Anthropological contributions for sustainable futures

Research and interventions
in the fields of environmental needs, gender equity,
human rights and knowledge
in South America and the United Kingdom

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Trilateral Workshop

ANTHROPOLOGICAL CONTRIBUTION
TO AFFIRMATIVE ACTION
IN SOUTH AMERICA

MONTEVIDEO, FEBRUARY 2017

Green Hills

Contents

Introduction

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The workshop

"It looks tailor-made for you/us. Let me know if you are interested" This is how Professor Tim Ingold (University of Aberdeen) ended an email by mid-2016, addressed two of his contacts in South America (Javier Taks – Universidad de la República Uruguay and Marcia Viana – Universidade de Campinas), regarding a call from the British Council and Newton Fund for trilateral workshops specifically involving the uk, Brazil and Uruguay. The interest grew up so fast and strong that on February 2017 35 early career researchers (PhD students or recently graduated) from the three countries, mentored by seven Senior anthropologists, gathered in Montevideo for a Trilateral Workshop officially called: "How anthropology can contribute to affirmative action in South America in the fields of human rights, gender equity and environmental sustainability" (see a full list of participants in Annex 1)

The workshop, sponsored by the above mentioned British institutions, the National Agency for Research and Innovation (anii-Uruguay) and the Research Foundation of the State of Sao Paulo (Fanesp- Brazil), took place over five days (20-24 February) when this selected group of researchers of eight different nationalities participated in a seminar with open lectures; a field trip to the Water Potabilization plant in the town of Aguas Corrientes and its neighbour city of Santa Lucía to explore water issues in direct contact with technicians, activists, the river and hydraulic infrastructure; two cultural evenings; and many instances – formal and informal- for exchange of academic ideas, research proposals, desires, dreams and worries. The workshop was a creative setting for exploring the connections between human rights, sustainability and public policy; gender issues cross-cut all discussions. Participants were able to compare material from Brazil, Guyana, Perú, Chile, Colombia, Uruguay, Bolivia, and Mexico, as well as the UK and other European countries.

All the group had the opportunity to interact with many Uruguayan anthropologists and scholars from Udelar and auas (the Association of Social Anthropologist of Uruguay). We also met University authorities from the Faculty of Humanities and the Faculty of Social Sciences, representatives of civil society organizations (Serpaj; Asamblea por el Agua del río Santa Lucía), a former director of the National Institution for Human Rights, the President and managers from the Public Water Utility (ose), the country director of the British Council Mr. Graham Stanley, and the ambassador of the uk in Uruguay, Mr. Ian Duddy.

The workshop's outcomes included networking among scholars and Universities; bridging the gap between academic researchers, policymakers and activists for better governance and the realization of the right to water and a safe environment; situating anthropological research in the region within the framework of international debates and raising

the profile of the discipline and its potential contribution for public policy and affirmative action in Uruguay. This compilation of essays, based on papers presented at the workshop and including new reflections on affirmative action and public policies incorporating insights from conversations and debates among workshop participants is the final outcome of that event.

All in all, the workshop helped to establish a new generation of anthropological researchers with experience of fieldwork in the region, leading in the longer term to future collaborative projects. Some of these joined projects became real since the Workshop: a virtual group on Affects has met monthly and at least three Working Groups had convened in international conferences.

The compilation

This compilation wants to leave a trace in the process of building up a world anthropological community. It wants to give testimony of a rich conversation held in Montevideo two years ago, thus it is oriented firstly to the participants themselves. Moreover, it shows what were the issues that concerned young anthropologists in their practices as researchers, lecturers and activists.

Originally we wanted to edit a trilingual text, with all essays in the three languages heard during the workshop (English, Spanish and Portuguese). By the end the decision was taken to put all essays in English. Firstly, because, it was the official language of the workshop. Secondly, because most of the essays were written in English. Thirdly, it allows access to cross reading among participants and finally, it opens opportunities to the still dominant English speaking academy.

Four chapters compose this book. In each, essays with different aims and scopes, but with a background topic that bastes them together are presented.

Gender issues are targeted in the first chapter by six essays. The chapter offers an interpellant trip, combining embodied and affected experience of the authors with research outcomes, from violence in central Mexico, going through a gender violence observatory in the Amazonas, boarding schools in Guyana, to the assisted human reproduction treatments and the medical model of childbirth assistance in Uruguay.

The second chapter tackles human rights matters from different perspectives and in various sites. The five essays that compose the chapter deal with the debt of anthropology with disability studies, with crime and prisons' studies and policies in Brazil (or anywhere), with violence and the mapping of grief in the metropolitan area of Recife, Brazil, with the experiences of underage miners in conflict-affected regions in Colombia, and with the politics of the dead (and the living) in Mexico.

Different views about sustainability are included in chapter tree. Twelve essays cope with different challenges to sustainability, with some strong common topics. Water is a concern for six authors. An essay ads water to the study of candomblé, ending with new insights for the nature-culture relations in popular religions. Another looks into negotiation and resistance of indigenous communities in the Sertão de Itaparica, Brazil, around a big water infrastructure project. Water regulation and use, and power landscapes in Uruguay are discussed by an author, while the multiple ways of experiencing the Uruguayan maritime coast ('maritimalities') are depicted by another. Solid water in glaciers in the Peruvian Andes, endangered by global warming, and the social consequences of the phenomenon are

focused by another essay. The flood is completed by an analysis of the socio-environmental crisis around water scarcity in São Paulo. Seven essays complete this chapter, dealing with experienced health problems by rural workers in Uruguay, environmentalism, indigenous identity politics and land rights conflicts in Rio de Janeiro, experiences with and reflections about waste-pickers in Montevideo, hunting, hunters and anthropology, technopolitics of knowledge around Brazil nut, and unsustainability, social inequalities, and research agendas in rice in Uruguay.

The final chapter of this book gathers essays that reflect about knowledge, affects and care, reflection that came as an emergent topic, an actual becoming, of the workshop. Seven essays compose this chapter. The first essay ponders knowledge, its' construction and use, and the possibility of affirmative actions based on knowledge, in a context of inequality. The next essay deals with the idea of contributing to the improvement of people's quality of life through a politically committed anthropology. Interdisciplinarity and affirmative actions is the concern of the following essay. Indignation and other affects as structuring forces to political action are discussed in the fourth essay. The next one reflects about the idea of vulnerability and affects in the course of fieldwork. The following also addresses affects, addressing them from a philosophical and anthropological perspective. The last essay, that closes this compilation, gives insights and reflects about the idea of affirmative actions and its' connection with anthropology.

It took some time to finally make these pieces of work public. All responsibility resides in the editors' busy agendas. We believe that the contents of this compilation and the personal and academic links between young researchers hidden between lines will continue to be a source of inspiration for further thought, writing, and encounters.

Acknowledgment

At the Faculty of Humanities and Education Sciences, Udelar. Montevideo

CHAPTER
GENDER

The *cosmopolitics* of rights and violence in Central Mexico

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One of the key interventions anthropology offers to the fields of human rights, gender rights, and environmental justice lies in decolonising the rights discourse by questioning the divisibility of these domains. In my 15 months of PhD fieldwork on the politics of indigeneity, gender, and violence among the Nahua of Milpa Alta, who live on the southern periphery of Mexico City, I have found that all these categories are spectral – they vanish when one takes indigenous points of view into account.

I was a participant observer in several indigenous women's cultural revitalization groups and followed the activities of Inmujeres, a government organization dedicated to eradicating violence against women. I found that Inmujeres' idea of women as victims of violence was undercut by Milpaltense ideas: Because the local gender ideology emphasises women's "strength", and violence is ambivalent in their philosophy, women are portrayed as resilient and as potentially violent perpetrators themselves.

For instance, a 64-year-old interlocutor emphasized that she was not a passive victim of her husband's, but that she had a choice to either selfishly leave at the cost of her children's and husband's wellbeing, or to virtuously work on changing her husband's conduct for the good of her whole family. Husband and wife need each other to get the work done which allows the family as a whole to survive and thrive. Similarly, husband and wife depend on each other to enact their complementary roles correctly, by reminding, coaxing, and, controlling each other. Throughout my research, both my male and female interlocutors frequently highlighted women's hard work, wisdom, and virtue, protecting their families and communities from all kinds of harm. Accordingly, few women seek the help of agencies for the prevention of violence against women, but those who do are taught an individualizing narrative of responsibilisation (i.e. taking responsibility for their situation) which places the burden of empowerment on them – similarly to Milpaltense discourse. Given the local importance of interdependence, Inmujeres' promotion of an individualist notion of women's empowerment also risks socially isolating the women accepting this approach – including the director of the local Inmujeres branch herself, who, as a single woman, lamented feeling lonely and afraid.

More importantly, violence against women is encompassed by greater spectres of violence (cf. Merry 2009: 146). The "warrior women" of Milpa Alta think of themselves as fighting not only their husbands, but also their people's exploitation and marginalisation over the past 500 years of the "Communal Fight" to protect the sacred communal forest and waters. Because women have the image of fighters, rather than passive victims, intimate violence against women in Milpa Alta is often understood as an androgynous fight

between equally strong partners, rather than gender violence. This is not to deny that on-going invasions, marginalisation, and the drug war do affect women differently from men. For example, pesticides kill male farm hands' bodies and the unsafe beauty-enhancement and abortion practices kill female bodies. But because cultural resilience may be valuable to indigenous women's resilience, the mislabelling of violence against women as "cultural violence" is dangerous in several respects: On the one hand, it perpetuates discriminatory views of indigenous people being violent, and on the other, it ignores valuable local violence-mediation strategies as well as wider problems affecting the community.

In Milpa Alta, indigenous women's as well as communal wellbeing strongly relies on cultural production groups, many of which are women-led. Much as in other indigenous contexts (Suzack and Huhndorf 2010: 12), such groups strengthen women's position in the community, as they allow women to foster networks of interdependence beyond their households and express their experiences and desires through multiple art forms, including storytelling, dance, and weaving. Particularly widows and divorcees found much-needed support in these groups, where they could both discuss their experiences or find distraction from these. Cultural production groups also strengthen the community's resilience in the face of state violence and the ongoing drug war, because they foster networks of solidarity and knowledge exchange about conflict mediation strategies. Conflicts are commonly mediated through practices built on the local values of love, empathy, discipline, and respect. For example, a middle-aged woman reported that her husband was hot-headed in the early days of their marriage, so they fought a lot, and if he did not like a dress she was wearing, he tore it apart. She said her husband's transformation into a kind, supportive partner was a process, but she eventually succeeded in making him "understand" her, which she described as letting him see things from her perspective, but also as developing an embodied understanding of her suffering. This empathy transformed their relationship completely. By working hard together, they managed to make a beautiful home. She concluded that love needs empathy to flourish, and a couple needs love to be productive. Other couples described a very similar process.

This is not to privilege a stance of cultural relativism over feminist approaches. There are a number of problematic assumptions at work in creating this division, and implied binary opposition, between feminists and cultural relativists. Not only do they assume that cultures and feminisms do not change and therefore cannot accommodate new ideas, but they are also rife with ethnocentrism and paternalism. What has often been described as a conflict between cultural and individual rights is a non-issue to many indigenous Mexican women, whose understanding of rights is "exclusively mutual", as Shannon Speed argues (2006: 2014). Therefore, they do not demand exclusive individual rights, such as women's rights as defined by the UN, because they cannot separate their experience as individuals from that of the collective. As a result, they not only challenge gender norms within their communities, but in doing so, also challenge the neoliberal logic of the Mexican state, which aims to promote individual rights and a particular, economy-friendly vision of multiculturalism in the name of protecting women.

Moreover, many Milpaltenses perceive their relationship with their environment, such as their mountains and rivers, to be sacred. For instance, when I went camping on a local mountain, San Miguel, with a group of shaman's apprentices, we formally asked the guardian of the mountain for permission to set up camp. For these Milpaltenses, mountains are not

simply part of their territory and thus something to be owned (that is, their property), but instead, sentient partners with people (cf. Sandtrom 1991).

Therefore, Milpaltenses speak of defending not only their "indigenous" rights and their environment, but also their values of living together (*convivencia*), love (*cariño*), and hospitality (*hospitalidad*). Milpaltenses live in a world of interdependent care, in which the communal territory is a sentient loved one (*ser querido*) with whom they share a reciprocal kin relationship. At the same time, Milpaltenses live in a globalised world, in which a euro-centric politico-legal framework has transformed all relationships between people and the environment in relationships between people negotiating property rights. In one moment, they may fulfil the deeply felt obligation to protect their forest as a manifestation of Mother Earth, in another they may send their sons to exploit the same forest to satisfy their family's immediate material needs.

It is important to point out that differences between Amerindian worldviews and Euro-American ones should not be overdrawn. I highlight differences not to exoticise, but to call for a plural, more fluid understanding of rights in the vein of what has been called "afflowative action" at the workshop. Thus, I argue that it is not enough for anthropology to support affirmative action in South America and beyond, but it must also engage critically with the ethnocentric way affirmative action itself has been framed.

Even in Uruguay, where no Amerindian people have survived, the water activists we met on the workshop participant's excursion to the Río Santa Lucia spoke of their relationship with the threatened river as a loving kin relation: "The river is our mother." Their worldview, which linked human rights with environmental sustainability, clashed with the view of water treatment plant representatives, whom they accused of polluting the river. The plant representatives instead highlighted their efforts to protect human rights by providing potable water for Uruguayan households at affordable prices.

To conclude, the strength of anthropology lies in mapping out larger connections, witnessing, and facilitating communication between different sides and actors, while also highlighting challenges, risks, and paradoxes. One such challenge regards the Eurocentric framing of the rights discourse. As Abu-Lughod (2002) puts it, it is too late for us not to get involved. We could leave Milpaltenses and other Amerindian people to their own affairs, citing cultural relativism, but that would be tantamount to refusing to acknowledge our partial responsibility for their life conditions.

My key suggestion for policy makers consists in tailoring government interventions to local needs and taking different worldviews into account. For instance, when I asked Milpaltenses what they want, they widely responded that violence against women is negligible compared to other issues affecting Milpaltense quality of life, such as pollution, corruption, institutional racism, unemployment, diabetes, and rising crime levels. Government funds would be helping women more effectively if they prioritized attending to their unmet basic needs, instead of undermining the kin networks they not only depend on in material and social terms, but which are the very focus of their life world.

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Anthropologies, feminisms and life-histories on the frontier

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> Because I, a *mestiza*, continually walk out of one culture and into another, because I am in all cultures at the same time, *alma entre dos mundos, tres, cuatro, me zumba la cabeza con lo contradictorio. Estoy norteada por todas las voces que me hablan simultáneamente.*
> Gloria Anzaldua, 2007

My experience as lecturer in Anthropology began in 2010 at the Universidade Federal do Amazonas, on a campus in the extreme southwest of the Brazilian Amazon, on the Triple Frontier between Brazil, Peru and Colombia. I learned a lot about teaching, guiding and researching there. In that region, I also rediscovered my family history. In the 1940s, my great-grandfather – and thousands of *nordestinos* – migrated to the Amazon as a "rubber soldier" to work on the exploitation of latex. He married my great-grandmother, an Indian of Peruvian origin. A decade later, my grandfather, a military soldier recruited in the city of Recife, was sent by the Brazilian Armed Forces to a Special Border Squad , to what is today the city of Tabatinga. Cícero married Nazaré, the firstborn of Manoel and Sebastiana. My mother, the first daughter of Cícero and Nazaré, would be born in 1959 in the same city where I came to, half a century later, to work in the newly created university campus.

I came to the border after five years of gender studies and public policy evaluations, but I had discovered "gender" a little before, in a peculiar trajectory. First, I discovered *crime* as a legal fact; then, *domestic violence* as a social problem and, later, *gender* as a political and analytical category. Thus, through laws and police procedures, I reached Gender Studies and Feminist Anthropology. Although it is common for anthropologists to start their careers in other disciplinary fields, it is rare for them to have been police officers, like me (Cunha, 2011). Even so, the entrance through the research of violence was commonplace: since the 1980s the Brazilian anthropology of feminist tradition devotes special attention to the subject. Equally common has been the contribution of these researches and researchers to the conquest of rights and pro-gender equality public policies in the country.

However, on that occasion, I wanted to leave Gender Studies and venture into Indigenous Ethnology to investigate the formation of an indigenous police force in the Ticuna communities (Mendes, 2014). A few months' work was enough to dissuade me. One by one, students came to me looking for the feminist teacher, interested in learning about women and gender. Their demands were not "strictly academic." Nor were the uses they gave to the university anthropological training put together by writing and other forms of performance experienced in what years later became the Observatory of Gender Violence in Amazonas, a research project I created in 2012.

Although it is not a public policy, the creation of this project is inseparable from the interiorization policies of Higher Education and gender equity, developed in Brazil in the last 15 years. This made it an important state agent of frontierization and, at the same time, an effective instrument for the production of anthropological research on gender violence, public policy assessment and training of young feminists. In particular, it enabled the composition of a complex mosaic of the region, revealing ethnographic contexts in which gender, violence, rights and state articulate in a peculiar way and require analytical deepening to better understand even the pertinence of these categories in that context.

In this way, for six years, I was able to observe and describe the daily life of female sex workers in the Triple Frontier (Lima, 2010); the course of Peruvian parturient women to access the health system (Campos, 2012); the effects of projects to criminalize indigenous "infanticide" in the Javari Valley (Maia, 2014); the flow of the criminal justice system in the Amazon (Sangama, 2011) and social protection, public security and national defence policies from the perspective of women inhabitants of that multi ethnic and transnational region (Olívar & Cunha, 2017).

Nevertheless, there was an intriguing outcome of the relationship established between the objects investigated, the biographies of the students and my own. In each section of the study, there were reports of violence experienced by the project participants. The theories studied blended with fragments of life histories and confessional accounts of how these women broke with violent relationships, rehearsed political actions and reinterpreted their practices, feminism and Anthropological Theory. Little by little, we discovered that our "life histories", and the manner they entwined, weaved "social experiences" that contributed towards an experimental project - still unfinished – including the university, anthropology and feminism (Kofes, 1994).

The affectation - in the sense of Favret-Saada (2005) - led us to ethnographies ever closer to the lives of those beginner anthropologists. This was continually challenging me. Because it was a herculean and sterile endeavour, affects and their vigour were not separate from our anthropological experiment. Instead, we integrated them into our research, incorporated them in our descriptions, and produced a liminal knowledge (Turner, 1975) that allowed us to decolonize the feminist anthropological training, to be able to move between the worlds that composed us, and experience narratives consistent with the said movement, as inspired by the mestiza Anzaldua (2007).

One of the first members of the Observatory, Rizonete Souza (2014), in her final work of the Anthropology course, part of her university history describes this: "This reading worked like a flash, I remembered things that had happened to me and that were discussed in the text as violence against women. I would come out of the lecture, the discussion, and keep thinking about and remembering situations. Anger and revulsion were the feelings that mixed inside me. It was through this first reading that I came to understand many moments of my life in which I had suffered violence. I then proceeded to appropriate the readings and the learning both in the university and in other spaces to assure myself and to recognize some situations of my daily life" (Souza, 2014: p. 21).

The author narrates in detail the rediscovery of herself and of "the violence", in an emblematic entanglement of conflicts imposed by the anthropological work: "The work of time in my experience gradually revealed itself as I went through a process of discovery, and what I understood as violence, which had been hidden, blended with new discoveries and

became the object of language. From absolute silence and the concealment of experience, I slowly learned to remember and talk about my experiences after being confronted with those of the women whom I met in the fieldwork. This experience has awakened in me the interest of knowing my rights and being able to do something for myself and perhaps for other people" (Souza, 2014, p.18).

In this way, participation in the Observatory created a space of perception and nomination of the experiences lived as violent, and the recognition of my own self as a "subject of rights" and a "politically committed" woman with the "knowledge" acquired. As described, it seemed to fulfil the role of instrumentalizing the naming of lived processes and trigger a "grammar of rights" (Vianna, 2013) proper to the civilizing process, latent at the border, in which the project became a participant.

On the other hand, in several passages of Souza's work (2014) we perceive genuinely anthropological dilemmas, relevant to ethnographic authority and distancing: "Throughout the work of the Observatory, the construction of research work and this paper, I pursued the challenge of an Anthropology of 'emotions', reflecting on the theme of violence against women by using the way the experiences of the women I talked to mirrored my own (p. 32). On the field, I talked about a cross-cutting subject including both, them and myself. I was not simply the researcher looking for information to account for my research object. I was rather the researcher who sought to know how other people thought about something she also knew (p. 49). The experience of recognizing myself as a researcher and research subject enables me to take on this new woman and to enjoy myself more today, and conclude that, at least in this work, it was not possible to separate the researcher from the research subject" (p. 53).

Policewoman/anthropologist, researcher/subject, anthropologist/native, researcher/militant: our liminal trajectories have placed us in constant transit and produced dislocations between theories and agencies, identities and institutions, individual stories and social experiences. And it is in this zone of tension and frontier that I have stood to reflect on how and which Anthropology can contribute to gender equity. This contribution, as experienced in the Observatory, necessarily includes the "possibility of uniting everything that is separate" (Anzaldua, 2007) and recognizing the dynamism of this choice.

Revisiting my own history in the encounter with the life histories of Rizonete and the other students revealed the transformative potential of this experience for my relationship with Anthropology and Feminism. Observing the way these women creatively appropriated theories and methods allowed an anthropological preliminary experiment that may only be understood in its potential generosity, criticism, and openness – according to the meanings coined by Ingold (2008) - in transit, in what is hybrid, in becoming oneself in continuous movement. The limits and possibilities of this preliminary anthropology are yet to be explored, but the consideration of this proposition reveals an attentive search for the type of Anthropology committed to the sustainable future we aim at.

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Reflections on the Trilateral Workshop for Affirmative Action in South America

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The goal of my thesis is to approach the boarding school education system in rural Guyana from an Amerindian perspective. My research explores the impact of this educational shift- from small scale community based education to regional boarding schools- on family and community structure. The relatively new access to boarding school coupled with a recent social pressure to attend is increasing the number of educated young people in this remote part of the savannah. However, due to the Guyanese government's lack of understanding or concern for indigenous social structure and ways of learning, this educational project has been less successful than the Ministry of Education had hoped. Not only do the students suffer from a lack of motivation, receive failing marks in their classes and consistently score poorly on national exams, there has also been an epidemic of spirit possession. The project analyzes this emergent form of spirit possession, what the locals refer to as *the sickness*, which affects almost exclusively young women who live in the dormitories. This detail demands a closer look at this rapid social change and how it impacts indigenous women in particular. I argue that the form and institutional structure of the state-run school, along with a forced separation from kin and social support networks, fosters an environment of spiritual vulnerability. Using *the sickness* as an analytical lens, the thesis explores how young Amerindian women navigate a shift in expectations from their parents and communities and experience this rapid social change and transformation. The research focuses on gender and kinship as two ways to frame the shortcomings of the educational project and to identify possible improvements for the future.

Not exclusive to Sand Creek Secondary, the form of spirit possession that the locals call *the sickness* has in fact affected young women of Amerindian heritage in dormitories throughout Guyana. To my knowledge, it began in Sand Creek in March 2013. While all accounts vary to some degree, the girls and members of the community agree that a 'Granny spirit' is the cause of the possession. There is a mountain directly behind the school dormitory, and the people of the community explain that someone climbed the mountain, disturbed a sacred cave, and released the spirit of an old woman who comes down from the mountain and enters the bodies of spiritually vulnerable adolescent girls. The sickness is characterized in Sand Creek by young girls going into "fits" nearly every night that can last anywhere from 20 minutes to several hours. While in the fits the girls say that they 'lose their sense' and they flail their limbs in every direction and roll around in what looks like great pain. Often they attempt to run up the mountain behind the dormitory. The mountain is covered in rainforest and this can be dangerous, particularly in the rainy season or at night, so the dorm parents and other residents try to prevent the girls from running. They can become

quite violent in their attempts to escape the dorm, and sometimes break the glass louvers and jump out the windows to run up the mountain.

Apart from shedding light on something exclusive to Sand Creek, I suggest that phenomena such as *the sickness* provide crucial vantage points from which we can analyze transformation in indigenous Amazonia. While in one sense, the value placed on formal education seems to be ever increasing in Sand Creek and throughout Guyana, a tension nonetheless remains between this value and its costs, which appear to take the form of spiritual wellness, the kind of care that only familial co-residence can provide, and the kind of memories that are created in the process of being cared for. The research also engages with the question of why this educational project is failing an already marginalized population. An ethnography based approach and the practice of taking these young people seriously can hopefully provide some practical approaches to education reform for indigenous Guyanese people. Finally, the circumstances surrounding the phenomenon of the sickness demand a closer look at the relationship between gender, separation and schooling. These are preliminary thoughts, but will hopefully give way to a contribution towards a better understanding of indigenous ways of perceiving and experiencing those transitions and transformations we tend to gloss over all too lightly as "development" or "social change".

As a part of the trilateral workshop, I worked closely with a group of scholars who all focus on gender inequality in their own work. As a result, presenting the basic outline of my project was an invaluable experience due to the feedback I received. While we all have vastly different research projects, the common thread of what it means to be female is woven into each project. The kind of feedback my colleagues offered was not only thought-provoking and innovative, but also allowed me to focus my thinking on the gendered aspect of my own work in important ways. From discussing the intricacies of the boarding school experience for young indigenous women in Guyana with other scholars who focus on sexual violence against young girls in favelas in Brazil, female leaders in grassroots movements in Brazil, the birthing practices in Uruguay, female members of the National Congress of Brazil, and mothers and daughters living on the borders between Brazil and Colombia, we were able to work together towards a fuller understanding of the experience of being female in day to day life in South America.

The methodological approach of my fieldwork mainly took two forms. I volunteered as an English teacher at the school for Christmas term, and was involved in extracurricular activities with the youth living in the dormitory. I was also graciously accepted in a Wapishana household and broader network of kin. These participatory roles provided me with a deeper understanding of the kind of home environment the school girls are coming from when they attend boarding school, and facilitated a more direct means of comparing the social space and lived experience of school to that of the household and village. The entirety of the project revolves around the young women's own perspective on the experience of *the sickness*, and engages with the affective aspect of indigenous lives.

During the trilateral workshop, we also had the opportunity to work in groups on various topics or concepts that interested us. I choose a topic that directly connected with my methodological approaches to research. The working group was focused on care and affective life- how we approach it, how we understand it, and how we can disseminate it in our own research. We explored the various definitions of care, and how these definitions are enacted in our projects. We problematized affect itself as well as how we approach

it anthropologically. We discussed the fact that there are ways of accessing affect through senses other than vision, and how this connects with the emotions of our informants and ourselves. Despite this, affect cannot be reduced to the sensory, as it is also about actions and reactions in lived realities. We all asked one another how we can employ creative ways to make this affect visible in our work and convey it to the reader. Finally, we related the affective to human rights. In our working group, Tim Ingold suggested that the affective side of human rights might be a way to navigate the dichotomy between the clinical understanding of human rights from the state's perspective and the emotional experience of the people whose rights need to be protected. We interrogated the term affirmative action, and debated what exactly the state is affirming through these actions. Carrying this even further, we discussed how this relates to the visible and the invisible and who has the power to determine what is visible.

The discussion about affect, human rights and affirmative action influenced my thinking about my project in many ways. One of the greatest outcomes of this conversation was an innovative approach to writing that can convey the affective side of life in Sand Creek village more effectively. As the theoretical basis of my research is rooted in Amerindian notions of kinship and family life, and how these connections are palpable, I spoke with my colleagues about several ways of communicating this powerful feeling. In my work, I argue that the only way to approach the sickness and the spiritual vulnerability associated with it is to relate it to the separation from kin and community (that is inherent in the boarding school system) and the physical manifestation of homesickness. With the insight and inspiration from my colleagues at the trilateral workshop, I feel I am capable of illustrating the importance of these felt relationships to my audience.

To build on the conversations we shared and the techniques for writing that were suggested, the working group on affect has organized a trilateral writing group. The members will exchange various pieces of writing about emotions, sensory experiences, and the affective side of fieldwork on an online forum. We will also have a group video conference to discuss the pieces and share feedback. Our first meeting will take place at the beginning of April. Not only will this help to improve all of our writing techniques, but it will also maintain the valuable relationships we developed in Montevideo.

Overall, the most valuable aspect of the trilateral workshop for me was developing an understanding of several new perspectives and innovative practical techniques for approaching affirmative action and social change. Interacting every day with Brazilians and Uruguayans was a wonderful opportunity to bounce ideas of one another in a comfortable space, which provided a lot of inspiration. Each time I approach a challenge, particularly those related to human rights, gender inequality, or sustainable development, I am now equipped to think it through from a myriad of angles. The relationships I built during the program also encourage me to think about realistic and concrete ways to affect social change in my fieldsite, with a particular focus on education reform, and throughout South America, in regards to gender inequality.

Human Rights, a Disputed Field and an Ethical Horizon: Rights and Rights-Bearing Subjects in the Debate on the Assisted Reproduction Law in Uruguay

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Some feminist theoreticians such as Firestone highlight the fact that the human-assisted reproduction techniques (from now on HART) are a step forward in the possibility of materializing reproductive rights for women because they enable them to decide, free of biological constraints, when to have offspring and therefore make maternity compatible with their work or academic histories. Others opposed to this standpoint, state that HART reaffirm maternity as an event inherent to a feminine identity and increase the medicalization of the female body, with the consequent interventions that may determine health risks to women and threaten their sexual and reproductive rights, though these risks have not been sufficiently studied yet.

