppressed state of public schools in El Salvador. He then began performing politically satirical skits in the streets in San Salvador with other politically motivated artisans, which led to his decision to travel as an artisan. He has continued to do both throughout his travels, a practice that he believes has a larger impact than he would have been able to as a sociologist, at least in El Salvador.

> "For me travel is liberation from the whole system. The system wants to keep you in one place and control you, but we are in the street and keep moving. That's not part of the system."

Importantly, Changoleon discusses mobility as a liberating tactic, particularly when it takes place within and between the spaces of a marginal zone such as the street. Eliza also describes the role that what she calls "the system" plays in her ability to live as a nomadic artisan, and her use of travel as a tactic:

> "The world doesn't want to let people exist outside of the system, really. That's why they make doing it so difficult. Anything that you do, and not just us travelling artisans have these problems, but also people from small rural villages that have always sold their tamales, and all of a sudden, now they can't sell them! They want to control everything, but movement lets you escape that, then they can't fuck you over. Travel is the possibility of living freely and independently of their control."

Similarly, Payaso explains the controlling nature of "the system" and his use of travel to escape its constraints,

> "I was satisfied with my life, but then I began to travel, and I don't think I could ever be satisfied living like that again. It's very strict, "You have to be this way and think this way." Just so that they will pay you. That's how the system functions, "Do this and we'll pay you, do that and we'll pay you." It's repression for money! Uh huh, repression, oppression and depression. So now I try to live without that, to be against the system, to fight against the system; that's why I'm travelling, you see."

Although life as a traveling artisan allows for the tactical use of mobility as a way of fighting against "the system," this fight is still trying. Caito explains that,

> "Really, the system wants us to function inside of it, but us travelling artisans are trying to leave. Sometimes bad things happen when you are travelling and living like this and I sometimes think "I need to listen to the signs!" But really, in the end, I know that I chose this path and I need to either return to living in the system or deal with the challenges that life gives me and remain strong and firm [hits table] in what I believe and feel! That's, well, that's difficult. But after all this time I still think "Good thing I didn't return [to the system] when it got tough." Everything that is part of that system, the people, they're people that are afraid and they're enclosed in their world of glass. Us artisans think that the world is a bit sick, no, poor thing, it's sick with

> capitalism and political corruption. It's sick and it's making the people and the land sick, and we're trying to escape this because we know that it will only make us sick too. I couldn't be happy in the system, and I've felt that since I was a little girl. I'm telling you, it's a rejection that comes from inside."

Therefore, these artisans have been able to create a life that is critical of "the system" by moving from one marginal zone to another, such as la Calle de los Artesanos in Sayulita to Panchan in Chiapas, where the project of control and ordering is incomplete. When they do run into a space with constraints, control, or some type of enforcement, the mobile nature of this lifestyle, such as described by Cigarra above "I could grab my backpack and go...," allows them to move onto the next location and continue their activities. Moreover, this use of travel, or mobility, *as a tactic* through which one may escape the constraints of "the system, " for these artisans, is a process that they enjoy insofar as it allows them to feel "alive" and experience new things while simultaneously escaping the control, "repression, oppression and depression" of "the system."

Travel and mobility introduce these artisans to new experiences, but importantly, also to new ideas and epistemological stances that have the potential to spur reflexivity concerning how an individual understands and interacts with the world. In fact, when asked what travel means to them, *all fifteen* of the artisans equate travel with a type of learning. As explained by Formacio,

> "I think that everyone should travel at some point. I think that the moment that you travel in different ways, by hitchhiking, by bus, or by walking, you learn and have different experiences, and have a different perspective of reality than, than *your reality*. So, the moment that you achieve this, it's a different way of life; you're not enclosed in your world, no. And you understand and accept all people as humans, too, and you don't see them as objects. And you become aware of other people and the conditions in which they live, and that they're human, too. Then you begin to break down beliefs that you had, and dependencies on material objects. Before I began traveling

> I had so many material things that I thought were necessary ... Everyone should try stepping outside of their comfort, because in the end we're all obsolete, but now we need to understand the circumstances that surround us. The more open you are, the more you'll understand [emphasis reflective of tone]."

According to Coatl Zint Contreras, this type of consciousness, or learning, is something that may only be achieved with travel,

> "I think that travelling artisans have a certain type of consciousness. I'm not saying that they all have it, or that people who work in offices, for example, never have it, I'm just saying that to travel as an artisan you should be respectful, should accept people for who they are ... and you can see that difference in travellers because travelling this way teaches you things. It puts you in situations where you have to learn about life quickly, and people who haven't traveled, who live in Babylon and never leave the city, may not learn these things. That's what life is about, travelling and learning. It's like turning on a better television."

The advantage that travel lends to this process of learning is explained by Edu wi fies. He claims that "when you're travelling you meet people, learn about different cultures and ways of living, but you're always a little bit outside of these cultures so you can understand them and yourself better." In this regard, the artisans have the unique advantage of approaching cultures and different points of view with an outsider's perspective, insofar as it allows them to appreciate, or by the same token, be critical of conditions that someone from that culture may not view in the same way. For example, Ánima explains the difference between understandings of death in Mexico and Canada, "In Canada when there's a death there's a funeral and tears and sadness, but in Mexico they eat food and dance all night and there's a celebration. How beautiful is that?"

This contact with different ways of understanding and being, such as different ways of dealing with death, is part of the process of learning that so many

of these nomadic artisans see as intertwined with the very nature of travel. Such learning experiences are described by Payaso as "an alternative education that will serve me more than what I learned in school."

