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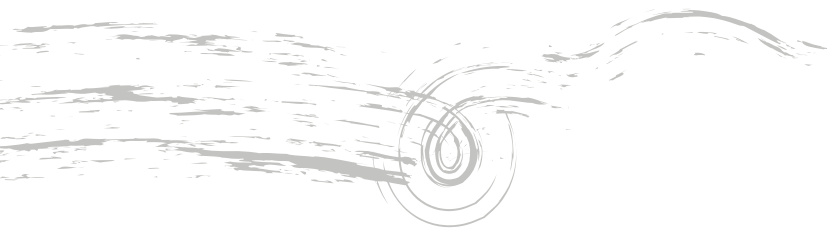
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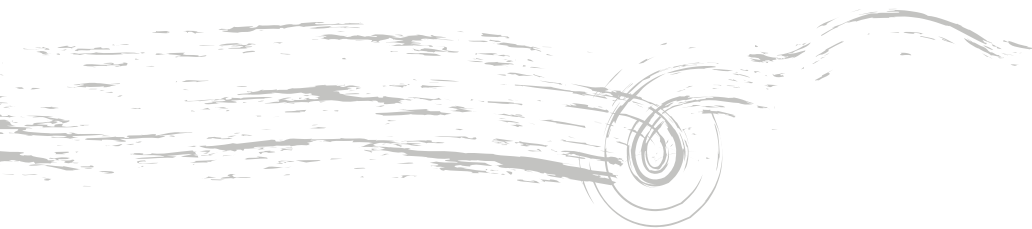
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PHOTO ESSAY

ANTHROPOLOGY & PHOTOGRAPHY 2010-2016

STÉPHANE MALYSSE

Fresh from the oven, on web, our second number of *gis* is transformed into gestures, images and sounds. As always, we place our bets on the mesh of disciplines, themes and methodological resources which are still dormant in regard to their possibilities, exposed in languages which can be freely explored, as the **ARTICLES** section well demonstrates. This number consists of eight articles which focus on very distinct universes. Many have been written as collaborative projects. Some are presented as shared authorships in which the academic researcher is not the only one producing knowledgeable statements. There are also transdisciplinary articles which approach the argumentative focus while entering into different fields of knowledge. This is what allows them, in many cases, to attempt to understand the enigmas which typify our contemporary world, in which frontiers have been blurred.

Our second number begins with this protagonist, whose presence is so remarkable in our lives today: Google. In a leading role, Google is part of an ethnography on crack users, in the itinerant territorialities of the streets of São Paulo, known as *Cracolândia*. In search of ways to integrate ethnographic texts, maps and images, the research which resulted in this article by Heitor Frúgoli Jr and Bianca Barbosa Chizzolini was conducted by a team involving fields of anthropology, architecture, urbanism, history and geography.

Two outstanding photographers, José Augusto da Cunha Moraes, from Portugal, and Ricardo Rangel, from Mozambique, provoke Bruna Triana to compare notions of “reality”, “truth”, and “authenticity” in the photographic image during the colonial period, according to two genres: ethnographic and documentary.

In this new number of *gis*, the Huni Kuin, who are located in the state of Acre, Eastern Amazon, are present in two articles. In the first, ayahuasca songs, a film called *O sonho do nixi pae* (“The dream of the nixi pae”), and the drawings elaborated as visual translations of the songs, are treated as intersemiotic activities which multiply in the MAHKU – a group of artists and researchers belonging to a new generation of Huni Kuin, who are here presented not as subjects making themselves evident as authors (Foucault), but as a collective agency of enunciations which constitute visual art. In the article, the voices of the academic

researcher – Amilton Matos – and of the indigenous artist – Ibã Huni Kuin – are evenly mixed.

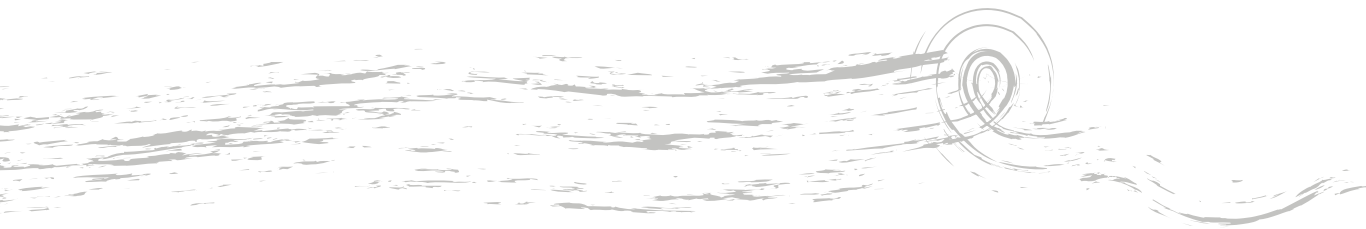
In the following article, Guilherme Menezes discusses the experience of making the videogame *Huni Kuin: Yube Baitana*, involving anthropologists, programmers, artists and indigenous Huni Kuin. The development of a videogame requires elaboration of scripts, understanding ways of circulating knowledge, making ethnographic pacts, and dealing with questions as varied and distinct as copyrights, technology and alternative forms of energy.

Focusing on children with autism, Daniel Camparo Avila explores contributions of ethnomusicology, analyzing relations between music and subjectivity, and therapeutic dimensions of music. What are the effects of music and what types of intervention can be effective? These are the questions discussed in this article, as a result of sessions of music workshops recorded at a center of educational therapy.

The following two articles focus on cinema. On the basis of an ethnographic analysis of the science fiction movie *Gattaca*, directed by Andrew Niccol, Halina Rauber-Baio and Martina Ahlert discuss perspectives on the body in contemporary anthropology. Mobilizing thinkers such as Haraway and Le Breton, the authors approach *Gattaca* from the perspective of the cyborg, in a world in which dichotomies of nature/culture, mind/body, organism/machine, and human/animal are dissolved, under the dominions of information.

In a study of the film *Viajo porque preciso, volto porque te amo* (“I travel because I need to, I return because I love you”), made by Karin Aïnouz and Marcelo Gomes, Maria Inês Almeida Godinho analyzes representations of rural Northeastern Brazil. The analysis is centered on typical elements of cinematographic language, such as framing, illumination, music and sound effects, and camera movement. Are the rural backlands (*sertão*) within us, or are processes of urbanization and demise of rural life irreversible?

Our **ARTICLES** section ends with an analysis by Eveline Araújo and Paulo Gallo of the filmic production of the youth on the periphery of São Paulo, and of the possibility for obtaining an inside view of behavioral and social characteristics of this highly diversified population. Strategies regarding public health and perspectives of empowerment of this social segment are also explored. The authors propose a system of social listening, so as to make viable projects which permit communities to seek solutions by mobilizing their own resources, mediated by research projects developed in their territories.



The **T.I.R.** section (translations, interviews and reviews) presents a translation of a provocative article by Christopher Pinney, showing how other models of perception and construction of the photographic image are being created and practiced in places like India and Mali; an interview of the Rumanian anthropologist Mihai Andrei Leaha with one of the outstanding names of visual anthropology, David MacDougall; a reflection by Laugrand, Luce and Melanson on a series of videographed interviews, with the authors who published in *Anthropologies et Sociétés*, a Canadian anthropology journal; and, finally a section with two reviews of recently published books.

The section **GIS** presents six photographic essays on very diverse and visually stimulating themes: lost images of travels through Africa, mainly Egypt; images captured among the Pankararu of Pernambuco, dated 1937; the register of gestures and bodily movements which constitute the performative practices of the visually impaired; the center of São Paulo and the *ocupações* in visual routes annotated from a foreign viewpoint; the body of the very photographer as a visual field in which veins are composed in the drawing of a bodily cartography; and, finally, images of a slaughterhouse, exhibiting the plasticity which may be found in the activity which takes place in such a location. In a section featuring performances, the impact produced by the first work results from the encounter of Australian rituals and Umbanda rituals, presented by an artist performer, philosopher, and squizoanalyst and therapist, in a performatic dance carried out and filmed in a ritual Eshu session. The second work focuses on two Congolese artists, a performer and a musician, in the attempt to understand the experience of these migrants in the city of São Paulo, where everything has to be negotiated.

We have created a new section for **gis: FOUND ON THE NET**, in which, as someone looking through the numberless things which show up on this immense net known as the internet, we intend to pick out some of the “fish” which are in tune with the objectives of the journal. We begin this section with the artistic project *The anthropologist-transvestite*, produced by Stéphane Malysse, who, in a retake of Rimbaud’s well-known phrase, provokes us, by means of photography and ethnography, to become other while remaining ourselves.

Andréa Barbosa, Edgar Teodoro da Cunha, Erica Giesbrecht,
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RELATIONS BETWEEN FACE-TO-FACE ETHNOGRAPHY AND IMAGES FROM GOOGLE STREET VIEW: A RESEARCH INTO CRACK COCAINE USERS OF THE STREETS OF SÃO PAULO'S INNER CITY¹

ABSTRACT

keywords
Itinerant territorialities; Spatial
practices; Urban landscapes;
Ethnography; Google Street View.

Our starting point was a fieldwork experience carried out by the Anthropology of the City Study Group (GE-

1. Article submitted as paper and presented at the Association of Social Anthropologists of the UK and Commonwealth Annual Conference ("Footprints and futures: the time of anthropology"), in the panel 49 – "What is the future of the field-site? Multi-sited and digital fieldwork", coordinated by Tanja Ahlin and Fangfang Li –, University of Durham, July 4th-7th - 2016. The comments on the presentation were made by Razvan Nicolescu (University College London). The participation of Heitor Frúgoli Jr. in this conference was made possible by FAPESP – São Paulo Research Foundation. Research developed since 2007 by GEAC-USP (Anthropology of the City Study Group, University of São Paulo), later with the support of CNPq (National Council for Scientific and Technological Development, 2008-2010) and NAPSP-USP (Research Support Center; São Paulo: City, Space, Memory; University of São Paulo, 2012-2016). Article translated by André Setti and Heitor Frúgoli Jr. Acknowledgements to Marina Frúgoli and to the reviewers of Gis.

AC-USP) members. We investigated networks of relationships, working with the idea of the so called “cracolândia” (“crackland”) as a type of itinerant territoriality, within a multifaceted context, marked by situational variations (2008-2012).

Afterwards, we have integrated ourselves into a new project – “Plataform São Paulo” – bringing together professors from the University of São Paulo. This platform led us to establish a relationship between ethnographic texts, maps and images (data from Google Street View, from 2010 to 2016) of the region of Luz neighborhood, in the central area of São Paulo, the investigated space in the initial research.

Our goal in this article is to evaluate the possibilities and limits made possible by this specific relationship between previous ethnographic practice and a posterior use of Google maps and images.

INTRODUCTION: OUR ETHNOGRAPHIC EXPERIENCE

Above all, we must briefly present the main aspects of our fieldwork experience – in other words, our face-to-face ethnography, having in mind the objectives of this article. We basically sought to reconstitute several networks of relations and connections between two relatively common ways in which Luz region in downtown São Paulo is generally represented: as a *cultural neighborhood* (made possible by the creation and strengthening of various cultural institutions by the state since the mid-1980s) and as “cracolândia”, a stigma of degradation and crime resulting from the presence of many crack users in the streets of the neighborhood, including homeless men, women and children, professionals of sex etc.

Luz neighborhood is marked by high urban and social density, and includes several buildings and cultural institutions registered as heritage sites. These institutions have drawn a new influx of middle and upper class people to the old city center for the purpose of cultural consumption (Bourdieu 2007 [1979], Talhari 2016). A predominantly working class population, however, has occupied the residences, streets and city squares of the region for many decades. Luz is host to a significant number of *cortiços*², and informal commerce, prostitution and the trafficking and consumption of crack are common in many of the region’s public spaces. This stigmatization dates back a long time and is also related to previous symbols such as the “Red Light District” known as “Boca do

2. A *cortiço* is a type of illegally rented accommodation occupied by low income families found in Brazilian cities for many decades. *Cortiços* are typically large, dilapidated and over-crowded houses, inhabited by multiple families that share bathrooms and cooking facilities.

Lixo”, which operated there. Some of the interviewed people refer to the use of crack in the streets of Luz and the vicinity as early as the 1990s.

The polarity between *cultural neighborhood* and *cracolândia* can also be related to the opposition between the “*requalification*” (*renovation*) and *deterioration* that has been taking place since the early 1990s in downtown São Paulo, although these processes can be considered the results of other previous oppositions.

Our ethnographic practices concentrated on parts of the local population of Luz – especially shopkeepers and dwellers –, on people who commonly use the streets and on some urban services. We also focus on social actors related (often as mediators) more closely to the so called “*cracolândia*”. It is precisely on this latter context that this article focuses.

By studying this neighborhood, we inevitably developed a more systematic view of what is customarily called *cracolândia*. It is much more than a series of highly stigmatized representations given by the media, which in a certain way, are a current form of criminalizing poverty.

Our hypothesis, developed during the fieldwork, was that “*cracolândia*” could be seen as a kind of itinerant territoriality (Perlongher 1987; 2005 [1988]), characterized by many kinds of conflicts (Arantes 1996), which are located in a certain urban area. However, it may move further depending on the type of repression or intervention practiced, and the dynamics of their own internal relations. In this sense, this study is similar to, but also different from that that was carried out by Bourgois (2003; 1997 [1989]), which basically focused on agents connected mainly to the sale of crack (*crack dealers*) at certain points of El Barrio (Hispanic Harlem, New York). Although our work also deals with people who are often identified as homeless, our focus is basically on crack users, due to their widespread presence in the streets of Luz neighborhood and their occupation of other public spaces, as well as their more visible relations with other social actors in the streets.

Our approach perhaps comes relatively closer to the concept of a psychotropic territory (Fernandes 1995), whose “main communicational feature is minimal interaction and which is structured as an interstice of space and time” (Fernandes 2000, 146). According to this author, when repression of drug trafficking is increased in a certain territory, there is generally a move to the surroundings or to neighboring districts, in which the actors involved with drugs are diluted by adjoining zones and change their interactive strategies, through the exploitation of other urban interstices (Fernandes 1995, 27-28).



figure 1

Photo of Luz neighborhood (and surroundings). In white, the perimeter of the New Luz Project (the former area of “cracolândia”, according to the Municipal Government). In red, the blocks of the first demolitions. In yellow, some well-known sites in the region (cultural institutions, train and subway station, park). In blue, a street frequently used by crack users during our fieldwork. In light blue, two squares where they could also be found.

Before our first field trips, the specific perimeter of so called “cracolândia” (as defined by the municipal government and widely covered in the press) was precisely the “pentagon”, where the municipal project “Nova Luz”³ was to be installed (Prefeitura do Município de São Paulo Dec. 2005). These rigid perimeters revealed strategies of urban intervention designed to increase property values.

Considering “cracolândia” as a type of itinerant territoriality and a field of relations, we sought to establish *ethnographic contact* with this multifaceted context, marked by countless situational variations. We have contacted a series of organizations, NGOs and various institutions that are characterized by different types of relations with certain local social actors. The relation established by each one of these institutions with this context reveals different aspects of the region. There are entities that focus on aid to homeless children in the region, or to prostitutes, and those which establish relationships with various actors, in an attempt at harm reduction, not to mention others that seek to offer a religious message and provide assistance to different groups.

3. In a double reference, both to Luz district, and to the expression “New Light”, since the word “luz” is translated by the English word “light”.

Our own ethnographic relations took place most through contact with agents from an NGO (“É de Lei”), whose actions aimed at harm reduction, especially for crack users, by means of direct contact in the streets of Luz neighborhood and at a reception center.

During 2007, it was possible to establish some interactions with crack users, although marked by a certain transience, and of which we were trying to understand what was possible to describe from the great variety of situations observed. In general, it was noticed that the police action led the users to quickly leave the sidewalks where they were located, migrating to another nearby location, and finally, at varying times, returning to previous points of concentration. Some private security guards also made, to a lesser extent, some kind of action on the stay and movement of these users. Most of them consume crack on the sidewalks (several hide the practice under blankets), although there is also the use of hotels and nearby pensions, in addition to *mocós* (hiding places) in houses or abandoned buildings or sealed by the city.

During the observation between these agents and the crack users of the region, it was possible to realize some spatial shifts. On most of the field trips conducted by this NGO’s (“É de Lei”) agents, the chosen destination was Helvétia Street, where there was the largest number of users. This represented a slight change in territorial focus in relation to former routes by the region.

Between 2007 and 2008, there was a considerable increase in the number of users, especially in the region of Helvétia, as the members of “É de Lei” had foreseen. In our observations between September and October of 2008, there were occasions in which we counted as many as 200 users along this street. At the same time, there were fewer users at Princesa Isabel Square compared to the previous year.

In areas nearer to the pentagon, inside which the demolitions of 2007 took place, there was apparently a reduction in the number of crack users. But this cannot be stated definitely. For example, when we imagined that we had understood this territoriality a little better, we discovered from shopkeepers that at night there was another large gathering of users of crack who came into the streets at night at the corner of Guaianazes Street and Gusmões Street, only after local establishments closed their doors.

Certain changes in the dynamics of the spatial occupation by the crack users could also be seen, as police control increased significantly (in cars, motorcycles, horses or officers walking around in civilian clothes), forcing the users to circulate around the streets much more – even though they still maintained certain points of concentration, as observed. The interactions with users became thus more fleeting than the previous ones.

During the interactions, one more time a succession of dramatic scenes for us took place, such as a pregnant woman who consumed crack on the floor, people with serious injury or worrying physical conditions, not to mention many who had been arrested, and dozens of users who smoked at the same time, preventing any useful approximation by the harm reduction agents.

The described situation underwent some changes after the inauguration of “Ação Integrada Centro Legal” (“Integrated Action for a Legal Downtown”), in the middle of the following year (2009) at Luz district⁴. In a certain way, the program readopted some general principles of “Operação Limpa” (“Operation Clean Up”, 2005), whose ostensive police patrols in the area continued, though to a lesser degree, in the following years, with a series of repressive interventions undertaken during the Administration of Mayor Gilberto Kassab⁵. This program established certain continuity, combining police action with that of other sectors and governmental agencies. Nevertheless, people related to the use of crack and to other illegal activities remained in the region (although continually moving around the downtown area) – even after the demolition of many buildings after “Operation Clean Up”, and especially after the “Nova Luz Project” (2007) was decreed. This demanded the application of other forms of intervention in the neighborhood.

In October 2008, agents of “É de Lei” stated that they had noticed a gradual change in the way in which the government was facing the question of “cracolândia”. What had been treated before as a social problem, began to be recognized as a “health issue”, although they pointed out that this was still far from ideal, since the policy was restricted to the hospitalization of users and police action continued to be repressive.

This new way of tackling the “cracolândia problem” would appear more strongly in 2009, when local government began a new intervention at Luz neighborhood and surroundings by means of the so called “Integrated Action for a Legal Downtown” (Cursaete 23/7/2009). But this was connected as before to considerable interests in the urban sphere. In the middle of the first semester of 2009, a controversial plan of “urban concession” was approved by São Paulo’s City Council and sanctioned by the mayor on May 7, 2009. It included the expropriation of 18 blocks in the central region (about 600 properties), with participation of the private sector. At the same time, “cracolândia” began to be regarded, in the words of the mayor, as a “health problem”.

4. Authorized by the Public Ministry, and including a joint action by the Military and Civil Polices, inspection authorities and health inspection (Folha Online 22/7/2009).

5. Gilberto Kassab was vice mayor during José Serra’s administration (PSDB-PFL, 2005-2006), taking over the City Hall in 2006 (he joined the DEM - former PFL - after March, 2007). He was elected to a four-year term in 2009.

These developments raised new questions concerning what we had been attempting to analyze regarding *cracolândia* as an itinerant territoriality, characterized by a certain mobility, and which was related to social actors within the dynamics of work, trade, housing and leisure in “degraded” areas. Previous observations had allowed us to relativize certain territorial determinations regarding a perimeter that defined the main target of repression and investment by the authorities during the last decade and where some demolitions began in 2007. However, it remained a challenge to understand the impact of new political and daily dynamics on the context after 2009.

Although it was not possible to conduct an ethnographic study of the region in question at the time of “Operation Clean Up” (May 2005), it seems to us that aspects of that situation, especially the dispersion of crack users to other downtown areas, reappeared (in new arrangements) after the “Integrated Action for a Legal Downtown” (from July 2009 onwards).⁶ This became especially clear when the national media began to criticize the efficiency of the eradication of crack use at Luz neighborhood. It also showed the presence of user groups in other downtown areas, such as the neighborhoods of Barra Funda, Vale do Anhangabaú and Praça da República.

In January 2012, there was a new episode of systematic police repression, involving police, firefighters, helicopters, hundreds of cars, dozens of motorcycles, sniffer dogs and horses, based on the strategy, as disclosed in numerous news reports of the time, of causing “pain and suffering” to users, forcing them to seek treatment. Even in mid-January, in the midst of all these controversies, an act of protest against police violence directed to crack users and the lack of public policies for the homeless population and drug addicts was organized. It was convened by 43 civil organizations, with the participation of activists, crack users, residents, goers and traders of the region and other parts of the city, as well as journalists and photographers.

Before moving on to the analysis of the images proposed in this article, it is important to emphasize that the photos from the Google Street View system, as well as from other news sources, were selected based on questions related to our research, carried out since 2008, and to a broader context regarding the region of Luz and the city of São Paulo as a whole.

The conflicts around the uses of this region, that will be presented in four axes in the next pages, are related to a succession of events which mobilize different agendas of public policies and areas of knowledge, characterizing this place as a convergence and dispute of medical and juridical

6. Our investigations show a series of articles regarding this theme during July, 2009.

discourses, municipal and state agendas of public security and combat of the crack use, homeless population, social movements, drug users, drug dealers and religious entities, connecting not only different agents, but also different areas of the city (Rui et al 2/11/2014, Rui and Mallart 2016).

We present below a series of events which highlight the succession of interventions directed to the region over the last ten years. This scheme, however, does not intend to present such events as isolated episodes, but seeks to evidence the chronology of these facts and the connection between these disputes and tensions that continually produce effects on the relations and, consequently, on the spatialities of the region of Luz, which will be discussed next.



diagram 1

OUR GOOGLE STREET VIEW INVESTIGATION⁷

As already said, afterwards we have integrated ourselves into a new project – “Plataforma (Platform) São Paulo” – bringing together professors allocated to University of São Paulo – from the fields of architecture and urbanism, anthropology, sociology, history and geography – counting with “two main issues that mark, recursively, their different trajectories. Firstly, the intellectual restlessness with the city, understood in its complexity” [...] “Secondly, the presence of an ever-pressing issue of how to leverage the access and dissemination of accumulated knowledge, both inside and outside the walls of the University”.⁸

7. The panel where this article was presented as paper (see note 1) proved to be an interesting forum for debate. It covered questions to ethnography (in its classical sense) arising from the postmodern critique of the 1990’s, basically taking into account how the observed agents themselves move, with several motivations, for multiple territories – which refers to the theme of the multi-sited ethnography established by George Marcus (1998) – or how the agents themselves make use of information and communication technologies (ICT as Skype, Facebook etc.) that inflect in the ethnographic approach of the context of research.

8. See more details at <https://patrimonioculturalnapsp.wordpress.com/2013/06/18/napsp/> (access on 30/3/2016).

Regarding our participation in this project, this proposed platform led us to establish (from 2013 on) *a relationship between ethnographic texts, maps and images* (data from Google Street View, from 2010 to 2016) of the region of Luz neighborhood, at the central area of São Paulo, the investigated space in the initial research.

In our virtual routes by “*cracolândia*” made in this second phase, we virtually circulated in the neighborhood, electing a starting point as a specific reference to this new form of observation.

We decided to focus our attention on the intersection of Dino Bueno Street with Helvetia Street – according to our fieldwork, a kind of symbolic space of a lot of social dynamics that occurs in the surrounding streets. In this sense, this place could be regarded as a kind of epicenter of a meeting between users, residents, and agents from churches and the state (police, demolition work, and institutions of social welfare).

At the same time, coincidentally, Google Street View started to make available not only images of the region, but it also began to offer them in a chronological sequence. At first, a new image replaced the previous one, but at a certain point, these images began to be available in sequence: 2010 January, 2011 February, 2014 March, July and December, and 2016 May. This allowed us to collect not only temporally subsequent urban scenes to our fieldwork, but also discover new uses of space in the following years.

Basically, this new approach to the region allowed us to explore relationships among the following topics (established by the initial ethnographic research):

I - USES AND MOVEMENTS IN THE STREETS, LINKED TO CRACK COCAINE USERS' CIRCULATION

Here, there is a sequence of images in a brief time interval, with the possibility of capturing certain synchronicities between them, which allows us to visually capture a modality of the aforementioned itinerant territoriality. It is important for the reader to relate sequentially the three images below, since they compose a narrative only comprehensible at the end, and which is related to the spatial practices that were observed several times during our ethnography.



image 1 (feb. 2011)

Dino Bueno Street with Helvetia Street: users gather on Helvetia (right) as they observe the presence of the Military Police in action at Dino Bueno (left).



image 2 (feb. 2011)

This image is a sequence of the previous one, and one can note in it that users moved to Dino Bueno, given the presence of the Military Police, this time in Helvetia (observe the police car in the back, in the right of Helvetia). This can be confirmed with the following image.



image 3 (feb. 2011)

In this new framework, one can note the presence of police officers in a police approach among garbage remains, with the low presence of crack users, that can be seen – moving the image forward in a straight direction (in the direction of Helvetia, and turning right at Dino Bueno) – occupying the streets and sidewalks, as shown in image 2.

II - PROCESSES OF URBAN INTERVENTIONS AND DEMOLITIONS

Here, there is a sequence of images over the years, therefore with a diachronic approach, with emphasis on the proliferation of demolished, closed and banned spaces by the public power, which encourage the permanence of crack users, homeless people and, therefore, agents who provide several means of assistance.

The first four images capture the same point at Dino Bueno Street, at the intersection of Julio Prestes Square:



image 4 (jan. 2010)

The building above and on the left had been the main Bus Terminal in São Paulo, and then became a textile wholesale mall (Fashion Center Luz), with predominantly Korean traders. At the time of this image, it had already been closed for future demolition, due to the construction project of a Cultural Center. One can note the presence of possible crack users and of homeless people, sitting in front of the old mall entrance.



image 5 (feb. 2011)

This is the first image that portrays the demolition of this block. Further along, on the opposite sidewalk of the demolished block (on the right of the image), there is a group of crack users.



image 6 (mar. 2014)

The immediate surroundings of the demolished block no longer has the presence of users, and more to the background of the image, at the edge of the demolished block, one can note the construction of the physical structure that housed the “Projeto Recomeço” (“New Start Project”, linked to the State Government⁹ and aimed at crack users, based on hospitalization for treatment; see Diagram 1).

On the same day, at the intersection of Dino Bueno Street and Helvetia Street, one can capture images of a large number of employees of the cleaning service (sweepers and water truck cleaning the street), police officers, professionals of “New Start Project”, as well as the absence of concentration of users, who are at the end of the intersection between Helvétia Street and Cleveland Street.



image 7 (dec. 2014)

This image nine months later gives a clearer dimension of the size of the two demolished areas in the so called “cracolândia” region – both the area of the old Bus Terminal (mentioned on image 4), and the block in front of Julio Prestes Square, delimited by Helvetia Street, Cleveland Street and Dino Bueno Street, which began to concentrate a large number of crack users.

9. During Geraldo Alckmin’s administration (PSDB, from 2011 to the present).



images 8 (clockwise, dec. 2013, jan. 2014, oct. 2014 and sept. 2010)

This is a set of images obtained in other ways than through Google Street View, in which appears what came to be called “Favelinha” (“Small slum”), with the predominance of crack users in the surroundings of this demolished block, with several spatial arrangements (with the exception of the image on the left and below, which shows an agglomeration of people within the block, before it was fenced). In the photo below, on the right, one can see the internal occupation of the block for amateur soccer games.

Above left: Montero, André. 17/12/2013. Governo de SP pressiona Prefeitura para fechar ‘hotéis do crack’. *Folha de São Paulo*, São Paulo (Moacyr Lopes Jr., Folhapress), <http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/cotidiano/2013/12/1386589-governo-de-sp-pressiona-prefeitura-para-fechar-hotéis-do-crack.shtml> (last access on 1/10/2016).

Above right: Veja. 15/1/2014. Prefeitura começa a desmontar favela na Cracolândia (Adriano Lima/Brazil Photo Press/Folhapress/VEJA), <http://veja.abril.com.br/politica/prefeitura-comeca-desmontar-favela-na-cracolandia/> (last access on 1/10/2016).

Below left: Trindade, Eliane e Pagnan, Rogério. 14/9/2010. Obra parada da Nova Luz, em SP, vira abrigo para centenas de usuários de crack. *Folha de São Paulo*, São Paulo (Danilo Verpa, Folhapress), <http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/cotidiano/2010/09/798513-obra-parada-da-nova-luz-em-sp-vira-abrigo-para-centenas-de-usuarios-de-crack.shtml> (last access on 1/10/2016).

Below right: Nogueira, Pedro Ribeiro. 8/10/2014. “Nova Luz expõe vazio de políticas urbanas pensadas de cima para baixo”. *Portal Aprendiz*, São Paulo (Comitê Popular da Copa, reprodução), <http://portal.aprendiz.uol.com.br/2014/10/08/nova-luz-expoe-vazio-de-politicas-urbanas-pensadas-de-cima-para-baixo/> (last access on 1/10/2016).

III - ATTENDANCE AND POPULAR PRACTICES OF SPACE (CERTEAU 1980)

Although this theme allows a diachronic approach, since the popular presence in this region dates from a long time, we will focus this aspect, on this article, in a synchronic perspective, based on the images available on Google Street View.



image 9 (feb. 2011)

This image from Dino Bueno Street near the corner of Helvetia Street was taken in the same day of the images 1, 2 and 3. In it, one can note the presence of people playing cards, others walking on the streets, a hair salon, an used furniture store, a teamster, dogs and a woman with a stroller: a relatively common scene in a popular and residential neighborhood (on the left, there is a bus parked, linked to the informal public transportation network, given the popular memory of means of transportation in the area, even after the extinction of the Bus Terminal in the region, many years ago).



image 10 (feb. 2011)

Temos aqui uma variação de 45° na observação da mesma cena. A presença do crack e a tensão trazida pela presença policial não se dissipam: na calçada em frente à enfocada na imagem anterior (à direita da presente imagem), nota-se a presença de uma viatura policial e agentes realizando uma revista de três pessoas, em frente a uma casa que havia sido interdita, mas que era ocupada por usuários de crack para um consumo menos exposto da substância. Obs.: à esquerda dessa imagem, vemos a mesma mulher com o carrinho de bebê da imagem 9.

IV - VARIOUS GOVERNMENTAL ACTIONS, WITH DIFFERENT INTENTIONS AND SCOPES

It is important a brief contextualization of the following images. They capture a spatial concentration of crack users which came to be called “fluxo” (“flow”), (in the confluence of Cleveland Street and Helvetia Street). Despite its spatial fixation, it had this name, among other factors, because it is a space of daily convergence of a large number of people.

We have seen that, since the aforementioned demolition of the wholesale mall, a kind of “small slum” was formed in the “desertified” sidewalks of its surroundings (see images 8). In in the beginning of 2014, the City Hall created a new program of assistance aimed at crack users, called “De Braços Abertos” (“With Open Arms”),¹⁰ based on harm reduction and without a repressive perspective (see Diagram 1).



images 11 and 11a (jan. 2010)

At this period, the intersection of Helvetia Street and Cleveland Street did not concentrate crack users yet, and the region presents its previous uses: a bus stop, pedestrians, residents and commercial shops on the ground floor of two residential buildings.

10. During Fernando Haddad’s administration (PT, 2013-2016).

In short, the existence henceforth of two care programs (the aforementioned “New Start Project”, of the State Government, and the “Open Arms”, of the Municipal Government) made that the already mentioned “small slum” concentrate, since then, in a space adjacent to the facilities of these programs (one close to the other), with a new phase of police control, no longer marked by constant movements, but concentrated on the vigilance of the so called “flow”.



images 12 and 12a (mar. 2014)

On *Google Street View* records, there is a lapse of three years between the previous record (images 11 and 11A) and the present ones (March 2014). In these images, one can note the absence of the two old residential buildings (see pictures 11 and 11A), already demolished, with the expansion of an area that is now increasingly occupied by crack users of the region, but still without the densification that would be seen months later.



images 13 and 13A (july 2014)

In these images four months later one can observe the densification of the occupation of this space with the arrival of more crack users, as well as the installation of a small slum inside this land (with houses and tents made with plastic garbage, wood and all sort of materials). Besides, on the left (13) one can observe the installation of a bike route, which integrates the municipal mobility plan. In picture 13A, one also can note the same space seen from another point of the street, in which other important elements to understand this context appear: pedestrians, cyclists, many carts, a minibus of the Metropolitan Civil Guard (linked to the City Hall) with the words of the project: "Crack, é possível vencer" ("Crack, it is possible to win"), as well as cones and tapes to indicate the area destined to crack consumption, which became known as the "flow".



images 14 and 14a (dec. 2014)

These are images taken five months later and only testify the continuity of the already presented dynamics. There are no substantial differences in comparison to the images 13 and 13a.

To conclude this part, it is important to emphasize that the displacement of the so called “flow” in May 2015 was quite conflicting and violent. The two news story below present images from the days of the removal of the tents through a police action, and one of them deals with the itinerancy of the so called “small slum” (see <http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/cotidiano/2015/05/1626034-usuarios-entram-em-confronto-com-guardas-civis-na-cracolandia-em-sp.shtml> and <http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/cotidiano/2015/05/1625271-fluxo-da-cracolandia-mudou-tres-vezes-de-lugar-desde-a-acao-da-prefeitura.shtml>, access on 30/3/2016).¹¹

11. If there was more space, we could also use, alternatively, the images that were made available by the press, as in the case of the approach of the images number eight.

Unfortunately there were no new captures from Google Street View for 17 months (the penultimate ones date back to December 2014, as shown in pictures 14 and 14A), a methodological aspect that will be part of our final comments, hereinafter. The last image available on Google (May 2016), already shows, on the other hand, some urbanistic changes and new uses of that space too.



image 15 (may 2016)

CONSIDERATIONS ABOUT POTENTIALITIES AND LIMITS IN THE USE OF GOOGLE STREET VIEW

POTENTIALITIES

The virtual ethnography of this research, specifically the use of a set of Google Street View images (GSV), mediated by the knowledge that was previously built by face-to-face ethnography, seems to be an useful tool, as it helps to provide more elements for the mapping of a restricted area of the city, since:

- a.** It extends the instantaneous time of traditional ethnographic observation. As of 2010, Google Street View, according to our view, expanded its investigative possibilities, by chronologically arranging the photos from its database. Thus, it became possible to observe the same stretch of the street, square or intersection of streets over time, depending on the records made by the company, which vary considerably between districts and within the same region. In our case, the opportunity of comparing different moments of the same street expanded in a way the time of ethnographic observation, due to the access of moments that are subsequent to the conclusion of the *face-to-face* research. Therefore, this allows a monitoring, even though distant, of continuities and changes of the ethnographically observed phenomena, such as the dynamics of police presence and aspects of itinerant territoriality, based on the movements of pedestrians through the streets and sidewalks; new uses of properties that were interdicted before (interdicted buildings that became hotels, or the reformation of old

hotels); arrival of new institutions of care for crack users in previously demolished areas (“With Open Arms” and “New Start Project”); and the installation dynamics of new urban equipment.

In any case, the perspective proposed here of a diachronic approach of the images, combined with also synchronic looks,¹² should seek to dialogue with the set of studies that accumulate about this region, whose approaches also offer, explicitly or implicitly, a given imagetic narrative.

- b. *It allows the mapping of regions that may present some kind of momentary difficulty in terms of access for the researcher, either because of lack of accessibility or mobility, lack of security, geographical distance, among other aspects. Therefore, it may be useful to other research contexts (e.g., when it is not viable to keep regular visits to the surveyed site).*
- c. *It visually systematizes the recurrence of ethnographic reported phenomena, such as the itinerant territoriality, the demolition of buildings and houses and the police interventions. It also provides visual spatiality to the story, without being a mere illustration.*
- d. *Although the images are made by cameras attached to a car that was moving through the streets, these records partially preserve characteristics of the dislocation of an anthropologist walking on foot through the city. This is not an aerial record, from top to bottom, that is, away from the street level dynamics, the dynamics of the pedestrians, the obstacles and the unpredictability of the city itself. Therefore, it may hypothetically present a certain consonance with the ethnographic gaze.*

We must surely pay attention to the fact that the view of Google Street View is generally (but not exclusively) obtained through a vehicle – which at first would not coincide with the sight of a pedestrian. However, it also cannot be said that this is similar to a look usually captured by a driver, since it involves cameras, scanners and a GPS receiver centralized by a computer that allows to capture, process and dispose, in the end, a three-dimensionality.¹³ It is beyond our goals to produce a deeper analysis regarding this dimension. In the future, we should think about how to critically approximate this dimension to what a corporally situated look could accomplish.¹⁴

12. And that, by the way, always give priority the interactive ethnographic observation as a practice.

13. See details at <https://www.google.com/streetview/>, access on 27/11/2016.

14. A very initial clue would be to imagine the hybrid production of such images, in the line proposed by Latour (1994).

LIMITS

- a. *Such remote ethnography does not replace several factors of the traditional ethnography*: although the virtual ethnography provides the aforementioned potentialities, of course that this alone does not allow the investigator to access the specificities of the urban dynamics. The observation of the streets by means of Google Street View's image bank only acquires a dense meaning if it is preceded or simultaneous to the presential ethnography. The ethnographic observation or the participant observation investigate and access the relational component of a given scenario (a component so dear to anthropology), something that the mapping of images by itself is not able to provide. The study would not have approached the four aforementioned items through a solely virtual incursion in the surveyed area; neither using secondary data, that do not gather the stories, expectations, contradictions and strategies of people who live, circulate and work there.
- b. Ethical limits regarding the use of unauthorized image captured by GSV, and the risk of the spectacularization of misery. During the collective research conducted by GEAC, it was chosen not to make photographic records that included crack users, for considering it (in that context) a markedly uneven relationship, and with great possibility of acquiring a sensationalist tone, related to the spectacularization of misery. "Cracolândia" is located in a symbolic and economically undervalued region of the city, which does not make it a touristic or even regarded as a safe region - although it has in its surroundings a series of important cultural institutions. It is common that the concentration of crack users exceed a hundred people, resulting in a scenario of great social vulnerability. To portrait this context of misery, a region avoided by those who do not live or usually circulate there, always seemed to us a sensible posture and close to the appealing and dehumanizing language of a number of journalistic attempts at the time. Google Street View's database has the policy of blurring the faces of people, allegedly preventing their identification, and in addition, the photos do not record people at close range. However, these characteristics of the used records do not entirely solve the ethical issues initially raised, since the risk of spectacularization remains. We understand, however, that the use of these images mediated and preceded by *face-to-face* ethnography grants them a more controlled place in the narrative, and more attentive to the dynamics resulting from the encounter between people, police forces, urban space and crack, and not only the image of crack users, isolated from the relationships in which they are inserted.

- c. *Technical limitations*: to use a database such as this presents technical limits that are difficult to be overcome, since the possibility of registration of the images, as well as its frequency, is subject to the interests of the company. Moreover, this capture of images is not performed in the same way in each and every city, neither in the same neighborhood, making it difficult or even invalidating certain continuities. In our case, the interruption in the capture of images between December 2014 and May 2016 almost represented an obstacle for the visualization of posterior urban scenes that are certainly important for the research. It even raises a reflection regarding Google's image capturing policy, which could lead to a future attempt to interview the responsible representatives of the company, where practicable, as well as the reflection concerning other alternative forms of capturing images.

FINAL REMARKS

Although we do not intend to make any exhaustive analysis in this conclusion, it is possible to say that there are several works in the anthropology marked by a significant use of imagetic resources, as in the case of the classic *The Nuer* (Evans-Pritchard 1978 [1940]), which uses a dense series of photos, drawings, maps, and diagrams (with a strong role of geometric figures), or *Tristes Tropiques* (Lévi-Strauss 1955), which uses photos, maps and a series of drawings (some of them made by natives).¹⁵

In Brazil, despite a significant development of the visual anthropology,¹⁶ maybe one could say that the approaches in the field of the anthropology of the city that deal with the image are still relatively punctual, albeit with fruitful paths, which inspire further developments. One could quote as a reference the collective work *Quando a rua vira casa* (Mello et al 1985), marked by the combination of drawings, maps, and photos, in a compound of anthropological and architectural approaches to Catumbi and Selva de Pedra neighborhoods, in Rio de Janeiro, or the multidisciplinary experiment which resulted in the work "São Paulo 450 years Expedition" (Magnani et al 2004), which through photos, maps (including satellite images) and an additional video documentary, sought to record a survey of data collected in multiple spaces, during a week (from 1/11/2004 to 1/18/2004), for what would then compose the initial collection of the Museu da Cidade de São Paulo.

15. Regarding both works, see Geertz (2002 [1998]). For an analysis of multiple languages in social analyses, see Becker (2009). For a recent approach on "Tristes Tropiques", see Wilcken (2011). For a later work that recovers and amplifies images of São Paulo from the 1930s, see Lévi-Strauss (1996). Finally, for an approach to the pioneering visual works of Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson, see Samain (2004).

16. For a systematic review up to 2010, see Caiuby Novaes (2010).

It would also be worthwhile to register the book *Paisagens paulistanas* (Arantes 2000), which combines ethnographic and memorialist approaches to the city of São Paulo, in which photos and drawings play an important argumentative role on the public spaces, or the book *O tempo das ruas na São Paulo de fins do Império* (Frehse 2005), in which the author performs an ethnography of the urban past of São Paulo through the analysis of photos, maps and newspaper cartoons of the 19th century, emphasizing its central area. In this field, the most explicit contribution to a systematic dialogue between the urban and the visual anthropologies comes from the work of Eckert and Rocha (2013), mainly due to their contributions in several filmic approaches on the urban life.

The contribution of the present article aims at what may be a promising path, focused on a new field in which the images available - in the present study, since 2010 - are not produced by the anthropologist himself or by photographers, but by a technological process whose public availability would already require at least some critical follow-up.

More than this, we sought to advance in an in-depth use, articulated to the previous ethnographic practice itself – although other studies may temporarily rearrange such relation –, which allows the access to images which, in the case of the anthropology of the city, help in the unraveling of relations among the city dwellers and also between them and the city in its physical materiality (Arantes 1996; Magnani 2005; Frúgoli Jr. 2007).

translation

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This is a visible dimension, especially in the streets, an elementary space of urbanity, as we sought to demonstrate in this text, with emphasis on agents marked by the vulnerability in their spatial practices and conflicts of various orders, in an urban context characterized by a confluence of interventions – in the buildings and equipments, in health care services and also in the repressive practices.



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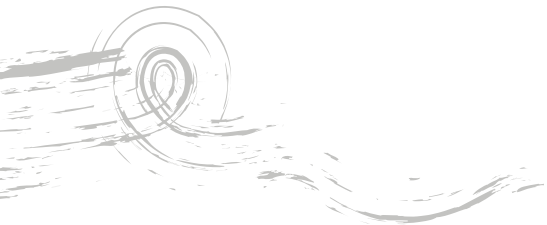
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(POST) COLONIAL ARCHIVES AND IMAGES: ANALYTICAL CONTRIBUTIONS ON TWO PHOTOGRAPHY COLLECTIONS¹

ABSTRACT

This text brings together the genres of ethnographic and documentary photography as a way to problematize how both traditions utilized prevailing discourses of “truth” and “real”, in each given historical period, to give their practices a sense of intelligibility and legitimation. For this purpose, I address the photography collections of Portuguese José Augusto da Cunha Moraes (1855–1933) and Mozambican Ricardo Rangel (1924–2009) in order to shed light on aesthetic and technical conventions incorporated into their photography at the moment of production. My main argument is that a belief in an exterior reality, prone to be fully captured, either for the ends of producing scientific knowledge or denouncing social issues, guided both practices.

keywords

Photographic genres;
Ethnographic gaze;
Photojournalism;
Colonialism; Archive.

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INTRODUCTION

Over their respective histories, photography and anthropology were interwoven due to their multiple colonial connections. The use of photography in classical ethnography (Haddon 1895, 1935; Tylor 1876; Malinowski 1976/1922; Evans-Pritchard 1937), either in the inscription of distinct truth systems or in the aesthetic display of social facts from field work, opened the possibility of affecting the reader with the very narrative that was intended to be transmitted. The photographic technique was thus one of the elements employed to reinforce the claim *I was there* from the ethnographic authority, widely criticized by post modern Anthropology (Clifford and Marcus 2010). This resource, when used in ethnographic works, was simultaneously considered able to extract the observed real itself as well as put under suspicion by the discipline, which perceived excesses (or failures) on the image that its own rhetoric could not control.

In which way did the conventions and discourses concerning the *true* and *real* in photography operate on the genre of *ethnographic gaze*, at the end of 19th century, and on photojournalistic/documentary tradition during the mid-20th century? What did the different practices prescribe as imagetically *real*, *liable* or *acceptable*?

Considering the idea that the images are framed inside discursive practices and structures, the intention is to compare how different views, in different historical moments, operated under similar epistemological notions that, however, had, in each one of them, opposite meanings. By presenting the ethnographic and documentary² genres on the same analytical plane, I lay in perspective the way how these two *traditions* work with the same notions – even though in different senses. I start from the assumption that technical and aesthetic conventions, as well as discursive systems, exist to limit the semantic opening of photography.³ On the other hand, it is also necessary to consider that the practices embrace in themselves many ways and formats – it is not possible to comprehend the ethnographic gaze from the end of the 19th century as a closed practice, producing images inside a mono-thematic frame.

2. There are distinctions between the photojournalism and documentary practices. Nevertheless, the goal of this essay is put both practices side by side, for the sake of comparison; from 1930 to 1970, these were very close practices, many times interchangeable. These practices included: technical conventions, the everyday subject outside the studio, the social and political elements, the agencies, magazines and galleries, etc. See Wells (2009).

3. The debate on the opening of senses related to photography is extensive, with diverse nuances and theoretical-methodological paths, which are outside of the scope of this essay. See, for example, Barthes (1984), Roth (2009), Sontag (2004) and Wells (2009).

To cover the range of this two-way road—the discourses and conventions of certain practices and their inherent diversity (the one that, in fact, is found inside this discursive field) — I propose to analyze the collections of two photographers: José Augusto da Cunha Moraes (1855–1933), Portuguese, owner of a photography studio, who lived and worked in Angola for most of his life; and Ricardo Rangel (1924–2009), *mestizo* (from mixed descent), Mozambican, the first non-white to work as a photojournalist in the country. Each one of them acted on different sides of the African continent and in opposing social positions. The temporal and spacial distance between them is an issue to be dealt with care. However, isn't transposing time and space, exactly, one of photography's qualities?

CONVENTIONS AND DISCOURSES: THE ETHNOGRAPHIC AND DOCUMENTARY GENRES

Before getting more deeply in the photographic practices denominated *ethnographic* and *documentary*, as well as analyzing the material by Cunha Moraes and Rangel, it is important to explain my understanding of discourses, practices and conventions, grasping the dispute surrounding these terms.

According to Foucault (2010), discourses are systems of thought (ideas, values) ordering the experience and legitimizing some assertions while at the same time marginalizing others. What I call *discourses of the ethnographic and documentary gaze in photography* refer, therefore, to beliefs in a way of capturing and producing photographic veracity, to be reached under certain precautions and according to pre-established rules. It covers assumptions related to what is acceptable, in a historical moment, in the process of producing images inside this discursive pattern of conventions, which constrains and restricts photographic practices.

Such discourses and their conventions are visible in the ways by which we talk about each genre, on how the photographers operate their cameras (following technical and aesthetic patterns) and in the expectations from which we see those images – after all, we look for these conventions and apply them in order to “read” the images. When taking a photograph, photographers work *with* and *within* the conventions they adopted, seeking to produce images that match what is expected from the specific genre they have chosen. A photojournalist, for instance, does not work inside a studio; if one were to do that, the resulting images would be neither *categorized* nor read by the public as photojournalism. In other words, an image to be captured and understood into the photojournalism genre should be taken in the streets, in the continuous flow of everyday life, without the photographer's intervention (who, in turn, should not provoke the action, much less intervene with the subjects and objects inside the framing for the sake of a more shocking or composed photo) and with specific technical regulations.

In spite of discourses prescribing and ordering the photographic practices and experiences, the conventions exist to be challenged and transformed. Here, I am thinking of the work by anthropologist Roy Wagner (1981). In *The Invention of Culture*, Wagner explains the dialectic between *invention* and *convention* that guides distinct societies, applying this model also to the arts. Inventions become conventions, while the conventions are challenged and transformed by new inventions, in a dialectic that operates on all levels.

Identifying the orientation with the shared consistency of conventional associations, and the invention with the impinging contradiction of differentiating contrasts, we can conclude that the necessary interaction and interdependence between them is the most urgent and powerful necessity in human culture. *The necessity of invention is given by cultural convention, and the necessity of cultural convention is given by invention.* We invent so as to sustain and restore our conventional orientation; we adhere to this orientation so as to realize the power and gain that invention brings (Wagner 1981, 44).

Western societies operate under conventions—time, weather, kinship, nature and culture, for example, separated, organized and, supposedly, all predicted by the established conventions. Yet these societies are often surprised by events that do not obey certain presumptions (phenomena and *natural* disasters are emblematic examples of how nature does not behave as anticipated).

Applying similar logic to the object of this article, it is possible to state that the conventions of the ethnographic and documentary gaze are challenged and transformed by several factors, internal and external: the subject being photographed, available materials, technical discoveries, the photographers's will and position, among others. The invention is necessary so that the conventions keep guiding the practices.

Thinking about conventions and inventions, i.e., to reflect on the questioning and innovation of conventions, is another way of opening doors to different readings of the photographs.

Then, if the images are framed inside these discursive systems, inside these conventions, the invention allows 'counter readings'. Such readings against the grain, especially of the images by the ethnographic gaze from the end of the 19th century, are fundamental in providing agency, voice and visibility to those who, for so long, were silenced and made invisible by official narratives – and also in going beyond the readings about control, power relations and representation (Tagg 1993).

The idea of invention is, hence, a displacement in the way to approach such issues, confronted in different manners by authors like Edwards (2001), Poole (1997), Poignant (1992) and Lydon (2005), in the sense of revealing the agency and visibility of the subjects pictured; emphasizing the materiality and the social biography of the photographs, and considering the relationships and oscillations in the representational practices. What these studies show “is the possibility of excavating the dialogic space of photography and thus complicating the view of cross-cultural relations, indigenous agency, and the density of photographic inscription” (Edwards 2011b, 179). To that extent, these different ways of confronting the discourses and conventions against the grain demonstrate that photography is, indeed, a territory of dispute.

Then, why should we cross check the ethnographic and documentary genres stemming from the production of two artists? The comparison between practices and discourses seeks to work with the idea of “comparing the incomparable”, by Detienne (2010). It deals with putting in perspective the same set of questions to a different set of problems. The comparative effort pursues to problematize the senses of both terms under contrast, aiming to make explicit its differences. That does not mean launching from a common basis but opposing them exactly to underline their distances and misconceptions. Thus, how do the ethnographic and documentary gazes operate with the ideas of *real*, *truth* and *authentic*? How did Cunha Moraes and Rangel deal with the ambiguities and challenges raised by their respective conventions? In which way do the positions and subjectivities interfere in their practices and productions?

From these questionings, I examine the discourses of these two photographic practices, bearing in mind the different temporalities, spatialities and intentions in the works of these photographers. More than a chronological approach, the idea is to look closely and compare how the ethnographic photography practice, from the beginning of the colonial invasion in Africa,⁴ in the 19th century, and the documentary tradition from the end of such invasion, in the middle of 20th century, comprehend the notions of *real*, *truth* and *authenticity* in the photographic image.

The hegemony of photography as a privileged medium for turning the world visible and palpable coincides with the hegemony of colonialism in Africa. This relationship involved the production of a visual economy

4. European commercial contacts, bases and depots date from 15th century. However, it is in the 19th century that a more systematic invasion for the political dominance and economical exploitation of the continent starts. The definition of rules for Africa's division was set at The Berlin Conference (1884-1885), where Great Britain, France, Portugal and Belgium, among other countries, convened. See Silva (2003).

(Poole 1997), in which photography was an instrument (in the production of colonial scientific knowledge) and a constitutive element (in the circulation and consumption of diverse epistemological fields). Cunha Moraes was a key photographer of this visual economy in Portugal, producing many images of the environment and of the Angolan populations. He had his images published in magazines and awarded prizes in exhibitions and he produced and sold post cards.⁵ Seen as the first Portuguese photographer to portray Angola, he was always in syntony with the interests of the time, both from the metropolis as well as by the colonial sciences.

For his part, Rangel inserts himself in another discursive field, the documentary, which establishes itself strongly between the decades of 1930 to 1970. In his case, the political and ethic dimensions are inscribed into a practice that concerns capturing the social tensions, denouncing the injustices and registering the *extraordinary* in the small facts of life. Acting (and defining himself) as a photojournalist, Rangel published his work in newspapers, magazine and essays of Mozambique and Portugal, and took part in many exhibitions.⁶

In both cases, the photographic practice in which they are inserted are transnational; the discourses and photographs transgress national borders, as much in the production as in the circulation. The transnationality of the practice is what gives to the discursive field its wide feature, transforming it at the same time. In this way, it is necessary to say that touching the subject of discourses, practices and conventions is to touch what is called in the photography world (and also in the literature) *genre*. Approaching the genre issue is to make tangential the expectations that each of them carries, since genres embrace a set of ideologies, conventions, techniques and rules (the discourses) that organize ideas of beauty, reality and truth in the capture, use and circulation of the photographic image. The genres, therefore, are global practices, which operate from certain parameters regarded as founding, involving a diversity of themes, ways and mechanisms.

5. According to Dias (1991), at the end of the 1870s, Cunha Moraes was already a well known photographer, having his pictures published by a popular magazine *O Occidente* (Portugal) and had won awards from the National Academy of Paris and in exhibits in Rio de Janeiro (1877) and Oporto (1882).

6. Essays: "Ricardo Rangel: Fotógrafo" (Rangel 2004a), "Pão Nosso de Cada Noite" (Rangel 2004b) and "História, Histórias... 50 Anos de Fotojornalismo em Moçambique" (Rangel 2008). Exhibitions: "Ricardo Rangel: 50 anos de fotojornalismo em Moçambique", Maputo, 2008; "Revisitar Ricardo Rangel", Maputo, 2010; "Ricardo Rangel e o jazz", Maputo, 2011; "Iluminando vidas: fotografia moçambicana (1950-2001)", Switzerland, in 2002, South Africa, in 2003, Portugal, 2003, and Maputo, in 2003. In addition to solo exhibitions, he participated in several others, mostly from the 1990s, in cities like New York, Bamako, Rome, Milan, Paris, etc.

For instance, take the case of the photographic collection of Cunha Moraes. The Portuguese photographer produced landscape views, photos of Europeans and Africans' encounters in expeditions, people in street markets, anthropometric and the so called *ethnographic types* portraits in studio (Figure 1). To label them *colonial* or *ethnographic* photography says very little about the collection and about the images themselves if one does not consider many other factors.⁷ Accordingly, what I call 19th century *ethnographic gaze* encompasses a myriad of styles and photographs that, when displayed on the same plane, offers us a question: After all, what unifies them?

figure 1

Photo collage by
Cunha Moraes.
Collection
Nationaal
Museum van
Wereldculturen.
Coll.no.1) RMV_
A045-0045; 2)
RMV_A045-0001; 3)
RMV_A045-0085; 4)
RMV_A274_042; 5)
RMV_A045-0039.



7. On *colonial photography*, see: photoclec.dmu.ac.uk/content/colonial-photographs. Accessed in: Oct. 17th, 2016.

What makes these images understandable under this alleged *ethnographic gaze*? Cunha Moraes was a member of geographical societies; he produced images commissioned for them and other researchers, having, moreover, published four albums about Angola's geographical and ethnographical features. Hence, he was aware of the scientific anthropological theories of the time. Would that be, then, his intention? Is intentionality enough to aggregate these images into a single discursive genre? The distinctions are overwhelming from the pose to the production process, to name only two elements. Then, the intentionality does not suffice to unite the images in the same index, even more so considering that, the photographer's intention, in spite of its importance, does not suppress the opening senses of the photographic image itself; neither restricts the ways how the photo will be used, interpreted or even archived, eventually. Beyond the intentionality, it is crucial to shed light on the technical and aesthetic conventions, the composition and settings, the subjects in the photos and the framings, and the conditions of production and consumption, circulation and archiving.

At this point, I return to the discussion of genres, conventions and inventions, related to the photograph as object and practice. There are certain established conventions in the documentary practice of humanist and social nature, like, for example, the use of the whole photographic negative, the non flash option, the normal focal distance, and the portrait of *everyday life*, without pose and outside the studio. However, such conventions are put in practice by different actors, in different places, materials and subjects. For example, the works from 1930 to 1950, by Henri Cartier-Bresson, in Paris, Spain and China; by Robert Doisneau, in Paris; and Ricardo Rangel, in Maputo, are made of photographs that inscribe themselves in the documentary tradition. They emphasize the human element and are concerned with social issues, composition and framing. They tried to capture different subjects/themes, in distinct times and spaces; yet, their heterogeneous productions are inserted in the same documentary tradition. The images from these disparate photographers, spaces and time periods imprint a perception of fundamental aesthetic and technical characteristics that unify them; the use of conventions fit them all in the same genre. Nevertheless, there are differences between styles and photographs concerning the intentions of the photographers, the use and the circulation of their works and the photographed subjects.

In addition, the conventions and genres transform themselves. The ethnographic gaze from the end of the 19th century is not practiced anymore. The discipline that demanded the most of such photos, i.e., Anthropology, changed, methodologically and epistemologically; and the photographs that start to emerge in the discipline in the decade of 1920 are

closer to a documentary gaze than to an ethnographic one, which previously was the prevailing. Observing the photographs utilized in the first *modern ethnography*, like Malinowski (1976/1922) and Evans-Pritchard (1937), and in the work by Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson (1942), one can see that there is a preoccupation with the daily routine, with the natural flow of life and culture, without pose or intervention with the real. It is a “style no style”, according to Edwards (2011b), that conceals itself as mediation and composition.⁸

From the 1930s to the 1970s and from there to the current period, much has changed in the conventions and practices of both genres. In the case of photojournalism/documentary, the challenges and the changes – internal and external, which include use of color, television, the internet impact on everyday life, as well as the end of the great illustrated magazines – resulted in the transformation of the journalistic practice itself. The documentary genre had to reinvent itself. The crisis of representation and of political and social engagement came to a head in the U.S and in Europe in the decade between 1970 and 1980, but did not reach other parts in the world the same way, like South Africa, which kept a strong and engaged documentary practice (Newbury 2009). Today, documentary photographers are considered artists – i.e. they operate in another discursive universe of production and consumption.⁹

Also, it is important to take in consideration other constitutive elements of a discursive field that is as much material as ideological. In the case of Cunha Moraes and Ricardo Rangel, it is possible to bound the images by intentionality and also by their uses and circulation. Additionally, the collections by both photographers are saved by institutions that again classify them. In this sense, the archival practice is a fundamental element in this process. Therefore, it is necessary to think how the archive itself impacts and elicits readings and access. To reflect on the photographs as traveling, material objects, by its portability and reproducibility, is also to reflect on the circulation and exchange processes undergone by the photographs – including the archive where they lay as a constitutive part of the process. Herein, very distinct archives confront each other: one in a *metropolis*, another in a former colony.

8. The use of photography in Anthropology continues to be displaced and problematized. In recent works of visual Anthropology, there are as many re-readings of colonial, ethnographic photos from the end of 19th century as there are new methodologies of use, production and circulation of images. See Edwards (2011b) and Caiuby Novaes (2008).

9. All this connects to changes in newspapers and other media, and to social, political and cultural contexts. However, the details of such changes as well as challenges and displacements that affected these practices will not be further discussed here. About the ethnographic gaze, see Edwards (2011b). About the documentary tradition, see Wells (2009) and Rouillé (2009).

The Cunha Moraes' collection is at the Museum Volkenkunde, in Leiden, the Netherlands, and is composed of two series acquired in 1882 and 1883, by the former Rijks Ethnographisch Museum – nowadays Museum Volkenkunde – created in 1837. It is remarkable that so many images by one of the main Portuguese photographers from the end of the 19th century are found in a foreign country, even more considering the fact that this country is also territorially small in the European continent – having colonized two main territories (Suriname and Indonesia) and viewed as colonial and imperial potency. Photographs are one of the central objects in the archives and museums that save the remains of the colonial experience of former metropolis. Museums and archives are an important aspect of the colonial past. Indeed, acquisition, archiving and forms of storage tell us a lot about how we study and access this past.

Rangel's collection is in Maputo, at the Centro de Documentação e Formação Fotográfica (CDFF), created in 1980 by the photographer himself. It is a private institution, focusing on professional training and being an image bank. Founded after the independence, this institution keeps, mainly, images from the end of the colonial period, the armed struggle and the post-Independence, with some pictures from the end of 19th and beginning of 20th centuries.

The differences of location, context and storing are many and should be taken in consideration, next to the analysis of the collections and photographers, since the archive, access and the exhibitions also have an impact on the genre. As stated by Edwards (2011a), the archive, in a material approach, turns into a manifestation of social relations in which photographs are active. Since it is safeguarded in a museum,¹⁰ in order to access the work by Cunha Moraes it is necessary to request, in advance, a visit to the collections. At the site, one has to leave bags and belongings in a locker; only laptops and pencils are allowed inside the room. The requested boxes will be found already on a desk, where there are disposable plastic gloves available; then, it is necessary to sign a document with the rules to be followed in order to handle the material. The photographs are protected inside plastic sheets, although some of them are loose without any protection – many are glued on paper sheets containing the author's information, date, local and date of acquisition, etc.

On the other hand, CDFF is an institution that allowed me access on the same day of my visit, in Maputo's center;¹¹ the room where the archive images are saved is the same where one accesses and handles the photographs; the boxes are piled up in shelves along the walls. The photographs of Rangel's

10. The visits to Museum Volkenkunde were held between July and November 2016.

11. The visits to CDFF were held in July and August 2015.

collection have been recently digitized in cooperation with the Italian embassy, and there are two computers in the room for the digital consultation. The thinner boxes with the photographs have inscriptions on the side separating them by themes. The negatives of many photographs are also found in boxes or folders inside the room. Without any formal rules to be signed, the CDFP's workers explain how things are organized and ask for common sense in the perusing of the images. These are important pieces of information. The visitors have plenty of freedom to access the receptacles with the photos, open them and spread the images on the big table at the center of the room. There is no written information indicating in which box each image is in, nor a catalog with the photographs that are stored in each container. The themes that organize the archive repeat themselves in different boxes, as well as the images (for example, more than one reproduction in different places). In this manner, it is common to find misplaced photos, either under the wrong theme or by another author. These *failures* in the filing process and in the controlling of the archive provide, in turn, some clues about how the other visitors accessed those photographs, combined and assembled them. Pursuing these previous visits is an interesting exercise to think about the current uses and appropriations of the photographs stored there.