In my particular case, having studied gamete donation for assisted human reproduction treatments, it is crucial to reflect upon these *biological risks* (Ariza, 2016) assumed by egg-donors, and their relationship with their own reproductive rights and the right to health in the broader sense. In spite of this critical position regarding HART, I can easily understand the suffering of a woman who undergoes assisted reproduction treatment to fulfill her desire to be a mother. Likewise, empathize with lesbian couples who experience pregnancy and motherhood thanks to these technologies, particularly because their actions question reproductive heteronormativity. In the case of homosexual men who seek a biologically related child by means of HART (Diniz y Gómez Costa, 2006), there is an additional complexity linked with the need for a surrogate womb. Abortion has been advocated by feminists as a reproductive right because they understand that we do not "carry" bodies, but that the body is rather a subjectivated materiality and individuals should therefore be able to exercise sovereignty over bodies (Barrancos, 2016) stating that women exercise sovereignty over their bodies when they decide to lend their wombs in surrogate fashion results in a tension at conceptual and political level, to say the least.

I do not think that the liberal construction of rights that approaches them from an individual position and, in the case of surrogate wombs and gamete donation (eggs and sperm), assumes they are personal decisions without taking into account their social, political, economic and cultural structural framework, may be shared either analytically or politically.

In the context of the Trilateral Workshop we spoke of human rights as a disputed political field, an ethical horizon where contradictory and often irreconcilable ideologies are postulated and settled.

These thoughts led me to distance myself from this liberal view on rights and reflect upon the manner how reproductive rights had been approached during the debate in the Senate that ended in the adoption of Draft Law 19.167, and think about some of the social and cultural structures framing the construction of rights, in this case, reproductive rights. Which were the reproductive rights mentioned when the law was debated, who is entitled to those rights, and what is the role of donors in this debate, insofar as individuals contributing with their *clinical work* to the assisted reproduction enterprise?

It became clear from the start that the Law aims to provide universal access to assisted reproduction techniques to "infertile couples" to palliate a problem of social inequality, in the context of a state policy focused on increasingly guaranteeing broader sexual and reproductive rights (through Law 18.426) to the general population, and also to respond to the stagnation and deceleration of demographic growth. With Law19.167, the State is committed to subsidize high and low complexity reproductive treatments, including access to donated gametes when necessary. Though access to reproductive treatments is defined as universal, nevertheless it is limited to women with a heterosexual mate or single women, and women under 40 years of age.

The most controversial debate during the elaboration of the Law revolved on whether or not to include female homosexual couples and single women as subjects of subsidy. In this regard, the document analyzed indicates that the different positions are legitimate, because what is being discussed "is not a political subject". It is interesting to observe how sexuality and reproductive rights are depoliticized in the context of the political debate to formulate laws. Conservative senators Carlos Moreira and Mezzera (from the Nationalist Party) are contrary to extend the subsidy to lesbian couples or single women, because they consider, according to Mezzera's own words, that the Draft Law "(…) aims to protect and improve the family". "In what family milieu should a child be raised in order to have an adequate psychophysical development?", asks Moreira, and immediately responds, "We believe that different-sex stable couples provide the ideal ambit".

Access to the subsidy by women with a woman mate was finally settled based on the idea expressed by Senator Gallo Iperiale, that "one of the members of the couple may be infertile and therefore entitled". While the male may be infertile in biological terms (varying from low fertility to azoospermia or absence of sperm in the semen), the idea that is strengthened in cultural terms is that the female body is the repository of fertility. This statement is close to what Grabino says (2014) in his master's degree research on reproductive policies in Uruguay and vasectomy as an analyzer of masculinities: that the male body is not visualized as a fertile body. As for homosexual male couples and their need to count with a surrogate womb, the discussion is not focused on the woman's willingness to carry another's child bur rather on the need to avoid commodifying the procedure. The only person who challenged the mainstream view voted later and endorsing a surrogate womb in cases when it is a first or second-degree relative who acts in a voluntary and altruistic manner, was the *Frente Amplio* Senator Constanza Moreira. She said, "I think that we must avoid any norm or article with the underlying view according to which a woman is a'body', a container that carries something".

Last, and regarding gamete donors, the debate was focused on donation requirements, the necessity that it be anonymous and altruistic, and on the rights and duties relating the child born by means of these procedures with the donors of the reproductive material. The

need to monitor the number of times one single woman may donate does not arise from the importance of protecting her health but from the need to control the possible consequences of this donation on the endogamy rates in the population –the possibility that two recipients of a same reproductive material may later reproduce together. The same observation has been made by Lucía Ariza (2016) in the Argentine case.

During the discussion of the Draft Law donors appear as invisible subjects in relation to the disputed rights. The rights-bearing subjects are the embryo, infertile couples and the future being born through these technologies. The ethical horizon drawn by this debate has two main axes: the heterosexual family institution, that must be preserved, and altruism, as a vector of meaning for gamete donation and surrogate wombs.

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Gender, Decoloniality and Technoscience in the Analysis of the Construction of the Medical Model of Childbirth Assistance in Uruguay

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It is in Latin America, at the beginning of the 21st century, that the term "obstetric violence" appears to begin to detail the multiple ways in which women are harassed during childbirth care. This ranges from omission of assistance and negligence to more subtle forms of violence resulting from the installation of what the anthropologist Davis Floyd (1993) coined as a *technocratic model of childbirth assistance*.

The inclusion of obstetric violence in the agenda as a specific type of violence within the framework of sexual and reproductive rights may be analyzed, according to Fraser (1991), within the framework of policies of interpretation of needs. There is no longer any doubt that it is the State, through its health policies, that must take care of satisfying the need for care during pregnancy and childbirth. The issue enters the public debate when it begins to question which speeches interpret women's when it comes to giving birth. We are thus faced with the medicalizing and technocratic discourse, fully legitimized for the design of specific health policies. However, we also find a type of *opposition* speech that emerges from social movements and denounces the abuses that women face daily in most maternity wards in Latin America. The demand made by the social movements has aroused academic interests, especially in the social and human sciences, which pick typical medical events but now include the analysis of the social relations involved and the type of knowledge on which the practices that organize their implementation are grounded.

The current research seeks to provide a basis for health policies and social movements to improve the model of childbirth assistance in order to respect women's human rights. From a feminist decolonial perspective, it is a matter of showing the iatrogenic effects of the development of a certain "techno-science-obstetrics", which, from 1950 onwards, gave rise to the hegemonic medical model of childbirth care.

New models capable of accommodating the diversity of needs of 21st century women may begin to be designed insofar as it becomes possible to decolonize the techno-scientific model of childbirth care.

Obstetric science in the mid-20th century in Uruguay

Since the first decades of the twentieth century, the treatment given by society to childbirth changed deeply, initiating the institutionalization of hospital care. This enabled the clinical implementation of the innovations being consolidated by obstetric science. In 1950, the

Obstetric Physiology Department of the School of Medicine was created in our country, with doctors Caldeyro Barcia and Hermógenes Aĺvarez as academic directors. They developed a field dedicated exclusively to the study of the physiology of reproduction; worried about the harmful effects of labor on the fetus, they initiated a research and creation of technology program aimed at preventing perinatal and maternal morbidity and mortality. Multiple discoveries were made (uterine contractility behavior, oxytocin function in labor, the creation of induction by oxytocin, the invention of fetal electronic monitor, among others) by this Department. Technology and procedures were created and immediately introduced into maternity hospitals in the region and around the world.

The assessment in terms of morbidity and mortality was initially very encouraging,[1] but after a while, negative consequences began to be observed[2] in relation to the routine use of procedures initially designed for pathological conditions.

The problem is not the technology itself, because we are beings in constant technological interaction. The problematic issue is, as occurs in other areas, the way how the techno-scientific rite hegemonizes the entire field of practice. The way technology was introduced in childbirth helped to consolidate a model that places the male physician in the place of knowledge and power. The "apparatus data" hindered the possibility of counting women as quality informants in relation to their processes, and privileged the generation of the best conditions so that the expert who "conducts" the delivery can work comfortably and subsequently constrained the freedom of movement of women. The mandatory horizontal position, the use of electronic monitors, invasive practices to accelerate labor (oxytocin, rupture of membranes), episiotomy and cesarean section have all become part of routine practice with the active medical management of childbirth. I emphasize the routine factor, because the problem lies there: when conducted in a generalized manner, not in the practice in and on itself.

Parting from the analysis of the introduction of **technoscience** in obstetrics, the aim is to contribute to a more general analysis of a field of knowledge that studies "the fusion of science and technology as an event operating within a specific economy of power characterized by the interaction and feedback between (neo) capitalism, science and technology".[3]

Darré (2013), in her analysis of some maternal devices developed in Argentina,[4] argues that maternal pedagogies constitute a gender technology that shapes what a society establishes as appropriate or inappropriate for motherhood. Further elaborating on the author's idea, it may be argued that the devices arising from the technoscience-obstetrics are gender technologies insofar as they shape what is to be expected of a "good mother" when it comes to giving birth, while demeaning other forms of knowledge about obstetrics. I am specifically referring to the fact that the construction of obstetric scientific knowledge and

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1 In a presentation of the Obstetric Physiology Department in the late 1970s, it was suggested that the application of the knowledge produced by the Uruguayan school had managed to prevent four perinatal deaths per minute in the world. Source: Box 8 of Dr. Caldeyro Barcia's personal archive, in Archivo General de la Udelar.

2 Two of the manifestations of morbidity due to the implementation of this model of care are: very high rates of cesarean section and episiotomies.

3 Justification of the proposal of the "Epistemological and Ontological Conflicts on Technoscience and Social Inequality" Working Group presented at the RAM 2017, emanated from the Workshop.

4 The devices are: The Awards for Virtue, the School of Mothers under the Patronage of Childhood, the councils of Florencio Escardó, the School for Parents of Eva Giberti and FILIUM (Interdisciplinary Association for the Study and Prevention of Filicide), founded by Arnaldo Rascovsky. Darré, 2013: 13).

the technology developed around it left aside various forms of local and age-old knowledge. When obstetric science burst into the world of reproduction, it did so from a male medical body that left aside the women they were caring for, in the context of combating child mortality and with a conception of women's bodies as defective and dangerous to the fetus. The theory of decoloniality acquires analytical power here, because it shows the arbitrary character of a manner of constructing knowledge and social practice. The medical model did not capture the experience and knowledge of midwives who had been providing care until then. They, who provided home care, knew that they had their experience, the mechanics of the physiology of women's bodies and little else with which to achieve a successful delivery. Contemporary accounts show that women were allowed to give birth in the position they considered more comfortable (usually vertical), that they could drink and eat during labor, and that the midwife became a reference figure during the puerperium and the initial care of the newborn. A process of construction of professional subalternity of midwifery in relation to medicine may be observed during the following decades in the successive professional regulations, the sanitary norms and university training.

In summary, in the light of the improvement of the current model of care, it is necessary to visualize other notions about childbirth that could help to modify the current use of obstetric technoscience. Connecting decolonial and feminist critiques poses a theoretical challenge that will serve to feed empirical analysis. In this sense, Connell's proposal is encouraging as it implies the inclusion of the contributions and debates of decolonial thinking in the gender debate, but now those coming from the South (Connell, 2015a: 27-28).

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Between Law and the making of law: contributions to women's political inclusion in Brazilian National Congress

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This short paper presents reflections on the paradox of assumed equality that comes with the way women are constructed as a legal category in Brazilian law-making process. Some of the issues presented in this paper were the results from the Trilateral Workshop in Montevideo in 2017, where most of the participants were engaged in debating Affirmative Actions and how our research may contribute to the political issues of our own fields. In this paper, I shall cast light on how ethnography and in particular observation of long-term processes may bring forth insights about inherent problems and contradictions for women as a legal category and as political agents in the law-making process.

The current Brazilian Constitution (1988), established after the military dictatorship, was the first Brazilian Constitution to guarantee women equal rights in Brazilian law, a process described as an achievement of social movements, especially women's movements. Women's organizations pushing for this in the making of that Constitution was known as "Lobby do Batom" (Lipstick Lobby), an important political organization for women's participation in the writing of the Constitution. Furthermore, women's rights in Brazilian law are also described as a historical process of women's emancipation from family, as male family members used to have the custody over women. Thus, women as a legal category was appurtenant to her social role in the family. From this point forward, law debates after the new Constitution assumed that woman became an equal legal category. However, exploring this apparent legal equality reveals paradoxical inequalities that remain for women's rights in Brazilian law, as well as the effects of the assumed equality for women. For instance, following the law-making process closely makes explicit how female deputies face systematic restrictions of the influence of their Committees inside the Brazilian Congress.

My research compares law to the law-making process, which entails following this process as it unfolds in the National Congress, a Legislative Chamber composed of two so-called Houses. For this purpose, I have been following several bills starting with a bill presented in 2003 entitled the "Woman's Statute". This research analyzes (1) documents presented to the Congress proposing bills and other documents created in the running of these bills inside the Houses; (2) registers of activities on Committees inside Congress; and (3) follow women's activities in the Lower House during the period of research, between 2015-2017.

The bill proposing a Statute for Women, described that the possible future law would only concern certain types of women, such as the ones considered vulnerable, like those who falls into the categories of "single-mother, HIV-positive, ex-prisoner, unemployed". Amendments presented to the bill, however, argued that these descriptions of women would

presume women´s inequality, contradicting the equality assumed in the Constitution. In the Committee created for reporting the bill, discussions began to concern the legal definition of woman considered by the future law. This expanded "woman" as a wider legal category, which was supposed to embrace every female person. Consequently, the debates became centered on the legal definition of woman as a category in the Constitution, and how to promote the equality described in the main law. This reveals different claims over "woman" as a legal category, as well as following these debates cast light on gender contradictions for politicians in the making of law inside Congress.

This can be made visible by comparing the presumed rights and the law-making process. This means that while woman as a category was defined as an equal legal category in Brazilian law and in the debates in the Committee on the Statute of Women, the debates inside the Committee were contextualizing "women" in a very specific way. This was made explicit by some speeches in the Committee, for instance, the first meeting of the Committee in a speech of the author of the bill (deputy Renato Cozzolino), a male deputy, when justifying his initiative for proposing the Woman´s Statute:

> It is necessary, definitely, to put all this together; it is necessary to look at the woman as a special being - and I am not here to enlarge or diminish. But the truth is that every man has, at least, one great love in life. And I am no different from other men on the face of the earth. Congratulations, estimated President! Congratulations, estimated rapporteur! I am sure that the Statute for Women will be discussed this very year, and it will be you ladies - mothers and grandmothers - who will give rights that are not yet guaranteed in the Constitution to many other Brazilian mothers and grandmothers, such as preventive medical exams and constant prenatal care. Nowadays we are aware of the daily life of the most needed communities and we know that this Statute was not elaborated for Renato's mother, for Renato's wife, for the Commission President, for those mothers, for the suffering women from the poorest places of our Brazil.

Speeches like this show the contradiction between woman as a legal category in documents (or assumed rights) and how women are perceived inside the Congress. How, then, could woman be assumed to be an equality legal category if the speeches maintain woman as a subject described as in need of protection and as a domesticated person? An ethnographic approach on the making of law highlights such paradoxes regarding assumptions of equality in the gap between law and their effectiveness. The making of law, I argue, stands in between. While woman as a legal category is defined as an equal person and legal debates focus on how to guarantee this presumed equality through new kinds of law, some speeches bring women as a different subject of law attention. Comparing documents and speeches brings up a scenario where woman is an open legal category, and possibly not an equal one.

Consequently, this turns our focus to the power (im)balance in the process of negotiating and defining this open legal category, that is women as a legal person, which brings me to the question of women's own participation in the making of law in Brazil. In 2016, during the impeachment process of President Dilma Rousseff a new Committee for woman's rights (*Comissão de Defesa dos Direitos da Mulher*) was created in the Lower House. During the meeting for creating the Committee, some female deputies protested against its creation. According to some of them, the new Committee would marginalize women inside Congress, while important topics such as abortion, reproduction and work would be designated to other Committees, composed of a majority of male deputies. Later on, in the same year, another Committee (*Comissão Especial PEC Licença Bebê Prematuro*) composed of a

majority of male deputies, was created for debating the increase of the leave for mothers of premature born babies, once more then, situating any potentially new legal rights inside the context of family relations. Thus, this gave the Committee an excuse for trying to change the Constitution´s description of legal rights for the unborn, strengthening the legal rights of the unborn further. This would automatically restrict abortion permissions, as revealed, by mistake, during a talk that come off a microphone in a Committee meeting.

–You're going to have a hard work at it.

–but I already reported the other one. [inaudible words]

–Ah, so you know everything. Because here we are going to insert the thing against abortion.

–I know.

This Committee was composed by thirty men and five women politicians, and was created after some possible changes to the abortion regulation after decisions on abortion punishment by the Brazilian Supreme High Court (*Supremo Tribunal Federal – STF*). The *STF* had previously proclaimed five doctors and more staff of an illegal abortion clinic in Duque de Caxias accused of practicing abortion, not guilty. This decision, in a country where abortion is a crime prescribed in the legislation, could promote future legal decisions and permissions for abortion practices. Thus, the Committee's real mission appeared to be to prevent this from happening. In all the meetings of this Committee that I attended, only one female deputy was present, trying to stop the running of the Committee and proclaiming against the topic up for vote. In these meetings, she was the only politician to go against the Committee's decisions, the only one to go against debating unborn rights set, supposedly, to extend mothers leave.

While my research offers a view from inside the process of making law, which includes law documents, debates, and speeches as well the daily talks and meetings, both formal and informal, in the law-making process inside the Brazilian Congress, looking at the law-making process reveals contradictions between law and the making of law. Lesson from that is that women taking part in assigning legal rights do not guarantee an effective political participation of women inside the Congress, and the making of law. Even considering women´s inclusion in politics as a necessary and important path for guaranteeing women´s representativeness, comparing different documents and perspectives in the process of negotiating legal terms and categories highlights remaining issues for an effective inclusion and influence on behalf of female deputies.

Looking into the making of law highlights such contradictions. It shows that presumed gender equality may be based on an unequal gender process. Taking women's equality for granted based on the Brazilian Constitution camouflage the daily imbalances women face as deputies in negotiation legal categories and frameworks. Assuming that women´s legal equality was achieved by the current Constitution (from 1988 onwards) would be a mistake, likewise misguided is the assumption that electing female deputies automatically make them equal as politicians in the law-making process. The inequality of women as politicians, in the process of making law which is supposed to create equal legal category of woman, is what I have been calling a paradox of assumed equality. This reveals itself by looking at the law-making process, the making of law by and for women.

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CHAPTER
HUMAN RIGHTS

New Ethnographic Confrontations,
More Decolonization

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> *Understanding and explaining what is shared, common, and what is distinctive and*
> *unequal, the junction and disjunction points, is still one of the major challenges we face.*
> Suely Kofes (1994)

This essay aims to discuss the experience of the Trilateral Workshop, held in the city of Montevideo, Uruguay, with the participation of researchers from different countries: Uruguay, Brazil and the United Kingdom. The subject inquired about the anthropological discipline in its relation with Human Rights, Gender Equality and Sustainable Development, thus allowing the participants to choose within a great diversity of research objects, methodologies and theoretical perspectives.

The major reflection that emerges from the debate about how Anthropology may effectively become a decolonizing, liberating practice, committed to guarantee and preserve human rights arises from an even more sensitive question: who are the subjects of rights? Ultimately, who are truly regarded as humans in the practices and investigative discourses of Anthropology?

How do we establish what is human? We live in a normotic society. The vast majority of so-called "average men", lords of rights, seem to very desperately want to belong to the norm, with a standardizing grammar of dress, behaviour, health condition and sexual orientation. According to this normative rationale, the "average man of Quetelet" is white, straight, middle class, productive, and has no physical disorders. They are the attributes that industrial society demanded when producing its future leaders during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Contrary to this discourse, this same society created its "others": blacks, women, "perverts" (gay, lesbian), the crippled and the crazy; all unproductive, inferior, beyond the norm; each of them less human. Racism, machismo, homophobia, ableism are social narratives that impute less humanity to each other: less humanity, less capacity, less rights. I argue that racism, machismo, homophobia are forms of ableism, of narrating the other socially and historically, not only as inferior, as a contaminated element, but also as less beautiful, worse, a form of moral vice and a state of illness. They are narratives formed by degrading statements, which aim to describe this other as less human and not able. In the logic of the average man it is necessary to detach this other from his humanity to alienate him from his rights and justify his domination and exploitation; a decolonizing anthropology needs to react to that.

As anthropologist, for the last fourteen years I have done ethnography with neo-Nazi groups, which in their discourse they defended themselves as wholly formed of "average

men," willing to defend nature, and the "natural law" of "their supremacy" over others. The idea of race embraces an extremely complex polysemy: race is nation, skin, uniform, religion, homeland, biology and religion, material and transcendental, justification for all kinds of hate speech. One group, The Creativity Movement, turned against children with Trisomy 21, and described their views in the following manner:

From the ethnography, the Creativity Movement speech:

Both groups whine that Down Syndrome babies are the most "loving" children anyone could have, and thus are valuable to us. Well, I would hope everyone has enough common sense to see through this little whine, for Down Syndrome children have an IQ less than 60, so obviously they know nothing more than just "loving" everyone. Often, dogs love their owners unconditionally no matter how some people abuse them because they do not know better. In this manner, people are promoting the birth of Down Syndrome children so they can have a pet to love them unconditionally which, in my opinion, is unacceptable. We must expect more out of members of the White race than merely the ability to show love and affection.

The ableism expressed by the group being discussed ultimately reveals the major question with which an Anthropology that aims to be public, symmetrical, collaborative, decolonizing, and if I may, accessible, must face: who is actually human? Can we allow that part of humanity "of average men" define for us who can be considered as human, and correspondingly holder of rights, and who shall be disqualified by an ableism discourse? To respond to this challenge, Anthropology needs to ask some questions:

First, it is necessary, as Pamela Block (2015) wrote, to occupy Anthropology with disability; and, I may add, occupy deficiency with Anthropology. In other words, it is necessary to bring the subject with disability to the centre of the anthropological debate, so that our dearest theories and premises can be shaken by this ethnographic confrontation. And it is necessary to take the contribution of Anthropology to the field of *Disability Studies*.

Secondly, we need an Anthropology that contributes to guarantee and preserve rights. In 2016, the UN celebrated ten years of the promulgation of the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD). It was organized over a four-year period with 192 UN members and hundreds of representatives from civil society from all over the world.

In addition, the CRPD has the "Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities." When a country signs this Optional Protocol, it authorizes the UN to receive reports on violation of Rights. In spite of the progress made over ten years and the dozens of allegations before the CRPD against the State Parties that have signed up, some of the most basic issues have not been addressed and the vast majority of people with disabilities remain marginalized and excluded.

All the progress made by CRPD during this decade, included in a note during the anniversary celebration, was described by the UN as "only peripheral" and analysts said that "urgent action is needed to guarantee total rights to the global population of almost one billion adults and at least 93 million children with disabilities worldwide". People with disabilities are excluded from the labour market, from school environment, from their citizenship rights. Women, girls and boys with disabilities are victims of sexual abuse; the vast majority of people and children with disabilities (especially those with rare diseases) do not have access to health care. Minors with intellectual disabilities are the preferred target of organized crime worldwide. Ethnographic studies of this population can raise important issues

for public policies, and show unknown aspects of the impoverishment of this population, their social isolation and the multiple challenges experienced by their families, or that they have been abandoned.

The decolonization of anthropological practice is a process that involves criticizing and confronting practices that sustain imperialism and colonialism at many levels of domination. As a researcher, one of the levels in the decolonizing practice of Anthropology and Disability Ethnography that most concerns me is to understand the underlying assumptions, motivations, and values (Kuppers, 2015).

Therefore, a third challenge imposed by disability to Anthropology will be the need for a symmetrical relationship, which entails understanding these assumptions. When I read an anthropologist describe his "particular vision of blind people," "his point of view on blindness," or his "personal listening of non-speaking deaf persons or users of Brazilian Sign Language," or his "understanding of those with low intellectual capacity", I cannot perceive any otherness or reflective effort.

This is contrary to any Anthropology that wishes to be decolonizing, minimally reflective, symmetrical, or any new name that may be given to the task of always showing "respect, respect your informants, indeed, because we work with people," a fact that we repeat so often that it seems lose meaning. When has a blind man read a research paper on blindness produced in BRAILLE? Or a deaf person had a paper in LIBRAS (Brazilian Sign Language) or CENA (sign language of each indigenous group)? When was the academic language translated so that people with neurodiversity could discuss what we said about them? They are not just words; they are codes of power, codes that legitimize the power of *Homo academicus* (Bordieu dixit), a locus which people with disabilities cannot occupy, because we do not provide quotas, chances or rights; neither access nor accessibility, nor ways to enter or to remain.

Ethnography of disability addresses, above all, the inability of anthropological theory to actually deal with the maximum human diversity; Anthropology, by the way, would not be the first discipline to face such a problem. Eugenics (a cousin of Anthropology in the nineteenth century, it is always good to remember), also faced this difficulty, because its interpreters wanted to group all the allegedly "undesirable" characteristics, but their variability was such that this was not possible. Moreover, the "disabled" subject arises, actually, from the struggle for public policies and the aims of medicalization and institutionalization in the 1960s and 1970s, since the disability category encompasses physical, sensory, psychosocial and intellectual issues. With the advent of genetic diagnosis and the proliferation of environmental diseases, rare diseases have been recently added. In disability, the capacity for differentiation seems infinite. The ethnographic confrontation is therefore useful.

Dealing with the difficulty of Anthropology and its own assumptions about disability (here I remind you that Ethnography is described "first and foremost" as "a visual activity", or a "retinal activity" and that, "A historian can be deaf, a jurist blind, a rigorous philosopher can be both, but the anthropologist needs to hear what people say and see what they do (Raymond Firth)" (Laplatine, 2004). Reminding us, therefore, that in Anthropology there are compulsory bodies, also imposed, patterns of normality, from the ethnographer to Ethnography. Does anthropological ableism require perfected bodies? Perfecting? Are marginal and deviant bodies acceptable as anthropologists? What about bodies that express emotions inappropriately? Are there rules of etiquette, conduct, norms for the bodies of

Anthropology? Moreover, the bodies that do not belong to the royal dynasty and express other places, not so noble, are they acceptable?

Obviously, the occupation of Anthropology by people with disabilities depends on the guarantee of accessibility (be it physical, communicational, attitudinal, technological). At this point, it is worth remembering that the CDPD is equivalent to not providing accessibility, adequacy to prejudice. Failure to provide accessibility is ableism, and in many countries that have already adequately regulated the CRPD, the matter belongs to the criminal sphere. Will anthropology accept criminalizing those who, even after being warned, refuse to allow the presence of the deviants? These are just a few of the many questions that will emerge in this (hopefully) new ethnographic confrontation. This debate should be productive, respectful and collaborative.

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"Cuidado com as Palavras": Prisoner's Lessons for the Academic Activism

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Over more than the ten years, I have been dedicated to the research of crime and prisons. My research explored the functioning and modes of existence of the First Command of the Capital (pcc), commonly referred as "the biggest prison gang" or as "organized crime". The pcc first emerged as a kind of prisoners' union in the early 1990s, and today it is present in more than 90% of prison facilities and in most urban areas in the Brazilian state of Sao Paulo. The expansion of the pcc, that made it to be considered the most powerful criminal network in Latin America, happened after the addition of "Equality" to its "ideals" and occurred concomitantly with a stark decline of homicide rates in the State of São Paulo – perceived by the prisoners themselves and by the inhabitants of urban areas previously considered extremely violent, but also measured by official statistics.

In the beginning of my research, I avoided the dialogue with the majority of the bibliographies concerning crime and prisons. I saw a problem in this bibliography. It usually talks about the "problem of violence/crime/prison", seeing its object as a problem in the very start point of the research. Generally, its concern is with "public security". Underlying this approach is the State perspective assumed by the authors, who use to mobilize concepts like democracy, capitalism, economy and law, and denounce an "absence of the State". Frequently, these concepts act like external forces that provide an explication to the phenomenon studied, but at the same time obscure the relations that constitute this phenomenon.

This is the approach adopted in most academic production about crime and prisons concerned with public policies and affirmative actions. In addition, this is commonly the discourse of the social movements. Thus, in order to confer primacy to what the criminals and prisoners do, talk, and think, I avoided the dialogue with the matters of public policies in that moment. If I avoid these dialogues, I engaged with others, particularly with productions from Political Anthropology, Philosophy, Anthropological Theory, Amerindian and Melanesian Studies. This text is divided in two parts. In the first one, I present the theoretical and methodological approach of my research, as well as the main results of the heterodox dialogues I done. In the second part, I show that this approach allowed me to learn with the prisoners and criminals something that I took carried to my academic work: to be careful with the words I use to say and write (or, as they say, "cuidado com as palavras"). I will argue that this academic posture has intense relation with the discussion about why and how our research can contribute to improve the lives of people (and other beings) in concrete manners.

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My first research (Biondi, 2014), based on fieldwork in prisons, explored how the incorporation of "Equality" provoked a series of mechanisms and strategies to produce a

"Command" between "equals", thus nourishing a tension between hierarchy and equality that infiltrates and spreads out across all the dimensions of the PCC. Inspired by a literature from Political Anthropology and Philosophy (Clastres 1977; Foucault 2002; Schwartz, Turner and Tuden 1966; for example), I took these practices as politics, but as a politics that concerns and relates to the everyday life of prisoners. Then I interrogate how, contrary to the police forces' organicist perception of the PCC, it does not match the sum of its parts and, besides that, it takes place even in the absence of its members. One of these plans mentions the PCC as transcendence, something that only exists because of their immanent forces. In dialogue with current debates in anthropology, this approach allowed me to reflect about an immanentist anthropology on a transcendent construction, an anthropology that permits to think transcendence as it is produced by the actors themselves, without imagining it as a pre-existing entity. This PCC-as-transcendence, produced in the immanence and mixed to it, results on a decentred, non-hierarchical social formation. The PCC is thus presented as a creative social formation that challenges the concept of organized crime and offer another approach to the notion of prison gang.