Finally, two other notable themes that also surfaced during discussions of travel and learning were poverty and materialism. Eliza, Formacio, Pezuña, Coatl Zint Contreras, Pakal and Cigarra all mention that travel has allowed them to become aware of, have contact with, and, to some degree, understand the extreme poverty of people in different areas. Also, Eliza, Formacio, Pakal, Coatl Zint Contreras, Kolibri, Payaso, Caito, Cigarra and Changoleon all discuss the ways in which travelling as an artisan has challenged the assumption that they "need" many material objects. On the contrary, to attempt to carry an abundance of things in your backpack while hitchhiking across a country is more often than not prohibitive. Here, Eliza explains what she has learned during her travels about the linkages between poverty and materialism,

> "I have learned that, well I had the experience of having many things and it didn't make me happier. In Latin America there's a lot of material poverty, and that makes life a lot more difficult, no. For example, in the mountains of Oaxaca there are a lot of people with very few material possessions, but they live a life that is in many ways much healthier really."

Creativity

As discussed in the literature review, the four types of alienation that result from the exploitative nature of capitalism are the estrangement of the worker from the product of labour, the objectification of the process of production, a lack of self-affirmation during the production of labour, and estrangement from other human beings, and thus, from humanity as a whole. However, by drawing upon the work of

Berardi (2009) and Dissanayake (1995), it has also been argued that the free expression of the creative impulse may be a therapeutic way of negating such attacks on the "soul," and alienation. However, this free expression of creativity as a therapeutic endeavour also requires a situation that is conducive to its practice. If, as has been demonstrated above, the artisans practice time, space and mobility in such a way that their lifestyles are not subjected to the controlling, ordering, fragmenting and alienating mechanisms of modernity under capitalism, then the freedom from such constraints must impact the ways in which they partake in the creative process.

The ability to create something with one's capabilities, or in a way that allows an individual to express him or herself was a common theme in the interviews. Nine of the fifteen participants explicitly use the phrase "self-expression" when they describe their art and the process through which it is created. Furthermore, six of these nine artisans equate this ability to express oneself with freedom. In this regard, both Ánima and Edu wi fies compare their creative processes as artisans to previous forms of employment, and explain that they were not free or able to express themselves in their previous jobs to the extent (if at all) that they are now. Rasta also explains the depth and impact that self-expression through one's work can have on the final product: "the concept of who I am and how I live is all expressed in my work on the table, I'm reflected on this table." Similarly, by elaborating on the ways in which self-expression can transform material objects, Changoleon describes his work as a process through which "you can transform materials into anything you desire. Your thoughts and ideas become materialized in

the product of your work, and you can make anything that you want, however you want to make it," and Vianne elaborates on this process by claiming that "You're making something that comes from you and, you know, you're not necessarily thinking about anything other than what you've got in you and what you want to create." Perhaps, however, it is Ánima who most succinctly describes the relationship between the artisans' self-expression and their work by stating that "really, your work is basically an extension of yourself."

Concerning control over the process of production and creation, it is significant that thirteen of the fifteen participants claim that it is important to them that they themselves are in control of the process of creating, which all thirteen are (the remaining two participants did not discuss control over the process of production). Moreover, eleven of the thirteen explicitly discuss not having a boss and how this results in their ability to control their creative processes. The artisans elaborate on and describe this situation of control in different ways. For example, Francisca uses the term "autonomous work" and claims that this way of working and creating is inseparable from her lifestyle as a whole. In other words, by echoing the artisans who claim that mobility and travel gives them control over their lives, insofar as they are not subjected to the project of ordering and control, here Francisca agrees that control over her life as a whole, as part of this alternative lifestyle, allows her to perform creative activity on her own terms.

Also of importance is that five artisans equate controlled work with slavery. Pakal explains that "creating something with my hands so that someone else can become rich is slavery and I won't do it. That's the business of colonization. I'm

breaking out of the chains of the conquest." Importantly, here a pattern emerges in which all five of the artisans that equate controlled work with slavery are Mexican. More specifically, above Pakal equates controlled work with slavery and the conquest of Mexico, which may mean that the ability to control the production of one's art may have a specific and historically situated meaning for some Mexican artisans.

To address the third type of alienation, I simply asked artisans if they found the process of creating their jewelry fulfilling. I received few direct and concise answers (actually, only four explicitly said yes, it is fulfilling), although, the majority did respond in a positive manner and instead of "fulfilling," used words such as satisfying, enriching, enjoyable or therapeutic. Concerning the latter, and in agreement with Berardi, Edu wi fies explains that, "for me [making art] is therapy. The power to express yourself, no. Therapy, therapy with your hands." Caito expresses a similar sentiment by claiming that "travelling artisans are searching for things that are enriching, that enrich their soul, no. And art, wooowwwww, it's a very, very good way to do that!" Therefore, although not all artisans explain the process of creating as specifically fulfilling, the majority do express that it allows them to affirm themselves in some way. For example, Changoleon expresses that the process of creating

> "lifts you up. When I make an awesome and very beautiful piece, it nourishes my soul and makes me want to keep creating! It's healthy art, no. It's such a satisfaction to be able to make things to offer to people, the satisfaction after two or three hours working to then finish and look at it and think "oh my god!" It's really mentally and physically satisfying! I have been doing this for years and I still want to keep making my art until I am a hundred years old!"