The framings and styles applied by Cunha Moraes and Rangel are more or less disciplined by a conventional Western archival practice that reveals distinct concerns about how to preserve and think the colonial past. The archives at Museum Volkenkunde and at CDFP save connected pasts (distant in time and space, but colonial pasts of the same metropolis) in distinct ways. While the Dutch museum owns, mainly, objects of colonialism at the end of 19th century, the Mozambican center has images from the end of the colonial occupation and from the post colonial period. The first is an ethnographic museum; the other keeps collections of many photojournalists contemporaneous of Rangel, friends that donated their photos for the project of creating a school and a photographic archive of the country's history, since the decades of 1930-1940 until the post-Independence era. In this sense, the two places draw near to each other and distinguish themselves: by the material they preserve, by the ways how they were acquired and by the respective processes of archiving it.

NEGOTIATING PRACTICES: THE CASES OF CUNHA MORAES AND RICARDO RANGEL

I examine, now, the collections by Cunha Moraes and Ricardo Rangel with regard to their photographic practices, periods and by the positions both photographers occupied. Therefore, I focus on the discourses and the conventions established in each period as well as on the different challenges provoked and faced by them.

José Augusto da Cunha Moraes (1855-1933) was born and died in Portugal. When he was eight years old, he moved with his family to Luanda, Angola. He lived there from 1863 until 1899, when he went back to the metropolis for good. In 1871, after his father's death, he inherited a photography studio, part of a family business that also included a clock repair shop (that was left to his brother). Cunha Moraes was a colonist in syntony with interests of the metropolis, both scientific as an explorer of the new territories, but also in the sense of exploiting them economically. As a member of Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa (Geography Society of Lisbon), created in 1875, he joined a good number of the expeditions organized by the institution. Many of his photographs were, in fact, commissioned by the Society.

In addition to the one in Lisbon, he was a member of other similar geographical societies in France and England, and was also the co-founder of Sociedade de Geografia do Porto (Geographical Society of Oporto) and of Sociedade para Propagação de Conhecimento Geográfico de África (Society for the Dissemination of Geographic Knowledge of Africa), in Luanda. He was awarded prizes for his photographs in exhibitions in Oporto and Rio de Janeiro; participated in many other exhibitions around the world; published his images in academic journals and popular vehicles of great circulation in Portugal, like *O Occidente*. Considered the first Portuguese photographer to register and document the inhabitants of Angola, he traveled along the coast and the borderland of the country known today as the Democratic Republic of Congo, in many expeditions, and was already internationally recognized by the end of 1870s.¹² Mixing scientific and commercial interests, his work goes along with the European intellectual and sociopolitical lines and expectations from the 19th century. After all, Cunha Moraes was a colonizer enthusiastic about his work investigating and exploring other lands – he worked at a time when the public interest and the economical and territorial disputes were increasing.

My argument stands in opposition to the one by Maria do Carmo Serén (1997), who stated that Cunha Moraes' gaze did not reproduce the convention of his time, presenting a personal, neutral work. In another article (Serén 2004, 19) she agrees that the photographer's ethnographic representation conforms with the style of his time, but adds that "his images reply to the picturesque and sublime of the painting and ideas of the 16th century's illuminism, in which the man integrates himself to Nature as much as to the ideal of progress and civilization understood by the century that introduced the railroad in its colonies". What is problematic about this interpretation is the attempt to extricate Cunha Moraes from the colonial project, which he was part of, neutralizing his participation by labeling it as only a personal project. For her part, the Portuguese anthropologist Jill Dias (1991) understands Cunha Moraes as a photographer eager about the colonial project, asserting that

12. Information compiled from Pereira (2001) and Dias (1991).

his photographs are entangled in the European cultural and intellectual discourses. For the anthropologist, his work, therefore, is an example of the imagetic production of the ethnographic style by Europeans of the period, according to anthropological and scientific perspectives of the time (Dias 1991).

Beyond the aspects of ethnographic perspective and interpretation, Cunha Moraes may be seen as part of the issue in which the photographers of the time produced not only according to scientific interests but also following commercial demands. Cunha Moraes captured photos for expeditions and acted in the production of post cards and *cartes de visite* (small portraits the size of a business card), other studio portraits, landscape views, registers of trading posts and military deployments, anthropometric photos and the so called ethnographic types. Performing in studio and outdoors, he adapted poses and used photos of ethnographic types to academic as well as popular audiences (Figure 2). There was no purism, i.e. no restrictions in that some photos were dedicated exclusively to a specific audience.

figure 2

Same photograph, different mediums to different circulations. Collection Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen. Coll.no. RMV_A045-0049 and RMV_A274_076.



Many of these photographs were not for scientific research; moreover, such conventions were applied to the documentation and research as much as to the post cards and *cartes de visite*, which were popular and commanded a huge demand in the metropolis, above all from an avid public for the exotic Other. These photos became anthropological in circuits of consumption and negotiation, hovering between popular *voyeurism* and science (Edwards 2001). In other words, the ethnographic gaze from the end of the 19th century was not a practice exclusive of the research field, and the circulation of such photos among different mediums and audiences confirms Edwards's (2001) argument that, during this period, they were produced as anthropological data exactly for their circulation and consumption. If the photographs of the ethnographic type aimed to collect specific data about clothing and physical features of the photographs' subjects, they also constituted material of high popular and commercial values.

The conventions orienting the ethnographic gaze embrace a practice that connects the images not only by their common historical time but by their production and circulation conditions. The photographs were captured in expeditions as well as in studio; the majority of them posed and staged (it is needed to be said that the technology available at the time demanded a long exposure time). Regarding the photos of ethnographic types in the studio, for example, the manuals of the time used to recommend the best conditions and poses to observe the bodies: with neutral or painted backgrounds the subject should pose looking at the camera or in profile, centered on the framing. Many materials from the 19th century used to teach the technical conventions, the proportions and poses that should be followed in practice (Poole 2005). However, the juxtapositions and contingencies also impose themselves, even in the most controlled of environments. The following images challenge the idea of control, either by their direct and expressive look, or by the dissonant landscape in relation to the subjects, or even by the crossed arms in refusal (Figure 3).

The end of the 19th century is marked by the positivist belief on objectivity and by theories that discussed the evolution and hierarchies based on racial concepts (Poole 2005). Photography and anthropology meet at this crossroads, being intrinsically linked to the colonial project of the time.¹³ In this direction, anthropology uses the supposed objectivity of photography to confirm its own scientific objectivity when *hierarchizing* the *Others* in the images. The belief that a photographic image was a mechanical inscription of the real, without mediation or subjectivity involved, made it so that such images were taken as empirical data for theories. That is to say, the photos themselves constituted the anthropological facts.

figure 3

Conventions and resistances. Collection Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen.

Coll.no. RMV_A274_087; RMV_A045-0038; and RMV_A274_046.



13. Analyses of how both fields have dealt with ideas of control, asymmetrical relations of power, race and hierarchy, vigil and production of exotic bodies are extensive and should be evaluated (Poole 2005, Tagg 1993).

The evidence, therefore, was produced by pose and interpretation. The ethnographic types, for example, were still photos, full or half body, in profile or frontal, on a neutral background, in order to contrast and highlight the bodies and clothing. The setting of movements and functions (the water carrier, the hunter), in turn, would produce information about behavior, rituals and habits. At this point, conventions and practices of the time did not perceive this kind of intervention, staging and pose as the opposite of *real* or *natural*; on the contrary, the pose was what imprinted legitimacy as much as allowed the fabrication of ethnographic data and the constitution of systems of truth. The pose and staging, then, were part of the evidence (ethnographic veracity) that was to be produced, part of the scientific process of demonstration and construction of an object.

Poole (2005, 163) reminds us that, in 1880, institutes like the Royal Anthropological Institute (RAI) tried to discipline the types of poses, framings and settings in which the subjects were shot: “By specifying uniform focal lengths, poses and backdrops, anthropologists sought to edit out the distracting ‘noise’ of the context, culture and the human countenance”. The pursued objectivity, at the time, above all by the social sciences, is found in the widespread objectivity of the photography. Beyond the utilization of photographs that also illustrated the post cards and the *carte de visite*, several anthropologists commissioned images from photographers in the colonies.¹⁴ The point to be questioned here is that, even though the orders on how to capture these images were amply detailed, such conventions encountered resistance on the part of the subjects, from the photographers themselves, and from the technologies and environments. The attempt to control the opening of the senses that photographs have – by the means of technical rules and poses – reveals that, although the photographers understood them as mechanical and objective inscriptions, the European anthropologists of the time already distrusted them and their ability to reveal/produce information according to their desired presumptions.

It is precisely this excess, the spark always escaping from control, that one can see in many of Cunha de Moraes’ photographs. It is this excess that bothers an anthropology and a social science wishful to control its objects, in the sense of epitomize and explain them. The defiant and secure look, a serious or serene expression, the crossed arms in refusal or in standby, these issues of intimacy, encounter and contingency are challenges to the conventions of a photographic practice that pursued precision, objectivity and coherence. The photographic transparency and impartiality needed, then, to be built, since the opening to the excess of meanings would stand as an obstacle.

14. Edwards (2001) analyzes a well known series of anthropometric photographs requested by Huxley – a failed project, in the conception and execution, by the challenges and resistances towards such a practice.

From the decade of 1920 onward, posing starts to be considered as non natural, not spontaneous and out of the regular flow of a culture – fundamental points for an anthropology that was willing to construct itself. At the same time, this non external intervention and the transparency go under rigorous parameters of control of the subjectivity. In the anterior practice (ethnographic and with pose), the goal was to assure the objectivity precisely by the pose and the parameters of how to pose. The pose and the reenacting, at the time, were part of the evidence that one was trying to produce, part of the scientific process of demonstration and building of an object; they were ways for controlling the excess of the images' meanings. And if they could not be controlled on the level of the inscription, then this should be done on the level of the discipline's rhetoric.

In the documentary tradition, in the middle of 1930s, there was a turn in the tendency towards a photographic production that combines documental value and poetic expressivity, of a humanistic aspect, from which the popular, everyday universe and the social element obtain the central role. In this practice, according to Rouillé (2009), prevails the exteriority in relation to the events, the capturing of the *decisive instant* – a synthesis of an event – and the transparency of the image – normal focal distance, without flash. These conventions also align with social and political issues. Many of the iconic photos of the documentary tradition bring the human aspect to the issue of social denunciation or political positioning.¹⁵ The documentary tradition believes in the power of the image as a means of pronouncing a position in the face of a reality by questioning it. It is in this field of the ethically and politically committed photographs that the production of Rangel inserts itself.

Ricardo Rangel was born in 1924, in Lourenço Marques (today Maputo). Mestizo,¹⁶ the son of a black mother and a white father, Rangel was raised by his maternal grandmother in Mafalala, a poor and peripheral neighborhood still today. He lived between the *cidade de caniço* (reed town), black, and the *cidade de cimento* (cement town), white. During his youth, he actively participated in the associative movement of Grêmio Africano (a political grouping), fighting against racial barriers and injustices to the *indigenous*

15. *Migrant Mother*, by Dorothea Lange, in the US, in 1936; the photo by Huynh Cong Ut, in Vietnã, in 1972, of a naked girl running after the napalm bombing, among other examples.

16. I opt for using this term here, even though I consider it problematic, bearing in mind the article by Thomaz (2005/2006) about the racial issue in Mozambique.

(compulsory work, taxes) and to the *assimilated*.¹⁷ In 1940, he starts working as assistant in a photographic studio; from there he ascended to a position as a film process technician deepening his relations to photography. In 1952, he was hired by the newspaper *Notícias da Tarde* as a photojournalist, being the first non white to be employed in a newspaper in the country.

Although Rangel acted as a photojournalist until the 1990s, his most productive period was between 1950 and 1975, since after Independence he started working as the photography director of *Notícias da Tarde*, the newspaper with the largest circulation in the country. He produced images inside a dictatorial and authoritarian regime in Mozambique and Portugal, in which censorship was a common practice. This is why many of his photos were censored and even destroyed between 1950 and 1975. Only in *A Tribuna* (the newspaper in which he worked from 1962 to 1964) and *Tempo* (the magazine he founded with some friends, in 1970) some photos escaped censorship.

It is important to notice that Rangel transited between the two towns *reed* and *cemento* performing different roles in these spheres – many times in conflict and contradiction. As a mestizo, he was able to attend some circles denied to blacks; in addition, he had several contacts with important people from *cimento* town. This helps us to understand his entry in the journalistic field of the time, fundamentally white, including having his first photographic exhibition in 1969, attended by representatives of the colonial administration. On the other hand, Rangel also was friends with many members of the Portuguese Communist Party (exiled in Mozambique after the coup d'état in 1926, that marked the beginning of *salazarismo*). He was active in the Grêmio Africano with José Craveirinha, Malangatana, Luís Bernardo Howana and other intellectuals, and had many contacts with FRELIMO (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique), the Mozambican liberation party, in spite of never being affiliated to the party. He was also invited to visit the training camp in Nachingwea, Tanzania, in 1974, and took the official portrait of Samora Machel (1975-1986) and Joaquim Chissano (1986-2005) as presidents of the country.

The documentary practice, associated with Western photography, is transformed and adapted in the local context in which Rangel was based. The tradition in which he is inserted (as Kok Nam, another great name of the Mozambican documentary photography) is part of a set of ideas

17. *Assimilated* was a legal category in the Portuguese colonial government. The indigenous (blacks) interested in the identification as assimilated needed to request it from the colonial board confirming their assimilation to the Portuguese civilization such as moral and habits. Having an identification as *assimilated* meant that they would be able to apply for a different set of jobs, like the lowest ranks of public service, and avoid the compulsory work (*chibalo*) as well as other penalties and duties imposed on the denominated *indigenous*. About the statute of assimilation in Mozambique and in the Portuguese colonialism, see Macagno (1996; 2001).

and practices that are, at the same time, international and Mozambican, transnational and local. For this reason, it is necessary to consider how colonialism molded the possibilities of photographic practice of the period, above all for the non white photographers, who were against the colonial order.¹⁸

Thus, his position as a mestizo, part of an intellectual, bohemian group, anticolonial activist, marks many of his photos. As a professional photojournalist, Rangel carried his camera everywhere. Beyond the photographs he took for the newspaper, he produced images that were never published – either because they revealed a mix that should not occur or because they denounced the segregation that also could not exist after the abolition of *indigenato* and the laws of hierarchization of 1961 (Figures 4 and 5).

figure 4

“Public restrooms – where the black could only be a servant and only the white a man”. Ricardo Rangel. Lourenço Marques (Maputo), 1957. Source: Rangel (2004a)

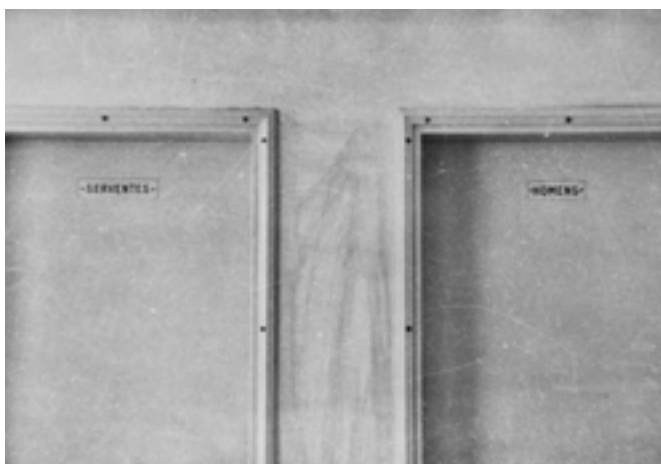


figure 5

“Two worlds: red light district”. Ricardo Rangel. Lourenço Marques (Maputo), 1970. Source: Rangel (2004b)



18. This consideration is based on the work by Newbury (2009) in relation to the documentary practice in South Africa, during the apartheid regime.

Inserting himself in the photojournalism and documentary practices and assuming the position of an observer, who did not intervene in the reality he worked to capture, Rangel at the same time could capture realities with a clear political bias. This way he looked for, in the conventions of the documentary, to take photos of political and social tensions.

According to Price and Wells (2009, 43), “one of the central principles of the documentary aesthetic was that a photograph should be untouched, so that its veracity, its genuineness, might be maintained”. This belief in the connection with the real and of an accurate and authentic vision is validated by a structure as discursive as social and professional. To be documentary, the genre has to establish a relationship between the two contexts of capture and production and the subjects (photographers, photographed and viewers). In addition, documentary photography brings together information and composition. Cartier-Bresson (2015), in his famous text *The Decisive Instant*, states that the photographer, in order to capture this elusive and precise instant, owes more to the intuition, to ordinary knowledge and to the dexterity of the look, than properly to the technical details. For the French photographer, the composition, the framing and the angle are crucial elements for a good photograph; but these are elements already incrustated in the praxis of the photographer who, equipped with a camera, waiting or in a sudden way, triggers the button and captures the *decisive instant*, a synthesis of a moment. But here, too, the excess shows itself. The attempts to control the excess, inside the documentary tradition, is built by the non intervention, by the idea that the real is captured without manipulation, something authenticated by the photographer’s position and the cautions when shooting and developing the photograph.

figure 6

“Pier salon”.
Ricardo Rangel,
Lourenço Marques (Maputo),
1962. Source:
Rangel (2004a)



If in Cartier-Bresson one observes the images of little moments of everyday life as well as of the war's destruction, in Rangel, even in his photos of daily life, the political and social elements of colonialism are always factors to be considered (Figure 6). With his Pentax, the Mozambican searched the oppressed; but the subjects photographed do not appear as victims because Rangel plays with the photographic excess, including it in his practice as a way of forcing the limits of the visible – both inside the colonial regime and the documentary practice.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The comparative exercise in this essay proposed to problematize two photographic genres, having as a starting point the study of two photographic collections, uncovering some of the technical, aesthetic and also ideological differences that Cunha Moraes and Ricardo Rangel incorporate into their practices.

In the ethnographic gaze and documentary traditions there is something that approximates them: a belief in the authenticity and the ability to capture exterior real through the photographic image. This real, however, is conceived and serves diverse uses. In Western anthropology of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th, based on the conventions of pose or of the *style no style*, such images were used as much to produce anthropometric data or as to affirm an ethnographic veracity and authority. The documentary tradition that was shown as dynamic along the history, still follows defined technical and aesthetic conventions in order to value the non interference and the capture of the real daily routine.

As proposed by Foucault (2010), if there is a discursive field, there are ambiguities, resistances and diversities within it. The practice of the *ethnographic gaze* does not have a fixed definition; it is malleable precisely because it englobes several formats, themes, subjects, times and spaces, elements that they aim to control by the rhetorics of a discipline or of an archive.

In this sense, the *ethnographic gaze* of a photographer, such as Cunha Moraes, is in my view an interesting model to reflect on the disciplinary relations, the discursive fields and the archiving practices. Nevertheless, we must place this gaze in critical perspective, considering the problems and specificities of the photographic experiences of the colonial encounters inscribed into the images that such tradition tends to englobe. In the documentary tradition, in spite of a debate more or less cohesive around conventions, practices, and techniques that compose the genre, one needs to take into account the transnationality and location of its uses and circulations. The position and intersectionality of the photographers, the diffusion and circulation of practices and the works in the national and international scenes,

are important aspects not only to discuss issues of canon and consecration but the handling of conventions and engagements.

The issue of the pose and everyday life is a central point of differentiation between both practices – and of their intrinsic ambiguities. In the case of posing and reenacting in the ethnographic gaze, “while its intellectual rationale emerged from the techniques of laboratory science and the desire for the controlled and objective, it was also capable of articulating the opposite, the articulation of subjective desires and the site of intersecting histories” (Edwards 2001, 178). In turn, the documentary tradition, the insistence for a fidelity to the exterior world, to the ordinary flow of life, becomes a problem when in order to reach it, one has to engage with “particular conventions, technical processes and rhetorical forms in order to authenticate documentary.” This weakens the notion of objectivity and then “any claim of documentary could be any more truthful to appearances than others forms of representation” (Price 2009, 73).

If from one side, the ethnographic gaze pursued photographic objectivity by the means of a positivist and racialist vision, employing the control of photography (pose), then, from another side, the documentary tradition interrogated objectivity by using the capture of the daily life without intervention. The belief in an exterior reality prone to be captured, be it for the ends of production of scientific knowledge or for social indictment, oriented both practices. It changed the meaning of what is to be considered real, true and authentic. However, the belief in a real to be learned, a truth to be revealed, and an authenticity to be objective was maintained.

Thinking how these genres operate with conventionalized ideas of real and true is, always, to think about the displacement of these meanings. The invention, inherent to every practice, is guided by convention, at the same time that extends it (Wagner 1981). Committed to an exterior reality but ruled by the conventions of each genre, the photographers transform the understanding of these categories into their practices.

My comparison of Cunha Moraes and Ricardo Rangel, two very distinct photographers, puts in perspective the strategies and visual practices from which their images were produced, viewed, circulated and archived. If, in a first moment, such enterprise seems disconnected, to collate their idiosyncrasies, approaching conventions, intentionality, ways and languages, allows the displacement of the gaze under genres and photographic archives. After all, it grants us to bring into the same analytical plane the past and the colonial experiences, which connect them and, at the same time, radically separate them.

translation

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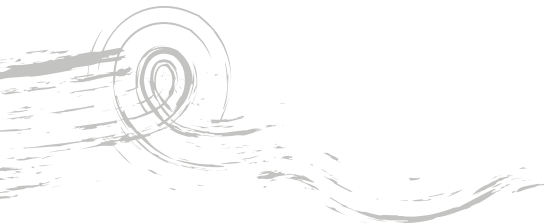
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**AMILTON PELEGRINO DE MATTOS
IBÃ HUNI KUIN**

WHY MAHKU – MOVIMENTO DOS ARTISTAS HUNI KUIN – SING?

ABSTRACT

The article presented is a joint work of the authors cited above. The drawings presented are products of MAHKU – Huni Kuin Artists Movement inspired from the huni meka songs. The *nixi pae* (ayahuasca) songs are the motive for the commentary of Ibã Huni Kuin and his way of “translation” of the language of songs, which he calls “put in the sense” (*pôr ou colocar no sentido*). In the first part we make a brief presentation of the Ibã and collective Huni Kuin artists research and the trajectory of MAHKU, portrayed in the audiovisual essay *The nixi pae’s dream* (Dir. Amilton Mattos, 2015).

keywords

Huni Kuin; Visual anthropology;
Ethnographic film; Art;
Anthropology of music.

PRESENTATION

This text is a presentation of excerpts from material prepared by Ibã and myself with the intention to compose, in brief, the book *É tudo vivo, tudo fica olhando, tudo escutando – O MAHKU – Movimento dos Artistas Huni Kuin* (Its all alive, everything is looking, everything is listening – The MAHKU – Huni Kuin Artists Movement).

The material has been produced in the context of the research project *Espírito da Floresta* (Spirit of the Forest), started in 2009, concurrently in the Indigenous land of Alto Rio Jodão and in the Indigenous Licentiate from the Universidade Federal do Acre (Federal University of Acre) UFAC, Cruzeiro do Sul Campus, the University of the Forest, with intentions to expand into other expressive forms such as music and visual arts.

The *Espírito da Floresta* (Spirit of the Forest) Project brings together three researchers: Ibã Huni Kuin, well-known researcher of the *huni meka* songs who later became an academic in the Indigenous Licentiate; Bane Huni Kuin, Ibã's son and visual artist, currently studying Pedagogy at UFAC; Amilton Pelegrino de Mattos, Indigenous Licentiate professor, Ibã's advisor and research coordinator.

The project begins with the meeting of these three researchers in 2009, on *Terra Indígena Alto Rio Jordão* (Indigenous Land by the Jordão River). The context of this meeting is a step of the Indigenous Licentiate in which the University professors go to the villages in order to guide academics.

From that first meeting, we began to think about how to work in conjunction with the University on the *huni meka* research, the *nixi pae* (ayahuasca) songs. Ibã had initiated with the vocal practice, compilation, and transcription of these songs since the 90's, which culminated in a 2006 publication.

This encounter was marked, as described by Ibã since the start of the research, by defining the problem that motivated the investigation: “and now, what are you going to do, how will you develop your research, what is research?” All of these questions guided us in defining the problem (Mattos and Ibã, 2015b).

When Ibã proposed to connect his knowledge of *huni meka*, acquired principally with his father Tuin in conjunction with the drawings of the songs made by Bane, through an audiovisual and language environment, we were able to define the problem, mobilizing our thought process.

Bane presents his art in the film *O sonho do nixi pae* (The *nixi pae* dream):

When I was little, my father started to research the ayahuasca songs with my grandfather. Then, as I was growing up, I began learning the songs and in my own way began researching with my grandfather, what was important in the musics of the vine. When I had my first vision, I received this force in me to continue learning what my father was learning as well, principally singing. I noticed that my father was already researching with written work and with interviews and I saw that what was lacking, what was being seen exactly in the vision. Therefore, I started the practice of drawing the visions. From there I started to sketch what I was seeing while inside the: yellow, green, each color inside the force, a message.

The research therefore, has its origin in the convergence of three modes of expressions: music from the traditional huni meka songs, in which Ibã is a researcher and specialist; Banes drawings, thought of as a visual translation of the songs; and the video which sought to create a multimedia space to facilitate the interaction of sound and image.

Consequently, our first activities were focused on video production¹, which consisted of presenting the songs, drawings, and a lecture, done by Ibã, of these drawings that translate the huni meka songs.

Part of the *Espírito da Floresta* project, undertaken in 2010-2011 on *Terra Indígena do Rio Jordão (Acre)*, was the activity *Encontro de Artistas Desenhistas Huni Kuin* (Meeting of Huni Kuin Drawing Artists), in which Bane invited young artists to dedicate themselves to drawing the songs (Figure 1 and 2). From the first moment, our intention was to merely produce new images for new films and to deepen the research of the songs.

figure 1
Bane and Amilton, Drawing artists meeting Huni Kuin, 2011.



1. www.youtube.com/watch?v=piO90b2qGDI

As a result of this meeting, we decided in 2011 to organize an exposition of these drawings in Rio Branco. The impact of the exposition flowed through various channels and we were invited to exhibit the drawings in Paris, at the Cartier Foundation for Contemporary Art, where we finalized our first documentary of the event, *O Espírito da Floresta*² (2012).

From there forward, Mahku consolidated itself as a collective of Huni Kuin artists who researched and artistically recreated the visionary songs of *nixi pae* (ayahuasca) and were invited to participate in a series of Visual Arts exhibitions. At the same time, the group began developing its musical research and multi-media participation in academic spaces such as meetings and publications.

The film *O sonho do nixi pae*³ (The nixi pae dream), finalized in 2015, consists of an audiovisual presentation in which Mahku presents its work and trajectory. This work is the realization of LABI - Laboratory of Image and Sound of UFAC Floresta.

figure 2

Txanu Huni Kuin,
Drawing Artists
Meeting Huni
Kuin, 2011.



TO PUT IN THE SENSE

The *huni meka* are songs of *nixi pae* (ayahuasca), sung in the ceremonies in which the mixture is consumed. They are sung in order to “control the force”, in which ‘force’ is referred to as the effects of ayahuasca on its drinkers. There are three types of songs, explained by Ibã: songs that call the ‘force’, the *pae txanima*; vision songs, *dautibuya*; and songs that diminish the ‘force’; *kayatibu*. These shamanic songs, which serve (among other shamanic tasks) to cure. To cure is a complex concept that involves an aesthetic case of perception (Keifenheim, 2002; Mattos and Ibã, 2015c).

2. www.youtube.com/watch?v=zRlbRpoi0cQ

3. www.youtube.com/watch?v=O_eEa3FBTec

Pôr no sentido (Put in the Sense) was the name given by Ibã in order to translate and explain the lyrics of the songs. The idea of *Put in the sense* in relation to the songs, is to decipher its language, which is part of the traditional learning process. The difference here is in combining it with the visual language of Banes research. Ibã presents the songs with the drawings, giving an understanding of a singular poetic art of cosmological vision mapping from the vine *nixi pae*. It was in this way that this articulation of songs-drawings-translation was composed, initially in video form⁴ and now in this book, which we are developing.

The book combines so many modes of expression and different contexts in that it has already started forming on its own: the *huni meka* songs, visual arts of drawing and painting, audiovisual, electronic art, exhibitions in museums and interviews, artistic occupations and installations, murals, artistic collectives, compositions or artistic partnerships and even research of the songs, presentations at meetings of ethnomusicology, publication in texts and articles, debates with researchers who dedicate their studies to Mahku, the *huni kuin* or other diverse themes. We refer to this book with the intention to define the purpose the group and I are elaborating these texts in conjunction with this article that is presented here. It is here we can see the general plan presented in *O sonho do nixi pae*, from the presentation of the *huni meka* research that Ibã started with his father, Tuin Huni Kuin, and the development of this research in its insertion in academia, the principal of them being the expansion of Mahku, a collective of the new generation of *huni kuin* of artists and researchers.

In addition to the renewal to the investigation and in the knowledge produced by the investigation proposed by Ibã, Bane, and the group, combined with the visual translations of the songs done artistically in the form of drawings, paintings and murals, another renewal was presented in an artistic and performatic form in the reworking of these songs into the Portuguese language: it is the combination of these practices that Ibã named *put in the sense*.

From what one can see and hear from Ibã and his father Tuin's research in the film *O sonho do nixi pae*, aside from accompanying the song and its repetition, a practice of exegesis of these songs, intricately coded in poetry, was central in the songs learning. Therefore, the practice of exegesis in the process of learning the songs is not new, continuing to be part of the Ibãs repertoire as song master guiding the new generation of young song researchers. What is characterized as new, is the notion of *put in the sense*, which would be contrasted to linguistic translation, especially those translations dedicated to the indigenous songs such as *huni meka*.

4. See *O sonho do nixi pae*.

Reflecting on the discussions had about the concept, everything indicates that Ibã used expression *pôr* or *colocar no sentido* (place or to put in the sense) in contrast with the idea of translation. These translations of indigenous songs, are generally signed and published by anthropologists, linguists, and other non-indigenous researchers.

Put in the sense, therefore, seemed to question the linguistic translation of the *huni meka* collected by Ibã, as an only destination of his research. Rather it was to question and point out other ways to maintain the focus on the indigenous researcher and in collective work.

In addition to the concept of raising a critique of how such translations eliminate the contribution and creative process which involve indigenous interlocutors, Ibã also references the particularities of this translational process in that occurs in compiling different codes, means, and systems of knowledge, arriving at the point of crossing the boundaries of interspecific knowledge's, that is, knowledge's of different species, such as is the case of *jiboia* (*python*), mythic owner of *nixi pae* and the *huni meka* songs.

The practice of *pôr no sentido*, initially favored the audiovisual space. It is in this space that Ibã exercises and executes this performance which goes beyond words, including gestures, facial expressions, sounds, simulation of images and movements in reference to the songs, utilizing a repertoire often borrowed by performance art in myth telling.

The practice of translation into the Portuguese language has its origin, at least in our readings and research activities, in the guidance of our work with *huni meka*, ayahuasca songs, at the University level, with the idea of creating a language adequate for academic research. The concept initially appeared in small videos, which we started in 2009, compositions of song, design, and translation/exegesis as a reference to its self-translation/exegesis. Hence the oral markers which persist (as an aesthetic proposal) in the text (in which we discuss) of *huni kuin* Portuguese and in those which we are interested in drawing the most attention.

The audiovisual has a fundamental role. Without control of the written language, Ibã is able to express himself in his deterritorialized Portuguese. From there, with time and dominion of performance on screen, Ibã was able to create intermediation, appropriating this language and this audiovisual technology as a means of expression to write his research. This performance and this script are shown in the films *O Espírito da Floresta* and *O sonho do nixi pae*.

Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari (2014) state the proposition of the deterritorialized German of Kafka: only the expression gives us the procedure. We think that this idea will permit us to imagine that this language when appropriated and rewritten by Ibã, is a way to translate, to the extent that it is reintroduced into the space and language of academic publication and aesthetic, as an expression of a procedure. We do not intend to derive however, a literary or linguistic approach of Ibã's speech, the research's of the group or the translation processes presented. On the contrary, we believe that Deleuze and Guattari's book has a lot to contribute to the understanding and development of the thought and proposed anthropological writing of the experiences and activities of Mahku.

Therefore, we discuss assemblage in the sense given to us by Deleuze and Guattari (2014, 38) from the book *Kafka – Toward a Minor literature*. We don't see this truly as a book of literature theory, but as rather as a precursor of the second volume of *Capitalism and Schizophrenia, A Thousand Plateaus* (1995; 1997). In the 1975 book, the authors think of Kafka's deterritorialized Prague German as a way to call *collective assemblage of enunciation*, aiming to define what denominates, jointly with the creator of K, *minor literature*. "A minor literature doesn't come from a minor language, but is rather a minor language, but it is rather which a minority constructs within a major language." (2014, 35).

The collective assemblage of enunciation is one of the three characteristics of minor literature and our interest here is exactly for the fact that there is *no subject* in the sense of *author* by Michel Foucault (2009), *there is only collective assemblages of enunciation*, therefore confusing the categories of *author and hero, narrator and personage, dreamer and dreamt*, or rather, subject of enunciation and subject of enunciate. This is much like the fact that "the political field has contaminated all enunciation" this creates "a condition to express another potential community, to forge the paths to another conscience and another sensibility" (Deleuze and Guattari 2014, 37-39).

It is this collective enunciation that we see inherent in the practice of *colocar os cantos no sentido* with *huni kuin* Portuguese, while also to make MAHKU a collective assemblage which constitutes a minor visual art, in the sense of minor proposed here. "It like saying that 'minor' does not qualify better literature, but the revolutionary conditions in all literature which we call big (or established)." (Deleuze and Guattari 2014, 39). Therefore, minor visual art, as a minor literature, is not a visual code attributed to a minority, something like indigenous or primitive art, but is what a minority does in an established visual code.

figure 3
Yube nawa
ainbu, Mana
Huni Kuin,
2014.



Much like *Ibã huni kuin* Portuguese which breaks grammatical rules, not only in the orality of video, but also when written and in book form, when it becomes academic research, indigenous anthropology, and even in this case, an article published in a scientific review, it occupies an ambiguous place between space attributed to native speech and academic discourse of an indigenous researcher (and artist). In this way, it is an equivalent way to the research of visual expression of Mahku, which are collocated in relation to the system of contemporary western art, which attest to another type of relationship with code and tradition in these visual arts, which creates the possibility to imagine a more complex relationship which is the incorporation of this proposal in the western art system as indigenous art.

Deleuze and Guattari (2014) demonstrate, using Kafka's expressions or those from his commentators, the use of the German language in Prague due to its sparseness, its limited vocabulary, resulted in the merging with other languages such as Czech or Yiddish, which gained political and collective dimensions.

In the place of European languages cited by authors (2014, 47), we have other languages in which to interpret. The very language in which *Ibã* is *colocando no sentido* (put in the sense), creates an overlap of various languages, a unique language for this translation task, that does not exist outside of the specific context of indigenous research. 'Frontier' Portuguese, heavily affected in the last 100 years by northeastern immigrants enslaved for the extraction of latex, includes Spanish that was also spoken by other indigenous groups and even the *huni kuin* of Peru, which circulated the region. This passed through various complexes of

languages of the family tree, until it arrived at the python language or the language of the spirit, which speaks through these poetic visionaries of the songs. “To revise” the language proposed by Ibã for *colocar no sentido* would be to erase the overlap of languages that marks a linguistic and cultural context close to Kafka, noted by the authors referring to the “four languages” (2014, 50). The tension in the linguistic plan in relation to a major language, referred to by Deleuze and Guattari (2014, 39), with the example of German as a *major language*, an academic “language of paper”, which intended to refer to the tension between academic thinking and what could be considered primitive thinking in the research produced by indigenous academics.

To speak incorrectly is what drove Kafka from becoming-stranger to becoming-animal. This is, “to speak wrong”, and noticed here, in various ways, and above all, something more in the the borders of assignment of every variation. Such intensive use of language, utilizing these tensors, is exactly what we have in this assemblage in which Ibã *põe no sentido* (puts in place) the *huni meka* songs, the songs whose mythic origins is attributed to an animal language, a language of the animal, a language of the python, a language of the vine, a language of the spirit.

Wildcard words, verbs or prepositions assuming any type of meaning, conjunctions, exclamations, adverbs, terms that signify pain. I misuse prepositions, abuse of pronominal verbs, the use of wildcard verbs, the multiplications and the succession of adverbs, the employment of painful connotations, the importance of the accent as an interior tension of the word, the distribution of consonants and vowels as an internal dissidence. (2014, 46)

In which the authors conclude:

Wagenbach insists on this: all of these traces of poverty of a language are reunited in Kafka, but take a new creative use... in the service of a new sobriety, a new expressiveness, a new flexibility, a new intensity. (2014, 46-7)

One can say the same in relation to Ibã, with all of these traces of poverty gaining a new meaning when incorporated in the multimedia assemblage which he composes with artistic mediums to note a renewal, in the same line of thought proposed by Lévi-Strauss (Clastres, 1968, 90), renewal in anthropology at its very thought.

TO SING

If you asked me to succinctly present Ibã's work and that of Mahku, I would use a question put forth by ethnologist Anthony Seeger. In order to localize the problem of launching a comparative study about village musicology's, he asks in his work (Seeger 2015): Why Suyá sing?

But in order to grasp the problem posed by the ethnologist, it is necessary to explore the question that at first glance may appear simple. Why sing? This question implies the following problem: what do they do when they are singing? This is: what is singing, what type of meaning does singing have for them? It is therefore, the *problem to go beyond the forms of expression, which we call music in our society* (Seeger 2015, 266).

The question reminds us of the notion of homonymy deduced from the concept of equivocation controlled⁵ by Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (2004; 2015). However, we can perceive that homonymy in this case does not only refer to a concept, a word, and a noun. It is a verb, not just any verb; it is a complex verb of actions/agency, a Cosmo-practice (Cesarino 2006, 107-8; Viveiros de Castro 2015, 206, 226), a system of knowledge.

The translation of the question becomes more interesting if we explore the succinct definition that anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss (Viveiros de Castro, 2015, 30) makes of anthropology: a social science of the observed. From there one could translate the question *why do the huni kuin sing?* To the question: *what musical science are the huni kuin proposing?*

However, returning to Seeger's question: *Why sing?* This is again, a homonymy: when they make *musical science* (but *do not do it like us or on the same terms that we do it*) so what exactly to the huni kuin do?

5. The notion of *pôr no sentido* (put in the sense), the concept of controlled equivocation problematizes a common notion of translation and its presuppositions (Viveiros de Castro 2015, 67). The concept of homonym misunderstands as a proposal of a translation perspective, and therefore a multinaturalist, is contraposed to synonym (coreferential representations) in the section Multinaturalism, but would be better developed along the following section, Images of the savage mind. "The problem consists in knowing exactly what is, can, or should be a translation, and how to do such a task." (Viveiros de Castro 2015, 86).

figure 4
Nai basa
masher, Isaka
Huni Kuin,
2014.



In order to look at Ibã's work we can start with the question: *why do the Huni Kuin Sing?* Translating: *What exactly do the Huni Kuin do when they are singing the huni meka?* Avoiding generalization and understanding it to be an immense question (huni kuin music), which I would only dare to mention in Ibã's company, I could reduce it or fold it into the question: *why does Ibã sing? Why do Mahku sing?* That is: *what exactly is sung here, in the work of Ibã/Mahku?*

Wouldn't the designs produced here by the Mahku artists, jointly with the translations of the songs, be enough to demonstrate the multitude of dimensions of huni kuin singing?

However, when singing unfolds into a practice, and from there extends into a system of foreign knowledge, this leads us to ask: *why do Ibã, Mahku, or the huni kuin sing?* One can bring this beyond what we understand as *song*.

It would be the equivalent to ask yourself: *why does Ibã translate his songs? Why do Mahku draw/paint?* And, hence, proliferating questions which are still expanding from the first question: *why sing?*

We find that such a contrastive sense of singing (in relation to how us whites and academics understand what it is 'to sing') can act as myths, which refer directly or indirectly to music related practices or rituals and other complex agents or performers, among other types of knowledge (Seeger 2015, 266).

If singing is not restricted to what we understand as music in the form of organized music, extending to performance or the production of images and beyond, to other translative or transformational processes, the idea of *pôr no sentido* can be understood here as a more than a linguistic practice, but rather as a Cosmo-practice. As Cesarino says, when dealing with the songs in their Cosmo-practice dimension:

Features such as synesthesia, the parallelism and its stereoscopic effect point to an inter-translative character and transformational of shamanistic aesthetics, unrestricted by the limits of dominion (songs, designs, choreography are in fact separated?) Or of mere style. (Cesarino 2006, 125-6)

However, we must admit that such transformation of this system of knowledge, which we call 'musical' science or native 'musicology', are not exactly new. It has always occurred among the *huni kuin*, stimulated by contact with various societies, and continues to occur with western society, its musicology, but also with other semiotic 'codes' such as visual and audiovisual arts, anthropological thought and ethnographic writing.

Commenting on the rhizomatic character of the post-structuralism dimension of the work of Lévi-Strauss, Viveiros de Castro translates:

The movement of Mythological demonstrations, indeed, is a heterogenetic transversal generalization, where a peoples myth transforms the ritual of a second people and a technique of a third people; where the social organization of some is the corporal painting of others (to travel from the cosmological to the cosmetic without losing political bearing); where the different semiotic 'codes' mutually respond, but always have momentary lags, inversions, and retrogressions arranged along multiple axis; (Viveiros de Castro 2015, 242)

We can extend this native 'musicology' and its updates on song transcription work, translation into the Portuguese language, and visual or audiovisual language.

In this case, *Ibã* is not only an ethnomusicologist but also a shaman. More than that, we can see the mutual implication. *Ibã* is a researcher because he a shaman and a shaman because he is a researcher.

If the *huni meka* can be understood as a mythical saga of Yube Inu, who brought the songs from the python world to the *huni kuin*, to *txana*, the master of the songs would be able to compose his musicology with knowledge brought from other worlds, Academia, art, technology, or Whites.

figure 5
Kape tawā,
Mahku, 2014.



However, it is not a question of submitting their knowledge to western science, even to anthropological science, a common misunderstanding in relation to the work of Mahku research. This is before creating a procedure, tracing a line of retreat that extracts or subtracts from science or even art, both designed for us westerners as images of totality or of unity, multiplicity⁶.

We need to make multiple, not always adding a superior dimension, but, on the contrary, in a simple way, with the strength sobriety, the level of available dimensions where $n-1$ (it is only that one is part of the multiple, always being subtracted). Subtract the one from the multitude constituted; write $n-1$. Such a system could be called a rhizome. (Deleuze and Guattari 1995, 21)

Therefore, as Yube Inu brought this knowledge and transmitted it to his people, this was translated so it could be used to transform their world, always in the direction of multiplicity.

To understand the shamanism of the *huni meka* songs, it is important to understand Ibã's initiative to translate them to Portuguese. In his videos and talks, Ibã constantly calls the *txais* (white friends/allies/associates) to watch over the music. Therefore, the people that should share the music are not restricted to the "huni kuin", or rather, the very notion of *huni kuin* gains a new inflection, integrating possible relations, including composing a *kuin* intensifier.

Thus, the world that must be transformed by this music, in a shamanic Cosmo-practice, is not the world of *huni kuin*, a world without whites (a world which today could be equated to ancient times), but is this world of current day, in which it is no longer possible to live without the presence of whites.

6. The Relationship between the royal state science and the minor science is that it was placed later, in relation to Kafka's work, in *One Thousand Plateaus, Treaty of Nomadology: The war machine, Axiom I, Proposition III*, when they deal with a "minor science" or "nomad".

Today is the 20th of September 2014. We are coming back to discuss the work of the research about the singing of *nixi pae*, which we have already been discussing along the length of this research. Realizing now where the music comes from, what the music means, and what the music's about.

Before starting work with *Espírito de Floresta*, I sing, and then I interpret what the music means, what it is saying.

The first song we will present is *Puke, ainbu dua* vision, and *dautibuya*. *Puke dua ainbu* comes from my father. My father learned from old Pedro Sereno.

Puke are visions, *dua* are animals, which we call *xixi* in our *hatxa kuin*, our language. The Portuguese language calls these *quati*. *Txai puke duake* enters. *Puke* calls the striped fur animals. It's not that, but it comes in vision. This comes in music, complete, of the language. It is us, singing. Connected with the animals called *xixi*, which taught, which came within these visions. This comes with the sacred drink, the *nixi pae*.

Txai puke dua. *Txain* is for these animals. *Dua* is for those owners of powers, which visions come from. Then *puke dua ainbu* is a light, which calls visions to show your work. Also to see relatives, something that's going on in the village or some other faraway place. See your work, your direction, peacefully, in time the *nixi pae* is showing you. So you offer this rhythm: *txai puke dua*.

figure 6
Puke dua ainbu,
Bane, 2007.



Txai puke dua is a very ancient song, which Tuin learned with Pedro Sereno, that Pedro Sereno has learned from his father, with his grandfather. So these songs come from the drink, from *nixi pae*, which has come for a long time. The drink is very old; it is the oldest speech, the speech of *nixi pae*. So that's what we sing. The *txai* is coming with a colored light: green, yellow, and blue, black, white... *Puke* is what transforms the light. This is what we are talking about in the song, in the language of *nixi pae*.

The elements of the music: *txain* comes from the person, until today we speak *txai*, but the music speaks *txain*. *Puke* is the curve that brings the vision, the curve of charms.

Wawani, he is making the symbol of the curve of the visions.

Yuxibuki tsauni are the charms above. *Tsauni* you stay seated, *yuxibu* is the spirit. Tells you that you see vision, telling you that you are on top of *yuxibu*.

Xinan is the thought, *Besua ketan* is the direction in which you will think, you vision dream, thought. *Tae debua tunbi*, *tae* is the foot, *debua tunbi* is where the spirit arrives: from the toe of the foot, rising up the entire body, the vision comes.

Himi is like blood arriving, nailed to the toe. It's a sign, the vision coming to the body. The spirit comes from the toe of the foot, the big toe, rising up, vision, light, until it arrives, *temash kutiri*, to the tip of the head. There's no place to go anymore. It is already following, leaving, diminishing force.

figure 7
Puke dua ainbu,
Bane, 2011.



figure 8
Puke dua ainbu,
Isaka, 2014.



Meke debua tunbi: vision, which enters the foot, also leaves at the very tip of the toe. *Meke* is the toe, *bua tunbi*, is the very tip of the toe, where the vision is leaving. At the same time you are feeling *himi nea ketã*: *himi* is the blood, which is nailed up, bloodstain at the tip of your toe. *Kesha debua tunbi*: *kesha* is the bottom lip; *debua tunbi* is the very tip of the lip in which we paint red. *Himi* is always inside the light, transforms vision like blood. After that, *puke dua* again, a curve the animals *quati* turn into visions.

Ni bani banari: *ni* is the forest. *Bani* is the pupunha planted in the forest giving bunches of fruit. Then comes the monkey: *hushu xinu mixtini*. *Hushu* is white, *mistini* is small, the monkey. *Tetxu penan beime*: looking at all the visions, you come opening, each leaf, but it is not a leaf, each time you open, in the music, and start to look at the neck, and will be opening the whole body. *Nai kankan nea*: *nai* is the sky; *kankan* is the pineapple of the sky, which is always in the sky, wild pineapple that we see in the eye of the stick, always stuck there. Everything that comes calling comes from the highest, from the high. Descending until arrives at the ground. There it gets us, comes inside us. Why do you take the ayahuasca sacrament, this is reason, to feel the force that comes.

Kaxka means that they are opening the mouth, a bunch of monkeys come opening the mouth, screaming. *Kaxka* means the speech of animals. After *kaxka*, comes a woman grinding corn, a noise that's always made. Grinder with corn, a beautiful sound, grating, a charming sound. *Nue sheki nisa*: invokes the sounds of grinding corn. *Beu waketã* means to sit and grind the corn. *Kere sheta ainbu*: *kere* are the teeth. *Sheeta* are the teeth of the women when she opens her mouth, you see the sharpened teeth of the charm, similar to a woman.

figure 9
Puke dua ainbu,
Isaka, 2014.



Now comes the painting of jenipapo. It says that you will be like you had your entire body painted. From the feet until the head, painted with jenipapo: *nane kene nukuni*. *Nane* is the picture of jenipapo, which is arriving in front of you, inside your body, and you are feeling. You are seeing your body painted entirely.

The basket called *Kakan* comes, *kakan pixta*: *kakan* is a basket and *pixta* is small. Beautiful well made basket. You are seeing inside the basket a nambu moqueado. This nambu moqueado in the basket is spinning in the entire world for everyone to feel.

You take the communion together, 10 or 15 people; you sit as if you were staring. It is this that says the charm. At least in the sense that we have, at least you will be dreaming, at least you have that.

That's what speaks the language of *nixi pae*. It is not translation, I am making sense for the students, and my people feel and accompany these drawings. So each element has an explanation, each drawing. This is why we have a drawing showing the music *txai puke dua*.

Puke comes from woman's work, but at the same time, *puke dua* is the spirit of the animals, the *xixi*, that we call *quati*. That's what relates this singing *txai puke dua*.

Like my father learned from Pedro Sereno and later passed onto me, I am singing these songs and explaining.

Today, within the school, it is better to explain this for the students in order for them not to forget what is the word *txai puke dua*. Some people interpret it differently, but I am researching, always deepening the explanation of the elements of the songs.

That's what it means: txain is what we call txai, the music says txain, word from the music. Today we say txai: it is the cousin, the brother-in-law, and the brother. This is the word of a language older than the huni kuin learned: language of the jaguar, python, armadillo, paca, and nambu. They spoke to us by calling: txai. Today everyone is talking a lot of txai. You can't say Manoel, João, etc. better call txai. This language is stronger, this language is older, the language of the spirit called txai. This is why this song is called txai puke duake. Before we were born this came, for a long time coming from the music. With '75 until now, we were prohibited to speak out language. '84

Onwards, we began to speak and share our knowledge of traditional parties. In 2000, we were developing the *hantxa kuin* work, which was coming back from our *hantxa kuin*, through the research of music that I was distributing throughout the community. Then coming back: now comes painting, comes traditional clothes, comes our headdress material, comes speaking to singing, our *hantxa kuin*. Since the beginning we are barred, our language, '75 until now. By 2000, we are barring, principally 2005. 2000 we started to unlock our language. Today now so much, now more open to language, now more has guaranteed, I'm distributing the book.

figure 10
Nai māpu
yubekā,
Mahku, 2014.



Me today, the youth, are celebrating. We didn't even have painting, now we have painting. We couldn't talk within society, now we have the liberty to speak. So the research of huni kuin pedagogy, this is what gives a lot of value and gives a lot of incentive in the present. Travels, in whatever place you speak. Still there is some prejudice, but the same thing happened with prejudice before... we already, more or less, we already had this. Inside of my concern of the community, generally speaking, inside of my community where we are most behind on the barred language. Today it is not barred no. Today we celebrate our language. Returning to our languages ancient music, pedagogy, which we are bringing to the music. And this is what we have... this is what we see. This is what we have to do. I have really taken advantage of the work of my father.

As I was learning like old Romão, time from the seringa plantation, seringa plantation worker (seringalista). My father worked in the seringa plantation. It was really hard. The seringalista did not allow any more parties, no participation. He placed it away, deeply away. My dad was never sad, never forgot, the thing he guarded inside his heart, the secret that was his music. It was prohibited to speak, but he guarded it inside him. But in some corner, he made a party. And that's when we were barred. That's when we were embarrassed to speak, losing our dear important language. We wanted only the language of nawa. The nawa wanted to do away with our knowledge. That's where we went, today we are ashamed to lose everything that we have, weaving, and body painting, even our vital language. That's what we were missing. That's what old Romão gave to old Ibã. From there old Ibã began to transcribe these conversations, the language, everything, and put it in a school. There came our language, guaranteed, that my father researched, developing my research. My father learned his research with his people; he passed it on to me, saved us. A long time ago. Always made some time to hide away and do his party and now the same is passed on to us. Today, now, I am responsible for this pedagogy, this is what I research. And now I am passing it along to my student who comes, the way of developing knowledge. That's what my area of work is, what I research, the research of 32 years working in the forest.

translation

Justyn Robert

Grove

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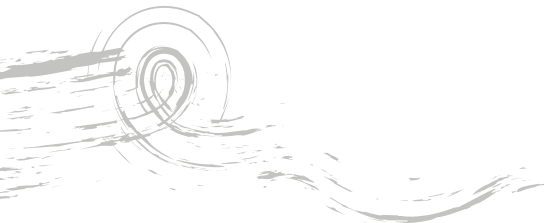


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KNOWLEDGE IN PLAY: THE CREATION OF THE VIDEO GAME *HUNI KUIN: YUBE BAITANA*

ABSTRACT

The objective of this article is to present the experience of the development of the video game *Huni Kuin: Yube Baitana*, by anthropologists, programmers and artists from São Paulo (SP) and the Huni Kuin (Kaxinawá) people of Rio Jordão (AC), aiming to describe its construction process, as well as the knowledge, creativity and transformations undertaken in the project. Through the presentation of issues, such as ways of knowledge circulation, copyright, registration and the use of technology among indigenous peoples, the article intends to question the constitution of the new object, its potential uses and users, as well as certain legal, educational and anthropological implications.

keywords

Kaxinawá; Video game;
Creativity; Technology;
Knowledge.

INTRODUCTION

The article will reflect on the creation of the computer game titled *Huni Kuin: Yube Baitana* (the ways of the *jiboia*¹). As a brief introduction, the project emerged in mid-2012 from readings of ethnographies (Yano 2010, Lagrou 2007, McCallum 1996), with descriptions of the Kaxinawa symbolic universe, from where inspirations for early ideas of the game emerged. The purpose of the project was to develop an electronic game that addresses the culture of the Kaxinawa people (or Huni Kuin², as they call themselves) in order to provide an experience of exchanging indigenous knowledge and memories through the language of video games. The proposal of the game was to provide players an immersion in the Huni Kuin universe, so that they could get in touch with the various knowledge of this people – such as songs, graphics, stories (myths) and rituals – enabling them to circulate through a wider range.

The production of the game was a collective creation of the *nawá*³ (non-indigenous) team of researchers and technicians, as well the Huni Kuin involved in the project, who sought a permanent effort of translation between cultures, media and formats. In this way, trajectories were traveled that range from myths and stories to the scripts of the levels, from Huni Kuin graphics to digital art, from songs to drawings and animations, from cosmology to game mechanics and different forms of gameplay. The project had as a characteristic the interdisciplinarity, since in its execution were integrated knowledge of Anthropology (Amerindian Ethnology), Computer Science, History, Narratology, Audiovisual, Plastic Arts, Digital Arts, Music, Game Design, Animation, Electrical Engineering, Renewable Energies (Solar Energy), as well as knowledge that goes beyond academic boundaries and their disciplinary divisions.

1. The game *Huni Kuin: Yube Baitana* (the paths of the *jiboia*) is an achievement of the game development team Bobware, the audiovisual producer *Etnolhar* and the indigenous collective *Beya Xinã Bena*. The project was supported by the *Rumos 2013/2014* edict of Instituto Itaú Cultural and a small grant from *Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros* (IEB/USP). The work was authorized by *Fundação Nacional do Índio* (FUNAI), *Assessoria Especial dos Povos Indígenas/AC* and *Associação de Seringueiros Kaxinawá do Rio Jordão* (ASKARJ).

2. The *Huni Kuin* reside mainly (about 12,000 inhabitants) in Brazil, in 12 indigenous lands and in urban territory. They are the largest indigenous population in the State of Acre. Another portion, smaller (2,500 inhabitants), lives in Peru. Their language, *Hatxã Kuin*, belonging to the *Pano* linguistic trunk, is practiced widely in five indigenous lands, according to Joaquim Kaxinawá (2014).

3. According to the same author, “the *Huni Kuin* refer to non-indigenous people through the expression ‘*raku nawá*’ (people dressed), that is, people wrapped in cloth, but currently the expression most used to refer to non-indigenous is “*nawá*” (Lima Kaxinawá 2014, 24).

Until the release of *Huni Kuin: Yube Baitana*, in April 2016, the *Huni Kuin* had no games in their portfolio of audiovisual productions. However, they already had relevant film production, such as *Xinã Bena – Novos tempos* (2006), *Huni Meka – Os cantos do cipó* (2006), *Já me transformei em imagem* (2008), *Filmando Manã Bai* (2008), *Katxanawa* (2008), *Nuku Inu Shinupabu Burã* (Nós e os brabos) (2011) and *Nixi Pae: O espírito da floresta* (2012). The Yawanawá people, who live in the same state (Acre), have films like *Yawa: The Story of the Yawanawa People* (2004) and animations - a format closer to videogames - such as *Awara Nane Putane* (2012), and *A gente transforma Yawanawá – A força da floresta* (2013).

To date we haven't found records of other games made with the collaboration of indigenous peoples in Brazil, although there is an incipient production in this decade in other countries. The best-known case is *Never Alone (Kisima Inŋitchuŋa)*, a game made by Upper One Games with the Inuit, people of the Alaska region, and released for major gaming platforms such as Playstation 3 and 4, Wii U, Xbox One and iOS. In addition, we found in Brazil few electronic games (with non-indigenous themes) developed in academic scope⁴, but until then there was no similar initiative in the University of São Paulo.

RESEARCH PATHS

For the creation of the game a preliminary research was carried out in order to articulate possibilities of game mechanics and content elements to native concepts through the study of ethnographies. The dissertation of Ana Yano (2010) was the main reference for this initial elaboration. The concepts of *yuxin*⁵ and *yuxibu*⁶ as worked by Els Lagrou (2007) and the concept of death for the *Kaxinawa* as described by Cecilia McCallum (1996), were also important in the elaboration of the proposal.

4. In *Universidade Estadual da Bahia* (UNEB), for example, *Búzios: Ecos da liberdade and Tríade: Liberdade, Igualdade e Fraternidade* were produced. With the support of the *Universidade Federal de Pernambuco* (UFPE), there is *Xilo*, a game that explores Northeastern Brazilian woodcuts.

5. According to the anthropologist Els Lagrou (2007, 347), "one of the meanings of *yuxin* is the quality or energy that animates matter. In this sense, all living beings "have" *yuxin*. It is the *yuxin* that makes matter grow, which gives it consistency and form. [...] *Yuxin* is a quality or movement that connects all interrelated bodies in this world."

6. According to Lagrou (2007, 59) "The *yuxibu* are plural or the superlative of the *yuxin*, spirit or soul, possess agency capacity and point of view, intentionality. These *yuxibu* beings are not limited by form, they can transform at will and can transform the shape of the world around them."

The game began to take shape in 2012, through meetings with some *Huni Kuin* in southeastern Brazil, both in the academic environment and in rituals of *nixi pae* (ayahuasca), where contacts were established that allowed the project to commence, even without a financial source. In January 2013 the first collective efforts began, which included establishing the work team, fostering indigenous partnerships, drafting proposals for edicts, bibliographic research and initial tests.

Although the game project was an initiative of one person, the construction process was collective. Besides the ethical and anthropological issues involved in this case, it is generally agreed that developing an electronic game in solitude is almost impossible (unlike some non-digital games such as board or card games). In the production of electronic games there are several skills involved, such as game designing, management, programming, illustrating, animation, scripting and sound engineering, which require specialized knowledge. Still, *Huni Kuin: Yube Baitana* can be considered a simple game, with a nucleus of production composed by few people: an anthropologist who acted as producer and game designer, a programmer, a digital artist and five other anthropologists (with the functions of consulting, video editing, sound reconstruction, screenplay and installation of solar energy systems), as well as indigenous researchers, artists and filmmakers (about 30 collaborators).

With the beginning of the development of the game, a GDD (Game Design Document) was created with pertinent information such as: history, gameplay, mechanics, description of levels, conceptual art, characters, enemies, interface, platforms, minimum requirements, controls, etc. From then on the prototyping of the game began, with the programming, implementation of mechanics and tests of digital art and sound. Most of these activities occurred simultaneously (except translation, which took place at a later stage, and soundproofing, at an intermediate stage).

A key part of the game's creation methodology was the four ethnographic incursions to the *Huni Kuin* villages in Acre (in the *Kaxinawa* indigenous lands *Alto Rio Jordão*, *Baixo Rio Jordão* and *Seringal Independência*), where drawing, singing and storytelling workshops were held in order to elaborate the thematic proposal of the game, as well as visual and narrative content production for each level. These incursions lasted an average of one month each and involved the participation of two to five team members. During the workshops, there was a direct involvement of the *Huni Kuin* in the elaboration of the script, choice and narration of the stories, recording of the songs, capture of sound effects, translation into the indigenous language and narration of the cutscenes, as well as drawing the artworks, which are entirely inserted in the game.

figure 1
Illustration
workshop
(Photo: Nadja
Marin, 2015).



The drawings were made by everyone who attended the workshops, without distinction as to their greater or lesser ability in the execution of the activity. Nor did the drawings suffer significant selection of the team, since practically all were included in the game in the form of cutscenes (according to the scenes that each matches in the narratives). With this, a mosaic of drawings of different authors and qualities were formed which maintains a common style, *Huni Kuin*.

Based on the stories chosen by the group⁷, the *Huni Kuin* themselves chose older people, knowledgeable of the contents and details of the stories, to tell them in *Hãtxa Kuin* language and later in Portuguese. In general, narratives in the indigenous language had a significantly longer duration than in Portuguese (averaging more than one hour), with a greater wealth of detail.

In addition, as demanded by the youth of the communities, audiovisual workshops⁸ were held in which participants practiced filming, script preparation and editing of audiovisual content. The short videos made in the workshops, which tell about daily life of *Huni Kuin* culture, such as food, paintings, medicines and fishing, are available on the game's website⁹.

With the experiences and workshops, a considerable amount of ethnographic material was gathered, both in terms of audio (traditional songs and those with new arrangements and instruments, as well as the sound effects), and visual such as photographs, videos and drawings, which have become reference for the creation of objects and animations of the game.