In my doctoral research, based on fieldwork in the urban periphery of Sao Paulo, I argued that the PCC, having no stable interpersonal or territorial ties, could be thought of as a *Movement*. This approach had two important implications for the thesis. Firstly, it demanded a reflection on an ethnography in motion. Secondly, it required a description of the PCC-in-the-making. Thus, it concerned modes of doing – the PCC and the ethnography

My third research explored the relationship between the State policies and the prisoners' activities. Whereas the policies or prison administrations do not start from a harmonically constituted State and do not act on the uniquely classified population—i.e. "State" and "prisoners" cannot be approached as monolithic units—my effort was to describe the micropolitics of incitements and variations in those relationships. It allowed me to show how state policies, legal dispositions, and official acts are part of the very configuration of the PCC. Examining the relations that form the PCC, I showed the mix and the conjugation—in contrast to the simple opposition—between, on the one side, the state and legal forms and, on the other, the criminal, informal and illegal ones. The state and legal forms are not only external forces that affect prisoners' lives, but also elements that constitute their situation and their possibilities. They are inside and mixed with the prisoner life and, consequently, with the PCC. In turn, and through the same process, the prison life is productive of changes both in the management of prisons and in the public security.

Thinking in terms of movement is also to challenge the frontiers of the units of analysis. Then when I take the PCC as a Movement, I erase the lines that commonly make the prisons (but also the PCC) something clearly bounded (like a "total institution", as called by Goffman (1961). As a result, it is not so easy to define what is 'inside' and what is 'outside' the PCC or the prison). This perspective avoids putting the PCC at the margins of state (as an analysis inspired by Das and Poole [2004] would do) or as something that arises in the "absence of the state".

However, what do all these things say about affirmative actions or public policies?

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As I tried to show, without approaching crime and prisons as problems and engaging myself with heterodox dialogues, whether theoretical or bibliographical, I can present research results that are significantly different of those produced by the researches focused on

public security. In this second part of the article, I will argue that these efforts offer other bases for the public debate about crime and prison. As is well-known, public actions concerning crime and imprisonment are largely influenced by the public debate and its relation to the yearnings of the population, linked to their sense of security.

The mainstream media in Brazil has a strong discourse about the need for stricter laws, exemplary punishments, and more imprisonment. Sectors of the political opposition (on the right and on the left wing) complain about the omission of government in the matter of public security. Most of the political class works for the reduction of minimum age for penal responsibilities or for the extension of the punishment for juvenile offenders. Most of the experts in the area, in turn, denounce the "absence of State" as the main factor to explain the problems arising from incarceration. Even the construction of more prisons is seen as a measure for guaranteeing human rights. Underlying all these positions is the claim for a greater State intervention, for more State, therefore. In an environment that is clearly not the place of social welfare, but of control and punishment, asking for more State is asking for more prison, more punishment, more control. This is the hegemonic discourse.

One of the things I learned with the prisoners was the "cuidado com a palavra", an expression that can be translated as "be careful with the words you say", with what you say. They seem to be aware of the performative character of the speech; they know that the words do things. The words act and can even kill. It is not new among anthropologists, especially those who dialogue with (ethnographical) theory of language. However, the lesson given by the prisoners is that I have to be careful with the words I use, with my speech, with what I say. Now, not only the native's speech is an act. The words spoken or written by academics are also performative. Academic discourse is also an act of speech, therefore. Especially when involved in public debate.

It is difficult to think of any political or cultural change concerning crime and prisons matters when the anchor of the news program keeps saying, "The laws have to be more severe", when most politicians respond to the public outcry and approve reducing the age of criminality, and when the specialists denounce the lack of State in prison. Perhaps the first step in a new approach to those who transgress the law is to stop seeing public insecurity as a lack of something and to address it because of the arrangements we have created. In this way, a politically engaged anthropology, and therefore that confer primacy to the native's point of view; can offer a counter-discourse to the hegemonic discourse.

The debates about affect and activism that occurred in the Workshop made me think about the extension and delimitation of the affirmative actions. When do affirmative actions start? In fact, the contribution of anthropology in this field starts in their very practice, before the governmental sanctions. In these sense, anthropologists can work on affirmative actions in each step, through each word spoken. The anthropological practice, necessarily politic and engaged, can be an activist practice (and in fact, it is more and more). Different from militancy (because does not require an engagement in corporate groups or in shared ideas), an activist practice lead to an establishment of an ethic, a posture. Activism is about an ethic of daily life and thus it is possible to make the life an activist life. I think that what I am stating that an activist life has a strong connection with what Foucault (1994) wrote about the non-fascist life. This kind of attitude is also an affective action. In these terms, there are an intrinsic relation between affirmative action, activist action and affective action. All of them presuppose walking with (Ingold, 2011) and to amplify the voices listened in this walk.

I just learned the importance of the words for my natives because I walked with them. However, it was not enough. I amplified their voices and incorporated this care in my anthropological and political practices, in my activism actions and in my daily ethics. Now I am aware of the performative actions of the words I write and speak and, I argue, this is a way of offering a counter-discourse to the hegemonic one. By these tracks, I return to the political debate, but now accompanied by the prisoner's lessons and by the knowledge that ethnography allowed.

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The mourning mothers of Peixinhos and counter-mapping collaborations: anthropological engagements with grief

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Peixinhos is considered one of the most violent regions in the metropolitan area of Recife, in the Brazilian state of Pernambuco. Many of the *meninos do bairro* [neighbourhood boys] involved in drug trafficking have been systematically murdered by police forces, extermination groups or rival dealers. As they say in Peixinhos, *caíram na vida errada* - "they fell into the wrong life". Since they are not deemed worthy of being publicly mourned, their mothers grieve privately for years on end, as is the case of Dona Conceição: "the pain is endless, it doesn't stop. Only when I die will this longing and grief end".

What should an anthropologist confronted with Dona Conceição's grief make of the recent call for anthropologists to move away from descriptions of misery, suffering and pain? Instead of focusing on the suffering subject, anthropologists should experiment looking at what is good in this world (Robbins, 2013). Enough of domination, violence and inequality, let us move on to descriptions of hope, care, kindness, compassion, sympathy, solidarity. As valuable as the argument may be for the ever-relevant discussion about the construction of the Anthropological Other, it raises a more pressing question: What if the emotions or moral precepts anthropologists associate with "the good" are not what they encounter in their particular ethnographic contexts of study?

Listening to the mourning mothers of Peixinhos forces the anthropologist to acknowledge and engage with grief in a world filled with the presence of the dead. Paying attention to "the good" would require an out-of-context analytical frame, one that matters elsewhere, perhaps in the very distant world of anthropology. If this is the case, another problem precedes the dismissal of the suffering subject in anthropological knowledge: how can anthropologists engage with emotions that actually matter to their subjects of study?

I will briefly dwell on possible anthropological engagements with Dona Conceição's grief by describing a summoning of some sort: the experience of being asked to collaborate as an anthropologist with the *Projeto Mães da Saudade* - the Grieving Mothers Project - a community-based research that seeks to map grief in Peixinhos so as to confront the maps of violence that ground repressive state policies that criminalize the *meninos do bairro*.

The Mães da Saudade Project

The Mães da Saudade project began in 2011 inside a well-known community-led organisation in Peixinhos, the *Grupo Comunidade Assumindo suas Crianças* [Community Group Taking Care of its Children]. Founded in 1986, Grupo Comunidade was originally run by neighbours who, alarmed by the amount of children on the streets, decided to keep

them busy with cultural and educational activities based on Paulo Freire's Pedagogy of the Oppressed. As part of a growing organised movement, Grupo Comunidade became one of the base groups of the *Movimento Nacional de Meninos e Meninas de Rua* [National Movement of Street Children], which would play an important role in the establishment of children's rights in Brazil in the 1990s.

As a reference in the neighbourhood, Grupo Comunidade got to know many of its children and their families. It is not rare to meet people in Peixinhos who say, "*fui menino do grupo*" –"I was once a boy at the group" - and not uncommon to hear of those who were murdered, "*foi menino do grupo*" –"He was once a boy at the group". The constant presence of mourning mothers led Grupo Comunidade to start the Mães da Saudade Project, an attempt to transform their private mourning into a collective political experience. Mothers were invited to tell the life stories of their murdered children to young people, in an effort to reframe the narratives of their deaths. Hence, their stories portrayed not perpetrators of crimes who only had themselves to blame for their own deaths, but victims of a particular social context. Mothers and young people involved in the project met regularly, held demonstrations on the streets of Peixinhos and signed petitions addressed to the governor demanding to be heard.

However, people continued to die violently and the then-governor kept receiving international prizes for his security policy. Its alleged reduction in crime rates was the result of a successful effort in containing duplications in the body count. New procedures were put in place in coordinating the identification of victims to ensure the one-body-one-number ratio. The state government also invested in an intelligence agency with experts who produced statistics and homicide cluster maps that showed "hot spots." These were usually poverty-stricken areas seen as needing increased police presence. The more maps of violence were produced, the more authorities invested in repressive measures in neighbourhoods like Peixinhos.

In 2014 Grupo Comunidade decided to undertake a community-led research project that they hoped would "show the reality of Peixinhos" in order to counter the data produced by the State of Pernambuco. Young people active in the project visited 242 houses in 85 streets of Peixinhos with a questionnaire asking about the age, income, and schooling of all the residents, including family members who had been murdered or were in prison. These visits ended up being very emotional, as one of the young researchers explained: "It was hard to contain our emotions when hearing the accounts of mothers who lost their children so tragically. We have also experienced moments of loss and suffering with family members who died or were killed." More important than registering the answers and producing data was to hear, once more, the stories of those who were killed.

Even though the research did not end up producing statistical data as initially intended, something more significant emerged: the acknowledgement of the relations between the living and the dead. In the 242 houses visited, amidst tears and embraces, 180 deaths were narrated and the memory of children, parents, siblings, cousins, grandchildren, and sons-in-law were invoked. The one-body-one-number proportion did not prevail in the counting made by the young researchers. In a neighborhood inhabited by kin, the same dead *menino* was mourned by multiple households, appearing as a nephew in one narrative and a grandchild in another. What mattered to the mothers was not containing possible duplications in

the counting of bodies, as the state experts would have wanted, but having their children's life remembered and death lamented.

The experience led *Grupo Comunidade* to realise that official maps of violence were limited to counting bodies, with no reference to the victims' ties with those who remained. Another research problem soon followed: would it be possible to map grief as an alternative? How to contrast official homicide cluster maps with some sort of image that highlighted kinship ties, including those between the living and the dead? For me, a long-time anthropologist and friend, the question was how to engage with the mothers' affect as a collaborator in a community research project that intended to map grief.

Counter-mapping

Geo-processing techniques have long been used for drawing social and environmental diagnoses upon which development policies are based. In Brazil, such techniques have been instrumental for indigenous and environmentalist organizations in demanding the safeguard of legally protected areas and indigenous lands. As for the drawing of social diagnoses in places like Peixinhos, the use of geo-processing has been more common on the part of government organisations and research institutes, which eventually make use of participatory tools in the effort of engaging the perspective of target groups. Less frequent, however, is the use of geo-processing techniques in community-led research projects such as the one undertaken by *Grupo Comunidade* as a means of making their demands visible to the State, that is, in the role of actors amidst their political struggle rather than "beneficiaries" as defined in a development project.

For *Grupo Comunidade*, proposing to map grief in their community was a crucial effort in placing the state diagnosis of social violence under scrutiny. In mapping violence, government bodies tend to rely on official data of violent deaths, which hampers their understanding of how it is lived by the affected communities and leads to public policies that focus mainly on strengthening policing structures and often criminalize the same young people who stand as their target group. In this sense, the idea of contrasting state maps of violence with a map of grief intended to combat the stereotyping of the *meninos* as perpetrators of crimes, and of Peixinhos as a target of repressive policies that tend to cause more deaths and more mourning.

The question of how an anthropologist could collaborate in such an effort to map grief is also one of engaging with affect and establishing a broadened concept of counter-mapping. If grief is a means of evoking the dead, considering it is attesting to the widespread presence of the *meninos* in memories, narratives, visions, dreams, premonitions, and apparitions. Mapping grief, therefore, would require some kind of transductive procedure that might transform the narratives of the mothers into images that elicit the presence of the dead and the relation with their kin. In this sense, it would join recent counter-mapping experiences that have not been limited to the use of geoprocessing techniques.

Different forms of infographs have been developed to connect wider audiences to issues of public policy, environmental sustainability and human rights. Experiments with filmic animations in the context of urban conflicts (Forensic Architecture, 2014), for instance, point to possibilities of creative mapping not solely based on spatial references or a defined territorial base. Time and memory should have an important part to play in a map that seeks to express grief. The form it takes at the end of the process will have to be figured out together

with the young researchers of *Grupo Comunidade* and the mourning mothers of the community. Walking with them along the streets and aisles of the neighbourhood, listening to their narratives, and engaging with their grief is thus central to this collaboration.

Whether to refer to this kind of experiment as collaborative, engaged or militant anthropology is still an open question to be addressed elsewhere. Whatever the case, the challenge remains the same: to provoke an encounter between what is relevant to anthropologists – engaging actively with the world we seek to understand - and to our subjects of study – in the case of Peixinhos, influencing public policies. Anthropological engagements with affect in counter-mapping efforts such as the one proposed by the *Mães da Saudade* Project may contribute to incite alternative affections, ones that matter to those with whom we work.

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Children, armed conflict, extractive economies and affirmative actions:
Which 'type' of children are we fighting for?

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Throughout history, children have taken active parts in army structures and military campaigns around the world. However, it was only at the end of the twentieth century that a growing body of academic studies and international laws began to emerge concerning the recruitment and use of children in hostilities. While contemporary efforts have overall been concentrated on reducing the number of children fighting as soldiers within armed groups, little attention has been paid to the other diverse non-direct-combat-related roles that children perform in different capacities that are equally crucial in warfare, such as domestic tasks or involvement in illegal economies and other labour related functions of armed groups. These "additional" activities have been briefly mentioned in legal instruments but in many respects have remained side-lined in their importance in comparison to military involvement. This is despite the fact that in current internal conflicts, the exploitation and extortion of natural resources has become an important financial lifeline for criminal and rebel groups along with other legal agricultural commodities (Ross, 2004, p. 48). Children have not only been recruited to participate directly in hostilities but also to perform as labourers in mines and other subset activities (IPEC, 2005; Bales, Trood and Williamson, 2009).

The participation of children in labour during armed conflicts is normally underemphasized and its connection with wartime is underestimated and perceived as a coincidental overlap or side-effect (see IPEC, 2005, p.30; Le Billon, 2009, p. 346). Even though the coexistence of different forms of child labour in wartime is not new, incidences of child labour have been analysed and addressed as a separate phenomenon. This has additionally led to ineffective programming and ultimately to the non-recognition of serious violations of human rights as well as the implementation of exclusive affirmative actions and preferential treatment for those who have been classified as victims of child soldiering over victims of child labour. This has been the case even when both activities take place at the same time in the same area. This imbalance in the responses towards the so called *most vulnerable children* has not been fully explored.

Through an analysis of the situation of children involved into the mining industry in Colombia and the subset activities controlled by different Non State Armed Groups (NSAGs), my PhD research would like to analyse how the experiences of underage miners in conflict-affected regions challenge current conceptions, representations and institutional responses to children. The main objective of this thesis is two-fold. Firstly, to interrogate the institutional response given to children by intervention agencies and governmental

institutions, in the cases where gold mining and armed conflict converge. Secondly, to provide a broader understanding of the multiple agencies and roles that children perform in wartime.

To develop this argument, my study drawn on the theorisation proposed by Zelizer (1985, p. 63) of child labour as a social practice that transcends its economic expression represented by income, as well as the concept of 'symbolic technologies' proposed by Laffey and Weldes (1997, p. 209). From this constructivist approach, the representations, discourses, construction of mining and imaginary of children in armed conflict that have driven and shaped current institutional and governmental responses in mining-and-war-affected areas, are analysed. Understanding the intersubjective preferences that drive government officials as well as humanitarian and development practitioners in the response towards "the most vulnerable" will contribute to revising current conceptualisations and understandings of the discourse of vulnerability, agency and protection of children. If the overflow of categories of child labour is taken into account, there is a lower risk of continuing to reinforce the vulnerable conditions of some children over others in conflict-affected settings.

Taking Colombia as case study, my research is methodologically based on a composite approach of data gathering, which is useful especially in war-affected contexts. Following this approach, proposed by Barakat *et al* (2002, p. 991), it uses a mixture of techniques (semi-structured interviews, focus group, document analysis, observation, as well as imaginative methods with children) to triangulate the information and appease the challenges, bias and limitation that appeared conducting the research in a war affected area. Governmental officials, members of international organisations, academics, former combatants, community members as well as children and adolescents from mining areas controlled by non-state armed groups are included in the study.

This research has preliminary found a dynamic relationship between children, NSAGs and labour in extractive economies. Labour activities in mines are not opposite to childhood. They are the result of social constructions within mining-and-conflict-affected communities where children play key roles. I argue that the analytical boxes that have defined child labour and the "use of children for war" do not allow for a wider comprehension of the multiple roles performed by children in extractive industries that fuel conflicts. Therefore, the implementation of policies and affirmative actions towards children in mining-and-war-affected areas do not recognized the complex interplay between different types of child labour. Actions are often not fully effective because they only respond to one 'principal' type of violation.

Thanks to interdisciplinary discussions and interactions with other researchers during the trilateral workshop '*Anthropological contributions to affirmative actions in South America*' held in Montevideo, I was able to find similar research case studies where the social construction of *vulnerable subjects* or those in need of protection (e.g. women, children, indigenous or afro-descendant communities) are also contested. Although my research is not based solely on an anthropological perspective, I had the opportunity to discuss in an academic context, what type of subjects we are affirming through current affirmative actions. By doing so, we examined to what extent European imagery and legal discourses influence how subjects entitled of protection and affirmative actions are represented and constructed. Therefore, it was possible for us to analyse certain hierarchies of value and images of vulnerability that are in place which do not always correspond to the complexities

of some Latin American contexts. Group discussions also allowed us to explore some of the implications of legal frameworks and institutional understandings of issues related to human rights, gender and environmental issues. My participation in the workshop helped me to include new anthropological elements to my research in order to revise current conceptualisations and understandings of the discourse of vulnerability, agency and protection of disadvantaged populations.

In the specific case of my research, family and schooling have been the pillars of the humanitarian and development agencies that aim to tackle child labour in mining (André, 2014, p. 192) and child recruitment (Bodineau, 2014, p. 20). However, as Penn (2005 in Suski, 2009, p. 206) argued, the 'western' perception of labour as antithesis of childhood does not recognise alternative constructions of childhood, especially when economic conditions or armed conflict contest the "ideal child". Access to education has been presented as an incontestable goal, as the cure for labour and poverty by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and other international agencies. However, the effectiveness and pertinence of education in the Latin America and conflict-affected areas has questioned that assumption (Bøås, and Hatløy, 2008, p. 14).

By bringing new and updated elements to analyse, explain, and respond to some of the '*worst forms of child labour*' during wartime, my research can contribute achieving contextualized affirmative actions to improve the lives of children who live in areas where extractive economies and armed conflict interplay. A more nuanced interpretation of the problem could lead to modify 'template' programming and affirmative actions towards children in those areas by considering cultural differences, and the social construction of children and their families in regards to labour and conflict. Through my research and the collaborative work with other scholars in the UK and Latin America, the situation of these children will hopefully become visible in the Colombian and international public agenda. This is particularly relevant in the context of the current implementation of the peace accord signed by the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) and the Colombian government as well as the preliminary peace talks with the left-wing guerrilla group, the National Liberation Army (ELN). Both the ELN and the FARC have historically used children in different capacities including task related to military operations as well as the extraction of natural resources.

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The Political Afterlives
of *Los Desaparecidos* in Mexico

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Conducting participant observation and field research with families of some of Mexico´s over 30,000 disappeared persons and many victims of violence (RNPED: Informe Annual 2017) during sixteen months between 2014 and 2015, forced me to reconsider how I practiced anthropology. The political activism and protests my informants engaged in through the social movements I accompanied such as *El Movimiento por la Paz con Justicia y Dignidad*, a nationwide organization of relatives of victims, and the Fathers and Mothers of Ayotzinapa, parents of 43 students who were disappeared by municipal police in Guerrero, turned me into an activist ethnographer (Nash 2007), protesting shoulder to shoulder with the families I worked with. It also made me reflect on how I as a scholar researching their struggle for justice and truth, best could make my political ethnography form part of the political engagement out on the streets I sought to depict.

This, essentially, is the question of how I could contribute, through my writing, to the political activism of the families I accompanied and protested alongside. For this aim, I started to develop informant oriented writing techniques that used fieldnotes and biographies as forms of more accessible writing in line with their political engagements, in an extension of my role as an activist ethnographer or engaged anthropologist. The families I worked with were often poor farmers who had no earlier experience of activism or of human rights advocacy but who had begun to organize and protest after seeing close family members killed or disappeared by either criminal groups or corrupt police. By exploring informant oriented writing techniques that tell their stories as they tell it, I strived for a way of doing anthropology that would be more accessible also for outsiders and non-specialists. I sought to engage more directly with the political stakes that mattered to the people I studied and confront the problems and issues they engaged with that in the end is what is at stake in our writing as anthropologists.

Most of the Mexican families I worked with and the two social movements mentioned above, tended to travel across Mexico carrying photos of their disappeared and tell testimonies in public space to spread knowledge about the violence their families had suffered and about human rights violations in Mexico. One way in which families involved in El Movimiento por la Paz tried to do this was by spreading and telling the biographies of Mexico´s disappeared, that is, their missing family members. Encouraged by families involved in Movimiento por la Paz, I came to use these stories or biographies of their disappeared, who, since the close family tend to cling on to the hope that their missing are still alive and may come back home again, in their biographies as they are told by their surviving family, talk in first person:

I AM SALVADOR TRUJILLO HERRERA

THEY TOOK ME AWAY IN AYOYAC DE ÁLVARES, GUERRERO, ON THE 28th OF AUGUST 2008. BACK THEN I WAS 24 YEARS OLD

I am a happy person, calm, and with a good working morale. My biggest happiness comes from my family, my wife Mari Carmen and my son Jesús Salvador. When they made me disappear, my daughter was still in her mother´s stomach, we have never met physically, but I know she is waiting for me with love.

We, my brother Raúl, my friends, Joel Flavio, José Luis, Luis Carlos and Rafael, came from work in Oaxaca, crossing Guerrero to reach our house in Michoacán when a criminal group fighting in Guerrero disappeared us.

My wife, my brothers and my mother María Herrera, are looking for me, I know that. When you read this, you also know that this could have happened to you and to your family, I wish that your family will never have to suffer as mine has.

With Your Solidarity We Demand Justice and Truth, Help Me To Come Home!!

I AM MELCHOR FLORES HERNÁNDEZ

I WAS FORCEFULLY DISAPPEARED THE 25th OF FEBRUARY 2009, TAKEN AWAY BY MUNICIPAL POLICE. IT WAS THE POLICE PATROLS 534-38 AND 540, IN MONTERREY

I was thirty-two years old when this happened. …How I miss my brothers, my mom, and my dad, who haven´t stopped searching for me since the moment the police took me, and who for five years have travelled across the country carrying my photograph.

By using, retelling, and analysing these "necrographies", written by the surviving family members, and the ways they use them, my own work became an extension of their activism that in the end aims at spreading knowledge about these cases that tend to be ignored by Mexican authorities. These necrographies about Mexico´s disappeared is thus both an innovative way of doing activism, as well as they may serve as a creative way of writing ethnography, both within the aim of preventing what we might call ´the second disappearance of the disappeared´. That is, in other words, to prevent that those who have been forcibly taken away from our streets or places they once called home, shall not also be taken away from our memory.

Apart from necrographies such as those above, I also came to explore another type of biography-oriented fieldnote-technique as a way of writing more accessible and giving voice to the families whose struggles I accompanied. This writing technique was the outcome of a series of in-depth interviews and by returning repeatedly in a back and forth with the families I worked with. It makes use of a multi-interlocutor approach in which every portrait becomes a piece of a larger puzzle, like a time document, over contemporary protests against human rights violations in Mexico among families of the nation´s disappeared. This second informant-oriented writing technique that I make use of in order for my research to better mirror the engagement it seeks to portray, use multiple testimonies to narrate an event from different people´s perspectives, in what we might call a kaleidoscopic approach. The ´event´, in this case, is the tragedy in Mexico known as "La Noche de Iguala" (the night of Iguala), a massacre that took place in the town of Iguala in Guerrero, when municipal

police killed six and disappeared 43 students from Ayotzinapa. I narrate the tragedy and the nationwide protests against state violence that followed in its wake through the polyphonic voices of the Fathers and Mothers of the missing students from Ayotzinapa and the survivors of the attack. I build on both the anthropologist Oscar Lewis´s autobiography-oriented approach in A Death in the Sanchez Family (1972) and the famous Mexican journalist Elena Poniatowska who once wrote the reportage book La Noche de Tlatelolco: testimonios de historia oral (1971), about the Tlatelolco Massacre in 1968 in Mexico City. Below follow two short excerpts of how this technique looks like in the way I use it:

> Omar García, survivor of the Iguala Massacre, during a meeting at the House of Solidarity, Benito Juárez, Mexico City, 30th September 2014

We were ninety students who were supposed to go to fundraise and commandeer buses. I got a phone call from those who had gone to Iguala, saying the police were attacking them, so we went there too to help them out. When we got there, we were holding a press-conference when the police attacked us again. They just began shooting at us. We were unarmed students. We had to run for our lives. Edgar, a friend, was shot in his mouth and bleeding badly. I carried him to Health Clinic Cristina where we were banging on the door. Finally, they opened and we could hide inside.

We must remember that this has happened to others in Guerrero too, to social workers and human rights campaigners. Two of our students were shot dead in a protest in *Autopista del Sol* in 2011. There is a dirty war in Guerrero against everyone who struggle for justice.

What happened in Iguala was a state crime, a crime against humanity. The 26th of September 2014 is another one of those dates that everyone shall remember; everyone will know that it represents disappearances, like the 2nd of October is synonymous with the Tlatelolco Massacre and repression, or 1st of May means social justice.

> *¡¿Por que?! ¡¿Por que?! ¡¿Por que nos asesinan?! ¡Somos la esperanza de America Latina!*
> (Why do you kill us? We are the future of Latin America)
> Protest song among students in Mexico in the wake of the Iguala Massacre

> Doña Blanca, mother of the disappeared student Jorge Álvarez Nava from Ayotzinapa, at the UNAM, Mexico City, 15th of November 2014

We are waiting, since September when we arrived at the school where our sons studied before they were disappeared by the police in Iguala. Me and my husband have been living there. Struggling day by day to find them. We left our other sons at home. I told them that I was going for their brother´s sake, "I will fight for your brother", and they said: "go mama, you go, don't worry about us, because we are fine here, we have water, but who knows how he has it". That is why we are there in the school. Living. Fighting. Day by day. To find him. Not knowing of your son is painful for a mother. Those who have children will understand me because there is nothing else in the world I hold so dear, and they took mine away from me. Who knows if he is eating? Where he is sleeping? I will fight for him until I find him.

> *¡Vivos se los Llevaron! ¡Vivos los Queremos!*
> (They Took Them Alive, We Want Them Back Alive)

The slogan and protest cry of the Fathers and Mothers of Ayotzinapa in their search for their missing sons

Together, these two writing techniques; I) the necrography of the disappeared; and II) pluralistic testimonies that narrate a certain political event and its aftermaths, have been ways for me to explore more informant oriented writing techniques that may better mirror and form part of the political engagement that goes on out on the streets of Mexico that I seek to portray. What is at stake in relation to these testimonies and biographies, is not the suffering revealed through the humanitarian narratives they come with (Robbins 2013). What is at issue here is what they may tell us about how families of the disappeared and Mexican society deal and live with its violent past. These writing techniques put accessibility of our works as academics first and wish to be small pieces that together form a larger puzzle, like a time document about a certain place at a certain time. They exemplify the biography as an alternative way of doing ethnography, for which engaged and informant-oriented writing techniques may serve as an extension of an engaged anthropology (Alexandrakis 2016, Angel-Ajani & Stanford 2006, Nash 2007). That is, in other words, engaged and creative writing as political theory. This theory in turn, comes as a suggestion for a continuation of making political ethnography about human rights activism that itself seeks to form part of that same political engagement.

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CHAPTER
SUSTAINABILITY

Water bodies

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Introduction

Walking barefoot on the wet sand, I tried to avoid stepping on the dead fish the sea had washed up on the beach in Montevideo. What had they died of? "Maybe the water is too hot", my Uruguayan friends explained, relatively unconcerned. But the dead fish gave the sunny beach a morbid touch, and I was uncertain if I wanted to go for a swim. If the water did this to its fish, how would it affect me when I immersed in it?

Beach in Montevideo, February 2017. ® The autor

Water was a recurrent theme in the Trilateral Workshop. Several participants presented water-based projects, and water as a source of life and disaster ran through talks and group meetings and spilled into coffee chats. And, although water is not a research topic of mine, it created reflections on my own work in medical anthropology and helped me link my research about care relations in Afro-Brazilian religion with environmental anthropology. I will begin with a summary of my PhD thesis, before coming back to encounters with water during the workshop, and resulting ideas for research about care, sustainability, and health.