Finally, the commodification of the products of the artisans' creative processes is also discussed. Although these artisans are producing commodities, this does not appear to in any way distort the creative process. Perhaps this is because the artisans have complete control over the process of production and the process of exchange; the latter of which may be approached in such a way that does not prioritize the maximization of profit. I elaborate on the artisans' relationship to their products as commodities below.

Nine of the fifteen participants explicitly mention that they create to create, and the profit they receive from the product is secondary. For example, Eliza makes very intricate and detailed macramé flowers that are somewhat large and involve a great deal of time and work. I asked her what they were for and she said "Anything you want really. I hardly ever sell them, but I love the process of making them even though it takes so much time and effort." Therefore, although Eliza could have spent the large amount of time that she used to make these intricate flowers on several other items that may have been more likely to sell, she would prefer to put the time into creating something that she enjoys. Changoleon describes his similar feelings towards the creative process,

> "The process of creating is such a satisfaction, and I would continue to do so even if I didn't receive a cent. The money is like an "extra," it's supplementary. My work is something personal and spiritual, everything that I make, wow, a pleasure before it even sells."

Similarly, Edu wi fies claims that "You do this, you make things with your hands because it's your passion. You have to do it. When you create you're not thinking about the money." Caito echoes Edu wi fies by agreeing that the monetary value of your art is simply not a consideration during the process of creation,

> "When I weave [make jewelry] I don't intentionally make something that I think will sell, no. And I let the process flow and then I finish and look at it and think "No one is going to want this!" And I always say that, but I believe that the person who really feels a connection with it will take it. And that's happened a lot of times, but someone always takes it!"

Although the majority of the artisans claim that they give preference to the joy that they receive from the process of creating over the profit that they will receive, importantly, this does not mean that they do not take the latter into consideration. Vianne explains that,

> "To be honest, it started off without thinking about the commercial value, because I'd had no experience with the commercial value of things, so you're like "I wanna make this!" and you make it. But over the years it's hard to not be influenced by what you know will sell, no. So even though it might not be exciting to be making six bracelets that are just not very exciting, well I still enjoy it and, well, I'd rather do that than be in an office, so at the end of the day it's better."

Thus, the artisans' creation of what are inherently commodities has not allowed the monetary value of their work to take precedence over the joy that they receive from the process of production. Moreover, they also have complete control over the process of exchange. For example, Pakal explains that,

> "Sometimes people come to my table and really like one of my pieces, no. It's obvious. But they don't have a lot of money. If I can tell that they really like it and they should have it, I give it to them for a very cheap price, because, well, you can just tell when a piece belongs to somebody."

On the other hand, however, artisans can sometimes also tell when a piece *does not* belong to somebody. Pezuña describes his experience with this situation,

> "I was in Playa del Carmen in the street with my table and this lady asked how much a necklace was. I told her and she said it was too much. It was jade from Guatemala and a lot of work, no, a beautiful piece, really. She came again the next day with a tour guide and picked up my necklace and showed it to [the guide] and said, "It is too expensive!" The guide said "it's his work, he can charge whatever he wants," no, and of course the guide was right! It was a lot of work, many many hours! And this lady, she said "no, no, it's too

> expensive." This upset me ... she didn't value my work, no, this crazy lady, and she wouldn't leave me alone. So the next day this lady, she came back again! And she said she wanted to buy the jade necklace. I said no, I packed up my table and left!"

Although Pezuña could have received full asking price for his work, he still refused to sell. Therefore, it is clear that, for these artisans, the value of their work, which they themselves determine, and the relationship between them and the customer may take precedence over the desire to maximize profit, which is in many ways incompatible with the market ideology of capitalism.

Finally, the fourth type of alienation is the estrangement from others, and thus, from humanity as a whole. However, the sense of community, or lack of estrangement from others, that exists among and between the artisans is quite subjective. I previously addressed the concept of la banda and, although it is a commonly used and understood term among these nomadic artisans themselves, it is not conceptually sufficient as an inclusionary and exclusionary operational tool for this study. Moreover the ability to allow the term la banda to provide a conceptual basis is challenged by some of the artisans' assertions that they themselves do not belong to la banda, either because of their disagreement with the conduct of la banda, their affiliation with a different group in their home country, or the assertion that they practice this way of life individually and without ties to any group.

However, although not all of the artisans understand themselves as belonging to a group with conceptual borders such as those provided by la banda, this does not mean that they do not share a sense of community with one another, particularly since they tend to travel to, and congregate in, the same locations.

Although not all of the artisans explicitly discuss this sense of community, I was able to observe the ways in which it both functions and is lacking during my participant observation. For example, although an artisan may disagree with another artisan's conduct, and they each set up their stands in different areas, they are very much aware of one another due to the fact that both are artisans, participate in the same nomadic lifestyle, and often, have friends in common. Therefore, although not all of the artisans that participated in this study believe that there exists a sense of community among individuals that practice this lifestyle, there are social connections among them to the extent that they are very much aware of one another, and are (at least superficially) amicable with one another (by greeting one another when passing), even if they have engaged in altercations with one another in the past. Here, Formacio explains that,

> "The artisans support one another. Like "Hey, I need a little bit of this material, give me a little, no." or "Hey, let me borrow your pliers, no." "Oh, here, sure." But it's also a question of personality of how one sees the world and if you treat the artisan next to you like a brother, a very close friend, then you'll never have problems. When you have problems is when someone is like "Hey, you're going to steal my sales, man, don't put your stand next to mine!" But I think that's falling into something pathetic and very sick, no. "

Ánima also describes the sense of community that she feels exists among the artisans,

> "I mean, we're all so different and unique, there are like groups within groups. But, over the years ... the majority of them [other artisans], you know, they're really good people. They're loving, and they would do anything for you. Like there's that saying "give someone the shirt off your back." It's like, even if they don't have a shirt, which sometimes they don't (both laugh), they would find you a shirt to give to you before they would take it for them, you know? And we're really a community, to the point that if days go by and someone doesn't sell anything, then the person that did have a good day is going to be like "Oh, why don't you come with me and have some tacos?" or "Why don't I buy the beer today," or whatever."