7. The pajé Dua Busê tells that the *Huni Kuin* people have more than 50 stories, of which five were chosen.

8. Directed by anthropologist Nadja Marin (USP and University of Manchester).

9. The game is inserted in an electronic platform (<http://gamehunikuin.com.br>) that contains complementary information in order to promote a deepening in the topics covered, besides to take advantage of the research material and to avoid an overload of written material inside the game. In addition to the free download of the complete game, videos of storytelling, images of the development process and presentation of project participants etc. are also available on the site.

figure 2
Song recording
(Photo: Alice
Haibara, 2014).



The chants (in *Hatxã Kuĩ* language), which are fundamental to various activities of village life, such as in *nixi pae* rituals (*huni meka*), planting and harvesting (*katxanawa*), were used in the audio composition of the levels and on occasions of the onset of the “special powers”. A partnership was agreed with the Norwegian-Brazilian band, *Amazon Ensemble*¹⁰, which allowed the use of their songs on the game’s soundtrack.

The material carried out in the workshops was taken to São Paulo to edit and format images and sounds in order to make them insertable in the game. This work involved animation, music editing and creation of sprites, backgrounds and sound effects. In the same way, it was necessary for some Huni Kuin to come to São Paulo – especially Isaka¹¹, on three occasions, but also Ângelo Ikamuru and Tadeu Siã – in order to work in extra production of audio material (storytelling and recording songs in studio), drawings and the translation of the whole content for Hãtxa Kuin.

THE GAME

Although games are now one of the most popular forms of entertainment, there is no way to understand them as emptied forms of meaning. To ignore this is to lose sight of the extent of its effects. Electronic games have practical effects on the tasks of creating meanings and can be powerful tools for the circulation of content. In a contemporary world scenario, where games of large companies (mostly North American, Japanese and European) dominate the market and there’s little space for independent creations, we saw the opportunity to develop a game with Brazilian indigenous themes. Given this, developing content

10. This group is also involved in this movement of new creations with the Huni Kuin. They already had developed a project in the same village (São Joaquim / Center of Memories) where the game’s workshops took place, which originated a CD titled *Mae Inini – Power of the Earth*, signed by *Amazon Ensemble & Huni Kuin People*.

11. The narration of the cutscenes was made by Isaka in a home studio in the city of São Paulo. The whole translation of the game from Portuguese to Hãtxa Kuin was also made by him.

related to social movements and local themes is both a challenge and an opportunity provided by this new time, in which there is, for example, greater accessibility to game development engines¹² and a possibility of dissemination through social media without high costs.

The game *Huni Kuin: Yube Baitana* is presented in two-dimensional visual (2D), side-scroller¹³ platform and developed through a free version of *Unity3D* software. The game is narrated in the *Hãtxa Kuin* language and subtitled in four languages: Portuguese, English, Spanish and in the native language. It contains five stories of the *Huni Kuin* people: *Yube Nawa Aĩbu*, *Siriani*, *Shumani*, *Kuĩ Dume Teneni* and *Huã Karu Yuxibu*, each containing several levels, which correspond to the scenes of each story.

figure 3
Game screen
(Illustration:
Talita Hayata).



Huni Kuin: Yube Baitana works on computers running Windows or Mac OS (both desktops and notebooks, but not on mobile devices such as mobile phones and tablets). It has a mouse and a keyboard (optional joystick) as controls. To play its necessary to walk with the character (forwards and backwards), jump on platforms and obstacles, pick up items like food, medicines and pieces of drawings [*kene*]; escape from thorns and thornbushes; jump over holes and wooden trunks; hunt tapirs [*awa*], pacas [*anu*], deer [*txashu*], wild pigs [*yawa*] and birds [*isku*], shoot arrows [*txara*], beat with the club [*binu*] and hurl the spear [*haxĩ*], among other movements and confrontations with special characters.

12. Seven years ago, the development kit for PlayStation 3, for example, cost about \$ 500,000. The *Unity3D* version we used from 2013 to 2016 was free.

13. There are other games known in this genre, such as *Super Mario Bros.* (1985) and *Sonic: the Hedgehog* (1991).

One of the central points of the game's functioning is the approach of the character's relationship with domains (such as water, forest, sky) from Kaxinawa cosmological conceptions of *yuxin* and *yuxibu* (Lagrou 2008), which involve matters related to the corporeality, materiality and spirituality of this people. To introduce these terms, the anthropologist Kenneth Kensinger (1995 *apud* Lagrou 2007, 348) maintains that:

Yuxin is the life force, agency, consciousness and intentionality of every living being. It is both one and multiple and no one can ever name these ephemeral beings as they permeate the body they animate. In this embodied state the *yuxin* is perceived as a body. It is the body of the person who thinks, their heart, their fingers and their skin that know.

Déléage (2005 *apud* Yano 2010), in general, proposes that it is a category of perception and/or ontological: everything that exists is permeated by matter and *yuxin*, and the specificity of living beings, spirits and animals – results from the relationship between the two. The living have a body and innumerable *yuxin*, but they are, fundamentally, body [*yuda*]; the *yuxin*, in turn, possess a body, but they are, above all, *yuxin*, which implies their capacity for transformation (Keifenheim 2002a, 99-100).

According to Yano (2012) and Lagrou (2009), the body of the Kaxinawa person is composed of a series of *yuxin*, in which stands the *beru yuxin*¹⁴ (located in the iris), which travels separately from the physical body (of flesh and bone) in dreams and in *nixi pae* journeys, and is definitely detached when the individual dies¹⁵. Compared with the concept of *yuxin*, Els Lagrou (2007, 351) states that:

Being *yuxibu* means possessing extraordinary transformative powers. These animals can change shape when they want and then be seen not only as animals when they are actually humans, but as beings who are more than human (p. 351). They are demiurges, masters of transformation. They are *yuxibu* because they are more *yuxin* (agency, power) than body and therefore need not be connected to a specific body to act in an *embodied* way in the world.

14. According to Agostinho Ikamuru (*apud* Lagrou 2007, 316), “the *bedu yuxin* is our thought. Our weight is due to the fact that we eat meat, if not, we would be light. You think of Belgium and it's already there. This is your *bedu yuxin*. But we have to travel to see. The *bedu yuxin* moves through the air. This is what the vine (*ayahuasca*) teaches us”.

15. Haibara (2016, 61) points out that this *yuxin* would not detach itself in dreams and sessions of *nixi pae*, but only at the moment of death.

figure 4
Level selection
screen, Rio Jor-
dão (Illustration:
Talita Hayata).



One of the main mechanics of the game consists in controlling two *yuxin*, *beru yuxin* (iris *yuxin*) and *yuda baka yuxin* (body of flesh and bone *yuxin*), which act differently in the world, as shown by Els Lagrou:

The *yuxin* of the body is designated *yuda baka yuxin* (body shadow *yuxin*). It is the shadow, the reflection of the person in the water or in a mirror, the image captured by the photograph of people and things. During the day or at night, the world known by the eye *yuxin* is a world of images. For something to become *embodied* knowledge, other senses should help to root this perception of the surrounding world through the skin, the ears, the hands, the body (Lagrou 2007, 312).

Thus, in the game there is specific food for the *yuxin* of the body [*yuda baka yuxin*] and for the *yuxin* of the eye [*beru yuxin*]. Edible foods – such as banana [*mani*], manioc [*atsa*], peanut [*tama*], corn [*sheki*], papaya [*barã*] and meat [*nami*] – restore the character's flesh and bone body [*yuda baka yuxĩ*] life force. “Medicines” [*dau*], such as the vine [*huni*], queen leaf [*kawa*], tobacco [*dume*] and ashes [*mapu*] of certain trees strengthen the *beru yuxin*, enabling pajelance skills when the player triggers the “special”.

To trigger the effect of the *nixi pae* and get access to the world of *yux-ibu*, the player has to join both beams of vine and queen leaves. In the case of *dume deshke* medicine, it's necessary to collect tobacco and ashes from trees such as *murici*, *cumaru* [*kumã*] or *tsunu*. In altered states caused by the character's ingestion of such substances, gravity acts otherwise (less, in the case of *nixi pae*, and with more pressure, in the case of *rapê*), their attacks have increased power and their vital energy is restored at a greater speed, precisely because of the medicines' agency.

There are chiefs [*ibu*¹⁶] of levels, such as the boa *Yube*, who can only be defeated through the use of such substances, since such beings possess such strong regenerative properties that, in case of “normality”, would be invincible.

In the *Huni Kuin* world, everything that is alive, such as animals, plants and humans, belongs to entities called *Yuxibu*¹⁷, such as the “owner of the waters” [*Yube*], the “owner of the sky” [*Inka*], or the “owner of the Forest” [*Ni*], for example, embodied by animals such as the boa [*yube*], the hawk [*nawa tete*] and the jaguar [*inu*], and trees such as samaúma [*shunu*], among others. We tried to operate a translation of this concept for the game mechanics. Thus, if the player draws much vital energy from the forest, it will leave *Yuxibu* mad. The character, in this way, must maintain a good relationship with *Yuxibu* (not killing too many animals in a short time), otherwise the latter will take revenge, turning “passive” animals into enemies, making their flesh rotten and elevating their attributes such as life points, attack and range.

The graphics [*kene*] received by the *Huni Kuin* women in dreams and visions (Lagrou 2007, 193) were also used in the constitution of the mechanics. In the game, the character can collect pieces of *kene* scattered through the stages, assemble them as puzzles and thus gain access to certain items, such as handicrafts (bracelets, bands, vests, gowns, etc.), which give several bonus attributes to the character.

STORIES OR MYTHS?

From the beginning there was a long discussion about the game script. There were basically two proposals: one focused on the chronological history of the indigenous peoples in Acre (which we will call a *historical* approach) and another on the stories of the ancient [*Shenipabu Miyui*], which we will call here a *cosmological* approach. It was previously known that this decision would have a decisive impact on the project, such as functions of the game and the production of specific assets (human beings, urban settings, etc.).

16. Creator, parent, guardian, owner (Lagrou 2007, 215).

17. According to Haibara (2016, 40), “the notion of ‘owner’ or ‘master’ is very present among several Amerindian thought regimes (see for example Seeger (1981), Gaillois (1988), Viveiros de Castro (1992), among going beyond the expression of only a relation of property or dominion, these categories designate modes of relationship, which are constituents of Amazonian sociality and characterize interactions between humans, between nonhumans, between humans and nonhumans, and between people and things (Fausto 2008, 329).”

The first proposal then would be to base the game's script on the narrative of the so-called "five times"¹⁸, as portrayed in the film by Jose de Lima Kaxinawá (Zezinho Yube), *Já me transformei em imagem* (2008). This is a history generally experienced by the indigenous peoples of Acre related to the process of colonization and syringe extraction. We can summarize the five times as follows:

1. *Time of the hut*: life in the village before contact with the *nawa* (white man).
2. *Time of the raids*: invasion of the rubber tappers, war between the different ethnic groups and the colonizer.
3. *Time of captivity*: exploitation of indigenous labor in the rubber plantations;
4. *Time of rights*: fight with the National State to achieve specific rights for indigenous peoples, such as demarcation of land.
5. *Present time*: strengthening of culture, return of rituals, differentiated education, struggle for land increase.

This approach would emphasize a traditionally more educational character on the history of the indigenous peoples of Brazil and, in theory, would have a greater appeal for appropriation in conventional schools as complementary material, especially in Acre. However, during the first workshop on the indigenous land, a meeting was held to define the focus of the general roadmap in which the choice was made for the cosmological approach, *ie* the stories of the ancient [*shenipabu miyui*]. Then each one of the stories was chosen: *Yube Nawa Aĩbu*¹⁹ (Woman-Enchanted Boa), *Siriani*, *Shumani*, *Kuĩ Dume Teneni*²⁰ (Tobacco Smoke) and *Huã Karu Yuxibu*²¹.

18. The formulation of the five times is the product of a training course, in which many indigenous teachers were present and therefore it spread in several villages. Such denomination indicates the effects of the encounter with our History, that is, it is an indigenist construction and not the effect of a common experience. This terminology, therefore, has a very recent history and is linked to the work of the NGO *Comissão Pró-Índio* (CPI/AC).

19. Versions of this story are also published in other works (Langdon 1996, Ibã Kaxinawá 2006, Lagrou 2007, Haibara 2016).

20. A version of this story is also published in *Shenipabu Miyui – história dos antigos* (2000).

21. A version of this story is also published in *Una Hiwea – Livro Vivo* (2012).

So history that we came, by chance, emergence of the *ayahuasca* beverage. I'm going to do this game with *ayahuasca*, because we Huni Kuin and even the *txai* already can tell this story. Do then, to work five times will change. And we also have singing. Today we organize the music, there is the geometry too, the *kene*, body paintings, there is weaving, right? So that's a game, as we're talking about animation game, I think that's what gives us the power to even develop our own knowledge of doing. [Ibã Sales, interview, 2013].

Both the Huni Kuin and the *nawa* team participated in the process of choice. We mainly interfere in predicting which stories would be most interesting to be adapted to the language of video games. For example, stories that have more dialogue and less action might not be so much fun in the game. Others already feature more diverse elements, such as animals and enchanted beings, as well as parts of the storyline that open up different gameplay possibilities. With the choice of stories, a detailed script of each of the stages was elaborated with the participants of the workshops, based on the long narratives of the elders, both in Hãtxa Kuĩ and in Portuguese.

The script of the game as a whole and the stories are related to the processes of acquiring Huni Kuin knowledge. In the first sequence of levels, corresponding to the story of *Yube Nawa Aĩbu*, the character learns to trigger the special power of the vine, the *nixi pae*. In the second *Siriani* story, in addition to using the club, the player learns about the graphics patterns [*kene*]. In the third story, which tells the adventures of a little enchanted forest being named *Shumani*, he also learns about the use of annatto [*mashe*] and jenipapo [*nane*] paintings. In the fourth story, *Kuĩ Dume Teneni*, the player learns to use spear and gather tobacco and ashes from trees to prepare *rapé*, so he can use his power to confront forest animals like the harpy eagle [*nawa tete*], the black monkey [*isu*], the Giant Owl [*Pupuwan*], the Scorpion-King [*Nibu Baka Pianan*] and other enchanted beings such as *Yuxin Shurubu Pianan* and *Pinu Taka Pinushun*. In the last story, *Huã Karu Yuxibu*, the player learns about the emergence and classification of medicinal plants and the secret of immortality.

Such stories have no logical sequence or explicit interconnection with each other (except certain versions of *Yube Nawa Aĩbu* and *Huã Karu Yuxibu* that would amend each other, but this is not the version present in the game). Amerindian narratives are generally not thought or executed in linear thread, but when one passes to our forms of expression, be it a text, a game or a film, the multitemporal, multilocal and multivoical aspects tend to be eliminated in favor of linearity. We thus create a general narrative related to important knowledge for the formation of

figure 5
Pajé Dua Busē
organizing
the drawings
(Photo: Nadja
Marin, 2015).



the Huni Kuin person (true person), in which we deliberately link one story in the other. The need to learn about the vine, in the first level, for example, becomes fundamental to advance in the other levels, since the player will need to use this knowledge to proceed. In the same way it happens with the assembly of the *kene* (in the second level), etc.

In the plot of the game, the main characters are a couple of twins who were conceived by the *boa Yube* in dreams and inherited its special powers. A young hunter and a small artisan, throughout the game, go through a series of challenges to become a *pajé* and a master of drawings [*kene*], respectively. In this journey, they acquire skills and knowledge of animals, plants and *yuxin*; they enter into communication with visible and invisible beings of the forest, to become, finally, true human beings [*huni kuin*].

One of the challenges of drafting this script was to escape the false opposition between myth and history. Thus, in the form that the game is presented, the character begins in the present time, where everyone is in a village, wearing clothes and playing musical instruments like acoustic guitar and maraca. In the sequence, the character is transported to the plane of the stories through the blow of a *pajé*, where he acquires knowledge and returns, later, to the present time. In this way, we try to propose that the agency of myths, which are alive in everyday life, are responsible for updating relationships.

So first thing I wanted to thank about the relationship of our *Shenipabu Miyui*, which is so important, so sacred, of

every word, every story that comes bringing these writings from the source, from the emergence to this day. [...] Both this *Yuxibu* who's here together, we'll thus congratulate *Kuĩ Dume Teneni*, to congratulate *Huã Karu Yuxibu*, [...] That's *Yuxibu*. *Yuxibu* transforms some things. Some things of joy. Not a few bad things. Brings healing... That was a cure, yeah, a huge joy. – Tadeu Siã, speech, 2016.

The most notable effect of creating this game is certainly not to freeze myths, to supplant other variations nor to change “traditional” forms of movement in the villages. First, because the only option to actually create something would be to rely on one of the existing versions of the stories²². Second, because we understand that the version contained in the game does not currently have the power to significantly change the circulation dynamics of such knowledge in the indigenous lands – considering the limited number of computers, the lack of familiarity in handling these technologies, among other factors. In this case, the versions coexist and communicate, rather than supplant themselves.

TO WHOM DOES KNOWLEDGE BELONG?

The development of the game raised several questions, such as the authorship and authority of the knowledge present in the game. It's clear that each story present in the game is not the same as any oral version of such stories (such as those told by the elders), but another version, in the sense indicated by Lévi-Strauss in *Mythologiques* (1964). In the game, the stories (presented in the form of levels) are transformations of a story told in a specific time and moment. The argument, then, of when collective benefits are required due to the use or appropriation of a given story, presupposes an exclusive domain and usufruct over knowledge – the knowledge of “the story”, in singular. We might thus think that such history, as a general and abstract term (if it may exist), would not belong to a village, a river (Jordão) or even a people (Huni Kuin). It should be remembered that other Pano-speaking peoples (such as the Yawanawá, for example) narrate very similar stories, such as the origin of the use of the vine [*uni*].

However, in practice there is an intense dispute over the authorship of these knowledge. *The Huni Kuin Federation*²³ at a given time of meetings and discussions about the game claimed that the stories contained in the

22. Unless the proposal was to present several versions of the “same” myth, what we didn't find interesting in terms of gameplay and content.

23. The *Federação do Povo Huni Kuin do Acre* (FEPHAC) is an organization created with the intention of representing the Huni Kuin of the 12 indigenous lands in Brazil (although this “representation” is questionable).

game would belong to “the entire Huni Kuin people”, requiring extensive consultation and extension of benefits to all Kaxinawá indigenous lands, independently of the direct collaboration of each people with the project. After several conversations, which we clarified the lack of resources and time to achieve such coverage, the Federation’s council requested only a few copies of DVDs for distribution to other indigenous lands, as well as participation in eventual negotiations involving the sale of the game²⁴.

We then defined that the copyright of the game belonged to the collective *Beya Xinã Bena* (New Time Culture), a group formed by the indigenous participants during the first game’s workshop in 2014. Such a collective, which does not yet have a formal registration, was founded with the aim of collecting, promoting and disseminating the audio-visual productions (linked to digital technologies) of the Huni Kuin of Rio Jordão. This can be defined, therefore, as a collective of indigenous audiovisual productions. The name of the game (*Yube Baitana*) was also decided in a meeting, by decision of the group.

The participation of the São Paulo team in the group was oriented in the sense of offering support and training to the indigenous people who wish to create, edit and display their own materials, assisting them in organizing and providing content during the training courses and workshops held in the villages and also when they travel abroad. The team has created a channel on *Vimeo*²⁵ and other on *YouTube*²⁶ where such productions are hosted and available for free.

INDIGENOUS PEOPLES AND TECHNOLOGY

Although it has become common to hear cries of “live the videogame!” during the sessions of *nixi pae* on the occasion of the launch of the game, it is necessary to first clarify that the great majority of Huni Kuin is unaware of what a video game is. Possessing objects such as computers, recorders, projectors, camcorders and cameras is still a reality for few people, even though there are now a considerable number of cell phones in the villages. In fact, in most of them there isn’t even electricity.

24. According to Dominique Gaillois (personal communication), it is one thing to think to whom the stories belong from considerations about how they circulate; and another thing is to know who and what these “who” are demanding in return. These are two very distinct things, which tend to be confused. One thing is the anthropological issues related to authorship, another are the effects of the notions of copyright and image rights, also different things and that generate complexities in very different terms than the questions of authority, which can be analyzed anthropologically.

25. <https://vimeo.com/hunikuin>

26. https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCOFStNKXSrcAmykJ3Gai_Cg

With this project, the São Paulo's team bet on a combination of cultural elements and practices with certain digital technologies, aiming to offer better conditions for the indigenous people to develop and promote their work. It's frightened that this is an earlier demand of the Huni Kuin themselves, who have directed efforts on several fronts for this purpose. At the end of 2015, for example, due to political pressure in FUNAI and in the Ministry of Culture, satellite internet points were installed in three villages²⁷ (*São Joaquim*, *Três Fazendas* and *Lago Lindo*), while in the municipality of Jordão, non-indigenous (and also indigenous) residents have very limited access to this type of communication.

THE ETHNOGRAPHIC PACT

Different from the books *Una Hiwea – Livro Vivo* (2012) and *Una Isĩ Kawaya – livro da cura do povo Huni Kuĩ do Rio Jordão* (2014), which were originated from the idea of a *Huni Kuin* – in this case the pajé Agostinho Manduca – one of the initial concerns was whether the project to create a video game would make sense for this indigenous people. After all, how to talk about video games with them even if there isn't even electricity in the villages? Would they glimpse something with the project? After all, why would the Huni Kuin be interested in an electronic game?

During the field experience, we've quickly noticed a Huni Kuin fascination with technology. In many cases we've heard the following expression: "We, the Huni Kuin, own the science. You, the *nawa* (white people), own technology." From a broader perspective, the alliances that are built between these two peoples, as in the case of projects and journeys related to pajelance, open the way to these exchanges of knowledge and instrumental between "the science of the forest" (medicines) and "the instruments of the white people" (technologies).

A kind of *ethnographic pact* (Kopenawa and Albert 2015) was then built around the implementation of allegedly long-lasting benefits²⁸ in the villages. Considering that the Huni Kuin who participated in the project are co-authors of the game, it was decided to reserve a part of the money for the development of the game for the installation (and maintenance) of solar energy systems in the villages. This was a demand of the local people themselves, who chose it as one of their main needs today, along with water piping and the construction of artesian wells. So, because of this project, we had the opportunity to install solar energy systems in nine villages, lighting houses, creating small points of culture and

27. When we're there for the last time, only one of them (*São Joaquim*) was working.

28. Except in very specific cases (such as the payment of the translation services and narration in the indigenous language that were made in the studio), no cash was used.

restoring those that already existed in the region. The idea was also to strengthen local productions with so-called digital technologies. Thus, both training workshops were offered in the two construction workshops of the game and at the time of its launch, training courses in audiovisual (filming and editing), introduction to computer science and maintenance of solar energy systems for the participants.

This dream is wonderful to me. For me it's a joy. When we got this point, it was almost all dead. Battery was over; it wasn't working anymore. [...] That we don't want because the point of culture cannot die. While the Huni Kuin people are alive, our culture is alive. Culture point is us, it's our culture. This equipment is brought to help register and do some things to show to the world. - Tadeu Siã

Due to the weather and resources, and analyzing the proportions of the region, the seven central villages²⁹ were chosen: *Novo Segredo*³⁰ (group 1), *Três Fazendas* (group 2), *Novo Natal* (group 3), *Boavista* (group 4), *Astro Luminoso* (group 5), *São Joaquim / Memories Center* (group 6) and *Lago Lindo* (group 7). The village *Coração da Floresta*, led by the pajé Dua Busê, was also benefited. Where there were already culture points (from the Ministry of Culture via *Rede Povos da Floresta*), cases of the villages *Novo Segredo*, *Três Fazendas* and *São Joaquim*, it was up to our team to restore them (installing new batteries, replacing burned charge controllers and power inverters), equipment (cameras, notebooks, projectors and recorders) and install previously non-existent³¹ lighting channels. Where there was no culture point, the effort was to inaugurate initial versions, installing in each village a basic solar energy system, with solar panels, batteries, controllers, inverters; as well as the illumination of houses.

figure 6
Maintenance
of solar ener-
gy systems'
workshop
(Photo: Nadja
Marin, 2015).



29. In *Jordão* region today there are 34 villages, which are spread in three indigenous lands.

30. This is not *group central*, but *Pão Sagrado* village.

31. The project for the creation of *Pontos de Cultura* of the Brazilian government privileged the installation of computer equipment, such as desktop computers, and not the villages' illumination, so that the houses were left without lighting (except the house of the culture point itself).

On their own initiative, residents promptly named the newly created “culture point”. It’s estimated that this project contributed to the illumination of one hundred houses in eight villages, in which 500 to 1,000 people live, as Tadeu Kaxinawá states:

Here on earth, we need this important partnership to give more strength to this work, how to work on audiovisual, as we call the point of culture. What is *culture point*? I told all this young men to immediately name each point of culture where there’s light, you can already put the name of each culture point. But from now on, the *Rede Povos da Floresta*, Ministry of Culture has approved 150 points of culture, nowadays, txai Ailton Krenak is in this area moving there in our Acre, in Brazil. So we’re here with the boa, with this way there, to receive this equipment, to bring another three or four where it was installed that light, we will bring this equipment. Our fight is to bring, with Ministry of Culture, with this project. I’m also participating as a delegate from the Ministry of Culture with *Huni Kuin* people here from Rio Jordão. I was chosen, signed... Txai Benki, me and Txai Iskubu, from Breu. So I’m not following in Brasilia, but we are here connected, some things Yuxibu, *nixi pae* and everything, we are following and searching. With this struggle, with that bit of my knowledge that I’ve committed, there’s Internet. In three villages in the indigenous lands there’s Internet. It’s committed that we had this training, and Josias, I and all of us have been following this. If I had not been a filmmaker, if I had not been aware of this area of work, this video game job had not happened. You know that the boss, Siã, did not allowed: “We do not want the video game to happen, this project looks like it’s a children’s project, yeah, and we’re not kids,” he said. “No, this is not a child. This project for me is important. It’s bringing information, it’s bringing some solar panels from the indigenous lands ... So, Siã, what do we need? Do we take alcohol or do we take important person to put light on?”, “No, that’s important. We will do it because we have school, we have the children to work”. Until Siã released, together with us, this project happened. So the project brought something important for us, for students, for women, for young people. [...] In my view, that’s it. [...] For me it was very good, it was very *kuxipa*, the boa, *Yuxibu*, *Huã Karu*, *Ikamuru*, all of us, *nixi pae*, our health, our joy, the *Huni Kuin* encounter. [...] This work was not only for me from here in Memories Center, it was for three indigenous lands, for 3,019 people, this very important work. - Tadeu Siã

HOW MUCH IS KNOWLEDGE WORTH?

Since the first moment, it was said in the villages that the project would not generate a salable product. The ethnographic pact itself was built on this agreement. However, in the assemblies during the game's launch, a discussion about a possible sale of the game came back to the fore, since in the project of the book *Una Isĩ Kayawa* it was decided, precisely in an assembly in the event of its local launch, for its open marketing.

The São Paulo's team never had the intention of launching *Huni Kuin: Yube Baitana* commercially. What made possible its free availability was the approval of the project in the *Rumos 2013-2014* edict of *Instituto Itaú Cultural*, and a small amount provided by the *Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros* (IEB-USP) that funded part of the first trip, allied to a team (both *nawa* and *Huni Kuin*) who worked most of the time with low or no remuneration. Although there was no prohibition of these edicts about a possible sale of the game, there was an active proposal of the São Paulo's team in refusing to sell it. In line with *free software* and *creative commons* license ideals, the team's primary goal was to circulate game content as widely as possible without many barriers (such as physical or digital purchase). Nor the *Fundação Nacional do Índio* (FUNAI) authorized for marketing at any time. Another reason was to not give space for production of illegal copies since, according to data from the *Fórum Nacional contra Pirataria e a Ilegalidade*³², 82% of games in Brazil are pirated.

REGISTER AND TRANSFORMATION

Some news³³ that reported the game wrongly stated that its main objective would be “to preserve the culture of the indigenous people”. Without contacting the production team and ignoring some indigenous issues, these journalists ended up reversing the meaning of what was tried to communicate. The discourse of cultural preservation (and consequently of cultural assimilation) is thus very present in several dimensions of this field, whether it is the speech of journalists, indigenous people themselves or people who work more directly with them, or even in school materials of “cultural” or “socio-environmental” dissemination.

At stake here are two distinct conceptions of *culture* and *knowledge*: one that deals with the language of cultural preservation and the other with a language of creation / transformation, this one used in the sense, for example, by Roy Wagner (1981). In the perspective we assume, the game

32. <https://tecnoblog.net/147784/jogos-piratas-brasil-82-do-total/>

33. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/computer-game-indigenous-brazil_us_56d73694e4b0bf0dab343995?9ozuxr

doesn't have the objective to preserve or save anything, but to create something new from the transformation of existing elements. If we recognize that culture is in constant motion, registering, on the other hand, supposes in some dimension an attempt at *objectification* (Wagner 1981). Thus, even though this game may be an initiative, as the Huni Kuin says, for "strengthening" the culture, this does not necessarily imply some form of preservation, but as the anthropologist Adriana Testa reminds us, of translation:

Manuela Carneiro da Cunha explains that the task of translation is not mere tidying up; it's not a matter of "*keeping the new one in old drawers*" (1998, 11), but of relating different codes that are not equivalent. Therefore, although the translation is often associated with the image of the traveling shaman, it is not an act of transportation, nor the transposition of meanings, but an act of creating from the relation between different ones, and, like Luis Fernando Pereira (2008) suggested, the construction of an experience (Testa 2012, 171-172).

In the field, it is common to hear (as in the meeting with the then president of FUNAI) accusatory cries of the indigenous people about an alleged "robbery" or "piracy" of "their culture." This kind of understanding may lead one to believe that a culture can be withdrawn from a place (then stolen) and taken by someone to another place, leaving the "original" place emptied. In the midst of this debate, the presence of the *kene* (Kaxinawá graphics) in the game was also subject of controversy, considering the *patrimonialisation* process currently under way at IPHAN (Maná de Lima *et al* 2014). Despite the extensive consultation processes carried out by FUNAI, there's still a lot of confusion and misunderstanding around this process, which has paralyzed several actions. Again and again, we hear from the Huni Kuin that "the *kene* is paralyzed" or that one cannot touch the *kene*, often because of fear of "misuse", which IPHAN itself does not regulate. As Maná de Lima *et al*(2014, 277) point out, there is a "difference between the idea of 'protection', the term most commonly used by the World Intellectual Property Organization and the *Instituto Nacional de Propriedade Intelectual*, and 'safeguard', a term most preferably used by organs linked to work with culture, such as Unesco and Iphan" (Carneiro da Cunha 2005, 16-17).

According to these authors, the idea of "safeguarding", taken by IPHAN to the villages, was subject of discussions in which misunderstandings proliferated. In its electronic address, IPHAN defines "safeguarding a cultural property of immaterial nature" as "supporting its continuity in a sustainable way. It is to act in the sense of improving the social and ma-

terial conditions of *transmission* and *reproduction* that make possible its existence” (Maná de Lima *et al* 2014, 231-232). However, Testa states that the concept of transmission, such as that used by IPHAN:

[...] emphasizes the idea that something is being transferred, but not the ways of doing or making. The transmitted object is seen as enclosing within itself the result of a production process. [...] This notion is operative regardless of whether it's material or immaterial. In this scheme, the processes of transformation and creativity developed in the experiences of transmission are of little interest, after all what is sought is to safeguard a supposed originality or inalterability of what is a heritage to be transmitted and inherited (2012, 185).

In order to avoid this disagreement around the *kene*, we could have quietly replaced them in the game by coins or rings (as in the classic *Sonic: The Hedgehog* or *Super Mario Bros.*) without significantly changing the gameplay, but this would certainly impoverish and demean the game, since in this case, we would fail to present important elements of the people in question. However, after a few conversations with the *Huni Kuin Federation*, there were no problems in keeping the *kene*, because their council did not consider that the *kene* would occupy a central place in the game.

USES AND PURPOSES

In this last section we will expose the speech of some Huni Kuin about their visions and goals with the production and circulation of the game. After all, the game is for who: for the *nawa* or for the Indians? What potential uses and intentions are there for the game? In the pre-production period, professor and researcher Isaías Sales (Ibã) stressed the importance of creating the game to *register*³⁴ the stories of his people and involve his students in the process of acquiring knowledge related to the formation of the Huni Kuin person. He recalls the ability of the game to engage people of different ages in learning this knowledge through new technologies:

I think this game you're talking about is the biggest movement of the game, both indigenous and non-indigenous, that's what I'm seeing the game. It's not the children's, this

34. The term 'register' comes from the 'projects world', which certainly masks some of the most fertile ideas of the indigenous people. We believe that often where they use 'register', they think instead of 'triggering', 'activating', 'making exist', that is, something in a more forward-looking direction than a concern with registering things of the past.

is a game that takes everything, right; everyone plays. [...] It's just the idea, you know, the one that you are developing from your memory, creativity, many things that are thought of when it comes to school. This is important. [...] They will like it. It's not only the children that will play, it's the adult, practically ... - Ibã Sales, interview, 2013.

In fact, the Huni Kuin show a constant concern to use the game as a didactic material in their schools (where the 'differentiated' teaching is currently practiced), as the teacher Osvaldo Isaka says on the occasion of the game's launch:

This is the first story here of our *Huni Kuin* people [in the form of] a game. We only have our story that the old men told us, there is no such game to see, to play, for the children to see, right. So this one that is important for us. After the release is going to be at school, the boys will see. And we are also thinking if "*Luz para Todos*³⁵" comes here to make it easier. We want to create some room there to put together this game in the computer for children to train too, set some time for them to start playing, to understand the stories of our origin. - Osvaldo Isaka, speech, 2016.

Fernando Siã, representative of the *Três Fazendas* village, says that it would be important not only for a "world-wide" dissemination, but mainly within the indigenous school, in order to confer greater durability to this knowledge:

So, one of the sacred things we have is this boa, which you called the way, right? It gave us that light of walking even really, so we cannot stop, we have to open more, expand more, strengthen more. And not show for the world only, but also show for our future here inside the village itself, inside the school. And then we can strengthen more in the game during the lessons. Because there we reflect the story, the old ones are phasing out and this game is never over, that was there in the world, then other countries, another world. - Fernando Siã.

The Huni Kuin's concern with the school is such that a well-known scholar of this people (and teacher in another indigenous land) said that if the game was not for the indigenous school, it would serve no purpose. Considering also the distancing of older generations from the world of

35. Federal Government's program for the installation of conventional electric energy.

electronic games, the local big chief [*shanen ibu*] initially came to treat videogame as a “joke” or “child thing”, as mentioned in a previous citation. However, this perception was transformed over time, through coexistence and exchanges, when these people could also glimpse the communicative potential of the game beyond the villages.

Let's have this contact, the youngster has to take this contact and give continuity. [...] Because it gave a light, it opened a way. Path of the boa, right? It opened to those young people who have material, whoever wants to work on the videogame [...]. So we are no longer lost; technology is in our hand, we are connected, so let's follow this project. [...] So we are here, our spirits are there and our image, we want to put our stories inside the Internet and show them for the world, for this society to understand better that we, Huni Kuin people, we are citizens as well as human beings, we have wisdom, we have our stories, we have this beautiful identity to show for the world. This is what we youngster and today, new time, we want to show it. - Tadeu Siã

We could provide pertinent anthropological reflections on the importance of the *culture points* and the training of indigenous youth in digital technologies, but one of the main objectives with the game is more simple: to act against the prejudice that plagues indigenous peoples to this day, mainly because the general population is not aware of them. It is still scary how much of the population believes that indigenous people are no longer themselves because they carry a cell phone or wear clothes. With this game, besides seeking a space in the media for national themes different from the clichés of video games, it is intended to enable people, from children to adults, to respect and value indigenous peoples, their culture, way of life and spirituality.

This project, to me, when the light cleared, God left the light, the Sun, cleared all, never paralyzed. It always remains. So you brought the light, and we Huni Kuin, the youngster [...] needs a good camera, this young man needs a good recorder, this young man needs training on how to deal with that light, energy. Learn to deal with camera, computer and turn on light, and think it's heart. If the light goes out, our planet, everything is paralyzed. Although people have no way of communicating [...] So it's coming to our village. So it's coming in our village why? Because Huni Kuin already studies in school, because Huni Kuin already speaks in Portuguese, because Huni Kuin already has white friend, non-indigenous relative, because Huni Kuin has his

qualification, has its own autonomy, has its own culture.
So we have our forest ... – Tadeu Siã

We understand that in the *present time* (or *time of culture*), the Huni Kuin themselves want to relate even more to other peoples and beings. The game *Huni Kuin: Yube Baitana*, as well as other projects of this new time [*xinã bena*], like *Una Isĩ Kayawa*, come in the wake of dreams like the pajé Agostinho Manduca's [*in memoriam*], who envisioned that the best way to make his knowledge alive after his passage would not be isolating it, hiding it or guarding it, but spreading it through the villages and around the world(s). This implies, therefore, the weave of alliances and partnerships with the *nawa* people. The very collaboration of members of the Huni Kuin people for the construction of the game reflects this movement of openness to the other, as his son Tadeu puts it:

This game will spread. All these kids have cell phone, some people have computer. We'll start to deal with it; we'll start to like it. Mostly I liked it a lot. I liked the drawings very much. I liked the assembly very much. I really enjoyed the game. But I have not played yet. I do not know how to play yet. But I'm going to play! Because in our Brazil the game is life, the human being. [...] We've done healing, healing our work, healing our journey, and healing our movement, healing our planet, connected with *Yuxibu*, always continuing to follow it. So much *haux*, much gratitude [to you] and all of you relatives, these relatives who are here. Much *haux!* - Tadeu Siã

translation

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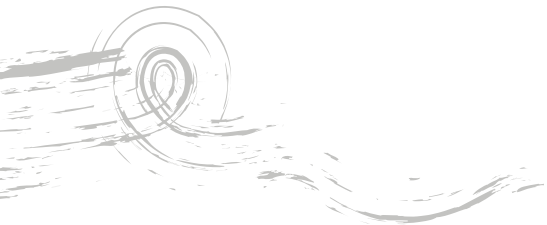
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USE OF AUDIOVISUAL RECORD IN A MUSIC GROUP FOR CHILDREN WITH AUTISM¹

ABSTRACT

This article uses the analysis of a music group for children with autism to discuss the use of audiovisual record. First, the procedures employed in the sessions, as well as the registration and analysis methodology, are detailed. Next, the analysis of a recorded segment is presented, illustrating the general results of the research. Questions regarding the therapeutic dimensions of music are emphasized, along with a discussion about the relationship between music and subjectivity, highlighting the contributions of ethnomusicology. Finally, considerations are made on the use of the audiovisual record and methodologies of analysis, in addition to the main conclusions obtained.

keywords

Music; Autism;
Audiovisual; Microanalysis;
Ethnomusicology

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INTRODUCTION

Autism is a child development disorder characterized by severe impairments in social interaction and communication skills, or by the presence of stereotyped behaviors, or restricted interests and activities, defined both by its early onset (first three years of life) and by a chronic evolutionary tendency. Autism is also considered to involve quantitative and qualitative changes in the subjective experience, cognitive processes, communication, and perception. These dysfunctions affect the individual integrally, so autism does not correspond to a delay or interruption of the typical development process, but to a global developmental disorder, whose effects extend throughout life and affect its different areas, i.e., psychomotor, affective, cognitive, linguistic, social, etc.

Despite having achieved a prominent position in the field of psychopathology, the concept of autism remains relatively imprecise. It describes both children who speak and others who do not, children with little or no social contact and others with an eccentric type of relationship, children with mental disabilities and others with a cognitive level appropriate for their age (Lampreia 2004). As a result, epidemiological studies also show significant variations, ranging from 15 per 150,000 (Associação Americana de Psiquiatria 2002) to approximately 11 per 1,000, i.e., one child in 88 (Baio 2012). Regarding its aetiological aspects, the lack of consensus is even greater, to the point that there are as many definitions of autism as the various theories that intend to explain it (Leboyer 2007). Attempts to establish a biological, genetic, neuroelectrical, or neurochemical marker have not yet reached conclusive results, and even changes in the neurological functioning evidenced by brain imaging are unable to establish the relationship between brain activity and specific symptoms. Finally, there are also few agreements on possible prognoses, making autism a rare case among clinical conditions, most of which follow a known and predictable trajectory.

In the midst of a scenario where much is speculated about the reasons that lead a subject to present development problems such as autism, the analysis of films – especially those produced by the families themselves – has been throwing strong arguments in solving this impasse. Massie (1978), for example, by investigating home movies with infants who were later diagnosed with autism, clearly showed the parents' states of awareness of the child's lack of responses, providing an empirical basis for criticizing the notion that the syndrome was related to cold or unfriendly caregivers. In a sample of videos recorded during the first year of life, Muratori and Maestro (2007) found fewer responses to the mothers' attempts to establish interactions by children with autism than by those who would not develop the syndrome. However, some children with autism could demonstrate social behaviors such as exchanging looks, smiles and even joint attention or pointing actions, but their frequency was lower than that of other children.

Thus, as summarized by Wing and Gould (1979), the autism spectrum corresponds to a set of syndromes whose nucleus is a social deficit that begins in early childhood. Trevarthen et al. (1998) also consider it a disturbance of the innate mechanism to relate to the other, so that the functions of language – and the thought processes based on it – would be affected in people with autism because intersubjective functions are impaired practically from the beginning of life. The study of home video of a pair of twins of whom a sister would later be diagnosed as such, by Trevarthen and Daniel (2005), confirms that the disturbance in the development of interpersonal sympathy is an effect of the absence or low frequency of intersubjective behaviors, contrary to what would be expected in a typical development case. Differences in behavioral, emotional, or cerebral functions would therefore be the result of deficiencies in the sharing of attention, intention, and affection, at a time when the encounter with otherness is fundamental.

Without the exchange of expressive responses, the child does not fully participate in the communicative and emotional transactions with others, which severely compromises their organic and psychic development. Such impairment of social relations in early childhood gives rise to the associated symptoms, since it reduces the movements of mental orientation that occur in response to the stimuli of the other, which affects the development of thought and impoverishes the imaginative life (Hobson 2002). As these individuals grow, the problems found in these early dyadic interactions extend and affect how they interact with the rest of the social group, as well as their learning of cultural conventions.

In this same line, for Ochs et al. (2004), one of the main difficulties faced by subjects with autism in the recognition of intentions and psychological states, refers to socio-cultural decentration, i.e., the adoption of the other's point of view through the "members' awareness of 'behavioral expectancies' associated with socially and culturally organized situations" (Ochs et al. 2004, 156). By analyzing 381 hours of video and audio from 16 children diagnosed with autism, from 8 to 12 years old, these researchers found several moments in which they made perspective-takings in situations of daily interaction, with family members at home, going to and coming back from school, and with peers and teachers. The three domains in which this occurred were the participation in turn-takings and conversation sequences, the formulation of situational scenarios and the interpretation of socio-cultural meanings of indexical forms and behaviors.

Despite the tendency to persevere in their topics of interest, and to hold conversations interspersed with silences, these analyzes indicated that subjects with autism often engage in conversations with turn-takings at appropriate transition places, even engaging in discussions without pauses or overlaps between the lines. This suggests that these difficul-

ties are not related to a cognitive difficulty, but to the vulnerability of these children to the challenges of the pragmatic function of language.

It is possible that we find here the reason why music-based techniques – which facilitate communication through sound and movement, without the constraints of the linguistic determination of meaning – are successfully employed in the treatment of individuals with developmental problems. Several studies on music therapy confirm how it can be used to improve their interacting and expressing abilities (Gold, Wigram and Elefant 2008), increase their communicative acts and responses (Edgerton 1994) and, in long-term applications, modify and develop their patterns of social relationship (Schumacher and Calvet-Kruppa 1999). As Trevarthen (1999, 8) states, music is therapeutic “because it sharpens the mind’s essential efforts to regulate the body both in its internal processes and in its purposeful engagements with the objects of the world and with other people”, while language is not necessarily involved in this intermediation.

Although the therapeutic effects of music in cases of autism and other developmental problems have already been discovered and exploited for a reasonable time (Benenson 1977, Nordoff and Robbins, 1968; 1977), the reasons why this occurs or the underlying mechanisms to its action are not yet completely elucidated. For this reason, it is increasingly necessary to understand how music produces effects of this nature and what kind of interventions prove to be the most effective in this regard. To discuss these aspects, this article uses the analysis of the audiovisual record of a music group with four children with developmental problems. First, the procedures used in the sessions, as well as the record and analysis methodology, are detailed. Next, the analysis of a recorded segment is presented, illustrating the general results of the research. Questions related to the therapeutic dimensions of music are emphasized, along with a discussion about the relationship between music and subjectivity, highlighting the contributions given by ethnomusicology. Finally, considerations are made on the use of the audiovisual record and the methodologies of analysis, in addition to the main conclusions obtained.

PROCEDURES

The music group sessions were conducted at the Center for Therapeutic Education of the Institute of Psychology of the University of São Paulo, within a program of treatment of childhood psychopathologies that also includes a group of varied activities such as playing, games, writing, etc., and weekly one-hour individual therapy sessions, offered by a graduate student on an internship basis, or by a psychologist of the Center. In addition to these professionals, these interns also participated in the music group sessions, sharing the activities, accompanying the children who for some reason did not participate in the group and recording the group sessions on a video camera. After that, the entire staff

would meet for one hour to discuss the individual and group sessions of the week, discussing clinical issues and of direction of treatment, in addition to planning coordinated strategies to be employed at both levels of care.

The procedures carried out during the clinical sessions were musical improvisations, musical games and the re-creation of songs. The proposed task was to *make music*, stimulating the use of various musical instruments, such as drums, toy xylophone, caxixis, flute, pan flute and assorted whistles. The instrument chosen by each one was presented at the beginning of the session, when we sang an opening song, and the same occurred at the end, with a closing song. In one of the sessions, the group constructed some instruments from recyclable materials, such as PET bottles of various sizes, broomsticks, bean and rice grains, etc., which were used in the subsequent sessions.

The group sessions were recorded with a digital video camera, and the material was analyzed at different times of the research: at supervision meetings, where portions of the sessions were used to support the discussions; in the edition of an end-of-year video, in which scenes were selected to be presented to the participants and their parents; in the elaboration of case studies, in which the images allow the illustration of an argument or the better understanding of some specific event. These repeated visualizations of the material provided the researcher with a familiarity with the occurrences and the accompaniment of the therapeutic process as a whole. In order to write the case studies, the collected material was viewed and annotated minute by minute. Some segments were selected for further analysis when they provided a better understanding of data that would be difficult to capture during the sessions.

These segments were then analyzed through image freeze, slow motion, frame-by-frame and loop playback. This approach is called microanalysis, and can be defined as a method for investigating microprocesses, i.e., processes and changes occurring in short periods of time. It allows to accompany “*minimal changes in relationships or interactions between people or minimal changes in the music and in dynamic forces*” (Wosch and Wigram 2007, 14, emphasis in original) that occur in a clinical situation. The duration of the analyzed segments is variable, and a process can be monitored over time, with several microanalyses being conducted for different events.

The description of the segments was carried out in written language, musical scores, and acoustic analysis charts. This material was then incorporated into individual case studies of the children participating in the study, based on data collected during the reception interviews, scenes that occurred during the individual and group sessions – followed by analyzes and reflections on the planned and conducted interventions –, as well

as discussions by the clinical staff. Next, we present a fragment of the case study of a participant we will call Camila. This study illustrates how audiovisual records are used, followed by some of the survey results.

RESULTS

Camila is six years old and is the eldest daughter of her family. She had a normal childhood until her first year and a half, when she had a series of epileptic seizures. This disrupted her development in some way, for she stopped talking and looking into the eyes, according to her mother's account. Over time, this extended to a severe detriment to her relationship with others, which are often ignored, or approached in an instrumental way to achieve a particular goal, for example, when she uses someone's arm to reach an object. By the time the treatment started, she had a much reduced speech output, with few words like "no" and "bye", and other vocal sounds. Nor did the words we spoke offer her a chance to reassure herself in the face of her anguishes. We soon identified a serious impairment of phantasy, whether by the limitation of imaginary production and narrative engagement, or by the mechanical use of objects. Her playing was often confined to the concreteness of materials, and graphic productions denoted symbolic poverty, for example, when she overlapped layers of paper and glue indefinitely.

In her individual sessions, Camila demonstrates from the beginning a great interest in the sounds of objects, animals and the body, demonstrating that this is a way for communicating and sharing an experience with the other. However, this does not facilitate her entry into the music group, and from the beginning she shows a strong resistance to participating. Several hypotheses have been raised regarding this, but none has been fully explanatory. There were two ways we found so that Camila could attend the group. Firstly, allowing her to occupy the corridor and a room next to the music group room, where she was offered toys and her favorite instruments, such as the flute and the pan flute, and the company of an adult. This flexibility made it possible, even at a distance, to reach the music. This is how, when we start playing the song "O pato pateta"², in one session, she immediately utters the word "duck". A second *concession* was allowing the presence of her mother in the corridor outside, keeping the door open so that Camila could move freely between the music space and the maternal proximity. In the same way, instruments are offered to accompany the group, along with invocations such as *what will Camila do?*, or *what is the song that Camila wants to play?*. Along the same lines, at the end of the session, she can participate in the closing song from a distance, and time is given for her to play the instrument. With the aid of the video, we confirm that in a session – she is outside the room, but standing in front of the entrance door –, she swings the pan

2. Literally, "The whacky duck", a traditional Brazilian children's song.

flute by the cord that is tied to the instrument, striking it on the floor in a rhythm coordinated with that of the song we are playing. Her eyes are fixed on the mother standing before her, and the smile on her face is clear as she rattles the instrument, contrasting with the reproachful countenance of her mother, probably because she feels her daughter is doing something wrong. It is therefore not possible to interpret whether Camila's joyful expression refers to an attempt to show to the mother her interest and satisfaction with music, or a defiant posture for the alleged transgression.

The maternal presence not only reassures her, but also assists towards her participation, in moments when Camila is summoned by the songs to say her favorite food, or the gift she wants for Christmas. We always give her the opportunity to express herself, but when that does not happen, it is the mother or someone else who responds for her. It is this alternation between presence and absence that sustains another direction of treatment for Camila, focused on sustaining a place that is her own, from where she can interact with the group. Sometimes she produces no expression, leaving us in doubt as to whether she actually ignores us or does not understand our invitations. In others, she plays an instrument, or emits a vocalization, which is usually celebrated by the staff. However, when analyzing the videos, we can see several moments in which she occupies this space that we offer, but that go unnoticed due to the way she does. When asked to play an instrument in the closing song of a session, for example, she bangs the strings of the guitar gently and moves back in front of the mirror with her back to the group. No one realizes that she does what we had asked for, and the group insists on an answer, which seems to increase her anxiety.

It takes, therefore, an acute sensitivity to perceive such events of subtle interaction. In the opening song of a session, for example, there is an interaction between Camila and another participant – who will be called Mathias –, which indicates a surprising connection between them. We are sitting together with Beatriz, who assists in the coordination of the group, and Camila, who is lying in the center. Mathias chooses the rain stick, or *rattle-hourglass*, as he calls it, while Camila chooses a common rattle (Figure 1).

figure 1
Illustration of
the re-creation
of the opening
song of the
music group.



Both instruments had been constructed in an earlier session. The transcription of this segment (Figure 2) shows that Camila imitates and accompanies Mathias' movements with synchrony. She repeats with the rattle the gesture of inclining the instrument and letting the pebbles fall slowly, just as he does with the rain stick in the first few bars. I have not yet begun to sing and there is already an alternation between what one and the other plays, as a call and response game that develops at a fairly defined rhythm.

figure 2
Transcription
of re-creation
of the opening
song in the
music group of
11/29/13.

The musical score is titled "Andante" and is written in 4/4 time. It consists of five systems of staves. The instruments and their parts are as follows:

- System 1:** Guitar (Daniel) plays a rhythmic pattern of chords. Rainstick (Mathias) plays a series of diagonal strokes representing the rainstick's movement.
- System 2:** Similar to System 1, but Rattle (Camila) enters with a series of rhythmic pulses that mirror the rainstick's pattern.
- System 3:** Rattle (Camila) continues with a more complex rhythmic pattern, including a section labeled "hitting the base of the rattle". Whistle (Camila) enters with a melodic line, marked with *ff* dynamics.
- System 4:** Voice (Daniel) enters with the lyrics "A o - fi - ci - na de mú - si - ca já". The guitar continues its rhythmic accompaniment.
- System 5:** The rainstick and rattle continue their rhythmic patterns, while the whistle plays a final melodic phrase.

Guitar (Daniel)

Voice (Daniel)

vai co-me-çar Qual o ins-tru-men-to que o Mathias vai to-car?

Rainstick (Mathias)

"rattle-bonglows"

Guitar (Daniel)

Voice (Daniel)

A o - fi - ci - na de mú - si - ca já vai co-me-çar.

Rainstick (Mathias)

Whistle (Camila)

"rattle-bonglows"

Guitar (Daniel)

Voice (Daniel)

Qual o ins-tru-men-to que a Camila vai to-car?

Rainstick (Mathias)

Rattle (Camila)

Rainstick (Camila)

Whistler (Mathias)

Largo

Camila takes the whistle

Mathias takes the whistle

Legend

 inclining the instrument until pebbles reach the other side (duration is given by the bar)

They practically do not overlap, each takes one place and only begins to play when the other stops. Along with the rattle, Camila begins to blow a whistle, which also interacts with the rainstick. When I summon Mathias to present his instrument, Camila watches him closely. However, when her turn comes, and she shakes the rattle, Mathias turns the rainstick again. She then gets up and grabs that instrument, leaving the whistle in its place. Mathias takes the whistle, and they play together, finishing the segment.

This moment that we all shared together, and in which the interaction between Camila and Mathias allowed a form of non-verbal communication including turn-taking, would be unimaginable at the beginning of her treatment. It is remarkable how Camila found new ways of relating to us, overcoming a severe loss of the bond with the otherness. Throughout the sessions, we were able to follow how her playing acquired other meanings, allowing her to participate in the collective staging of characters, and somehow interact and communicate with the others. However, even though she participated relatively less than the other children, some of the activities we proposed were important times to experience a different contact with adults and other children. Her progress is intriguing for the entire staff, and it produces optimism and hope about the possibilities of her recovery.

DISCUSSION

Starting from this vignette, we can articulate some results of the research. In short, musical practices involving songs and musical games have demonstrated therapeutic effects for children with developmental problems, which can be understood in their intersubjective, intrapsychic and sociocultural dimensions. At an intersubjective level, emphasis is given to the way in which the musical experience provides an organized encounter with the otherness, so that several activities of the group generate possibilities of engagement in the motives of the other, thus facilitating social interaction, whereas dances and games guide processes of imitation, synchronization and rhythmic coordination of movements. The interactive nature of the different activities indicates that they affect the quality of the social bond, producing situations of mutual adjustment of intention, attention and affection, exchange of expressive signs and mental orientation, turn-taking and sharing of an external pulse.

Concerning its intrapsychic effects, the musical experience can be therapeutic not only because of the pleasure it produces in the listener – especially if we consider the attraction exerted by it, even in children with a greater social isolation – but because it provides formal parameters that affect the subjective experience, altering the way we perceive, interpret and evaluate the reality, activating certain feelings and sensations, intensifying our energy levels and concentration. Such contours of activation operate as an envelope of experience, which does not refer to its content but to its form, so that the various expressive qualities that characterize and provide meaning to the sounds and movements of the body, also modulate forms of play and phantasy. Circle and alternating games played a prominent role in this sense, offering a temporal structure in which expressive elements could be ordered, favoring psychic organization. These modalities of experience correspond to a new perception of reality, so that, with music, children can really feel themselves

and the world in another way, and accomplish what might have been impossible before. In addition, the musicality of infantile subjectivity, inherent to the spontaneity and intuitiveness of its music, makes these forms easy to share and assimilate.

Regarding body movement, choreographies affect the perception of music in the body and the process of body image construction, which possibly explains the increase in the fluidity of expressive gestures and the coordination of body movements, which have proved problematic for some children. In part of the choreographies we performed, there was a momentary difficulty in following the movements of others, related to imitating them in a wrong way, in a delayed time or simply not performing them. During the treatment, a development of this aspect could be identified, with an improvement in the quality of the movements, in terms of synchrony, coordination and adjustment of speed, direction and intensity.

A third way of understanding the therapeutic effects of music is found on a socio-cultural level, essentially because it includes the subject in the order of the aesthetic productions of his social group. It is not possible to minimize the permeability of children to music and the songs transmitted by the media, and their performances can be very faithful to the original, even when the therapist is mistaken in the recreation of a song known by them. Music thus contributes to the constitution of a cultural being, but not only in the sense of learning a tradition and its particular symbolic objects and practices. More importantly, at least in the realm of developmental problems, the very fact of the social determination of meaning, and the way in which it occurs, matters. Lived daily with fear by children with autism, this process is experienced in the sessions in a way that is neither invasive nor absolute. More than organized, the encounter with the otherness in the music group is a safe meeting.

In short, and according to DeNora (2013), musical experience is therapeutic when it offers some sort of asylum, a pause of anguish, and a place and time in which it is possible to flourish, that is, the “ability to feel as if one is in the flow of things, to be able to feel creative and to engage in creative play, to enjoy a sense of validation or connection to others, to feel pleasure, perhaps to note the absence, or temporary abatement, of pain” (DeNora 2013, 1). In fact, Trevarthen and Malloch (2000) argue that the characteristic of music that explains its therapeutic properties is its ability to create conditions for emotional and cognitive well-being, and that, in this facilitating context, the individual would be able to resume the functions affected by the disease. Although the results of the music group support this idea, considering how activities were an obvious source of pleasure and joy for children, they also indicate a deeper and more radical bond between music and the constitutive processes of the

psychic subject. In fact, the effects of music are not only secondary in the sense that it would promote an environment where transformations could occur. These changes occur in the musical action itself, and can be expressed in musical terms. The intensity of the musical experience suggests that it is directly involved in the operation of these mechanisms.

Similarly, music has been used by various social groups in different historical and geographic locations to “restore certain kinds of order in their world, and also create new kinds of order in it” (Seeger 1987, 128). Each musical performance reestablishes the relationships between the elements that make up the universe created by human beings and in which their lives unfold. On each of these occasions, they not only reveal their identities but also ground new ways of perceiving and being perceived by the others. Singing, jumping and dancing are not only ways of expressing a reality, but modes of operating a metamorphosis of the world and of oneself. Music is thus used in the joint construction of shared relationships and experiences, in establishing opportunities for empathic connection and expressive forms of communication, as “resource for the ongoing constitution of themselves and their social psychological, physiological and emotional states” (DeNora 2004, 47).

In this sense, this theoretical approach is close to ethnomusicology, a discipline that provides not only a theoretical and methodological framework for an application of its concepts, but also implies an epistemological reconsideration of the concept of subject, and the way in which it is thought in the human sciences. We refer here to the point of view of Musical Anthropology, specifically its shift from the study of music as a cultural product for the study of social processes in relation to music, or, in the words of Seeger (1987, 138, 140), the “study of music as an approach to the study of social processes in general”, which are to be thought “as intentional performances, ‘structurations’, and creative solutions within a field of patterns and within certain perceived historical situations”. In this perspective, music is a source of culture and structure (Blacking 1995), since musical performances, rather than reflecting reality, actually order social life and the categories by which space, time, body and identity are defined.

In the perspective of a Musical Psychology, therefore, the subject, rather than producer of musical phenomena, should be considered the result of them, in a process of musical construction of subjectivity. As we have seen in this research, music has an extraordinary ability to affect the most basic categories that define our experience of reality. This indicates that there is no a priori subject who learns and sings the songs of a group. Only then can we understand Blacking’s (1985, 53) enigmatic assertion that “there is a sense in which a composer is composed and a pianist is played”. We do not exist before the music, but simultaneously with it, we are effects of music.

Thus, music is not only shaped by the psychic forces of the subject, it is in fact a dynamic medium of psychic life, something in which the mind happens. Like any art form, it deals with problems and concepts, and “responds to problems about determination regimes and possibilities for the reorientation of categories such as identity, difference, relation, unity, among others” (Safatle 2006, 169); and such solutions are useful in the problems we face in the process of living and developing. This is due to the fact that its formal aspects both affect what in the mind remains informed, and lead what was crystallized to transform. Music, therefore, need not be seen as separate from subjectivity, but something through which psychic functions are constituted and operate in a specific way corresponding to its expressive qualities. Thus, just as musical form and experience are directly linked to processes of subjective constitution, in the horizon in which music and subject are intertwined, we find the parallel between aesthetic formalization and the processes of subjectivation, between the genesis of the work of art and the genesis of the subject. Thus, it is really possible to be “the great experimenter with himself” (Nietzsche 1987, 136), because, since “the self is not given to us”, as Foucault points out, “we have to create ourselves as a work of art” (Rabinow and Dreyfus 1995, 262).

In this sense, therapy represents a form of musical composition of reality, using music as an aesthetic technology of the self (DeNora 1999). And when this power is expressed in a spontaneous and intuitive way, as with children, this creative dimension assumes its fullness. “Children only ‘become’ sound gestures guided by the wholeness of their way of being and organizing themselves continuously... a kind of *music-children*: children transmuted into sounds” (Brito 2007, 80, emphasis in original).

Therefore, rather than expressing, the value of music is to produce and to transform, as well as the narrative, which at the same time as it is told, alters the subject’s life history (Bruner 1991; 2004). It is precisely in this sense that, when asked about the reasons that had led him to write music, composer John Cage replied: “What I do is not to express, but to change myself” (Campos 1998, 147). And for the concept of expression to be understood in this perspective, it is required that what is expressed does not separate from the act that produces it, nor fail to produce an act, in the sense Lacan (1986, 129) gave to the concept of the full word: that one by which the subject “finds himself other than he was before”.

At a methodological level, the proposed description and analysis procedures may be of some value in the sense of reversing the current methodological paradigm between psychology and music and thus orient a hybrid research, pertaining to psychology as to its contents and to music as to its methods. Without ignoring the role that otherness plays in this process,


we follow Didier-Weill (1997, 240) when he states that “we do not hesitate to declare that a theoretical reflection on music is one of the possible ways to understand the most primordial relationship of the subject with the Other”. Perhaps this way, we would understand how an artistic appreciation of time is capable of reorganizing the symbolic field and reordering the most fundamental categories of experience. This should be the emphasis of a study of modes of subjectivation in relation to music; a three-dimensional problem, at the same time aesthetic, social and psychological.

A psychology of music that accompanies the evolution of these questions, as they have been approached on in other fields of knowledge, could offer a relevant contribution to a series of questions. If, on the one hand, psychology already has a history of interacting with other perspectives from the humanities – proving to be a flexible field for the incorporation of theories and methods from other disciplines for the accomplishment of its ends –, on the other, such perspectives can perfectly appropriate conceptions from psychology. A notion of a subject other than that of I or agent could be that contribution. For a conception of the subject as an unconscious psychic instance would certainly be useful in these investigations, broadening our understanding of phenomena related to music in the light of the subjective constitution.