Circles of Care in Candomblé

My PhD thesis "Circles of Care: Healing Practices in a Bahian Candomblé Community" explores how health and well-being are cultivated through acts of care (*cuidado*) in the Afro-Brazilian religion Candomblé. During 12 months of fieldwork in Northeast Brazil, I took part in rituals, ceremonies and everyday activities in a small Candomblé house (*terreiro*). Candomblé emerged in Brazil during colonial times as African slaves continued to worship their gods (*orixás*) and merged their religious traditions with European and Brazilian elements. My thesis argues that *axé*– Candomblé's vital force – is created through acts of care and circulates between humans and *orixás*. As *orixás* are embodied both in the environment (e.g. in rivers, wind, or leaves) and in humans (who "carry" their *orixás* inside of them), caring for one's *orixá* and receiving their protective, healing, and empowering *axé* is an *immediately* reciprocal process. "You mean, it's like a boomerang", Susana Rostagnol (Universidad de la República) pointedly summarized, when I explained the "circles of care" to her during the workshop.

In Brazil, Candomblé leaders are visibly involved in social movements for racial equality, women's and LGBT rights. In my fieldwork, care was often brought up as a distinctive feature of Candomblé in contrast with an essentially exclusive, racist and profoundly 'uncaring' Brazilian society. Recognizing the care work practiced by Candomblé communities can therefore help understand the needs and resources of marginalized people in Brazil, and to inform public health and social policies.

In Tim Ingold's talk "Anthropology in the coming world", he referred to care – in contrast to the exploitative extraction of knowledge – as a methodological basis for anthropological work. Learning from Candomblé about caring relationships with gods, people, and the environment can then become relevant methodologically for the anthropologist. Indeed, during my fieldwork I was deeply involved in care relations with the community: they taught me, gave me food and a place to sleep, and made sure I was well. This care also came with obligations, and in turn, I gave my best to follow their religious rules, honour the *orixás*, and I contributed to celebrations, cleaned the house and oversaw a small herb garden in the *terreiro*.

Water permeates through the body

One important practice of care/self-care in the *terreiro* was taking a 'leaf bath' (*banho*), which brings me back to the topic of water and immersion. The *banho* is prepared with leaves and water, and poured over the body, it serves as protection, to "close the body" to harm. An unprotected body is a vulnerable "open body". This Candomblé practice highlights the permeability of the boundary between the human body and the environment: Water permeates through the body – we drink it, swim in it, and absorb it like a sponge; and we spit, piss and sweat it out.

Water can protect and maintain life, and it can carry harmful germs, toxins, or extreme temperatures that kill. Uruguay is exceptional in South America for providing clean tap water to almost the whole population (97%), as we were told by a representative of the state-owned sewage and water works (OSE) during a visit. In 2004, a referendum had prevented the privatization of water, and the employees stressed the company's commitment to national health and wellbeing. So, I was surprised when, in the break, they only offered

us soft drinks and bottled water. When I asked one of the OSE representatives about this, she went to get a jar of tap water for us to drink. It tasted clean and fresh. In the afternoon, however, we visited a local NGO who criticized the OSE for not caring for the river they used as a source of water, but polluting it even more. The tap water, they said, was not safe to drink either. (Had I just drunk polluted water?) When we walked down to the river after the talk, many of us were uncertain what to do. It was hot and the water promised refreshment, but was it clean? Most dipped their feet in, some stayed at the riverbank, and only a few brave ones dived in.

Workshop participants by the river, February 2017. ® The autor

Ideas for research and publications

The permeability of our bodily boundaries allows our environment to enter our bodies – similar to Candomblé's *orixás* that reside both *inside* humans and in rivers, forests and wind. In a group discussion during the workshop, we compared experiences of vulnerability as anthropologists immersed in our field sites, and are planning a collaborative publication on this topic.

After the visit to the river, a workshop participant stressed that the pollution originated in the use of toxins in agriculture. Subsequently, bringing together my interests in health, circular care relations, and ecological sustainability, I started planning a new research project on permaculture and health. Permaculture promotes non-exploitative agriculture, based on 'earth care', 'people's care' and 'fair share'. Medical anthropology research into permaculture promises contributions to a more holistic understanding of human and environmental health care.

Agricultural intensification and pesticide use increase in Uruguay.
An approach from critical medical anthropology

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This article is an approach to experienced health consequences of pesticide exposure among agricultural workers and environmentally exposed population in Uruguay. In the past 14 years, Uruguay, as other countries of the South Cone, has been part of an agricultural intensification process which has been fostered by OGM soybean production (Garcia et al 2010, Oyhantcabal y Narbondo 2011). This is correlated with an important rise in agricultural pesticide use. It is estimated that, while in year 2000 the Uruguayan agricultural area was about 500.000 ha and pesticide importation did not reach 4000 tons, by 2012 the area was of 2.000.000 ha and pesticide importation reached 19.000 ton (REDES 2014).

Pesticides are toxic substances that remain in natural systems (mainly soil and water) and could have short and long-term impacts in animal and human health (Albert 1990, Burger y Pose 2012, Carneiro et al 2015, Prüss-Üstün et al. 2016). In Uruguay, the intoxication by pesticides with agriculture and veterinary uses rate is 7.9/100.000 hab for the 2002-2011 period (Taran et al 2013). Pesticide exposure can be acute or chronic, and it does not necessary mean intoxication (Burger y Pose 2012) and when intoxication occurs, there is evidence of sub notification in Latin American countries (Carneiro et al 2015). Intoxication rates are just the tip of the iceberg.

From the Critical Medical Anthropology (CMA) theoretical perspective, health is not just the absence of disease. The health – disease – attention process is structural to all societies (Menéndez 2009) and it is related to access and control of resources that allows sustaining life (Singer y Baer 2011). Illnesses are embodied and meshed with social and material conditions (Das y Das 2007). . Some authors are now exploring the notion of environmental suffering (Ayuero 2011, Singer 2011) or even toxic suffering (Renfrew 2013) to think about how everyday life is affected by living in degraded or polluted environments. By focusing in health consequences of agricultural pesticide exposure, I am interested in analysing how the soybean "agribussiness" expansion affects the local social reproduction process. Which disease and illness impacts of agricultural pesticide exposure can be known by labour and environmentally exposed people? Are we facing an environmental suffering process related to agricultural expansion? Which strategies are being developed to face this problem?

In order to address these questions I am conducting an ethnographic research among rural agricultural workers whose main duty is to fumigate grain crops, and with rural and urban population who live near this crops in Dolores and surroundings, at the Soriano province This is the main agricultural region of Uruguay and is located at the southwest of the country,. The main commercial grain crops grew there are soybean and corn at summer,

and wheat and barley at winter. Soriano is one of the provinces with highest agricultural pesticide intoxication rate of the country, which almost doubles the national rate (Taran et al 2013). Although the fieldwork and analysis of data has not ended yet, I am finding some preliminary results that I would like to share in this paper regarding vulnerable social groups to pesticide exposure and how illness and environmental suffering is experienced by them.

During the whole grain crop production cycle the agricultural workers are exposed to agricultural pesticides, but two kind of workers are the more exposed due to the specialization working process. In consonance with previous national studies (Heinzen y Rodríguez 2015; Abbate et al 2017) preliminary data analysis, indicate that the most vulnerable group to labour pesticide exposure is the *aguateros* workers. These workers are those that transport clean water to prepare the pesticide recipe. They also have to dilute the pesticides, sometimes mixing more than four concentrated pesticides per application, and charge the fumigating machine with this preparation. During this process, they are exposed to splatters and gaseous fumes. They are usually young men (between 18 and 30 years old), with low formal education level, and are at the bottom of the agricultural workers pyramid. Other kind of agricultural workers that are specialized in doing the fumigation are the *mosquiteros*, who drive a large land fumigation machine called "mosquito". They are exposed to pesticides during the fumigation, but in a lesser degree than the *aguateros* as the *mosquitos* have air conditioner systems and carbon filters. The *mosquiteros* are mainly middle-aged men (between 30 and 50), and have a higher formal education level or had received informal training regarding agricultural machinery.

Even though both groups of workers realize that they are working with "poisons" (as they use to call the pesticides) and that this must not be a "good" thing, they remain reluctant to recon illnesses associated to pesticide exposure while they remain active at work. Active workers may recognize some headaches, dizziness and skin injuries and relate them to pesticides, but they conceive these problems as fleeting. By the other hand, during fieldwork people told me lots of stories about men who used to work fumigating and nowadays had quit that work because they were tired and ill due to it. I met some of these men and deepen in the illness experience (Das y Das 2007) of five retired *mosquiteros* and *aguateros* workers. They faced severe health problems such as cancer, breathing system, nervous system and musculoskeletal problems. They and their families related these problems to poisons, although physicians who treated them does not confirm it or deny it.

Another group vulnerable to pesticide exposure identified is rural population living near the crops such as farmers, rural workers, women and children. They are potentially exposed to gaseous and liquid drifts that may occur during the fumigation depending on the wind speed, heat, and humidity at the time of the fumigation. Children are more vulnerable than adults to toxic exposure (Albert 1990, Burger y Pose 2012, Carneiro et al 2015, Prüss-Üstün et al. 2016) and agricultural workers' children or children that go to rural schools which have crops nearby, increment their risk of being exposed (Carneiro et al 2015). In conversations with mothers of those children around Dolores, I have identified some uncertainties about how pesticide exposure affects their child's health. While some women identified that breathing problems such as asthma, bronchospasm or allergies were more frequent than before, other women were reluctant to report this problems, as they husbands or themselves work with pesticides. Small farmer women who live in rural areas referred

that they were "sorrounded" by crops, mainly soybean, and that they cancel any outdoor activity and shut themselves and their children in during crops fumigations. This was done as a health prevention measure because of the "toxicity of the poison smell" that could cause headaches and breathing problems to them and their children. ruit trees, orchards and garden plants were also known to be susceptible to damages such as shrivels caused by the poison "smell" or drift.

A tension between the naturalization of pesticide presence in everyday life and the uncertainty of "poisons" effects in human end environmental well-being can be identified. This may be related to a great dependence on agriculture as work source, and with the idea that things "have always been like that" in this agricultural area. Nevertheless, the soybean crop introduction about 15 year ago is recognized as a major change in how things were done. Agricultural workers, farmers and general population identify soybean as a more pesticide-demanding crop. Since the soil is prepared to plant it, until crops are harvest, each OGM soybean crop receives around eight fumigations during its cycle (depending on seed variety and weather conditions). So if you live near a crop field, you can be receiving pesticides drifts about once a month in your home between September to April. January and February are the worst months because are the hottest, the applications are more frequent at that period and the products that are used are recognize as "stronger".

Some products are identified as "stronger" or more dangerous by workers and crops neighbours. They recognize the products by their smell. There is a kind of "danger scale" based in the smell intensity of the products rather than in toxicological classification. Despite glyphosate herbicide has been at the centre of attention in the last years regarding toxicity and impacts, workers and crop neighbours undermines its poisoning risk because it has no smell. On the other hand, other herbicides as 2-4-D (locally known by its commercial name "Amina") or insecticides as clorpyrifos are known as "stronger" because of their penetrating smell. During the workshop, I discussed with other colleagues if smell could be considered as a source of "bodily knowledge" (Shapiro 2015) or indicator about environmental pesticide exposure risk. The "poison smell" also showed up as an interesting metaphor to think about how people experience the exposure to pesticides in their bodies and the bounds between the embodied person and the environment.

The workshop also helped me to bring light to the fact that not only crops neighbours or workers are exposed to pesticides, but also general population by the pesticides that drifts to water. Pesticides goes from the field to creeks and then to rivers. The San Salvador River, for example, is used for swimming activities at summer, and to supply sweet water to Dolores city. Common people and environmental groups have identified water quality as a rural and urban concern at Dolores region, as it was publicly manifested in the first San Salvador River Basin Commission meeting in May 2017. Many people are worried about the "bad products" that go to water because of agriculture. Since 2014 environment ministry, agricultural ministry and the state company that provides potable water are monitoring the water quality of the San Salvador River. The report evidences presence of glyphosate (under the national reference limit); AMPA (there is no national reference limit) clorpirifos and atrazin (which doubles the national reference limit in some samples). Endosulfan was also sampled but because of the technique detection, limits the results are not conclusive (Dinama 2016).

Even though at Dolores city 96.7% of homes have connection to potable pipe water net (INE 2015), those who "have the possibility" buy bottled water or water filters. Other people carry water from water wells that are considered purer than pipe potable water (Evia 2018). The water quality concern is linked to a shared social representation of Dolores having one of the highest cancer rate in the country. Even though the official epidemiological rates of cancer morbidity don't support that claim because there is no significance difference between Dolores cancer incidence rate from the province and national rates' (Garau 2017), it is interesting to think about this sociocultural representation that links the agricultural "poison" usage with water quality and population health. How are the social body and environment limits experienced? Can water quality be an indicator of environmental or toxic suffering?

To conclude this paper I would like to add a word about the topic of affirmative action that has also been discussed during the workshop. Fromm CMA perspective it is central to take into account the "avoidable damage", which implies not only to study illness but also to propose actions to avoid or prevent it. In this topic, I think that a first contribution of my study could be to describe and analyse which are the social groups more vulnerable to pesticide exposure, considering their position in social structure, particular exposure contexts, and analysing their illness experiences. I expect these results could be taken into account by health prevention policies and by a non-existent but needed national pesticide policy.

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Where does the Water Flow in the Pernambuco Sertão?

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This research is inserted in the contemporary studies on changing environments and traditional populations faced with major infrastructure projects. The general objective was to investigate the field of relations between indigenous communities in the Sertão de Itaparica (Pernambuco) and the water infrastructure project popularly known as the São Francisco River Transposition. More specifically, it deals with the ethnography of the negotiation processes, articulations and resistances of the traditional populations with different agents involved in the ongoing construction of the East Axis of the Transposition of the São Francisco River. It pays special attention to three dimensions: 1) local relations, difficulties and risks to the traditional ways of life of the community and the environmental modifications in the territory; 2) relations between indigenous peoples directly involved in the works, mainly from the Articulation of Indigenous Peoples and Organizations of the Northeast, Minas Gerais and Espírito Santo (APOINME, in Portuguese) and 3) the negotiation and circulation interface of indigenous communities in the institutional spaces and their relations with agents linked to private companies and governmental institutions mobilized by the Transposition works.

Research Environment

The São Francisco River is considered the river of "National Integration". It is born in Minas Gerais, near the Serra da Canastra, provides water for six states and its basin is responsible for supplying water to 504 municipalities located in two distinct biomes (and the most endangered of the country), the Cerrado and the Caatinga. The diversity of fauna and flora, rainfall, floods and droughts do not have the same timing along its 2,800 km. In addition to ecological diversity, the river also has a great sociocultural plurality, with 32 indigenous peoples with an estimated population of around 70,000 (Tomaz, s/d). Apart from these, however, a number of rural populations, such as riverside dwellers, maroons (quilombolas) and peasants, feed on and maintain close relations with the river, often called "the Old Chico "(Sauer & Florêncio, 2010). For a large part of this indigenous population, the São Francisco River is called Opará (Tomaz, s/d), meaning "the sea-river", source of resources and shelter of the Encantados, which in the indigenous cosmology points to the importance of the river not only in subsistence production, but also as part of the memory and identity of these groups.

"Horto Stays!" Graffito painted on exterior wall of Horto favela. Own work. 2014.

The so-called "transposition of the São Francisco River" actually refers to the Project for the Integration of the São Francisco River into the Northern Northeast Basins; it is presented as a water infrastructure project which, according to the Brazilian Government, seeks to solve social and economic problems caused by water scarcity providing "water for those who are thirsty", a population estimated by the Government in 12 million "beneficiaries". The completion of the works was scheduled for 2012, but it has still not been completed. Contrary to the forecasts of various experts, the new date anticipated for its completion is 2018, amid one of the worst droughts ever recorded in the region, which has already lasted 6 years.

The work is materialized in a developmental scenario in the framework of the Program of Acceleration of Growth (PAC I and II as known in Brazil), two federal projects launched by President Lula (2002-2010) and continued by President Dilma Rousseff (2010-2016). In all, PAC I and II will put in place 211 water infrastructure projects, 31 in the State of Pernambuco. These projects support the construction of irrigation dams, water supply networks and irrigated perimeters, mostly in the Brazilian semi-arid region.

There have been plenty of social mobilizations against most of the projects proposed by the PACs, as they resuscitated projects proposed at different moments in Brazilian politics (many of them idealized during the military dictatorship), a mixture of megalomaniacal visions, miraculous solutions and pharaonic constructions. Although in a democratic period, the government strategy that launched the PAC was driven by development at any price, without taking into account two essential guidelines delicately drawn in the 1988 Brazilian Constitution: the rights of traditional populations over their territory and the need to protect an ecologically balanced environment.

Methodology

Initially the fieldwork sought to focus on a case of territorial overlap between a Biological Reserve, an Indigenous Land, an agrarian reform settlement together with the territory where the East Axis of the São Francisco Transposition was being built. This territory already presented a series of territorial conflicts, and the intention was to accompany the arrival one further destabilizing agent in this scenario: the water corridor.

Nevertheless, when seeking out indigenous associations and community leaders, I realized that there were several indigenous peoples who claimed their right to participate in decisions regarding the São Francisco River. These indigenous peoples did not live on the territory of the new works, but had been deterritorialized by the construction of a dam in the 1980s and continued to exert constant political actions in relation to the river. I then realized that because the river flows, it was impossible to limit it to a single city as an ethnographic field, and began to investigate the joint political action of these indigenous peoples with other traditional communities directly impacted by the work. The methodological choices of the research should not deny how different agencies and movements manifested similar interest and relevance regarding the transposition works. Ultimately, the Itaparica sertão is extremely fragmented and intensely populated, while, curiously enough, it has at the same time been chosen as a focus of several development works.

As I travelled through the territory of indigenous political action, I wandered with different agents, involving myself with varying modulation and capacity in each portion of fieldwork, following the pipes and the water flows, but also stopping to observe what

the populations do "when the water stops". As for the indigenous populations, it has been observed that identity not only allows a space of individual possibility to establish claims, but also creates groups with specific circulations and peculiar forms of sociability. Through these paths one *walks* with the *relatives*, and the *struggle* takes place in them -even when this is to *strengthen* the presence of the associates in strategic moments of visibility.

I accompanied the indigenous leaders in most of the countryside, but when this was not possible, one of them advised me "in the absence of landowners, you must follow the oxen", because there are different versions of how everyday life is modified when a development work is part of the landscape. This style of research has allowed me to understand how the river flow includes several components such as water, rain, fish and plants, but also "*Encantados*", politics, hydroelectric plants, concrete and social movements.

Thematic Research Lines and Preliminary Perceptions

In the first line, the aim is to demonstrate that the transposition of the São Francisco River, which is at the same time a development work and a governmental action similar to a public policy to ensure water supply, is experienced by the indigenous peoples and rural populations directly impacted by the construction of the work more as a cause of insecurity than a guarantee of access to water. This is because, even with the completion of part of the work, the rural populations that did not have access to water and continued to depending on alternative forms of supply-mainly the purchase of expensive water from tank trucks that bring it from reservoirs that may be contaminated, and distributed without proper treatment. These issues are also related to the privatization of river water (Taks, 2008). Previously considered as a common good of the riverine populations, after the transposition, the river flow will be destined to supply the existing water networks, that is, this flow of water will be transformed into a commodity.

In the second line I intend to demonstrate the intensification of the agrarian conflicts, since there is great speculation about the lands next to the new channels, harming the traditional populations that are in the process of land regulation. In the case of the indigenous peoples with whom I related during the investigation, even though the priority of dealing with land regularization together with the construction of the transposition had been settled together with the public authorities, the proceedings were halted while the works continued. Thus, I consider that it would be inappropriate to speak of water without also mentioning the land, especially as regards the issue of the right of access to water which is linked to the territorialization of river flows.

In a third line, the aim is to give visibility to the political action of indigenous people related to the research field, mainly the Tuxá, Pankararu and Pipipã peoples. Although only two indigenous peoples of the São Francisco River participated in the consultative process stipulated by the ilo Convention No. 169, ten more indigenous peoples have established partnerships with institutions, non-governmental organizations and other traditional populations to discuss, lobby and ensure the public policies necessary to mitigate the impacts resulting from these development works and, on the other hand, to participate in the management, evaluation and preservation of the São Francisco River.

In a fourth line, I discuss the immaterial impacts of a development work on the daily lives of indigenous peoples who, although can no longer fight against development work in the São Francisco river, nevertheless seek strategies to ensure that their peoples continue to

exist. North Eastern Indians share certain commonalities with the "ecological" cosmology, and the most relevant in the current discussion is the local belief according to which shortly before the time of their death some of their ancestors are "enchanted" and take shelter and lodge in elements of the native Caatinga landscape. In this way, what is required is some sort of protectionist involvement of the native forests such as the right of existence, since the threat to the natural landscape also threatens the forms of reproduction, and ultimately the existence of these peoples.

Public Policies

My research does not propose concrete actions of intervention in relation to the problem. It takes a different direction, to map and describe the ways in which public policies are framed in a context of mediation and form part of the traditional populations and development works. These intervention measures may arise in several ways, such as government action or grassroots organizations, and considered to solve immediate problems; but they may also stimulate conflict when not integrated with the needs and characteristics of the populations served. Thus, this study made me realize that public policies need to be grounded on the place where they will be applied, on the techniques, specific solutions and demands, and not only formulated by an external *expertise*.

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STILLING THE WATERS: STATE PRACTICES IN IRRIGATED LANDSCAPE-BUILDING

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INTRODUCTION

Agricultural water and power landscapes, and more specifically irrigation1, are the topics of my PhD research work, thus the central issues at stake in the Trilateral Workshop are clearly connected to my work even when these have not been manifestly stated as ordering my thinking.

In this sense, water, its access in quantity and quality as a human right, is a relevant area for affirmative action. My work attempts to contribute to the understanding of specific manners of experiencing the relationship with water, particularly in the area of conflicts related with the different water uses.

The development of affirmative actions also requires the identification of power groups and their practices –together with their counterparts, subaltern or groups made invisible; in this sense, my work proposes to do so manifestly.

In my study I propose to make visible a field of relevant interactions while approaching the issue of the creation of irrigation landscapes in Uruguay, while at the same time contributing to the current debates -extremely alive at national level- regarding waters, and the knowledge and powers link with them. A specific view on the subject that includes discussions from the standpoint of flows and landscapes as fields of ongoing practices and activities linked in temporary configurations.

In the framework of the Workshop the challenge of reflecting upon tensions of this sort together with the issue of affirmative actions and human rights where there is a need to define and set limits, identities, needs and flows, has been extremely useful.

WATERS AND THEIR APPROACH

Focusing our attention on irrigation, we find a type of water control that is constant, penetrating and extremely socially demanding, which in its historical experience has led to the reorganization of communities, to new patterns of human interaction and to new forms of discipline and authority (Worster, 1985). It is in this sense that Worster (1985) states that the study of irrigation in history is one of the most useful fields to realize how societies can be dependent not only on water but on the manipulations of their flows. At the same time, he argues, it is one of the most enlightening fields about the relationship between water control and human social organization.

When included in a view of flows and discussion of "borders", the limits of this landscape are defined by the ecological and social dynamics, because different life-processes are in friction with one another and compete in relation to the manner how things move, in

what direction and at what speed. (Krause, 2016:42). According to this view, the state defines frontiers, powerful limits, but not necessarily respected by human, animal, water and other flows.

As water, and other beings and things, are not passively integrated to landscapes, human actions cannot be thought of in a vacuum or within an inert space in which they build their lives. On the contrary, human activities -complementary and/or contradictory- together with the actions of the non-human may be thought of as lines arising from other lines, which entwine and separate leaving the traces of their movements. In this way, they create and recreate landscapes in constant movement, with particular temporalities, a field of entanglements with which and through which humans live (Ingold, 2010).

From this standpoint, I understand agricultural irrigation landscapes as the task that several human groups and non-humans (such as water, animals and "wild" and "domesticated" plants) conduct generating an unstable configuration of diverse 'agentivities', that constitute additionally specific means of consolidating power within humans.

Uruguay, waters and irrigations

A national landmark was set in 2004 regarding water, its meanings and management. Following a strong social mobilization where the National Commission for the Defense of Water and Life (CNDAV in Spanish) was a fundamental player, this process culminated later that year with the approval of a constitutional reform of Article 47 in the Plebiscite that declared water as a public good, and access to potable water and sanitation as a human right to be provided only by public enterprises2, while the management of water resources shall be conducted according to the hydrographic basins and in a participatory manner (Santos, 2010; Taks, 2008).

In that relevant landmark in recent history the standpoint regarding water was markedly urban and state-centered, and the production of potable water and its management as the two main topics.

This process that had evinced some power relationships related to water was followed by a stage with less social mobilization regarding the subject, and "technical management and governance (practically as social engineering) became the best instruments" to relate socially and with water (Taks, 2014).

State (or state-centered) spaces to enforce the constitutional mandate were created during this period: among others, the National Water Directorate (Dinagua in Spanish) was created within the framework of the Ministry of Housing, Land Planning and Environment (MVOTMA in Spanish) while organizing the institutional grid of participatory institutions through Basin Councils and Commissions.

This thematic trimming did not enable an adequate critical analysis of the relationships among "other" waters until more recently when the idea of the abundance of water –widely extended in the country- began to be questioned. Fundamentally vis a vis the emergence of multiple conflicts regarding its use and monitoring when faced with increasing demands from some economic sectors, the generation of electricity requires water at a large scale, together with the degradation entailed and corresponding limitation of its use for human consumption (Casa Bertolt Brecht, 2013) and modification of water quality standards accepted by the state for human consumption.

Therefore, the new dimensions began to be debated and challenged, and water and its availability for agricultural use has become an important subject, together with the effects of certain productive activities on waters destined for other uses (consumption, recreation, protected ecosystems, etc.).

In this context, irrigation is presented as an expanding technological answer promoted at state level under the aegis of the discourse on climate change and climate variability, among others, due to its capacity to "reduce uncertainty" and as a means to improve the profitability of agricultural enterprises. As part of this scenario, Uruguayan agriculture is in the midst of deep transformations linked with the manner of insertion of our country in the global economy that determines the concentration of some exportable crops and the expansion of the so-called agribusiness rationale at different levels.

As part of this expansive process, we find the discussion of new regulatory frameworks for the activity that place water for irrigation in the center of the debate among several social groups. This debate includes various public policy actions and a reform of the Irrigation Law following an initiative from the Ministry of Livestock, Agriculture and Fisheries; and some disagreement actions from social organizations and academic groups.

Furthermore, although Uruguay is a country structured on livestock production and its cycles and with a hydrological system that has enabled the development of important agricultural items, it has not been historically characterized by a significant development of irrigation. This view shifts if we analyse specialized parts of certain crops such as rice and sugar-cane which couldn't be cultivated in our country in the absence of irrigation systems. In other cases, there is an important production component that requires irrigation, as in the case of intensive fruit and vegetable production. Having made these qualifications, we may state that in general terms irrigation does not seem to have been a predominant practice in our national agriculture, although it has a considerable history in specific regions.

During the past forty years, the growth process of irrigation practices nevertheless started to accelerate, increasing their surface area four-fold based on the development of items that utilize large-scale irrigation such as rice (Failde et al, 2013). Additionally, new sectors such as traditional dryland farming, pastures (dairy-farming and livestock) and forestation (DIEA, 2014) have been added.

In this sense, and due to its socio-ecological an spatial relations, irrigation in Uruguay could be analyzed according to three main configurations: fruit and vegetable irrigation, comprehensive irrigation in rice and sugar-cane, and agricultural irrigation in dry land agriculture, pastures and fodder. These three fields define two major types of irrigation that most of the literature on the subject clearly distinguishes: minor and major irrigation schemes (Worster, 1985, Vaidyanathan, 2009, Palerm, 2005, Wittfogel, 1964). However, all of them are part of the capitalist mode of irrigation described by Donald Worster (1985) that is characterized -among other key elements- by a configuration of two equal power centers: private agriculture sector and public bureaucratic planners. These two groups depends on each other and reinforce their own values. In this mode, water is a commodity that has no integrity to be respected and science and technology has a central role to put water "to work". The author calls these relationships a "formidable alliance" in the sense that a common ideology around water -and other ecosystem elements- is the agglutinating element that unite potentially rival power centres.

Accordingly, thinking about manners to approach landscapes with irrigation thus entails the methodological challenge of locating these landscapes, allowing a reflection on several scales and contemplating ambits in which water is not experienced in a sensory way in a context of engagement with direct perception, as there are innumerable types of environments where water and irrigation are central beyond the specific concrete ambits where it is conducted (institutional, scientific, entrepreneurial and other spaces). Whether it is pertinent to consider them as components of the irrigation landscape is a key matter in this study.

State and different sorts of waters: Final thoughts

Irrigated landscapes in Uruguay enable different forms of human experience with water: some waters we suffer, there are others we enjoy, there are waters we can master, others with which we struggle and waters that can be managed.

At state level, human practices specifically fixate water in their workings (management) in order to define frameworks of action, and in doing so define limits: drinking water, water for production, for navigation, for drainage, water under discussion. In their monitoring and management tasks, statutory activities are linked with others and create landscapes insofar as they generate daily chores.

In this sense, it is particularly interesting for research to contrast the standpoint of flows and human practices at state level because they are multiple, ambiguous and not free from contradictions, and share their support in the fragmentation and fixation of social and ecological processes in order to be deployed in an environment of well-defined limits. These limits also define fields of mobility and possibilities of being linked to others, human and non-human.

This form of circulation-fixation counterpoint may contribute towards an understanding of public policy maladjustments, new possible movements for social organizations, or new types of vindications related to diverse circumstances. Not only for water –the most evident- but also other continuities-ruptures of the human, for example.

Focusing on statutory activities in the creation of the irrigated landscape implies becoming familiar with the activities at stake in order to: on the one hand, maintain the surveillance and monitoring of waters and other human and non-human flows, and/or strengthen and enable certain flows vis a vis others, and doing so in several directions on the other.