Perhaps Changoleon expresses the strongest sentiments concerning this sense of community. He explains that, "This is how I've created my family, by travelling and selling my art in the street. These people are my family."

As stated above, however, not everyone shares these sentiments concerning a sense of community. In particular, during my time in Sayulita there was an incident in which a new artisan arrived in town and set up his stand by the beach (the most desired spot) among other artisans who were already there, but without asking. Apparently another artisan told him to move because it was his friend's spot, he didn't, and this resulted in a physical altercation. This incident was subsequently mentioned by four artisans during their interviews (all strongly disagree with the physical violence that ensued), and was discussed a great deal informally among the artisans themselves when I was present. Intriguingly, many who discussed the incident in their interviews were not directly involved, nor did they personally know the two artisans that were. However, they were aware that it had occurred because those involved were nomadic artisans like themselves. Thus, the artisans are aware of and interested in what is happening to other artisans, even those they do not personally know, which speaks to the nature of the (not always positive) social connection between them. This connection is highlighted comparatively by the fact that the quotidian realities of other vendors who are also in the same vicinity every day, such as indigenous bead workers or women selling tamales, are of little or no concern to the artisans.

Francisca, who also completed a degree in sociology in her home country of Spain, elaborates on this sense of community, or lack thereof, and the problematic conceptualization of la banda, while discussing the above incident,

> "I do not identify with la banda here in Mexico. In Spain la banda is called la pena, and it's a way of life where you help one another out. Here, they will not help you but tell you "Out!" We have other principles, so for me la banda, or la pena, explains an attitude. To help other people that also live their lives in the street selling things, no. Here, they're very individualistic because they see you as competition and not as a compañera. In Spain we are a collective in the street and we fight against the police, and all kinds of things. So in Spain we respect one another. And here, did you hear, two days ago an artisan came and put his things by the beach and "Clack!" they hit him, do you understand me? And just because he didn't ask! This would never, never happen in Spain! So, for me, I can't call three people that believe they're the owners of the street la banda. So you have to understand that this conceptualization of la banda in your study is very subjective."

So, for Francisca, although she does not personally know the artisans that participated in the altercation, she is very much aware that it happened and describes how such behaviour is part of the reason that she has distanced herself from the conceptualization of la banda. However, she does spend time with and sell her wares next to other artisans that participated in this study who do identify as members of la banda, which further highlights the subjective nature of the term that she discusses, particularly as it relates to the sense of community that does and does not exist among these individuals.

Finally, Cigarra also discusses the nature of community among the artisans,

> C: "Hmm, la banda [laughs]. Well, the word la banda, how can I explain it? There is everything in la banda, no. From very very good people who will take food out of their own mouths to put into yours so that you are well. There are also people that don't want you to be ok, no, that are jealous or, I don't know, bullshit like that. There's not always a lot of unity. If we want to be a functional group in this large society, no, this society that encircles us, then we have to work more on that."
> A.P.: "So do you think that this is a type of community?"

> C: "Well it's not a *strong* community. But it could be, yes of course it could be [emphasis reflective of tone in interview]."

Therefore, while only some of the artisans mention community, there is no doubt that they are interconnected in complex ways with one another and with their environment. These connections further reduce their alienation and provide a context in which their creativity can both emerge and thrive.

Escaping Psychic Imperialism

Another theme that surfaced during the interviews was the importance of a type of mental or epistemological freedom. This freedom was also marginally addressed above in the discussions of psychic nomadism, critiques of "the system," epistemological shifts that result from one's ability to learn while travelling, and a non-prioritization of market ideologies. However, such mental freedom requires further elaboration here.

This mental freedom from "the system" is understood differently by each artisan who mentions it in his or her interview. However, all equate this mental freedom with their alternative lifestyles. Importantly, Pakal, Rasta and Pezuña all explain that living as a nomadic artisan, and the marginal spaces in which this takes place, is what has allowed them to continue to "think differently." Six other participants also mention that the artisans have a "different" way of thinking and seeing the world. In particular, Changoleon believes that life as a nomadic artisan has allowed him to avoid the "conquest of the mind" that results from the prioritization of profit and material objects under capitalism.

Perhaps Formacio best explains the ways in which such mental and epistemological freedom allows for the challenging of normalized assumptions,

> "Being a traveling artisan means that you disobey a lot of rules, no. Because you know that those rules are only there to fuck you over, no, they have no other purpose. They're only there to take your money and make you feel obligated. This way of living makes you think and reflect on their rules and to think 'ok, this is for good, or this is only for bad' and to know that you're really doing the right thing."

Therefore, the ability of these artisans to adopt alternative epistemological leanings and understandings is both enabled by and results from their practice of alternative lifestyles that are not subjected to the ordering and controlling project of modernity under capitalism. This connection between epistemological alternatives and the creation of ontological alternatives is clearly a crucial aspect of the lifestyles of these nomadic artisans. Importantly, this ability to not only challenge normalized epistemological assertions, but also to allow them to inform the practice of an alternative, is arguably a demonstration of the lack of psychic imperialism that Bey has claimed may lend itself to the creation of a TAZ.