CONCLUSION

As a conclusion, the use of the audiovisual register was positive for the purposes of the investigation. The selection of scenes for the case study is something that goes through the researcher’s sieve, and in this sense is subject to his interpretation. On the other hand, it is possible to emphasize the fundamental role that clinical staff meetings play in the enrichment of this process, both by the multiplication of clinical work perspectives and by the discussion and joint construction of the cases.

Microanalysis, in turn, proved to be adequate for the study of musical events and processes. It could be employed as a support for classical descriptive methods, without suppressing the investigator’s subjective impressions, which are their fundamental characteristic. The case study made from verbal registration and microanalysis prevents the former from losing its objectivity, and the latter from omitting the spontaneity that is implied in the musical practice. Despite the inconvenience of requiring great effort and time from the researcher to be carried out, this method has several advantages. Its application is not only restricted to the study of events and processes, but can also be used in the selection of scenes that will be submitted to the analysis, since it offers a global perception of the recorded situation. Audiovisual records amplify the perception of details that would hardly attract our attention in the concrete situation in which they occurred. An example is when,



contrary to what we thought, it turns out that Camila really had played the guitar, very subtly, in response to our request. When other people are involved with the record task, details that were not available to the researcher can be retrieved and analyzed, such as when Camila is out of the room and plays with the pan flute in the rhythm of the song we are singing. In this sense, audiovisual support for clinical work can be extremely advantageous in that it broadens the perceptual possibilities of therapists and researchers, bringing to the surface elements that would otherwise remain unconscious.

Microanalysis consists of a methodology that seeks to overcome at least two classes of difficulties specific to the analysis of audiovisual materials: the limitations of observation in terms of simultaneous events and their relations; and the discrimination of the variable time in the monitoring of changes and variations of individualized processes. It allows us to conduct studies on these changes “*while they are occurring*”, and its results “suggest ideas about the mechanisms that produce the changes, and also provide data against which to evaluate the plausibility and power of potential mechanisms” (Siegler and Crowley 1991, 606, emphasis in original). All these are phenomena that develop over time, whose nuances and complexity are difficult to grasp in real time, and, in this sense, microanalysis is often referred to the microscope metaphor (Bull 2002, Beebe 2014), given the wealth of details that it provides, and that would go unnoticed to other forms of analysis.

For Bateson (1996), this microscopic dimension reflects the macroscopic one, i.e., longer cycles are extended repeats or repeated reflections of patterns found in the minor details. One result of microanalysis would thus be a record of small amounts of data capable of leading to insights into human interactions that could not be obtained otherwise, not even through long-term observation or anamnestic reconstruction.

This is an aspect of special relevance for the studies of the therapeutic effects of certain clinical practices, understanding such movements as changes in patterns of expressive and social conduct, which in turn indicate the transformation of subjective processes. Microanalysis allows examination of the contours of interactions that are not visible when written transcription is the only means of recording. Therefore, it offers a more powerful tool than the ethnographic or conversational analytical methods usually employed in studies of social interaction, and may even overcome failures in the record through real-time observation of the communicative behavior of children with verbal and non-verbal communication difficulties.

The audiovisual record of the group thus indicates, in addition to the difficulties in the relationship with the other associated to autism, a series of social skills; and points out that they influence the therapeutic pro-

cesses occurring in the treatment. As we saw in Camila's case, the perception and understanding of social interactions is problematized when analysis and description tools more robust than simple observation are used. This result corroborates studies demonstrating that a portion of sociability is maintained in children with developmental problems.

Audiovisual records also confirm the notion, already widespread among those who work in the clinic of developmental problems, that many healing movements occur in situations where there is the assumption of a subject for the child. Utterances about what the individual is doing or what are his preferences and desires are ways of invoking a latent subjectivity, which may nonetheless come about. And even when it is the mother or another person who answers these questions, there is the same strategy of anticipating the existence of a subject, even where it does not manifest. This idea is based on the fact that such assumptions are present in the formation of the first bonds between the mother and the baby, when he is not fully constituted as a self or a subject. When the child cries, for example, we are often unaware of the reason, but soon we say that he is tired, cold or hungry. Such movements are fundamental to the subjective constitution, and are inserted in the dialectic of the processes of primary identification and mutual recognition.

With regard to the specifically musical dimension of treatment, it can be concluded that music is an active ingredient in this process, the result of which is a movement of transformation of psychic functioning. This is possibly the nucleus responsible for the clinical uses of music. In this way, clinical work with music and songs for children with developmental problems has proved to be less expressive than creative. It is the invention of solutions to the problems of the constitution of subjectivity that have arisen in the trajectory of their development, especially in relation to their relation to otherness.

translation

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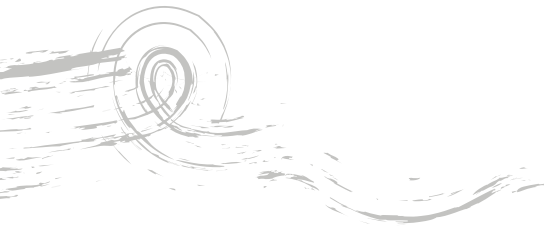
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FROM THE SUFFOCATING MATERIALITY TO THE COMPUTERIZED BODY: A SPIRAL DANCE BETWEEN CORPORALITY AND CYBORG EXISTENCE BASED ON AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE MOVIE *GATTACA*

ABSTRACT

It is intended, in this paper, to set up some of the possible relations between body and technology in the sci-fi movie *Gattaca*, from some contemporary anthropological debates about the body. Trying to make such relations and its criss-crosses clearer, we interrogate which representations and speeches on corporality are shown in *Gattaca*, focusing the body computerization that operates in the movie context, and associating it to the ideas of Donna Haraway and David Le Breton. As we are about to see, although at the first moment the perspectives of these authors may seem to be in opposition, their reasoning logics, in some cases, walk in parallel.

keywords

Anthropology of body;
Cinema; Cyborg; Domination
informatics; Body.

INTRODUCTION

In this paper, we intend to shed an anthropological view over the movie *Gattaca*, in order to bring up, among several possible discussions, that one concerning the computerization of the bodies of the characters, as well as the reflection on how a kind of debate which is approached in the movie is parallel to some discussions about body into contemporary anthropology.

Considering cinema not as a replica, but as a possible way of understanding daily life, besides being a propeller and reproducer of a series of meanings which are shared by a certain colectivity – that is, understanding movies as ways of projecting images of behaviors and interactions socially built –, we stand, according to Rose Hikiji (2012), as “anthropologists-spectators”. The methodology herein is the ethnographic analysis of the movie, and in this way we report ourselves to other approaches in anthropology which have been discussing from cinema (Adelman et al 2011, Leirner 1992, Muri 2003). It is through the anthropological “conceptual lenses” that we intend to go through the relations set with the body in the sci-fi movie *Gattaca*. Thus, the elaboration of meanings, the relations between characters, the appreciation and depreciation of physical elements, the assignment of meaning to those who have a body modified by technological intervention, have significant importance to explore the ways in which the relations with the body happen in our daily life (from a western contemporary perspective). Questioning from the movie plot is also questioning about yourself, when into this western context, so that science fiction, as imagining the future, is not apart from the contemporary; it works, perhaps, as an exacerbation, as a creative hyperbole of the present, a reflective hypertrophy of the possibilities of the world.

Therefore, trying to make the relations and criss-crosses which can be set between the movie plot and the contemporary debates about body clearer, we question which representations and speeches about body are shown in *Gattaca*. To make a reflection on that, we seek to understand a division put in the movie, between what is taken as natural and what is taken as artificial/implanted in human beings. Besides that, we seek to identify which aspects are considered necessary to the human condition and which values are assigned for them in the analysed film.

What can be observed in the movie regards in general a conception of human condition that has as an essential cornerstone the technoscientific non-interference on the bodies (and where this interference is seen being turned to the body in a superlative way). In the beginning, in the movie plot, the characters who have a changed physical constitution are introduced as improved humans, in which the condition of the presence of a body physiologically sick no longer exists. We see, however, how

these physiological interferences are constituted as a menace to what make humans “*humans*”, making the main character intervention necessary so that humanity (or else, what is more necessary to its possibility condition) do not perish, taking with itself all the spectrum of good qualities associated to it. In this plot, it is possible to observe how certain relations are built between nature and culture, where the first shall be protected so that the condition taken in *Gattaca* may be saved: the human condition. This is due to the bonding, in the movie, of the human condition to aspects taken as given, as natural.

Debates on the body, human nature, nature and culture are frequent in anthropology. If, on one hand, in the classic anthropology many approaches privileged the split between nature and culture – like, among others, Durkheim e Mauss (1979), Hertz (1980), Mauss (2003) –, and the assertion of a basic unity of the humanity – inherited from the discussion of authors like Tylor (2005), which reached, for instance, the work of Boas (2010) –, other approaches have pushed us to rethink our conception of human and the boundaries between humans and animals (Geertz 1989, Ingold 1995, Latour 2012). Authors like Donna Haraway (2009) and David Le Breton (2004; 2012) are connected to these discussions, which will suit, in this paper, both as bibliographical references and interlocutors of the debate in the movie. As references, they will help on the reflections about a series of speeches, practices, representations and meanings linked to the usages of the body and to technology in contemporaneity. As interlocutors of the debate presented, they will show different paths traced as reasoning logics before the fastening of *body* and *technology*. It is important to remind that Le Breton e Haraway write different texts in terms of format and purpose: Haraway builds a manifesto which intends to interrogate the idea of a biological body; Le Breton, on the other hand, writes a theoretical academic text about the body, that uses the perspective of the author as an empiric material¹. Here, we believe that, despite the differences among perspectives, when compared they profit important elements for the analysis (Strathern 2006).

To Le Breton, the insertion of the usage of technology in the body is strongly tied to the Cartesian conception of the body/mind separation. Such split is opposed to that of the “traditional societies”², holistic, in which the body would be an element that not only relates human with itself, but also with others around it and with the world (Le Breton 2012). In this way, the author calls the attentions to the unpredictable consequences (tending to the negative ones) that the human break with its own body may have to the individual and the building he/she makes of him/herself.

1. We thank the referees of the paper who, among other elements, called our attention to the necessity of making the comparison between Haraway and Le Breton clear.

2. “Traditional societies” is put in quotation marks because it refers to a term used by Le Breton.

On the other hand, Haraway (2009) highlights the possibilities of subversion that are linked to technological improvements. What is at stake is not the continuity or not of human existence, but the suffocating materiality of which this would be responsible. To the author, if the breaking of boundaries between animal and human occurred, machine and non-human animal, the fluidity of categories would become a freeing tool.

GATTACA

If it was necessary to give three keywords to the movie *Gattaca*, we would choose *genetics*, *microscope* and *asepsis* (both meaning cleanliness and something functional, with additional details left aside). We highlight these three words because they are those which most pass through the movie scenes concerning respectively their characters, the relations between people, and the setting. As we may think in a more concrete way, we shall select then three key-colours. Those which are shown the most and that, in a certain way, concern to a certain singular characteristic of the idea that passes through the scenes reveal that *Gattaca* is an orange, blue and white movie, such as the colours of Saturn, planet represented in the plot, as we are going to see further. In this way, the setting is marked by the usage of wide spaces in almost every scene. Either at Vincent/Jerome's (main character) office, marked by shades of blue, or in the open areas, where shares of orange are highlighted, as if the Sun should be constantly setting down.

The story takes place in a “not so far away”³ future in a metropolis which we don't know the name. This characteristic of knowing so few about where or when the story goes increases, we believe, the capacity of imagining ourselves in that situation. As the name of the place is not known and the “not so far away” future owns a measurability characteristic too subjective, what goes on the movie can happen anywhere to anyone.

It is in this future society that we follow the story of Jerome – who, later during the movie, we actually discover to be Vincent, a researcher of Gattaca astronomy corporation. He is around thirty years old and perfectly fits the western beauty standards: white, light eyes, tall. Jerome, we realize yet in the beginning of the film, is an excellent professional. His boss never gets tired of praising him and, besides that, he is about to go on a “great prestige mission”: a one-year journey to one of the satellites of Saturn, Titan. However, there is something very specific in Jerome's character – actually, another person is being him. Jerome is actually Vincent.

3. During the presentation of the movie, the words highlighted in quotation marks make reference to the vocabulary used in the film itself.

In the future society of *Gattaca*, it is a current practice that people who wish to have children make a genetic manipulation in the embryos. This manipulation consists in selecting, from ovules and sperms, the desired characteristics to the future child. This includes even from the choice of the colour of the eyes and hair to the whole elimination of the possibility of developing hereditary diseases, such as heart problems, myopia, baldness and, going far beyond, the manipulation excludes the existence of traces of personality which – according to the speech of geneticists of the movie – are genetically determined, such as the predisposition to drug addiction and violent behavior. People who are born from genetic manipulation are called “valid”, whilst people who are born without the intervention are called “invalid”. These are “children of love”, or yet “conceived by faith”.

Jerome Morrow is a valid. Therefore, he already had good opportunities in life, “virtually granted when given birth”. His improved DNA grants him, in the society shown in *Gattaca*, unlimited possibilities of choosing a job as well as relationships. Vincent Freeman – who is playing as Jerome – is part of the second group, the invalid. When he was born, the probability of dying from a heart disease before the age of thirty was more than ninety percent. When he was still young he develops myopia and slowly he discovers that being an invalid goes far beyond of having a healthy body or not; it regards deeply to how the social relations and possibilities of getting a job will develop.

Vincent wishes since his childhood becoming an astronaut. His goal in life is to get a job as a researcher and explorer in *Gattaca*. However, despite studying constantly, Vincent is always dissuaded by his own family. He simply doesn't have the least chance of getting a job as an astronaut in *Gattaca* because of his microscopic constitution, his genetic material. He would never be accepted because in the future society proposed by the film job interviews are never done. It doesn't matter the life background or the abilities developed through life of candidates, since the employer's choice is exclusively grounded in the examination of candidate's physiologic material.

It is important to highlight that, besides being a common practice, genetic manipulation is not within reach to all people. The procedure, by its high cost, was only possible for those who had certain economic condition. It is put then a determination: it is only possible to work on something that gives considerable financial result if the person is a valid, and it is only possible to be a valid if the person is born in a financially privileged family (once that the cost of genetic manipulation is high). In this way, the cycle is almost completely closed between material wealth and being a valid.

The story goes then following Vincent's path to find a way to become an astronaut. Despite his constant study and the several attempts, his invalid genetic material didn't open to him the possibility of working in another function than that of a cleaner. Vincent joins Gattaca doing this function and for some time he works into spaceships, but only cleaning them.

However, determined to be a space traveller, Vincent seeks other ways of joining the astronomy corporation. Regarding that his genetic material is what prevents him, he decides to make a deal with Jerome – who he met through an intermediate –, a valid who, after being hit by a car (further in the movie we discover it was not an accident, but a suicide attempt), became paraplegic. The physical resemblance between the two of them is great, and becomes greater because the main character passes through a series of procedures that grant him the resemblance: changing hair colour, using eye lenses, and even a bone implantation surgery to have Jerome's height. Having continually studied and now, with the genetic material of his valid partner, Vincent is admitted in Gattaca – not anymore as a cleaner, but as a researcher – and takes the identity of Jerome Morrow in exchange of keeping him surrounded by a comfortable life.

Becoming Jerome, the main character makes his career in Gattaca and is assigned to a journey to one of the satellites of Saturn. Everything goes well until one of the officers of the astronomy corporation is murdered. As usual, all the facilities of Gattaca are literally aspirated for the gathering of vestiges which possibly could reveal the murderer. In this moment a critical phase of the story starts to run. One of Vincent's eyelashes (who, in that part of the movie, is being Jerome) is gathered and the character is promptly considered the main suspect. Why? Well, even if Vincent was not working for months in Gattaca in his old cleaning job, and that there was no connection between him and the officer murdered, his genes show "inclination to violence". Vincent practically becomes guilty by suspicion. All the investigations focus in finding him.

After Vincent continually dodges from the investigations, the police eventually finds out that the real guilt for murder was another officer from Gattaca, who committed the crime due to the menace the victim represented to the continuity of one of the missions of the corporation. The officer murderer, ironically – at one moment when he is put under suspicion – states categorically: "Have a look on my profile again, detective. You will see that I don't have the inclination to violence" (Niccol 1997).

It is interesting to notice that Vincent bypasses the tentacles of domination, of control, that avoided him to become astronaut, making use of a strategy that involves reappropriating the same tools of domination in a way of subverting them. The control which appears in the microscopic

environment is broken when Vincent uses Jerome's organic material to accomplish his goals.

THE COMPUTING OF BODIES AND COMPUTING OF THE WORLD

Vincent's father: You will only enter a spaceship to clean it.
Vincent speaking: My father was right. It didn't matter how much I lied in my curriculum... My true curriculum was my cells [...] I belonged to a new low class... Not more determined by social status or skin colour. No. Today, discrimination became a science (Niccol 1997).

In the part that this item begins with, it is clear the great importance given to genes in the society shown in *Gattaca*. The analysis of the genetic chain of individuals, their predisposition or not to diseases, their physical capability biologically existent and visible from the information contained in physiological samples regulate the possibilities of individuals to get or not jobs or even to have affective relationships themselves. That is, from these analyses unfold both a set of stigmas (Goffman 1975) responsible for give concept to an individual as less capable or apt and positive traces listed as virtues.

The importance given to genes is mainly due to the split of the individual from his own body, a consequence of the split that, according to Le Breton (2012), characterizes "the modern body". The body is split up from the cosmos, the other bodies and itself⁴. The web of relations body/individual/subjectivity, that before was bound in each and every of its points, passes then through a breaking which marks the incoming of new ways of both thinking human condition and, related to it, thinking the interventions that technoscience exerts on the bodies, the influences and effects in the way people get related.

Le Breton (2004) calls the attention to the process of *computing* by which individual are passing through. According to him, every form of life, nowadays, tends to be seen in the technoscientific universe as an organized sum of information. The animated world was transformed in a message that either was decrypted or waiting so. This idea gets more tangible if we think in some aspects of *Gattaca*: the computing in the

4. The individual a) is no longer interconnected to the world, from the matter that compounds him and that no longer finds correspondence with another in the Universe, b) is no longer related to a group, due to an emergence of a social structure of the individualistic kind, and c) is no longer related to himself, because the relation between the individual and his body consists more in *having* a body than *being* a body (Le Breton 2012).

plot of the movie becomes visible in the way individuals are identified or still being identified. The identification does not go anymore through face or fingerprints, but through genetic *information* contained in physiological substances of people. The identity is so bound to genetic *information* – thus the process of computing – that even if Vincent’s face is spread as wanted for the murder of one of the officers of the astronomy corporation, nobody could even mistrust him.

This becomes clear in the following scene: investigation reaches its peak, and in every monitor of the computers of the astronomy corporation is being shown the face of a wanted individual, in this case Vincent’s. One of the officers of Gattaca approaches Vincent’s table (who is being Jerome) and asks him about an information on computer screen, just above the warning of “wanted”. The officer gets face-to-face with a photograph of the suspect and the man himself, and yet he could not distrust anything. The dialogue is just:

Officer: — Is this the route of approximation that we had discussed?

Jerome/Vincent: — Surely, officer.

Officer: — Very well. Very well (Niccol 1997).

If once the birth of western individualism concurs with the promotion of the face as a sign of human singularity in comparison to the others, a maximum symbol of its body as a possession (Le Breton 2012), now individualism is not anymore connected to face, the identification is not anymore done by an ID photo – what is observed is not anymore the colour of the eyes, the colour of the hair, the shape of the nose or the format of the eyebrows, but genetic information, the predisposition or not to diseases, the possibility or not of tending to violence. The identification goes from the external, material and visible in the present time to the internal, microscopic and probable in the future time. Bodies thus become to be computerized. To the computing of individuals it is added the scientific capacity of measurability. Everything is previously determined from genetics, as it gets clear in the dialogue between one of the officers of Gattaca and one of the investigators of the murder – when the first is explaining the “recruiting philosophy”⁵ of the astronomy corporation:

Officer: — Perfect bodies and minds are essential... So we can go further and further!

Policeman: — And you monitor them closely.

Officer: — So they give their maximum potential.

Policeman: — And exceed?

5. Term used by the officer himself to refer to the way the employees of *Gattaca* are hired.

Officer: — Nobody exceeds his own potential.

Policeman: — And if exceeded?

Officer: — This would just mean... That we didn't measure him correctly (Niccol 1997).

Le Breton (2004) himself quotes *Gattaca* as a source of reflection about the reduction of a human being as a whole, his path and experiences, to a simple genetic datum:

In Andrew Niccol's *Gattaca*, two worlds co-exist. An elite is made up of men and women who are the result of *in vitro* fertilization and whose genes have been carefully selected with the aim of creating a perfect 'product' in terms of intelligence, health, beauty, etc. The rest of the population, born without medical control, are thought of as inferior products and are destined for relatively menial tasks. When the main character goes for a job interview, the company does not ask about his qualifications or his reasons for wanting the job, and instead simply analyses the structure of his DNA (Le Breton 2004, 18).

According to the author, this worldview necessarily disables a morality system because the image of the individual simply doesn't have depth or substance enough to be duly responsible for his acts. The human himself is deleted in the course of this demotion of *self*. Thus, he criticizes this species of genetically programmed destination, for he considers that genetic discrimination mistakes genotype for phenotype, virtual for real, genetic message for organism operation, statistics for reality of the individuals. Genetic predisposition for a disease is not a fate nor an evidence of the disease itself, it is an indication of a probability (Le Breton 2004). It is in this sense that the identification of the individuals is not anymore bound to an external and present element (the face) to be focused on the microscopic and in what didn't happen yet, but that has the possibility of existence in the future (as the predisposition for diseases). This is very perceptible in the dialogue between Vincent and his parents, when the last are trying to dissuade the main character of trying to get a job in *Gattaca*, reminding him of the 99% probability of dying of a heart attack:

Mother: — You have to be realistic. With you heart problem ...

Vincent: — Mom, there is a probability that I don't have anything.

Father: — One in a hundred.

Vincent: — I'll take the risk, ok?

Mother: — But they won't (Niccol 1997).

It seems that the society pictures in *Gattaca* is very similar to that which Le Breton puts as close of existing:

a near future in which a minority of individuals with carefully selected and manipulated genes will dominate a population that is 'natural', and therefore 'inferior', from a biological point of view. For Silver, the risk of there being two human species in the future is entirely plausible given the inevitability of genetic engineering being applied to the embryo. The dignity of man⁶ will henceforth be the dignity of his genes (Le Breton 2004, 18).

Connected with the issue of computing of individuals there is the critique that Le Breton (2004) makes to the breaks of boundaries between human and machine. In fact, this complete computing of human being gets clear in a situation presented by Le Breton (2004) himself: Walter Gilbert (one of the promoters of the Human Genome Project), in a lecture he gave, took out of his pocket a CD and said to the audience: "*this is you*". It is as if human subjectivity was dissolved in its own DNA. The issue that Le Breton (2004) puts is that the belief that human being is nothing more than joining a sperm and an ovule, and the notion that dignity of an individual is merely a result of a genetic chain – instead of the way in which this individual is socialized, educated and the interactions he/she traces along his/her development – is "the most extreme expression of a strictly 'informational' conception of the human; a conception which actually robs the human being of all dignity." (Le Breton 2004, 3). The author, when criticizing the human computing, also criticizes (without taking these two points apart) post-humanism, stating that this would be purely technical and completely utilitarian, characterized by a desire of improving the human being exclusively from a technical perspective – not in a way of improving life quality, but to evolve in terms of rationality, performance or simply economic profit.

The transmigration of man⁷ into a perfected artificial body means that bionics has become a vehicle for genetic engineering, which in turn implies the interface of man and machine. These interventions are affecting human race in the same way that agriculture has had an effect upon crops and livestock, which is to say the creation of artificial species narrowly designed for commercial reasons (Le Breton 2004, 17).

6. Here the author uses "man" to refer to "human". I take the opportunity to highlight that, as a political position, everytime the word "man" comes to refer to "human" or "humanity", there will be a footnote to emphasize the disagreement with the use of male gender as universal.

7. Here the author uses "man" to refer to "human". See footnote 6.

To Le Breton, this dissolution of the individual has severe consequences both from a practical and a moral point of view, for it extinguishes the concrete human individual and the limiting boundaries of humanity in relation both to machines and to animals. From authors like Bruno Latour (2005), we can suggest that the way Le Breton establishes the perception of the relation between body and machine is a modern way of reasoning (where there are clear subject divisions in doing science, for instance), insofar as it is supported in the ontological distinction between humans and non-humans.

The notion of information (in the fields of biology or information technology) breaks down the distinctions between man⁸ and machine and paves the way for the humanization of artificial intelligence or genetic interventions. It also breaks with classical ontology, destroys distinctions of value between man and machine, and constitutes a major moral shift in contemporary societies. [...] The coming together of the living and the inert (the organic and the inorganic) under the aegis of information opens the way for a general indifferentiation, and points to the end of distinct biological kingdoms: man, animals, physical objects and the cyborg are no longer fundamentally distinct as they are in traditional humanism (Ibid., 2).

Considering the critics and questioning put by Le Breton (2004; 2012) regarding the computing of human, to the variability of conception of human condition connected to political interests, and even to the changing of this condition itself and its limiting boundaries, we shall analyse now the position of Donna Haraway (2009) who, at the same time following a parallel reasoning path, contrasts many elements and branches in different ways of the position of the author above.

THE COMPUTING OF BODIES AS TRANSGRESSION

Vincent, after a meticulous bath, takes out a urine recipient from a fridge and tie it to his thigh. Shortly thereafter, he inserts a drop of blood in a false fingerprint and stick it carefully in the tip of his index finger. These are routine procedures before he goes to Gattaca, where he works as a researcher under the identity of Jerome (Niccol 1997, excerpt of a field journal).

8. See footnotes 6 and 7.

Donna Haraway (2009) explores the emerging relations of intimate connection between technologies and bodies – whether through computing, or through using prostheses, or in what concerns the revision of the conception of human condition – from the image of the cyborg. The author uses the cyborg to work with the crossings and boundaries, the ability of creating chimeras, of human-machine entities, virtual communities, besides other forms of social and biological life. From a perspective that refutes the speeches of purity or natural categories – in which makes reference to the seek of a consensus on the human condition – Haraway (2009) makes possible and proposes different ways of analysing how subjectivity and the agency of individuals are being transformed. The cyborg, as a technological artifact and as a cultural icon, is central to understand the relation between bodies, information technologies and technologies used as prosthetic extensions (Hogle 2005).

Haraway (2009) pays attention, like Le Breton (2004), to the computing of the world. According to her, we are in the middle of the transition “from an industrial, organic society, to a polymorphous, informational system” (Haraway 2009, 59), so that it is happening a rearrangement of the social relations in the areas of science and technology that are also changing forms of domination. We passed “from the old and comfortable hierarchical dominations to the new and scary networks which I called ‘informatics of domination’” (Ibid., 59).

This “informatics of domination” – connected a lot with what we have already said about *computing* of individuals and the world –, when rearranging the forms of interaction of its participant individuals with themselves and with other elements that surround them, is not changing the condition of things in a binary pass from something natural to something artificial. It is not a passage from a previous condition, from something that is taken as given or innate to a construction or to something artificial. Here the boundaries between nature and culture, between natural and built, as well as many others begin to be undone, what already begins to demonstrate the author’s positioning, which is contrary to a classification of humanity as separated from animals and machines.

Roughly, the computing of the world could be defined as the

translation of the world in terms of a encrypting problem, i.e., the seek of a common language in which all the resistance to the instrumental control disappears, and all the heterogeneity may be submitted to disassembly, to reassembly, to investment and to change (Ibid., 64, author’s highlight).

Concomitant to the idea of an informatics of domination, Haraway (2009) highlights how cyborgs show themselves present both in contemporary science fiction and medicine: hybrid creatures between animal and machine living both in natural and artificial kingdoms. The author proposes, with the reflection on cyborgs, the advantages of thinking a confusion of boundaries and responsibility in its construction.

The cyborg is the image adopted because through it “nature and culture are restructured: one cannot be any longer the object of appropriation or incorporation by the other” (Ibid., 39). The shade of each of these limitations, as well as its hierarchies, are questioned. The defense of human privilege, whether through language, the use of instruments or through social behavior, is broken, once the cyborg emerges exactly from the transgression between the human and the animal, such as between the boundary between organism and machine and the boundary between the physical and the non-physical. Haraway’s myth of the cyborg then means “transgressed boundaries, powerful fusions and dangerous possibilities – elements that progressive people may explore as one of the components of a necessary political work” (Ibid., 45).

The explosion of dichotomies then comes to be a political weapon of facing this informatics of domination. It is like leaving aside an identity – whether it is human, or machine or animal – to get associated through political parenthood, kinship and coalition. Cyborgs, says Haraway (2009), are illegal children of certain political, social and economic practices, computing practices that seek to subjugate individuals, master them by means of realities developed according to interests, of dualisms which are essential to practices of domination. However, cyborgs subvert the order by reappropriation of the tools of domination. If we are in an “informatics of domination” era, cyborgs make use of writing, literacy, and signs that keep hegemony to rewrite it, restructure it, re-tell it.

Writing is prominently the technology of cyborgs – surfaces recorded of the late 20th century. Cyborg politics is the fight for language, it is the fight against perfect communication, against the single code which translates every meaning in a perfect way – the central dogma of the phallogocentrism. That is why cyborg politics insists in the noise and advocates pollution, taking pleasure away from the illegitimate fusions between animal and machine (Ibid., 88).

These couplings are responsible for subverting the structure and the ways of reproduction of the “western” identity, of the dualisms nature/culture, human/animal, organism/machine, mind/body, deity/human.

To Haraway (2009), from a certain perspective, a world of cyborgs could mean the absolute imposition of a control network over the planet. From another, a world of cyborgs mean “social and corporal lived realities, in which people don’t have their strict kinship with animals and machines, that they don’t fear identities permanently partial and contrary positions” (Ibid., 46).

While Le Breton (2004; 2012) makes an analysis of the computing of the world and point out as resulting aspects from that the political and social implications, the split of the individual and his/her own body, and the changing of the conception of human condition – taking this element as something potentially dangerous –, Haraway (2009) also pays attention to the computing of the world to what she calls “informatics of domination”, from which emerge the cyborgs: entities that no longer bind themselves to the human condition – nor seek to bind to it – but that fluidize themselves one another by their metamorphosis into data, into writing.

Haraway’s cyborgs are the individuals who, standing before the “informatics of domination”, do not prostrate themselves, they do not regret losing their humanity condition, they didn’t cry over their transformation into information; they turned upside down the domination using for that the same tools of domination and of keeping hegemony. It is like if the cyborgs could say: “Were we transformed into pure information? Alright, we then use this breaking of boundaries to get associated in new ways, to also break with the violent dichotomies which don’t cope with the colours we have, we trace rhizomatically our relations in a way to (re)establish connections both with ourselves and with that which escapes to the thickness of our flesh”.

This situation gets very pungent in *Gattaca*: Vincent – as we have already noticed – is submerged in a society in which his life, his relations, his possibilities of existence, are bound to his genetic information, which is taken as the very parameter of his identification. Bearing in mind this microscopic form of domination, he takes Jerome’s physiological material, a valid person, to accomplish his professional aims. In this sense, he appropriates himself of tools of domination (the physiological material whose samples are continually gathered and analysed) to break with the order which avoided him to be an astronaut and which had as a way of controlling exactly the physiological material. Following this kind of reasoning, we may think in the main character of *Gattaca* as a cyborg: by means of technology – what appears when, after an encounter with Jerome, there is a transformation process of Vincent (increasing his height, developing techniques to cheat control etc.) – the boundary between Jerome and Vincent, who begin to have a fluid relation, their existences being even totally bound, is broken.

Having this, it gets clear that what Haraway proposes is that, once there isn't a chance on how to escape from the domination by computing (as it happens in *Gattaca*), that we then re-mean the instruments of domination in a way to subvert them (like Vincent does when he uses Jerome's biological material, described in the excerpt that begins this item). Following this kind of reasoning, the author doesn't criticize nor regrets the re-conceptualization of human condition; she previously teases those who seek to protect this condition: "Why our bodies should terminate in skin? Why at best should we limit ourselves to consider as bodies, apart from humans, only other beings also wrapped by skin?" (Haraway 2009, 92).

For it is not a proposal of a new human condition, and yes, of a new existence condition, that it is not limited nor seeks to keep itself within physiological, moral or material boundaries, it constantly overflows and reconfigures itself – having as unique essential characteristic the endless and continuous construction:

There are no impulse in cyborgs to the production of a total theory; what exists is an intimate experience about boundaries – about their construction and deconstruction. There is a mythical system, waiting to become a political language which may be constituted in the grounds of a way of seeing science and technology, and challenge the informatics of domination – in order to possibly act in a powerful way (ibid., 98).

At the same time that Haraway (2009) and Le Breton (2004; 2012) diverge to what concerns the escapes to break with the domination present in the computing processes – Le Breton (2004; 2012) meeting with criticism on almost compulsory technologization, and Haraway (2009) criticizing these processes at the same time she proposes the subversive appropriation of domination tools – we may approach them together regarding nuances of the individuals. In *Gattaca* we observe the standardization: what happens is almost an orthopaedics of the subjectivities encompassing all individuals in the same normative category, turning the colorful into grey; the iridescent into beige; the contrasts, neutralized. The fact is, whether criticizing standardization – assigning to it the technoscientific interference in the bodies, and consequently in the human condition, as did by Le Breton (2004; 2012) – or proposing new ways of existence – possible by the computing of individuals and by the re-meaning of it, as does Haraway (2009) – the ultimate aim to which the return is desired – almost in Le Breton's (2004; 2012) nostalgia – or the range in a close future, if not in present – through Haraway's (2009) cyborg – is recapturing the colorful, the nuance, the connection with the cosmos, with itself and with the others. After all, isn't it this connection, split into Le Breton's (2012) "modern body", that suggested with Haraway's (2009) cyborg?

HUMANS AND CYBORGS – CONNECTIONS AND CRISS-CROSSES (FINAL WORDS)

When we think in *Gattaca* in a broader way, we see how the movie is putting on debate a kind of dispute for the salvation of humanity between technoscience and recapturing of a humanity with an almost religious character. Notice: the plot of *Gattaca* puts situations of a future society in which human imperfections – coming from the body – were corrected. The story of the movie goes on and technoscience, that was before shown as a panacea of existence, becomes to be seen as a control tool, as regulation of the individuals, and as, as a consequence of these actions, changing the human condition and even its destroyer – as it is possible to observe in Jerome's path, who even though in a condition of "perfected" human being tries to commit suicide.

In this way, what was before the complete solution to life problems (the improvement of existence) lifting it up almost to a condition of divinity, becomes a source of inhumanity, the loosing of an essence which in the movie is taken as special (as something that gives meaning to life and is substantial to the maintenance of what characterizes us as humans). In the end, the argument of the film approaches to a position that considers human condition, although not perfect, something in high esteem.

In this way, *Gattaca* has a positioning almost nostalgic of a body pre-individualism, pre-Cartesian split, by showing a body associated to the human it incarnates, a body that wasn't taken as surplus, as an object far from being, a body that connects to human in itself, to the others and to the cosmos.

Le Breton (2012) considers that the relation of the human with his/her body is woven in the imaginary and in the symbolic, that is, the body is not a mechanism. If the symbolic dimension of the body is excluded, the body would be dissociated from the individual becoming a mere manipulable object, simple raw matter from the transformations of which is target.

Then, two proposals of solution to the human incompleteness caused by the dualistic dissociation not only of the spirit or the soul related to the body become noticeable, going more subtly from the individual of his/her own body: one meets what the movie shows us and the species of *nostalgia* that comes together with Le Breton's (2004; 2012) ideas – the conception that we must retake the condition prior to the split that worked between the individual and his/her own body, and that configured the existence of the "modern body" –, and another that converges to Haraway's (2009) ideas of *re-meaning technoscience* and of creating networks among individuals so that the Cartesian individualism bound to the hegemonic use of *informatics of domination* breaks.

Le Breton (2004; 2012) takes a position in favor of a preservation of the human condition which, in a certain way, is bound to the proposal of rethinking the technoscientific incisions in the body and rethinking the social and structural consequences which are working due to the absence of reflection about computing the world. Likewise, the author suggests to reflect about the inability of noticing the symbolic and non-measurable aspect that indefinitely binds the individual to his/her body, and therefore influences on the condition of humanity. The alignment of these ideas is what also passes through, in a subtle way, but very visibly, the proposal put by the movie: a criticism about the use of technology, once this makes us waive the human condition, changes the essential randomness to existence of this manner of being in the world.

Contrarily to Le Breton's (2004; 2012) reflections, we glimpse Haraway's (2009) proposals. To the author, there should not be a worry about preserving a human condition. Preserving it would be the maintenance of binaries (such as nature/culture, man/woman, organism/machine etc.). The *informatics of domination* is problematic, but if we take part of it and re-mean it, it will be possible not only defeating Cartesian dualism but also changing dualistic (and superficial) sources of oppression:

Firstly, the production of a universal theory, totalitarian, is a big mistake that leaves apprehending – probably forever, but surely now – the greater part of reality. Secondly, taking the responsibility of the social relations of science and technology means refusing an anti-scientific metaphysics, a demonology of technology and, thus, to embrace the skillful task of rebuilding daily life boundaries, in partial connection with the others, in communication with every part of us. It isn't only about the idea that science and technology are possible means of great human satisfaction, as well as a matrix of complex dominations. The image of the cyborg may suggest a way of escaping the labyrinth of dualisms by means of which we have been explaining our bodies and our instruments to ourselves (Haraway 2009, 98-99).

The icon of the cyborg encompasses the idea that one can choose his/her own impersonation or incorporation. At the same time when the body becomes surplus, computerized and apart of the individual that becomes his/her owner, there is a species of returning to a condition prior to this body/individual split. This happens because the body becomes a site of relations, not a mere case with agency. In this way, the body (with the disruption of boundaries between machine, animal/human and animal/non-human) comes to join back to the individual and, why not, to the cosmos.

Trying to show what we are saying in a more tangible way, we organized the scheme in the Le Breton/Haraway table, in order to clarify the visualization of the relations we propose to think on:

table
Le Breton/
Haraway. Source:
Halina Rauber-
-Baio (2013).

	Le Breton/ <i>Gattaca</i>	Haraway
Human condition	To be preserved	To be discarded
Computing of the world	O autor denuncia os perigos	The author highlights the <i>informatics of domination</i> and proposes (re) appropriation and re-meaning control tools
Proposal for a less subordinated existence...	...to scientific control: return to an existence prior to the individualistic split	...to scientific control and to dualisms: transformation of individuals into information in order to break the ontological and oppression relation keeper boundaries

Le Breton approaches to a final position put by *Gattaca*, but at the same time there is a position in the movie that is related to what Haraway proposes if we think in the way as the character Vincent subverts the microscopic control when using Jerome's organic material to accomplish his goal of becoming an astronaut – Vincent is simultaneously a cyborg and a paradigm of human being untouched by science. It is in this way that the authors make a debate related to what is put in the movie. Their ideas put at the same time a kind of problem of the film, debate in which *Gattaca* approaches more to Le Breton's (2004; 2012) criticism, even though, in a certain way, there are the characteristic appropriations of Haraway's (2009) cyborgs.

Despite the differences, it seems to us that at last, both proposals are converging to the same point: it is necessary to think in connections and relations of individuals among themselves, along with themselves and with the cosmos – including, we dare to say, all forms of existence, whether animal or mineral. It is about the symbiosis with the world, not in the way of a standardization, but of an enriched and enriching perspective, the seek for a co-architecture in building knowledge and knowledge over itself. This way of connection gets clear in Vincent's final words in *Gattaca* when he is about to leave Earth:

To somebody who wasn't made for this world, I must admit... suddenly it is difficult to leave it. They say that every atom of your body once was a star. Maybe I'm not leaving. Maybe I'm going home (Niccol 1997).

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It is about (re)taking the capacity of seeking for the own nerves through the skin of the world, such as someone who seeks the roots of trees through earth; it is about of flooding the lungs with the air that surrounds the planet for centuries and letting yourself dancing in spiral with stardust.

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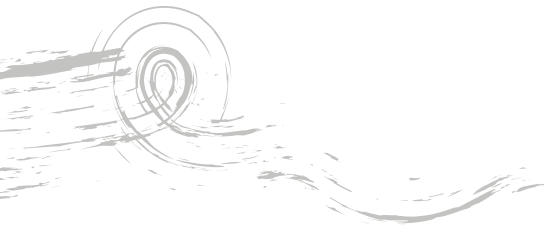
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THE RURAL SEEN FROM TWO VIEWPOINTS IN THE MOVIE *I TRAVEL BECAUSE I NEED IT, I RETURN BECAUSE I LOVE YOU*

ABSTRACT

This analysis focuses on rural representations of the Brazilian northeastern backwoods in the movie “I travel because I need it, I return because I love you”, directed by Karim Aïnouz and Marcelo Gomes and released in 2009. We assume that a cinematographic work, even if resulting from the subjective vision of a cinematographic narrator, when understood as a society cultural product, also carries in its discourse representations of that society and its historical time. In this article, the examination of these representations will be performed through the analysis of the significant elements of cinematographic language (framing, lighting, camera movements, etc.) used in the narrative construction, since we believe that it is from the choice of every element of language that a movie can reveal to its viewers the aesthetic and ideological representations of a given social time.

keywords

Movies; Rural; Social
representation; Language; Film
decomposition.

INTRODUCTION

In 1999, Karim Aïnouz and Marcelo Gomes traveled to Brazilian northeast documenting their landscapes and their people in several audiovisual formats (35mm, 16mm, Super-8 and video digital cameras) to produce the documentary “Sertão acrylic blue swimming pool”, released in 2004 for Itaú Cultural project.

Years later they reused the captured images and made a new movie called “I travel because I need it, I return because I love you”, released in 2009. In the absence of a character who led the plot, the directors created a protagonist - the geologist José Renato - and inserted him in the movie edition, thus connecting the old images. The viewer can't see José Renato since his presence is created by a voice-over¹, then the movie images are those seen by José Renato or captured by him.

In this movie the geologist leaves Fortaleza for a trip to work in north-east backwoods. His function is to technically evaluate the course of an aquifer channel that will be built to connect Xexéu (PE) to Rio das Almas (BA). In the thirty days that the trip lasts, José Renato analyzes the native vegetation, the soil and the rock formations of the places where the canal will pass. In the vacant hours it also captures the people's life in a video camera. And it's about the video recordings made by José Renato, or rather, on the records of the cinematographic narrators - the directors Karim Aïnouz and Marcelo Gomes - that this analysis concentrates.

Since its conception, a movie deals with choices and viewpoints that organize the perception and reconstruct the reality, “an aesthetic reality that results from the vision eminently subjective and personal of the director”, as Betton says (1987, 09). Thus, we believe that through the movie “I travel because I need it, I return because I love you”, we can find clues about the representations of rural life aspects in the Brazilian northeast of the 2000s. We assume that all movies, whether fictions or documentaries, carry social representations of historical world in which the narrator lives.

In this movie, the representations of the rural are not just constructed through the verbal signs, as the actor's speeches, but also through the various elements of meaning that constitute the cinematographic language, such as the shots, angles, camera movements, music, speech, noise, silence, lighting, costumes, scenery and editing. According to Citelli (1999, 26), for the study of values and ideas contained in a discourse, whatever it is, we should observe the nature of the signs that

1. Voice over - indication used when there is a flow of thinking; when the character is reflecting or dreaming, without it to appear in the picture.

construct it: “the way of disposing the sign, the choice of one or another resource, would reveal multiple ideological commitments.”

METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES

For the analysis of the significant elements of the cinematographic language we apply the methodology suggested by Penafria (2009): the so-called “image and sound analysis”, which concentrates on the decomposition of film space in each unit of action (a shot) and subsequent analysis of the various elements of meaning of the cinematographic language. For the author, the decomposition of the cinematographic narrative refers to concepts “about image (to make a plastic description of shots concerning framing, composition, angle, etc.), sound (as voice-over and outros resources) and film structure (plans, scenes, sequences)”.

Although this type of analysis has similarities to a purely structural study, the method is in fact tied to an examination of elements external to the movie: this analysis considers the movie as the result of a set of relations, “in which happened their production and realization, such as their social, cultural, political, economic, aesthetic and technological context” (Penafria, 2009, 07).

As already said, social representations can't be analyzed separately from the social time in which they are produced, because the cultural manifestations of a country are deeply linked to the dynamics of its society, and, as such, have the property of allowing a questioning about the same historical context. As Hall (2005, 50) confirms, a national culture is a discourse - “a way of constructing meanings that influences and organizes both our actions and our conception of ourselves.”

Therefore, it's essential to relate the image and sound analysis suggested by Manuela Penafria with an evaluation of the social context in which the movies were produced and exhibited. Particularly, here we analyze how San Francisco River transposition project, initiated by the Federal Government in 2007 and which provides the construction of more than 700 kilometers of concrete channels in two axes (north and east) along four states (Pernambuco, Paraíba, Ceará and Rio Grande do Norte), influences the vision of the cinematography narrator - the directors Karim Ainouz and Marcelo Gomes - when they created the Brazilian northeastern rural representations in the movie “I travel because I need, I return because I love you”.

THE EXTERNAL AND THE INTERNAL NARRATORS

The movie begins with a long shot of a road at night, from Jose Renato's viewpoint, who is alone driving his car. On the radio plays Peninha's

song “Dreams”, a classic corny about a failed relationship, which, as we let’s know later, is the loving condition of the geologist, abandoned by the woman he loves and calls Galega.

By day, always from your viewpoint and in low resolution images, we see the horizon ahead, the sky full of clouds and the arid landscape beside the road. The framing is fixed, despite the car’s movement and the bikes and trucks that travel along the road. Movements only exist outside the immobility of José Renato. In addition to his speech, the only sounds are the romantic songs that continue to play on the car radio and the vehicle noises, which set the type of diegetic sound².

This audiovisual structure is repeated almost throughout the movie, as well as the bitter remarks of José Renato, who making comments - for himself or, perhaps, recording them to a principal - about his working tools, the geography of the region and especially about his inadequacy to travel, the precariousness of the region and the lack of perspectives of its inhabitants.

Today is october 28, public agent’s day. In Fortaleza nobody works in the office, and I here in this dry clod giving a damn hard. [...] I’ve just started to travel and everything irritates me. The landscape does not change, it’s always the same. It seems that it does not leave the place ... [...] What agony this place. Everything drags on ... Fucking longing... (Ainouz and Gomes, 2009).

The use of the subjective camera³ to represent the geologist’s viewpoint it a narrative resource that leaves most clues about the cinematographic narrators. It leads the viewer to put yourself in the internal narrator viewpoint - José Renato - and, consequently, also leads to the external narrator viewpoint, the cinematographic.

At a glance, the subjectivity may refer to a recurring resource among the cinematographic works about the northeastern backwoods produced since 1995, a period known as Resumption, where the region stop being the scene of the political and social conflicts of Cinema Novo to be the place of personal conflicts. For Lucia Nagib (2000, 116), the Resumption filmmakers are more attracted to the exotic than to revolutionary feelings - “obsessively focused on the individuality of the characters to the detriment of the social context.”

2. Diegetic sound - all sound coming from a sound source that is seen in the image.

3. Subjective camera - camera that stands in the character’s point of view.

As Ismail Xavier (2001, 50) reminds us,

It seemed that cinema was now lighter, without the weight of a project of intervention or social transformation, [...] without that feeling of urgency in which each film showed behind the camera an intellectual to diagnose the country as a whole and to think for all of us, by the different segments of society.

But in a deeper analysis, we perceive that the movie social critique is not in the subjectivity of José Renato, that is, it isn't in his still and suffocating gaze to the arid and unoccupied places, nor in his sad speeches. It's in the *mise-en-scène*⁴ that the external narrator viewpoint reveals itself, denying at any moment the subjectivity of José Renato.

Soon, after the first break of the trip we find the clues left by the cinematographic narrator: the geologist is standing in front of a house on the road side, and the only thing that moves is a bird that crosses the frame. Contrasting this melancholic construction of the geologist's gaze, what is seen is a set of simple houses in a clear blue sky and a breeze that brings freshness and life, elements that invalidate the idea of an abandoned and sad backlands.

The following is an image of two residents - Mr. Nino and Mrs. Perpétua - inside the house, next to a small table with pictures and photographs of saints and some photos, probably from the relatives, almost an altar for the family. José Renato explains that they will be the first residents to be expropriated, but there is no reference in the movie about the reason of this expropriation.

The long shot, the speeches interspersed by lengthy silences and especially the couple's fixed and calm stare directed at the geologist, shows the respect of the cinematograph narrator for the integrity of the lives of those people. José Renato says: "They have been married for more than 50 years ... They never had another house, they never had a fight, they never slept a night away from each other ..." (Aïnouz and Gomes, 2009).

In the same shot, the presence of a radio indicates another cinematographic narrator viewpoint of rural life: "Mr. Nino left to turn off the radio and I asked him to come back ... I didn't want to leave them apart" (Aïnouz and Gomes, 2009), as José Renato remarks.

4. *Mise-en-scène* - of French origin, means "placed on the scene". Its origin comes from the classic theater and refers to the movement and positioning of the actors in the stage, as well as in the set of filming; art of theatrical or cinematographic staging.

As Lefebvre (2001, 19) reminds us, like cars and television, radio is an element of “urban material”, that is, coming from the urban society way of life, that is embedded in the countryside. In the scene, being turned off by Mr. Nino, the object is portrayed as disturbing the balance of country life - as a symbol of urbanization. It reinforces this impression the emphasis given to the song of the birds in the background⁵.

The situation of removal lived by the family of Mr. Nino and Mrs. Perpétua immediately refers to the social consequences of São Francisco River transposition project, which in some sections will have its course altered through the construction the irrigate waterways in regions affected by drought. The Brazilian government reasoning is that it will be a work that will lead to commercial development in that regions, but as Oliveira and Rothman (2007, 213) notes, “it forgets that there is a whole of social and anthropological network relations that will be fatally broken”.

In movie, José Renato’s technical comments do not include concerns about the social tension to be generated with the waterways construction:

Further study is needed on the economic viability of the waterway in this region. Shifting high voltage towers on so many roads may be unfeasible. Perhaps the ideal is opt for other places. [...] Why they insist build here? Really, it’s not my problem”. (Ainouz and Gomes, 2009)

But it is perceived by *mise-en-scène* that the cinematographic narrator is concerned about the social cost of people removing: the distance from their hometown and the loss of their culture. Is that Colito (2000, 283) evaluates when analyzes the buildings impacts of Jataizinho Hydroelectric Power Plant on Tibagi River, which we believe are the same as the São Francisco River transposition project:

The physical space socially constructed may lose the references built through the relations established in many years of daily life, but its multiple meanings will not be considered by the technocratic evaluation. [...] Family landscapes will cease to dwell. For some, the great lake will represent a “new thing” to be exploited, but for many people, especially those who have formed their properties, will mean losses that will not be restored (Colito, 2000, 283).

Another exemplary cinematographic sequence is the geologist visit to Manuel Constantino’s family house, where live the couple and their six

5. Background - Any sound that overlaps an image or another sound.

children. The boys help the father in the farm fields and the girls help the mother in domestic jobs. José Renato comments: “There is no electricity. The family lives in extreme isolation. But they seem happy ... but I doubt this happiness” (Aïnouz and Gomes, 2009).

But what the *mise-en-scène* presents is a simple, but large, clean and airy house, under a clear blue sky. All the family members are well dressed, and even without smiling they do not express discomfort or ignorance, how we perceived by the daughter with a book in her hands, which is the reason for more bitter geologist’s comments: “One of them reads and relays Dom Casmurro, from Machado de Assis” (Aïnouz and Gomes, 2009).

Most of the images in this sequence show the family members gathered in groups, also contradicting another José Renato’s comment: “On this trip I only see loneliness in front of me” (Aïnouz and Gomes, 2009).

After the visit to the Constantino’s house, the geologist back on the road again, and, on the way, he thinks about details of the local daily, like the clothes on the clothesline, a father tickling his son, mother and daughter sitting watching the road, a couple walking hugged by the road side. Everything is recorded in long shots, but unlike the road drawn shots from the beginning of the movie.

In that sequence, the slow montage reflects the respect of the external narrator by the way these people perceive their existence: a life rhythm more connected to the nature time, more contemplative and less stressful than the metropolis rhythm. This new audiovisual construction suggests a mixture between the two narrators viewpoints, the internal and external, which are get confused.

In the next scene, Renato also turns his gaze to the smiling pilgrims, who wave of trucks decorated with images of saints, flowers and colorful flags; and he hears the sound of joyful honks and the children’s clatter playing at dusk.

Arriving in Caruaru, the most populous city of the interior of Pernambuco State, José Renato searches for a hotel, but according himself, a “suitable” hotel with a double bed, minibar and air conditioning: “because I cannot take roadside’s slum anymore” (Aïnouz and Gomes, 2009).

According Candido (1971, 165), these material needs “contribute to creating or intensifying ties with the cities life”. Although the author’s statement is directed to his study of the peasants in the region of Bofete’s city (SP), we believe that the idea can be extended to this analysis, since the recurrent view of José Renato to other symbols of urbanization, such as

trucks, gas stations and neon signs, suggests the intention to reaffirm at all times his connection with the urban world.

At dawn, from the window of the hotel room, José Renato observes the montage of a fair. Then the geologist opens his heart, giving more information about his disillusionment love and his longing of the past with Galega. From this moment of the movie, the hard and suffocating frames used to characterize José Renato viewpoint become more flexible: the camera begins to move, following the workers movement.

The sound is designed in order to value the fair noise, with talks and laughs. In the following scenes the tone voice of José Renato is rejoicing, especially when he talks about the hotel's breakfast, suggesting an appreciation of the typical foods served in the hotel: "Breakfast was free. It included couscous, coffee with milk and guava pulp juice" (Ainouz and Gomes, 2009).

From this sequence, also we can see a more affectionate look of Jose Renato; a look built by mid shots⁶ that brings a greater approach to the people and the local things, as the details of a little music box and the hands of an artisan trimming synthetic foam rose leaves of strong color. Soon after the approach is strengthened, when a girl who begs for alms at the roadside is framed in close-up⁷ and José Renato compares his eyes to Galega's eyes.

The insertion of colored elements in the *mise-en-scène*, as the deep blue background behind the girl and the straw mattress quilt with flowery cloth that dries in the sun, also reinforces the suggestion a probable break in the José Renato's resistance to insert himself in the backwoods' life.

This idea is evidenced when José Renato begins to interact with the people he encounters along the way, whether through smiles thrown directly at the geologist - in the case of the circus's popcorn seller and the self-employed camped along the roadside - or through "interviews" he records with the couple Carlos and Selma and with the man who manufactures the straw mattress.

The strengthening of José Renato's dialogue with the hinterland is evident through the "interview" with Patricia, in the first moment of the film in which the protagonist addresses directly to someone. Patricia is dancer and call-girl, and her participation is highlighted perhaps because she desires the same as the geologist - a "life-leisure": "a life-leisure is like this: I in my house, me and my daughter, a mate that I have

6. Mid shot - a shot that frames someone or something closely.

7. Close - shot that frames only the face of the character. That a emphatic resource that privileges expressions and feelings.

by my side, to forget all those wrong moments. It is sad to love and not be loved” (Aïnouz and Gomes, 2009).

According Candido (1971, 254), the presence of prostitutes on the outskirts – as Patricia, Larissa and other women with whom the geologist relates – is one of the effects of the family disintegration caused by the migratory movement of poor people, from the interior to big cities, as Caruaru, one of the most populous of Pernambuco.

But in the movie, Caruaru city also reveals elements of cultural resistance, as shown in the scenes in which Patricia plays in a dance cheered up by a regional musical group composed of accordion and triangle players. Among the regulars is a couple dancing with a baby on their lap, indicative of the interaction between the outskirts people.

Like the small altar in Mr. Nino and Mrs. Perpétua’s house, the dance is one of the elements of preservation of rural culture, which, as Antônio Candido (1971, 202) says, “allow us to resist the impact of change [for the city] and mitigate its disorganizing effects”.

Almost at the end of the movie, when José Renato arrives at the Rio das Almas gorge, in Piranhas city, the starting point of the river transposition, the image becomes more defined, the boats are moving and the sky is a deep blue. The geologist records pictures of chairs in the street, the church tower and other details of the place, as if he wanted to keep a memory of the city’s quiet life, which has had most of its inhabitants removed.

In this place José Renato assumes the end of his love relationship and begins to dissociate himself from the bitterness and appreciate old daily experiences: “That’s why I made this trip: to move, to walk again. Return to eat fillet sandwich, go back to riding a motorcycle, return to see the Fortaleza Soccer Team win, to go back to the beach on Sunday, to return to live” (Aïnouz and Gomes, 2009).

The moment is translated by the moving camera that follows the geologist climbing stairs quickly, revealing, probably, his desire to untie himself from Galega. When he arrives at the end of the stairs, which leads to a monument, José Renato says that his will is to plunge into life, with courage, as do the Acapulco jumpers.

The images illustrate the story: men jumping from high cliffs to plunge into the sea. If at first glance the metaphor may seem poor, it may mean that José Renato has not completely broken his resistance to the northeastern backlands, because the reference to the Mexican

city and the jumpers could indicate that the protagonist is definitively connected to the urban, since Acapulco can be considered a urbanity sign for been a overseas tourist place, an exclusive destination of the rich city residents.

translation

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And, by extension, perhaps the cinematographic narrator is also trying to say that, even if the northeastern backlands is inside us, as character Riobaldo says in the Guimarães Rosa's book "The devil to pay in the backlands", irreversibly the urban world will immerse and swallow the rural communities of our country, as the waters swallow the jumpers of Acapulco and the Rio das Almas will swallow Piranhas.



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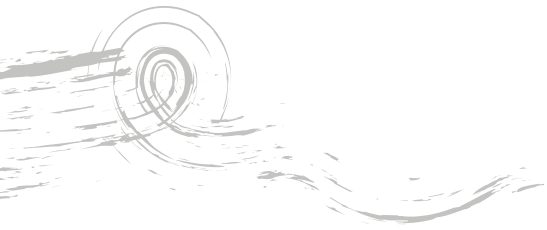
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ETHNO-CINEMA, YOUTHS AND PUBLIC HEALTH: THE SOCIAL PRACTICE OF THE CINEMA AND THE INTERDISCIPLINARY APPROACH ON RESEARCH

ABSTRACT

We propose in this paper a theoretical purview within the fields of Anthropology and Cinema, Public Health, Creative Processes, and Youth Studies to analyze youth film production on the outskirts of São Paulo, as a social practice tied to cinema. Data from this academic literature was triangulated with that the data collected in ethnographic research and data constituted through the analysis of a short-film virtual bank, projecting media technologies as sources of information on behavioral and social characteristics. Results include identifying diverse social expressions of young people as being specific to each community, and also revealed in the films produced; the creative process moves between real and virtual worlds through the use of social networks by youth groups while emerging as a research *locus* by evidencing a series of choices; collective artistic creation as a preventive strategy in the field of Public Health.

keywords

Cinema and Health; Visual Anthropology; Public Health; Youths and Outskirts; Social Communication.

INTRODUCTION

In this article we analyzed the theoretical scope that helped us to think about the film production by young people on the outskirts of São Paulo¹ as a social practice affiliated to cinema². The critical-theoretical revision was triangulated with the data collected through participant observation, presented in this article, and the data constructed by an analysis of a bank of short films³, presented in another article. The results reveal that the diversity of social expressions affiliated with young people changes in accordance to their specific community, and furthermore this affects the films produced. But, in what social and political context do these youth live, even though they have different cultural specificities?

They are young people from low-income families, residents of the outskirts of big metropolises, such as São Paulo, for example, who are encouraged to develop skills that allow them to live with the paradox of having as home a place from which they have to move away. This obligation appears in the form of necessity, when they face extremely long travel times to reach places of study, work and leisure, and perhaps they turn these hardships into a yearning for better opportunities for themselves in social terms. But what does it mean to talk about the outskirts of big cities in Brazil?

It is rather to imagine or unveil a space-time of abandonment by the state, located in the geographical limits of the cities or embedded in the middle of them. The outskirts of the big cities are marked by social and fiscal neglect, as well as by constant gentrification's processes. These territories are subject to parallel forms of governability that dictate local standards and rules in the absence of any legislation (Feltran, 2012). They are other spaces and times, because the average citizen is incapable of imagining such a reality. Places where dreams are curtailed, hindering the development of autonomy and communication beyond this environment. It is a place where everyone is watched and everyone is a potential enemy. Educational standards are very low, health services are inadequate, safety standards are ineffective -

1. Another article "Perception in film montage like as an internal ordering process: films produced by youths in Sapopemba - outskirts of São Paulo" corresponds to the ethnographic field of theoretical scope presented here, by Eveline Stella de Araujo and Paulo Rogério Gallo, available in: <https://pontourbe.revues.org/2438>.

2. Graemer Turner, in 1970, proposes the term Social Practice of Cinema and develops an interdisciplinary theory on the subject; however the term is taken as the social activity of going to the cinema, instead of a Social Practice of Cinema while An artistic, political and social empowerment force, as in this article. We understand, in this article, that the whole process of film making and film festivals are social cinema practices.

3. The related base of short films can be accessed through this link http://www.kinoforum.org.br/webdoc/#linha_do_tempo, access. October 9, 2016.

we refer to general safety standards as including a set of factors such as street illumination, sanitation, and public security. Furthermore, beyond what is offered by churches and bars, there are very few cultural spaces. Within this context, this article is based on the understanding that the relationships between young people and the community they live in goes beyond any individual question and pertains to the collective in light of the fact that the surrounding environment affects and even defines social relations.

In this article, we focus on cinema as a social practice of empowerment, shifting the potential of artistic production from the individual – as proposed by Nise da Silveira (1986) within the context of mental illness – to collective forms of preventive health: as a strategy of social advancement in the field of Public Health, as reflected upon by Araujo and Gallo (2014).