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The Coastal Maritime Environment and its Flows: A Narration Built upon the Multiple Manners of Experiencing and Inhabiting It

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These pages deal with different manners of knowing, experiencing and inhabiting the sea and the coast in a region of the East of Uruguay. There I observed several folds and processes in which diverse practices converge: economic, recreational, productive, academic, and many more.

One of the goals of the research is to account for the specificities of this space when we don't think of it as exceptionally different from others- and to get to know it following the trajectories of several social players together with "others", human and non-human. The aim is to know about this "wandering" through these spaces in time, according to different practices, rhythms and possibilities. In this investigation, the narratives of my interlocutors serve to bring us closer to diverse time and space dimensions, and to multiple "maritimities". In this sense, during the research process I immersed myself in the coastal-maritime territorialities of fishermen, ecologists and surfers, seeking to contribute towards the theoretical discussion regarding the relationships between the social players and the environment and manners of socialization in the coastal-maritime environment.

Following Ingold, I highlight the relationships established by the moving subject, while wandering through places, the manner of relating among humans, non-humans and nature, or what the author defines as the environment, understood as an area of interpenetration that is constantly being built according to human and non-human practices (Ingold, 2012).

Space was approached as a space with a history, a physical makeup and multiple dimensions, understood as a possibility of social experience.

In this regard, several aspects related with the specificities of the historicity of the environment, public policies, social representations, different ontologies, diverse materialities and multiple maps arose while studying certain practices together with elements of the global situation that impact in a particular way on each of the practices studied.

In the following paragraphs, I will describe in summary fashion the main continuities between practices of fishing, surfing and the study of ecology and return towards the end of the text to the main aspects that reappeared in questions, conversation and observations throughout the Trilateral Workshop.

Continuities

a. On the one hand, when referring to their experience, surfers, ecologists and artisanal fishermen highlight the importance of being able to cope with permanent change due to weather conditions that lead them to deal with the unforeseen.

b. We observe the existence of a special calendar for each practice, where some aspects are ruled by climate and ecological issues that occur in the form of certain fish, the wind, cold weather, the salt-content of the water, among others. Likewise, other aspects follow the pattern of productive cycles such as tourism that is highly seasonal.

c. Another aspect that influences the three practices is the increasing urbanization and the internal migration process with the consequent population of the coast.

d. The incidence of new technologies on the different procedures of appropriation of space, the manners of knowing and the changes they experience, arises as a relevant cross-cutting element for the three practices, with different levels of impact on the transformation of the manners of inhabiting it. Such as dispositives and applications that make possible the access to wind and weather forecasts. Another new technology mentioned as important is the global positioning system, the eco sounder as well as other dispositives used to measure several dimensions of the water and the video cameras used to see on real time a space or objet.

e. The centre and periphery and the local and global dimensions are cross-cutting to the three practices. We observe that the local is tied to global elements; inhabiting a local space evokes images and experiences that belong to other spaces beyond the locality. Another dimension of the local and global is the category of center and periphery; in many occasions, the social players in this study visualize themselves as peripheral.

f. Within the three activities, we observe the existence of special materialities such surfboards, boats, wetsuits, papers that determine a position within the "peer" group and act as entities transcending the object.

g. In the three practices, we highlight the challenge of meeting the unknown during the interaction with the coastal maritime environment.

h. Sexual differentiation in relation with the possibility of access to the coastal maritime space shows an inequality of access for the male and female genders that is shared in varying degrees by all social players.

i. There seems to exist a predominance of the non-human agency over human time-management.

j. On the other hand, I highlight the value given to multisensory experience in the process of inhabiting the environment and carrying out activities. Although some elaborate a bit more this condition than others do, they mention a materiality and a historical construction of the sea and the coast in relation to the manners of knowledge in the different practices that leads to the special importance granted to direct experience as a source of enjoyment and knowledge. In this way, marine ecologists stress the aspects learned by "being there", as is the case for artisanal fishermen and surfers -although the legitimacy of this action is of a different character in each of the activities and manners of knowledge.

k. At the same time, they share some experiences they link with the conditions of the coastal maritime space as a public space constantly being built in each of the interaction of the players present while deploying certain social relationships. Although there are differences in the forms of property and use of the continental territory, some elements in the forms of territorialisation that account for certain

specificities of the coastal maritime territory are at stake in a cross-sectional manner in all the groups studied. In this space there are multiple "imaginary lines that nevertheless impact" (Ingold; 2015: 78). Among them, we observe secrecy and lying as a way to ensure control over the goods and knowledge generated for their appropriation in a socially and materially dynamic environment.

Coastal maritime public space and emotional place

As regards this latter aspect, the present study highlights the importance of space as a public space in a constantly growing resort that attracts inhabitants of multiple social levels who access it, while accounting for its importance as a space where social inequalities occasionally do not seem to impact on the possibility of accessing it, or at least do not totally restrict access in relation to some practices although we initially could have thought that this was a space of exclusive use.

In this sense, when I become immersed in the native categories of space I observe that the environment acquires new shapes, a new map appears, a heterogeneous multiple cartography where diverse localities arise and become differentiated and begin to find a voice through the feeling of belonging of some settlers. The place is "reterritorialized" -as an interlocutor of this study defined the process that enabled the local settlers, mainly the new generations, to return to the coastal strip after some their parents were displaced by the pressure exerted real estate business. What appears is place inhabited by the "locals" (although not exclusively) throughout the year, where projects and proposals are generated and modify the idea of a place only inhabited by tourists in summer, and empty in winter. This process leads many social players to manifest an interest in transcending the idea of inhabiting a coastal maritime space that focusses exclusively on tourism and therefore on the task of providing services to those who arrive and on developing public policies addressed to tourism. This new "reterritorialization" seeks to generate projects for the all the year round residents, who come closer to the coast with less timidity and greater opportunities and interests, according to the perception of some of my interlocutors.

On the other hand, we think it is relevant to deepen further in the experience of "being there" in the locality according to its different facets and presentations –which has led me to reflect on the practices of locality that arise from these processes of establishing links. This became meaningful once again during the field-day proposed in the Trilateral Workshop where the social players related to water (among them public servants from OSE who work in the purification plant applying treatments to purify water, workers from other areas of OSE, and other members of the *Asamblea del Agua del río Santa Lucía* NGO) mentioned the multisensorial experimentation of the water-river. In this sense, the place of experiencing the environment and the relationship with "others", and of the uses and multiple senses newly makes me reflect upon the field of perceptions and emotions.

Finally, I consider that the relevance of these results as a contribution towards the development of an affirmative action is mainly insofar as they deepen further and enrich the knowledge of the sea and coast through the trajectories of several players who account for a multiplicity of human and non-human beings that inhabit the environment in diverse ways. Furthermore, it could serve to modify the manner of understanding "maritimity": No longer a concept exclusively linked with the oceanic world as a physical entity but rather as a social and symbolic production, transcending the view of the sea as only part of the natural

world, marked by the existence of the flow of seas and inhabited by live human and non-human beings and understood as an object of study (Diéguez, 2003). To these flows we must add those arising from the relationships with the environment and other beings, insofar as all of them inhabit it (Ingold, 2012).

When developing public policies for this space, it seems relevant to know it from the standpoint of its multiple dimensions, materialities, surfaces and interrelated knowledges, that are mostly complementary, such as, for example, the knowledge generated in the locality practices of surfers, ecologists and artisanal fishermen.

The question that arises is up to what point is it possible to think adequate public policies without knowing and taking into account the heterogeneity of experiences, entities and sociabilities that evolve in the coastal maritime space, as it is human and non-human relationships create it and do so jointly.

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Shifting Climates of Responsibility: Facing Environmental Disaster in the High Andes

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High above the Andean city of Huaraz sits Lake Palcacocha. It glistens blue in the sunshine below massive glaciers at 4500 m above sea level in the Peruvian Cordillera Blanca mountain range. Out of Palcacocha runs Cojup River which supplies over 150 000 people in the valley below with water. Standing at the lake you can hear low rumbles as avalanches of snow and ice tumble down from the surrounding mountains. In times of global warming and climate change, the glaciers are becoming increasingly unstable as they melt away at unprecedented rates. This is dangerous because a large piece of dislodged glacial ice could turn Palcacocha into a deadly flood wave that would devastate the valley below. And if the glaciers and the lake eventually disappear, the people below will lose their primary source of water.

The Cordillera Blanca is no stranger to disaster. In 1941, a rupture at Palcacocha caused a massive wave that destroyed much of Huaraz and the surrounding villages. Feeding off melting glaciers, Palcacocha has now grown larger than ever before. Around 50,000 people live in the projected flood path. Many urban and rural residents are now concerned as state authorities struggle to contain the risk. But citizens and authorities are also worried about their water supply. Scientists argue that climate change and the use of higher pastures for grazing are causing a degradation of the ecosystem. Mountain plants that serve as natural filters are disappearing. This process has already led to the contamination of other rivers, which can no longer be used for drinking and irrigation. Cojup River might be next.

Authorities and citizens of the Cordillera Blanca are employing multiple strategies to confront these changes. State officials want to remove livestock from higher altitudes to prevent environmental damage through grazing, but face angry opposition from Quechua-speaking rural farmers. Fearing a deadly flood from Palcacocha, the farmer and mountain guide Saúl Luciano Lliuya is pursuing legal action against the German energy giant RWE to make the company take responsibility for its contribution to climate change and help reduce flood risk in the Andes. In an attempt to enact climate justice, he argues that corporations must take responsibility for their historical emissions and help those who are most affected by climate change.

Through situated studies of social life in the context of shifting environments, anthropology can provide a critical scrutiny of dominant climate change discourses (Crate and Nuttall, 2009), elucidating the variety of meanings people associate with the processes and 'how climate change comes to matter' in distinct ways (Callison, 2014). Climate change gives rise to ethical claims of responsibility regarding who contributed to the process and who should address the problems we associate with the phenomenon. According to Haraway, responsibility is a social relation that arises out of two entities' ability to respond to one

another – 'response-ability' (Haraway, 2008). In this framework, the ability to respond gives rise to a moral commitment to behave positively toward an Other.

In the Cordillera Blanca, authorities have found that the high-mountain environment responds to global warming and increasing livestock grazing with ecosystem degradation. They call on farmers to act responsibly and remove their animals. Farmers offer an alternative conceptualisation of responsibility, calling on authorities to respond to their needs with increased social support. Addressing the process of climate change beyond the Cordillera Blanca, Saúl Luciano Lliuya seeks to make RWE responsible for its greenhouse gas emissions, looking to elicit a response from the company.

CONGRUENCE AND CONFLICTS IN THE ANDEAN WATER CYCLE

My doctoral research in Social Anthropology traces how people engage with and conceptualise contemporary environmental shifts and challenges in the Cordillera Blanca. Working with the rural community of Yarush above Huaraz, I am tracing farmers' struggles to retain their livelihoods as well as their interactions with state authorities that often proclaim noble intentions to protect the environment and improve social life, but fail to address rural people's needs. In addition, I am accompanying Saúl Luciano Lliuya as he makes his legal claim in the German courts and at international climate change conferences.

The Andean water cycle helps elucidate relations of response and responsibility between people, environments and other beings. The cycle begins at the Pacific Ocean off the coast of Peru, where water evaporates to form clouds over the Andes. The clouds bring rain to the mountain valleys and snow to higher altitudes. On the mountaintops, this leads glaciers to grow during the wet season that lasts from November to April. Glaciers store water, which they slowly discharge throughout the year into glacial lakes and rivers that supply downstream communities with water for drinking and irrigation. The rivers flow back into the Pacific Ocean, where the cycle begins once again. In times of global warming this cycle has become obstructed. Glaciers are melting off faster than they can re-accumulate, and unpredictable weather patterns worry farmers who depend on rainwater for irrigation.

In a changing Andean climate, water emerges in multiple forms. For city-based authorities, urban residents and rural farmers, water is a vital substance in daily life. For state officials, water is a valuable resource that must be subjected to rational science-based management. As Huaraz depends on Palcacocha and the Cojup River, officials seek to prevent water contamination through livestock grazing in the mountains. City dwellers expect authorities to guarantee their tap water supply. Scientists and concerned citizens worry that climate change will lead to the disappearance of glaciers and other water sources above Huaraz, endangering access to water in the city. In rural areas, such concerns are already becoming a reality. Farmers lament that natural springs have begun to dry up, obstructing the ordinary flow of water and life. Many call for the state to respond, but receive little support in return.

Water is life in the Cordillera Blanca, but it can also emerge as a deadly force. Concerns abound in Huaraz that Lake Palcacocha could give rise to a devastating flood that would mark a path of ruin through several villages and Huaraz. In the public eye, Peruvian state authorities hold the responsibility for addressing this risk and keeping the valley safe. Plagued by corruption and a lack of resources, the government's response has been slow. Engineers have installed provisional pipes to reduce the water level at Palcacocha. Officials

plan to build a new dam and drainage system to minimise the risk of flooding in the long run. Current plans only address the lake in terms of the danger it poses, but do not account for potential uses of its water. Critics argue that decision-makers must address the water in terms of risk *and* resource – they should secure the lake and build infrastructure to use the water for irrigation and domestic supply. At the German court where Saúl Luciano Lliuya is pursuing his lawsuit for climate justice against RWE, Palcacocha exists as a disputed legal fact – lawyers on opposing sides are debating whether its high volume can be ascribed to global warming and greenhouse gas emissions, or whether it is merely a 'natural' phenomenon. This is a key question in Luciano Lliuya's demand that RWE help pay for security measures at Palcacocha in accordance with its contribution to climate change.

For Quechua-speaking rural people who are employed by local authorities to monitor Palcacocha, the lake is not only a risk and resource, but also a being that lives among them. To prevent a disaster, they make appeals to the lake and mountain beings on the basis of shared sociality and responsibility. While many officials and urban citizens write off these practices as superstition, the Palcacocha workers consider them to be essential for maintaining positive and beneficial relations among humans and other beings in the Andean environment. Flowing through the Andes, water arises in different forms. Its stability as a certain kind of object is often contested as it gives rise to claims for social action and responsibility.

Finding common ground

My research traces how rural farmers in the Cordillera Blanca understand and engage with the dramatic environmental shifts that scientists and state officials associate with global climate change. Given recent conflicts between communities and city-based authorities, I am working with rural Peruvians to formulate their concerns in ways that are more accessible to state representatives. In addition, I hope that my research results can help officials better understand why rural communities have rejected governmental interventions in the past. This may help urban authorities and rural residents of the Cordillera Blanca find common ground for confronting the challenges of climate change.

I continue to support Saúl Luciano Lliuya in formulating and sustaining his demand for climate justice. His lawsuit promotes the cause that large emitters must take responsibility and help address climate change impacts. By drawing a link between greenhouse gas emissions in Germany and glacial hazards in Peru, the claim conceptualises climate change as a global issue that draws together people and environments across the world in relations of responsibility. If the German court validates this assertion by ruling in favour of Luciano Lliuya, the verdict would create a precedent that could allow countless others to make claims for climate damages against polluting companies. Conducting anthropological research alongside Saúl Luciano Lliuya and his compatriots in the rural Andes, my work seeks to address climate change as an issue of relational responsibility that involves us all.

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Cultural Conservationism and the Political Currency of Using Environmentalism and Cultural Identity as Survival Strategies

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For my PhD project, I am researching the intersection of ethnic and cultural identity politics and land/housing rights mobilization—best exemplified by the global indigenous land rights movement. The widespread success of this movement is partially due to growing international support for indigenous land rights, represented by the passing of the 1989 International Labour Organization's Convention 169 that upholds indigenous land rights and its subsequent ratification by numerous countries, including Brazil. Moreover, the un International Decade of the World's Indigenous Peoples from 1995-2004 saw increased academic attention given to questions surrounding the politics of indigeneity (Stocks 2005, 86). In general, this research examines the interplay of indigenous individuals and groups; local, state, and federal governments; as well as international institutions like the United Nations (predominately through its agency, the International Labour Organization), the World Bank, and the Inter-American Development Bank regarding the issues of land and other resource rights of indigenous communities (Hale 2006, 100).

These international institutions exert a powerful influence on indigenous rights movements and have shaped current understandings of indigeneity itself through their ability to decide if a community meets their criteria of indigenousness before providing financial support intended for indigenous development projects (Shippers 2010, 226-7). These preconditions for indigenousness normally include proving a longstanding habitation that pre-dates colonial contact, maintaining a unique culture separate from mainstream culture, and exhibiting close relationships to land (Warren and Jackson 2002, 8-9). With needed financial resources at stake, indigenousness has become something that needs to be proved, or performed (Sullivan 2013, 467). Where there are financial resources available, those indigenous groups that can prove their indigeneity and their need for access to land and other natural resources tend to be rewarded for their efforts, although there continue to be obstacles for realizing resource rights for some indigenous groups (see Stocks 2005 for an example).

The most relevant of the current research on indigenous land rights explores the results of this incentive to identify as indigenous and perform indigeneity for the sake of protecting or acquiring land, property, and other resources. Academic viewpoints on indigenous identity politics largely fall into two camps: those who are critical of strategic essentialism as well as of portrayals of indigenous identities (or any form of identity) in essentialist terms, and those who themselves challenge postmodern critiques of identity as merely social constructs. Strategic essentialism is a widely-accepted concept in mainstream academia that,

in essence, corresponds to moments when a stereotyped or essentialized version of one's identity is performed with the hope of being better situated to receive political benefits as a result.

Given the widespread academic acceptance of strategic essentialism, researchers who engage in this kind of cultural critique are in the majority (Hale 2006). However, there is a significant contingent of academics who challenge a postmodern take on identity. These researchers warn their colleagues that deconstructing identity to the point that it becomes too "soft" (Brubaker 2004) or too ill-defined to be useful undermines the mission of indigenous rights movements and invites appropriations of indigenous identity by undeserving individuals or groups.

This research project is another investigation of indigenous identity politics, although I ask a question that as of now have not garnered much academic attention: what are the implications of indigenous identity politics for people who do not self-identify as indigenous yet also have dire land and housing needs? Preliminary findings suggest that land and housing rights activists in Rio de Janeiro are aware of the (at least ostensible) socio-political support that the concept of indigenous land rights has internationally and so use rhetoric found in the global indigenous rights movement in their own efforts to acquire land and other resources. My intention through this project is not to make moral judgments about the use of indigenous identity politics by non-indigenous actors. Instead, I am studying how indigenous groups and those who do not self-identify nor are not recognized by their governments as indigenous in Rio de Janeiro employ common strategies of indigenous identity politics for land and housing gains—a politics that I call cultural conservationism. Through this research, I intend to explore what this might mean for future land and housing rights movements, the study of ethnic and cultural identity politics, and identity studies in general.

The methods for this project include participant observation and interviews. My plan for participant observation is to attend council meetings to ascertain in what ways these organizations are influenced by environmentalism and global indigenous rights politics. I also plan to be involved in the implementation of events organized by councils and community members. It is in this direct engagement with councils and supporting their work through direct participation that I believe I can be most helpful. I also intend to make the efforts of councils more visible to an international audience through reports I will write that will be based on my research.

The ultimate goal of my project is to write an ethnography based on comparing case studies of *favelas* and *quilombos* that are strategizing against dispossession using ethnic or cultural identity politics in Rio de Janeiro. A secondary task is to research how indigenous rights activists in Rio also engage with environmentalism. Unlike a traditional ethnography, I am not investigating a single, homogenous cultural group. Instead, I am researching communities that live in heavily forested areas near nature reserves who share a common experience of being threatened with eviction and who use similar strategies to avoid this threat. Moreover, the field in question is not bounded in the traditional anthropological sense but is both singular (Rio de Janeiro) yet plural, in that each case study will inhabit a different yet interconnected "social world" within Rio de Janeiro (Nadai and Maeder 2005, 4). This project then is both multi-sited (Marcus 1995, 4; Nadai and Maeder 2005) with a "fuzzy" field, which Nadai and Maeder argue are emblematic of sociological ethnographies (2005, 2-4). Most importantly, this project is an attempt to develop the concept of cultural

conservationist identity politics in order to cautiously divorce identity from the subject, leaving me able to research the sociopolitical currency of an identity politics that is rooted in indigeneity but not restricted to its use by people who self-identify or government entities recognize as indigenous peoples .

Participating in the Trilateral Workshop has helped me think through ways in which I could modify my methodology as well as use my research results to have a concrete impact on public policy and affirmative action policies in particular. A notable discussion that arose during the workshop—and a common theme in some of the other participants' research—is the issue of when affirmative action policies meant to address the needs of one vulnerable group inadvertently ignore the needs of others. In the context of my own research, the concept of indigenous land rights itself was born from affirmative action policies meant to rectify centuries of indigenous dispossession in former European colonies. It should also be understood within the context of rural land reforms in Brazil spearheaded by the Landless Workers Movement. Essentially, this project is an exploration of how the widespread codification of indigenous land rights (at least superficially) has inspired other marginalized groups who fight for land and housing needs who have not yet been beneficiaries of affirmative action policies related to land and housing. A research group, called "Critiquing Affirmative Action" has been formed as a result of the Trilateral Workshop and we intend to use the space to develop our ideas on the subject and to arrange future academic collaboration.

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The Benefits of Slowing Things Down: Reflections on Research with Clasificadores and Técnicos in Montevideo

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When I arrived in Montevideo for the Anthropology and Affirmative Action workshop, I made the time to return to my doctoral fieldsite: the Felipe Cardoso landfill and the adjacent housing cooperative (Covinus) where I lived for a year. The re-encounter with my fieldsite was more intense and corporeal than I had imagined. Staying over at my old neighbours' house, with close friends Carolina and Juan[1], meant involvement in a typical family weekend. Early morning *mates* and *bizcochos*. Building an improvised chicken coop out of whatever was at hand with their seven- year old son Santi. Watching numerous games of children's league football where Santi, his little brother and other boys were watched over by parents who took things rather seriously indeed. Staying up late (but not as late as the kids) to dance and converse over beers, to the sounds of cumbia and reggaetón emanating from impossibly large speakers. And finally, joining Juan on Sunday night as he went to the landfill to recover eleven large bags -each weighing up to sixty kilos- of recyclable materials that he had collected during a week's labour.

Another neighbour, Gaston, joined us as we piled onto Juan's motorbike for the short journey to Felipe Cardoso. He slowed down so that I could film a new fence that the *Intendencia* was erecting around the landfill and which had everyone talking. "Perhaps as of Monday we will no longer be able to enter", Juan suggested, a threat which would affect scores of waste-pickers. But I had heard this before, and Juan didn't seem particularly worried. We entered freely through a gaping hole in the fence, and headed towards the bags that Marcos had earlier sent me to verify had not been stolen. We improvised a makeshift path across dry patches, fallen ladders, tires and densely packed plastics in order to avoid ankle-deep pools of leachates. Between the three of us, we hoisted the bags onto our shoulders, taking turns.

Juan's gait was strong and assured, even though he carried the heaviest bags. His shoulders and head upright, from behind he looked like a human-material assemblage, his upper body replaced by an enormous plastic bag of the kind normally filled with aggregates or soil. Gaston and I were clumsy, stooped and frail, but stubborn, urged on by sentiments of friendship and pride. Still, we left several bags scattered along the trail at points where our backs had buckled or ankles had slipped into the oily black waste-water. "You'll get there like that", Juan commented after one of my ungainly, unorthodox lifts, "with your neck broken perhaps, but you'll get there". For several days afterwards, while I sat at the workshop, my neck did indeed feel strained and I wondered if the damage could well be more serious.

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1   I use pseudonyms throughout.

I open my article with this description because I believe it provides a way in to several of the themes which we have been challenged to explore in this volume. Firstly, with respect to methodology: to what end did I, for my doctoral fieldwork, join waste-pickers (known as *clasificadores*) in carrying heavy bags on my neck at the landfill, dirty my hands with unknown materials at new *Ley de Envases* (Packaging Law) recycling plants, and ingest what we called *requeche*, food from the trash? What issues did my crossing the line into the landfill, and the line that separates observer from participant, raise for waste-pickers, government officials, and workshop colleagues? What conceptual and theoretical contribution might emerge from such situatedness? And what policy recommendations could I make from such an obviously precarious standpoint, given the threat of what - in my thesis - I call the "hygienic enclosure" of the landfill?

In the first instance, labour power was, along with friendship, the most obvious "thing" I could offer waste-pickers who agreed to participate in my research, whether through recorded interviews, casual conversations or simply not objecting to my strange presence. Such involvement has a practical and ethical dimension: I don't like standing idly by or getting in the way while others are working, even if observation is a key part of the anthropological endeavour. I wanted to pull my weight, even if I struggled and stumbled with heavy bags of recyclables on my shoulders, adopting what Walter Benjamin called the "jerky gait" of the ragpicker (1999: 364). And a willingness to get my hands dirty was often perceived as proof of my humility, a trait that might well be considered Uruguay's "paramount value". When I asked an older waste-picking colleague how I would have been treated when the dump was a tougher place and knife-fights were common, he said that I would have fared well because I was humble, "and if you act with humility, you are treated with humility".

More importantly, to understand the materiality of rubbish and the *clasificador* orientation towards it, it was important to become an apprentice in waste-work. The waste-picking trade involves a range of skills and sensorial sensitivities, while the move into municipal recycling plants requires training in what Carenzo (2016) has called a "craft-in-the-making". With the methodological concept of the anthropologist-apprentice (Downey, Dalidowicz and Mason 2014), I am inspired by Ingold's (2000) argument that it is by engaging, moving and working together in a shared environment that we come to understand and perceive the world. Participant observation, in this framework, "allows the ethnographer to access other people's ways of perceiving by joining with them in the same currents of practical activity, and by learning to attend to things – as would any novice practitioner – in terms of what they afford in the contexts of what has to be done" (Ingold 2011: 314). This is more than simply a methodological matter: like Ingold, I reject a narrowly constructionist approach to social life and waste, where different cultural representations are imposed on the world "out there", in favour of the idea of collaborative, engaged and fluid classifications made by subjects-in-their-environment.

In the Affirmative Action workshop, I suggested that getting my hands dirty was a novel methodology in the Uruguayan social science of waste, and was challenged by a Uruguayan participant who clearly considered this a slight to the work of her colleagues. In the ensuing discussion, I clarified that while the national social science of waste-picking is excellent, a physical engagement with waste work had not interested most researchers, whose methods and research objectives laid elsewhere. I would like to use this incident to fuel a discussion of the position of the anthropologist in relation to waste-picking interlocutors and its policy

implications. "You are disguising yourself as a *clasificador*!", one state official exclaimed when I arrived with *clasificadores* and sought to attend a series of workshops organised to facilitate their transition into the formal sector recycling plants launched in 2014. I should, another senior social worker asserted, sit where I belonged: with the *técnicos*. This term was basically used to refer to any outsiders working with *clasificadores,* from the veterinarians who treated their horses, to the sociologists who facilitated their workshops; from social workers to, apparently, Scottish anthropologists. Yet in reality, I was much more of a colleague to *clasificadores* than a specialist providing technical assistance.

Much of the technical knowledge provided to *clasificadores* is extremely helpful of course, from equine vaccinations to children's' health referrals. But with this welcome help comes an assumption which is perhaps less welcome: that the role of all those who work with waste-pickers is to provide a service or advice: "Form a cooperative!" "Join the union!" "Renounce your horse and cart and settle down in a plant!" This attitude, I would argue, reveals two aspects of a "commons sense" prevalent among those who conduct research or work with waste-pickers, or perhaps the Uruguayan poor more generally. The first is an expectation to make (new) policy recommendations, and the second is to advocate collective endeavours often based around the cooperative form. In my research with waste-pickers I encountered this attitude in both likely and unexpected places. Waste-picker cooperatives were promoted by the certain parts of the state and University, for example, but upper-class Catholics also instigated the formation of a pig rearing cooperative for Covinus neighbours like Juan.

Only in informal conversations in corridors, cafes and living rooms could critical voices be heard: "we keep getting the poor to form cooperatives but none of us do it!" and "the social cooperative model, with its low wage thresh-hold, wasn't designed for *clasificadores*". This is not to say that some *clasificador* cooperatives haven't been successful. Or that cooperatives which appear to have failed because they have disbanded haven't been worthwhile or valuable experiences for participants. I conducted undergraduate research in 2010 with the Juan Cacharpa cooperative, which is still thriving to this day. My intention here is merely to open a fissure in the wall of progressive consensus that links social science and activism in Uruguay. It is not only that cooperatives have clearly proved a difficult model for *clasificadores*, a point signalled by the shift in policy away from cooperatives towards NGO managed plants. I would also suggest that in work with *clasificadores,* as indeed other groups, anthropologists are well placed to take a step back and, as we say in Scotland, *haud oor wheesht*, before rushing into policy recommendations and suggested interventions. Writing of a different context, Anthony Pickles and Joel Robbins (2017) have recently suggested the need to "slow down" in the face of politically destabilizing assertions of crisis. I suggest that the same attitude should be taken in the face of demands for policy prescriptions.

In our discipline, we are taught to, at least temporarily, suspend our judgements, prejudices and assumptions when studying social groups, allowing ourselves to be open to unexpected and unfamiliar rationales, affects and beliefs. To begin work with groups with a preformed ideological commitment to particular corporate forms, and to allow those beliefs to emerge unscathed from an encounter with alterity is not, I would argue, always helpful. When I took a colleague from Brazil to visit the Felipe Cardoso landfill and she caught sight of *clasificadores* working amidst machines above she exclaimed: "this is terrible, the government should build these guys a plant!" Indeed, such a possibility is again under

discussion, with the Intendencia recently acknowledging waste-picker presence at the land-fill and threatening to expel them on health and safety grounds (Reilly 2017). Would one not expect that the kind of sensorial immersion described at the beginning of this paper would lead me to wholeheartedly agree?