## The Impact of an Alternative Lifestyle

When asked if they believe that their lifestyles have an impact on the rest of society, thirteen of the artisans said yes, and one said that he did not know. Only one expressed that he wasn't interested in making an impact; he is just living his life. Kolibri and Ánima believe that people are beginning take note of how the artisans are living. They claim that this realization has inspired others to adopt alternative

lifestyles as well, such that this way of life is now being practiced by people all over the world. Edu wi fies elaborates on this impact,

> "I think that, yes, it's obviously having an impact. The moment that someone stops in the street and shows an interest in what you're doing, no, in your way of life. It may not impact them right then, but helps to open their mind a bit. And in this consumerist culture, in the very least we're demonstrating that there are alternatives, no, that you can live in another way, and it's wonderful."

In this regard, it is worth noting that eleven of the participants explain that they witnessed another individual and his or her nomadic lifestyle before adopting a similar way of living him or herself. Therefore, this impact is real insofar as it provided these eleven artisans with the idea to adopt such a lifestyle, which they ultimately did. Perhaps most fundamental is the ontological critique of normalized ways of being that this lifestyle provides. Eliza elaborates,

> "When I was younger I always wanted to change the world. I was so passionate about wanting to change the world but, eventually, I realized that I can't change the world, but I can change *my* world. And now, sometimes I feel like I'm not doing anything! Other people fight for freedom, and I don't know, I'm not doing anything like that. I enjoy life and make my art. But when I think about it, I realize that I'm doing a ton! I'm demonstrating how it's possible to live a life that *you* create, no [emphasis reflective of tone]."

Although thirteen of the artisans believe that their lifestyles make an impact, insofar as they demonstrate an alternative way of being, the demonstration of this alternative is not always something that they are intentionally attempting to achieve. In other words, regardless of the ontological challenge that such alternative lifestyles present to normalized understandings of ways of being, is not always the intention of these artisans to provide a political critique of the existing power structure.

# Chapter 5

## Discussion

In this chapter I present a brief overview of the study findings, address the research questions, and situate the results of the study within the existing literature. I conclude by revisiting the limitations of the study and suggesting areas for further research.

The objective of this study is to dowse for potential autonomous zones with a psychotopological investigation of the lifestyles of nomadic artisans in Mexico. By performing semi-structured interviews and participant observation, I solicited the narratives and understandings of these artisans and observed the ways in which they practice various facets of their alternative lifestyles. In so doing, I sought to answer the following questions: How do these artisans both understand and practice time, space, and mobility as part of an alternative lifestyle, and what are the negative critiques and positive alternatives that take place therein? Do these understandings and practices allow for the free expression of creativity, and what is the relationship of these expressions of creativity to alienation, or a lack thereof, within this lifestyle? And finally, are there demonstrations of psychic nomadism and rejections of psychic imperialism within these alternative understandings and practices?

Overview of Findings

Overall, the artisans have created alternative lifestyles that seek freedom from imposed control, such as that which is a crucial part of the ordering project of modernity under capitalism. In particular, the artisans avoid rigid understandings and practices of time, space and mobility, by constructing and practicing each in divergent ways. These alternative and liberating practices facilitate creative expression, which is also a fundamental component of the lifestyles of the artisans.

Time

Importantly, the findings show that the artisans value a relaxed understanding and practice of time that gives precedence to natural and kairological rhythms rather than linear and quantified clock time. They explicitly critique the imposition of clock time on quotidian practices and the ways in which this fragmenting imposition is fundamentally incompatible with their lifestyles. In particular, several artisans described frustrating situations in which they had been subjected to imposed clock time. They then compare such impositions to the more liberated understandings and practices of time that are enabled by their alternative lifestyles. Importantly, these practices of time that are liberated from imposed and quantified controls allow the artisans to avoid what Lefebvre (2004: 75) calls the "dispossession of the body." This dispossession takes place when an individual distances him or herself from internal natural rhythms and practices of kairological time in order to avoid the violence that ensues from the imposition of linear and quantified time on such subjective rhythms. In contrast to partaking in this numbing

dispossession, which is arguably common under imposed time within modernity, the artisans are able to remain more in tuned with their natural and internal rhythms.

Furthermore, the rejection of such imposed time also allows the artisans to partake in Lefebvre's (2004: 30) appropriated time, or a "time" with no sense of time, as they express themselves through creative activity. Therefore, the artisans critique imposed linear and mechanized time, while simultaneously allowing such critiques to inform their practice of liberated time within their alternative lifestyles.

Space

The findings show that the artisans have called for both a reinforcement and an opening up of borders so as to protect and allow access to space that enables the performance of their lifestyles. Their inability to access or enter spaces due to discrimination, or their restriction to an enclosed space such as a jail cell, prompted criticisms of the control of space under the project of modernity within capitalism.

Ordered and controlled space is largely avoided by the artisans. This means that the performance of their lifestyles takes place in marginal zones such as la Calle de los Artesanos in Sayulita and Panchan in Chiapas. However, the ability to participate in these marginal zones requires knowledge of spatial practices therein and the ways in which such practices either enable to subvert epistemologically-laden power structures. For example, the ability to sell one's wares in the marginal space of la Calle de los Artesanos requires an awareness of fees for the use of such space and how to avoid them. The avoidance of these fees is a subversion of the

attempted imposition of structural powers on this marginal space.