Thus, in proposing the elaboration of film productions about the living world, the objective was to promote a reflection on the social and urban condition of the participants, young people aged 14-24, living in Sapopemba, East Zone of São Paulo. The film festival and the interlocution with social networks on the internet and blogs amplified the voice of these young people, reverberating the issues dealt with in the films beyond the lived territory, placing the local and global in a dialogue. The young people, in making short films, also realized the reflection of their own image of marginality and constructed representations of themselves in dialogue with their peers and with the society by the virtual network and artistic events. Authors of Anthropology and Cinema have brought us elements to think about the socio-cultural representations and to give voice to the populations silenced or invisible; those authors of the Public Health and Creative Processes, to analyze the potential of health promotion from the collective practice of the arts; and those who research themes of the Youths, enhancing relations with communication and the virtual environment. We started by the field of Youths introducing who are the subjects producing films, relating the youth category to the identification of spaces of 'real' and 'virtual' circulation, describing the characteristics of social behaviors and forms of resistance and adaptation to the capitalist social exclusion system.

YOUTH'S: BEHAVIOR AND COMMUNICATION

In this theoretical field, the researcher of youth in Latin America, Canclini (2009, 210) proposes that one should “take seriously, without attenuating, the mismatch between hegemonic organizational forms and the predominant behaviors among young people”. There is a contradiction between conventional visions of social temporality and those emerging in youth cultures. According to this author, in asking what it means to be young these days “society is responding to itself that it has little capacity, so to speak, to rejuvenate itself, to listen to those who could change it” (*ibid.*, 210).

With this, the role of the youths is to confront the previous generation showing how much it is able to reformulate, provoking the dialogue. When this does not happen, this author considers that such a society is stagnant.

The context of large metropolises, such as the city of São Paulo, accentuates this dialogue and forms of social manifestations, either by the proximity of the people who identify themselves, or by the urban mobility, as well as by the available technological networks, which are more quickly updated in the big centers. These factors have partially interfered with the process of personal exposure, mostly by young people, on the Internet. The speed of technological development re-elaborates the outskirts-center relation as it was given previously. The popularization of the digital camera in mobile phones, access to the Internet, in the early 2000s, and the creation of the *Youtube* platform, in 2005, followed by the proliferation of social networks on the Internet, there was motivational leverage of juvenile protagonism of the outskirts, interfering even in the mainstream programming.

Youths, in this sense, like to be noticed, to be present in a critical way, allowing the adult to stop to think, to reflect on behaviors automated by the responsibilities and the routine of work. Understanding what these young people mean, how they communicate using film language, and what their appropriation of the Internet is rather an expectation of establishing dialogic communication relations in a polyphonic city, in terms of Canevacci (2004).

Youths of the great metropolis, in Brazil, have grown since the end of the 20th century with the constant stimulus of the audiovisual and film language spread by television and film and at the beginning of the 21st century, there was also the broadcasting of the mass media on the Internet, this way the audiovisual language became familiar and habitual. Several studies analyze the influence of these media and this language on the young (Fischer, 2005; Njaine, 2006; Conti et al., 2010). In this sense, several researches developed in the field of Urban Anthropology (Magnani, 1992) investigate the formation of 'urban tribes' and the forms of circulation and socialization of youths in the city. Among them, we can mention Carrano (2002), Pais and Blass (2004) and Rosatelli (2007). Carrano (2002) has identified the urban circulation spaces of young people, proposing a critical analysis of the concept of tribe, based on Benjamin's method of deviance (1984). In the ethnographic field, this author sought the playfulness among young residents of Angra dos Reis, Rio de Janeiro. By observing the spaces of leisure and culture, he approached the practitioners of RPG - Role Playing Game or Mental Games, Skate, Punk-Rock, Funk and Capoeira, letting himself be carried by the networks that appeared between these fields, revealing the meaning of the different behaviors that characterize each of the groups and the connections established among them. One of the findings of Carrano (2002, 211) was the identification of the dynamics of the relationship systems, defined by the knowledge domain of

the group's key activity. The empirical data have led him to conclude that it is on the dialectic between the identification with the globality of the culture and the creative possibilities of the place that the youth of that locality configured their social arrangements. The youths' ways of living and the various ways of being young are marked by differences in social and economic conditions, according to the author, and all groups described by him have in common the critique of the hegemonic system, called "art of communicative mediation" (*ibid.*, 223).

Pais (2004) has conducted field research with young Portuguese, analyzing the "real definitions" and "verbal definitions" (attributed), based on the concepts of tribe and friction. According to the author, the "dimension of group resistance, substantively linked to the idea of friction, it is present in the phenomenon of urban tribes" (*ibid.*, 12). In the descriptive sequence of 'tribes', he demonstrates the connections - conflicting and fluid points of contact at the same time - among graffiti, skaters, punks, funks, raves, new hippers, and others, confirming that liminality territories are territories of friction, in which the dominant order is confronted, transgressed. This author considers that the conflicting factor appears, in large part, associated "to artistic production, to the extent that the art world is transgressive by nature" (*ibid.*, 17).

In the field of research on the audiovisual production of young people, Rosatelli (2007) held a field with young participants in the workshop Education Act (Ação Educativa) in São Paulo. The young participants came from a variety of popular layers and all had brought earlier narratives of active social participation in their communities of origin: "Any example brought by young people mentioned two or more forms of expression as a point of entry into the cultural universe [...]. Among the most mentioned youth cultural productions we find theater, graffiti, dance, and the constant presence of Hip Hop" (Rosatelli, 2007, 91). The attraction of young people for the audiovisual language is justified by this author for the ability to explore the resources of various artistic expressions in this unique medium. He also highlighted the different preferences for artistic modalities according to the gender of the young participants of the study:

In the boys' reports appeared the music, strongly represented by Hip Hop in the first place. Tagging and graffiti as forms of plastic expression linked to the Hip Hop movement were also cited in the process of cultural initiation [...]. The girls has found in the theater and dance, forms of corporal expression, Rosatelli (2007, 91).

The use of body expression as an artistic manifestation is a factor related to the social conditions of the locality. While Rosatelli (2007) has identified the preference of young girls participants for activities related to body expres-


sion, such as the representation of fiction scenes, reporting on the street or interviewers of specialists in front of the camera, in the ethnographic field presented in this article on production in the Sapopemba region, in the East Zone of São Paulo, the question of gender in relation to the preference for body expression was inverted: young boys had preference for this modality of artistic expression. The retraction of body showing by the feminine young inhabitants of Sapopemba is associated with the protection factor developed by this group in the face of high levels of violence in the territory (Araujo e Gallo, 2014). The social dynamics of a specific territory or community in a given historical time interferes in social behavior, producing protective and preventive modes of action, including those projected on the screen.

The sense of belonging to the group, demonstrated by Rosatelli, indicated a bond with the place, with the community and with the struggle for a better condition of life. This characteristic of belonging to the territory seems to motivate the use of the filmic language, as a form of popular communication, in the terms of Peruzzo (2009) and as strategy of art movements and politics, “artivism”, in the terms of Raposo (2015, 4).

Representing the community, and no longer a style or ‘tribe’ is a political-social aspect to guarantee existence, living in an articulated and committed way:

The ideal of representing the locality was evidenced in the posture of three girls, before the atelier’s existence. They have brought the mark of learning multiplication as something prior to the video project. The idea of knowledge socialization was a personal characteristic of the young, do not imposed by the communities (Rosatelli 2007, 95).

Teamwork builds trust among the young participants and their responsibility in the productive process, according to Rosatelli (2007, 102). Allow to this young to rethink their own condition and intervention capacity in the social context. Other researches in the field of youth and audiovisual were carried out by Alvarenga (2006) in the context of training workshops in Minas Gerais (BR); Lyra (2009) on cinema in the outskirts and films of low budget, denominated of Border Cinema; Cirello (2010) outlining the relationship between cinema and education in Brazil from 1990 to 2009; and Souza (2011) with the analysis of representations into Brazilian cinema. In this way, even though communication in the contemporary world has as its main characteristic the technological mediation, this is a characteristic of communication in any historical time. The Internet and new communication technologies play a significant role in the construction of what Araujo and Gallo (2014) called *habitus of ubiquity*, a concept that in this article is analyzed from the replication of the presence itself in several virtual



environments connected to the internet. By applying this concept to the youth practices of using the internet network, we have identified that the connections - the points of contact - between the actual youth groups and those of the virtual social networks and sites can be understood as a peculiar feedback system in which the content generated for one platform is appropriate and used in another, and vice versa: the site leads to YouTube, or Instagram that leads to Blog, Twitter, Facebook, and so many other forms and means of expression. There is an immense space for productions considering the access democratization and the property of blogs and video platforms such as *Youtube*, *Vimeo*, free of charge or in an accessible cost.

In researching the virtual extension of youth cultural manifestations, especially the Hip Hop culture, Simões (2008) had verified in the virtual field a recognition of the real field as a way of qualifying a certain form of cultural manifestation.

For the author:

Urban space appropriated physically and symbolically, is thus transposed to the Internet, which simultaneously de-contextualizes and preserves it, giving it a broader scope, but at the same time, being able to maintain various allusions to the place. This is what can be seen through the various pages, *blogs* and *photologs* of the *writers* and the *graffiti artists*, or through the sites of various rap bands, MCs and DJs, which not only reveal their geographical origin but also claim the symbolic importance of itself online, Simões (2008, 8).

The identification and even the affiliation to a territory are important to understand the local social relations, but how to analyze this identification in a global plan, what is the relevance of this factor?

Santos (2005) states that no city, apart from the metropolis, has as well quantitatively as qualitatively virtual information of the same value throughout the urban network. According to the author, “the organizer data is the space of territorial structuring flows” driven by “the new hierarchy principle, by the hierarchy of information ... and a new obstacle to a more fruitful interrelationship between agglomerations of the same level, a new reality of urban systems” (Santos, 2005, 132-3). In this way, it is possible to think of this identification in the virtual environment having as one of the objectives to give visibility also to the territory, which potentiates the social structure of the youngsters by re-signifying both virtually through the processes of artistic creation. In this same logic, we identified several projects of audiovisual and cinema workshops developed in several regions, most in the city of São Paulo, and others that extrapolate the limits of this territory always with a contribution of virtual structure for visibility to youth filmic production in Brazil.

Here are some examples of these workshops:

- Kinoforum⁴ Workshops - works in partnership with local NGOs and encourages the formation of Artistic Collectives, since 2001 in the city of São Paulo. It is also the sponsor of the International Short Film Festival of São Paulo - http://www.kinoforum.org.br/webdoc/#linha_do_tempo -;
- Itinerant Video Workshop Tela Brasil, started its activities in 2007 and operates throughout the country - <http://www.telabr.com.br/oficinas-itinerantes/oficinas/> - It is linked to Cine Tela Brasil, a festival that intends to form public.
- Video Workshop Criar - it seeks talents to participate in the courses at Instituto CRIAR, since 2003 in São Paulo - <http://www.institutocriar.org/> -;
- Workshop É Nós na Fita - the training is given in public schools in various parts of the city of São Paulo and includes the exhibition of all the production in Cine Culture Bookstore, has been operating since 2014 and has as its sponsor the In-Brazil company that coordinates the In-Edit Festival - <http://www.enoisnafita.com.br/curso/mostra-de-encerramento/> or also in <https://vimeo.com/enoisnafita>.

These initiatives work with the production of short films and have as financial support the Culture Incentive Law, in the Federal or Municipal modalities. This discussion alone brings elements for further analysis in another article. On top of this, all initiatives have aimed at increasing the autonomy of the participants - from the notion of social empowerment, propose the opening of aesthetic and content dialogue with the mainstream and bring the issues of cinema to the screen, improving the levels of social and cultural representation of the outskirts in the television programs and in the films, stimulating social reflections.

In the context presented in this article, we bring film productions from two workshops developed for ethnographic observation offered at the Friends of the Sapopemba Neighborhood Society, East Zone of São Paulo, for young people aged 14-24 years, with no financial contribution from the cultural incentive laws, developed by Araujo (2015). A short film of one minute of the Workshop CJ Minute (2012), submitted to the Festival of the Minute, School

4. The database of the short films of the Kinoforum Workshops was originally accessed by the site: <http://www.kinoforum.org.br/oficinas/>, throughout the year 2013, the acquis has been transposed to the link http://www.kinoforum.org.br/webdoc/#linha_do_tempo, in 2016 and accessed in 9 de Out. 2016, in which clicking on the name of each workshop it is possible to watch the films produced in a certain region and year.

category, and the other short film of five minutes of Workshop Cine CJ (2014) submitted at the Short Film Festival of São Paulo, Category Workshops. The goal, with this prior definition of participation in festivals, was to reveal or unveil the way they want to be recognized as a social group.

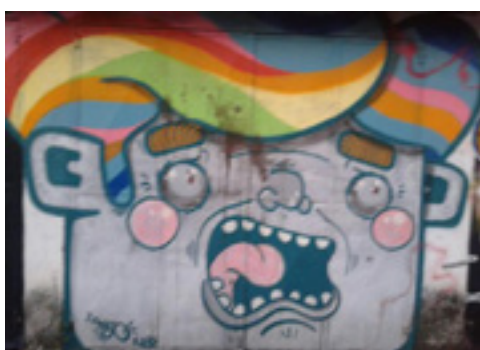
Below are some frames of the film “Na Rua ...” (1min., 2012), indicating the relationship between urban mobility and art, bringing graffiti and skateboarding as allies of youthful protagonism.

frames 1,2 e 3
of the film “Na Rua” by Yuri Gustavo S. Pereira and Pablo Fontana, from the ethnographic field of 2012, available in <https://www.festivaldominuto.com.br/videos/30233?local=pt-BR>, access in 23 April, 2013.



For the analysis of this production, two questions were proposed: “what should appear in the films?” and “what do I want to see in the film I am producing?”. In the example above, initially one of the boys said that he wanted to show “the city’s mistakes, the dogs abandoned in the streets, the garbage in the vacant lots, the policemen picking the kids”, but in the finished film and therefore analyzing the question “what do I want to see in the film I am producing”, they revealed, in a video-clip language alternating images of graffiti on the walls of the neighborhood with images of skateboarding maneuvers. The graffiti shown give the impression of telling a story of the neighborhood with language of comics, with sensations and textures that sensitize the viewer or passer-by from the streets.

pictures 1,2 e 3
Images of group’s collection that made the films “On the Street...” (2012), by Yuri Gustavo S. Pereira and Pablo Fontana



The analysis of the proposed questions it was done through the organization of a folder for each team with all the images captured and it was recorded testimonials on the proposal of the film, after the finished film, testimonies were collected on its production.

In this way, Araujo (2015) evaluated which images were used and which were rejected and the implications of these choices. In the conversation with the filmmakers “On the Street ...”, after they were finished the film, one of them revealed that when choosing the images, he decided to show how he wanted his community to be, revealing and highlighting only the aspects positive effects it contains. In the workshop of 2012, the most frequent themes were: skateboarding, graffiti, dance, funk and rap as cultural expressions found in the outskirts, revealing a strong influence of Hip Hop culture.

The process of creation of the scripts and the production of images were dialogued and debated. Assembly solutions, with the choices of the images that enter the film - that is, those that will serve to speak out of the community - and those that are outside the film - that is, those that, even if they were captured, for the inconvenience they cause, they are matters to be solved within the community and not strengthened outwardly, the sound and musical options reflect and translate these concerns into the final version.

In the 2014 example, we bring the movie “The Hope” (5 min.). It is a fiction about an invasion by zombies in the community that contaminate people with a virus transmitted by the bite. This script was produced in the workshop held with the morning’s class, all students participated in the same production, being the choice taken by the group for not having division in teams taken, and the whole process was collective and collaborative. In this case, there was a greater participation of the boys in front of the cameras and of the girls in the production, the context that explains this option is that in the time of the filming was happening cases of sexual violence in the region and the girls felt more vulnerable if they appeared in the films, various statements and attitudes revealed this situation.

In the production of the film “The Hope”, we identified the use of HQ - frames imitating Comics, exemplified below solution found by the team to shorten the narrative, integrating moving images with HQs in the film language. This solution reflects social data because in the two fields (2012/2014) we find several designers in the workshops, in 2012 an average of seven and in 2014 at least three.

Next are some photos of the actors’ makeup, pictures of the team’s preparation to use the capturing equipment, a podcast with sound designing, as well as the production of comics slides, that was dynamism of the narrative.

picture 4
Girls from
the makeup team.



frame 4
Performance of
the actor with
makeup. Click
on the image to
watch the movie.

picture 5
Team learning
how to use the
sound and video
equipment.



hiperlink 1
Sound of a grunt
of zombie.

frame 5
HQ scene
with the main
characters.



picture 6
Scene of the
escape recorded
in Carmo Park.



In this short film, the fictional language allowed the participants to address the issue of violence in the region, understanding it like as external and that comes in and settles in the territory, often sacrificing the relations of friendship and family relations. The constructed drama puts confidence in the people in question and recognizes the limits of themselves to the survival of the relatives, was an indirect way to approach lived experiences in the territory in relation to the drug traffic and the grooming of young people made in the region. The film allowed to Give new meaning of Carmo's Park for both young people who participated in the recordings, endowing it with new sense and experience, as for those who 'liked' the movie on the internet.

The re-signification of the filmed spaces from the production of the film and the sharing of this on the internet, allowing a new re-signification of the territory by the creative process, improved the self-esteem of these young people, forming a protection network that is maintained until today, many of them do projects together And still maintains friendly relations even after the workshops.

This protective factor, important for Public Health, is amplified when the films are released in various curatorship arrangements. Thus, film festivals are also forms of social empowerment insofar as they can offer a historical panorama of the production made in each outskirts, revealing to the local population the creative potential of the region and deconstructing outside the representations already settled by the media. With this objective a survey of all the films of the region of Sapopemba was carried out, containing productions from 2006 to 2014, with a total of five different workshops: Kinoforum (2006), Tela Cine Brasil (2009), Workshop CJ Minuto (2012), Workshop Criar (2012), Workshop Cine CJ (2014), totaling 25 short films and a feature film.

The research on the filmography of this region was presented to the local population itself, unveiling its creative potential, the young people until then were not aware that there was a certain regularity in the making of films and that other young people had had training for this area in the neighborhood, and the objective of the exhibition of this same filmography outside the community was the deconstruction of stereotypes, proposing and encouraging new readings about what it is to be young in the outskirts, from the film immersion.

picture 7

Young people from Sapopemba at the closing ceremony of the Short Frog Festival, at the Culture Factory, Sapopemba, in October 2014.



In this way, the Frog Short Film Festival was held: production of the young Sapopemba filmmakers, with two exhibitions: one in the community itself, at the Sapopemba Culture Factory, where workshop participants and other residents were able to check out all films from 2006 to 2014, stimulating a process of social empowerment over one's own creative and productive capacity; and the second, at the University of São Paulo's in School of Public Health (FSP-USP), in which health professionals had the opportunity to better understand the region and broaden the perception about the young people and residents of the Sapopemba neighborhood, this awareness was aimed at improving and encouraging humanization of health care relations, reducing resistance and prejudice towards the inhabitants of the outskirts, completed with a conversation with the directors after the exhibition on the curiosities in production and the meaning of the films. The description of the production and realization of this festival is in Araujo (2015) and it is also in the blog <http://festivalcurtasapo.blogspot.com.br>.

picture 8

Interview with the young filmmakers after the screening of the films at the Festival Short Frog, at the FSP-USP.



With red T-shirt, one of the camerars; speaking in the microphone one of the art directors; in the center of the table the protagonist of the film; at his side the female representative of the makeup team; And lastly the reviewer of the script and the graphics.

This practice of research with Ethnocinema and Festivals has as an implication to rethink aspects of scientific production in the areas of teaching, research and extension. The relationship of universities with surrounding communities or with appropriate 'target' communities to a given research should go beyond the involvement of undergraduate and graduate students, teachers, in the relations of exchange and production of knowledge. It is necessary to build a channel of social listening that maintains a continuous space of dialogue, identifying local potentialities and demands. During the debate, a person from the audience commented that there is a situation quite similar to that of Sapopemba in the housing estates of the Raposo Tavares Highway region, therefore, very close to the facilities of USP-Butantã, and that such a project would be interesting for the youths of Region that are strongly encouraged to traffic, according to this participant, even has a square with leisure equipment, but it is appropriated by drug users, which makes the region dangerous and impassable, according to the report presented. In this case, we ask ourselves how to elaborate a system of social listening that enables projects with the university and the production of knowledge that allows communities to seek social solutions for the empowerment of their own resources, mediated by researches developed in their territories.

PUBLIC HEALTH AND CREATIVE PROCESSES

Thinking about Arts is also about understanding how the beauty impacts and is impacted by personal or collective questions and concerns in creative processes or in genetic criticism, as suggested by Duvignaud (1967) or by Salles (1997). The theoretical contribution presented here contemplates authors of communication, arts, and social sciences to identify and analyze significant data on communities and groups of artists' collectives.

We begin with an author of the Arts for whom the processes of creation have constitutive and essential characteristics for the human being. For Ostrower (2013 [1977]), creativity is an innate and anti-alienating capacity, not restricted to the art field, but composing all the activities of daily life. This author proposes three levels of understanding about the creative process, from the biological being, the social being and the cultural being. The creative act, according to Ostrower (2013), involves the understanding ability, which relates, orders, configures and means what is lived. As discussed above, in this article priority was given to collective creative processes, and for this we are expanding to the collective field, what this author proposes for an individual field. We know from the field experience brought in this article that the collective creative process is a two-way sensitization, that is, it sensitizes who creates, by the process creative itself and reflexive, and whom appropriates or participates as appreciator of this creation, turned as a co-creator in giving sense and meaning from a personal repertoire that immediately happens to be re-determined and restructured with the artistic interaction, creating new reading patterns. In the presented case, the research process impacted the academic environment, with the approach to the territory and the production of workshops, and more it produced other partnerships - such as the elaboration of a wheelchair avatar by one of the young designers for a master's project at FSP-USP. As it also impacted the young participants by the contact with the academy and with the production of cinema, opening professional horizons before not projected, and in the daily life the workshops allowed the resignification of the space lived. This re-signification is also pointed out by Dassoler (2012), when analyzing the transformation of the real territory and the representations associated to it from the performance of art collectives in the South Zone of São Paulo. A collective mobilization through art as an element of re-signification and reconstruction of an identity for the region of Jardim Ângela has changed the status of "death triangle" to "circle of arts," according to the author, from initiatives such as "Week of the Modern Art on Outskirt" and "Cultural Walk for Latin America", it was originate by Hip Hop movement of the region, mobilizing several artistic expressions concomitantly.

The identification between creation processes and collective and community actions, allows us to add the ecological concept of "meshwork". According to Ingold (2012), the creative process acts as a communicator of

material flows in a dynamic and continuous relationship with the environment. In this way, we can no longer speak of young people from the outskirts in the singular. They are young and outskirts in the plural, with territorial characteristics and dynamics of their own daily life that give them the distinctions of habitus and world reading, which become evident in the processes of choices during film production.

In a sociological appreciation of the creative processes, the researches of De Masi's group (1999), which indicate some relevant characteristics: the contingency, understood as the limitation of resources; the peripheral situation geographical and socially understood, the distance from the great centers of knowledge production and the low social insertion; and the need for exchange or internationalization, the exchange of experience with other groups of excellence in a specific field. Throughout the descriptions of the cases narrated in the book *Emotion and Rule* it is identified that the differential of success of the creative processes is marked by the affective relation with the themes developed creatively and by the structural solidarity, in an arrangement in network of relations and volunteering. However, the markers that seem to indicate the durability and maintenance of the creative processes, initially proposed, were: excellence in what they did and openness to innovations - either through interdisciplinarity most of the time, or the internationalization of actions. The case studies addressed by De Masi (1999) range from artistic elements related to furniture design to the rational creativity of Bauhaus; such as in the field of science, the experience of study circles (mathematical and philosophical) who maintain scientific journals and even more complex experiments such as the cases of the Institute Pasteur and the Zoological Station of Naples. But how important are these studies for contemporaneity?

Two fronts can be projected, the deepening of research on collective creative processes that foster current forms of collaborative work, such as Almeida and Pais (2012), or research on the willingness of young people to create new markets for action, whether in follow-up Communication, and the Arts, motivated by the creative economy, Nicolaci-da-Costa (2011), V. Ferreira (2016).

In De Masi (1999), the examples indicate that the ability to look at contingencies as an opportunity and perceive the apparent geographic / social isolation as an advantage, reducing the at least social distance between center and outskirts are fundamental. The network composition of solidarity, which founds the structure, appears in De Masi (1999) in the sense of gathering efforts among similar ones at first, which can be indicated as one of the objectives of the audiovisual and film workshops for young people, in search of excellence in the realization, and, later, the interdisciplinary opening and expansion with legitimating international relationships, aims the objective of online and presential festivals with short films as levers of the filmmaking experience. A perceived factor in the triangulation of the

data of the ethnographic field with those of the short film bank of the Kinoforum Workshops, it is that at the film festivals it organizes, the curatorship is made in a way that brings the local, national and international production of short films, stimulating debate and exchanges among groups.

In the field of research presented here, the agency for the participation in the workshops was made by the emotional aspect, that is, the possibility of “dreaming together”, marked by the emic category “zoeira”, when young people are willing to do it if it is “fun “. So, for example, in 2014, they managed to address the issue of violence by producing a fictional short film with zombies, they thought about it but it was elaborated within the aesthetic and ethical limits that made sense to young people. Thus, the processes of choice in the face of contingencies were carried out in a relaxed manner and the definitions generating the psychic tensions were elaborated in a fictional way, allowing the understanding and re-elaboration of the social, historical and cultural context of production.

Also composing the theoretical framework of the method for the analysis of the films, Penafria (2009) proposes that initially the film is decomposed (in scenes, plans and sound tracks) and later, the reconstitution of the same to reveal the way of articulation / association between the elements identified in the decomposition. For her, the film is the point of departure and arrival of the analysis, in which the identification of the main scene of the film, defining some pictures for the analysis of the *mise-en-scène* and the composition of the scene, one can establish the narrative direction (Happening + actions + plot) and the interactions between visual and sound in the film. In this way, the films presented here were analyzed by this method, considering the factors external to the film, that is, the contingencies and the production context within a given historical-social period.

In the film “On the Street ...” (2012) the narrative deals with the right to the city, a right conquered with maneuvers, with learning, marked by radical activities and companionship. The challenge is always present and it is often imposed on them. Already in the film “The Hope”, the narrative contemplates a wider social question of the community that is violence, the option for fiction reveals the difficulty of approaching the subject directly, and the sacrifice of social relations in the film demonstrates the reason for this difficulty. The hope in the film is in the coming generations, which can still escape the enticement of the organized groups represented by the zombies. In this sense, the decontextualization proposed in this last film, “The Hope” (2014) can be understood from the research of Galizia (2011 [1986]), that analyzed Video 50, by Robert Wilson. The author proposes that the images appear as phenomena displaced from their context and appear in the mind of the spectator requesting completeness, a meaning, that is, the film is completed with the repertoire and the experience of the

spectator. Thus, the Frog Short Film Festival was, as a method, the search for this completeness of meaning from other contexts, that of spectators.

It is important to emphasize that the cinematographic language allows working with elements of the mythological and archetypal narratives to impact not only the conscious level, but also the subconscious. This factor is well known by the publicity teams, however little explored in the field of communication in Public Health or in the productions of Ethnocinema. For R. Ferreira (2012/2013), it is necessary to use the resources of cinematographic language and mythical narratives to reach another level in the production and dissemination of knowledge in the field of Health, aiming at sensitizing by the affective aspect of the narrative. The proposition of 'collectives' in communities with mastery of techniques and cinematographic language allows the opening of space for the representation of themselves in alternative circuits that end up affecting the mainstream practice and generate unfolding of this representation in the media, with this a process of inclusion occurs in reverse sense and by aesthetic-political creative actions that forge openings for new forms of social participation. Thus, increasing the film production in the outskirts means allowing the construction of representations of oneself in the media, with dissemination on the internet, as well as a self-analysis of their coping skills and creative outputs to local difficulties.

The filmic potential can be explored both in its production and in the organization of festivals as a sensitizing device for the humanization of relations in health care, as an increment for the understanding of statistical data in addition to tables and numbers, and in the projection system as a way of experimenting with otherness. The production of film catalogs for proposing debates on social issues by the Ministry of Health, such as the Live Society: violence and health, film catalog (2008), http://bvsmms.saude.gov.br/bvs/publicacoes/sociedade_viva_violencia_saude_filmes.pdf is a reflection of this interdisciplinary need in the understanding of the relationships among health, youths and ways of life.

In this same application model, we propose that ethnographic films can be presented as a space for biostatistics or for the field of bioethics focusing on the question of alterity and cultural singularities, some suggestions of films can be found in *Anthropology and Image vol. 2*, organized by Peixoto (2011), a textual complement to the television series *Anthropology and Image: the backstage of the ethnographic film*, exhibited in 2001, with the transcription of 28 interviews with directors and the nomination of the respective films. Some examples mentioned above contained in this collection and plausible of the application are: the film *Inhabitants of the street* (1996, 58 min.), <http://vimeo.com/76573590>, by Cláudia MAGNI and Nuno GODOLPHIN; *Conversations of children* (1998, 22 min.), by José Roberto Novaes and Paulo Pestana and *Ranch's boys* (1994, 14 min.), by José Roberto NOVAES; *Jon Jonu-Nε: terri-*

stories of madness, by Denise Dias BARROS and Gianni PUZZO (2000, 22 min.), in which the titles themselves allude to issues pertaining to Public Health.

In the virtual environment, films in the area of health and society are related to the festivals, such as *Imagé Santé - International Film Festival*, organized biennially by the Department of Health and Quality of Life, University of Liège, in Belgium. This festival is broadcast on the social network by the directors of the participating films that stimulate public voting on the event's website: <http://www.imagesante.be/archives/films>, has a collection from 1994 to 2014 to be explored in future researches. In Brazil, we still have the easiness of several banks of research films and documentaries to be organized on virtual platforms. We can cite, for example, the basis of the *Laboratory of Image and Sound in Anthropology* (LISA-USP) on the Vimeo platform, at <https://vimeo.com/lisausp>; or the virtual base of the *Research Group Images, Narratives and Cultural Practices* (INARRA-UERJ) at <https://vimeo.com/inarra>; and to complement with another example, we can mention the *Laboratory of Education, Research and Production in Anthropology of Image and Sound* (LEPPAIS-UFPEL), <https://vimeo.com/leppais>; without exhausting the numerous examples of organization of files ready to be used and exploited as methodological and didactic tools.

ANTHROPOLOGY AND CINEMA: FILM PRODUCTION AND SOCIAL PRACTICE

The film productions analyzed were carried out using digital capture, mainly in the scope of training workshops. But, what changes with the digital system? The digitization approximates the cinematographic language of the habitus of ubiquity, by its characteristics. An image and digital sound have specifics that can indicate creative processes different from other types of media (such as a film or a magnet). The qualities of the digital image are described by Trivisani (2010), when analyzing the use of the digital image in movement in the contemporary arts and its synesthetic potential. In this article, the following qualities and / or characteristics are also extended to audio:

1. **Dematerialization**, when the registration occurs on the binary code (0-1) and no more on physical-chemical or magnetic bases. Increasing the possibilities of changing the image to infinity.
2. **Ubiquity**, ability to be present everywhere, at any time, simultaneously or not, according to the author is an expansion of the classical notions of time and space.
3. **Replicability** that is the total absence of the relationship between the original and the copy. Indicating that the "digital image is a continuous process of creation, no longer a fixed and immutable object" (Trivisani, 2010, 8).

These characteristics accompany the digital culture, the media convergence and the practice in visual research, as we have seen throughout the article. We will now focus on the field of Audiovisual Anthropology itself.

Jean Rouch and the film *Les maîtres fous* (1954) mark the beginning - today one can say mythical - of the construction of the persona filmmaker / anthropologist or of the anthropologist-filmmaker, in its aspects of classical language or in a modern language like as *Moi, un noir* (1958) and *Chronique d'un été* (1960), by Jean Rouch and Edgar Morin. The process of creation in Anthropology was marked by the approximation between ethnography and technology. At the same time that the ethnographic work was concerned with analyzes of rites and rituals, strategies were sought to allow participant observation and ethnographic filmmaking, giving voice to the natives, an example of this first phase is the film *Les maîtres fous* (1954), or, when he tries to understand the change in the attitude of the people in front of the camera - *mis en scène* - in *Moi, a Noir* (1958). These aspects aided in the development of discipline that appropriated itself of the narrative and montage as elements of the polyphony of observations, researcher-researched/ researched-researcher. This transition is driven by Rouch in proposing shared anthropology in 1979.

The incessant need to experiment with narratives, reactions and to observe people in ritual moments and outside them, provided Audiovisual Anthropology with the challenge of overcoming the established, what could exist beyond this way of seeing and making the world?

The introduction of digital image and sound allowed the return of non-linear editing and the various tricks made possible by editing software, so-called graphics elements besides the image captured by the camera, such as graphic design, subtitles and vignettes in various layers. In addition to the sound design - sound landscape, sound design and audio treatment, which can be built without digital system in various tracks. These attributes of the ethnographic film can be apprehended in the way of work by anthropologist-filmmaker Catarina Alves Costa, with a film production that includes titles such as *Senhora Aparecida* (1994), *Swagatam* (1998a), performed in Portugal and *Mais Alma* (2001), *The Architect and the Old City* (2003), held in Cape Verde. Costa resorts to all these resources because she understands that Audiovisual Anthropology "must be able to show the deep meaning of the interior of a society, instead of presenting things in a didactic way, from the outside" (1998b, 4).

This expression of Etnocinema allows the production of sensations closer to those experienced by the subjects studied, whether they are ritual or daily experiences, it is allows the construction of the perception of the sensorially lived, the spectators in this case would have an experience that would also pass through his body, which would impact them by the sensations and emotions.

An example of application of experimentation in film production can be found in Devos et al. (2016). The authors report: "Placing our cameras in the canoe, in the fishing net, in the sand or in the sea was an option for the images to present the practice of fishing beyond the points of view and representations of the fishermen" (Devos et al. 2016, 53). Another example is the experience of the practice of cinema in the outskirts, when Hikiji (2008) translates in film as "young people from the periphery of São Paulo present cinema as a means of expression and reflection. In the 'quebradas' of periphery, they make and display videos, questioning the media representations of the periphery" (from the synopsis of the film) revealing the challenges of social empowerment. These citations have as their purpose the search for giving visibility also to the environment in which all human experience derives, influencing and being influenced by this medium, which is often only considered as scenery, and we can more appropriately designate it as ethno-scenario, in the insofar as they are elements that signify the experience of a group or of a community and therefore the way in which they are framed or the luminosity with which they are captured informs how this medium is apprehended by whom lives there. According to Campos (2013): "the image whether it is photographic or in video plays an important role in the collection of data and it is still one that provides more rigorous and detailed analysis elements of the visual culture of a community" (Campos, 2013,120). In the case of the films analyzed in this article, both the graffiti and the urban space, "On the Street ..." (2012), as well as the Carmo's Park and aesthetics of the Zombies, in "The Hope" (2014) are ethno-scenario. However, thinking about the ethno-scenario of film production is also thinking about technology and the digital world, understanding its potentialities and limitations. For example, the challenges of high-definition images (HD, Full HD, Ultra HD, 2K and 4K) that explain more things than the human eye is able to perceive and can remove the poetics of the image, was solved by software editing, with the use of smoothing filters. This has again brought ethical issues to the cinema that requires mastery of the technique of image capture and image and sound editing software to give the proper meaning to that observed in the ethnographic field. To Araujo (2015) was also the challenge found in the production of the documentary about these fields of 2012 and 2014, the domain of technique and theory. In the workshop CJ Minuto (2012) the vast majority of teams used their own cell phone to record and they edited with Movie Maker software. In the workshop Cine CJ (2014) we had got a handy-cam HD camcorder and a notebook that allowed editing in the Vegas Pro-11 software, with more tools, in this moment, it would be a space to discussion about social capital. This whole universe, however, also began to be incorporated by young people who, after the workshops, sought new training courses, others entered colleges seeking courses in related areas, and for them the digital world went from a field of consumption to a field of production and performance. Thus, it became possible to produce independent achievements for both the young and the researcher; however it was necessary to acquire the habit of constant updating developed with the workshops.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS: FILMS, HEALTH AND VIRTUAL SPACES

Both the production and the analysis of films bring elements to think social issues beyond the field of representations and presence, these elements are also projections and imaginaries that awaken and point ways. The interdisciplinary theoretical contribution brought in this article sought to demonstrate the need to exchange knowledge produced in the different areas of knowledge, contributing in the quest for excellence, internationalization and exchange of experiences with other researched realities.

Arts in general, as well as cinema in the outskirts, were understood as forms of collective action that reorganized the dialogue among the various agents of artistic production in the real and virtual worlds, with transformative capacities, optimized by the popularization of new communication technologies and practices collectives that value social potential. The appropriation of voice and representations of themselves - what Canevacci (2004) calls urban polyphony -, lead to intersubjective transformations, in which when trying to modify the world, the collectives and individuals also change.

The media convergence allowed to aggregate diverse Medias in the internet, thought strategically in the elaboration of the products and the diffusion. Jenkins (2008), in proposing the Culture of Convergence, relates three concepts: the convergence of the media; the participatory culture and the collective intelligence, which he sought in Lévy (1996). Jenkins reflected on how convergence influences popular culture and also seeks to analyze the impacts of products and content of conventional media on the public. These notions broaden the understanding of the temporal limits of the repertoire brought in this article, whose motivation is the cinematographic production by young people from the outskirts in a digital context influenced by video platforms and films available on the Internet after 2005. They are ethno-scenarios and ethnographies of the world real and virtual.

translation

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11.10.2016

The use of media technologies as a database on behavioral and social characteristics of young people stimulated reflective and critical positions and the creative process widespread among young people in social networks as a place of research that unveiled the processes of choice. Encouraging to the collective practices of artistic creation emerge as strategies of health promotion and of public policies in public health to be stimulated, favoring the empathy of young people with issues of prevention and health promotion from dynamic and integrative practices such as cinema.



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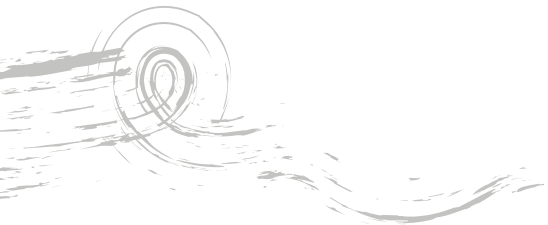
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In memorian by Yuri Gustavo Simonato Pereira died on 06/27/2016, one of the directors of the film "On the Street..." presented in this article.

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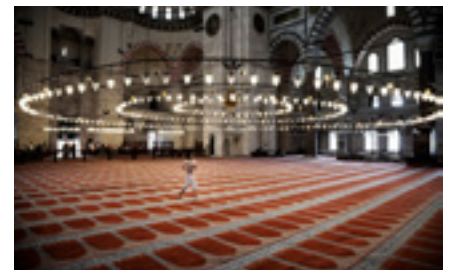
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MARCELO SCHELLINI

UMM AL-DUNYA MOTHER OF WORLD



















MARCELO SCHELLINI

UMM AL-DUNYA MOTHER OF WORLD

The point of departure for this essay was a search for lost images. The almost forgotten vestiges of past diasporas. A search that led me along countless roads. Across territorial borders and to the outer edges of theory. As well as the journeys on which I ventured, I also roamed departments and disciplines trying to understand their vanishing. In 2015, an overseas research grant provided me with the chance to embark on a long journey. Following a path of knowledge that has united students from Africa, Asia and other continents for over a thousand years, I travelled to Egypt where I lived for a year and attended one of the oldest universities in the world, Al-Azhar University. Most of the photographs presented here reveal that experience. Between Cairo's new avenues and the paths of the desert, I encountered a country able to corrupt and yet simultaneously reinvent the idyllic image of an Egypt of pyramids, minarets and the rivers of Paradise. This intriguing and fascinating vision, corroborated by the Orientalists, could already be found in *One Thousand and One Nights*, where one of the characters says, following an invitation to travel, "he who has not seen Cairo has not seen the world." Indeed, situated on the frontier between Africa, the Middle East and Europe, the city's location today allows it to reflect a meeting of worlds and the contradictions and reconciliations between West and East. The romantic vision of travellers and pilgrims merges with the complex environments of Africa's largest city and one of the biggest on the planet. Emerging through the atmospheric pollution one can glimpse the geometric summit of Giza. The melody of the Quran blends with the harsh din of car horns. The monumental traffic leads you to a golden road and, amid the militarized areas and road blocks, plenty of people will remark to you playfully in colloquial Arabic: *Misr Umm al-Dunya*. Egypt, Mother of the World.

translation

David Rogers

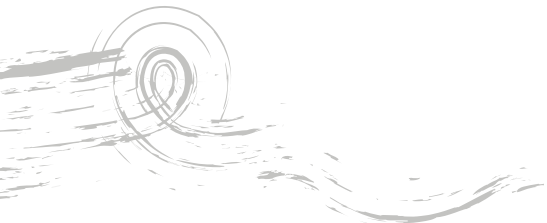
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07.07.2016

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08.31.2016





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holds a PhD in Visual Arts from ECA-USP; a Master's Degree in Visual Culture Studies from the University of Barcelona, Spain; and a Bachelor's in Photography/Senac-SP. Schellini works on issues related to photography, literature and ethnography in projects of his own authorship, showing special interest in educational activities. He developed his visual research by traveling and photographing in several countries in West Africa. In 2015, with the financial support of a Bolsa Sanduíche Capes, he lived for a year in Egypt where he began the production of his first film. He has already shown his work in solo and collective exhibits, such as "Luzenças" (2003), at Pinacoteca, and "olhareSPaulistanos" (2005), in Paço das Artes, both in São Paulo.

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**RENATO ATHIAS
SARAPÓ PANKARARU**

THE ENCHANTED FORCES, DANCE AND RITUAL AMONG THE PANKARARU



*“As Forças Encantadas:
Dança e Ritual entre os Pankararu”*



*Ensaio Fotográfico de Renato Athias com as imagens de Carlos Estevão de Oliveira de 1937.
Laboratório de Antropologia Visual - Universidade Federal de Pernambuco
Museu do Estado de Pernambuco
Recife, 2016*





















RENATO ATHIAS
SARAPÓ PANKARARU

THE ENCHANTED FORCES, DANCE AND RITUAL AMONG THE PANKARARU

“The Enchanted Forces: Dance and Ritual among the Pankararu” is a photo exhibit with selected images from the collection of Carlos Estevão de Oliveira of the State Museum of Pernambuco, which is part of the project “Indigenous Peoples of Pernambuco: Memory, Documentation and Research” carried out by Centre of Studies and Research on Ethnicity (NEPE) of the Federal University of Pernambuco.

The researcher Carlos Estevão took these photographs in the year 1937, when he had been in the land of the Pankararu conducting ethnographic work with this people. The photos were selected to show the relationship of the Pankararu with the dimension of the sacred and their relations with the “enchante forces” in the villages where they live in municipalities of Tacaratu, Jatobá and Petrolândia in the São Francisco River basin.

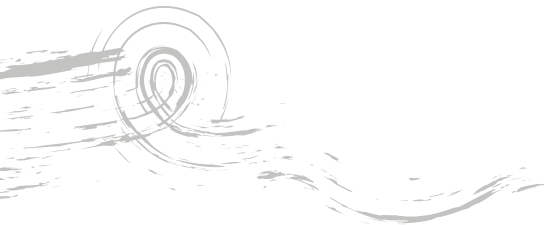
The “Enchanted Forces” are entities that are part of Pankararu cosmology and religion. They are present throughout the indigenous land and act as intermediaries between those who are on Earth (which are part of the human world) and a larger entity that is not present on this Earth. This relationship takes place at different times in rich and dynamic performance at “terreiros” (public places where the sacred establishes a relationship with the people of this world) in the various Pankararu villages. In these “terreiros” the “Praiás” – which are entities dressed in special ‘tunics’ made exclusively from the “caroá” fibre – manifest themselves to the

people present. The *Praiá* is a mythological is an enchanted character that became an intermediary of the vital forces of movement and ritualistic dynamics of the Pankararu world. These ‘enchanted’ entities are present in parties, ceremonies and rituals of the Pankararu during the year.

The most important Pankararu religious manifestation it is the “Corridos do Umbu”, The Umbu¹ “Races”, (Umbu Is a Brazil plum, fruit that is endemic to the Northeast semi-arid region). This is when the year begins, after the storms of January, and with the starting of plantations after the first rains, with the appearance of *imbu* (umbu), as they say, holders of knowledge will choose the day for the “flechamento”(arrowing) of the first umbu fruit to appear. The weekend after the day of “flechamento”, the races begin in two main religious communities: at the Brejo dos Padres and at the Serrinha community. For over 4 weekends the Pankararu come together in these “terreiros” to dance the “torés” and sting themselves with the “ortigas of cansação” (nettles of tiredness?) and above all to seek the enchanted force for the year. This party starts at dawn on Saturday, both in Serrinha village and in Brejo dos Padres with people remembering all the possibilities of life in dances of humans and animals, in beautiful choreographic movements with cheerful beats and a special rhythm to celebrate the enchanted forces, the beauty of animals and the relationship between humans and nonhumans in this present world. This party ends in the fourth weekend with the performance of “Mestre-Guia” (the Master-Guide), chief of all the enchanted forces. The Master-Guide’s ritual, in its appropriate “terreiro” in Serrinha village, is seen with much consternation by all who consider themselves to be part of Pankararu identity. He is received with joy at a ceremony where silence is also an integral part in the ritual to receive the enchanted force.

Other rituals among the Pankararu are held according to a calendar which is not fixed. The ritual of the “Menino no Rancho” (Boy-in-Ranch) is a manifestation where all Pankararu are called to participate. It involves considerable logistics and greater organization. It is an initiation ritual and a public proclamation of a clear intervention of the enchanted in the boy. The boy’s parents need to organize this ritual that lasts one night and a full day. The boy’s parents also need to arrange a very large amount food to offer all the guests that sometimes exceed over 500 people. The boy’s parents will invite a bride and two godmothers for the boy, and will try to enlist the highest possible number of godfathers. The bride will dance with the boy accompanied by the two godmothers. The godfathers will play an important role, as they will ‘fight’ with the parents to ensure that the child ‘stays in this world’. It is a fight between the ‘heavens’ and earth in which the godparents will guard the boy. This

1. Umbu (Brazil plum) is a fruit that is endemic to the Northeast semi-arid region of Brazil.



fight can last a whole afternoon. When it is finished, the *Praia*s who will protect him for the rest of his life will finally save the boy.

Families that are keepers of the *Praia*s because each family has a certain number of these enchanted entities organize the other rituals. These families organize spaces (called “*Poró*”) where the *Praia*s are stored, and where certain obligations are carried out in order to keep alive the enchanted force between family members. In all these obligations you will find herbs, enchanted smoke (flavoured tobacco, unique in preparation for the enchanted forces) and “*ajucá*” wine (drink prepared from the “*jurema*” plant). These elements are seen as a sign of respect for the sacred as they are considered vital for sustenance in this world.

translation

Aaron Athias

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06.08.2016

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08.31.2016



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PhD in Anthropology from the University of Paris X (Nanterre). At the Federal University of Pernambuco, he is an Associate Professor of the Department of Anthropology and Museum Studies; a Professor of Anthropology of the Graduate Program; and the director of the Laboratory of Visual Anthropology and of the Centre for Studies and Research on Ethnicity (NEPE).

SARAPÓ PANKARARU

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ANDREA DE MORAES CAVALHEIRO

TEXTURE AND GESTURE











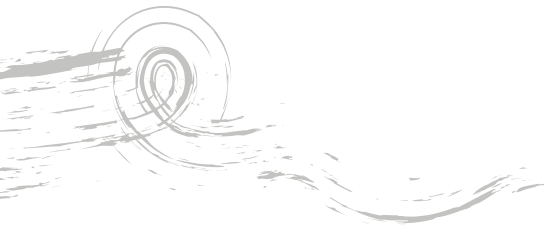












ANDREA DE MORAES CAVALHEIRO

TEXTURE AND GESTURE

The photographs of this essay were made between 2010 and 2012, as part of my master's research during field work at the Institute of Blind Padre Chico, an elementary school in São Paulo, specialized in students with visual disability, either with blindness or low vision.

In this essay I try to capture some gestures, incomplete movements and swings, which refer to corporal techniques instituted on the body ceremonial in everyday life. In this training, where the body itself is an instrument of technique include fingers deciphering graphics in relief, hands reading braille and jumps to the sound of a rope.

translation

Andrea de Moraes
Cavalheiro

text received

03.14.2016

text approved

09.01.2016

In my dissertation I expose how some of these techniques are connected to nomenclature categories, body signals and qualitative attributes, negotiated by actors to make performative practices of visual disability.



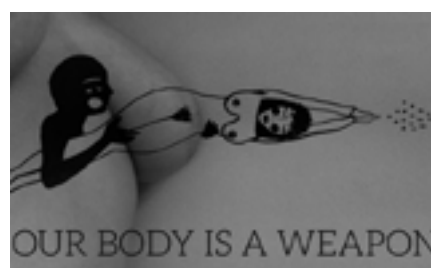
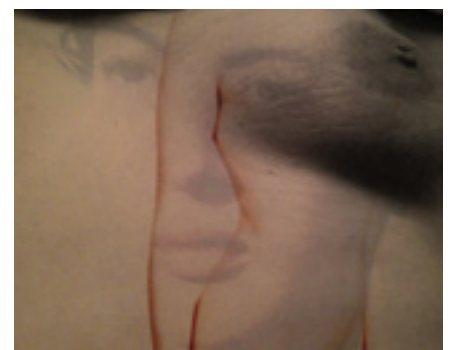
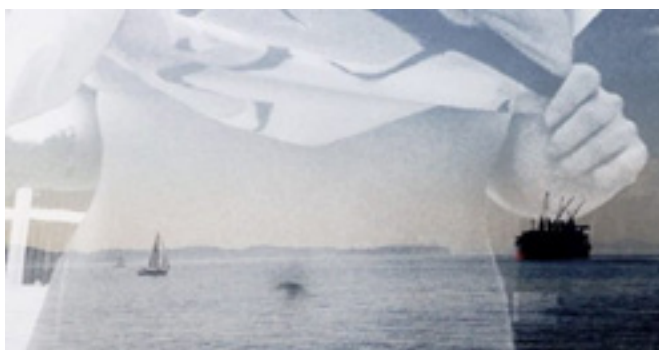
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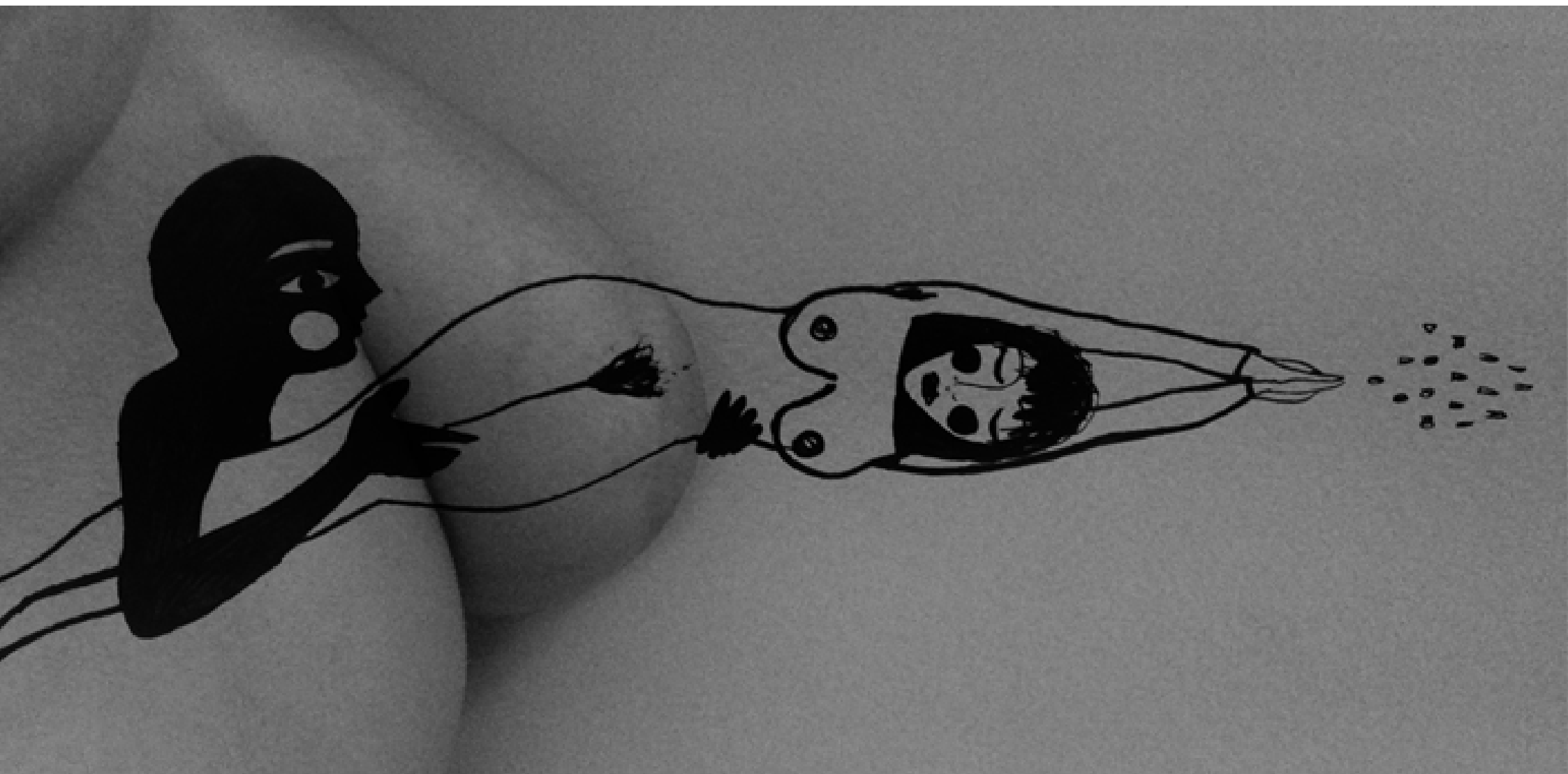
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SOPHIA FERREIRA PINHEIRO

BODILY INSERTIONS: THE BODY (IS) A FLAME







OUR BODY IS A WEAPON





SOPHIA FERREIRA PINHEIRO

BODILY INSERTIONS: THE BODY (IS) A FLAME

In this visual essay, my body is my research field. I gradually paid more attention to my body when I started my research at the Federal University of Goiás, working with Visual Anthropology and gender studies with indigenous women. Maybe this essay is the way in which I can fully express myself, as the translation of a profound experience I felt in my field work¹.

I was at the Guarani-Mbya village called Koenju, (located in São Miguel das Missões, Southern Brazil), together with Patricia², in her mother's back yard. We were talking, when suddenly her niece Luana came. Luana was 2 years old at the time. She was very sweet and loving and started to caress Patricia. Like a cat, Luana slowly climbed Patricia's legs, while talking in Guarani, laughing and playing. Luana then laid down in her lap, raised Patricia's shirt and started to suckle her breast. Until today it is hard for me to describe this scene. I am torn between writing about Patricia's calm expression, swinging back and forth with a light playful mood, or if I write about Luana's closed eyes and her smile nibbling Patricia's nipple.

I do not intend here to be fixed in contextualizing that moment, what would be a long process, but to describe how I reacted to that event but to tell you about the heat rising in my body and my blushed face, as I witnessed that scene. Few seconds seemed like hours and before I could rationalize and think about the context of that situation, thus regaining my

1. Remember, in this visual essay my body is the field.

2. Patricia Ferreira, is the protagonist of the research to develop in this master. Patricia is the most active indigenous filmmaker in the *Video Nas Aldeias* project. For more, see Pinheiro (2015a; 2015b).

consciousness after the light trance which I was experimenting, Luana came to me, and with her small and delicate hands, tried to raise my shirt and expose my breast. Meanwhile Patricia laughed loudly, as also other people around us. I said to Luana, “oh dear, I can’t. I am wearing a bra!” This acknowledgment was a relief, but I suddenly grew sad, by the realization of my own shame. In which troublesome ways my body defended itself from fully experiencing that playful moment? Why I felt so disturbed to witness a small child sucking Patricia’s breasts? Was because they bore no milk? What is the nature of these unspoken rules, prisoning my will and casting an utterly senseless shame: shame of my body, of my bare breasts. The shame of having them sucked by a child who isn’t even “mine.” The overwhelming shame of feeling new sensations, to be disturbed in my expectations... what kind of impregnable borders are these? Why I censored myself?

After that experience, I felt I finally entered my own body. Between some political statements through “visual orgies”, it’s my wish to highlight the ones who empower the body. The veins in the body draw the maps of each place where we dwell, they limit our living territories, invisible under the skin. The skin, our biggest organ, also powerfully feels. The whole body is a pleasure zone. Indeed, I found always disturbing to assign the heart as the main emotional center, because is the skin who shivers and bristles, sending to the brain our basic sensations, like feeling hot and cold to the touch, as also the pulsating, intense ones, like the sexual arousal.

When the body surrender the “sweet embracing of myself”, the empty space between the bodies is the frontier, the inexorable border. The exact moment when people react to my presence, the confrontation moment – also a border. The human border, our body as a weapon, resistance and subversion. Are all bodies borders? To possess, beside the tension, the lust for the frontier. “We dont have our skin anymore”, says a Mexican peasant woman, as she joins a form of resistance (invented by themselves), by using their naked bodies as a *lieu* of political and social struggle, portrayed in Clarisse Hahn’s movie *Los Desnudos* (2012)³. They fight naked, reclaiming their land. *Body* and *Field*. Two words which coexist in themselves.

The images in this essay are from my *Body*. My body mediated through artistic languages like photography, drawings and juxtapositions. I expressed, through these images, some of my living processes, experienced during the field work.

translation

Sophia Ferreira Pinheiro
and Igor Karim

text received

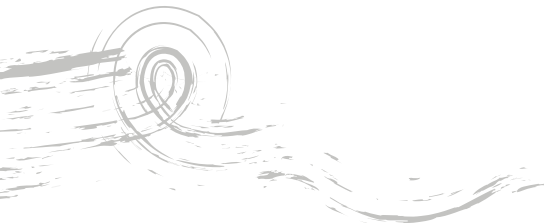
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3. More information about the film at < <http://www.clarissehahn.com/los-desnudos> >



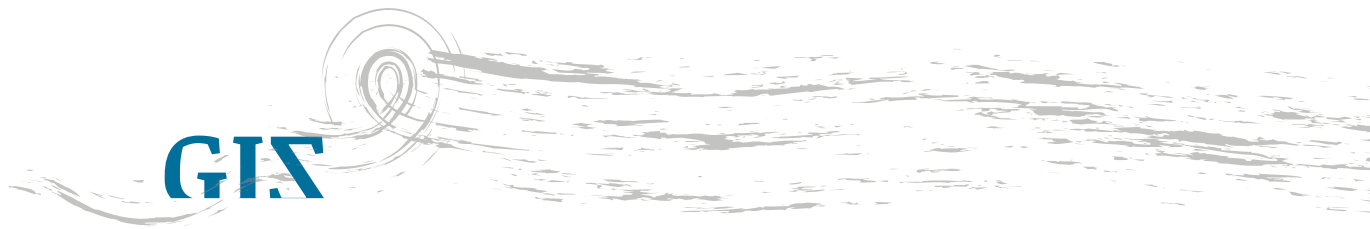
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SOPHIA FERREIRA PINHEIRO

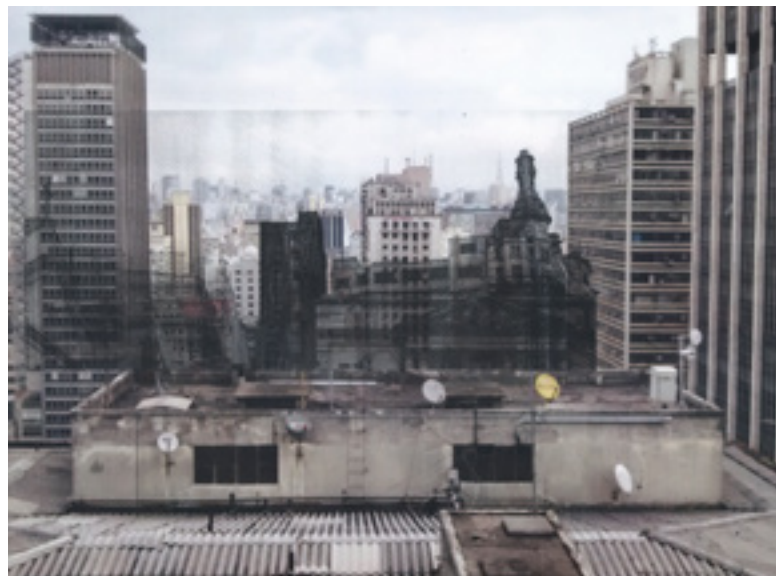
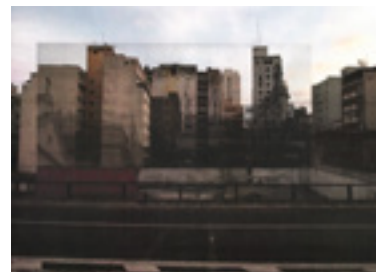
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VIVIAN JAVIERA CASTRO VILLARROEL

SÃO PAULO TRANSITIONAL ICONOGRAPHIES. FIELD NOTES



















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Outro

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O TRABALHO. →

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VIVIAN JAVIERA CASTRO VILLARROEL

SÃO PAULO TRANSITIONAL ICONOGRAPHIES. FIELD NOTES

FIELD NOTES

FIRST DRAFTS

Before traveling, someone told me that in 2014, I would have the opportunity to know the best and the worst of Brazil. The World Cup, on which was a lot of expectation in the so called “country of football”, had been causing several criticism and manifestations for over-spending and unjustified stadiums spending, the expulsion of local residents, and because of the increase of police violence. At the end of the year, presidential elections would occur, with a complex political landscape because of the evident social malaise that had manifested in June 2013. Part of this malaise related to the urban problems of large cities and with the contrast between the boastful discourse of “Big Brazil” and the everyday experience of the people in the crowded buses, subways and in the daily budget.

By coincidence, I ended up living in downtown São Paulo, one of the areas of the city in which these contrasts were more evident in the coexistence of preparations for the World Cup, with the urban occupations. In addition, it is a space where architectural narratives about the past and the future of the city converge, where the modern skyscrapers meet with the “colonial style invented” of their historic buildings.

I started visiting the historical places of the city of São Paulo, as the *Pátio do Colégio*, *Largo São Bento*, *Praça*

da Sé, Praça do Correio, Viaduto do Chá and Praça da República. These routes had no itinerary and interested me for two reasons: a kind of “invented memory” to create meaning and identity, a historical record designed to handle the excessive growth of the city from the XIX century and how, in this urban and historical landscape, there was something that overflowed its visuality in brands and flags of the buildings occupied by various social movements.