After spending a year at the landfill and other sites of waste classification, however, I can understand perfectly well why some landfill *clasificadores* would prefer to continue working there than switch to a recycling plant or other low paid employment in the formal sector. Each has their reasons: the substantial income that can be obtained through physical and affective labour at the landfill, its proximity to their residences, the autonomy of working without a boss, the particular forms of male sociality, the possibility of an exciting find, the *requeche*, and the fact that they can arrive at work late, hungover, or not at all. More broadly, in my thesis I draw on the oral histories of older *clasificadores* to carefully develop the idea that waste in the city and at the landfill might be considered an urban commons for the city's poor, who assert a customary right to access that which others have thrown away.

So, when I decided to write a statement of support for those at the landfill under threat of expulsion, I didn't join the chorus of voices who accepted that waste-picking conditions at the landfill were untenable from a sanitary perspective, and that a new plant or coo-perative must be built as a replacement. This will be an issue for landfill *clasificadores* to discuss with authorities and their union, but I was reluctant to provide a professional opi-nion, which might be used to justify processes of "hygienic enclosure" and dispossession. This does not mean that I necessarily hold a conservative position, either in the sense of defending an exploitative status quo or rejecting progressive alternatives. Affirmative ac-tion policie,s which privilege spaces for women and waste-pickers in recycling plants, and which seek to favour them in new national waste legislation have multiple positive effects, including the empowerment of women in labour organising and improved incomes for many. But, for anthropologists, an inclusionary perspective should go beyond celebrating narrowly defined state metrics of social inclusion, and include respect for ways of working, living and classifying which have long histories but now run counter to current political orthodoxies. 'Slowing down' to appreciate the complexity and genealogy of these practices provides a valuable foundation for the construction of considered theoretical knowledge which may support, challenge or generate new policy orthodoxies.

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The role of anthropology in promoting cultural dialogue: the case of hunting

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Introduction

One of the great strengths of anthropology is to dismantle assumptions that often legitimize historically constructed hegemonic situations. In different spheres, it is often said that the social and human sciences must carry out actions to promote ecological and social sustainability. It is an assumption that is based on a problem that is usually badly posed and that generates an unsuccessful dichotomy (action vs. inaction) to its own goals leaving aside criticism as action. In this essay, I present some general questions about hunting, highlighting some conflicts and, finally, I propose ideas where I believe we can transit in the construction of a critical ontology with a horizon of social action.

Hunting as an unsustainable practice

As a practice that seeks death as one of its purposes and even exalts parts of dead animals as trophies, hunting is the subject of various types of social valuations that often demonize it (Fischer, et al. 2013; Kelly and Rule 2013). Hunting is a practice that is usually regulated in most countries. However, their practice is widespread in an illegal or stealthy way. This illegal practice is an activity that globally mobilizes enormous amounts of money, just below the illegal sale of arms and drug trafficking (Rubiano 2014). In addition, it is estimated to be the second cause of extinction of species worldwide, after the loss of habitat (Damm 2008).

This supposed ecological unsustainability and moral impropriety of hunting has aroused enormous resistance in the public opinion. The case of Spain, where there is an organized group of hunters and where the activity is very regulated, is quite eloquent. For some 10 years now, although with greater force in the last 5, several environmental, pro-animal and anti-hunting organizations have been protesting against legal hunting (particularly regarding the use of hunting dogs). On the other hand, this has awakened the reactions of hunters who have begun to organize themselves to self-define themselves as discriminated and stigmatized minorities, and to manifest themselves publicly. It is a growing conflict that has been transferred to the legislative power, where normative changes linked to different positions are being handled.

Following the international trend, in Uruguay the hunters are a demonized group. Hunting is a widespread practice in rural areas, where the death of animals is a part of the daily life of human beings. This demonization of hunters must be understood in a framework of urban-rural tensions, of construction of apparently antagonistic discourses.

Final reflections

One of the topics that guided the framework workshop of this publication was that of affirmative actions. But, what is an action? Does anthropology must propose actions? Is not the critical analysis of reality enough? Is not criticism an action? I believe that anthropological criticism is a type of key action and is one of the things that anthropology best knows how to do and should not stop doing it. The problem is not in criticism but in the use of criticism and in that sense the question is asked why do we criticize? Who do we critique for? And in this sense, I consider that an important part of the problem lies in the dialogue and the language between the potential actors involved.

If anthropology can express, represent and translate the critique into other epistemologies we will be taking a major step. And with this I do not only mean using different languages of communication that translate the academic language to the general public (something that is also very important), but to the possibility of incorporating epistemologies and ontologies of different actors with whom we work within our interpretative apparatus. In the case of hunting, we are working on conservation ontologies that start from the search for continuities in practices linked to nature. As several authors point out (Cooper, et al. 2015; Daigle, et al. 2002) we are noticing that hunters and park rangers have many more continuities in their perceptions and attitudes than differences. The same applies to the rural police and illegal hunters. To search for these categories to explore them critically is a possible way to unlock the paralyzing debate of pragmatic ethics (action vs. inaction) that I think even anthropology has failed to pay. The critical analysis of practices and discourses in conflict allows to look for the agreements that are behind the difference, those in which they agree to differentiate themselves (Venturini, 2010).

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Technopolitical expertise and knowledge practices on Brazil nut

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Inside the Amazonian Brazil nut woods, hedgehogs-like pods hang and fall from the top of huge Brazil nut trees. Each of them houses between 15 and 25 nuts, within which the fresh flesh, moist with oil and milk, is carefully extracted. The Brazil nut, intimately related to several other species, has its reproduction and survival guaranteed through the action of humans and nonhumans. Native bees are responsible for their pollination, and capable of flying at a height of over 50 meters. The agouti, a small rodent, is one of the few animals that can open the pods and strip the nuts to the flesh, burying them and hiding them to feed later, thus favouring the spontaneous planting and dispersion of the species. Monkeys are extremely skilful beings, and are often seen carrying pods in their hands: they beat the pod on the Brazil nut branches until they break, consuming the nuts and spreading them around. Although these animals and insects favour the spread and growth of new Brazil nut trees, humans are primarily responsible for the great dissemination of the species. The Brazil nut is the outcome of the way of life, feeding and displacement patterns of pre-Columbian populations, which played a significant role in the current configuration of the Amazonian landscape and its biological megadiversity, a crucial environment for the existence and survival of several beings.

In this text, I propose to take the Brazil nut as the protagonist in the establishment of several associations. The nut, therefore, does not have a particular essence or function, but it is designated and is produced through the interaction with other beings. The consequence of taking the Brazil nut as a starting point lies in the mobilization and access to different ways of knowing and producing knowledge. In this formulation, it will not be possible to imagine a nut and its different forms of representation, but rather to take it as a complex, circulating and participatory entity enabling different forms of association.

Over the last five decades, many experiments and scientific efforts have been made to domesticate Brazil nut trees to gain greater control over their dispersion and productivity. In 1972, Embrapa[1] published a preliminary research report, evaluating the fact that Brazil nut production is mostly derived from forest extractivism procedures, which could hinder the optimization of the productive processes of this crop. At the time, the grafting technique appeared as a viable possibility to standardize the plantations and select the most productive varieties early on. However, experiments with Brazil nuts were repeatedly unsuccessful,

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1   The Brazilian Agricultural Research Corporation (Empresa Brasileira de Pesquisa Agropecuária - Embrapa), is a public research institution linked to the Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Supply of Brazil. In addition to representing state policies and interests, this institution also acts through specialized scientific knowledge in order to develop technologies and practices to implement projects and commercial and economic partnerships between state and diverse institutions.

and the practice of grafting eventually led to disease and death of several saplings. The study mentioned is part of the extensive amount of research that Embrapa has been producing on the Brazil nut since then. The importance of the Brazil nut tree and its fruits promoted research interested in developing specific knowledge about many aspects of this botanical species: to identify sub-species, know the flowering period and manners of pollination, domesticate and improve production, control fungi and pests, strengthen the productive chain, analyse their economic viability in national and international markets, develop sustainable management techniques, know the nutritional composition of the Brazil nut, map the Brazil nut trees using satellite images, and create neural networks to identify nuts. All these initiatives to produce scientific knowledge about Brazil nuts have, in fact, specific implications in relation to their social and economic value.

The main objective of the Mapping of Native Chestnuts and Socio-environmental and Economic Characterization of Brazilian Chestnut Production Systems in the Amazon Region Project (*Mapeamento de Castanhais Nativos e Caracterização Socioambiental e Econômica de Sistemas de Produção da Castanha-do-Brasil na Amazônia* - MapCast), under the leadership of Embrapa, is to conduct in-depth studies on the natural environment of Brazil nut trees to support management actions and extend the knowledge of the various social and economic relations involved in the extractive activity. MapCast promotes biotic and abiotic evaluations of the environment where the Brazil nut trees are grown by using digital technologies to develop methodologies to map and model the occurrence of the species in the Amazon. High-resolution remote sensors, laser scanner technology, among others, are some of the scientific devices essential for researchers to know the nuts. In addition to these aspects, the project is dedicated to understand the social and economic organization of the various extractive communities of Brazil nuts, as well as the land ownership status of the areas where they are collected.

The *castanheiros*, i.e. the inhabitants of the surrounding and other areas where the Brazil nut tree group flourishes, also have a way of understanding the effects of human and non-human actions on the dynamics of forest life. For these people, Brazil nuts are an important source of food both for humans and animals; they link and enable relationships among different species and, above all, have a highly appreciated conversion potential[2]. The intimate relationship these peoples establish with the territories where they live, together with historical factors and the struggles of these populations and those who support them, guaranteed them the right to the forest and the maintenance of their way of life (Almeida, 2004).

I therefore consider the knowledge about Brazil nut, both that of the castanheiros inhabiting the Amazon forest, and those of researchers, biologists and geologists who belong to the MapCast project, as technopolitical knowledge. Technopolitics may be considered a technical body, a conjunction that generally emerges from both natural and cultural processes, and comprises humans and nonhumans (Mitchell, 2002: 50). These ways of knowing encourage a reflection that proposes theoretical-methodological challenges to Anthropology insofar as it considers technique inseparable from politics.

The importance of Brazil nut, appreciated for their organoleptic, social, economic and biological characteristics, and all the knowledge necessary to understand and relate to this

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2   This was one of the aspects addressed in my doctoral thesis (Ribeiro, 2016). The importance of Brazil nut as a social and economic system makes it possible to convert the nuts not only in material goods, called commodities by the castanheiros, but also enables the maintenance of ties between humans, animals and plants.

botanical species, is relational insofar as it acquires meaning from different associative processes. The practices of knowledge do not describe a pre-existing world but through handling and intervention create the existence of a plurality of worlds. Each and every description of the world, according to this perspective, does not exhaust other explanatory possibilities; the construction is taken as the creation (practice) of realities, only related through experience (Ingold, 2000), in this particular case, with Brazil nut.

On the one hand, therefore, modern visualization technologies firmly continue the task of expanding their boundaries: artificial intelligence, electronic microscopes with scanners, computerized tomography systems, satellite surveillance (Haraway, 1985: 19). From the infinitely small, like the Brazil nut centesimal composition, which allowed to know its nutritional value by breaking down its properties, to the exponentially removed, such as the high resolution remote sensors, the satellites and the laser scanner technology, which seek to identify the Brazil nut trees in their natural environment, where they may be accompanied by a multiplicity of up to 300 species per hectare. Through innumerable technologies, the way science produces knowledge moves between different scales to produce what we call scientific expertise. These prosthetic devices show us that all eyes, and this also includes our organic eyes, are living systems of perception, which construct translations and specific ways of accessing and apprehending life. This argument is in line with the idea that knowledge is always located, partial and embodied, but also possesses different scales (Strathern, 2011).

On the other hand, the *castanheiro's* knowledge also results of a very particular vision. Seeing through one's eyes is a procedure that requires as much skill with bodies and languages and with the various forms of mediation of vision as is required by the more accurate technical-scientific visualizations. It is precisely in the policy of partial perspectives that we find the possibility of a critical appraisal of different ways of seeing life and of creating knowledge. Every point of view requires instruments of vision; a view is always a positioning policy (Haraway, 1985: 27).

Thus, reflecting on the knowledge practices related to Brazil nuts is a task that turns attention to the making of facts and ontologies, and these are invariably inscribed in a political dimension. This, in turn, is an important task of Anthropology: letting oneself be fertilized by other knowledge practices, accompanying the crossings, the oscillations and the scale effects, making visible the imperceptible.

From very different perspectives, *castanheiros* and scientists produce knowledge at different levels of articulation, where we hesitate before fixing strict boundaries separating humans, technical instruments, animals and machines. In this sense, the relation between human and machine or between technology and science does not seem less symbiotic than the articulation between men, animals and plants (Mol, 2003). Considering that the type of knowledge produced by *castanheiros* and by scientists on Brazil nut is always located, contrasting them appears as a useful method to expand the understanding we have of each one.

The outcomes of this research is understanding the knowledge about Brazil nut not so much as an opposition of incommunicable systems of knowledge - science and traditional knowledge, for example - and rather as the comparison of ways of knowing in movement, both considered as technopolitical and capable of promoting encounters and exchanges.

The Brazil nut is inscribed in economic, biological and political contexts, and the different appreciations that emerge may involve humans and other species in very diverse

manners, as occurs with the encounters that emerge from different types of relationships with plants, animals, rivers, but also with technologies, money, material goods, and economic forms.

Taking the Brazil nut as an artifact that crosses different ways of knowing is also in line with the reflections of Anna Tsing (2004, 2015), for whom the *global situation* posed new challenges to ethnographic research, forcing us to rethink our methods of analysis and criteria when choosing our empirical objects. Her recent research on the *matsutake* mushroom has been inspiring to think of the different types of associations generated by botanical species.

The activity of extracting the Brazil nut is conducted by Amazonian populations according to their own aims, as is the case with scientific researches that need to meet scientific standards. The transactions between the Brazil nut that appear in the *castanheiro's* way of life, as biological species or as merchandise, should not be considered trivial. Many different types of conversions are involved. In this sense, anthropological literature has proven particularly valuable to understand how nature, economics, politics, science and technology are all interrelated in the practices of knowing the Brazil nut.

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Water crisis and the hidden, forgotten, and invisible landscapes in São Paulo

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In this essay, I present some actions and narratives that have arisen during a social-environmental crisis in the city of São Paulo, Brazil. I went to the Trilateral Workshop in Montevideo aiming to discuss with anthropologists who also deal with the issues of sustainability and environmental change. Nevertheless, I also gained from different sorts of debates, related to 'affect', 'affection', visible and invisible sides of our worlds, alternative storytelling and counter-mapping[1]. Those issues are transversal to anthropological practice and theory, but are usually lacking in discussions of science studies and those concerning environmental change, being more frequently considered by those who deal with human rights.

In 2014, the year I finished my Master's dissertation on climate change science and scientific practices and narratives in Brazil, the city of São Paulo, where I live in, was going through one of the worst extreme climate events in its history. A combination of diverse processes led to what has been called the water crisis (*crise hídrica*), namely: a severe drought starting in the summer of 2013-2014; record high temperatures due to global climate change and local urban sprawl; local deforestation around reservoirs and river basins; waste of clean water due to infrastructural problems; slow or mistaken actions to mitigate the crisis taken by the partially state-owned water distribution and sanitation company (SABESP)[2].

Reservoirs and rivers started to dry up fast in the summer of 2014, leaving behind what looked like a wasteland and scenes taken out of disaster films – scenes more common to drier areas in Northeastern Brazil, constantly affected by long droughts. The contradiction was that the 20-million people metropolitan area, apart from its dry season during fall/winter, is known for its constant drizzle and is affected by severe storms year-round, especially in the summer. It lies in a subtropical humid plateau, which in the past had been a patchwork of tropical forests, savannahs, flood plains and a dense network of rivers. Now most of native vegetation survives in small patches, rivers have been turned into open sewage or are now underground, covered over by urban development. Most of the abundant rain that falls over the city is wasted away into these polluted waterways - making clean water quite scarce. Even as the city suffered with unusually hot summers, and not wet enough to refill

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[1] These debates on counter-mappings and alternative storytelling in anthropology were further discussed some months after Montevideo at a symposium called "The Living and the Dead – political ecology of memory and oblivion", held in June 2017 in the Federal University of São Carlos, Brazil. It stemmed from discussions between two other guests of the Trilateral Workshop, Prof. Catarina Morawska Vianna and PhD candidate Olof Ohlson – I want to thank them and Prof. Jorge Villela for inviting me to this productive event.

[2] There was an extensive coverage of the crisis in British and American newspapers, see for example Rigby (2015).

the reservoirs, people were surprised to see rain falling and their streets flooding, while no water was flowing from their taps.

During the crisis, civil society was left out of official decision-making processes concerning water shortages and (unofficial) rationing, increasing the price of water, measures that affected mainly the poor living in the outskirts of the city. Water was treated in profit terms, instead of a common right. Sectors of civil society gathered to understand and discuss what were the complex causes of the crisis. Was it a social disaster, concerning lack of planning and mismanagement? Was the drought a natural disaster, caused by climate change, or normal fluctuations of climate patterns? Or was it both? This network of activists also mobilized to discuss consequences of the crisis, measures to mitigate it and how to take part in decision and policy-making. Public debates, meetings, lectures and demonstrations were held, organized by social, environmental, political activists, NGOs and grassroots movements, researchers, and also members from the public sector, such as members of the Judiciary.

First I was interested in how scientific narratives and technologies, especially related to climate change, circulated or were created and transformed by social movements and the civil society. But after I started following this events, I was affected by small grassroots movements made of people who were interested in doing experiments of changing or (re-)creating landscapes and who took action in order to change our ways of looking, imagining and living in our cities. Many of them gained attention from the media and the civil society as they were offering different solutions to the ways we deal with water, with crisis and with our urban worlds – in order to create what some of them called "a different water culture".

Among these, some created different maps of the city in order to include underground rivers paths and water sources beneath streets and squares – all invisible in our common urban maps, which only show streets, blocks, parks and the transportation network. There were people who explored the city, trying to find out and bring out these hidden rivers and sources in order to draw attention to how the city still had a flowing landscape beneath the concrete and asphalt, making explicit that our common ways of coming, going and dwelling in the city silence these landscapes. They talked in terms of attuning ourselves to these "ghost landscapes" (see Tsing, Swanson, Gan & Bubandt (eds.), 2017). To do this we need to bring back both oral and material memories (like photographs) from times when people still actively dwelled with creeks and rivers in the city; we need to pay attention to signs, such as hearing water flowing in storm drains along what was once a river path or noticing springs drenching the soil in parks after rain. Urban dwellers, especially in the wet regions, are forced to remember that these ghost rivers exist, when they fill up and burst violently out of their burial tunnels during severe storms, flooding their former basins and everything that has been built over it. Some groups dug up river sources releasing them and letting them flow above the ground into small ponds, filling them with frogs and fish that feed on mosquito larvae, important in a time of intense proliferation of diseases in Brazil, such as Zica, dengue fever, and yellow fever – all carried by mosquitoes.

These are acts of (re)creating artificial/natural landscapes outside (and sometimes against) official urban planning, something unusual for urban dwellers, that bring many latent conflicts when they are "brought back to life", as they both belong to and are invasive or strange to modern urban ways of occupation – as urban rivers were built over or had their paths controlled in order to try to solve problems of flooding and hygiene, especially

in the tropics. When water becomes scarce in our cities, we should re-tune our senses and notice how water is constantly flowing (beyond our infra-structures of sewers and water distribution pipes), invisible to our usual ways of walking and dwelling.

When water stops flowing in the infrastructure of a 20-million people metropolis, what can people do other than usual (and not always efficient) political actions? In times of more frequent and ubiquitous environmental change and degradation of our landscapes, we need to be affected by alternative ways of dwelling in our urban environments. This includes in environmental debates actions that are focuses not only in State-centred major infrastructural projects or small-scale individual behaviour-centred actions. Infrastructures, policy-making and large environmental projects are of course necessary to protect endangered ecosystems, clean polluted river basins, guarantee potable clean water to be distributed to all, reforest reservoirs and our concrete and asphalt cities – and so are all the civil society political actions to make them happen. And so are actions centred on behaviour change, such as recycling, decarbonizing, producing less waste, for example. Notwithstanding, these other types of actions and affections bring different kinds of relationships between us and the living things and non-humans that we share our environment with, even when unnoticed – and even in places far from what we usually call "nature".

These practices of noticing and affection take place in an independent way from central planning and State-centred actions. These small actions together with correlate practices, such as urban agriculture and walks in urban nature/ruin, for example, are practices of counter-mapping, practices of noticing and engaging with urban landscapes that are more complex than our ways of living, imagining, talking about cities that only includes people (and social meanings, asphalt, concrete, infrastructure). They draw attention to invisible and forgotten flows, elements, stories and rhythms in our urban worlds – and they are becoming more and more necessary in times of environmental crises. Anna Tsing (2015) talks about to how we must learn to notice in order to tell better landscape stories, with many other story tellers and characters, in order to live in our ruined and damaged worlds.

Discussions of human rights and the rights of urban dwellers to environmental rights should include actions and policies that include the living and nonliving cohabitants of our urban landscapes. Anthropologists should also tell the stories of these smaller, local actions: looking at, engaging with, hearing, being affected by these local disturbances, mixtures of human, non-human beings and landscapes in our backyards, where we least expect them to exist. In our ways of circulating and doing research in urban settings, they may show that we live in places quite different from what we imagine, and maybe this is a way out to live in our catastrophic times.

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Unsustainability and social inequality: are science and technology part of the problem or part of the solution?

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Sustainability and social justice are deeply interconnected: a sustainable system could never be socially unjust to be fully sustainable (Leach, Scoones, and Stirling 2010). Inequalities are multicausal. Science and technology may have egalitarian or unequal effects: the effect is not inherent to the technology or knowledge involved. The effect is socially constructed, according to the social structure, in dynamic processes of human interactions (Reygadas 2008). The same statement could be valid for the construction and reproduction of unsustainable systems. That construction begins with the definition of research and/or innovation agendas, a process in which social structures become evident, particularly the predominant power structures (constantly re-negotiated, disputed, dynamically produced and reproduced).

My current work dwells with the effect that the process of the definition of research and innovation priorities has in the production and reproduction of social inequalities and unsustainable systems. Science and technology not only have a strong power by their own and direct effects, but also as means of defining horizons of possibility, as means of defining what is real and possible and what is not (Hess 2016).

Both unequal access to knowledge and inequalities in the control over their production and distribution generate inequalities. The control of knowledge grants political, financial and existential advantages to those who hold it; it helps sustain and reproduce the institutions and relationships that produce and reproduce inequality (Tilly 2005).

Following Reygadas: "If there is greater inequality, it is not due to some characteristic inherent to technology or global connections, but due to the ways in which they have developed and the social, economic, political and cultural processes in which they have registered. In other words, computers, telecommunications, genetic engineering, the opening of borders and the intensification of transnational networks also have an enormous potential to reduce poverty, improve health, increase well-being and reduce inequality and exclusion. If this potential has not been fully exploited and, on the contrary, its capacity to exacerbate inequities has been exploited, the causes must be sought in economic, political and cultural mechanisms (in particular, various forms of monopolization, grabbing opportunities and exclusion), in social relations (class, gender, interethnic, between countries, between companies, etc.) and in the policies that have defined the rhythms and variants of globalization, the paths of technological change, and the distribution of the new burdens and the new benefits that accompany these transformations." (2008: 188-189)

The pathways that research takes in a given field, that is, the linked decisions about which issues and problems are prioritized, and the paths of technological development -chained decisions about which technologies are constructed- respond to innumerable agentive -and therefore power- exercises, of very diverse subjects.

The action of researchers in the definition of priorities and in the transit of selected knowledge construction paths is evident. Also involved are subjects who are not researchers but for one reason or another have vested interests around the specific field, and "omitted subjects" who in one way or another participate in the field, but do not act on the priorities directly but through others subjects, or participate through actions that could qualify as "soft" agency (Ortner 2016). There are also those involved, but excluded from this process.

The reflection is inspired and illustrated by preliminary results coming from an ongoing research focused in understanding how power relations between different actors, individual and collective, contribute to the definition of priorities and horizons for the construction of knowledge, and for the design and incorporation of technology related to different stages of the rice production process in Uruguay.

Rice is one of the main exports goods in Uruguay, and the country is one of the biggest rice exporters in the world. Almost all of what the country produces is for export means. The production is highly technified, and therefore expensive. The technification process has been accompanied by a concentration process; small and family farmers are disappearing, whilst the biggest farmers produce the biggest share of the total.

In the country there is a vertical integration of the agro-industrial rice chain; all the links of the productive chain are firmly linked, and act as one in conjunction. The agroindustrial complex works, in several ways, as a single company. The price of rice (in husk, that is, before its industrialization) is fixed by agreement between millers and producers organizations prior to the sowing of each harvest. The agreed price applies to most of the rice that is harvested, so those producers who do not participate in the agreement, anyway, negotiate their product at the price established by the agreement, as it acts as the reference price. There is a whole system of loans and advances on harvest that consolidates the already intricate relationships between producers and industrials.

The National Institute of Agricultural Research (INIA) is a public institute of private law whose mission is to develop research and technology in subjects of agricultural interest while disseminating its achievements. Its Executive Committee is integrated of an equal number of representatives of the Executive Power and representatives of the producers. The average levels of government of the institution also have the participation of representatives of producer organizations. The institute is co-financed in equal parts by the State and the agrarian sector (through the payment of an additional to a tax on agricultural exports).

Its rice research program has developed several varieties of seeds (El Paso 144, Tacuarí, Olimar, Parao, Merín). El Paso 144 was the first, released in the 1980s, and was sowed in more than 70% of the area dedicated to cultivation in the mid-1990s. Nowadays, around 70% of the area is sowed with varieties developed by INIA, and the Institute has a central role in the model of production by constantly producing new knowledge about the crop management, the improvement of the yields, the adaptations for the changing climate conditions, and the intensification of the crop.

The predominant pathway for the rice production model in Uruguay implies an intensification of the use of land and of agricultural supplies (fungicides, herbicides, nutrients).

This pressures the production costs -and vice versa-, and increases the adverse consequences to the environment, the workers' health, and the wellbeing of the populations adjacent to rice lands.

The main tensions to the research and innovation agenda are given by the need of improving the relation between costs and earnings (*breaking the roofs of yields* is a strong concept among the actors in this item); the control of various diseases and weeds that affect the crop; and a preoccupation about the sustainability of rice farming (with a very narrow definition of sustainability, meaning to sustain the cultivation activity over time). The international market pressures in maintaining and improving the already high quality of the Uruguayan rice.

This model, in which nationally constructed scientific knowledge and technology have an important role, tends to produce and reproduce social inequalities (workers and surrounding populations are exposed to harmful chemicals, and the concentration of wealth is a constant) and its' sustainability, in a broad sense following (Leach, Scoones, and Stirling 2010) is highly questionable.

The model presents itself as the only possibility, not just for the rice cultivation in Uruguay, but for the survival of the people living in the regions where rice is planted. The alternatives, existing or hypothetical, are passively and actively neglected. So is the voice of those in one way or another excluded by this model.

This is a rough, shallow, and very preliminary scheme of the problem I am currently facing in my research. Every statement made in this essay has nuances and facets, the complexities are obviously bigger and deeper. However, the idea that the process of defining the priorities for research and innovation has a strong influence in the production and reproduction of inequalities and unsustainable systems seems to be accurate.

This idea has its' counterpart. Analysing the process or the reinforcement of social inequalities through the construction of science and technology from the very beginning of the problem may contribute to the rising of more inclusive and sustainable alternatives to the predominating models. The identification of alternative discourses, as well as niches of alternative practices, may contribute to the emergence of possibilities for alternative models, and/or the transformation of the predominant ones. Anthropology may have an important role in this, not only by constructing knowledge about this processes, but also by proposing affirmative actions to the public policy.

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Chapter
Knowledge, Affects and Care

Knowledge for Life

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July is the month of the *caboclos* in Bahia. The state celebrates its independence day all day long every 2nd July, when, after struggles initiated further inland since the 25th June in the city of Cachoeira, the people of Bahia were finally able to expel the Portuguese from their lands. This is how the story is told, identifying the figure of the *caboclo* as the hero of war: symbol of the mixture of the three races -a myth always evoked by Brazilian racism that people want to deny. While the celebrations in Cachoeira are on the 25th, when the city won the noble title of "heroic city whose fierce people began the fight for the expulsion of the Portuguese", the *caboclo* parade it is on July 2nd in Salvador and several other cities of the Recôncavo Baiano. In São Félix, for example, the *caboclo* and the *cabocla* go ahead, followed by the symphonic orchestras of the city and the various martial bands of the local schools. July 2nd is the day of the caboclo, a very important entity in the pantheon of Afro-Brazilian entities, in the *terreiros*[1] of some of these cities.

It was July 2nd, 2016, the day of the *caboclo* celebration. The *caboclo* festivities are known for the samba that runs free, usually starting in the afternoon, and only ending when the *caboclos* allow. People really enjoy it, sing samba, drink and dance. In the house where I was, the *ogãs*[2] were the liveliest. The *atabaque*[3] beat freely. One of them, his hands bleeding from beating, did not want to stop pounding on the leather. *Candomblé* knowledge is a knowledge embodied. Learning occurs by doing. To learn, you must know how to observe and not ask. The word, when used, has power[4]. To know is to have power. First, it is necessary to be aware whether the person has the necessary strength to know and the responsibility that such power implies.

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This humble reflection is a free essay based on the experience of participating in the Trilateral Workshop held in the city of Montevideo, Uruguay, and involving researchers from three different realities: Uruguay, Brazil and the United Kingdom. I begin with two teachings that will guide this reflection in order to think about our experiences at the Workshop and their impact in relation to my own doctoral research. From *candomblé*, we

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1   The terreiro is the physical space of the afro-Brazilian religious where the ceremonies take place, the "ritual grounds; can also refer to a community of devotees" (Harding, 2003: 167).