By the same token, however, the artisans themselves also impose their own spatial practices on these marginal zones. Artisans must also be aware of these non-structural impositions and assertions of control, as was demonstrated in the altercation that took place in Sayulita over space in which to sell one's wares. Therefore, knowledge of situated spatial practices, which are generated by different groups with divergent agendas and are buttressed by variant epistemological assertions, is necessary for all artisans that pursue lifestyles in these marginal zones.

Time and space are practiced in a divergent and more liberating manner in marginal zones. In this way, these marginal zones provide the artisans with an escape from practices of time and space that have been subjected to the ordering project of modernity. Importantly, however, these divergent practices of time and space within marginal zones allow such zones to present a type of ontological challenge to normalized and controlled understandings of space.

For example, as discussed above, Changoleon explains that the artisans "share freedom in the street, because there are no rules in the street."
For the artisans, the street is a space of freedom that is liberated from the controlling and ordering mechanisms of modernity under capitalism. This liberated and unrestrained use of the space of the street by the artisans provides an ontological challenge to normalized understandings of the street. Typically, streets are understood as ordered, efficient and functional in their ability to connect point a to point b; this idea is also purported by "objective" cartographic understandings of

space (Pinder, 1996: 407). However, such normalized understandings are challenged when the artisans perform liberating and unordered understandings of time and space in the street as they sell their wares there. Thus, in so doing, they not only challenge normalized assumptions of space, but also draw attention to the demonstrations of power that both enable and buttress such understandings. Importantly, this use of marginal space to provide an ontological critique of practices of space, which draws attention to power dynamics therein, is a demonstration of Lefebvre's representational space (1991: 39).

Mobility

The artisans critique the ways that they believe "the system" impedes mobility, and how this immobility can lead to both psychological and physical stress. The artisans often compared such assertions and criticisms to their nomadic lifestyles to demonstrate how they use mobility as a tactical escape from "the system." Moreover, the findings also show that, when used as a tactic by the artisans, mobility may result in realizations and demonstrations of personal strength, feelings of control over one's life, and the ability to achieve epistemological shifts from the illuminating nature of travel.

Therefore, in order to access such benefits, the artisans strategically use mobility as a tactic, or as *a continued process,* to avoid the controlling and restricting mechanisms that are incompatible with their liberating lifestyles. This finding is congruent with De Certeau's discussion of movement through the city, and the ways in which movement must be continuous in order to avoid being subjected to

temporal and spatial constraints (1984: 106).

The artisans' dedication to travel *as a lifestyle choice* challenges normalized understandings and practices of space, time and mobility within the everyday. Moreover, such divergent and ongoing practices mean that the artisans themselves are continually both introducing, and being introduced to, difference. The ways in which these artisans introduce difference into new spaces through the process of mobility presents a serious challenge to the ordering and homogenizing intentions of modernity under capitalism. Negative backlash to the introduction of such difference is seen in the discriminatory exclusion of these artisans from space, which has also been discussed in regards to gypsies and New Age Travellers (Hetherington, 1997: 64).

Also of importance is that all fifteen of the artisans equate travel, as a type of mobility, with learning. By continually being introduced to difference in a variety of spaces, the artisans are able to adopt differing spatially-located epistemologies, or ways of knowing. Therefore, the process of travel not only encourages these artisans to be more reflexive concerning their own personal beliefs, but it also presents them with a plethora of other belief systems with which they may construct new ways of understanding and interacting with the world around them. This ability to adopt and alternate between different belief systems is a demonstration of Bey's psychic nomadism, which is required for the potential germination of a TAZ (1990: 7).

Creativity

The majority of the artisans feel that they are able to express themselves through their art, that they have control over the process of production, and that this process is fulfilling or self-affirming. Also, although the artisans produce commodities, their control over the process of production means that exchange value has not been given precedence over the joy of creating. Importantly, this prioritization of what Dissanayake calls the "joie de faire," or the joy of creating, over the concern for monetary profit is congruent with Berardi's contentions that art is a therapeutic chaoid which allows an individual to negate the panic-ridden context and impositions of capitalism and modernity (Dissanayake, 1995: 3-4; Berardi, 2009: 135).

Importantly, the artisans' ability to freely perform unalienated creative activity is enabled by their alternative lifestyles. By practicing time and space in a liberating manner, the artisans are able to avoid the ordering and controlling aspects of modernity under capitalism that lead to fragmented and alienated lives (Lefebvre, 2002: 32). As discussed in the literature review, work under capitalism removes control over the process of labouring and the product of labour from the worker, limits creativity, and results in alienation (Marx, 1978: 74-5). However, the artisans have been able to avoid such constraints with the performance of their alternative lifestyles and, in so doing, minimize/eliminate alienation and freely pursue the creative activity that is a fundamental aspect of their lives as artisans.

Psychic Nomadism and the Avoidance of Psychic Imperialism

The final research question addresses the presence of psychic nomadism and the avoidance of psychic imperialism, both of which are required for the germination of a TAZ. As discussed above, the artisans demonstrate psychic nomadism in their ability to adopt, and alternate between, varying ways of understanding and knowing during their travels. Importantly, this epistemological freedom that is required for demonstrations of psychic nomadism is enabled by rejections of psychic imperialism.

The rejection of psychic imperialism is described by nine participants as the artisans' ability to "think differently." The findings demonstrate that this ability to "think differently" is often coupled with a critique of normalized assumptions and beliefs that both enable and buttress the project of ordering and control within modernity and capitalism, or what many artisans refer to as "the system." Such critiques are highly compatible with, and enable, the divergent ways of being and understanding that the artisans practice within their alternative lifestyles.