Example of this was a photo that I registered, of the symbolic core and foundations of the city: the *Pátio do Colégio*, a 16th century Jesuit building, that in the second half of the 18th century, worked as well as the Palace of Government. Then, in the second half of the 20th century, was rebuilt fully, for the celebrations of the fourth centenary of the town. This re-creation of the past through the reconstruction of the *Pátio do Colégio* as in its early days is curious, this “back to the source”, as a foundational imagery myth, because the model was a nostalgic image of the past amid the strong urban transformations of the years 1950 (Ferraz de Lima 2003). A symbolic place that contravenes everything else to say: “Start here!”.

Near this historic monument, was one of the occupations that interested me: a building belonging to the bank *Caixa Economica Federal*, abandoned for eight years and occupied since April 2014 by the social movement for housing *Luta Popular por Moradia*. In a closer level, it was possible to see also a fragment of the restoration of the *Secretaria da Justiça e da Defesa da Cidadania*. To analyze, under image, these various layers of meaning was one of the first strategies used to visually intervene in the photographs.

THE CHOICES

The months of June and July of 2014 were fundamental to define the places to photograph and the visualities that were taking importance in the project: the urban graphics symbols as a form of denunciation. In particular, my attention was caught by the *pichação* as a form of writing and complaint in Sao Paulo, a writing that, like a code, it's understood only by those who know their language, demarcating different urban territories. Although the *pichação* has already joined and circled in artistic territory (for example, the 28th and 29th Bienal de São Paulo), still retains its power of protest on the street. For example, to mention the death, not yet fully understood, of the two taggers by military police in 2014, when trying to *pichar* (writing or scribbling on walls, using aerosol spray paint) on a building in the neighborhood of Mooca.

By walking daily through the town center, one can appreciate the transformations that have occurred in the buildings, which became the pro-

tagonists of this work. At the end of July, the facade of the occupation of Av. Ipiranga changed: it was painted red in order to cover the *pichações* that were in place. This fact, in addition to space record, meant also a mark of passage of time.

Another favorite ride is the “Minhocão”, particularly on Sunday, when close to cars, as it is a strategic place in the city. The “Minhocão”, or *Elevado Presidente Costa e Silva*, is a viaduct almost three kilometers long that allows the connection between the East and West areas of the city, showing visibly some of the city’s social and political problems. It was constructed in 1972, destroying much of central urban area. It received the name of the second president of the military dictatorship period (1964-1985) and marked clearly the option for the car in city planning. Some plans are under discussion to turn it into a park, although that decision, if it does not have appropriate regulation by the State, can cause a violent process of gentrification in the area.

On walks through the center, I registered eighteen of the more than forty urban occupations of the old center. Each one of them interested me in different issues, by geographic location, the architecture of the building or by visible marks on the outside. All this allowed a reading of how this space had been captured in an idea of power, thought and economy that made it possible.

In total, I followed close six occupations. The first one was *Floriano Peixoto* Street, near the *Pátio do Colégio*. The second, the building of *Conselheiro Nébias* Street, who, besides being fully marked by *pichações*, showed signs of having been reinstated and recouped. The third is the occupation of *Rio Branco* Avenue, in a building built in 1960, with a modern avant-garde architecture and was currently in a total state of deterioration, practically a modernist ruin (Jaguaribe 1994). That is, the failure of a modern architectural project that didn’t survive the city’s growth, but also a metaphor for working the modern utopia exhaustion. The fourth building is located at *Ipiranga* Avenue. In its photograph I tried to follow specifically the visual changes of its facade. The fifth building corresponds to the occupation located in front of the City Hall, a form of direct political pressure on municipal power. And, finally, a building in *Mauá* Street, which has a successful history and it is a model for the functioning of occupations. I finally get in two of them: the *Conselheiro Nébias* and *Mauá* streets.

A LOOK FROM INSIDE

In July, I entered an occupation in *Pamplona* Street, near the *Paulista* Avenue, to attend the lecture of urbanist Raquel Rolnik. After attending

the lecture, it arose in me the interest of visiting the interior of the occupations, depicting the spaces and also the graphic symbols used in the organization of these places.

Get in the occupations meant a different dimension of the initial photographic project and a challenge for me, as a photographer. I wanted to work with the marks of these buildings from the inside and register the tensions between the “outside” and “inside”. This tension implied moving from a street approach, from *flâneur*, to a confrontation that became my object of study. I understood, from the beginning, the limitations of my task: being a recent foreigner in the country, an art student, and not a militant.

Explaining to lawyers or leaders of movements of housing the relevance or importance of this work (from an artistic context) proved to be difficult. At least the fact of introducing myself as a student of the University of São Paulo put me in a supposedly “neutral” institutional framework, to evaluate research as visual memory of a critical political moment in Brazil.

These issues were approached when I contacted the organizations that supported the movement of housing and with the militants. My contact was Benedito Barbosa, best known as “Dito”, lawyer of social movements, responsible for giving me the contacts of the leaders of various occupations. That’s how I found the residents of the *Vila Guilherme*, who were interested in the project and invited me to see the place where they lived. Although my research was centered in vertical occupations of the center, that moment represented the opportunity to know an occupation that worked for over ten years.

Vila Guilherme is an occupation of the old factory of filters *Salus*, in the northern part of the city. On the day of the visit, a Sunday after lunch, I was received by Solange and Marialva, residents of the neighborhood. I planned a little this first visit to an occupation. When I was in the field, I felt I wanted to disturb as little as possible, and got a little nervous by the attention generated in the community, by my presence and my camera. I couldn’t follow the story that Solange made about the history of the occupation. I knew that the possibilities to come back were minimal and I took some pictures, concentrating on structural marks of what was the factory of filters.

In the same way, I found the occupation in the *Vila Maria* Park, a neighborhood located in the northeast of the city. Fabiana, one of the leaders of the occupation, met me at the bus stop, and made a journey around the local space. The terrain of the *Vila Maria*, of 50000 square meters, was occupied in October 2013, after staying abandoned for over twenty years. The land, where now live 2,500 families, belongs to a group of

companies that owe the National Farm 450 million reais. Checking the address on Google Maps, I had the impression that the place was further away, but an hour and a half by bus is a “normal” trip in São Paulo.

Although this immense land was relatively not long ago occupied, the development of the houses, food business, televisions, washing machines, was impressive. A whole community built in a year of occupation, even a church. At the end of the visit, even a Fabiana’s neighbour invited me to a tea and talk, at her house. An important detail is that, at the time of the visit, the residents had received the first eviction notice. At the end of October, I entered in the occupation of the *Mauá* street, 340, through the contact with Nelson, leader of the occupation. The building, the old *Hotel Santos Dumont*, was abandoned for seventeen years and was occupied for 237 families, since 2007. On the day of the visit, Nelson met me at the entrance of the building and talked about his critical position about the occupation’s objectives.

He spoke of the difficulty of militancy in social movements for housing, because most people remained in the occupation just to get a place, forgetting that the goals of the struggle were also the rescue of citizenship. He also reported the difficulty in keeping the organization of all the occupation residents and the presence of drug trafficking, showing concern about the multiplication of occupations in the center and its ambiguous purposes in relation to the economic and political powers.

After the conversation, he made me a tour through the building, allowing me to photograph the different spaces. The environment was very welcoming and the people were friendly and willing to photograph. My gaze was centered in fragments: close-ups of writings on the walls, details of small business, halls, mountain bikes. I also photographed many windows, the limit zone “outside-inside”, the public-private, a landmark that outlines the look for the urban landscape.

I highlight the only portrait work performed with Nelson, since most of the images lacks people, although you can see some walking off guard. My pictures, in the context of street photography, were always from that particular moment in which “nothing happens”. Or rather, when there are no more than everyday events, in spaces that we see daily: the city center, the squares, the streets. I decided to leave the portrait of Nelson because I believe it represents a dimension of the work that involved a relationship, an exchange with people that inhabit these places, although the final image refers more to the space and their signs.

At the end of November, I visited the occupation of *Conselheiro Nébias* Street, a building abandoned ten years ago. The environment of this oc-

cupation was more tense and the visit was quick. I took a few pictures. This building was one of the first to interest me by being completely covered by *pichações*, and with signs of having been reinstated and occupied again. It is close to the area known as “Cracolândia” an area of trafficking and crack addicts, which contributes to generate a climate of tension around it. Lili, one of the occupation’s leaders, received me in her apartment and enthusiastically told me the story of the building. It was interesting to discover that Lili was also a photographer and had a project about the transformations of the building where she lived. We talked a lot about how to keep the ethics in this type of work and if it was possible to maintain distance, being there. “The vision of the intellectual is one and that of the active militant is another. I am a journalist occupying and selling my pictures out. I live in an occupation and become militant” (Lili, said in an interview with me, in 2014).

In synthesis, the photographic work and the experience in the occupations have raised political background issues in me, though I didn’t engage in any social movement. First of all, it rose a question about public space: the occupations of the old center are abandoned buildings for at least five years, and, most of them, are old hotels. Despite the 1988 Constitution, which enshrined the social character of the property, the *Estatuto da Cidade* of 2001 and the application of Municipal Master Plans, which allow to penalize the owners of abandoned buildings, the Brazilian public authorities are still favoring urban speculation (Ferreira 2014). Occupying a public space, whether on the streets, the squares or buildings, is a political action in itself. A recovery of public space, even if it’s temporary. So, I understand also the *pichações*. In the same way, portraying them does not cease to be a political action, though bounded by the field of art. After half a year researching and developing this work, I understand that the kind of image that could create was directly related to the commitment, always at the limit of the work.

Otherwise, what would be the most appropriate image type, which technical decisions, which formats and supports, for this job? The first plastic experimentation was to build an image that is red through several graphic interferences in the urban landscape; however, the approach should also be documentary, beyond aesthetics. In this sense, it was important to emphasize the discursive and contextual function of images, making the image-text relationship fundamental. The text is presented as a way of complementing the image, away from a merely exhibitionist function. I tried to make explicit the context of these photographs, considering their production as what they symbolize to me. “We can speak of a message as an incarnation of a thesis” (Sekula 1981).

translation

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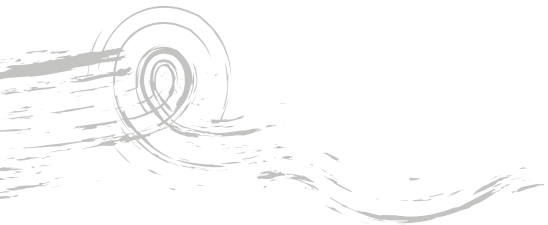
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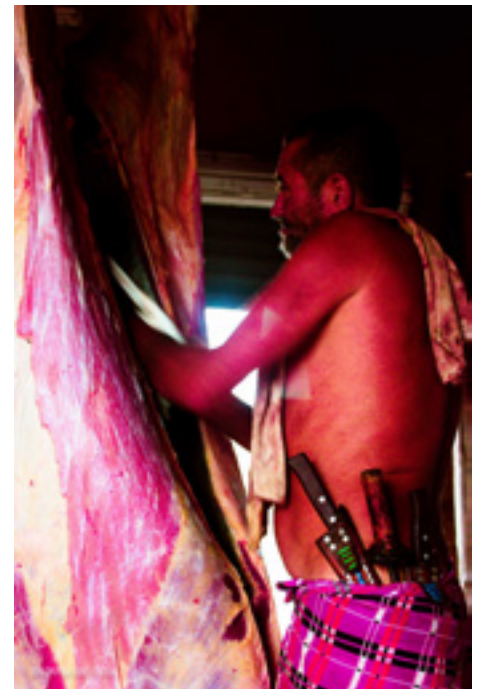
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THE INVISIBLE OTHER





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THE INVISIBLE OTHER

INTRODUCTION

It was the third day of my holidays in Pernambuco in July 2014. My nephew and I went to a small dam to throw cobblestones into the water. It is funny to see how they slide on the water, no matter if you are a 10 or a 35-year-old boy.

On my way to the small dam I saw a familiar small building, somehow remembered as something dirty and forbidden. As the recently painted façade showed, the local slaughterhouse had been renovated. At the back, outside, a big black ox behaved just like a big black ox would do.

We went on, played together and got tired. It was about time to leave. On our way back, we once again passed in front of the slaughterhouse.


ETHIC AND AESTHETICS

But when I looked back, as if I wanted to say farewell to that place, I realised that the big black ox was no longer there and the tiny door of the dark slaughterhouse was opened. I got closer and saw the ox, the big black one.

Dead.

It was upside down, tightened. Half of its hide had been stripped out by two rough, skilled man.

The big black ox became, due to its white flesh exposed, a white ox. Or it was not longer an ox. It was meat. The big black ox became read, meat.



There was another door at the back of that humid, dim place. I found out that the cattle was kept outside the slaughterhouse - not for a long time - before being forced in to be knackered. I could not move, but I noticed there was a beautiful light coming from where the rough men had brought their prey. I could also foresee good pictures with all the blood on the floor, reflecting hands, arms, knives, head, horns and everything that existed and ceased to exist around me. All the raw, brutish aesthetics of that place and its offensive smell revealed itself before me.

Still static, I looked round and saw some dirty children, with bare feet, walking carelessly over the dead animal's fresh blood. Then it dawned upon me that although I was initially shocked by the animal's brutal death I was from that time on shocked by the children's miserable life.

I decided to photograph everything; ethically and aesthetically.

THE EVERYDAY LIFE

After a short life, a plant-eating animal is clubbed to death while it vomits its own dung. It falls down on the cold ground which is soon to be painted by blood red. Among some grown ups, one of the small kids shouts, as a squalid man raises his hammer: "Take that!".

Soon after that, outside, the other three or four children start to clean the ox's insides, using an improvised cauldron full of boiling water. All the toothless mom's children walk, play and quarrel around among smoke, blood and excrements.

Inside, the busy men work methodically on chopping up the dead animal. They give shape to more or less exquisite types of meat cuts.

The photographer, less astonished by then, moved around carefully in order to keep his equipment far from the hanging guts. He concentrates, uses the good principles of photography to distribute the elements around his composition and makes sure every single element is appropriately positioned in his new photo.

Back to our urban everyday life, how can we deny that homeless people around the corner have not become invisible to us?

How can we deny that the effort to come up with a great picture can be as biased as the way we see prime beef cuts beautifully wrapped up in supermarkets?

THE ROUGH MEN

Back to the small, dark slaughterhouse, the two hectic men worked hard to make sure the former ox could be sold as food.

Right after being asked if it would be ok to photograph them, a skinny bearded old man answered naively: “Course you can, but you may crack you camera: we’re too ugly!”.

They wore almost always just flip flops and shorts, and both would greet me in a friendly way every time they saw me in the village.

The oldest, the bearded one, seemed to be in a constant state of tiredness.

THE CHILDREN

Pretinho is 10 years old, he is skinny and has a bright smile. He is also shy and is not very talk active. He is friends with Eduardo, Marivalda (nicknamed Valdinha), Tubiba and Janaína.

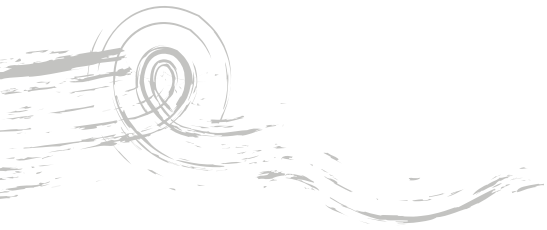
Eduardo is 6 years old, a naughty boy: he laughs and asks all sorts of questions, runs all round and is very curious.

Valdinha is a friendly 10 year-old girl. She is polite and would call me “sir”. “ - Will you come back tomorrow sir?”. Her fingernails had this bright old green nail polish. She was the typical caring older sister, who has fun with and takes care of her siblings.

I thing Tubiba is 8. Sometimes he would hit his younger brother. When I asked him if he was attending school, his older sister quickly answered: “He is, but only sometimes. When he does go to school , he nods off...”. Janaína, the youngest , summarised: “Tubiba is lazy...”.

Janaína was the one who captivated me first. She is only 5, a tiny little girl with green eyes. She would follow me, either to see the pictures in the camera visor or just to have my attention. She would poke me and as soon she got my attention, she would just smile. For two days, she hold some coins in her little hands: they would buy her a strawberry ice-cream, a small one she said.

The girl on the right did not spend too much time with her siblings in the slaughterhouse. This is why I do not know her name and completely forgot to buy her clothes. But she quickly made up for my distraction by picking up a pantie from the bag of clothes my mom and I had bought. Feeling embarrassed, I bought her a pair of flip flops minutes before I left to my distant home town.



“- You’ll get some colourful flip flops”, said the little Janaína while her sister chose her present.

THE FAREWELL

On the last day, I decided not to photograph anything that ceased to exist. On that last afternoon, after photographing the kids playing and surrounded by those friendly and fragile personalities, I felt that the distressing time to say good-bye had come.

“- Where are you going to travel, sir?”, asked Valdinha.

“- I’m going back to São Paulo”, I answered

translation

Edson Prudencio
de Lima

text received

06.23.2016

text approved

08.31.2016

Holding my arm, Eduardo, the naughty boy muttered with an unbearably sad voice: “- Don’t...”

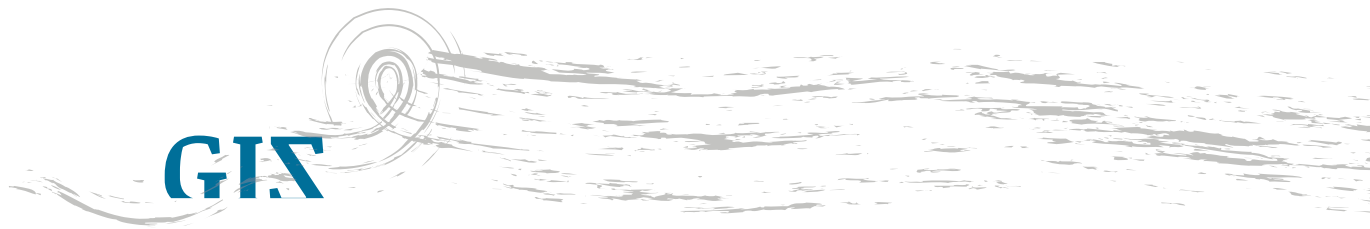
I took my way back, holding back my tears.

Those people were not invisible to me.



EDSON PRUDENCIO

Systems analyst, English and Spanish language teacher, and dance and theater photographer. He is a member of the Migration Studies Group of CEM / Labur-USP, and worked as a volunteer at the Casa do Migrante between 2006 and 2007, in São Paulo. Over a period of years, sensitized by his experience while living in England and Peru, he has photographed the cultures and people from places where has visited. He seeks to capture in visual narratives the artist at work without losing sight of social problems.



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**BARBARA GLOWCZEWSKI,
WITH THE COLLABORATION OF
CLARISSA ALCANTARA¹**

COSMOCOLOURS – A PERFORMANCE WITH FILMS OF BRAZILIAN INCORPORATIONS AND A CONVERSATION WITH THE SPIRIT PRETA VELHA VO CIRINA²

ABSTRACT

During the performance *Cosmocouleurs* (*Cosmocolors*), presented at the exhibition *La Bête et l'Adversité* (*The Beast and Adversity*), in Geneva in 2015, the French anthropologist Barbara Glowczewski proposed a visual experience, confronting her 1979 films of Australian rituals (*Totemic Becomings*, São Paulo, 2015 and *Desert Dreamers*, Minneapolis, 2016), with umbanda rituals that she filmed in Brazil, in 2013 and 2015. She invited Clarissa Alcantara – Brazilian performance artist, philosopher and also squizoanalytical therapist trained in Deleuze and Guattari studies – to create a performative dance, where images made during a session of Exu (with a recording of dances by the participants in a state of incorporation by Orixás and other entities) would be projected onto her, such as might be done onto an animated screen.

keywords

Performance,
Umbanda, Florianopolis,
Anthropology
of Performance;
Schizoanalysis.

1. All my gratitude to Clarissa Alcantara for her inspiration, translation and dance.

2. Translation from Portuguese to English by B. Glowczewski Special thanks to Milari Barker and Nidala Barker for their proofreading.

The film maker Sandra Alves filmed this part of the performance, a 6' video *Cosmocores* here provided³. The second part of the text is a transcription of a conversation between the anthropologist and the spirit Vó Cirina (Grandma Cirina), an old Black woman (Preta Velha) incorporated in Abílio Noé da Silveira, the babalorixá of the Tenda Espírita Vó Cirina in Florianópolis (Brazil), who accepted the process of the Geneva performance.

On the other hand, (...) a more “post-modern” position might insist that the ethnographer or anthropologist can only *hope to* “represent” native words and life in his texts, whilst trances and possessions aim more to present a force rather than to represent a substance. In this case, it could be replied that the rapprochement between those different modes of learning could precisely help us to escape from the representationalist empire, which post-modern thinkers, themselves, have pointed out as anthropology’s limit. (Goldman, 2015: 24)

figure 1

Barbara
Glowczewski,
IANSÃ,
Cosmocouleurs/
Cosmocolours,
Geneva, 2015.
Filmed by
Sandra Alves.



3. <https://vimeo.com/208347518>, password cosmocores2017*

The performance *Cosmocolours* that I proposed for the exhibition *The Beast and Adversity* (Geneva, 2015) is a step in a long process of questioning that has haunted my work as an anthropologist since my first fieldwork in Australia, in 1979, when I filmed desert Aboriginal rituals. Until then I was using an intermittent mode to record frame by frame the 16mm film strip, so as to produce experimental films working on rhythmic superimpositions and flickering pulsating lights: a music for the eyes and a visual exploration for our senses. In place of narrative, the fabrication of discontinuous images working on perception so as to interrupt the continuity of movement. Inspired by the movement of independent cinema and promoted at the University of Paris VIII (in the forest of Vincennes, near Paris) by the film makers Claudine Eizykman and Guy Fihman, this research was aiming to produce a dis-narrative effect with a material, and sensory perceptual effect of discontinuity, by playing with the 24 frames per second scrolling of the 16mm film roll. Personally, apart from the aesthetic and sensory dimension, I was also looking for a way to provoke altered states of consciousness arising from these subliminal stimuli. Such experimentations were echoing experimental films made at the beginning of cinema by artists like Maya Deren (1947-53), an anthropologist, who was also questioning how to render forces at play in rituals and trances that she observed, particularly in Haiti.

To film in the central Australian desert in 1979, I used a little Pathé Webo 16mm camera, which only fitted 3 minutes cartridges. My shots were not even longer than a quarter of a second each, and with many superimpositions created by rewinding the camera to re-film on images previously shot. This process created effects of superimposed images at different rhythms, mixing (in the same frame) close-ups with zooming movement and wide angle shots with the line of the horizon displaced as a diagonal and flickering scintillating rhythms; the Warlpiri women, whose rituals I had filmed, were not really convinced by my attempt to transpose in that way their relation to what they call *Jukurrpa* and which they translate in English as “The Dreaming(s)”. To help the viewers to capture something of this Aboriginal cosmovision of the dreaming process, I had assumed, mistakenly, that I could suggest the condensation process characterizing dreams, by “retranslating” it through visual experimentations – constrained by the possibilities of a mechanical camera. Well, the Warlpiri specialists of dream – that is, women who use their dreams to communicate with ancestral totemic animals, plants, rain or wind– asked me to film “normally” so as to respect the right “rhythm” of their dances, where they are said to “become” particular ancestral totemic forces. In those days, in the 1970’s, the Warlpiri women were not familiar with films based on special effects which were going to be globally popularized later on. So I filmed “normally” (Glowczewski 2014) and it is 15 minutes of those “normal” images (16mm, silent) that I presented at the performance in Geneva.

Like Maya Deren, who did not find in the dreamlike apology of surrealism a response to the transmission of spiritual experiences (Sullivan 2001), I was asking myself how to render and make feel the “presence” of a ritual, with its affects and effects, in a way that would escape the reduction induced by any commented representation of a filmed sequence. Anna Barseghian’s invitation to participate in her exhibition project *The Beast and Adversity* stimulated me to try a visual experience that would confront my images of Australian rituals with the Umbanda rituals that I had recently filmed in Brazil⁴. I was motivated by the desire to make (others) feel that beyond the diversity of these rituals, there is something that feels “common”, that is, the specific intention of these types of cosmovisions to facilitate, through the collective assemblage, the emergence of a multiplicity of becomings in each of the participants that desires so: in Australia, totemic becomings of the Dreamings, ancestral forces shared by humans, animals, plants, wind or rain; in Brazil, ancestral becomings of African divinities, the Orixás, and spirits of Caboclo, Preto Velho, Beijada, Exu e Pomba-Gira.

After witnessing hundreds of Aboriginal totemic rituals in which people “become” the totems that are given as their “dreamings” since birth or initiation, I was surprised to see in Brazil some episodes in the Umbanda rituals that seemed to present certain features that I thought were specific to Australia. In fact, both kinds of ritual respond in their own way to Guattari’s definition of “I is another, a multiplicity of others, embodied at the intersection of partial components of enunciation, overflowing individuated identity and the organized body in all directions.”⁴²

I met many Brazilians who have been at least once to a *Candomblé* or Umbanda house of a *pai* or *mãe de santo* (father or mother of saint) for a divination with cowrie shells and stones to find out which Orixá (sometimes two or more) they carry “inside” them as a virtuality that may or may not be actualized. It takes a relatively long initiation for the “medium” to be ready for his/her Orixá to manifest during the cult. Certain people choose not to engage in this process, while others, even after initiation may never experience it. In other words, “becoming orixá” appears different from the notion of a body being passively possessed as the vehicle for an Orixá. People talk about being incorporated, receiving a shade or “working” as a medium. (Glowczewski 2015: 36)

4. I was invited, from February till July 2013, by CAPES and CNPq to give a course (in anthropology) at USFC and to give conferences at other universities: USP, PUC-SP, UFRGS, UFG, UFPE, Fundação Joaquim Nabuco in Recife, UFMS, UFSCAR e UFPEL-RS. Special thanks to all these Brazilian institutions for the opportunity to carry out this research.

When I went back to Brazil, in 2015, I asked Clarissa Alcantara (2011) – performing artist, philosopher, squizoanalytical therapist trained in Deleuze and Guattari studies⁵, involved, for many years, in the type of rituals I filmed in Brazil – if she would accept to collaborate with me for the presentation in Geneva. The proposition was to create a performative dance, where images made during a session of Exu (with a recording of dances by the participants in a state of incorporation by Orixás and other entities) would be projected onto her, such as might be done onto an animated screen. The movement of her body, that already had lived through and embodied different states of incorporation as a medium, would allow to “reflect” in a real and figurative sense different aspects of the multiplicity incorporated in the filmed people. Clarissa, responded enthusiastically to this proposal that brought together art, anthropology, philosophy and the sacred, an assemblage that also corresponded to her own research, as explained in her post-doctoral project:

... at the intersection of different fields of knowledge, taking as a motto a research started in 1988, called *Teatro Desessência*, the Theatre of “de-essence” and my relation with the image and the oblivion, I will investigate now the framework of an anthropological perspective. This research is made of combinations rising between art, philosophy, literary theory and psychological clinic, from the invention of a practice of performance, the “act/process” (*ato/processo*), and my devices (*dispositivos*) for producing image in the process of corporeal, visual and sound language, articulated with pragmatics of *squizoanalysis*, as proposed by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari. (Alcantara 2014: 3)

We went together to talk with the Father of saints Abílio Noé da Silveira, Babalorixá of the Tenda Espírita Vó Cirina in Florianópolis, the “Spiritual tent” located in his private house where I had filmed sessions of incorporations,

5. We met in Uberaba, at the International Congress of Squizoanalysis and Squizodrama organized by the Fundação Gregorio Barenblitt, in 2013. I invited Clarissa Alcantara to participate in the event I was organising at UFSC, with Miriam Grossi, as part of my research program TransOceanik (an Internacional Associated Laboratory between the CNRS and James Cook University in Australia) : *Blurred Interfaces: questioning norms, classifications and the primacy of language/Interfaces borradas : Questionando normas, classificações e primado da linguagem*, 27-29 May 2013, UFSC – Florianópolis, Brasil. This meeting also allowed the creation in the Lagoa Theatre of a joint workshop “Teatro Surdo + Teatro Desessência”, of Clarissa Alcantara and Olivier Schetrit, a French born deaf actor, film maker, then student in anthropology (PhD 2016). <http://transoceanik.paginas.ufsc.br/programme/> C. Alcantara was invited for a another TransOceanik Conference, *L'envers du décor : émergence des formes et agencements d'existence*, Jan. 2014, at the Collège de France, in Paris.

every thursday, from February till June 2013. With generosity and confidence, he accepted the project. I filmed, in February 2015, three other sessions of incorporations and called the project in French *Cosmocolours* (*Cosmocolours*), referring to the different colours that characterize each of the Orixás (red for Iansã, yellow for Oxum, green for Oxóssi, blue for Yemanjá, etc.), and for each of the phalanges (*falange*) of spirits: red and black for Exu, white and black for Preto Velho (Old Black people), green for Caboclos (Indigenous people and their descendants of mixed ancestry), pink and light blue for Beijada (children). The colors of the clothes of the mediums correspond to the entities that they prepare themselves to incorporate; and the fabrics that cover the *atabaque* drums also relate to specific Orixas. All these colors translate heterogeneous spaces that constitute the cosmos of those Orixás, but who manifest and multiply themselves simultaneously through several mediums, in each terreiro, as the place for such events. The term *Cosmocolours* translate these cosmopolitics that connect heterogeneous spaces with a given place and moment. An event which has its own time, in the ritual, deterritorializing and reterritorializing the participants.

figure 2

Incorporation of Caboclos, Tenda Espirita Vó Cirina, Florianópolis, 2013. Filmed by Barbara Glowczewski.



figure 3

Incorporation of Beijada during Caboclo, Florianópolis, 2013. Filmed by Barbara Glowczewski.



The performance *Cosmocolours* that took place in the room Le Commun (BAC – Bâtiment d'Art Contemporain) in Geneva, on the 21 of August 2015, unfold over two hours and a half, in four stages. First, images were projected on Clarissa Alcantara; secondly, images of Umbanda filmed in 2013 were projected on a wall; thirdly, an image filmed in 2015 was projected on another wall, at an angle with the images of the first wall; during the whole time of the projection I told a story, standing in the dark of the room to accompany the images of the Umbanda sessions (Beijada, Preto Velho, Caboclo e Exu) and interviews with Father Abílio. During the fourth stage, I commented the Warlpiri women rituals that I had filmed, without sound, in the central Australian desert in 1979; the images were projected alone on the first wall. Finally, there was a half an hour conversation with all the audience. After the event, back in Paris, I edited with Dominique Masson a 26' version of the performance (that she filmed): *Cosmocouleurs – Incorporations* can be seen through Vimeo, on the website of the curators of the exhibition *La Bête et l'Adversité* (Glowczewski 2017).

For this issue of GIS, I chose the first part of the performance, with Clarissa Alcantara dancing for 7 minutes, as filmed by the Brazilian film maker Sandra Alves. Clarissa's white cloak, like a long veil and dress spread in front of her body, served as a screen for the projection. I trailed her, projector in hand. The first experimentation of this setting (*dispositivo*) was done with Clarissa, in March 2015, at the *terreiro* of Babalorixá Kabila Aruanda⁶, now called Nação Livre de Culto aos Orixás Korrente da Alegria de Aruanda, located in Embu das Artes, a couple of hours from São Paulo. Clarissa Alcantara saw my films of the Tenda Espírita Vó Cirina and selected for the performance a sequence of a session of Exu and Pomba-Gira: ancestral spirits of dead people, men and women linked with pleasure and lust, who (after death) turned themselves into messengers between Orixás and humans.

6. Clarissa Alcantara invited Kabila Aruanda with other Brazilian artists, film maker Sandra Alves, musician Ive Luna and ten *iaôs* (sons and daughters of saint), artists of the Usina da Alegria Planetária – UAP, a collective created by Kabila–, to participate to the Geneva exhibition *The Beast and Adversity*, by making together a performance Act/process-ritual Fury, on the 22 of August 2015. The day after, Kabila talked about his experience and collective mode of existence in Aruanda (Alcantara 2016).

figure 4



figure 5



figure 6



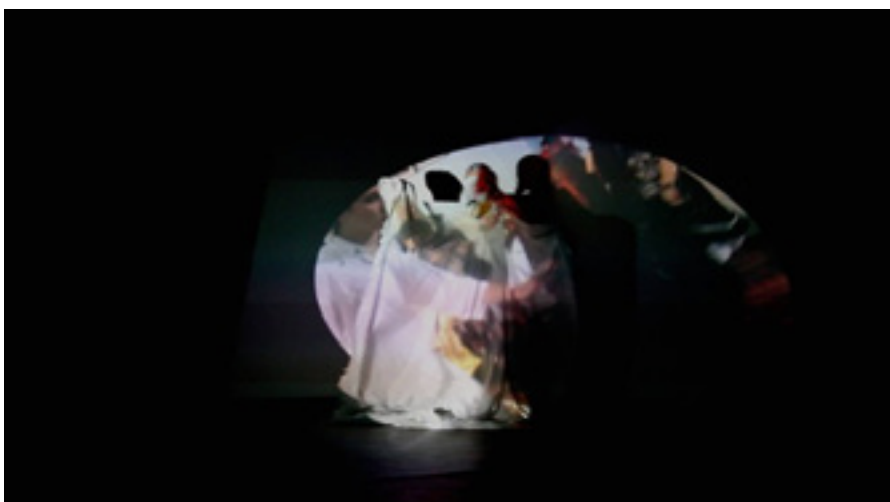
figure 7



figure 8



figure 9



During the performance in Geneva, Clarissa kneeling head down rose very slowly to dance. In the dark, a few meters away, carrying the projector at different heights, sometimes squatting or walking closer to Clarissa, I tried to make the the beam of the twirling movements (*giros*) of Exus and Pomba-Giras coincide with her own movements. Sometimes a close shot of a face would cover all her body, other times an entire silhouette would turn like her, or a group of different entities would multiply on the white outfit of the dancer, including *ogãs*, that is people who do not enter a trance, but help the entities and can also beat the *atabaque* drums. It is important to note that the film presents an angle of vision chosen by film maker Sandra Alves, who moved around to film, creating a point of view different from the angle adopted by Dominique Masson, who was posted just behind me: these two angles are also different from the one I had, or from the diverse ones observed by the people sitting on my right or left in the room of the BAC. In other terms, the experience of projected images on the costume of the dancer that looked like a series of veils in movement—very strongly felt in each instant by myself as well as Clarissa and the audience— belongs to the moment of the performance event that filming cannot give back to feel in the same way. Similarly, according to the public, the story that I improvised along the images projected on the wall stimulated, a *presence effect* which would be difficult to produce with a simple commentary in the film.

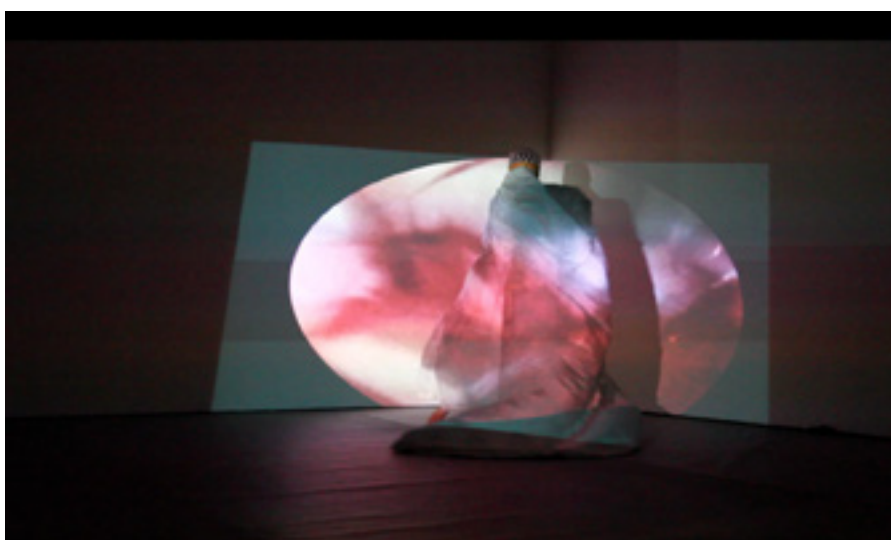
In August 2016, when we worked on this paper, Clarissa summarized her experience in this way:

The dance proposed by Barbara in *Cosmoscores* (*Cosmo-colours*), did not happen, for me, only like a performative dance. Art is sacred, intensified by the proposed device/arrangement (*dispositivo*), forced a passage to another type of opening. A new dimension was introduced, developing the performance: the sacred was materialized in a subtle state of incorporation. The long white cape chosen by Kabila Aruanda, that he had made especially for a ritual of *bombogira* Dona Maria Gertrudes, the founder of his terreiro, served, not just as a screen for the projection of the Exus and Pomba-Giras images, but also as a vehicle for the vibration of a feminine Orixá, Iansã: the proper force of the winds, lightning, tempests, that also govern and guard the universe of all Exus. In the absence of a ritual symbolic mediation, it is thanks to the strange mystery of mediumnity, that Iansã, anonymous and imperceptible to the others, embodied herself there, penetrating her vibratile force in each breath of my body. During *Cosmocores*, in fact, she was the one dancing.

figure 10



figure 11



figures 4-11

Clarissa Alcantara dances in front of images of Pomba giras, Exus and Malandros incorporations filmed in Brazil and projected on her by Barbara Glowczewski in Geneva (2015).
Extracted from *Cosmocores*, film by Sandra Alves.

For me, the beauty and strength of Clarissa's performance in Geneva created a presence allowing in its own way to recreate the presence of multiple becomings, suggesting the effective co-existence and the capacity to affect those who were attending. During the performance, as images were projected on her, I felt that our interaction was lifting her breath to another space-time. I allowed myself, then, to be sucked into a sort of vortex, materialized by the luminous beams that I projected on her. She seemed to merge herself within the projected image, as much as the people that I had filmed in a state of incorporation were starting to live and animate her silhouette by multiplying her presence. I had a strange conscience of the presence of the public, a little bit as if I was feeling them not behind or next to me but from the point of view of what was animating itself in front of us, as if we had all crossed the mirror of the projection. It is only when Clarissa covered herself in the corner of the walls (under the frame of a new film projected from the ceiling) that I recovered my own feet on the ground to carry me to give her my hand to lift her up and take her out of the dance floor. The words that came to me afterwards so to accompany the images from the *terreiro* Tenda Espírita Vó Cirina came naturally, without having been prepared in this way. During the final debate, The public expressed how they very receptive to all that had happened.

figure 12

Cosmocolours installation with films by B. Glowczewski: on the left, Patrícia, daughter of saint of the Tenda Espírita Vó Cirina, Umbanda Almas de Angola, 2013; on the right: daughters and sons of saint of the Terreiro, 2015. Geneva 2015. Filmed by Dominique Masson.



Back in Florianópolis in September 2015, Clarissa Alcantara and Sandra Alves visited Father Abílio at the Tenda Espírita Vó Cirina to show him the filmed images of the performance and ask him if he consented to their free access on Internet. He showed genuine happiness and interest in seeing the images. Then quickly accepted their release.

A year later, on Thursday the 11th of August, I went back with Clarissa to the Tenda Espírita Vó Cirina to attend a new session of Preto Velho. There I was delighted to meet the old sons and daughters of Father Abílio, as well as a big number of new participants, notably many young ones. Abílio was very busy giving consultations every day of the week. I booked an appointment for Monday to consult with the guardian spirit of the Tenda house, the Preta Velha (Black old woman) Vó Cirina. We talked for an hour and a half. I tried to ask my questions in Portuguese, though making many mistakes. Clarissa helped me to clarify my questions and translate the responses of Vó Cirina. Shortly after, Clarissa transcribed the conversation and adapted my (recorded) questions in proper Portuguese, from which I chose the various extracts proposed below.

It was a very rich teaching exchange. Most of all it showed how the Vó Cirina spirit interpreted my spiritual and anthropological questioning so as to give a response that was a non intellectual response, but revealed to be at the same time anthropological and philosophical. Thus, from the spirit's point of view, it was obvious that my relation with religion since my childhood and my shared experience with "índios" (Aboriginal people) of Australia, was connected to a feeling of the sacred and of socially grounded cosmological relations (cosmopolitics) with the earth and its forces – common to the experience of the sacred, revealed by the Orixás – that was different from Christianity. This declaration comes close here to a form of theoretical position that disagrees with various current theories which, since the beginning of the discipline of anthropology tend to oppose Australian totemism and cults of trance, such as Afro-Brazilian ones, as two forms of religion or ontologies with non compatible forms of logic. It is obvious that Indigenous rituals and Afro-Brazilian ones are different. Each of them in its particular way carries its own singularity, not just as an indigenous ritual or as an Afro-Brazilian ritual, but also with different rituals for each of the many Indigenous peoples (in Brazil as well as in Australia), or for each of the specific *terreiros* (Umbanda Angola or not, Candomblé or other) while each performance of these rituals is unique. However, a transversal trait of singularity seems to connect them.

I was deeply struck when I saw for the first time, in 2013, the incorporations of Orixás and spirits of dead in Umbanda, feeling it as something familiar. My observation was that this feeling was producing a sense of

“common” with what I had lived in Australia during the rituals (dances, songs, paintings on the body) that mapped totemic becomings of the Warlpiri Dreaming lines. I understood later that this insight of “common” is specifically articulated around the valorisation of heterogeneity and multiplicity that manifest themselves both in Brazilian cults of African matrix and in Indigenous Australian experience of totemic becomings.

During the discussion that followed the *Cosmocolours* performance in Geneva, several people shared their impressions in relation to this multiplicity and the experience of a “common”, which is at the same time social and spiritual.

One thing that I found really beautiful in these Brazilian ritual dances – as you said, despite the fact that there is a type of image of the Brazilian society as perfectly mixed, that would be perfect, in practice we understand that there is a blatant inequality between different populations – here (in the rituals) differences are highlighted, but in fact, without hierarchy, everybody is accepted. But, in fact, in this multitude, there is also – at least in my eyes – a type of unity because everybody is accepted, this is what touched me a lot.” (Mucyo Karemara, Swiss young man, PhD candidate in Physics, *Cosmocolours*’ debate. Geneva, 21 August 2015)..

The multiplicity in constant becoming is also at the heart of Deleuze philosophy and the ecosophy developed by his thought companion, Félix Guattari, who accompanied my research (Glowczewski 2015). I must admit that the experience of such a transversal complicity with the spirit of the Black old woman, Preta Velha Vó Cirina, (who defines herself as an Orixá, because she helps everybody), brings me joy.

It is not important if Vó Cirina exists or not as a spirit, she does exist as affect and effect in the relations with the people who consult her. Such relations are to be seen partly as the desire of each person. In this sense, she reveals a reality that cannot be proved according to a scientific mode, it is a “real” that cannot be named. But we can try to transmit the ethnographic presence using sentences of our conversation, inviting the readers to live a subjective reading situation. An experience that reveals, beyond any image, another order that does not assume a discursive order, nor any form of symbolic language.

figure 13
Vó Cirina da Praia
in consultation,
Florianópolis,
May 2013. Photo
by Barbara
Glowczewski.



CONSULTATION OF BARBARA WITH VÓ CIRINA (EXTRACT)

August 15, 2016

B - When I was 24 I went to Australia and met Australian Indigenous people.

VC – What I am going to say for start, is that her level is the same as that of the “Indians”, I do not talk about the Indians? I talk. Because she brings an energy of persons who already left, Tupi-Guarani, Guarani... Therefore, you have everything at the spiritual level, you can even watch (Christian ritual), but you are not going to feel well. Because Vó (the spiritual grand-mother) and the Souls (Almas) of Angola, which are Umbanda, have Candomblé, but the foundation of all of it comes from the source which is God alone. Only the fact that you did not accept this level (of Church), accept this spiritual level, why? Because you came over already with that mission since a little girl to assume it... this is why it could not be done (that you become a nun).

B – When I met these people called Warlpiri, who have a very strong spiritual relation (ligação) with animals, with the wind, with the mountain, with the

water, and they call this dreamings (sonhos, sonhares). In their language, these relations/connections with animals, winds, plants, are called dreams. They celebrate, sing the travels of ancestral beings, a mixture of human and animal or plant people, wind people and rain people, and all travel from place to place. Creating places, rocks, waterfalls, springs and waterholes.

VC – And like Vovó says: you talked about the waterfall, it's the energy of Oxum. They are Orixas that live in the waterfall. You talked about the wind. Wind, what works with the wind? It is Iansa. You talk about rocks. Xango. Xango vibrates at the beginning of the waterfall, in the middle of the waterfall where Oxum lives. Only inside our ritual of the Souls of Angola do we hold two qualities for Oxum, we have Oxum Apa Apará, (...?), and Oxumaré. Why Oxumaré? Because during six months it's a man, and during six months it's a woman. You talked about the waters, there is Yemanjá. All that you heard here, our talks, it all has to do with your Self it is your own spiritual level, my daughter. There is nothing wrong. You talked about the beast (*bicho*), the animal...(Vo Cirina sings)

“Oxossi is the hunter, I love to see hunting.

Oxossi is the hunter, I love to see hunting.

In the day he hunts in the forest, in the night he hunts in the sea”

Why? Because he is a hunter, he kills to eat. The forest is where Oxossi lives, who is an Orixa who never incorporated in a human being, for this (reason) he comes as Orixa. If it was like me, I already lived on the earth, I am an *egun*, evolved from light. Caboclo is *egun*, Beijada are *egun*, but they are evolved. But the rest of our saints are Orixas, they are brought they were born inside the waterfall. I have the foundations (fundamentals?) that has a Vo, I have the knowledge of a Vo, *né* (isn't that so), my daughter, there are things that I cannot answer. There are mysteries of life, that's it.

B – *For Aboriginal people, the “índios” of Australia, every child when it is born embodies (incorpora) the spirit of a place that links her/him to an animal, a plant or wind, etc. all new-born children. This revelation shows in a dream.*

VC – Really! When Jurunata, who is an Indian man, who came in the head of my son the first time, the first time he incorporated in my son. Jurunata, who is an Indian man, was born in Uruguay (and lived) until 21, then for reason of fight over land they hurt him, *né*, he disincarnated. When he arrived on the strip (*terreiro*) for the first time, he asked to plant a stem of a tree, the one here on the front, *araçá*, this red *araçá*, you know? These two stems that are here, are his, they were planted in his name, because he lives from the energy of the green leaves, when he came in the head of my son for the first time, and the stem here is

his. And it can be removed from here chopped only when my son is no longer here. This is his.

B – *What is the link of this spirit with Vó Cirina?*

VC – when I opened my house, my son opened it with me with mother Yemanjá, and we needed another spiritual person that works with leaves. Then, in this space (*arraial=terreiro*) the Vó made a *ponto* (*ponto riscado*, a special “cross out” design on the ground) of Oxalá here in the middle and sang so that he would show up and visit my house. In that prayer what showed up was this Indian (*índio*), it could have been another one, *né*, it could have been the Seven Arrows (*Sete Flechas*), it could have been Ubirajara, it could have been Pena Azul, but the one who came then, is he (*Jurunata*) who came to us, the *Tupã* who is the bigger, who is the God for them, he sent this Indian (*índio*) so he makes the work of healing (*cura*). So, a person who lies down in my *terreiro*, here in the middle –you can participate one day if there is a sick person- she is covered with leaves, and Indians and Caboclos work around that person. Many people have already been cured here, those “balls” (*bolas*, breast nodules) here, and other things inside here (VC shows her belly). The doctor can’t do it (*não deu jeito*), but he (the spirit) can.

His name is *Jurunata* that was given to him by his tribe. He comes just to cure. The people stay under the leaves, entirely covered, lying on a mat, under a white sheet. He already did a lot of good things. He only does it when I ask, when I request to do so, when there is a necessity. When I can cure with a candle, a prayer, he does not come. And he comes for the *gyration* (*gira*), then he sings (*curimba*) a little bit, he smokes his cigar. Because the cigar is to make the smoke go out, the smoke is relief, that’s why Vó smokes. My son does not smoke, but when I smoke here, I puff on this pipe, relieving illness, evil, jealousy, the big eye, breakdown, all these things.

B – *Another question. I felt very well with Aboriginal people because I was feeling a familiarity with this spirituality of all places and all that exists. But in those days, 30 years ago, one family that had this religion also was Christian, because the people had translated the Bible in their indigenous language. A “syncretism” with the Baptist Church. They continued their old rituals of singing, dancing and painting the body. But they also sang Christian songs in their language (Warlpiri) and painted their body in the Church (with a Christian cross), only some families. Other Aboriginal people said that it is not possible to mix the spirituality of their ancestors with Christianity.*

VC – I consider it to be wrong to do so. I consider it wrong. When they paint, they trace their actual root. Now, when they go to the Church and paint themselves, they trace the root of others. I do not accept, such a

division. What they are painting on themselves and dancing, is for their space (*barracão*). If they meet with another religion, it is not that it is wrong, but Vó does not accept thus, we are going to divide for this and that. It's their root, the painting that belongs to them cannot be lost, they have to continue forever.

B – Now, after thirty years, ‘índios’ (Aboriginal people) of Australia are more often Christians, and, for them, the traditional religion is also important. Some Warlpiri men and women say that they hold an ancestral spirituality that is very important for life, and to maintain connections with all of nature, but they have to go to Church to experiment a connection with Jesus, because it is the religion of the Whites, which, since the colonisation of Australia, has power. It's not a mixture, it's not a syncretism, but their existence is twofold. They have a connexion with nature, with dreams, but also, some people go to Churches, because for them the Bible is the power of the Whites, of colonisation, that have transformed their lives, ever changing since. With this power they have to compromise and negotiate; they understand the power of the Whites so to appropriate it for themselves to be free.

VC – That is the case. These Whites make a brainwash of Índios, saying that their God, of the Whites, is bigger, that it is equivalent to theirs. They (indigenous people) make their mindset and they pass over to that religion. Vó does not accept this either. If they are like that, they have to follow their father Tupã (primary figure for Guarani people, in Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay). When they were in the bush did they not cultivate father Tupã? Who is father Tupã? It's the same God. Therefore, the White is (*esta*) only today... Many people who come here in my house to develop themselves, evolve spiritually, when they come out from here, today they are Church believers. Believers are the Assembly of God, Evangelics (Evangélicos). And when they get there, what are they going to say about us? That we are no good, only things of the demon. Everything... These men, these pastors are completely wrong, my daughter.

They invent things, they brainwash people, because these pastors, according to Vó Cirina, make a Church to pick up money (“*patacas*”) from everybody so to live from it. It's not that I do not like it. Me, I am Vó, no my son (*não o meu filho*), I do not accept this level. And my son does not go to this type of Church, his mission is inside my faith. Ask yourself it is not a lie that they heal people? Here came a person who had the sickness of blood (Aids - SIDA). Vó prayed for her and I removed this thing (she points to the kidney); “your problem is serious, you have a stone of calcium and you have blood...” “But how Vó? I did not even feel anything?”. “You go do an examination”. She went there (to the doctor), and it was confirmed that she has a disease. She came back here terrified, crying, having her hands burning (*ralando*), all the body.

Jurunata came, we did a healing work, she found herself cured of all her wounds, but it continued inside her. She went to this Church that is called Universal. “Oh, Vó, I would like to see there if a man (the pastor) is going to cure me. I told her, “oh, my daughter, then go”. That’s what I desire, né, I desire good for others. She went there. She gave her *bicho de fogo* (fire animal, or car), he told her not to take any more medicine, he took her house, everything... In less than fifteen days the woman disappeared, she died. The lying took her. What cures is God, my daughter. What cures is the spiritual level. I cure, because God gives me the light to cure people. At the moment, the family is very preoccupied, she gave her fire animal (car) to him, they made a confusion, they came here to talk again with Vó. She gave because she wanted to. We did a “head” (*mente*, made of wax) of this person. It cured her, I cured her, then she left.

People will give anything. People who give their house, who leave work ... For whom is it? And the pastor, that man, eats the best, my daughter.

B – *What is different in Umbanda de Angola from syncretism, the relation of Orixás with the saints of the Catholic Church, like Jesus and other saints?*

VC – This here (she points to the images/sculptures of the Catholic saints exhibited on the altar), nothing of it needs to be here inside. Just one cross, here in the middle (would be enough).

When it was the time of slavery (*Senzala*), and the master (*senhor*) of cane fields, in the coffee plantations (*cafezal*), we had a “*ronkó*” (ritual space), an *ibegi* (altar), there in a little corner (*cantinho*). For the master to admit that we play there our tambourines (*tamborzinho*), what did we have to do? We had to tell a lie to the master saying this is all for the Church. We would arrange those saints and place them on top of tree stumps (*tocos*). In that way the master ended up (*passou*) believing this. From this came, that to each of the Orixás we give a name of a saint. Because of this we keep them here. But at the spiritual level, in Umbanda, in Almas de Angola (Souls of Angola), Candomblé does not use these things, they are dishes, Orixás are in dishes, that Vó also accepts.

So, it is from there that we have the right to nurture (*cultivar*) for people who come from far, who come from abroad (*fora*), so they will feel good because of the saints. But if you take away everything, you put only the cross that corresponds to the Almas de Angola. The cross is the Souls, Angola is what comes from Africa. It is the difference (*defeito*) of these Almas de Angola for the Umbanda, accordingly: my son is going to lay down (*deitar*) a person for a saint, he is pure (without incorporation), he will crown the saint. The Umbanda which is done by Preto Velho, the Congo King (Rei Congo), the Vó... The Orixá makes the saints incorporate, this is

the difference, and the rest is all the same, the song, the foundation, all is same. There is an Umbanda Branca (White) also that does not beat the drum (*tambor*), does not kill animals, works only with herbs (*ervas*).

B – And why at beginning of every session you say the prayers Our Father and Ave-Maria?

VC – This ritual of Almas de Angola was born in Rio de Janeiro and a Caboclo, the famous Caboclo Lamparina, who was a man who started all that, that we do now in Santa Catarina, said: the Vó does not really know, she started like that, she nurtured this, the prayer. And in Umbanda before it was no like that, they do not kneel down, they make a song of Oxalá standing up, for Exú, at the opening, all standing up. Here no, here people have to kneel down for Jesus, like he humiliated himself for God. Kneeling down and humiliate oneself for Him, *né?* To make our prayer. It's better, it holds more energy. But I like to do that. But if you don't wish to do it, you don't have to do it. Like in Candomblé, it's not necessary to do it.

If you wish, it's possible just to sing for the Almas and Exu and start twirling (*tocar a Gira*). But we feel good in doing a prayer of Our father (*Pai-Nosso*) and Ave-Maria, we find it better, we vibrate more for God, and what we desire, light, truth, then, it's for this that we do the praying. But if you do not wish to do, you do not need to.

figure 14
Abílio Noé
da Silveira
incorporated
as Exu Ricardo,
2013. Film
by Barbara
Glowczewski.



B – Exu. *There are many different Exus.*

VC – Exu, has a lot of qualities (types of Exus) and they are very different from one another. Exu, for me, is an Orixá. Exu, for me, is not like the one that is customary said to have a twig (*galho*), a bullock foot, and called “*tibinga*” the demon, not to mention... They are not like that, my daughter, the people who invented that, people invented that, ; he is an Orixá of all the the less evolved, why? He drinks at night, in nightclubs, with street women, those women that are lost, others that became pregnant and took out the child, they ended up losing their own light.. Thus, they became women of darkness. Thus, they come as Pomba-Gira. Each of them has her own name. Sete, who works (*trabalha*) with my sons, he got into fights in a club, so he lived from these things, in a complete mess , but his name is not only Sete, his name is Ricardo. Why is it Sete, that he brought this thing of Sete? Because in this time he does not have a place, any hole to enter, he used to enter underneath a fig tree, there he was buried. And since the matter of the earth is consumed, thus he come, he lives where it is dark. Therefore, Sete Sombras (Sete Shadows). But in one year, two years, or more, he can evolve and turn into a Preto Velho. Then he is no longer Exu, he can change. And practice good.

B – *Many Exus in Umbanda have names of demons of Christianity.*

VC – Why? This is something invented, my daughter, all invented by the priests (*padres*), invented by men of earth. They came to a house, saw an Exu drinking, with a black cape. Ah! It is a demon!. They would already, this is a demon. It's a nickname, they gave a nickname and it continues like that.

B – I was talking about demons, but there are also names in the esoteric tradition of Christianity. They have particular names, a list of first names of different demons that exist in Christianity. And priests do exorcism. Here, in Umbanda, these names appear as Exus.

VC – Demons and Exu, this for me was entirely invented. Priests practice exorcism, they are being pressured at a spiritual level. All priests are spiritists, my daughter. They have a *ronkó* (ritual space), they go through this thing fo going to their little room, to gain strength to keep away. Since I do not believe in these things, the Vó does not believe. Devil is a sort of person that is bad (*ruim*), that come here on the earth, does evil, will pay for it. When he disincarnates (*desencarna*), he is going to find himself where? On earth he is an Exu, suffering, will drink cachaça (*marafa*, a type of Brazilian rum) in any place. Until he finds a place, I make mistakes, then he changes, then he is going to be an Orixá like the Vó. Because I am a Preta Velha (Old Black Woman), but I consider myself an Orixá, because I help people, I have no malice (*maldade*). Vó does not believe in demons. Demon is a bad person, that is born bad, that desires to draw others to do bad.

ABOUT DIVINATION WITH *BÚZIOS*, CAURIE TYPE SHELLS AND *PONTOS* CHALK DESIGNS

VC – If the drop/throw of shells (*cair*) has seven “open” (*aberto*), this person is an ideal person. If the drop has seven “closed” (shells turned with their opening against the table), this person is honest and sincere. If in the drop all shells are closed, it’s inside a saint, you are a daughter of Obalu-aê. Conform to what drops here, the quantity of them, I (then) know the names of the Orixás, the sickness, the work, the result of the entrance exam (*vestibular*). Vó discovers all that we are going to do, evoke here to see from here, thus we are going to ask... (She gives an example) Oxóssi controls this person, who is son of Oxóssi with Iansã, and what are we going to do? Give food for Oxóssi and Iansã, this person is going to make a request and we are going to make her succeed the exam. If it is a sickness, it’s the same. Each quantity of *búzios* that are dropped, either closed or open, thus I know the problems of the person.

I will explain. I will draw the *búzios* for you (on the table). I call for the Orixás, from Iansã, here talked Iansã, but I desire to know the *ponto* (*riscado*) and for me not to forget that the Vó does this (she draws a ray with a chalk), Iansã, you are a ray (of lightning), *né?* If Ogum gives, I make (the design of) Ogum, if for Oxóssi, I make Oxóssi. Therefore, I know what drops, and for me I do not forget what I said. Any Father of Santo is the same thing. And the stones are energies of Orixá: white Oxalá; bejada; Xangô de Nagô, Xangô da pedreira; Iansã, Oxum, Obalu-aê, Oxóssi, Ossanhã, who has those leaves, Caboclo, Oxóssi is one thing, Cabloco is another thing, and those Almas (Souls). All this draws energy.

All of this is placed now Vó does not mess anymore with this, these stones are placed inside a tray with *boldo*, you know *boldo*? It’s a herb of Oxalá. You place all inside the *boldo*, let wash, wash everything real well inside the *boldo*, so then they can work, because if one messes with this today it’s not going to work. The person has to leave this mixture moist. In other places, houses of *terreiro*, the owner, father of Saint, learns the *búzios* to play, but my son does not wish to learn. I am the one to play. He can also learn, with other people, there are books. He leaves everything in my hands.

[Last questions]

All people who come here always like me because I am honest with my stuff thanks to God. Some things, I cannot talk about, you know? The daughter knows that all has a mystery, not my daughter (Vo turns towards Clarissa),

7. “*Peumus boldus*”, the only species in the genus “*Peumus*”, is commonly known as Boldo: medicinal properties. (cf Linguee online and wikipedia)

the spiritual level has a mystery level. But my function is to help people. They come with evil, I send them away, and I do not assist. They look for another place. Because my son does not live for this, he lives for the saint. Someone helps to do... On October 20 it's going to be my little feast, everybody wishes to help a little bit, Vó accepts. To give added value, to charge for a work of cure, no. I came for free, I have to give for free, my daughter. Even if my son is alive, here on earth, and he is going to last many years, until he's 90 years old, I am still here, when he goes away, I have to arrange another "equipment/device" (*aparelho*). But where? It can be here, it can be in another world. Because the world is very big.

The August 2016 consultation confirms, in its own way, how Vó Cirina actualizes a multiplicity of becomings. Multiple levels of becomings cross the frontiers of life and death, the body and the spirit, the masculine and the feminine, the human and the non-human, all with blurred frontiers. The crossing (*travessia*) of these limits does not stop to actualize becomings and to virtualise possibilities (*possibles* in French), not only for the incorporations of the mediums, but more subtly for slipping movements in life which resonate (*ressoam*) in different situations. Like Clarissa in her dance in Geneva, in interaction with me and with a flow of images of incorporations of Umbanda, at the beat of drums.

figure 15
Abílio Noé da Silveira with three anthropologists (Antonella Tassinari, Mariquian Ahouansou and Barbara Glowczewski, on the right) and daughters of saints, Cristiane and Beatriz Pereira (on the front), Florianópolis, May 2013.



During my consultation with Vó Cirina, she embodied the becoming of her Preta Velha spirit that refers to the becoming of her life as a woman of 140 anos (when she died by the sea), but also the becoming of her spiritual life after her death. When she answered my questions, she was sometimes one, sometimes the other. Vó Cirina expressed also a becoming-woman and a becoming-Black of her “son”, her medium the babalorixá Abílio, to whom she referred many times in the course of the extracts which are transcribed here and at other moments too. She also mentioned other becomings that inhabit her son, like the caboclo Jurunata, the spirit of a Tupi-Guarani man, who died in Uruguay at the age of 21, and who today is a spirit that makes healing rituals (*cura*). Similarly, his Exu Sete Sombras, called Ricardo, is a spirit of a man of the night, an outlaw (*fora da lei*) who, according to her, in one, two or more years, can evolve and incorporate as Preto Velho. “Just practice good” (“É só praticar o bem”), says Vó Cirina.

The spiritual guardian of the *terreiro* was happy with my visits in her house and also with those of the people I brought. She asks for news about anthropologists from Florianópolis, France, and Australia and, also, about my youngest daughter that she knew. She showed herself satisfied with the work I did in her house and with the fact of spreading her knowledge outside. Her son Abílio accepted that we perform the experience *Cosmocolours* in Geneva, but was not interested in how the work was received by the public or in the artistic context. He found himself busy enough with another becoming, of the sons and daughters who, growing in numbers continue to attend every Thursday session, as well as consultations during the week. In any event, this form of virtuality drew for me a possible road to follow, which opened in respect to all those “enchantments” (*encantamentos*, name sometimes given to the spirits) another reality to “present”, instead of “represent”.