2   In candomblé, ogã is conducted by men who have certain functions - such as playing the drums, taking care that everything goes well during the celebrations and performing the sacrifices - and that do not incorporate entities.

3   Atabaques are the sacred drums used to communicate between deities and devotees in Candomblé, they are three instruments known as the rum, rumpi and lê.

4   The rationale here is very close to what Karina Biondi put forward in her presentation during the workshop, we must be careful with words and with their use, we must therefore likewise be careful about how we build our anthropological texts with the words of others.

learn that *knowledge is power and responsibility*. From Danisa, one of the representatives of the Asamblea por el Agua del río Santa Lucía, we learned that *knowledge is to be used for life*. What do the Candomblé of the Bahian Recôncavo and the struggle for the water quality of the Santa Lucía River on the outskirts of Montevideo teach anthropologists?

The Trilateral Workshop sought to discuss how anthropology may contribute towards affirmative action in South America in the field of human rights, gender equality and sustainability. In order for us to construct effective affirmative action, we must modify the way we construct knowledge within the academia. For example, one form of rational knowledge supported the constitutional coup that took place in Brazil in 2016[5]. Already in 2017, news started circulating in the country about what was later known as the "prison crisis". Terrible images were shown by the media. In addition to what happened with the prisons, a military police strike resulted in a wave of violence earlier this year in the state of Espírito Santo. According to the statistics, as always, it was estimated that of the 147 murders that occurred, most corresponded to young blacks. The response of the current coup government was to appoint the then Minister of Justice, who clearly could not deal with such situations, as Minister of the Supreme Court of Justice, the highest judicial position in the country. Here I would therefore like to draw attention to the way how we construct our knowledge, mostly based on a rationality that also supports this unjust system of inequality in this world in which we live.

My PhD research is conducted in the city of Cachoeira, in the Recôncavo Baiano. Its main focus is on the narratives of the city related to Afro-Brazilian spirituality and slavery. I want to reflect upon what I learned from the people of Cachoeira through the stories told in the city and about the city: those directly related to the slavery period, those that occurred in the past together with those currently being experienced. Like the story of the Old Man of Balaio - who may be seen on the days of the fair, who the master of the mill forbid to plant tobacco in his lands, but who nevertheless carried his balaio full of bananas with tobacco hidden underneath on the Sabbath days. As well as that of the possibility of diving into the Lagoa Encantada (a lagoon in the rural area, located near the entrance of the city, on the road) and emerging in the Dock of Tororó (in Salvador, another city); and of dogs with special abilities to find sorcery. It is important here to realize that they constitute an epistemology that is not interested in explaining everything, or seeking the Truth (if, for example, these stories actually happened), but is based on a knowledge built through time, learning and silence that says a lot about the history of the city. A knowledge that is not simply taught: it is observed - as the form of transmission of learning in *terreiros*. The idea is to incorporate this knowledge into the thesis in the form of writing proper to the academy. They are not examples of the "native everyday"; they are the basis of what is to be built.

Faced with these themes, I return to the questions posed during the Trilateral Workshop: how to conduct research that lead to change in an unequal world? How do we deal with the complexity of life and the need to assign categories in the struggle for public policies? We now reach a contradiction: how the need for affirmative actions in a university made it clear the fact that anthropology is a discipline that produces knowledge about the Other but does

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5   In 2016 president Dilma Rousseff was impeached by the Brazilian National Congress. Since then, a large parcel of the population, social movements and left-wing parties have been calling the impeachment a "constitutional coup d'etat". For scholarly debate around the issue, see Cleto, Doria & Jinkings (2016); Freixo & Rodrigues (2016); and Teles (2017).

not include that same Other among its students and faculty. The Humanities teach us about the complexity of life. However, when we look at the world, we are pressed to establish categories in the struggle for human rights.

The quota system implemented in universities is a concrete example of affirmative action in the Brazilian context. It has been a fundamental policy during the past sixteen years, and recognizes the deep inequality of our society which results in different opportunities for white and black people, poor people and the middle, upper and lower class. We therefore not only need to install diversity within the university but to question the very way how we build knowledge and what it says about people. Students who have entered through the quota system are already producing a revolution within the classroom and in the production of knowledge, but we need to go beyond and consider other ways of knowing such as the way people experience and think about their everyday life, and reflect upon this in the same manner as we look at our own theories: that is, looking at them as theories.

To help to think about of these matters, I want to bring the debates of an event[6] I followed after returning from Uruguay, specifically the opening table on "Institutional Racism at the University: the Possibility of Reinventing the Academic Space to Diversity" and the speech by Natália Maria Alves Machado, of the Collective of Women with Disabilities in the Federal District.

How to think about institutional racism at university? How to think about the possibility of reinventing the academic space through diversity? Natália Maria spoke about knowledge and ableism: *we live in a society that forgets we are a biological body (physical condition, black, poor) and must deal with 500 years of cynicism and cruelty*. She thus questions a conception of humankind that built a medical model that views disability as pathology, which leads the people of the movement to fight to leave and to enter into these classifications, a moral classification on the body. She concluded that, *due of the truculence of exclusion, we unfortunately still have to claim a minimum at material level, as there is little space for what is essential, specifically the battle at symbolic level in our debates on disability in Brazil*.

We depart from a fleshless, allegedly universal, conception of humankind that savages the bodies that escape the norm. Natália Maria states that *people result from their bodies*, and in the case of deviant bodies, it is necessary to struggle to avoid the idea that this leads to a tragic existence. *It is a war that has body and flesh*. Academic spaces thus constitute body-normative spaces, forgetting something that may be extremely essential in the case of some people with disabilities: *for some people it is not optional to feel pain*. And in the midst of these struggles, Natália Maria says that *memory is our main weapon in the decolonization process, and it has flesh*. It is thus necessary to seek other spaces for the production of knowledge.

It is necessary here to see the link between capacitism and racism: Adriana Dias states that *capacitism is a form of racism*. Both depart from a cruel assumption: fit people can do anything. And Western knowledge was created by fit people (seen as resilient, more skilful and lucid, normal, not-sick, better, more fortunate, capable, and deserving). However, Natália Maria warns us: *how many appropriation dynamics must we deny to say that science is white?* Faced with epistemicide, it is necessary to understand that *we lie when we say that*

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6   *V* Conversas da Kata, held between 6-10 March 2017 at the University of Brasília. Event link on Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/ivconversasdakata/?fref=ts (accessed on 03/20/2017). The discussions of the last day WG, "Dialogues between Religiosities and Afro-Indian Studies", were also fundamental for this text.

the world is white. It is nevertheless true, that in percentages, the places of power in our society are mostly occupied by white and rich men, even in university. These positions were historically occupied following the rationale of appropriation of other knowledges, exclusion and extermination.

There is, therefore, *a refined racism in the academy built through universalistic assumptions that we cannot contest*. It is thus necessary to *question the truths of things and through the inclusion of different knowledge work towards an inclusive university where what is different does not become the same* so that we may also produce a knowledge that can deal with other bodies; a knowledge that is not produced by white, middle-class bodies capable of handling a full day's work and climbing stairs. The ogã's body can play until the hands bleed, but the idea is different here. That body is not just his. In the academic world our bodies are regarded as belonging to individuals, and correspondingly the possible "problems" they may have are read as personal.

In capoeira there is a song that says: *Quem semeia vento, colhe tempestade* (*They that sow the wind shall reap the whirlwind*). If what we seek is to build a *knowledge for life and with a responsibility aware of the power, it represents* in an unequal world, we must look at other ways of understanding the world. If we sow a violent knowledge of the world, we shall continue reaping the whirlwind. We have to learn to sow other ways of thinking to prevent *the sky from falling* (Kopenawa & Albert, 2015).

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The City as a Political Space and Collaboration as Intentionality

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At the beginning of the process of defining the research problem that I intend to address in my doctoral project, one of the main concerns was how to contribute through this research effort in terms of improving the quality of life of the inhabitants of an area of the city in which I have been working for some time in the framework of other university tasks. How to contribute to everyday processes being experienced in a cross-cutting manner by these territories? How to do so in terms of what I understand that the people I have been connecting with, genuinely want and need? How to do it as an inhabitant of this city that seeks to collaborate humbly so that we all have the same conditions to exercise our right to the city? How to do so having learned from some of the mistakes that the university and other players have been making in their efforts and arrangements when trying to accompany and collaborate with those who are in a disadvantageous situation?

Paradoxically, throughout this process I had the feeling that I could not make these concerns completely visible, and on more than one occasion in my interlocution with academic actors, I feared that my choice would be questioned precisely because I had this deep concern.

On one occasion, I even perceived that my knowledge and contact with some players in the area and certain processes in the territory should not be too manifest when proposing my choice, unless I was willing to pay the price and see the "rigor" of my work questioned.

Having naturalized all this in my process of investigation and construction of the "research problem", it was invisible until some exchanges within the framework of the Trilateral Workshop brought it to the surface, allowing me to visualize how difficult it is in practice to integrate the academic and political dimensions on which we generally construct solvent narratives that establish a superficial dialogue among each other or acknowledge the obvious fact that they have always existed.

The city in which I intend to pursue my PhD thesis is the city in which I live, the city I inhabit with others; the city I feel and form part of, and in which I would like to contribute to change some things. This is a starting point.

My research and work project aims to address the processes of construction, transformation and dispute of urban identities in Malvín Norte[1]. It is a territory within the consolidated urban fabric of the city in which, in recent years, processes of regularization and

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[1] Malvín Norte concentrates *asentamientos* (see footnote 2), housing cooperatives, housing complexes of public origin, and the traditional urban block design.

redevelopment of precarious settlements have been developing (i.e. neighbours of Boix and Merino, Candelaria and Nueva Vida).[2]

In this territory of Montevideo, there are urban processes of fragmentation, differentiation, confinement, precariousness in the forms of subsistence, environmental deterioration of the area, and impoverishment that are expressed in more or less conflictive ways and that the concentration of public policy actions does not seem to modify in the sense initially proposed.

Regularization and relocations have involved processes to improve the urban infrastructure and have modified the distribution of inhabitants of the area, who have moved within this framework inside the territory of Malvín Norte in a process of ongoing modification of the urban geography.

Far from being attenuated, the disputes over ownership and demarcation that define boundaries and processes of distinction on the part of the inhabitants of this territory have increased. Particularly, and contradictory, during the planning and execution of public space thought in terms of integration and inclusion as well as of improvement of collective coexistence which has basically deteriorated.

According to the media, Malvín Norte has been denoted in recent years as a "red zone" (dangerous) within the city, installing the claim for greater "security" in the face of the threat of criminal actions by the very inhabitants of the area. This has resulted in a systematic presence of police personnel in certain sectors of the territory, the standardization in the last year of inspections and arrests in the public thoroughfare, processes of confinement of housing complexes, shops, educational centers, community centers using gates or electric fence, and "insecurity" installed in the agenda of discussion groups, networks and commissions of neighbors in the area.

This scenario that seems to remain impervious to state interventions[3] and civil society organizations that have been proposed in recent years to mitigate these processes of deterioration, disintegration and segregation, is the one that questions me and challenges me to understand how identities and alterities are articulated at symbolic level, putting into play the moral rationale that regulates the disputes over belonging and relationships among those inhabiting and circulating in the urban sector considered. The dynamics of claiming, imputation, confirmation, challenge, resistance and counter-imputation is in the heart of the collective processes of identity construction. It is part of the dispute among the players in the classification process of the place where they live. Elías and Scotson (2000) offer a recognized model of the processes of identity construction and negotiation in urban communities. These processes imply the distinction between full members of the community with which they identify and others whose claims to membership are systematically challenged.

Taking into account the impact suffered by cities in capitalist countries, Henri Lefevre (Lefebvre and Gaviria, 1969) coined the notion of "right to the city" which attempts to restore

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2   Asentamiento: According to the Uruguayan National Institute of Statistics (Instituto Nacional de Estadística ine), a settlement of more than 10 dwellings, located on public or private land, built without authorization of the owner in formally irregular conditions, without respecting the urban regulations. This grouping of dwellings is compounded by the lack of all or some basic urban infrastructure services in the vast majority of cases, where there are frequently deficiencies or serious difficulties in accessing social services. "See: http: // www. Ine.gub.uy/piai3/procedimiento.pdf

3   Among these State interventions we include the University of the Republic with University Services and university extension activities, in the area for decades.

a sense of city as a stage for the construction of collective life establishing the possibility of a "good life" for all. The city is approached and problematized above all as a political space where it is possible to express collective wills, a space for solidarity, but also for conflict.

The time during which this work has been conducted in this territory has allowed us to appreciate that there are social limits linked to an unequal access to the urban space that are in turn linked to symbolic limits. At the same time, it has helped to pose the question as to whether certain physical spaces are associated in a stable way with the social and moral characteristics of their inhabitants, as well as how this affects, according to the different state policy and action instruments, the possibilities of strengthening inclusion and territorial integration processes, or at least attenuating the dynamics of fragmentation and harassment of the territory in question.

One of the intentions of my work is to make the contradictions visible and contribute with more elements to analyze if the actions arising from policies oriented to (re) construct/ re-structure urban identities are linked to processes of naturalization of inequalities.

Inhabiting the World with Others

The Trilateral Workshop collaborated to reinstall certain matters linked with the idea of collaboration in Anthropology and the meaning of a politically committed anthropological practice in my work. This often involves going above or beyond the hegemonic academic discourse and introduces two essential questions: with whom to collaborate as anthropologists and how to go about it.

The first decision is linked to the anthropologist's ethical-political position and has an individual dimension, it implies an intentionality decided by a researcher as a member of a social collective with which he or she is related, and forms part when he or she decide to investigate. Here the idea of our existence as living beings maintained in a field of relationships, a field of relationships where each living being grows and contributes to make others grow (Ingold, 2000) becomes more meaningful. As regards this last aspect, there is a collective dimension that makes those with whom we carry out our work and at the service of whom we intend to collaborate unfailingly present.

Far from naive positions, we know and have experienced how the manners in which aspects of reality are constructed, formulated and picked from the scientific field give way to "matters of interest", "issues to be addressed", "problems to be solved". This involves being in touch with and experiencing the performative power of our words when we describe and account for situations, practices and events. "Careful with words", stated the interesting paper by Karina Biondi based on her research on prisons in Brazil (Biondi 2014) discussed in the framework of the Trilateral Workshop. With our narratives we do things, we materialize realities, and some of them become policies. They enter the public debate and are often used with varying intentions, even opposed to that originally determined the research process. There is something about this connection that is not always visible to us as anthropologists. The dwelling perspective, the concept of inhabiting the world with others, also implies recognizing the struggle of ideas and meanings among several ideological constructs (economic, political and academic).

The second, in relation to what is being discussed, requires a deep knowledge and a clear awareness of the field within the framework of which we intend to contribute to "affirmative action" or design of public policy instruments. Anthropologists often accumulate a

detailed and deep understanding, through ethnography and certain cultural universes, but do not have the same level of discernment regarding the fields of dispute and debate within which the knowledge we produce circulates. This requires reflexivity and taking a closer look than we have had until now. In this sense, it is important to venture to participate in the political debate, not as a spokesperson for others but as an anthropologist who in the experience together with those others could access perspectives that may complete and increase the complexity of the existing state of affairs. What can we say about institutionalized forms of segregation and perpetuation of inequality? How can we translate this into concrete actions? How to transcend the normative conceptualization, the discourse of the right to the city, and be able to collaborate towards the practical exercise of this right? Can we develop knowledge by collaborating in problem solving, and learn in the process?

A Social Anthropology aware of its political dimension may give rise to counter-hegemonic discourses, the adoption of a critical perspective on hegemonic discourses, or even strengthen them. The issue in any case seems to be which is the place - always located, never neutral - from which the anthropologist incorporates the lessons learned from within to contribute to keep life going on.

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Interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary knowledge production:
Do they constitute (new) platforms for affirmative action at universities?

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> "(...) one of major questions raised in contemporary debates is whether promotion of interdisciplinarity is better understood as a response to given problems or as a means of generating questions around which new forms of thought and experimental practice can coalesce" (Barry and Born, 2013: 10).

What are the challenges for sustainable universities in the future? Do interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary knowledge production help to build a sustainable future? Do they constitute (new) platforms for affirmative action at universities?

In the last decades, the call for interdisciplinarity (ID) and/or transdisciplinarity (TD) has permeated discourses in science and higher education policies. A major problem, illustrated by the articles in the recent *Nature* special issue[1], is that ID and TD are still not mainstream: they are rarely supported by funders of scientific research; still rarely taught in higher education curricula, and they are not recognized by many academic institutions[2]. Yet they have little impact on the level of organization[3].

At the same time, calls for new production(s) of knowledge[4], new roles of science in society[5] and a Transformative Science[6] -one that actively tackles pressing societal challenges through ID and TD knowledge production-have increased. For universities, new campus

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1   Ledford, H. (2015). Team Science. Nature Vol. 525, (17 September 2015), 308– 311. Retrieved from Nature.com/inter. July 30th 2016.

2   Lawrence, R. J. (2016). Interdisciplinary Science: A coming of Age? The New York Academy of Sciences. New York Academy of Sciences Magazine, Spring, 3rd May 2016. http://www.akademien-schweiz.ch/td-net/td-Info/Publications.html?a=0111111. Retrieved in August 2016.

3   Weingart, P. (2014). Interdisciplinarity and the new governance of universities. In: Weingart, P. &Padberg, B. (Eds.), University experiments in Interdisciplinarity Obstacles and Opportunities (pp. 151- 174). Bielefeld: Transcript, Science Studies.

4   Gibbons, M.; C., Limoges; H., Nowotny; S., Schwartzman; P., Scott & M., Trow (1994).The new production of knowledge. The dynamics of science and research in contemporary societies .Sage Publications, London.

5   Niels M.; C., Bloch; L., Degn; T., Ravn& M. W. Nielsen (2012). Monitoring Policy and Research Activities on Science in Society in Europe (MASIS). Final synthesis report.European Commission, Brussels. Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/research/science-society/document_library/pdf_06/monitoring-policy-research-activities-on-sis_en.pdf. September 2016.

6   Schneidewind, U. & Singer-Brodowski, M. (2014). Transformative Wissenschaft. Klimawandel im deutschenWissenschafts- und Hochschulsytem. 2. Auflage, Metropolis, Marburg 2014.

cultures are postulated[7]and new models to guide the development of universities, such as triple helix models involving private–public partnerships, the creation of entrepreneurial or specialized universities, large-scale excellence-driven environments or the concept of developmental universities, more in tune with supporting the social and economic development of a country. These proposed transformations of universities call for collaborative approaches, both on the level of organization and on the level of research. However, there is no universal generic or ready-made model to guide these changes[8].

Despite the critical stage of ID and TD on the institutional level, the volume of ID and TD research has increased in recent decades[9]. There is a growing body of literature on practices of ID[10] and TD[11] that provides insights into these collaborative research approaches, but also highlights remaining challenges and obstacles on both, epistemic, and institutional levels[12].

Signs of change are visible as some universities begin to perform structural transformations that institutionalize ID and TD, both in Latin American and in Europe. However, a broader discourse on how to appropriately balance between the three missions of universities (research, teaching and outreach) and the role ID and TD as modes of research have in addressing these current challenges of universities, is urgently needed. This call is the result of mounting external and internal pressures on universities to re-define themselves in an increasingly integrated, competitive and globalizing world[13].

Regarding institutional arrangements, some authors believe that one of the limitations is the lack of consideration for the organizational arrays and campus cultures of higher education institutions[14]. A similar problem has been identified in Latin America (Vienni, 2016b). Other studies confirmed that administrators value the organizational flexibility of ID and TD to respond to new needs, to offer new fields and forms of education, to attract faculty in new areas, and to forge new partnerships with governmental and administrative institutions, industry and civil society. Nevertheless, Klein (2010) and Sá (2007, 2008) identified a gap between the rhetoric of endorsement and the realities of campus life.

Addressing institutional requirements with regards to ID and TD is a challenge that is currently being discussed worldwide[15]. But few universities have incorporated ID and TD

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7   Klein, J. (2010). Creating interdisciplinary campus cultures. A model for Strength and Sustainability. Wiley & Sons, San Francisco.

8   Görannson, B. et al. (2009a). Introduction Science and Public Policy, 36(2), March 2009, pages 83-84.

9   Lawrence, 2016.

10 Frodeman, R.; J., Thompson Klein & C., Mitcham (eds.) (2010). The Oxford Handbook of Interdisciplinarity. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

11 Hirsch Hadorn, G., Hoffmann-Riem, H. & S., Biber-Klemm (eds.) (2007). Handbook of transdisciplinary research.Springer, Dordrecht.

12 (Roy et al. 2010?, other)

13 Görannson, B. et al. (2009b). New activities of Universities Science and Public Policy, 36(2), March 2009, pages 157–164.

14   Klein, 2010; Weingart, 2014, among others.

15   To name a few: Bursztyn, M. (2004) 'Meio ambiente e interdisciplinaridade: desafios ao mundo Académico'. Desenvolvimento e Meio Ambiente, 10 : 67-76. Bursztyn, M. (2005) 'A institucionalização da interdisciplinaridade e a universidade Brasileira.', Liinc em Revista, 1 (1): 38-53. Donina, D., M. Seeber and S. Paleari (2017) "Inconsistencies in the Governance of Interdisciplinarity: the Case of the Italian Higher Education System", Science and Public Policy, 2017, 1–11. Görannson, B., Arocena, R. And J. Sutz (2009b). "New activities of Universities Science and Public Policy", 36(2), March 2009, pages 157–164. Sá, C. (2008). 'Interdisciplinary

into their organizational structures and study programs[16]. The transformation from a disciplinary-based organization of universities towards problem- and phenomenon-oriented institutions, tackles a wide spectrum of aspects related to practices in research and teching and learning. They range from legal matters and institutional claims, to questions of personal and professional identity in epistemic cultures[17] and communities[18].

The main objective of my research is to better understand the challenges of ID and TD knowledge production, their institutionalization and the formation of ID and TD campus cultures and communities in universities. In four case studies, the historical background of the formation of institutions, cultures and communities and the current state of ID and TD knowledge production are analysed to develop strategies that enable ID and TD in universities.

The specific objectives are: (i) to provide a systematization of the historical background of ID and TD knowledge production of the four institutions that serve as case studies – comparing Latin American and European institutions; (ii) to analyse the current state of ID and TD knowledge production and epistemic living spaces of the researchers involved; (iii) to develop transformative strategies that enable ID and TD development beyond structural barriers with a particular focus on key stakeholders and relevant actors; and (iv) to contribute to affirmative actions at the institutions that serve as case studies.

This research aims to contribute to the consolidation of a field of research named "Studies on inter - and transdisciplinarity" (SoIT)[19], which seeks to explore practices, processes and relationships within ID and TD groups and institutions for the consolidation of affirmative actions.

The research integrates three core concepts -institutions, cultures and communities- with two crosscutting axes: (i) epistemic living spaces[20] and (ii) interculturality[21], which serve as main frameworks for the empirical analysis (Figure 1). The three missions of universities (research, teaching, and outreach) are included as well.

Institutions "comprise regulative, normative, and cultural – cognitive elements that, together with associated activities and resources, provide stability and meaning to social

strategies in U.S. research universities'. *Higher Education: The International Journal of Higher Education and Educational Planning*, 55(5), 537-552. Senejko, M. P. and M. Versino (2015). 'La construcción de políticas de investigación orientadas en la Universidad de Buenos Aires (UBA)'. In Lago Martínez, S. and N. Correa (eds.), *Desafíos y dilemas de la universidad y la ciencia en América Latina y el Caribe en el siglo XXI*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Teseo. Vasen, F. and Vienni, B. (2017) "La institucionalización de la interdisciplina en la universidad latinoamericana: experiencias y lecciones de Uruguay y Argentina", Avaliação, Campinas; Sorocaba, SP, v. 22, n. 2, p. 544-565, jul. 2017. Vienni, B. (editor) (2016a) "Interdisciplinary dialogues in Latin America". Special issue in Journal Issues in Interdisciplinary Studies. Association for Interdisciplinary Studies.

16   Weingart, 2014.

17   Felt & Fochler, 2009.

18   Delanty, 2009.

19   Ibid.

20   Felt, U. & M., Fochler (2010). Re-ordering Epistemic Living Spaces: On the tacit governance effects of the public communication of science. In Weingart, P. et. al. (eds.): The Medialisation of Science. Theoretical Reflections and Empirical Investigations. Yearbook oft he Sociology of Science. Dordrecht: Kluewer.

21   García Canclini, N. (2014). Diferentes, desiguales y desconectados: mapas de la interculturalidad. GEDISA, Barcelona.

life"[22]. The relationship between the shifts in the academic landscape of knowledge on the one hand and cultures, on the other, is dynamic, complex and changing. These produce different informal or formal groupings, which are generically named as communities.
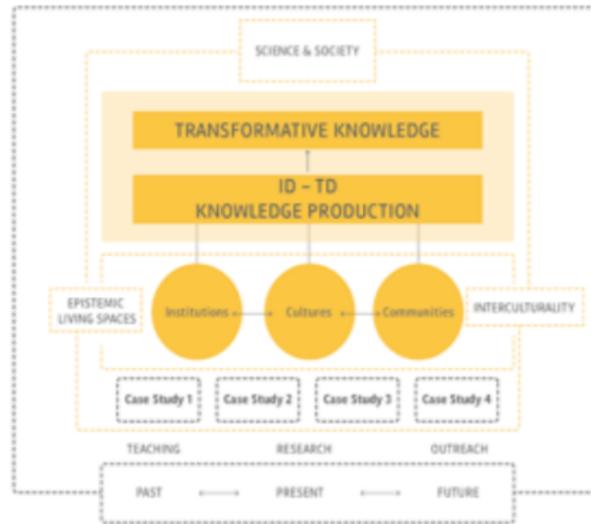

Figure 1.- Matrix of dimensions.

I analyze institutions against a background that is understood as processes, but also as products of cultural processes. Culture is also framed and is defined as praxis carried out by certain communities (Bauman, 2002). It includes norms, interests, conflicts and values of actors involved, in this case, in research processes. The relationship between the shifts in the academic landscape of knowledge on the one hand and cultures, on the other, is dynamic, complex and changing. They produce different kinds of communities – formal or informal –, which are the result of new cultural and political experiences and forms of living (Delanty, 2009). Community is ultimately what people think it is as it is related to meaning and identity.

Methodology

Epistemic living spaces[23]are constituted through multiple articulations of the relations of knowledge production, institutions and researchers in changing academic environments. It explores how policy structures research, while also reflecting the ways in which policies are simultaneously articulated along with the imaginaries of economic and societal transformation[24].

Interculturality stands for "the interaction *among* cultures"[25].

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22 Scott, W. R. (2014). Institutionsandorganizations. Ideas, interestsandidentities. Sage, London, p. 56.

23 Felt, U. (2010). Knowing and living in Academic Research. Convergence and heterogeneity in research cultures in the European context. Prague: Institute of Sociology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic.

24 Ibid.

25 García Canclini, 2004:20.

I have selected four universities in different countries and continents as case studies.

A core characteristic of this study is that "theoretical thinking is embedded in observational practice"[26]. This way of knowing, by studying with things or people instead of making studies of them, has long been key to understand the relevance of ethnography as a research method. The research seeks to forge a new approach to understand the relation between movement, knowledge and description.

The main expected outcome is to obtain a comprehensive analysis of the modalities of ID and TD knowledge production in university contexts. A general model to describe research, teaching and outreach in ID and TD institutions will be developed. This model will contain learnings in terms of fostering and hindering factors for moving towards affirmative actions and ID and TD campus cultures.

The study I have briefly presented is currently on going as part of my postdoctoral training and seeks to relate different institutions and cultures across academia and a broad range of scientific disciplines. This study is closely linked to already established networks on inter- and transdisciplinary research and teaching in different countries and also targets cooperation through the linkage among these networks and other institutions in Latin America: Espacio Interdisciplinario (Universidad de la República, Uruguay), Centro de Investigaciones Interdisciplinarias en Ciencias y Humanidades (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Mexico, Mexico), Centro de Estudios Interdisciplinarios (Universidad Autónoma de Querétaro, Mexico), Centro de Estudios Avanzados (Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina); and the Center for Methods (Leuphana University of Lüneburg, Germny).

Preliminary outcomes

As outcomes of this research, I have finished the analysis of two centres, one in Uruguay and the second one in Germany. In our research team, we have, so far, concluded that ID and TD institutions have a double identity. They are legitimized as part of academic culture in universities but also need to foster "extra" criteria to be seen as „real" institutions. How, then, can we expose this double–identity to potentially improve research and teaching in higher education? And, how can we work with students and colleagues to institutionalize ID and TD practices without losing their „boundary" or „in-between" features?

In our study (Vasen & Vienni, 2017; Vienni et al, press), we have confirmed that ID and TD are contingent. ID and TD institutions have a double identity. They are legitimized as part of academic culture at universities but also need to foster "extra" criteria to be seen as „real" institutions. How, then, can we expose this double–identity to potentially improve research and teaching in higher education? And, how can we work with students and colleagues to institutionalize ID and TD practices without losing their „boundary" or „in-between" features?

I want to deeply thank the Espacio Interdisciplinario (Universidad de la República, Uruguay) and the Centre for Methods (Leuphana University, Germany), especially Professor Ulli Vilsmaier, for helping me develop some of the ideas I included in this document and financed this research.

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26 Ingold, 2015.