The Lifestyles of Nomadic Artisans in Mexico as Conducive to the Germination of Temporary Autonomous Zones?

In sum, the findings have demonstrated that the artisans are critical of the controlled and ordered ways in which time, space and mobility are understood and practiced under capitalism and modernity. Moreover, they allow such criticisms to inform their constructions of differing, and more liberated, understandings and practices through which their alternative lifestyles are performed. This freedom

from many alienating constraints also allows these individuals to freely partake in creative activities, which are fundamental to their lifestyles as artisans. Finally, the narratives and practices of the artisans have demonstrated both psychic nomadism and a rejection of psychic imperialism. Such epistemological variance and freedom is conducive to the ontological challenges that both lead to and are foundationally required by a TAZ. Therefore, by addressing the research questions, the findings demonstrate that the lifestyles of the artisans, which are in many ways liberated from controlling and ordering constraints, appear to be conducive to the germination of a TAZ as a space of freedom. Indeed, these artisans demonstrate characteristics that are crucial for, and may also contribute to, the inception of a TAZ.

However, several issues that surfaced in the findings may or may not play an enabling or prohibitive role in this potential germination. Importantly, thirteen, or the majority of the participants, believe that their lifestyles have an impact on the rest of society insofar as such lifestyles demonstrate an alternative way of living and being. The nature of these lifestyles, such that they are performed in front of others, necessarily provides an example of an alternative, and thus an ontological challenge. However, the nature of the TAZ arguably requires an intended and highly involved tactical use of such ontological critiques in the ability to perpetuate a type of ontological warfare with the hopes of undermining normative epistemologies on a larger-scale.

Although the artisans have critiqued the normalized practices and understandings of controlling mechanisms, allowed these critiques to inform their

construction of an alternative, are able to freely perform creative activity, and demonstrate psychic nomadism and rejections of psychic imperialism, this may not necessarily result in a TAZ. All of these critiques, practices and understandings are required for the germination of a TAZ. However, the individual or group that intends to spur the manifestation of a TAZ would intentionally and actively use all of the above tactically and with the intent of participating in "guerilla ontology" and "the nomadic war machine," rather than utilizing them to solely create an individual lifestyle (Bey, 1990: 4).

Thus, although this psychotopological investigation has been successful in its attempts to identify a "space with the potential to flower as an autonomous zone," the actual manifestation of such a zone, ultimately, depends on the intentions and strategic actions of the individual artisans therein (Bey, 1990: 4).

Furthermore, in order to have a larger ontologically and epistemologically challenging impact, a potential TAZ would likely require the unification of individuals into a functional social group. Thus, the somewhat contradictory and subjective understandings of community discussed in the findings may also be either prohibitive or enabling for the germination of a TAZ. In other words, whether or not the artisans are able to improve their unity and sense of connectedness, as they collectively create marginal spaces of freedom through collaborative engagement in social practices, may also determine their (in)ability to germinate a TAZ.

The Importance of the TAZ

This study of the alternative lifestyles of these nomadic artisans has demonstrated the ways in which it is possible to create a lifestyle that is, to a large extent, free from the controlling and ordering mechanisms of modernity and capitalism. As discussed in the literature review, these mechanisms create alienated and fragmented lives in which natural and subjective rhythms are repressed, liberating mobility is largely precluded, and self-affirmation through creative expression is not always possible. By evading these alienating and fragmenting aspects of life under modernity and capitalism, the artisans have created lifestyles that, as explained by Payaso, attempt to avoid "the system['s] ... repression, oppression and depression." Moreover, the findings have also demonstrated that such lifestyles allow the artisans to actively demonstrate their strength, have new experiences, learn about different ways of being and knowing, and consume/occupy less material objects.

Although the alternative lifestyle of the artisans is not without its problems, and would not be sustainable on a macro-scale, its existence does provide an important ontological challenge. If such a challenge were to be utilized tactically in the manifestation of a TAZ, its impact would be greater and would thus be more likely to encourage different ways of knowing and being on a larger scale. Moreover, the temporary and thus continuously mobile nature of the TAZ would allow this ontological challenge to take place in varying spheres and spaces.

When fragmented and alienated lives have become the norm, the demonstration of healthier alternatives through the ontological challenge presented

by the TAZ is needed. The intent is not to encourage everyone that witnesses the TAZ to adopt a lifestyle as a nomadic artisan, but rather, to reflect on the ways in which their lives are understood and practiced and, to quote Eliza, "how it's possible to live a life that *you* create" rather than one that is imposed on individuals with the controlling and ordering mechanism of psychic imperialism.

Theoretical Contributions

To recap, this psychotopological investigation has identified the alternative lifestyles of nomadic artisans in Mexico as conducive to the potential germination of a TAZ. In so doing, it has addressed a gap in the literature concerning the possible performance of the TAZ *as a lifestyle*, rather than as an intermittent activity. Moreover, the literature review examined ways in which time, space, mobility and creativity are practiced in controlled and sometimes oppressive ways within modernity and capitalism. However, this study has demonstrated how these four mechanisms: time, space, mobility and creativity, may be *fused and simultaneously practiced* within liberated lifestyles that may be conducive to the germination of a TAZ.