The text proposed here shifts through agency of multiple actors, human and nonhuman, so to experiment an “editing” (like a photo-montage) of multiple entries: my analysis, that of Clarissa Alcantara, citations, and an interview with the spirit of Vó Cirina, my photos and those of Sandra Alves and finally, the film *Cosmocores* of Clarissa’s dance with my images of the Umbanda Almas de Angola from the Tenda Espírita Vó Cirina projected in Geneva. The blurring of frontiers, colours, languages, and names accompanies the smoothness of the surface of perception upon which various spatio-temporal dynamisms are produced. A Cosmopolitics of an “indisciplined” anthropology outlines, between distant spaces and times, the design of a multiplicity of lines, a network in which some traits can be perceived to be common. Like my first experimental films, which superimposed discontinuous rhythms and pulsations to produce a rupture in perception for new emotional stimuli, so also the becoming of this current research, disrupts some of the continuity of a supposed

translation

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movement. The Warlpiri Dreamings, Orixás and spirits of dead, anthropology, philosophy, the sacred, art, and everything else joined in composition of the possibility of a singular dance superimposing bodies and images in a Cosmocolour-becoming.

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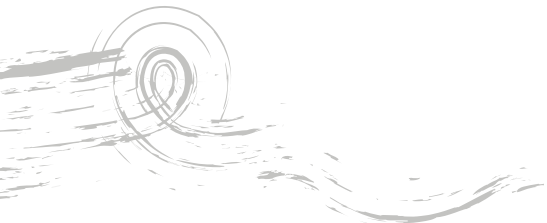
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JASPER CHALCRAFT
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ROSE SATIKO GITIRANA HIKIJI

UNPACKING: CONGOLESE ARTISTS ON THE MIGRANT EXPERIENCE IN SÃO PAULO

*Abra os olhos (“open your eyes”). Biliwe.
Open them again, and see through the weave
of a hessian sack.*

keywords

Immigration; Africa;
Democratic
Republic
of Congo;
Performance;
Music.

Photo: Rose
Satiko G. Hikiji



New localities, old prejudices. Foreigners, etrangers: *our ideas and our thoughts are less welcome than our bodies.*

Photo: Rose
Satiko G. Hikiji



Exploring these social realities are two individuals, two Congolese, one a musician, one an artist, Yannick Delass, and Shambuyi Wetu. Having only settled in Brazil in recent years they were introduced to each other in SP by us, as part of an artist¹ movement. Voices and silences. Muted mimesis and sung *saudades* are moments and spaces of empowerment, subtle shifts in the visibility and “auditory space”² of migrant politics³.

1. Artivism, as discussed in Raposo (2015), is an unstable concept to deal with the connections of art and politics, when art is an act of resistance and subversion. Yannick and Shambuyi’s first encounter was during a meeting at the Cambridge Occupied Artistic Residence which aimed to discuss art, immigration and work, and to bring together Brazilian and migrant artists, members of the housing movement which occupies Hotel Cambridge in São Paulo and anthropologists.

2. Feld (1996) and Born (2013), calling attention to sound - against the hegemony of the visual in social sciences - mention the expression “auditory space”. Our performers work with both visual, sound and corporeal expressions, making it necessary to go beyond visual anthropology or ethnomusicology, or at least, to put them together.

3. São Paulo, the most populous city in the Southern Hemisphere, is also home to the largest Arab, Italian and Japanese diasporas. African migration to the city (and to Brazil) is not huge in numbers, but, in the last years, it has increased significantly. In 2000, 1054 regular African migrants from 38 countries lived in Brazil. In 2012, they were 31.866 regular citizens coming from 48 of the 54 African nations. In the city of São Paulo, in 2016 there are 2055 regular migrants from Nigeria, 1830 from Angola, 431 from DRC (source: Polícia Federal).

Watch *Bagage* at: <https://vimeo.com/220968672>

Making complex realities tangible, the artists attempt to translate their perspective of international politics and consumption for their new audiences in São Paulo's public spaces. A silent figure on stage, coltan-covered, bloody-dripping cellphones taped to his body, an audience bemused, a distant war and nearby refugees.

Photo: Rose
Satiko G. Hikiji



Yannick's guitar and Shambuyi's *chimera*⁴ aren't alone. A settled-migrant, Luambo Pitchou, an activist lawyer from Democratic Republic of Congo in São Paulo, tells the São Paulo public his understanding of his country's situation through his words. All three of these Congolese migrants represent these stories in subtly different ways, reconfiguring how conflict, consumption and identity are part of the same problem.

4. We call Shambuyi's art works chimeras, associating them with two concepts: montage and utopias. If this indicates hope, dreams, fantasies and a privileging of the imaginary, it also implies "multiple images that, through associating visual indexes emanating from different beings [...] provoke a visual projection which gives rise to an image that at the same time implies the presence of these different beings" (Lagrou & Severi: 2013; our translation). Shambuyi creates creatures from different things and beings, as a way of externalising what comes out of his head. The final form of the performance is unclear before he makes it, and so too are the exact forms and meanings of his creatures/chimeras. Many of these meanings are produced *a posteriori*, deriving from the effects provoked during the performance when Shambuyi's mind meets the audience.

But our fictive chronology - the movie we're making⁵ - retells this by welding a later voice, Yannick's, to Shambuyi's performance and Pitchou's discourse. Why? Are we closer or further from the reality of what all want to communicate? This montage - our edited reality - plays with the voices, images and discourses of that day, of its different performative moments and protagonists, to approximate something of that fleeting reality.

What is the artist-migrant's mimesis? What exactly is he copying? The shamans of anthropology tell us that mimesis embodies and subverts colonial power (Taussig, 1993), and for Shambuyi this appears to be true. Yet, theories don't always translate, they don't always skip continents as easily as bodies do. Shambuyi's chimera mimetises the minerals market that promises riches but brings war to his country.

Watch *Biliwe* at: <https://vimeo.com/220968843>

He needs to save his life
He needs to save his life
He needs to save his life
("Ele necessita preservar a sua vida")

The film echoes the tragedies of being a refugee. And sometimes to "save one's life" you have to keep silent about certain traumatic experiences. But, after all, what is left from the inconsistencies of our conscience? How does this affect a Brazilian audience? Is the artist making overt connections between colonial and post-colonial powers, and contemporary African and Brazilian realities, or is he perhaps making it more simple for this audience, who do not know his context?

Yannick Delass sings: "blacks in Babylon without access to quality education, suffering discrimination in public parks, shot by the police, accused of crimes that were never committed".⁶ This is a very familiar description for the Brazilian audience. Cellphones and racism make the transatlantic connections, even if we don't know the wars or the refugee camps.

And our cultural intermediaries are more complex: later they take us into their personal lives and the texture of daily dilemmas. In a performance

5. The short films presented here are part of a wider project of research and filmmaking, conducted by Jasper Chalcraft and Rose Satiko Hikiji, named *Being/Becoming African in Brazil: migrating musics and heritages* (Fapesp grants 2016/05318-7 and 2016/06840-9). In this project we think of filming - as well as taking part in our friends' performances - as *making*, since we agree that some practices of art can suggest "new ways of *doing* anthropology" (Ingold, 2013:21).

6. Our translation of: "os negros sem acesso à educação de qualidade na Babilônia, discriminados nos parques públicos, baleados pela polícia, acusados de crimes que não foram cometidos".

that may mix the autobiographical with social commentary from the streets they interrogate the personal through the political. *Fags and whores*: personal vices, existential props that ease the uncertainties and stresses of movement. Our cultural brokers ask us, are we imprisoned by such vices, or is our common humanity emphasized by their seductive promises on either side of the Atlantic?

But we are brokers too: this performance took place during the launch of the first issue of GIS - Gesture, Image, Sound - Journal of Anthropology itself. Shambuyi, Yannick and also Togolese artists and Brazilian capoeiristas were invited by the editors to perform as part of the celebration. A relevant question is which brokers have power: Shambuyi and Yannick give form and meaning to as yet unfamiliar realities, whilst our words here reshape their relevance for our disciplinary and spatial politics. *Rag-and-Bone Men (Catadores)* was filmed in a space where African and Brazilian (mainly Afro-Brazilian) artists meet, Aparelha Luzia, yet who was really in charge of this meeting? As we broker each other, how do our respective virtues and vices interact?

It is worth noting that the musical interaction between the Togolese and Brazilians was a little rough around the edges - disputing the acoustic space. This contrasts with the silent performances of Shambuyi Wetu and his chimeras (accompanied only by the lamentful song of Yannick Delass), which suspends time: here interaction is shaped by interruption and shock.

In this space of African and Afro-Brazilian art, Shambuyi Wetu walks between the fag-ends of incarceration, in the scandalous silences of the unconscious. He picks up pains, uses them and exorcises them through smoke. Instead of just hiding himself from the danger of non-existence, he decides to go beyond the frontiers that the artworld imposes. And he asks himself for how long construction work will earn him his daily bread.⁷

Watch *Rag-and-Bone Men* at: <https://vimeo.com/220968600>

Shambuyi and Yannick continue to challenge our understandings of the city, and of their migrant experience. After *Rag-and-Bone Men (Catadores)* performances shift to the city's venerable art institutions, the Museo Afro-Brasil and the lived uncertainties of the 32nd Sao Paulo Bienal (title: *Incerteza Viva*). With eight kilos of fish, clay, and vegetables, Shambuyi and his partner Clarisse Mujinga hack the Bienal, their impromptu performance countering the prevailing images of a troubled continent. Inside, they meet a public eager to engage with their representations of

7. Shambuyi and other artists in a debate about art, refugee and migrant labour: <https://vimeo.com/169635430>.

an abundant “Africa”. In one afternoon, the thousand selfies taken with the Congolese artists and then shared on social media solidly placed them in the public spaces of the city, even as they re-exoticised them.

Photo: Jasper
Chalcraft



In the process of settling-in to this city, its localities begin to feel as old as the prejudices that continue to make life difficult for each generation that settles here. Our new *etrangers* continue to negotiate these streets, squares, bars, as well as our art institutions and auditory spaces, always trying to make their ideas and thoughts, their silences and songs, as welcome as their bodies.

You who live safe
In your warm houses,
You who find warm food
And friendly faces when you return home.
Consider if this is a man
Who works in mud,
Who knows no peace,
Who fights for a crust of bread,
Who dies by a yes or no.
Consider if this is a woman
Without hair, without name,
Without the strength to remember,
Empty are her eyes, cold her womb,
Like a frog in winter (...).

*

Primo Levi, *Survival in Auschwitz*.

translation
Jasper Chalcraft
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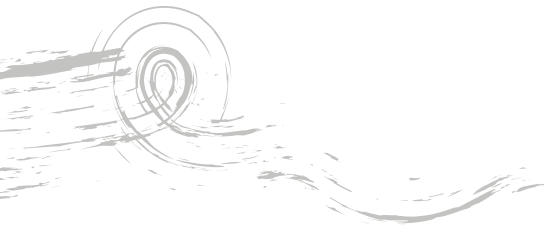


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ROSE SATIKO GITIRANA HIKIJI

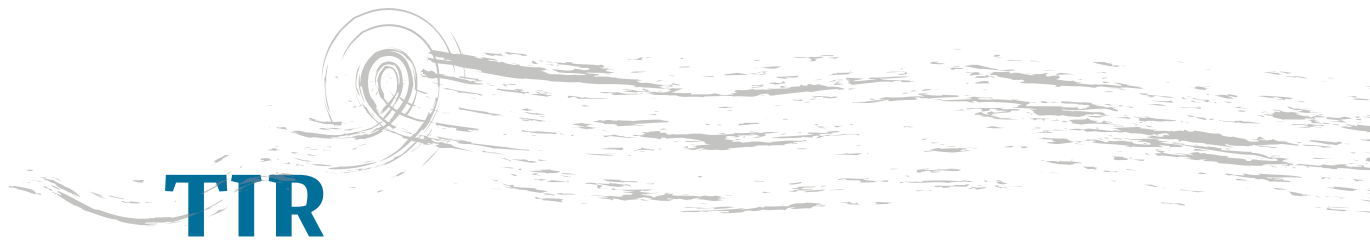
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MIHAI ANDREI LEAHA

**INTERVIEW WITH
DAVID MACDOUGALL.**
*LOOKING
FOR OTHERS*



INTRODUCTION

David MacDougall is arguably the most prominent figure in the field of visual anthropology today. He is a well-known filmmaker, anthropologist and writer that contributed to the development of visual anthropology, regarded not only as a subdomain of anthropology, but as a field of study in itself, that does not depend anymore on the traditional scientific principle of anthropological inquiry for its validity.

In 2011 MacDougall came to the Astra Film Festival in Sibiu, Romania and then to Cluj as a guest of the Babes-Bolyai University of Cluj Napoca, Romania. As I was writing my PhD dissertation on ethnographic film and anthropological knowledge, I took the opportunity to talk with one of my favourite authors and filmmakers about the topics that interested me at that time. Starting from conflictual definitions of visual anthropology, issues related to observational and intertextual cinema, to differences between written and visual anthropology or how anthropological cinema conveys anthropological knowledge, the discussion led to a more methodological, practical and rather personal question about the act of “looking” as a mode of inquiry and a methodological shift towards corporeal/sensory anthropology.

Looking back, the 45 minutes interview was so inspiring to me that it stood at the basis of every chapter of my PhD thesis and even if some of the issues discussed five years ago are not “burning” anymore, I believe there are ideas that stand at the core of our discipline and many of the issues tackled still deserve our full attention.

SHORT BIO OF THE INTERVIEWER: Mihai Andrei Leaha, PhD. is an independent visual anthropology scholar based in Cluj Napoca, Romania. He has been very active in the field of Visual Anthropology in his country and beyond, producing and directing documentaries, organizing film festivals and workshops, participating at conferences and writing articles in peer reviewed journals. In 2008 he founded Triba Film, an independent documentary production company that produced international award winning anthropological films such as *Valley of Sighs* (2013) and *Babaluda* (2012). In 2014 he founded CEVA (Center for Visual and Anthropological Education) through which he initiated and organized innovative and practical educational programs, which involve the use of film, photography and anthropology.

THE INTERVIEW

MAL: This is part of one of my projects that is very simple; it’s called “What is Visual Anthropology?” So I want to ask this question over and over again because while reading all this literature in the field of visual anthropology you come across different types of answers and you never know what direction is going considering the previous work that you read. So it’s all changing, I see it in a good way also but at the same time I think it is confusing for students who start learning about the field. So this is actually my first question. What is visual anthropology in David MacDougall’s sense?

DM: I actually don't use the term very often. I tend to use it when I'm thinking about anthropology more generally and the extent to which film could change concepts of anthropology, become a radical form of anthropology, you know, not necessarily closely linked with traditional anthropology. I speak more about ethnographic film usually which I define really as films that have the intention of exploring cultural patterns of some kind. Cultural and social patterns. And because obviously any film can be interesting anthropologically, it can say a lot about the culture that produced the filmmaker and the culture that it concerns, but that doesn't make it anthropological. It becomes a useful document or piece of evidence. Whereas a film that has the intention of actually looking at how people lead their social lives, how it's organised, what are the cultural forces involved, then I think it becomes ethnographic, in a sense. Because of the consciousness of those questions. I think there is a real problem around the concept of visual anthropology because most of the things that anthropology has done in the past, film doesn't do very well. You can say that film is very bad regarding many of the things that anthropology tries to do. For example films are very bad at making summaries or proposing conclusions, deductions. Films are very bad at making propositional statements about the world. And in a sense this is what anthropology keeps moving towards traditionally. It is to examine empirical evidence and then raise questions about it and then arrive at some conclusions and statements, which are believed to hold truth for a particular community of people. So if film is not good at those things, then what use is it to anthropology? But then you have to turn the question over and look at it the other way around and say well, film is very good at some things. It's very good at explicit description and detailed description; or perhaps better not to call it description but depiction, something like that. It's very good at showing the specific case, visually of course. It's very good at revealing the emotional lives of human beings and their interpersonal relations. It's very good at looking at nonverbal communication of posture, gesture, all of these things, the ways that people signal to each other. And it's probably very good also at showing the simultaneity of events, or within an event the different aspects of it that are going on simultaneously. Or it could be things that are not linked but occur in the same frame for example, this thing is going on here, something else is going on in the background in addition to all the activity that is going on there is the whole context, the environmental context, for example, in which all these events take place, the social environment in fact. So this is a kind of way in which cinema works through a kind of a co-presentation rather than a more linear process. There is a lot of talk about how perhaps literature is non-linear or it is linear or language is linear or non-linear and you can quiver over different perspectives about that but the fact is that if you, let's say have a description in a piece of writing, you build up a more comprehensive description through adding detail after detail. And then, the way in

which those come together occurs in the imagination of the reader, to create a cohesive whole, let's say. And that's very different than looking at an image in which you are often assaulted by multiple kinds of impressions, sensations and information. So I think on the positive side, films can do all these things and then you come to the question of what value that might have for an anthropological understanding. And I think, today there is increasingly a kind of convergence of the interests of filmmakers and anthropologists. And that opens a lot of possibilities for anthropology to use film, in that many of the contemporary interests of anthropologists are, for example, the role of the individual in a social group, the emotional lives of people, a renewed interest in material culture in terms of how people relate to the objects around them, and performance generally as a kind of current trope of anthropological research. So from that point of view you could say film has access to these areas of interest, anthropology has been developing over the last couple of decades.

MAL: Okay, thank you. Another question would be concerning methodological problems. We all know that over the last 40 years you have advocated for an anthropological cinema. I would like to talk about the methods you used, the positions you took along your career from a methodological point of view. We all know that you began your work with Colin Young and his group and that Young was the promoter of the observational approach, but in "Beyond Observational Cinema" that you wrote in '73 you suggested a more reflexive and participatory approach for anthropological filmmaking. In '92 you advocated for a form of intertextual cinema accusing participatory filmmaking of leading to a confusion of perspectives. Moreover, in recent years we witnessed a coming back to an observational approach in theory as well as in practice but to another kind of observational approach. Please explain this methodological journey and how Young's principles of observational cinema differ from what you later call observational cinema. If it differs.

DM: Well, I think there has been a lot of confusion perhaps about observational and participatory or interactive methods because at the time that people were beginning to formulate these ideas, there was a political context for that. In which many of us were beginning to make films, we were resisting traditional forms of documentary and the sort of syntax and assumptions: what we saw as a kind of authoritarian approach to documentary and also an institutional approach to it. Whereas the new cinema was evolving in the '60s was very much an authored cinema, it was very personal in many ways and you know, the difference between the different varieties of *cinéma vérité* and direct cinema, observational cinema, these forms in fact, the differences were not very great, it seems to me because the primary characteristics of that approach were that these were films made by individuals from a very in-

dividual perspective. Very often a filmmaker was the cinematographer which hadn't been true before, therefore they often represented a highly subjective view of the world, an exploratory view of one person, a sense of authorship. All of which you could say meant that we should read these films as highly selective, highly subjective in many ways and in no sense trying to present a kind of fly on the wall objectivity, that was often accused of doing. And I think part of the problem of this misunderstanding was because many of the critics who were writing about it hadn't actually made films, and they didn't understand how these films really came into being as personal observations. And I also think maybe some of us are to blame for trying to, in a sense, polarise the argument between participation and observation when in fact the two, in a sense, can't be separated and they are in no way mutually exclusive or opposite. And in fact, if you go back to Malinowski it's all about participant observation anyway. So I think whether these nuances of interpretation have changed over time, I don't know, but I think audiences are much better now at understanding this kind of film. And they're not being fooled and they're not being given a false consciousness about what's going on very often, at least, I think. Probably audiences are more knowledgeable and more conscious of the processes of making the films.

MAL: What about intertextual cinema? What was it in your perspective in '92?

DM: I think it was just throwing out the idea that you could combine material from different sources into the same film and therefore create a kind of dialogue between the materials. So you could have, for example instead of having a collaborative film where the filmmaker tries to work with another person to make a single perspective, you could have a film in which the filmmaker creates some of the material and then somebody else creates some of the material, maybe a co-filmmaker and this kind of material is juxtaposed and we're given an opportunity to look at different approaches, different aspects of the same subject. That could be a kind of intertextual cinema. Or the intertextuality could be a combining of written texts with visual material, speech, and other elements. That would be one way to think of it. Or it could be another of sort of references. I began making some films in pairs when I was making the Doon School project, so that one film in a sense would come into one another. Even though they weren't together. But if you'd seen one film and then you saw its pair, there would be a kind of resonance between the two, or a dialogue between the two. I think the best example of that is with the "New Boys" and "The Age of Reason", the last two films in the series where some of the same materials are used in the same films but it's edited differently for each film. So the same scene comes up but actually in film number two there is additional material of one kind and less material that appeared in the first film. And so the films have a kind

of dialogue and also the subjects of the film overlap. In the first case it's a film about a group, in the second film it's about an individual member of that group. So you can see him either in the context of the group or you can see him as really the sole subject of the film. And it depends which you see first. It makes a big difference which one you see first. Because if you see *The Age of Reason* first, then you get to know that boy very well and you will see again, when you see the other film looking for him constantly, is he here? Is he here? And when he appears you notice him.

MAL: I haven't seen *The Age of Reason*, I've seen *The New Boys*, so I partially understand. You have already talked about the difference between written and visual anthropology, in a sense I would like to know your position now, because one of my favourite quotes from *Transcultural Cinema* is that "*film can never replace the written word in anthropology but anthropologists are made conscious by their film experience of the limitations that words impose upon the discipline, we are beginning to fill some blind spots with film.*" So do you think it's a complementarity between the two or do you think they should be separately taught and separately understood, these two modes of representation?

DM: No, I don't think there is any reason why they should be kept separate, you know. That statement really has more to do with the motivation of anthropologists maybe wanting to go beyond the limitations of their writing and looking for ways to express things that they experience in fieldwork but they didn't somehow find a way to communicate in writing. Of course, if you are a very fine writer, you can be maybe more successful, but we can't all be, you know? Not everybody, not every anthropologist is Tolstoy. So that really refers to the motivation but I think the other side of it is related to the question of what constitutes anthropological knowledge and the anthropologist in the field achieves many kinds of understandings, right? And some of that gets sort of filtered and distilled down to expression of (you know) written anthropology, descriptions, conclusions, etc. But there is a lot that remains and then the question for the anthropologist is: I understand a lot of these other things as well, would there be a way to communicate that to the anthropological audience? And film may be a way, you know. But if those understandings don't fit neatly into the way that anthropology has evolved as a discipline, then you have a problem because people say that is not knowledge, that is an impression, that is ... you can't reduce that to statement, you can't summarise it maybe. It used to be that ethnographic films were used by teachers of anthropology as a kind of a wallpaper for their lectures. They would show the film and say, OK, this is, this gives you an idea of the context in which all of this took place, that I'm talking about, you know, «let's get back to serious stuff". And then we began to understand that actually it might be anthropologically

important, that appearances might be anthropologically significant, not just what we could say about them. And so perhaps you begin to gather a shift in which the background starts to come into the foreground of anthropology. And many of the things that were formally considered more or less peripheral to anthropological knowledge assume more importance. And as I said before, we do see that happening now in the way that anthropology itself has shifted its concerns.

MAL: In one of the articles George Marcus wrote in Lucien Taylor's collection of essays - "The Modernist sensibility in recent ethnographic writing and the cinematic metaphor of montage" (1994) - , he said that also written anthropologists have operated from a cinematic imagination in their written text, so it kind of went the other way around as well, not only from one way. It was kind of an overlapping of the experiences there.

DM: Yes, that's true I think.

MAL: You basically answered my next question about how cinema is part of anthropological practice and could enhance the dialogue between different modes of knowing and representing and how does anthropological cinema convey anthropological knowledge, in what way.

DM: I mean that is an interesting question in itself because if you just assume that cinema is just a kind of attempt to make a copy of reality, then you're not going to get very far. Whereas I think methodologically what is important is the way in which the filmmaker makes an analysis of the subject and emphasises certain things and other things. The selectivity is terribly important. So that when I am filming I am obviously focusing on some things, on the exclusion of something else and there is a process of highlighting, you can call it exaggeration, even to bring to the core certain principles that I have observed in certain kind of interactions, certain elements that seem to me important. So, I think that's crucial in making these sorts of films. You're operating analytically, you're not seeing your job as simply a reporting job or a transparent transfer of what you've seen to somebody else. It's a much more active process of analysis. And really, it's all summed up I think in the way in which Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson disagreed about method. Whereas Margaret Mead saw film as a record-making device like a (you know), any other surveillance recorder, or tape-recorder or as a scientific instrument like a microscope, a telescope. She, sometimes I think, used those analogies. That they would provide data for somebody else to look at or for you yourself, down the lines, later. Whereas Bateson took a much more active, pro-active approach, that unless you put into your exploration the kind of active pursuit of certain kinds of knowledge, what comes out is going to be very superficial. You have to make that effort to be analytical at the front of every start.

MAL: I have always wondered, after having these debates on what is anthropological cinema, what is cinema, what is some sort of art film, which is also cinema. Whereas with anthropological film, what does it differentiate, and how does anthropological cinema differentiate itself from the field of anthropology as a totally different thing? Of course, you have answered this in a way already, but you also stated that visual anthropology is somehow an altogether different discipline than anthropology itself, but that leads me forward to how is it different from cinema as well. Could the answer be a kind of exploration? I guess this is a key word, but please...

DM: Well, of course visual anthropology isn't just cinema, it can be still photography, it can be a lot of other things that have to do with visual culture, analysis of visual culture. So I think then turning to the question of how would ethnographic film differ from cinema, say documentary cinema, I don't think fundamentally it does differ. It may differ in its intentions, as I've said, it has a particular purpose which is sociological or anthropological, but in the way that it uses the medium, there's really no necessary difference. Because all cinema is a kind of construction and it's very partial, it's putting together fragments into a certain way to convey a social world to other people. And most of that world actually occurs in our minds even though, you know, we're looking at images. The filmmaker builds up a kind of imaginary geography out of these fragments or shots and the limitation of the frame and everything else takes place here (*pointing to the head*). So when somebody walks off screen, they don't disappear. We still have a sense they're there, somewhere. If they walked off to the left or the right, that's the direction where we might find them next time. So there is that persistence of imagery which is cumulative, it builds up in our minds. Much in the way that writing does, you know, literature operates some of the same way. So John Marshall used to say that the most important thing about film is what is outside the frame, and in a way it's true. If you don't leave any gaps for the imagination of the viewer, you deprive them of the possibility of any kind of interactive relationship with your film. And that, seems to me, results in something that's very shallow.

MAL: Coming back to the difference between anthropological cinema and the field of mainstream anthropology you had some serious accusations for written anthropologists, accusing them of eliminating the human being from the presence there.

DM: It's not a criticism of anthropologists, I think it's a criticism of the process and it's just a characteristic of the conventions of writing. I was really trying to say, and this had to do in a sense with the transculturality of writing versus cinema or images. That if you write about a person, you maybe give them a name and maybe a description, how they look and

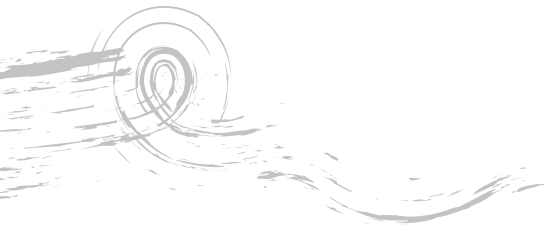
then for the next twenty pages you just say ... you give that person's name. And that stands for the whole person. Whereas if you make a film about a person, in every scene, that person exists as a whole body. It has a head, a body, arms and legs. Whereas in the writing, each time you give John's name. You don't say John who has a head, a body, two arms, two legs. So it's the sort of reiteration that constitutes an important difference, I think. And it also is what permits cinema to reach across cultures more easily because of the physical things we have in common. I do see visual anthropology still as a radical form of anthropology because it's doing something different generally from what anthropologists have done before and it's using new methods, methods that are different, the medium is different and the things that we can say about the kinds of knowledge that it conveys are different. So in that sense it is separate, it could be considered a separate kind of tangent from the way that anthropology developed as discipline in the 20th century, early 20th century.

MAL: One last question would be about the concept of looking you developed in the first pages of the Corporeal Image because it was really intriguing to me to read about it in a so-called theoretical book. Looking is something that we all do, it's not something that can be taught or you can learn from someone. You just look, it's something as natural as breathing. If you have the ability to do it, of course, and you also state that looking is done with an intention, but that intention is not intellectual, it's a state of mind that creates a space of awareness. For me it's almost like yoga or something very spiritual in a way, please ...

DM: I don't know how spiritual it is, but you know, I think you can make a distinction between seeing and looking. We are constantly seeing, if we can see. But looking perhaps has more of an intention behind it. You look with a purpose here or there, in the camera or at you, and with the camera we also look, and in a sense the camera creates an intention and permits this intention to be amplified, to be framed in a particular way, to be emphasised, and of course to be shown to somebody else. As Rouch said "cinema is the only way I have to show somebody how I see him" or he might have said how I look at him. So the intention is both ... Maybe the intention of how we always look, out of interest in something, out of curiosity, out of desire, out of ... all the different reasons, why we look, out of aesthetic reason and appreciation, pleasure. But the second intention would then be, I want somebody else to see this, I want you to see what I have seen, what I've looked at. And that I think re-doubles the power of the camera.

MAL: How do you get into that state of mind? Rouch also spoke about cine-trance.

DM: I don't know how you get into it, except out of a fascination with what you're looking at. You have a camera. There's something that attracts your



attention. It could be for intellectual reasons, it could be for a lot of other reasons but it draws you in and then the camera becomes a kind of guide that leads you further into the subject. In a way that if you were just looking, you wouldn't be led.

MAL: Maybe because when you have a camera it reflects towards the audience. If you look at something and you follow that thing with a camera then you are not just looking yourself but you're trying to look for others.

proofreading

Jasper Chalcraft,
Sylvia Caiuby Novaes

DM: For others, yes. I think, maybe looking for others is a very interesting way to formulate that.



MIHAI ANDREI LEAHA

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LES POSSÉDÉS ET LEURS MONDES: (AUTO)BIOGRAPHIES VISUELLES DANS UNE TRIBU PAS COMME LES AUTRES

RÉSUMÉ

Lancée en 2014 autour de la revue *Anthropologie et Sociétés*, la série *Les Possédés et leurs mondes* est un projet d'anthropologie visuelle en cours centré sur la préservation, la valorisation et la diffusion de la socioanthropologie canadienne. La série privilégie l'approche (auto)biographique et s'intéresse à la mémoire de professeurs-chercheurs du Canada qui ont publié dans la revue *Anthropologie et Sociétés*. Les auteurs la situent parmi d'autres projets apparentés et présentent ensuite sa spécificité, ses objectifs, son dispositif technique, ses premières réalisations concrètes, sa contribution à la réflexion anthropologique et à l'histoire intellectuelle, ses limites et ses défis.

mots-clés

(Auto)biographies visuelles;
Mémoires; Transmission
des savoirs; Professeurs
d'anthropologie;
Socioanthropologie; Revue
Anthropologie et Sociétés;
Polyphonie.

À Pierre Maranda, Michel Perrin, Jack Goody et Terry Turner

Once one thinks about the idea, it may seem strange that anthropologists have devoted so much energy to investigating other people's tribes (including filming them), and so little time on their own. When the 'ancestors' are encouraged to

*talk, they do so with a frankness and insight which it is a pleasure to be involved in preserving. (Alan Macfarlane, 2004)*¹

INTRODUCTION²

Le projet *Les Possédés et leurs mondes* est né à l'automne 2014, suite à la prise de conscience que toute une génération de professeur(e)s-chercheur(e)s qui a fondé les sciences sociales au Québec, et largement contribué à la vie intellectuelle et matérielle de la revue *Anthropologie et Sociétés*, partait à la retraite. La situation paraissait d'autant plus préoccupante que Bernard Arcand, un collègue estimé et longtemps responsable de l'anthropologie visuelle au département d'anthropologie de l'Université Laval, venait de disparaître de manière prématurée. Son décès fut suivi trois ans plus tard, en 2014, par celui de Marc-Adélaïde Tremblay, l'un des fondateurs avec Yvan Breton dudit département³.

Dorénavant, une question se posait de façon brûlante : quels héritages et quelles images ces collègues qui appartiennent à la toute première génération d'anthropologues du Québec allaient-ils laisser aux plus jeunes générations? Devait-on se contenter de leur production écrite (livres, articles, etc.), penser que celle-ci suffisait ? Et si l'on ne se résignait pas à cela, comment valoriser la mémoire et les travaux de ces collègues, comment saisir leur cheminement ? Tous les chercheurs le savent, les articles et livres demeurent bien souvent peu loquaces sur le vécu personnel, les expériences de terrain, les difficultés et les hasards de l'existence, autant d'éléments qui permettent pourtant de mieux comprendre la trajectoire intellectuelle d'un chercheur, ses choix, ses changements d'orientation, l'évolution de ses intérêts, de ses projets dans des contextes bien souvent méconnus?

Par ailleurs, comment rendre l'anthropologie plus visible et accessible à un plus large public, comment préserver sa mémoire et rendre plus fluide la transmission des savoirs et des expériences de la toute première génération d'anthropologues au Québec?

1. <http://www.alanmacfarlane.com/TEXTS/ancestors.pdf>. Consulté le 16 mars 2017

2. Nous exprimons nos remerciements à tous ceux et celles qui ont joué le jeu des Possédés et notre gratitude aux personnes qui ont su nous conseiller et nous encourager dans cette entreprise, en particulier à Robert Crépeau, Andrée Fortin, Roberte Hamayon, Joseph Lévy, Marie Mauzé, Olivier et Paul Servais, Sylvie Poirier et Francine Saillant.

3. L'été 2015 s'est avéré encore plus meurtrier. Au moment d'écrire ce texte, nous avons appris la disparition subite de notre ami et collègue Pierre Maranda le 5 juillet 2015. Celle de Jack Goody est survenue quelques jours plus tard, le 16 juillet, celle de Michel Perrin le 14 août, et celle de Terence Turner le 7 novembre.

Dans cet article, nous examinerons d'abord brièvement le choix d'une approche (auto)biographique et visuelle pensée comme complémentaire aux écrits que laissent les anthropologues. Nous situerons ensuite la série *Les Possédés et leurs mondes* dans la continuité de plusieurs autres entreprises audiovisuelles du même genre qui ont vu le jour en Europe et en Amérique du Nord. Nous expliquerons enfin le dispositif technique qui fonde l'originalité du projet en examinant ses premiers résultats et ses limites.

LE CHOIX DU VISUEL, DE L'APPROCHE BIOGRAPHIQUE ET DU TÉMOIGNAGE

L'idée de procéder par captation visuelle plutôt que par la collecte de nouveaux textes paraissait pertinente à plus d'un titre. D'une part, ce procédé permet de conserver une image animée et plus complète de chercheurs qui ont été les acteurs et les témoins de la naissance des sciences sociales au Québec. D'autre part, les narrations recueillies offrent un complément à la production écrite, le pari étant que les auditeurs retournent consulter ou relire les livres et les articles des participants interviewés. Il faut admettre que si les plus jeunes générations d'étudiants lisent moins que les précédentes, elles consomment plus d'images. Il nous semblait enfin que plusieurs des témoignages pourraient offrir un intérêt sur le plan didactique pour alimenter les cours, en classe ou à distance.

Née avec la vie des saints puis avec les célèbres Confessions de Saint Augustin, la biographie et l'autobiographie ont connu une évolution complexe. Tantôt loués à certaines époques, tantôt décriés et rejetés à d'autres, ces formats occupent encore une place majeure dans les méthodologies des sciences humaines et sociales.

L'approche (auto)biographique a été développée par les anthropologues et les sociologues, en particulier ceux de l'école de Chicago et ce, dès les années 1920. La vague structuraliste l'a sévèrement critiquée mais celle-ci a repris ses lettres de noblesse, en particulier chez les chercheurs qui travaillent avec les sociétés autochtones. De nombreux spécialistes, comme Julie Cruikshank (1990) ou François Trudel (2002), pour n'en citer que deux exemples récents au Canada, en ont montré les mérites. Pour Frédéric Laugrand qui l'a pratiquée aussi avec les Inuit du Nord canadien, sa pertinence et ses avantages ne font aucun doute. Il s'agit, en somme, de replacer la parole, le récit et le subjectif au centre de l'enquête, non pas dans le but de faire émerger la vérité mais *des* vérités et des points de vues, sachant qu'ici, les expériences et les narrations s'éclairent à la fois individuellement et mutuellement, lorsqu'elles s'inscrivent dans une même unité de temps. Eu égard aux Possédés, ces narrations révèlent une partie de la mémoire collective produite par les anthropologues qui ont travaillé dans différentes régions du monde et tous à partir de postes qu'ils ont occupés au Canada.

Il n'est évidemment guère possible ici, de reconstituer l'épistémologie des récits de vie ni d'en décrire les multiples modalités (biographie, autobiographie, histoire/récit de vie, etc.), ou d'en identifier les mérites et les inconvénients. D'excellents ouvrages et articles lui ont été consacrés et ce, tant en philosophie (Ricoeur 1983, 1985 et 1990), qu'en sociologie ou en anthropologie (Peneff 1990, 1994; Bertaux 1976, 2005; Bloch 1995; de Villiers 2011), ou encore en histoire (Le Goff 1989; Levi 1989) et en psycho-éducation (Pineau 1993; Leahey et Yelle 2003; Kaufmann 2004; Delory-Momberger 2005 ; Lainé 2007). Rappelons qu'autant l'approche biographique redonne à l'acteur social toutes ses marges de manœuvre et valorise son rôle (voir Ginzburg 1988, par exemple), autant l'histoire de vie tend à unifier un parcours, à lui conférer une cohérence et une logique qu'il n'a pas toujours au moment de l'action (voir aussi Passeron 1989). Dans « L'illusion biographique », Pierre Bourdieu (1986, 2) affirme que ce procédé narratif revient à faire l'idéologie de sa propre vie et en appelle à y réintroduire le contexte. Ces critiques doivent toutefois être nuancées dans la mesure où ces mêmes reproches peuvent être adressés à des travaux réalisés par des biographes externes et, finalement, à tout analyste.

Avec la série des Possédés, l'équipe a dès le départ privilégié le témoignage et l'écoute, afin de laisser toute la liberté au narrateur de choisir le format et le contenu exact de son récit⁴. Si l'intervieweur offre donc un cadre et un questionnaire, l'interviewé l'exploite à sa guise. Il s'agit bien de faire advenir la parole et d'éviter, pour l'intervieweur, la posture du procureur, un dispositif qui rejoint celui que décrit Françoise Hiraux (2004) dans le projet *Conversations* de l'UCL:

L'invité témoigne et l'archiviste écoute. Le témoignage procède d'une volonté ou d'une acceptation de dire. Il a toute la charge, affective mais aussi anthropologique, du don. Les personnes interviewées donnent leur parole, leur souvenir, leur interprétation, leur sentiment pour un projet (...) auquel ils consentent. La démarche de l'archiviste, quant à elle, est celle de l'écoute et non celle de l'enquête. Elle rejoint des personnes, pas des types ; elle s'attache à l'individu plus qu'à l'acteur collectif et préfère le visage à la figure.

4. Des projets employant une approche semblable ont vu le jour dans plusieurs universités européennes, tel qu'à l'Université de Louvain (UCL), en Belgique, où un important projet dénommé *Conversations* est axé, lui, sur les mémoires de tous les acteurs universitaires (rec-teurs, professeurs, employés, etc.). Lancé par Albert d'Aenens en 1986 et conduit depuis 1999 par le professeur d'histoire Paul Servais, ce projet compte aujourd'hui près de 80 enregistrements recueillis sous le sceau de la confidentialité, intentionnellement non transcrits et mis sous scellés pour les 30 prochaines années afin de protéger les narrateurs (voir Hiraux 2004 et Descamps 2009). Nous remercions Paul Servais d'avoir porté ce projet à notre attention.

La série des Possédés a donc mis en œuvre une approche basée sur l'écoute, se donnant comme objectif général, celui de rassembler les récits d'anthropologues, de sociologues, de géographes et d'historiens qui, par leurs contributions, ont fait ensemble la revue *Anthropologie et Sociétés*.

Au terme d'une première étape qui a permis de recueillir près de trente cinq récits autobiographiques totalisant près de 150 heures d'enregistrement (cf. tableau 1), l'équipe est très satisfaite d'avoir fait confiance à des participants qui ont joué le jeu avec talent et font entrer leurs auditeurs dans ce vaste « théâtre de la vie » des socioanthropologues, pour reprendre l'expression de Goffman (1973). Fins observateurs des sociétés, les participants se mettent en scène et se racontent, offrent des matériaux riches et passionnants pour l'histoire des idées, révélant ainsi leur trajectoire intellectuelle. Nous avons vite découvert que chacune des narrations s'éclairait cependant encore davantage une fois mise en relation avec d'autres, offrant alors tout un paysage intellectuel avec ses courants dominants et ses particularités. Cette pluralité des narrations, des représentations et des interprétations est un des éléments qui constitue la richesse de cette série donnant accès à une sorte de polyphonie anthropologique.

Loin d'être unique, ce projet s'inscrit dans un tournant biographique et mémoriel beaucoup plus vaste, dans ce refroidissement des sociétés chaudes qu'observait Lévi-Strauss (1998) qui s'interroge sur ces passions contemporaines que nous éprouvons pour les témoignages, les histoires locales et les patrimoines matériels et immatériels. Ces séquences filmiques s'inscrivent donc bien dans l'évolution actuelle des sciences humaines et sociales, dans celles des mentalités, dans cette passion biographique qui anime les sociétés occidentales et que les historiens savent exploiter judicieusement.

MÉMOIRES D'ANTHROPOLOGUES : QUELQUES RÉALISATIONS EN ANTHROPOLOGIE VISUELLE

Au cours des dernières décennies, plusieurs projets apparentés à la série des Possédés ont vu le jour en Europe et dans les Amériques.

L'entreprise la plus ancienne et la plus significative est celle dirigée par le professeur et anthropologue Alan Macfarlane, en Grande-Bretagne. Intitulé *Interviews with Anthropologists*, ce projet est hébergé sur le site Internet de l'Université de Cambridge au sein du *World Oral Literature Project* dans le cadre de la série *Films Interviews with Leading Thinkers* (<http://www.oralliterature.org/collections/amacfarlane001.html>). Les entrevues ont été réalisées avec des anthropologues du monde entier mais surtout britanniques et américains, entre 1976 et 2015. Plus de 225 films et entrevues

sont aujourd'hui disponibles⁵, mais pas seulement sur des anthropologues. Macfarlane présente ainsi son projet:

The interviews were started by Jack Goody in 1982. He arranged for the filming of seminars by Audrey Richards, Meyer Fortes and M.N. Srinivas. Since then, with the help of others, and particularly Sarah Harrison, I have filmed and edited over ninety archival interviews. Having started with leading anthropologists, my subjects have broadened to include other social scientists and, recently, biological and physical scientists.

Techniquement, le projet a donc évolué. L'équipe a également été soutenue par plusieurs institutions ce qui lui a permis de se doter d'une approche très ouverte et de transcrire les entretiens (voir MacFarlane 2004). Dans une entrevue qu'il a accordée en février 2014 à Hunter Snyder sur Youtube, Macfarlane s'est lui-même prêté au jeu biographique.

Plusieurs anthropologues reconnus figurent sur la liste: Frederik Barth, John Beattie, Maurice Bloch, Jean et John Comaroff, Philippe Descola, Mary Douglas, Raymond Firth, Meyer Fortes, Clifford Geertz, Ernest Gellner, Jack Goody, Stephen-Hugh Jones, Edmund Leach, Lucy Mair, Sidney Mintz, Rodney Needham, David Parkin, Jonathan Parry, Paul Rabinow, Peter Riviere, Marylin Strathern, Stanley Tambiah, Terry Turner, Roy Wagner et Peter Worsley, pour n'en citer que quelques uns.

Au moins deux anthropologues canadiens ont été interviewés dans cette série: Robert Paine, un spécialiste du Labrador, et un anthropologue jadis en poste à l'Université de Montréal: Asen Balikci, l'un des instigateurs de l'anthropologie visuelle au Canada et très connu pour sa splendide série visuelle sur les Inuit Netsilik. Plusieurs fondateurs de l'anthropologie visuelle américaine comme Karl Heider et Paul Hockings figurent également parmi les interviewés.

Les enregistrements sont de bonne qualité et téléchargeables en formats divers (Mpeg, flash, Ipod, quicktime, Mp3, Realaudio). Ils sont accessibles sur plusieurs plateformes : le site de l'Université de Cambridge (<http://www.oralliterature.org/collections/amacfarlane001.html>), le site personnel d'Alan Macfarlane (<http://www.alanmacfarlane.com/ancestors/audiovisual.html>) et sur une chaîne Youtube (ayabaya <https://www.youtube.com/user/ayabaya>). La plupart des enregistrements ont été retranscrits ce qui permet d'avoir accès au verbatim des entrevues et aux questions et réponses de l'interviewé. Un onglet offre même un accès à des statistiques de téléchargement pour chaque enregistrement.

5. <http://www.alanmacfarlane.com/ancestors/audiovisual.html>. Consulté le 31 juillet 2015.

Le dispositif filmique, lui, demeure classique. Alan Macfarlane pose des questions et filme ses hôtes qui lui répondent. Il les relance à l'occasion, parcourt leur carrière et leurs terrains respectifs. Les lieux de tournage ne sont pas toujours indiqués mais on devine que la plupart des entretiens ont été réalisés en Grande-Bretagne, même si certains anthropologues ont été filmés ailleurs: dans le Sikkim pour ce qui est de Asen Balikci, à sa résidence personnelle pour le cas de Frederik Barth.

L'entreprise de Macfarlane est jusqu'ici la plus vaste et la plus complète en la matière. Sur son site Internet, Macfarlane exprime le souhait de voir son projet se poursuivre sous d'autres latitudes, reconnaissant que les traditions américaines, françaises et celles de bien d'autres pays demeurent sous-représentées. Macfarlane indique qu'en 2003, un projet apparenté au sien aurait été lancé en Chine, à l'Université du Yunnan, avec pour objectif celui de filmer les premiers anthropologues chinois. Nous n'avons malheureusement pas été en mesure de trouver plus d'informations à ce sujet. Par contre, un projet semblable, *Interviews with anthropologists* (<http://elearning.lse.ac.uk/dart/interviews/index.html>), a été conduit en 2008 par Clarinda Still, alors professeure à la London School of Economics. Quinze brèves entrevues avec des anthropologues comme André Beteille, Peter Loizos, Maurice Bloch, Peter Van der Veer, Henrietta Moore, Charles Stafford et d'autres y compris Alan Macfarlane et Michael Lambek, un collègue canadien maintenant en poste à l'Université de Toronto sont ainsi accessibles. Les récits sont découpés selon une quinzaine de questions tout à fait intéressantes posées par l'intervieweur.

Une entreprise directement inspirée de celle de Macfarlane est celle qu'a lancée il y a quelques années le professeur Dieter Haller, directeur du département d'anthropologie sociale à la Ruhr-Universität Bochum. Le projet est intitulé *Interviews with German anthropologists. Video Portal for the History of German Anthropology post 1945* (<http://www.germananthropology.com/>). Haller explique:

This online portal was created as part of the research project on « The History of Federal German Anthropology from 1945 to 1990 » (*Fachgeschichte der bundesdeutschen Ethnologie von 1945 bis 1990*), which was kindly supported by the Volkswagen Foundation and by the DFG (German Research Foundation).

The project's overall goal was to compile a history of anthropology in the Federal Republic of Germany spanning the period from 1945 until Reunification. In order to do so, the major historical trends and constituents (subject matter, research questions, methodology) of German anthropology were traced out. Particular attention was paid to the

history of ideas, social networks and milieus, and socio-political influences.

Apart from closing a significant research gap, the project's innovation potential lies in the recovery of hitherto unaccounted particularities of the development of anthropology in Federal Germany. These specifics could contribute to the international anthropological discussion in the sense of a «world anthropologists network»; and this could cast a new light on anthropology's main objects of study: culture, ethnicity, and otherness.

À la différence du précédent, le projet de Haller comporte une visée historique et politique. L'objectif est de reconstituer une vaste histoire intellectuelle en se limitant ici aux penseurs germaniques depuis 1945, et en s'efforçant de retracer des réseaux et des milieux intellectuels, des lignes de pensées, des influences, bref, autant d'éléments qui permettrait de saisir une spécificité allemande. Haller explique qu'il a été inspiré par le travail d'Alan Macfarlane et que son projet, financé en partie par la Fondation Volkswagen, vise à mettre en valeur la pensée anthropologique allemande: « Like Macfarlane, I would like to make accessible the voices of German anthropologists, their professional life-ways and their engagement with anthropology to a national and international audience of scholars and students »⁶. Sur son site, quinze entrevues avec des anthropologues allemands sont accessibles en format vidéo ou en format texte, chacune des entrevues ayant été retranscrite. Parmi les anthropologues interviewés, figurent des chercheurs plus ou moins connus, soient: Ulrich Braukämper, Peter Fuchs, Volker Harms, Jürgen Jensen, Ulla Johansen, Ute Luig, Klaus E. Müller, Michael Oppitz, Georg Pfeffer, Johannes W. Raum, Berthold Riese, Erhard Schlesier, Bernhard Streck, Joseph F. Thiel, et J. Christoph Winter.

Chaque film a une durée de deux heures environ, chaque anthropologue étant filmé chez lui. Totalisant plus de 30 heures, la collection est accessible en langue allemande. Les films sont découpés en sections qui, elles, apparaissent en anglais de sorte que l'auditeur est libre de choisir l'une ou l'autre section, en fonction des sujets qui l'intéresse. Le site Internet, de grande qualité, offre enfin des liens (Youtube), une section *Brefs portraits* (<http://www.germananthropology.com/short-portraits/>) dans laquelle figure uniquement des documents textes et des notices biographiques d'anthropologues allemands et une section *Entrevues additionnelles* (<http://www.germananthropology.com/additional-inter->

6. Site Interviews with German Anthropologists - Video Portal for the History of German Anthropology post 1945: <http://www.germananthropology.com/video-interview/interview-ulrich-braukmper/152>. Consulté le 19 juillet 2015.

views/) qui apparaissent seulement dans un format texte. Il contient un glossaire, une chronologie contemporaine, une liste des institutions allemandes où l'anthropologie est présente, et surtout une carte interactive où l'internaute peut visualiser les grands terrains réalisés par des anthropologues germaniques. Ludger Müller-Wille, un anthropologue-géographe canadien et allemand, spécialiste du Grand Nord et connu pour ses travaux sur la toponymie menés à l'Université McGill, apparaît sur le site (<http://www.germananthropology.com/short-portrait/ludger-mller-wille/138>), uniquement dans la section *Brefs portraits* et avec une note biographique réalisée en format texte seulement. Le projet est annoncé comme étant toujours en cours, ce qui laisse espérer que de nouvelles vidéos seront mises en ligne dans les mois à venir.

D'autres initiatives se sont développées sans aucun lien apparent avec l'entreprise de Macfarlane. Au Brésil, entre les années 2000 et 2007, un projet d'anthropologie visuelle a été réalisé par le Grupo de Anthropologie Visual (GRAVI) et le LISA, tout deux responsable de la série « Trajetórias » (<http://www.lisa.usp.br/producao/videos.shtml>) qui compte aujourd'hui cinq films dédiés à des anthropologues, parmi lesquels figurent J. Rouch, D. Maybury-Lewis, C. Alves Costa, J. McDougall et M. Moreira Leite⁷.

Au Québec, deux entreprises du même genre sont à mentionner⁸. La première est une série audiovisuelle réalisée à l'Université Laval par des collègues du département de sociologie. Intitulée *Sociologues et sociologie québécoise*, celle-ci a pris la forme de plusieurs entretiens de 1 à 3 heures selon un dispositif classique de questions et de réponses. La série a été réalisée en 1980 par Michel Côté, Jean-Guy Racicot et le service audiovisuel de l'Université Laval. Parmi les personnalités interviewées figurent les sociologues québécois les plus connus. Jean-Charles Falardeau, Marcel Rioux, Jean-Marc Pottle, Colette Moreux et Gérald Fortin ont été filmés en 1980. Fernand Dumont, Yves Martin, Guy Rocher, Marcel Fournier, Jean-Jacques Simard, Gabriel Gagnon l'ont été en 1981. Nicole Laurin Frenette, Hubert Guindon et Georges-Henri Lévesque ont pour leur part été filmés en 1984. Tous ces films ne sont pas accessibles en ligne mais disponibles à la bibliothèque de l'Université Laval. Un DVD a ensuite été produit, offrant la possibilité de visionner les meilleurs moments de ces entretiens.

La seconde entreprise est celle qu'a lancée Lise Pilon, en 1996. Intitulée *Portraits d'anthropologues québécois*, celle-ci est accessible en ligne sur le site Internet du département d'anthropologie de l'Université Laval (<http://www.ant.ulaval.ca/?pid=1432>). Trois entrevues totalisant 1 h 30

7. Voir aussi le NAVISUAL/UFRGS- Narrateurs Urbains, un projet qui contient également la trajectoire d'anthropologues brésiliens. Nous remercions Paula Morgado Diaz Lopes d'avoir attiré notre attention sur ce projet. (<http://www.ufrgs.br/ppgas/nucleos/navisual/>)

8. Nos remerciements à Andrée Fortin pour avoir attiré notre attention sur cette série.

minutes chacune ont été réalisées avec sept anthropologues qui ont fondé le département d'anthropologie de l'Université Laval : Pierre Maranda, Marc-Adélarde Tremblay, Bernard Saladin d'Anglure, Gerry McNulty, Paul Charest, Yvan Simonis et Renaud Santerre, ce qui représente un total de près de 10 heures d'enregistrement. Le dispositif est encore celui de l'enquêteur, chaque anthropologue étant interviewé par un doctorant et les films présentés en trois sections de 30 minutes. Michel Lapierre et Frédéric Laugrand y jouent le rôle d'intervieweur. Malheureusement, faute de financement, ce projet n'a pas connu de suite et s'est brutalement interrompu.

En Europe, et en France en particulier, d'autres initiatives d'envergure ont également vu le jour, l'une étant orientée sur l'anthropologie générale, l'autre sur des biographies audiovisuelles de divers spécialistes de l'Asie.

L'ethnologie en héritage (<http://www.culturecommunication.gouv.fr/Politiques-ministerielles/Patrimoine-ethnologique/Audiovisuel/Collection-L-ethnologie-en-heritage>) est une série qui a été lancée par la Huit production, une chaîne française spécialisée dans la production de films documentaires. Produits entre 2008 et 2011 par Gilles Le Mao et Stéphane Jourdain, ces films ont également la forme de longues narrations d'une durée de 180 minutes par anthropologue. Les DVD commercialisés offrent des entrevues substantielles avec des anthropologues français. Sur le site Internet de la collection, aucune information n'est divulguée sur les critères de sélection des anthropologues, mais les personnalités les plus connues ont été retenues. Parmi elles figurent en ordre alphabétique: Marc Augé, Georges Balandier, Maurice Bloch, Isaac Chiva, Georges Condominas, Philippe Descola, Roberte Hamayon, Françoise Héritier, Maurice Godelier, Jean Malaurie, Marc Piaux, Gilbert Rouget et Gilles Tarabout. Le site ne donne aucune indication sur la continuité (ou non) de la collection. Les réalisations sont remarquables et produites à des fins d'enseignement, mais la série est difficile d'accès. Au total, celle-ci représenterait plus de 40 heures d'enregistrement, avec des films où sont insérés des documents inédits, des photographies, des extraits de documentaires, etc. Plusieurs de ces films ont d'ailleurs inspiré notre projet (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NXZN7_Da2fw).

Intitulée *Paroles d'Asie et du Pacifique* (<http://www.gis-reseau-asie.org/films-concerts/collection-paroles-asie-pacifique>), la seconde série rassemble des entretiens produits par le Réseau Asie-IMASIE et menés par Jean-François Sabouret, sociologue et directeur de recherche au CNRS et Momoko Seko et ce, depuis 2008. Les films, d'une durée variable de 52 à 120 minutes, sont réalisés avec des chercheurs en sciences humaines et sociales, identifiés comme des « experts sur l'Asie et le Pacifique ». Selon ses responsables, « l'accent est mis essentiellement sur l'histoire de leur

vie, de leurs aventures, des choix qu'ils ont faits, et des combats qu'ils ont menés ». Ici, tous les champs disciplinaires sont pris en compte de sorte que des personnalités variées ayant travaillé dans de multiples perspectives (anthropologique, historique, géographique, etc.) ont été sollicitées. Les films disponibles permettent d'écouter les récits de Georges Condominas, Lê Thành Khoi, Roberte Hamayon, Jean-Marc Regnault, Augustin Berque, Maurice Godelier, Jacques Pouchepadas, André Lévy, Gérard Fussman, Jacques Gernet, Nicole Revel, Léon Vandermeersch, Bruno Dagens, Claudine Salmon, Jacques Pimpaneau et Christian Huetz de Lemps.

Hormis ces grandes séries, de nombreux films existent sur tel ou tel anthropologue, comme le magnifique film de Pierre Beuchot sur Claude Lévi-Strauss (<http://www.ina.fr/video/CPF86632052>) (2004), ou encore le *Claude Lévi-Strauss par lui-même* (http://boutique.arte.tv/f8855-claude_levi_strauss_coffret_2_dvd) qu'a réalisé Pierre-André Boutang et Annie Chevalley en 2008 (Arte), ce dernier film s'inscrivant dans la célèbre série *Monographie d'écrivain*. On pourrait également citer l'Abécédaire de Gilles Deleuze (<http://www.editionsmontparnasse.fr/p469/L-Abecedaire-de-Gilles-Deleuze-DVD>). Ce travail de recension va toutefois au-delà de notre mandat qui est ici de comparer différentes initiatives collectives de préservation de la mémoire et du savoir socioanthropologique. Il faudrait cependant mentionner l'existence de nombreux sites Internet où plusieurs anthropologues et sociologues peuvent être vus et écoutés présenter leurs recherches. En France, le site des Archives Audiovisuelles de la recherche (http://www.archivesaudiovisuelles.fr/FR/_libraryauthors.asp) offre une multitude de conférences, cours et séminaires. L'Université de tous les savoirs (http://www.canal-u.tv/producteurs/universite_de_tous_les_savoirs), est une autre initiative du même genre soutenue par le gouvernement français et lancée en 2008. L'entreprise vise à vulgariser les dernières avancées de la science, cumulant à ce jour près de 366 conférences de spécialistes de tous les domaines. Les radios, qu'il s'agisse de France culture (<http://www.franceculture.fr/>), ou des archives de l'INA (<http://www.ina.fr/>) offrent des ressources visuelles importantes permettant d'écouter les socioanthropologues les plus connus, comme R. Caillois, C. Lévi-Strauss, M. Foucault, P. Bourdieu et bien d'autres. Des sociologues et des anthropologues sont enfin de plus en plus présents sur plusieurs plateformes comme Youtube, Vimeo, Dailymotion et Facebook, qui rendent accessibles gratuitement des conférences et séminaires récents ou plus anciens⁹. Pour en rester au Québec, ainsi peut-on découvrir sur Youtube le tout premier doctorat en anthropologie décerné par l'Université Laval à Gilles Bibeau, une soutenance présidée par Marc-Adélaïde Tremblay et à laquelle ont participé Luc de Heusch et Claude Lévi-Strauss, ce dernier étant de passage sur le campus de l'université qui lui

9. Voir aussi le site *Les Ernest. 15 minutes pour changer notre vision du monde*, <http://www.les-ernest.fr/>

remettait alors un doctorat honoris causa (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=azD88chBukY>).

Au Québec, l'Association des anthropologues du Québec (AAQ) a mis en ligne des documents audiovisuels dont deux films (l'un sur B. Bernier, l'autre sur S. de Plaen) dans le cadre de sa série *Profils d'anthropologues* (<https://aanthq.qc.ca/projets/profils-danthropologues/>) dont la raison d'être est surtout pratique, l'objectif étant de faire connaître ce que font concrètement les anthropologues. L'association définit cette série de la manière suivante:

Le projet Profils d'anthropologues veut donner des éléments de réponses aux questions de nos membres et, également, à tout un chacun, concernant la profession d'anthropologue. Parmi ces questions, remarquons celles-ci: « Que font les anthropologues concrètement » ? « Quel est le marché de l'emploi en anthropologie? », « Les professionnels travaillent-ils plus dans le secteur privé ou dans le secteur public? » Ou encore, « Un baccalauréat est-il suffisant pour se considérer anthropologue ou faut-il effectuer une maîtrise pour avoir le titre de professionnel? »

Rappelons pour finir, qu'un grand nombre d'anthropologues livrent régulièrement et de plus en plus, des entretiens et des entrevues dans les revues spécialisées ou à grand public, et parfois dans des formats audiovisuels. Ces documents d'une grande valeur sont malheureusement souvent trop brefs pour couvrir la biographie et les terrains du participant. Le projet des Possédés permet de combler ces lacunes en offrant à tout anthropologue ayant publié dans la revue *Anthropologie et Sociétés*, une occasion d'expliquer dans les détails sa trajectoire intellectuelle et ses recherches.

LES POSSÉDÉS ET LEURS MONDES : LES TÉMOIGNAGES D'UNE GÉNÉRATION D'ANTHROPOLOGUES

Dès le départ, le projet a bénéficié des conseils du Comité de rédaction de la revue *Anthropologie et Sociétés*, intéressé à ce que la revue développe un volet audiovisuel et numérique dans le cadre de la mission qu'elle se donne d'animer le champ scientifique des sciences sociales et de l'anthropologie¹⁰.

Depuis les débuts de cette entreprise, six objectifs ont guidé le projet.

1. participer à un travail de préservation de la mémoire en recueillant

10. Le projet a bénéficié d'une aide financière de la revue et d'un appui en nature et en espèces de la faculté des sciences sociales et du département d'anthropologie de l'Université Laval qui a fait, en particulier, l'acquisition du matériel d'enregistrement.

des narrations de chercheurs en anthropologie et dans d'autres disciplines qui ont contribué à la revue *Anthropologie et Sociétés*;

2. favoriser une transmission des savoirs à partir d'outils audiovisuels, dressant le constat que les plus jeunes générations étudiantes lisent moins mais regardent plus d'images;
3. stimuler l'intérêt de ces jeunes générations et des moins jeunes en produisant des séquences filmiques accessibles gratuitement et facilement, espérant que ces groupes retourneront consulter les productions écrites des narrateurs qui offrent des données complémentaires et contextuelles;
4. accélérer et intensifier la diffusion de l'anthropologie en réalisant des séquences susceptibles de rejoindre le grand public et un auditoire universitaire, ces matériaux pouvant nourrir l'enseignement en classe ou à distance;
5. valoriser l'anthropologie comme discipline et augmenter sa visibilité en faisant intervenir des anthropologues sur leurs vocations, leurs « terrains anthropologiques », et leurs contributions méthodologiques et théoriques aux sciences sociales.
6. reconstituer le paysage académique d'une époque ainsi qu'une histoire intellectuelle avec les acteurs qui sont, pour la plupart, les pionniers de la discipline au Québec.