On Indignation (and Other Affective States)

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In the bestselling *Indignez-Vous!*, Stéphane Hessel looks back on his ninety-three years, highlighting his stint with the French Resistance and his role in the drafting of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and argues that the "capacity and the freedom to feel outraged" is one of the key features of humanity (2011: 31). Hessel issues a rally cry to young people. He urges them to look around, notice injustice and express their outrage. Amongst those who have drawn inspiration from Hessel are Spain's *Indignados* and the Occupy Movement. Motivated by the swell of interest in Hessel's ideas, Peters attempts to differentiate types of anger, contending:

> "The value and place of political anger depends upon the theory of politics one holds and the sort of political change one expects. It also depends upon its place in a theory of emotions. I want to entertain the relationship between anger and the legitimate *expression* of anger, especially its expression in forms of *discourse* and forms of political *action*." (2012: 564)

While I would question an analytical typology of anger as well as ideas about "legitimate" expression, Peters highlights indignation as a field worthy of further consideration. Indignation often figures in the struggle to attain human rights, gender equality and sustainable development and, thus, it can draw the themes of the Trilateral Workshop together.

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History teacher Valdirene began her first class by sharing a bit about herself. She identified strongly as a Christian *and* a socialist. She laughed as she pronounced that she loved Jesus *and* Former President Lula. She explained that Jesus would have been a socialist too. "Who did Jesus hang out with? Lepers. Prostitutes. The homeless. *Not* rich people!" Many might dispute this assessment of Lula but what was important here was Valdirene's emphasis on the relative morality of the non-elite *o povo* (the people)*,* the proletariat masses.

She continued to develop these distinctions as she introduced her pedagogical approach. Professor Valdirene told the class, "This year, we will study history. History is actually politics, economics, and society. But everything is political. Am I lying?" Trained well in the call and response method, the students bellowed a prolonged, "Noooooo!" Valdirene continued, "Why is politics so important? Economic power *is* political. That means that decisions are almost always made by a small elite, a minority. We see that throughout history. Any country that develops but doesn't divide its wealth has what?" Valdirene paused and scrawled "poverty and misery" on the board. She continued, "In this city, we have rich and poor neighbourhoods side-by-side: Aldeota has the same income per capita as a European country while Vicente Pinzon's is similar to the Ivory Coast's. How is this possible?" She paused, letting her evocative statement hang. "This year, we will study the modes of production to understand how these types of economic and social relations are possible."

Through the familiar idiom of the rich elite versus the poor *povo,* Professor Valdirene attempted to stoke indignation. Valdirene's students were meant to understand how today's poverty and misery – in their very city, perhaps in their neighbourhood or their houses – were linked to centuries of uneven global economic regimes, driven by a variety of self-interested political systems. Her impassioned introductions to class excited students. Indignation drew students in where they otherwise might have slept or talked to their neighbour in a different class. Still, twenty minutes into copying notes from the board, the aftereffects of indignation had worn off and many students had stopped paying attention.

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Indignation emerged as a key theme in my doctoral research, as I spent a year doing participant observation in a private high school marketed towards emerging middle-class children from peripheral neighbourhoods of Fortaleza, Brazil. Teachers and students expressed anger, disgust, and outrage at situations that they perceived denied particular categories of people recognition and dignity. Sometimes, this category of people corresponded with *o povo*; other times, it did not. This corresponds with Theodossopoulos's (2013) findings that indignant discourses "attempt to explain – and through explaining decode and make less threatening – an external crisis, which is beyond one's control" (208). Theodossopoulus (2014) urges the need to analyse indignation as a form of resistance (489), as "[f]ar from representing an inchoate, emotional or irrational discourse, indignation… promotes a sustained critique of visible inequalities in the World economic order" (Theodossopoulus 2014: 500).

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During the morning break between classes, Isabela and I sat looking at a study guide that showed protestors in Greece. The headline read "Europe in Flames: The economic crisis provokes protests, obstructs governments and puts the continent's union at risk." Discussions of the world economic crisis were not uncommon throughout the year I spent studying (and studying with) students, as they prepared for the university entrance exam.

Isabela turned to engage me in discussion, "What's happening in Greece? They're supposed to lower their salaries? Eat less food? And all of this is happening in Greece because of things that happened elsewhere?" Here, Isabela implied that feckless global finance capitalism had triggered economic meltdown. She posed her questions as critique, unveiling the absurdity and incompatibility of economics, politics and people's real lives. Isabela continued, "I think the government *has* to invest in people, help them. When people are starving, that's terrible."

Curious about Isabela's analysis, I asked if she had a party affiliation. "Not a party but an ideology. To the left. My father votes with a party but I won't. I won't vote for anyone that's against *o povo.*" Isabela's analysis articulated an alliance with *o povo,* the proletariat masses. In this case, Greece appeared to play *o povo* to the European Union's elite. Isabela expressed her outrage, her indignation, at what she saw as an inherently unfair situation that perpetrated violence against *o povo.* In registering her outrage at the evils of poverty, capitalism and the state, Isabela sought to define herself as moral whilst articulating her understanding of humanity.

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Emotions did some of the metaphorical heavy lifting in the classroom as teachers engaged in what I call a 'pedagogy of the indignant'. While students may not have learned the

material that teachers taught, some learned a grammar of indignation, whereby moral lines were drawn and affective responses were elicited accordingly. Through a curriculum imbued with a mix of populism, *pensamento social brasileiro* and Freirean pedagogy, students came to understand themselves as oppressed, and Brazil as underdeveloped and not quite modern. Students honed their abilities to recognize (or perhaps construct) their own (and other's) oppressions and perform indignation – all the while articulating a complicated relationship with (and sometimes against) *o povo* (the people). The pedagogy of the indignant drew students in – it engaged otherwise bored and/or tired bodies, animating them with morality tales of good, bad and *o povo.* Indignation in the classroom confronted hegemonic discourse but did so within its own constraints. Students' indignation revealed their varied understandings of human rights as they attempted to comprehend and explain the daily socioeconomic and political injustices that they experienced living in one of the world's most unequal and violent cities.

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Since receiving my PhD in 2016, I have been keen to develop a postdoctoral project on indignation. Indignation has fuelled recent protests and social movements as different groups assert their vision of what Brazil is and should be in the future. Under ever-multiplying discourses of insecurity and corruption, people use words like outrage, melancholy, despair and revulsion as they attempt to imagine futures in the wake of Brazil's political and economic crisis. The project I am developing asks: What does affect "do"? When does it engender action? When does it paralyze? Which politics cause these powerful emotions in and on bodies? How is affect a kind of embodied knowledge? How does indignation construct moral persons and Others? Indignation also figures in recent global politics with "popular correctness" discourses – whereby the masses speak their "truth" that has supposedly been silenced by political correctness and other liberal agendas. In cases like this, how might indignation work to *dismantle* affirmative action, gender equality, workers' rights and other policies? I see indignation as a way to link anthropological discussions of affect, morality, politics and the state whilst resisting a rational/emotional dichotomy.

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I attended the Trilateral Workshop eager to engage with colleagues on this topic that would pull together different fields of study throughout Latin America. I suspected that indignation would play a key role in how people claim, defend and even perform human rights.

As we listened to the members of the *Asamblea por el Agua del río Santa Lucía* tell their stories, it became clear that indignation was one of *many* affective states that emerged in the field when people attempted to assert their rights. Fear, grief and shame were other emotions that came up in our group's discussion of affect. We considered the *performance* of grief that might help authorise a claim to rights but we also contemplated the *hidden* – but still palpable – fear, as informants lived and worked in dangerous situations.

The group grappled with how to analyse and represent affect. How can our analysis and writing resist the rational/emotional dichotomy? How do we capture and portray affect? How do we use our own affective states in fieldwork as knowledge? This topic provoked dialogue and questions that we will continue to explore through a writing group on affect.

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Understanding indignation – and, more generally, affect – is critical for the fields of human rights, gender equality and sustainable development, as affective states reveal local understandings about the human condition and provide the potential to mobilise – or paralyse – movements.

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People Talking about People: Violence, Vulnerabilities and Affects

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> I say: the real is not in the exit or the entrance: it is available to people in the middle of their course. Even I was very foolish! Nowadays, I don't complain about anything. I don't cast shadows from holes. But then again, there is no way I can fall into remorse. Yes, I do know one thing. And that is what I fear. When one is afraid, I think that even good remorse cannot be raised, it is not possible. (Guimarães Rosa, in Grande Sertão: Veredas)

By way of presentation

If I could summarize my postdoctoral research in very few words, I would inevitably run into some of the axes that guided our collective experience at the "Trilateral Workshop - How anthropology can contribute to affirmative action in South America in the fields of human rights, gender equality and environmental sustainability" especially with regard to gender and sexuality debates and human rights. Thus, although I could have chosen a different path for reflection, I decided to elaborate on two specific and connected issues: the construction of the idea of vulnerability and the question of affects during field research.

This decision is by no means random, and is directly linked to the idea of a publication that aims to take stock of an event such as this. I have chosen to elaborate on problems impacting on my research that have been raised and/or enhanced by the discussions we had. I believe that it is worth warning that, rather than a closed discussion, what I present here are thoughts, reflections and questions that have guided my first steps in this research, which is in an early stage. For this reason, the tone of this text is more like an essay than a paper in the more conventional, stylistic and strict sense of the term.

We are all vulnerable

In general terms, the research I have been conducting aims to reflect upon the occurrence and construction of sexual violence against children and adolescents in places characterized as "socially vulnerable" or located in the margins of society: the favelas. The field research was conducted in a group of favelas in the city of Rio de Janeiro. For ethical reasons and to protect my collaborators and myself I call it by the name of Complex.

Vulnerability immediately appears as a descriptor of favelas and peripheries, as in the expression, so commonly used by governmental agencies and NGOs, "social vulnerability contexts". Since I was working in NGOs, I felt very uncomfortable with the use of the term, because it links vulnerability only to quantitative indicators (income, schooling, birth rate, mortality, among others). Even if it appears to describe peripheral realities, the way the term

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is used says very little or almost nothing. My initial assumption is that concepts derive their significance from the social relations in which they are immersed and from the interests of the social groups involved with them. In addition to just using them to define and describe a social reality, we should seek to qualify them by showing their constructed and contextual character. This statement holds true for vulnerability.

In this way, understanding what vulnerability means in these contexts goes beyond the aforementioned indicators. Thanks to discussions with colleagues during the Trilateral Workshop some points became clearer (or perhaps more poignant), especially regarding the need to think about vulnerabilities in their multiple forms and always taking into account the relationships among subjects. Above all, stating that certain subjects are vulnerable concerns how they are socially positioned, classified and separated according to different sorts of borders . All this speaks of difference and how it is being continually constructed.

If my ultimate aim is to discuss violence and its multiple meanings in these contexts and in relation to specific subjects - children and adolescents; community; rights' guarantee network - inevitably the reflection will include the issue of vulnerability in a cross-cutting manner.

In the first place, children and adolescents are considered from the start as vulnerable subjects. Although the Statute of the Child and Adolescent guarantees their status as subjects - not just passive objects of the law - the vulnerable condition is imputed to them following age criteria. In this sense, children and adolescents would be subjects more vulnerable to sexual and gender violence, in their multiple imbrications.

On the other hand, we are dealing with contexts where there is an overlap of violences. Here I refer to the recurring clashes between the police and gangs involved in drug trafficking. In a certain sense, sexual and gender violence, in their various arrangements, become invisible in this conjunction of violence on different fronts. In my view, this serves to explain the relevance of speaking about vulnerability. Nevertheless, we are not only considering sexual and gender-based violence, we speak of vulnerable and vulnerable bodies of all sorts. This says much about the social mechanisms which create and maintain vulnerabilities, and which ultimately begin to demarcate who is vulnerable or not. How then do certain subjects and their bodies become vulnerable?

Butler (2012), associating the concepts of vulnerability and precariousness, argues that we are all potentially precarious and depend on others for social existence. Our precariousness is directly linked to the organization of social and economic relations, the existence or absence of infrastructure and political institutions. In this sense, precariousness is inseparable from bodily needs, and exposes our "sociality and the fragility of our interdependence" (no page). Directly linked to the idea of precariousness is the idea of vulnerability, understood by the author as a deliberate exposure to power that has the potential to generate resistance. Vulnerability is not a "primary, ontological, and constitutive" existential condition, or a "subjective disposition", nor does it exclude the possibilities of political agency from those characterized as vulnerable. There are different manners of distributing and managing vulnerability, which makes certain populations more vulnerable to violence, for example. Ultimately, this informs us as to which subjects count as having viable, intelligible, and human lives (the rest are dehumanized, they are "those who remain faceless" – Butler, 2012, p. xviii).

Now I would like to dwell on something mentioned above, and that stimulated a heated discussion in the "Accessibility / Vulnerability" group: what is the relationship between vulnerability and body control. Thus, there is a permeability of our bodies, of our manner of "being in the world" - to use Csordas' terms (1994) - that makes us subject to different modes of constraint.

This holds true for the researcher as well. We and our bodies in the field are vulnerable in many areas. In my specific case, there are two issues that cannot be considered negligible. The first of these is in the favelas marked by various sorts of violence. My body, together with those of my interlocutors, is also a possible target for lost bullets or constraining actions from the police or the gangs controlling these sites. On the other hand, it is not irrelevant to be a woman and present a body recognized as such in highly male contexts in which women are still most of the victims of gender-related violence? Finally, talking about vulnerabilities brings us back to the emotions - and there are many possibilities in this regard.

As Regards Affects

I chose to end this text with the theme of affects, ever-present in our discussions during the Trilateral Workshop. Talking about violence is not a simple task-it is never totally free of various emotions.

This estimate must include the limits of the researcher's relationship with the subjects in his field. I readily admit my strong involvement with the issues raised by field research. My previous relationship with the scenarios studied is an essential factor in this case, as I was responsible for managing NGO projects in the two favelas. Obviously, the work in the third sector has peculiarities that differentiate it from the achievement of ethnographies for academic purposes, especially with respect to its declared function of social intervention in order to modify the realities of performance. However, I believe there are items that bring them closer, especially when we think about the ways in which we are affected (and affect) the contexts in which we are inserted. Inevitably thus, some feelings will surface during the ethnographic incursion. Unconformity, pain, sadness (but why not also surprise, joy, rapture?) are possible reactions, and they must somehow be translated into the ethnographic text. The researcher is not neutral, is not immune to reality, is not a machine that understands social reality; in a certain sense the researcher is always vulnerable. If the idea is to rethink the very meaning of vulnerability, I think that the anthropologist (and his or her practice) should also be understood and interpreted according to this matrix. Reflecting in this way, including the many possible affectivities and affects in the field, introduces fundamental issues that help to understand the intricate relationships involved when we speak of vulnerability. Not only the other is vulnerable, but also the researcher, even if this is not said or stated in a clear, quick or obvious way.

Perhaps it is in this dilemma that we may find possible ways to move forward for anthropology: a science that seeks to understand and interpret social reality and should serve social justice and the promotion of human rights. However, these were precisely the tensioning axes of the Trilateral Workshop. In my view of anthropology, knowledge is not only important for its own sake, but insofar as it may be used to promote social justice. I believe that the ethnographies produced, the partnerships with research subjects, that go beyond the momentary insertion of field research and the many feelings aroused in this process, will all enable Anthropology to become a powerful weapon for social change. It is our role

to give visibility to experiences of violence, pain, suffering, oppression, discrimination, exclusion and precariousness. And, in this process, make clear our own vulnerabilities, precariousness and affectivity in relation to those who become such a fundamental part of our work and our lives. Both go hand in hand: being affected and affecting others.

If, as Butler (2004) argues, there are forms of mourning and suffering that may be acknowledged and amplified and others that are unspeakable, perhaps it is our function to lend our voices to these many lives that are go unrecognized, and are therefore not included as viable social players. I believe that my research fits exactly there: between the unspeakable, the pains, the fears, the violence, the invisible, the marginal, and the multiple possible affectations of relations and people that are far from being plain and simple.

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THE AFFECTIVE IS THE EFFECTIVE

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Is a kiss that a mother gives to her baby an affirmative action? And a walk through a place we love a way of affirming our connection to that land? What if affirmative action lies in all those little actions, in those intimacies within human relationships rather than in rules or manifestos?

These questions that were raised by Tim Ingold during the Trilateral Workshop held in Montevideo in February 2017, clicked with my own work at once. Initially, the research questions I wanted to address revolved around collaborative arrangements in community-led initiatives. With this goal in mind, I carried out fieldwork among a variegated range of projects: from an indigenous cinema festival in the interior of Bahia, to a school lab in the metropolitan area of Sao Paulo, a *ribeirinhos* community in the state of Pará, and a feminist encounter in the Serra da Mantiqueira. However, soon after some fieldwork sessions, the affective dimension of these projects came to the fore quite notably, both shaping -and being shaped by- the course of the activities. This aspect involved a particular way of relating, not only between the people, but rather with the place, the issues at stake, and ultimately, with the project itself. And it was apparent in many different ways. Sometimes it would be revealed in the gaze of a person while showing me a green-hued landscape under threat of felling; others it shined forth in the tenacity with which they got over the hurdles in the course of the project, and many often it would be just clearly uttered in our conversations.

Paradoxically, I only became fully aware of their importance long after I had returned from the field. In recalling my own memories from those days against my field notes, I realized how big the gap was. It was less a problem of description than of omission. On reading those notes time and again I kept asking myself with mistrust 'Do I actually have material here?' It seemed as if something had been left out, in the absence of which, it remained just a dull account of some activities and a sort of aftertaste of their futility.

Gradually, further encounters in the field and with other anthropologists, have brought home to me the idea that the affective dimension of life *matters*. The way it matters becomes apparent differently across various situations and ethnography may serve well to the purpose of ravelling out the particularities of each case. The point here is that the affective is an enormous source not only of creativity, but of politics also, for there are a number of little actions of dissent, contention, support, affirmation and so on lying in *"those intimacies within human (*and non-human, we add*) relationships"* that make up our world (quoting again Tim Ingold during the workshop).

Although a lot has been written about how collaborative arrangements and community-led initiatives can be a lever to social change, little has been said about the affective dimension they involve. We therefore aim to contribute to this discussion with an account of our research experience that makes room for this element, thus adding a further layer to

the understanding of how these projects are articulated. We argue that this affective dimension is not only an essential element in shaping their identity, but one that contributes in a significant way to their politically radical character.

To expand upon the concept of affect, I shall rely on the work of Brian Massumi who has deeply elaborated on this notion, trying to fill the existing gap of a theoretical vocabulary specific to affect. Drawing on the work of Spinoza and Deleuze as its philosophical sources, he seeks to differentiate affects from feelings and emotions. As he puts it, "An emotion is a subjective content, the sociolinguistic fixing of the quality of an experience which is from that point onward defined as personal. Emotion is qualified intensity, the conventional, consensual point of insertion of intensity into semantically and semiotically formed progressions, into narrativizable action-reaction circuits, into function and meaning. It is intensity owned and recognized. (Massumi, 2002)". On the contrary, affect, which in his account is equated with intensity, would be intensity unqualified.

However, as he himself warns us, in talking about "intensities" he does not want to appeal to romantic, pre-reflexive, experiential domain. What he wants to trouble with this idea is the classical separation between body and brain, and the exclusive ascription to the latter of higher functions such as volition or cognition. According to him, volitions and cognitions need to be enfolded by the body, which means that it is only through the body that "the pressing crowd of incipiencies and tendencies" which make up reality in potential, eventually emerges, that is, becomes qualified by taking on sociolinguistic meaning.

This approach puts forward a different view of body and mind, not in oppositional terms but as "resonating levels" in which affect as intensity stands out as a critical point -or point of emergence- where multiple potentialities need to be embodied in their actual specificities. Such a critical point, in so far as it constitutes a bifurcation point, demands to be *taken care of*. This approach strongly resonates with the feminist defense of the embodied, embedded, situated and affective nature of knowledge and experience, against the classical ideal of humans as individual, rational actors stripped of all the bodily buzz in the pursuit of objective truths. Indeed, it has been a longstanding feminist claim to highlight the relations of bodily interdependence in which we are necessarily enmeshed from birth. Affects may be thus conceived of as a sort 'milieu' in which experience happens, in the sense given by Deleuze to this term using the double meaning of the French word: as something that traverses every human being and at the same time confers its surroundings (cited in Stengers 2005).

This approach holds good for the un-codifiable nature of affects, as something that necessarily moves through bodies while also exceeding them. At the same time it allows for an interesting connection to the notion of care: As ceaseless potentialities, we must *take care of* this affective dimension of our lives in order to remain responsible for its becomings (Bellacasa, 2010). Thus, the affective 'milieu' calls on us to take charge of action and, in doing so, sets the grounds on which another ethic-political project may be unleashed. Thus, by reading care as a mode of taking charge of the affective dimension of life, the politically radical character of care that feminist have long been sustaining is unravelled. For caring is now not simply meant to "maintain, continue and repair "our world" so that we can live in it as well as possible" (Joan Tronto and Berenice Fisher, 1990), but rather has an essential *creative* character. "What escapes the code situates us in that which is not yet said, opens the terrain of the thinkable and livable, it is that which creates relationships. (Precarias,

2005)". It now takes a new significance the feminist claim that "the affective is the effective" (Precarias, 2005).

Under this approach, the affective is, as Bellacasa puts is, first of all, "a way of relating" to the things in the world, turning them into *matters of care* (Bellacasa, 2010). Reading affects thus, brings forward another important difference with respect to feelings and emotions, for affects prompt somehow to an action, they point to a relation between ourselves and that which is going on. It is, hence, not an object but a quality, a sort of intensity that may be noted but not quantified[1]. Which confront us with the last question we would like to bring in here: how can we render the affective in -or rather in spite of- words so that we make room for it in our texts? This is another challenge that this work shall take up. Revolving around affects, it is precisely the topic that demands particular ways of relating with it and of writing. But this is still an open question in my research, a quest on which I guess I'm not alone, as this Workshop has helped me realize and, hopefully, I will walk this way together with other fellows.

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Reflections on the Trilateral Workshop for Affirmative Action in South America: Affirmative Action Policy in Brazil (Law 11.645/08)

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It has now been more than a decade that a federal antiracism educational law was introduced in Brazil: The so-called Law 10.639 came into life in 2003 and turned the teaching of African and Afro-Brazilian history and culture throughout all primary and secondary, public and private schools compulsory. A few years later, in 2008, Law 11.645 was introduced, adding Indigenous history and culture to the previous version of the law. Nevertheless, more than ten years after the first version of the law being signed, there continues to be a severe lack of African, Afro-Brazilian and Indigenous history and culture in the national syllabus as well as in the majority of school curricula (see Oliveira, 2012; Da Costa, 2014). There is a broad agreement about the law's implementation having de facto failed, with the exception of a minority of educational institutions that work with the law. Part of a wider body of affirmative action policies tackling racial inequality in Brazil, the law is closely tied to the agenda of the Worker's Party whose former president Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva signed it. A lot of research on Law 11.645 has been concerned with the question of why the implementation of it failed. This research, however, tries to go beyond an investigation of failure and explore spaces in which the implementation is being pushed forward and the way in which it affects teachers, pupils and their families. By making the implementation of the law the object of my study, during my fieldwork in Rio de Janeiro I was working with many different stakeholders rather than focusing on one group, such as pupils or school leadership.

Shore and Wright (1997) argue that policy has become an increasingly central concept and instrument in the organisation of contemporary societies. It impinges on all areas of life so that it is virtually impossible to ignore or escape its influence. Policy can be read as cultural texts, as classificatory devices with various meanings, as narratives that serve to justify or condemn the present, or as rhetorical devices and discursive formations that function to empower some people and silence others (Shore and Wright, 1997: 7). Furthermore, policy influences how individuals shape themselves as subjects. Thus, policy can be read as the language, rhetoric and concepts of political speeches and party manifestos, written documents produced by government and company officials, but also in what people experience in their interactions with street-level bureaucrats (ibid.).

In Brazil, the *movimento negro*'s struggle was crucial for the Law 10.639/03 being signed in the first place. Its efforts are being recognised in the document '*Diretrizes Curriculares Nacionais para o Ensino da História e Cultura Africana e Afro-Brasileira*' [National Curricula Guidelines for Teaching African and Afro Brazilian History and Culture], which accompanies the law and calls for their active involvement in its implementation. The role of the

movimento negro thus goes beyond policy maker but intersects not only with the role of the executing body, but at the same time the beneficiary of the law (which is the Brazilian citizen). Therefore, representatives of the movement are playing a vital role in my research, taking up various tasks that are involved in policymaking.

Discussions about gender equality, environmental and sustainability issues during the Trilateral Workshop at the Universidad de la República demonstrated that public policy and affirmative action cannot simply be understood as a solution to a problem, as it forms a body of enquiry in itself, through which power structures can (re-)surface and be analysed. Ingold put it in the following way: Anthropologists who study problems do not find a solution; however, they will discover many more problems. Conversations with employees of the Public Water Company (OSE) and of the *Asamblea por el Agua del Rio Santa Lucía* clearly demonstrate Ingold's point. As anthropologists, we are in a position in which we aim at hearing more than one side, and more than the dominant voice. Although our time spent with the above-mentioned groups was very limited, the conclusions drawn from it demonstrate the anthropologist's dilemma very clearly: While the OSE presented itself as concerned about vulnerable communities and their access to potable water, simultaneously its work positions other groups, such as the inhabitants of Santa Lucía in a place of experienced vulnerability. A solution to a problem generates a new problem, and the same can be said about affirmative action. Some attendants of the workshop were very critical about affirmative action in general and the state rhetoric applied with it. Structures, discourses and agencies through which policy operates can offer insights on power. This focus shifted my personal interest from the implementation of the policy in question to a closer examination of the meaning it carries and conveys, and the person or group of people it is written by and for.

Another crucial discussion at the Trilateral Workshop was about our role as researchers in regard to activism and advocacy. An important point one of the Brazilian participants brought up was that activism does not always have to be militant. As anthropologists, we should aim at pushing the boundaries of activism, and at pushing ourselves to share our impact. As Ingold stated, research does not mean the pursuit of objectivity, but rather the pursuit of truth and this can only be done through participation, generosity and care. Care as a term came up several times during the workshop and the context that was most helpful to me was its discussion in relation to affect. Western cultures focus drastically on the sense of the sight. If we cannot see something, it means it does not exist. This perception needs to be challenged through the way we think and do research. It is necessary to activate other senses and to go beyond writing. One of the participant's audio-visual works with people infected with HIV in Chile demonstrated how to transform oral narratives into visual representations without limiting their personal and very intimate voices to text. Nevertheless, within the academic context we constantly have to present our research in more conventional, measurable ways, such as the writing of text. Thus, one of the participants appealed to our writing style and suggested to find a way to put affect into text.

Not only has the experience at the Trilateral Workshop opened up new angles from which to approach my field of research and collected data in a theoretic way, but it has encouraged me to look for the impact of my work beyond militant activism, and to look for ways that allow me to abandon my position and move beyond it in and through my writing and in my future practice as a social researcher. Furthermore, the workshop initiated ties between Brazil and UK-based researchers and me, which so far led to a conference

invitation at the University of St. Andrews and the invitation to a shared panel at the IUAES 2018 in Florianópolis.

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Annex 1. List of participants (in Alphabetical order by name)

Name	Country of study/work in 2017
Adriana Dias	Brazil
Alejandro Gortázar Belvis	Uruguay
Ana Bersani	Brazil
Andre Sicchieri Bailão	Brazil
Angélica Cabezas Pino	United Kingdom
Anna Catarina Morawska Vianna	Brazil
Bianca Vienni Baptista	Uruguay
Bruna Potechi	Brazil
Carla Souza de Camargo	Brazil
Carolina Parreiras Silva	Brazil
Catherine Whittaker	United Kingdom
Courtney Rose Stafford-Walter	United Kingdom
Cristian Simonetti	Chile
Flávia Melo da Cunha	Brazil
Gudrun Klein	United Kingdom
Gustavo Remedi	Uruguay
Hannah Lesshafft	United Kingdom
Isabel Lafuente	United Kingdom
Javier Taks	Uruguay
Jennifer Chisholm	United Kingdom
Juan Martín Dabezies	Uruguay
Karina Biondi	Brazil
Leticia D'Ambrosio Camarero	Uruguay
Leticia Folgar	Uruguay
Linda Lorena Sánchez Avendano	United Kingdom
Magda dos Santos Ribeiro	Brazil
Maíra Cavalcanti Vale	Brazil
Marcia Viana Pereira	Brazil
Margaret Bolton	United Kingdom

María Noel González Márquez,	Uruguay
Mariana Viera Cherro	Uruguay
Michele Anne Wisdhal	United Kingdom
Natalia Magnone Alemán	Uruguay
Noah Walker-Crawford	United Kingdom
Olof Ohlson	United Kingdom
Patrick O'Hare	United Kingdom
Pilar Uriarte Bálsamo	Uruguay
Renzo Taddei	Brazil
Santiago Alzugaray	Uruguay
Susana Rostagnol	Uruguay
Tim Ingold	United Kingdom
Victoria Evia Bertullo	Uruguay

Imagen de tapa: Fotografía de Javier Taks

This compilation of essays, based on papers presented by young anthropologists at the Trilateral Workshop "How anthropology can contribute to affirmative action in South America in the fields of human rights, gender equity and environmental sustainability", held in Montevideo, Uruguay, in February 2017, wants to leave a trace in the process of building up a world anthropological community. The workshop helped to establish a new generation of anthropological researchers from nine different countries, with experience of fieldwork in the Latin-American region, leading in the longer term to future collaborative projects. The publication wants to give testimony of a rich conversation that took place between researchers, civil society's organizations, workers, and policy makers in Montevideo's metropolitan area. It shows what are the issues that concerned young anthropologists in their practices as researchers, lecturers and activists in the fields of sustainability, gender, human rights and the constitution of knowledge, in the second decade of the 21st Century.

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