Finally, the integration of an alternative lifestyle that is performed in marginal zones, and the mobile nature of the TAZ, highlights the importance of mobility as a challenge to the attempt to control, order and homogenize. Hetherington has argued that because marginal spaces are necessarily maintained separate, they do not present a fundamental challenge to normalized understandings and practices, but rather, they contribute to the ordering project

(1997: 8). However, as demonstrated here, if mobility is practiced within, between and outside of these marginal zones, as it is by these artisans, the attempt to control and order is negatively impacted. Therefore, introducing mobility as a tactic not only presents a challenge to the ordered nature of Hetherington's marginal zones, but it also provides them with a potentially politically infused critique with mobile liberated zones that partake in ontological warfare such as the TAZ.

Study Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

Although this psychotopological investigation was successful in identifying a space that is conducive to the potential germination of a TAZ, it may have been strengthened by a more in-depth examination of the variant experiences of the artisans. Because, as discussed above, individual intentions play a crucial role in the germination of a TAZ, future research would benefit from examining these individual intentions (or lack thereof) and they ways in which they are influenced by personal experience. For example, several artisans discussed the difficulties involved in the performance and adoption of such a nomadic lifestyle. Such difficulties may have an impact on an individual's decision to avoid or engage in the "ontological warfare" required by a TAZ. As well, for example, several Mexican artisans equated controlled environments with slavery, which may also impact their interest in challenging normalized understandings of work and lifestyles through ontological warfare. Future psychotopological research would benefit from exploring these areas so as to determine the actual likelihood of a manifestation of the TAZ among individuals that practice such lifestyles.

## Conclusion

As we witness unprecedented levels of environmental destruction, and ever-increasing economic inequality in which global elites utilize controlling and ordering mechanisms to accumulate wealth at the expense and well-being of those in both the global south and north, the search for alternatives is crucial.

This study has examined such an alternative, as performed by nomadic artisans in Mexico. Moreover, through a psychotopological investigation, it has also determined that this alternative lifestyle may also be conducive to the germination of a TAZ, which may encourage the creation of healthier and more liberated alternatives on a larger scale. Thus, although the lifestyle of these nomadic artisans is not without its problems, its most compelling feature may be its potential to provide a serious ontological challenge through the TAZ and, in so doing, accentuate the necessarily interdependent nature of the epistemological and the ontological, the conceptual and the actual, and the believed and the practiced.

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# Appendix A: Pictures

(A.1.) Two artisans/drummers and one malabarista. This picture provides an excellent example of the ways in which the talents of la banda often overlap and are performed simultaneously. Flores, Guatemala. 2012. Individuals in picture have given permission for this photo to appear here.

(A.2.) Artisan participant working in Panchan. 2012.

(A.3.) Four artisan participants and their work. Panchan. 2012.

(A.4.). Above- Artisans behind their stall on Calle de los Artesanos. Below- Participant (left) and other artisan talking behind their stalls on Calle de los Artesanos. Sayulita. 2013.

(A.5.) Above- Participant (left) in front of his stall talking with another artisan. Below- Participant (right) working. Calle de los Artesanos, Sayulita. 2013.

(A.6.) Above- Artisan participant and her work at the Sunday Market on la Calle de los Artesanos. Below- La Calle de los Artesanos. Sayulita. 2013.
*Special thanks to Patri Conde for sending pictures in appendices A.4. - A.6. after my camera broke in Sayulita.

# Appendix B: Interview Questions

Where are you from?
How old are you?

What is your education level?
Are you still attending?
If no- Why did you stop?

Do you identify with any cultures or indigenous groups?
If yes- why?

How would you define and describe this lifestyle?
Do you believe that individuals who practice this lifestyle compose a group?
If so, what are they called?

Do you believe that there are any core beliefs that nomadic artisans share?

What does travel mean to you?
How often do you travel as a nomadic artisan?
Where have you travelled to while supporting yourself with your artesania?

Do you enjoy making your artesania?
Is it fulfilling?

When did you begin travelling as an artisan?
How did you hear about/were introduced to this lifestyle?
What first attracted you to this lifestyle?
Did anything in your life change when you adopted this lifestyle?
If yes- what changed (How is your life as a nomadic artisan different now than it was before you decided to live this way?)

Do many of your friends also practice this lifestyle?

Why did you choose this lifestyle instead of another?

What do you do in a typical day? Do you have a routine?

How are you able to earn an income?
Where did you learn to do this?

What role does foreign and domestic tourism play in your everyday life?
How do you feel about foreign tourists?

Is there a particular 'look' that nomadic artisans have?
If yes- please describe this look.

How do you believe your lifestyle is different from other ways of living within Mexican society, or your home country (if not from Mexico)?

What do you think is the place of this alternative lifestyle within the greater Mexican society?
Do you this this lifestyle has an impact on others?
If yes, how?

How do you think artisans that practice this lifestyle are perceived by non-artisans, or other members of society?
How do you perceive non-artisans who may be judgmental of your lifestyle?
Have you ever been hassled because you practice this lifestyle?
If yes- By who?
How often does it happen?
How do you feel about it?
What do you do about it?

Do you ever feel pressured abandon this lifestyle?
If yes- by who, and/or why?

What do you think your life would be like if you had never adopted this lifestyle?
Did you ever consider another way of life?
Do you think you will always be a travelling artisan?

What do you think you'll be doing in five years?
Do you have any goals or dreams?
If yes- Are these conducive to this lifestyle? Can you achieve these goals and still continue to travel as a nomadic artisan?

Is there anything else you would like to add, or anything else that you think I should know?

# Curriculum Vitae

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