La sélection des anthropologues et des sociologues n'a pas été une entreprise difficile en ce sens qu'ont été retenus les chercheurs travaillant au Québec et qui ont collaboré à la revue *Anthropologie et Sociétés*, indépendamment de leurs ancrages disciplinaires ou de leurs origines. Il s'agissait là de la porte d'entrée du projet résolument ouvert à tous les anthropologues, sans distinction autre que l'âge. L'objectif est en effet de recueillir des images et des témoignages qui pour compléter l'abondante production écrite que ces chercheurs laissent en héritage, ayant pour la plupart largement contribué, entre autres, à faire vivre cette revue depuis sa fondation par Yvan Simonis, en 1975. Les anthropologues retenus ont donc été ceux et celles qui, parmi la tranche d'âge ciblée, se sont montrés les plus disponibles et géographiquement les plus accessibles¹¹.

Contrairement au projet de Haller évoquée plus haut, la série des Possédés n'a pas été pensée avec une visée nationale. Le projet s'inscrit plutôt sous

11. L'équipe mobilisée est restée la même depuis le début de l'opération, celle-ci étant composée d'Emmanuel Luce, étudiant au doctorat, d'Anthony Melanson, étudiante à la maîtrise, et de Frédéric Laugrand, professeur au département d'anthropologie, directeur actuel de la revue *Anthropologie et Sociétés*, et responsable du volet audiovisuel de ce département.

l'angle d'une valorisation générale de l'anthropologie telle qu'elle s'est faite au Québec, au Canada et ailleurs, par des chercheurs d'origines et de disciplines diverses, le point commun étant leur participation, même minimale, à la revue *Anthropologie et Sociétés*¹². Cette participation se mesure de plusieurs manières : à la supervision d'un numéro spécial de la revue, à la rédaction d'un article ou d'une note de recherche, à celle d'une recension ou même à celle d'une évaluation scientifique au bénéfice de la revue. Au début, pour des raisons financières, la priorité a été donnée à des collègues du département d'anthropologie de l'Université Laval et d'autres départements au Québec mais le projet devrait maintenant s'étendre¹³.

LE DISPOSITIF VIDÉOGRAPHIQUE ET LE CHOIX DU TOURNÉ-MONTÉ

On l'a vu, le dispositif du projet des Possédés est moins celui de l'entrevue que celui de la narration et du témoignage. L'entreprise fait toutefois l'objet d'une préparation et plusieurs étapes ainsi se succèdent. Le responsable de la revue sollicite d'abord l'hôte sélectionné et travaille à une grille de questions plus ou moins précises à partir du CV du ou de la candidate. Il est proposé à chacun des participants de présenter son milieu social et familial, ses souvenirs de jeunesse, son éducation, la naissance de sa vocation –qui se cristallise souvent dans un souvenir très précis–, et son cheminement académique. Mais les participants répondent fort différemment à cette demande de sorte que si certains s'y consacrent dans les détails et ce, à des fins sociologiques (Marcel Fournier, B. Saladin d'Anglure, etc.), d'autres comme É. Schwimmer préfèrent escamoter le sujet et entrer directement dans la discussion de leurs thématiques de recherche. Cette marge de manœuvre laissée à l'interviewé vaut pour tout le reste du questionnaire. Même si un canevas de questions et de suggestions de sujets à traiter est ainsi soumis au participant, celui-ci a tout le loisir d'apporter les modifications qu'il souhaite avant ou pendant l'entretien (ajouts, suppressions et autres corrections).

12. Face au succès de l'opération et en raison de sa pertinence du point de vue de tous les professeurs sollicités et les auditeurs, il faut espérer qu'un jour de tels projets puissent s'étendre à l'ensemble des professeur(e)s de l'Université Laval qui partent à la retraite et acceptent de se prêter à l'exercice. La situation paraît en effet critique, et plusieurs collègues retraités s'inquiètent à juste titre du peu d'attention accordée à la mémoire professorale, aucun mécanisme de transmission n'étant prévu (voir SPUL-lien, vol 11, 2015).

13. L'obtention en 2015-16 d'un appui financier de la IXe Commission mixte permanente Québec/Wallonie-Bruxelles a permis de réaliser quelques films en Belgique en juin 2016 avec Mike Singleton, Renaat Devisch, Robert Delière, Lucienne Strivay, Karel Dobbelaere et Liliane Voyé, des socioanthropologues qui ont publié dans *Anthropologie et Sociétés* ou dans *Social Compass*, le projet portant sur ces deux revues. Par ailleurs, l'obtention récente d'une subvention du CRSH permet aujourd'hui d'étendre le projet à d'autres provinces du Canada.

Les enregistrements sont réalisés avec un appareil photo réflex numérique (DSLR) plein format équipé d'un zoom 24-105 à ouverture fixe (f:4), le tout monté sur un trépied. Cet appareil offre la possibilité de filmer en basses lumières. Il n'est pas rare de travailler dans le 1600 ISO. L'hyper sensibilité des capteurs permet de profiter de la lumière naturelle et d'opérer avec la luminosité disponible dans un salon, une cuisine ou même dans l'intimité d'un bureau. L'optique permet de travailler la profondeur de champ et de détacher à volonté le sujet du fond. Il s'agit de suggérer l'environnement et de mettre en valeur le participant. La captation sonore s'effectue à l'aide d'un micro shotgun - monté sur une perche - connecté par XLR à un enregistreur indépendant de l'appareil photo. La synchronisation du son se fait au montage.

Le tournage se réalise en Full HD (1920 x 1080 pixels, format 16/9). Pour une raison technique en lien avec la spécificité des DSLR, les séquences d'enregistrement en continue ne peuvent excéder le 30 min. Tout d'abord frustrante, cette contrainte s'est vite révélée pertinente en ce sens qu'elle donne un rythme aux rencontres.

En moyenne, le filmage se déroule sur une bonne journée et au total, chaque narration détaillée donne lieu à une série de 8 à 12 séquences filmiques. Il est arrivé à plusieurs reprises (avec B. Saladin d'Anglure, É. Schwimmer, L.J. Dorais, G. Bibeau) que l'équipe revienne deux ou trois fois afin de poursuivre l'enregistrement.

L'objectif étant de mettre en valeur des récits autobiographiques et les budgets demeurant limités, le principe du tourné-monté impliquant le respect de la chronologie des images et un montage minimal a été adopté. À de rares exceptions près, chaque séquence, conserve ainsi sa trame originale, les seules modifications apportées étant la coupure de scènes ratées et quelques insertions de documents visuels (photographies, schémas, etc.), lorsque ceux-ci s'avèrent pertinents ou indispensables aux propos.

illustration 1

L'équipe au travail (Dessin: Sophie Privé).



En effet, si l'objectif est bien celui de valoriser la narration, ces séquences ne visent pas à se substituer au texte, mais à offrir des matériaux complémentaires à une production écrite connue et accessible, les interviewés ayant publié de nombreux textes au cours de leur carrière. Chaque participant peut enfin personnaliser encore un peu plus sa prestation en commentant un objet personnel ou en partageant des données empiriques inédites.

LA DIFFUSION GRATUITE DES SÉQUENCES FILMIQUES

Toutes les séquences sont mises en ligne gratuitement sur le site Internet de la revue (<https://www.anthropologie-societes.ant.ulaval.ca/>) *Anthropologie et Sociétés* à raison de deux films par semaine depuis novembre 2015 (un seul auparavant, de 2014 à 2015), onze mois sur douze, la revue fermant ses bureaux de la mi-juillet à la mi-août. Chaque film est également offert gratuitement sur la chaîne Youtube (<https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCb5YUvJjEpeGBvmFOUasKoA/feed>) de la revue. Chaque film est annoncé le jour même de sa mise en ligne sur sa page Facebook (<https://www.facebook.com/anthropologieetsocietes>) et son compte Twitter (https://twitter.com/Anthropo_et_soc).

Grâce à la générosité de Jean-Marie Tremblay, sociologue et responsable d'un site Internet qui rend, aujourd'hui, accessibles gratuitement, plus de 6500 livres et articles de chercheurs en sciences sociales (cf. des *Classiques en sciences sociales* (<http://classiques.uqac.ca/contemporains/>)), les films sont également indiqués sur cette plateforme en bas de la fiche de chaque auteur. Grâce à l'appui d'Annie Bérubé de la bibliothèque de l'Université Laval, chaque film est indexé dans les bases de données de la bibliothèque au nom de l'interviewé.

Les séquences réalisées sont de haute qualité et susceptibles de passer sur n'importe quelle chaîne de télévision ou à la radio.

LES FILMS RÉALISÉS

L'équipe a, jusqu'ici, réalisé des films avec près de trente cinq anthropologues, sociologues, historiens et géographes, soit près de 150 heures de film, accessibles en une multitude de séquences, d'une longueur de 25 à 45 minutes chacune.

Sur la base du travail réalisé en 2014-2016, l'équipe espère pouvoir filmer et produire une vingtaine de narrations par année, chaque narration impliquant plusieurs journées de travail puisqu'il faut envisager en plus de la recherche documentaire, le déplacement chez la personne sollicitée, la rencontre en tant que telle, le filmage sur une journée ou plus, le montage et l'édition finale des films. L'automne 2016 sera de ce point de vue consacré à recueillir les témoignages d'anthropologues anglophones en Colombie-Britannique et dans la région de Toronto.

tableau 1
liste des 70
films réalisés
(2014-2017)

POSSÉDÉS	DISCIPLINES	UNIVERSITÉS	MOTS CLÉS
Michael Asch	Anthropologie	U. Edmonton	Canada, Dènès
Asen Balikci	Anthropologie	U. de Montréal	Canada, Inuit, visuel, Europe, Afghanistan
Claude Bariteau	Anthropologie	U. Laval	Québec, nationalisme
John Barker	Anthropologie	UBC	Mélanésie, christianisme
Bernard Bernier	Anthropologie	U. de Montréal	Japon, économie
Pierre Beaucage	Anthropologie	U. de Montréal	Mexique, Nahuatl, taxinomies
Gilles Bibeau	Anthropologie	U. de Montréal	Afrique, Inde, santé
Serge Bouchard	Anthropologie	Consultant	Autochtones du Canada
Kennelm Burrige	Anthropologie	UBC	Mélanésie, Océanie
Jean-Jacques Chalifoux	Anthropologie	U. Laval	Guyane, Maroc, anthropo-biologique
Bernard Chapais	Anthropologie	U. de Montréal	Primatologie, anthropologie biologique
Paul Charest	Anthropologie	U. Laval	Afrique
Chantal Collard	Anthropologie	Concordia U.	Afrique, Europe, parenté
Ellen Corin	Anthropologie	McGill U.	Afrique, ethnopsychiatrie
Julie Cruikshank	Anthropologie	UBC	Canada, autochtones
Huguette Dagenais	Anthropologie	U. Laval	Antilles, féminisme
Regna Darnell	Anthropologie	Univ. Western Ontario	Canada, linguistique, histoire de l'anthropologie américaine
Rodolphe DeKoninck	Géographie	U. de Montréal	Asie du Sud-Est, Singapour
Denys Delège	Sociologie et histoire	U. Laval	Amérique du Nord, Amérindiens
Robert Deliège	Anthropologie	UCL (Belgique)	Inde, histoire de l'anthropologie
Renaat Devisch	Anthropologie	U. de Leuven (Belgique)	Afrique, Yaka, corps, divination
Karel Dobbelaere	Sociologie	U. de Anvers et de Leuven (Belgique)	Europe, religions
Louis-Jacques Dorais	Anthropologie	U. Laval	Amérique du Nord, Inuit
Harvey Feit	Anthropologie	U. MacMaster	Cris du Québec
Andrée Fortin	Sociologie	U. Laval	Québec
Patrick Fougeyrollas	Anthropologie	INRS	Le handicap
Marcel Fournier	Sociologie	U. de Montréal	École française de sociologie
Jim Freedman	Anthropologie	Univ. Western Ontario et Consultant	Afrique, développement
John Galaty	Anthropologie	U. McGill	Afrique orientale, Masai
Serge Genest	Anthropologie	U. Laval	Afrique, Thaïlande
Jean-Guy Goulet	Anthropologie	U. St. Paul	Dènès, Wayuu
Marie-Françoise Guédon	Anthropologie	U. Ottawa	Canada, Dènès
Mathias Guenther	Anthropologie	Wilfried Laurier U.	Afrique, Botswana
Bogumil Jewziecki Koss	Histoire et Anthropologie	U. Laval	Afrique, Mémoire
Christine Jourdan	Anthropologie	U. Concordia	Îles Salomon, linguistique
Marie-France Labrecque	Anthropologie	U. Laval	Mexique, Maya

POSSÉDÉS	DISCIPLINES	UNIVERSITÉS	MOTS CLÉS
Richard B. Lee	Anthropologie	U. Toronto	Afrique, Kung
Dominique Legros	Anthropologie	U. Concordia	Canada, Dènès, relations sociales
Raymond Lemieux	Sociologie et théologie	U. Laval	Québec, religion
Joseph Lévy	Anthropologie, éthique et sexologie	UQAM	Éthique, santé
Margaret Lock	Anthropologie	U. McGill	Japon, anthropologie de la santé
Andrew Lyons	Anthropologie	Wilfried Laurier U.	Anthropologie de la sexualité
Harriet Lyons	Anthropologie	U. Waterloo	Anthropologie de la sexualité
Pierre Maranda	Anthropologie	U. Laval	Îles Salomon, structuralisme
Raymond Massé	Anthropologie	U. Laval	Anthropologie médicale, Créoles
Toby Morantz	Anthropologie	U. McGill	Canada, Cris, autochtones
Jean-Claude Muller	Anthropologie	U. Laval	Afrique, parenté
Jean-Jacques Nattiez	Ethnomusicologie	U. de Montréal	Musicologie, Inuit
Mariella Pandolfi	Anthropologie	U. de Montréal	Anthropologie politique
Louise Paradis	Arqueologia e Anthropologie	U. de Montréal	Mexique, objets
Richard Preston	Anthropologie	U. McMaster	Canada, Cris
Robin Ridington	Anthropologie	UBC	Canada, Dènès
Julian Ridington	Anthropologie	Consultant	Canada, Athapaskan
Margaret Rodman	Anthropologie	U. Waterloo	Vanuatu, habitat
Françoise Romaine-Quellette	Anthropologie	INRS	Nouvelle-Guinée, parenté
Jérôme Rousseau	Anthropologie	McGill U.	Indonésie, structures sociales
Susan Rowley	Archéologie et anthropologie	UBC et MOA	Canada, Inuit, autochtones
Francine Saillant	Anthropologie	U. Laval	Anthropologie médicale, corps humanitaire, droits humains
Bernard Saladin d'Anglure	Anthropologie	U. Laval	Inuit, Amazonie, chamanisme
Éric Schwimmer	Anthropologie	U. Laval	Maori, sémiotique
Jean-Jacques Simard	Sociologie	U. Laval	Amérique du Nord, Inuit et Cris
Michael Singleton	Anthropologie	UCL (Belgique)	Afrique, missions, développement
Gavin Smith	Anthropologie	U. Toronto	Amérique latine, Europe
Lucienne Strivay	Anthropologie	U. de Liège (Belgique)	Animaux, enfants sauvages, nature
Adrian Tanner	Anthropologie	Memorial U.	Canada, Cris
Chris Trott	Anthropologie	U. du Manitoba	Inuit, musique, parenté
David Turner	Anthropologie	U. Toronto	Australie, aborigènes
Liliane Voyé	Sociologie	UCL (Belgique)	Europe, urbanisme, religions
Éric Waddell	Géographie	U. Laval	Pacifique, francophonie
David Young	Anthropologie	U. Alberta	Japon, santé, art

APPORTS ET LIMITES DE LA SÉRIE DES POSSÉDÉS

LES ACTEURS, LES INSTITUTIONS ET LA MÉMOIRE D'UNE ÉPOQUE

Les Possédés offre une série de regards croisés sur l'histoire de départements d'anthropologie au Québec et leurs acteurs. Faute d'espace, il n'est guère possible ici d'analyser les discours, les images, les thèmes et les points de vue exprimés dans les séquences filmées mais un tel travail reste à entreprendre. Il faudra enfin poursuivre la réalisation de nombreux films, en particulier avec les anthropologues anglophones hors-Québec et recueillir les témoignages de nos collègues les plus expérimentés comme Kennelm Burridge ou Richard B. Lee. Les données recueillies permettront ensuite de valider, de compléter ou de nuancer certaines conclusions émises par les nombreux anthropologues qui se sont consacrés à saisir la spécificité et l'histoire de l'anthropologie canadienne, fondamentale ou appliquée (Connor et Curtis 1970; Freedman 1976, 1977; Burridge 1979; Mcfeast 1980; Harriess-Jones 1997; Darnell 1997, 1998; Cole 2000 et Darnell et Harrison 2006), en lien avec les travaux qui se sont réalisés en Europe et aux Etats-Unis. La série des Possédés vient enfin compléter quelques rares biographies d'anthropologues canadiens déjà éditées par des collègues comme Joseph J. Lévy qui a recueilli, par exemple, le témoignage de Jean Benoist, l'un des fondateurs du département d'anthropologie de l'université de Montréal (Lévy 2000).

Les participants citent une multitude de personnages qui ont joué un rôle majeur dans leur formation et leurs pensées. Claude Lévi-Strauss, par exemple, occupe une place singulière qui reflète bien celle qu'il a eue au sein de la discipline anthropologique. De ce point de vue, Jérôme Rousseau, a confié un détail inédit à son sujet, en indiquant qu'à la fin de la guerre, à la suggestion de son père Jacques Rousseau, l'Université de Montréal avait songé lui offrir un poste, mais que l'archevêque de Montréal y avait, à l'époque, apporté son veto parce que Lévi-Strauss était juif. Dans son discours prononcé à l'occasion du doctorat honoris causa qui lui a remis l'Université Laval en 1979, C. Lévi-Strauss fait référence à ces liens amicaux qu'il nouait avec la famille de Jacques Rousseau mais omet cet incident. Plusieurs participants ont évoqué des souvenirs et des points de vue, y compris critiques, à l'égard de l'anthropologue, comme ce fut le cas de Bernard Bernier, par exemple. Éric Schwimmer, quant à lui, a relaté une belle anecdote dont il a été témoin lors d'une rencontre entre Claude Lévi-Strauss et Margaret Mead qui éprouvait l'un pour l'autre, une admiration réciproque.

Les anthropologues sollicités ont également été nombreux à mentionner une autre grande figure de l'anthropologie du Québec, celle de Marc-Adé-lard Tremblay qui, à l'Université Laval, a été avec Yvan Breton l'un des

grands artisans du département d'anthropologie, en plus d'avoir largement influencé ses collègues dans leurs conceptions et leurs pratiques du terrain (voir Genest 1985). Enfin, plusieurs anthropologues interviewés font écho à des grands débats idéologiques qui ont traversé les sciences sociales de ce côté de l'Atlantique, qu'on pense au marxisme et au féminisme, ou à des conflits qui ont parfois profondément divisé les unités, comme la sociobiologie, le structuralisme et le matérialisme historique.

Sur un plan personnel, les participants manifestent une grande ouverture, faisant état de ce rôle du hasard et de l'imprévu, de la « sérendipité »¹⁴, pour citer l'expression qu'a repris Bernard Saladin d'Anglure. Certains, comme Joseph Lévy et Patrick Fougeyrollas témoignent dans les détails de leur enfance et de leur éducation, d'autres comme Serge Genest et Jean-Jacques Chalifoux, des difficultés qu'ils ont dû traverser dès le plus jeune âge. La plupart expliquent les conditions relativement faciles dont ils ont jadis bénéficié pour leur recrutement, les universités venant parfois les recruter avant même qu'ils n'aient terminé leurs études. Plusieurs de ces expériences vécues paraissent surréalistes de nos jours. Les films sont enfin très révélateurs des personnages qui se racontent et révèlent rapidement des traits de caractères, mais aussi des méthodes et des approches théoriques. B. Saladin d'Anglure qui a été le plus prolixe a offert près de trois jours d'enregistrement, se dévoilant dans une grande intimité, laissant apparaître son érudition et sa passion pour les détails! L'anthropologue livre ses sentiments et ses expériences y compris dans les moments les plus dramatiques de son existence, faisant de ces dernières de véritables terrains ethnographiques. Il relate, par exemple, son expérience d'une hémiplégie avec beaucoup de talent, validant par la même occasion certaines observations de Marcel Mauss dans son travail sur les techniques du corps.

Plusieurs collègues présentent avec passion les idées maitresses qui traversent ou innervent leurs recherches : Raymond Lemieux est ainsi revenu sur les concepts de croyance et celui d'errance sous l'angle de la psychanalyse. Pierre Maranda a expliqué avec force et conviction la sémiographie qu'il a su mobiliser dans de nombreux contextes, y compris dans des travaux d'anthropologie appliquée. Louis-Jacques Dorais a montré de façon très pédagogique sa passion pour les langues et les minorités. Jean-Jacques Simard a défendu avec ferveur sa pratique des enquêtes sociométriques et expliqué l'émergence de l'État dans ses sociétés autochtones du Québec. D'autres ont fait état des enjeux qui les ont retenu pendant toute leur carrière, qu'il s'agisse de la violence dans l'humain qui a intéressé Gilles Bibeau, de la mémoire et des images qui ont

14. Ce terme désigne une invention réalisée de manière accidentelle ou inattendue ou suite à un concours de circonstances.

fasciné Bogumil Koss, de Wagner qui a occupé Jean-Jacques Nattiez qui lui a consacré plusieurs livres, de Mauss et Durkheim qui n'ont presque plus de secret pour Marcel Fournier qui en a épluché les archives et leur correspondance, de Denys Delâge qui a étudié les transferts culturels et les relations entre les Amérindiens et la société coloniale, etc. Dans tous les films, les terrains sont richement illustrés par une multitude d'anecdotes révélatrices de cette capacité du sociologue et de l'anthropologue à saisir ce qui se produit sous ses yeux: Jean-Jacques Chalifoux a raconté sa rencontre avec un morse, une véritable pièce d'anthologie pour ceux et celles qui s'intéressent aux rapports humains/animaux et à l'humain. Il relate avec beaucoup de talent et d'humour aussi son séjour chez les Abisi du Nigéria, revenant enfin sur une expérience traumatisante de mort/renaissance qu'il a vécue en Guyane et qui lui a ensuite permis d'étudier le chamanisme kalina. Françoise-Romaine Ouellette décrit dans les détails son terrain en couple en Nouvelle-Guinée. Éric Waddell revient sur le cas de ces « transfuges » dans les années 1950, décrivant ces anthropologues littéralement « avalés » par le terrain et qui passent de l'autre côté, et disparaissent avec leurs hôtes papous. Maria Pandolfi aborde de manière critique la folie humanitaire qui a suivi celle d'un conflit inextricable dans les Balkans, démontrant finalement la thèse lévi-straussienne d'une l'affinité entre la guerre et le commerce. Les débats idéologiques sont mentionnés à de nombreuses occasions, qu'il s'agisse du marxisme mis de l'avant par Bernard Bernier ou Pierre Beucage, du féminisme que décrit Marie France Labrecque et Huguette Dagenais, ou encore du nationalisme qu'aborde Claude Bariteau et Andrée Fortin. Avec beaucoup d'honnêteté, les participants font enfin largement part de leurs périodes de doute, de leurs remises en question et même de certains échecs, que l'on songe à Louise Paradis au Mexique, à Chantal Collard au moment de son travail sur l'adoption internationale et la procréation médicale assistée, etc. D'autres encore offrent des témoignages très réflexifs, comme Éric Schwimmer habité par sa lecture de Jacques Ferron, ou Ellen Corin qui, dans le contexte des rites de possession africains qu'elle compare, explique l'influence du contexte social et culturel sur l'expérience subjective et s'attache à saisir les forces contraires qui traversent les cultures, etc. Chaque participant s'exprime avec son style de sorte que le ton des enregistrements varie considérablement d'un film à l'autre.

DÉFIS, DIFFICULTÉS ET CONTRAINTES

Au cours des de ce processus, deux contraintes ont pu être identifiées.

La première tient sans aucun doute à l'âge et aux conditions de santé des participants interviewés, un paramètre sur lequel le projet n'a pas de prise. Au vu de nos expériences, nous avons pu observer qu'il ne fallait pas

trop attendre pour filmer et solliciter les professeurs dès leur départ à la retraite, le franchissement de cette étape s'accompagnant souvent chez eux d'une distanciation qui à court terme s'avère très fructueuse pour le projet, mais à plus long terme génère un détachement. Il n'a ainsi pas été possible de convaincre plusieurs collègues à participer à l'entreprise.

Une seconde contrainte se situe du côté de l'intervieweur qui ne connaît bien entendu pas toujours suffisamment les participants ou les connaît, parfois, par la seule lecture de leur curriculum vitae ou de quelques uns de leurs travaux. Dans tous les cas, l'équipe a manifesté autant que possible écoute et empathie, silence attentif et compréhension, faisant preuve d'adaptation, relisant au préalable certains textes des interviewés.

Le fait que chaque participant dispose de toute la liberté qu'il/elle souhaite pour témoigner (ou non) des thèmes qui l'intéressent comporte bien des avantages mais elle constitue une autre limite, dans la mesure où l'équipe a peu de prise sur la part de non dit, de dissimulation, d'oubli (volontaire ou non) de chaque interviewé. Mais le choix est celui de respecter les découpages du réel de même que les zones d'ombre.

En somme, le projet des Possédés demeure évidemment partiel et partial, fragmentaire, et loin de pouvoir restituer la totalité de vies bien remplies. Comme l'expression a été maintes fois prononcée auprès de ceux et celles qui ont été sollicités, l'équipe a fait le choix de « prendre ce qu'on lui offre » et de ne pas bousculer ses hôtes, leur laissant la plus grande marge de manœuvre dans le choix de se livrer ou non. Les narrations demeurent donc très différentes d'une personnalité à l'autre. Et pourtant, une certaine cohérence est bien perceptible dans les récits recueillis, probablement parce qu'elle est indispensable pour l'interviewé qui nécessairement « reconstruit » des chronologies, articule des faits, cherche et trouve des transitions. Ainsi, l'interviewé sélectionne des événements. Il laisse apparaître une logique sur le plan rétrospectif. Il mentionne des collègues, des influences et ce faisant rend visible la structure d'un réseau intellectuel. L'équipe observe en direct ce travail de la mémoire, cette entreprise de remémoration souvent fort bien préparée par nos hôtes qui n'ont jamais plus rien à dire mais, au contraire, s'efforcent de livrer une narration complète et qui reflète leur personnalité de chercheur.

Ces contraintes montrent bien l'ambiguïté du récit biographique ou autobiographique comme l'a relevé Pierre Bourdieu: « On est sans doute en droit de supposer que le récit autobiographique s'inspire toujours, au moins pour une part, du souci de donner sens, de rendre raison, de dégager une logique à la fois rétrospective et prospective, une consistance et une constance, en établissant des relations intelligibles, comme celle de l'effet à la cause efficiente ou finale, entre les états successifs, ainsi

constitués en étapes d'un développement nécessaire » (Bourdieu 1986, 69). Le jugement paraît cependant sévère. Le sociologue sous-estime le fait qu'en juxtaposant les témoignages et en les mettant en relation les uns avec les autres, ces derniers s'éclairent collectivement sur un jour neuf. En ce sens, ce n'est pas seulement la trajectoire personnelle d'un possédé qui est éclairante, mais l'accumulation de témoignages qui se rattachent à une même époque et à un même lieu, le Québec et le Canada. Comme chaque interviewé sait pertinemment qu'il n'est pas seul à livrer ses mémoires et qu'il a accès aux narrations de ses collègues via le site Internet de la revue, il faut présumer qu'il mesure bien ce qu'il relate, veillant à la fois au contenu et à la forme. Si le récit de vie comporte donc bien une part de fiction et de reconstruction artificielle, nous croyons comme l'a jadis montré Paul Ricoeur (1983), qu'il offre encore une reproduction fiable de l'action et qu'il demeure en ce sens encore l'un des meilleurs dispositifs pour les chercheurs en sciences sociales.

Au final, les narrations des Possédés permettent de combiner histoire sociale et histoire intellectuelle, histoire individuelle et histoire collective. Le spectateur-auditeur saisit comment chaque interviewé construit son identité narrative, agence la temporalité et construit des chaînes causales et de signification. Il faut enfin ne pas oublier que ces narrations sont à écouter en lien avec les nombreux textes que ces professeurs laissent à la postérité.

CONCLUSION

Connus comme des experts de l'histoire de vie, les anthropologues, les sociologues et les historiens oublient qu'eux-mêmes disposent de récits tout aussi passionnants à partager.

Inverser les rôles et, pour paraphraser George Stocking¹⁵ transformer l'observateur habituel en observé s'avère une entreprise fascinante et riche, en ce qu'elle permet de mettre à jour une multitude de détails qui autrement sombreraient dans l'oubli complet, ceux-ci n'ayant souvent pas été consignés dans les articles scientifiques ni dans les livres. Au risque de forcer le trait, le travail collectif de l'équipe s'apparente parfois un peu à celui du maïeute, puisqu'il vise à faire advenir une narration. Une telle entreprise implique beaucoup d'humilité car si les participants se mettent rarement de l'avant, se consacrant plutôt à offrir une myriade de détails contextuels permettant de saisir leurs trajectoires, leur enfance et leur vocation, les circonstances de leurs recherches, l'auditeur saisit très vite qu'il a affaire à des personnalités passionnées et engagées. Leurs parcours respectifs démarrent souvent assez facilement grâce à des recrutements rapides dans

15. Voir George W. Stocking, *Observers observed : Essays on Ethnographic Fieldwork* (1984).

des institutions qui à l'époque ouvraient des départements, mais les chemins sont ensuite semés d'embûches, exigeant de leur part de multiples adaptations, de la patience et, surtout, une grande détermination.

Les narrations recueillies révèlent des personnalités et des identités très différentes, des savoirs et des savoir-faire fort variés. Un point commun cependant émerge : la passion du terrain et de la recherche, des éléments qui ne sont pas propres aux anthropologues, mais qui sont peut-être ici plus manifestes qu'ailleurs. Le recours à la notion de « possédé » exprime bien cet engagement, ces vies passionnantes et passionnées, que vivent les anthropologues et leurs collègues dont les expériences prennent part sur les cinq continents. Les « Possédés » le sont donc bien à plus d'un titre : par les terrains qu'ils ont réalisés, par les objets qu'ils ont étudiés et qui les habitent encore, mais aussi par les expériences qu'ils relatent avec beaucoup d'enthousiasme, transmettant ainsi à ceux et celles qui les écoutent, le goût des autres.

Les participants de cette vaste tribu des anthropologues partagent une passion indéfectible pour l'échange, pour reprendre une expression de Serge Genest (1985). Ayant circulé et travaillé dans des contextes socioculturels différents, vécu auprès de peuples aux caractéristiques contrastés, travaillé sur de multiples thématiques, débattu longuement avec d'autres collègues sur des questions de théorie ou de méthodologie, la plupart restent visiblement très attachés à ces autres mondes, qu'ils soient lointains ou situés au coin de la rue. Et aussitôt que la caméra tourne, elle joue comme chez Rouch, le rôle d'un catalyseur. La magie se produit. Les narrations recueillies nous projettent dans des univers où les Possédés, malgré tout ce qu'ils disent et malgré ce qu'on en dira, s'adressent et se révèlent à ceux et celles qui les écoutent. Ainsi laissent-ils sur l'écran une partie d'eux-mêmes, leurs voies et des voix singulières qui font la richesse d'une collection nécessairement incomplète.

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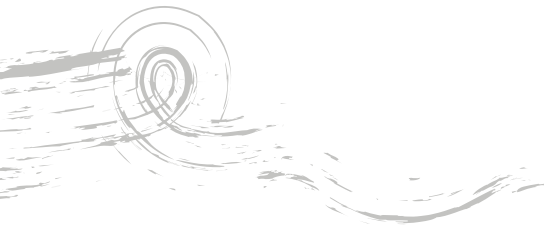
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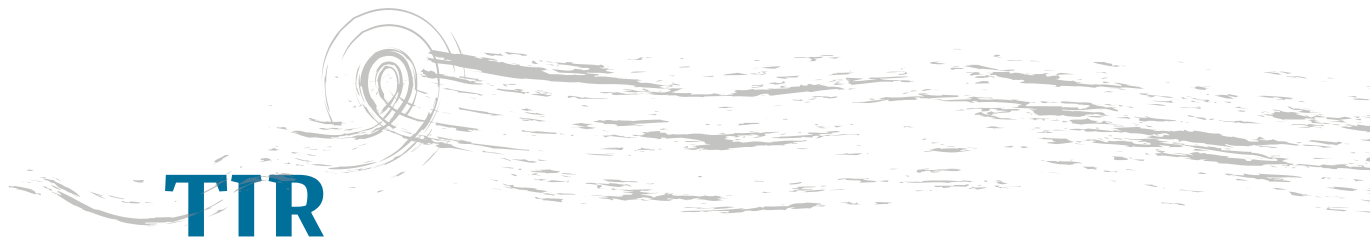
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REVIEW

SILVA, WAGNER SOUZA E.

FOTO 0 | FOTO 1

It's been a while since anthropology has been establishing a profitable dialogue with some author's ideas whose theories about photography had become canonic and thus inescapable. This approach has been an increasing practice to discuss photography's position in our discipline. Whether studying the ways modern anthropology had used photography at the end of the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth century to invent the savage and primitive Other, whose exotic features were measured and cataloged by the camera lenses; or whether in the reflexive analysis about its position in fieldwork and in the constitution of the ethnographic practice's objective paradigms since the 1920 decade; or even in the ways currently the photographic image has been used in collaborative works between the anthropologist and their subjects, allowing to discuss the asymmetric that the photographic camera used to reify – it's notable that the anthropological eye over the photographic theorist's ideas oscillates between the appropriation of some of their concepts and the critique that the anthropological perspective imputes over their reflections about the photographic imagery.

Anyway, it's a fact that the critical thought that has formed around photography constitutes a undeniable contribution to anthropologists that investigates photographic images, which makes every original discussion welcome. The Wagner Souza e Silva's *Foto 0 | Foto 1* book, a result of his doctorate thesis presented to the School of Communication and Arts of the University of São Paulo (ECA-USP), certainly has the attribute to add a singular view to the widely explored

photography research field. Acting nowadays as teacher and researcher at ECA-USP, Wagner also acted as photographer of the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (MAE-USP) for years, which certainly influenced the perspective of his ideas, as he himself admits.

The link between taking photographs and digital technology is already a concrete and widely diffused reality, as we can see by the number of images that flood the different media we access daily. Should we still consider the insertion of photographic technology as a survey object, given that apparently the discussion about the changes promoted in the photographic practice by this not so new technology seems increasingly surpassed? Or even, if all technology defines aspects that surround the image valuation, what value can be attributed to photographs in the digital universe? Both questions are presented in the book's introduction, and set the tone of the author's approach to the photographic theme: his emphasis on the technology and not on the image or on the act itself, like other authors. "Before being the practice of the image, photography is the practice of a technology" (Silva 2016, 19). Through this approach, his objective is to discuss photography's technological trajectory, surveying the way that this path reflects the making of identity of its practice, especially in the digital format.

The book is divided into two parts: "A Fotografia do 0 ao 1" (*The Photograph from 0 to 1*), reflecting on the photographic practice with film; and "A Fotografia do 1 ao 0" (*The Photograph from 1 to 0*), which deals with the most elementary features of digital photography. It is interesting that the author structures the book this way and the argument that permeates it, given the circular movement that this division implies: "(...) it starts from zero and goes to one, to then come back to zero" (Silva 2016, 19). According to him, his proposal cannot be understood as two distinct periods of photography, despite the attempt to create a chronological sequence to its trajectory. The author admits that certain specificities of the photographic technique arises a kind of resistance when you search for a historical linearity, because many features that define digital photography can be also present in film photography, as the reverse may also occurs.

The first part of the book introduces the definitions and the relations that the terms *technique* and *technology* establishes among each other: every technique, "the operational logic of the human's action in function of a desire, demands a technology to be operated" (Silva 2016, 27). Although presented as inseparable, the terms are positioned hierarchically, one in relation to other. To Silva, technique produces the technology at the same time that there is no technology that doesn't serve a technique. The idea is essential to the investigation that continues throughout the book:

if since its beginning until before its introduction into the digital realm, photography was much more a technology than a technique, it's worth asking if nowadays, by the simplification of its means of operations, it turns to be much more a technique than a technology. Silva goes throughout the history of the photographic technology, starting from an explanation of the principles of the directing of the light ray inside the camera, passing by the components of the photographic apparatus (lens, aperture, shutter etc.), and then makes a quick but instructive explanation about the changes in the photographic imagery sensitive surfaces, since the daguerreotype until the celluloid film, justified by the idea that the sensitive surface of the photographic image can be considered as the "convergent and radiator point of its technology and practice" (Silva 2016, 36).

The discussion about the difficulties in defining photographic genres results in profitable reflections, touching on points that reflect an increasingly interest in the contemporary discussions about photography. The definition of a genre, be it photojournalism, advertising photography or family albums, as the author exemplifies, would define the place of *photographies* much more than the place of *photography* itself. The idea that it can be understood as a phenomenon able to invade both the field of science and the field of art has a certain resonance with André Rouillé's (2009) ideas about "document photography" and "expression photography". The comment upon Roland Barthes (1980/2015) and Philippe Dubois's (1983/2012) theoretical standpoint, giving too much priority to the analysis of photographic imagery and to the reception act of them, allows Silva to situate his approach by the technique/technological bias, making reverse movement from the one adopted by these two canons of the photography image theory. "From the photos to photography" (Silva 2016, 83), in other words instead of stress its reception processes, he emphasizes the technology itself.

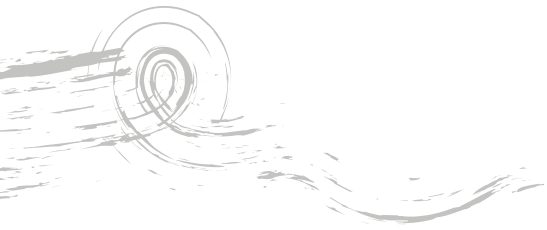
It's from the model proposed by the philosopher Vilém Flusser for an ontological distinction between photographic imagery and pictorial imagery that Silva builds the key arguments of the book. To Flusser, photographic imagery overlaps a whole kind of knowledge based on scientific texts. To understand this proposition, Silva summarizes how the philosopher frames the creation of the photographic technique in history, from the relation between text and imagery. It's precisely in mobilizing Flusser's thought as, in Silva's words, "a mapping of the photographic imagery" that his thesis begins to take an increasingly contingent and abstract route. In his most known work, *A Filosofia da caixa-preta*¹ (2002), the philosopher briefly presents some theories about the magical character of images and the manner they interpose our relation

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with the world, representing it and guiding us through it. Flusser also eludes to the rise of writing as an answer to image idolatry, debouching in an inevitable “writeolatry”, as hallucinatory as the idolatry that the advent of writing tried to suppress. Then, in the context of the crisis of text emerges the technical imagery, product of scientific texts and inaugurated by photography. Centered in this opposition, problematic and logocentric when we think about the great number of discussions that this theme rendered to anthropology, the idea of this movement between text and image turn the pivot of the theorization developed by Silva throughout his book. From Flusser’s statement that photography gives birth to the possibility of scientific texts to be transformed into technical images, “remagicizing” the texts, the author proposes to think about it as a language system evolution, photography itself “ontologically distinguishable from the word and the writing, but also liable of being articulated to create realities” (Silva 2016, 92).

In the second part of the book Silva composes a brief but very useful explanation about the function of digital photographic imagery, placing precisely in it “the core of the motivations that originates discussions and reflections about imagery attribute in the numerical universe” (Silva 2016, 113). Even if it’s presented printed on paper or displayed on a computer or on a cellphone screen, the fact that all the information that composes digital photography consists of binary encoded bits, means that materially it doesn’t exist. At this point, the wit in the way that the author “plays” (using a Flusser term) with this binary relation both in the title of the book as in its two-part division acquires a new contour. Silva starts from the statement about digital imagery’s “zero dimensionality” to engage a sinuous but provoking path that begins in the main changes that the birth of this new technology of image production has aroused both in the act of photographing and in our ulterior relations with the photos. These changes reside, as he affirms, in the paradox that the more complex and inaccessible the technology of photography becomes, the less laborious are the procedures to obtain an image.

It is interesting that Silva refuses the approaches of Barthes and Dubois to photography, over centered in the image’s reception processes, but he ends up appealing to the reading of *other images* to construct his approach as a technological practice. I don’t refer to the author’s analysis – very profitable and coherent with the book’s proposal, by the way – of the work of Joan Fontcuberta, Rosangela Rennó, Pedro Meyer, Breno Rotatori or collective Cia de Foto, among others, but to the way that he mobilizes the images created by Flusser: the rise of the writing as a way to cease image idolatry in the second millennium B.C., when people committed to the remembrance of images original function start to tear them apart to open the world’s vision to the concrete world hidden by then.



Whether in the “man’s cultural history”, when in a first moment mankind used to live in a world of volumes, using their hands to modify the objects, and then acting according to previously imagined projects and allowing the rise of their abstraction capacities, ending up in the beginning of the writing, the science and the “technoimages” that divide the the world in pre and post history.

These are the images that serve as an anchor for Silva, through a sophisticated reading of Flusser, a continuum movement – between image and text, concrete and abstract, profundity and superficiality, science and philosophy – that permeates the whole book and reaches its climax in a deep dialogue with Heidegger to propose us to think about the “techno-image” (and consequently photography) as philosophy of an another order, born from a language that is also from another order and that guides us to question the modern subject and its production modes. Silva’s thesis, based on the images provided by Flusser, notably mythical as founders of a new order, become itself a new image, sometimes solid sometimes too fluid to let us take it in accurately. It’s precisely in the fact that digital photography doesn’t exist, with it’s main idea of “this was” proposed by Barthes (2015, 69) being substituted by the idea of “this is *nothing*” proposed by Silva throughout his book, that allows the author to use the Flusser “images” to try to capture it and explain it in its zero dimensionality. It’s not about pointing a demerit of “Foto 0 | Foto 1”, but to verify that the interior of the camera can generate polysemic images, ambiguous and sometimes convincing as photography itself.

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PAOLA LAPPICY

REVIEW

SEEGER, ANTHONY.
POR QUE CANTAM OS KISÊDJÊ – UMA ANTROPOLOGIA MUSICAL DE UM POVO AMAZÔNICO.

Original title: *Why Suyá Sing: A Musical Anthropology of An Amazonian People*. Translation: Guilherme Werlang. São Paulo: Cosac Naify, 2015, 320 p.

Why Suyá Sing – A musical Anthropology of an Amazonian People (2004) is a book about the singing in a South-American indigenous community. Written by Anthony Seeger and published originally in 1987, the work is a study of music and its role in the social process. Furthermore, the book brings a DVD with original audios and two films. The audios integrated the first and second editions, and the first film was made in 1996 – this one directed by Seeger himself -, and the second was made more recently, directed by *kisêdjê* filmmakers. Some reflections wonder through the text – why do members of a certain group present singing in certain structures, timbres and styles? Why do certain members of the community sing specific things, in specific ways, to a certain audience in a specific place and moment? In this way, Seeger's ethnography presents these questions throughout a musical anthropology. Seeger proposes to make a musical anthropology, differently of anthropology of the music, which would not only bring to the study of music concepts and questions of anthropology, but would seek to apprehend structures and social processes of transformations in human groups.

The study takes as reference the community of *kisêdjê*, speakers of the language *jê*, in the state of Mato Grosso.

Fundamental aspects of *kisêdjê*'s social life is constructed based in ceremonies and musical performances, and they usually define themselves as a group based in certain genres of singing and body ornaments, which associate with the production and attention to the sounds. Thus, the book shows the creation, the reestablishment, the maintenance and the alteration of the structures and processes centered in the performance in the life of the *kisêdjê*.

Seeger argues that music is much more than sounds captured by the recorder – it is an intention to do something called music. People don't usually write about why members of a group do the music they do, because there is polemics concerning the kind of answer that could sustain this question. The answers that are given in this book are not final causes – the reason we sing is not known, even though all societies produce structured sounds. Seeger does not analyze the musical products of the *kisêdjê*, nor does he seek biological or material causes, but he brings his answers to the processes and social values of the *kisêdjê*.

The book addresses the performance of a ceremony, in which Seeger participated and researched in 1972, to present its music and its performative context: A Festa do Rato (The Rat's Party). The ceremony was realized once more in 1976, and Seeger found recordings of the performance in 1963. The author argues that these three performances have a particular richness that raises broad questions.

In the first chapter, Seeger describes the first day of the Festa do Rato, in 1972. He describes aspects of the musical performance and social life of the *kisêdjê*, placing the ethnographer and the reader in the unfolding of the event.

The Festa do Rato is a rite of passage, in which a boy starts his initiation in the male activities at the village's patio. It is one of the initiation rituals that permeate the life of a *kisêdjê* man. In the Festa do Rato, what stands out is the relationship among an adult man and child to which he transmitted his own names. Each performance reestablishes certain relations between human beings and animals, village and neighborhood, and between the *kisêdjê* and the cosmos in which they live and have created. The Festa do Rato is initiated in January 24th, and it ends in February 7th, in 1972. It is a period of two weeks of intense ritual activity, along with periods of singing, dance, and extensive activities.

There is an evident beginning to the ceremony and a long phase that follows it, in which slow preparations for the final night happen. In the final night, there is singing, and the ritual objects and the social relations that were learned and reactivated in the weeks that passed are seen. Throughout the Festa do Rato, the *kisêdjê* perform styles of chant and forms of discourse. These happen also in many other ceremonies.

These discourses and chants are fundamental and responsible for the efficacy of the ceremony.

“My sister, I will sing to my name receptor” – Under the light of the sky in the sunset, Kágrere talks to his sister. (...) A part of Kágrere’s opening chant can be traduced as: “Black rat, let’s go to our name receptor and we jump and sing. I jump and sing in the Rat’s Party. Let’s go to our name receptors, we jump, and sing”. Kágrere sings for almost an hour. Sometimes an old man screams a follow-up in falsetto. The men keep talking; women sit in front of houses, with their small kids. The Rat’s Party has started. (Seeger 2015, 25)

Seeger analyses the social life of the *kisêdjê* as if it were operated in an alternating current – an alternation between ritual and non-ritual periods and between activities, relationships, and feelings concerning each one – that creates the tissue of social life. There is an alternation between two forms of existence. The ritual form brings the collective public activities, as chant and food distribution. It also intensifies relationships between men, their mother, sisters and sons of their sisters. On the other side, the non-ritual mode respects the daily life and individual activities. Music and other forms of discourse constitute ways to understand a period as ceremonial or not. The *kisêdjê* chant is fundamental in the settings of the characteristic relations of all ceremonies. The author argues that even though we do not know much about the musical traditions of the low lands of South America, it seems to him that always that we hear something, something important is happening. Music, to the *kisêdjê*, makes possible communication between human beings and brings a state of euphoria.

A performance of a ceremony as the Festa do Rato shows relationships that seem timeless between men, women, animals, name donors and receptors, expressed through chant, dance, and silence in the ceremony. However, each performance involves specific actors and specific choices related to many decisions.

In the second chapter, Seeger analyses the vocal art of the *kisêdjê*, from the speech to the singing. Almost every music that *kisêdjê* make are singing, therefore the author argues that the analyses should start from the relation between the chant and other artistic vocal forms. In this way, he presents and compares samples of many genres. Seeger compares genres from the lyrics, phrase, relation of pitch and textual authority. Thus, he distinguishes the chant from other verbal forms.

The main genres of *kisêdjê*’s vocal art are: the calling-chant, which are sung individually; the seasonal chants, that can be sung at any moment

in raining season; and the unison chants, specific from the Festa do Rato, which are sung only in the final night of the ceremony. The *kisêdjê* distinguish these genres from the speech (*kapere*), narration (*saren*), chant (*ngere*) and invocation (*sangere*). Even though *ngere* is translated as music, music to the *kisêdjê* is, in this case, exclusively singing.

The linkages between the *kisêdjê* genres show how the separation between speech and music distorts both of them. The narration, the invocations and the chant structure the time, the tone, and the timbre. All of them present a structure of pitch and lyrics. The *kapere* (discourse) is characterized by its text priority over the melody, by the determination of the text and melody by the speaker and by its growing formality in public performances. The *saren* (narrative) and the *sangere* (invocation) prioritize the text the relatively established text over the relatively established melody. And, at last, the chant is characterized by its priority of the melody over the lyrics and for its non-human origin, establishing time, lyrics and melody.

In this way, the chant is distinguished from other artistic vocal forms according to the priority of the melody over the text, the stability of it, the extension of the text repetition, the regularity of its sentences, and the stable relation between pitches and established texts. The chant is realized as different from other vocal forms in style and lyrics. The relation given between texts and structures varies according to each genre, and it is possible to understand this relation when the spectrum of the music and the speech is examined. Seeger argues, then, that there shouldn't be an isolation between academic disciplines, but we should study these forms of discourse as in an interrelation of genres that are based in phonetics, text and time in many ways.

In chapter 3, Seeger addresses the ideas about the origins of the singing and the composition of music. He argues that these aspects are an important indication of what is music and how it is related to other aspects in life. The answer to "Why do they sing?" lays in the comprehension of what is a chant and how it is apprehended. The chants, according to the *kisêdjê*, were introduced in three different ways. Some were considered old, and originate from remote times. Others were original in a specific ceremony and were taught to the *men with no spirits* – that are comparable to what we call composers. Other chants, at last, were acquired through learning with foreigners. In this way, all chants seemed to arise from outside the *kisêdjê* community. However, each introduction of the chant had its specific characteristics.

The origins of chants and ceremonies described in the *kisêdjê* myths are different from many other south-american indigenous groups, in which spirits teach them chants. In the *kisêdjê* myths, certain chants in unison and recitatives were learned with beings that are part human and part animal, in the process of metamorphoses. Among the *kisêdjê*, if there is

a metamorphosis, there is singing. For example, there is the story of a man that was turning into a big deer. He sang a chant that became the particular of the Festa do Veado Campeiro (Party of the Pampas Deer).

The emergence of new chants came from two types of people: the sorcerer or the *person with no spirits*. The *person with no spirit* is someone that possibly annoyed a sorcerer. The sorcerer, then, would take his soul with anger. These *people with no spirit* were men and women in the condition of a suspense metamorphoses. Their body is alive in the village, but their spirit lived with some kind of natural species, learning singing from it. They are liminal figures, which would not be here nor there. (Seeger 1987 apud Turner 1968, 95)

Certain people that had lost their spirits and were respected for their chant knowledge would be master of ceremony *kisêdjê*. The ceremony master would decide when the ceremony is done, and how to perform it correctly. People who had lost their spirits could teach only chants that they could listen. In other words, if the person had been living with birds, he could only teach bird singing. Sometimes, the person's spirit could move through different domains of nature.

The third way of learning chants was through foreigners (enemy indians, pacific Indians, and non-indians). These foreigners would teach a chant or a ceremony to the whole community. The *kisêdjê* learned many foreigner chants. They sang chants from more than ten different groups to which they had contact in the last 200 years. As they appropriated these chants from other groups, they also incorporated something of power and knowledge from these groups.

The meaning of foreigner chants to the *kisêdjê* implies a continuity of this mode of learning music and the others. In the *kisêdjê* oral traditions, they had learned chants from a man that would turn into a deer, another from a man who would turn into a forest pig and, thus, this pattern of learning chants from foreigners has a continuity from the past myth described in the stories told by the ancient.

Therefore, Seeger discusses, in chapter 4, the chant as a part of the *kisêdjê* construction of the world - part of the creation of some processes and social ideas. Music is more than sound and cosmology. Music is, according to the author, any process of musical conception, realization and valuation. Each performance recreates the meaning of singing and people, as well as it expresses the status and feelings of the performers and the community.

Seeger proposes, as an analogy, to think the *kisêdjê* village as a concert hall, its annual cycle as a concert series and its population as an orchestra. So,

he discusses the musical space, time and the social relations in which music production matters. In this way, he describes the musical expression of the individual identity and the choices of a singer during his performance, situating the sounds in a social framework.

As he thinks the village as a concert hall, Seeger analyses the sonic recreation of special relations. The *kisêdjê* village was small and the sounds would traverse easily. The houses were around an open patio, the speakers would surround the patio, the women would mourn the dead in their houses and the old would scream from their nets. The patio was mainly a domain of men and public performances. It represented the vivid contrast with the residential houses, which were mainly a domain of women based in kinship. Around the circle of houses, there was a silence zone, which was known as the *dead side*, in which there would not be singing. The forest was a kingdom of the animals and spirits and contrasted to the patio. The patio was clean, with no bushes, and it is where adult men sang together. The forest is where the animals wandered.

The *kisêdjê* sang in the forest camps, in houses and in the village patio, and they danced, from one to the other domain, in a systematic mode. The sounds and the silence produced in their singing circumscribed the different parts of their cosmos. The special domains were full of meanings and associations through the singing, the dancing and ceremonial activities. Therefore, the singing and the silence were part of a constant recreation of the meaningful space.

As Seeger analyses the year as a concert, he looks into the creation of time throughout the sound. Societies and individuals create time as a relevant social experience, and they act inside of it. The *kisêdjê* looked into the sun, the stars, the moon and the constellations to calculate time. However, their important social events were imposed by the chant. Singing, dancing and other ceremonial activities establish certain spaces and reestablish periods of time. The *kisêdjê* had a social calendar more than an astronomic one. The year was divided into a raining and a dry season. However, the chants didn't necessarily follow the seasons, but they establish changes in the seasons, independent of the raining. They set gradual changes in the day and year with diverse musical events, in different styles. The chant set longer and shorter periods of time.

At last, Seeger proposes an analogy of the society as an orchestra, addressing the vocal recreation in social relations. What and how the *kisêdjê* sang was defined, in a considerable part, by their group filiation – which was based in age, sex and onomastic group. The group filiation would determine who would sing a specific chant in a day, or who would mourn the dead, or cry in falsetto. The *kisêdjê* society was an orchestra of voices, and its character-

istics were limited by gender and age. The performances established and reestablished important relations between groups and individuals.

The body, if thought as an analogy, is a musical instrument. The performer learns the singing, the body movements, and the audience listens to him. The *kisêdjê* most important body ornaments were related to the listening. Therefore, there is an importance given to the ears and the mouth. The only musical instrument that they played regularly is the rattle. In this way, the movement was necessary to play the rattle, and the dance would be an essential part of the musical performance.

In addition, Seeger argues that the concept of what a person is – the constitution of the biological and social individual – can be very important to understand the social processes. The concept of person to the *kisêdjê* concerned three components: the body, the social identity, and the spirit. Every ceremony was a reaffirmation of the social identity of the onomastic groups, as well as the groups based in age and gender. In this way, every ceremony held details that identified groups.

The author emphasizes that conscious agents perform ceremonies and music, and they create something that is new and old, under unique circumstances. The singing was part of the creation of their society and their cosmos. The *kisêdjê* musical performance was a creation of structures that involved sound, place, occasion, person and senses. The chant shared the old structure, even though it was new. Therefore, the creation and recreation of social life were made through the daily life, as it happened in the ritual. The *kisêdjê* were always recreating their society.

In chapter 5, Seeger seeks a relation between these general characteristics discussed before in the chapter and the sounds of music itself. The author analyses one chant of the rainy season and thinks over the slow rise in the tune during the performance of this unison chant. This microtonal rise tune was given as a mystery.

Seeger analyses Marina Roseman's transcription of this chant. Roseman suggests that the spots in which the tuning falls indicate that the ascending tune can be an important characteristic of the *kisêdjê* music. The gradual ascension of the tune is something familiar and was registered in many North-American indigenous groups. The important is that it doesn't exist in any society – some societies tuning drifts upward as well as downward, and some societies make this an intentional aspect of the musical structure. In this way, a more accurate analysis would be necessary to understand why this happens.

Seeger realized that the absolute tonal ascension is usual in all the big ceremonial events. Thus, he selected many chants of the same genre

performed by a group of *kisêdjê* men through the big ceremonial events. The pitch is approximate, but the important data is the measure of the rise. In this way, Seeger realized that a gradual rise was probably existent in all performances. Random tests in other genres revealed a gradual rise in the pitch as well. From this analysis, he could see a very clear pattern of slow rise, generally bigger in the first part.

The *kisêdjê* related the singing of an individual to his throat. All music was singing, thus, the throat – or what would be the voice for us – was the most important instrument. A renowned singer would be described as having a nice throat, as a mediocre singer would be described as having a poor throat. In this way, it would be possible to classify the *kisêdjê* musical genres according to the place in the throat that they were sung. The calling-chant was sung in the *superior extremity of the throat* or with *the small throat*. The unison chant was sung in the *bottom of the throat* of with the *big throat*. However, the *kisêdjê* senses of what made a beautiful chant involved more than the throat; it involved also the singer identity.

Throughout this study, Seeger brings some points to Roseman's transcription and answers some of the questions she poses in the study. Some of his conclusions are: the *kisêdjê* didn't seem to articulate words to the gradual rise in the singing pitch, even though the rise is constant in the chants. It is not clear if the tonal ascension is meaningful, as to say it is conscious. This rise can exist just as a consequence of other values. The participant observation showed that changes in tuning were thought in the performance coordination. It was not clear who would conduct the oscillation in tuning and the role of the performance context in influencing the tonal ascension seemed minor.

Throughout this analysis, Seeger focus on three important questions in ethnomusicology: the usage of our own analytical categories to the musical analysis, the role of musical transcription in ethnomusicology, and the benefits of using many approaches to musical phenomena. He states that it is important to consider native analytical categories, which can help to get to important places. However, if he only used native musical categories, he wouldn't find the issue of the ascending tune, as well as the musical transcription.

Seeger takes back to the Festa do Rato in chapter 6, in which he describes key details of these 14 days:

In almost all afternoons, the boys sang calling-chants in the country and the men sang unison chants in the house-of-men. Before the dawn in January 25th, Kágrere's name receptor's male relatives went out for hunting and fishing expedition to obtain food for the singers. In the 26th, around 7 a.m., a

man went to the house-of-men and started singing in solo calling-chants and kept on going through the day. Many of the men were outside the village, collecting seeds of the Buri-ti leaf (...) to make dance masked, but they got back in time to sing in the afternoon for the closure of the soloist's whole day. In January 27th, a man from the opposite half sat down, with paintings and ornaments, in his sister's bed. When he went off, walking through the village's patio to sing, his sister wept, while she remembered her dead relatives and the ceremonies from the past. He had rattles on his knees, outstanding gourds in his backs, clashing in each step, feathers tied in his arms and in the back of his head, an arc and arrows, he walked slowly around the patio counterclockwise until the men sang an unison chant of the raining season. After this, he came back to his sister's house, took off his ornaments, went to his own house and slept. At night, men sang calling-chants and entertained themselves in lively conversations and calls, in an euphoric joy. (Seeger 1987, 207)

Seeger describes the preparations for the ceremonies that went on in which day, as well as the singing in February 6th, until the closure of the ceremony. Between the opening and the closure of the event, men sang for 14 days. All the ceremonial period, if compared to the village's life, has an increase in activity and an expansion of the conscience among values and structures. The extent of the excitement, the rearrangement of social relations, and the many means of cooperation in the food preparation and the singing reanimated important sectors of the *Kisêdjê* life. Through 14 days of ceremony and approximately 15 hours of singing in the final day and night, the music helped to express and create the euphoria that should characterize the *kisêdjê*'s ceremonies.

In this way, the space, the time, the human relations and many of the musical genres discussed in this study had a role in the final night of the Festa do Rato. An invocation left the rain distant. The men and boys called individually in the houses, in the patio and in the forest sang chants. Unison chants were performed in the houses. The significance of many spaces and transformations at dawn and sunset were evident. At last, the metamorphosis was key to the ceremony.

The *kisêdjê* chant, as Seeger demonstrates in the book, was a key element in the social production and reproduction. It reestablished the clarity of the temporal lengths and of certain human relation forms. Singing made the creation and expression of the aspects of the *self* possible. Thus, it generated the sentiment of euphoria that was specific of the ceremonies, and it related past and present in a transformative way. Seeger concludes

that the *Kisêdjê* sang because singing can reestablish the good and the beauty of the world and how to relate to it.

The *Kisêdjê* sang because, through singing, they could restore certain kinds of order in their world and create new kinds of order too. Singing is an experience of the body and the social person, and it is a way to reproduce society. According to the author, music kept the a close connection to the social identity and to the production of matter. The *Kisêdjê* sang because singing is a form of articulating life experiences to society processes.

The book *Why Suyá sing: a musical anthropology of an Amazonian people* is about the total organization of the *kisêdjê* singing, from its relation to other verbal genres to its association to social reproduction and economic production. The *kisêdjê* society was an orchestra, according to Seeger, and the singing created some kind of settlement, in which sounds revealed what the sight could not perceive. By means of the Festa do Rato, the *Kisêdjê* participated in a creative act that transcended the sounds. It was part of the society's social processes and institutions.

The author concludes relating to the sociopolitical context in the time of the release – 1987. The *Kisêdjê*'s performances were integrated to the context of its social definitions, but also to the context of the comprehension they had of their history and strategies to the present. They lived in the Indigenous Park of Xingu, where they lived with other indigenous groups, and there was the possibility of them losing their lands to farmers. This had an effect in the importance they saw in the singing traditions. The changes in *kisêdjê* identity, at times Seeger wrote, were fast and grounded in external events. The survival of native societies depended on how groups can mobilize public opinion to solve problems they face, and music could be an useful tool to affirm the identity of a group. In this way, it is important the conscious use of musical performances as part of the political resistance.

translation
Paola Lappicy



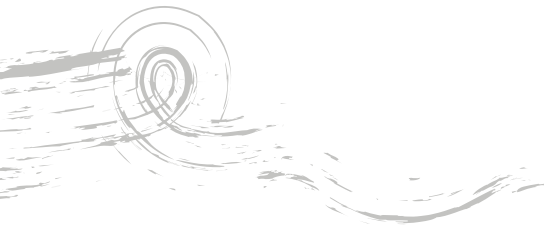
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PAOLA LAPPIC

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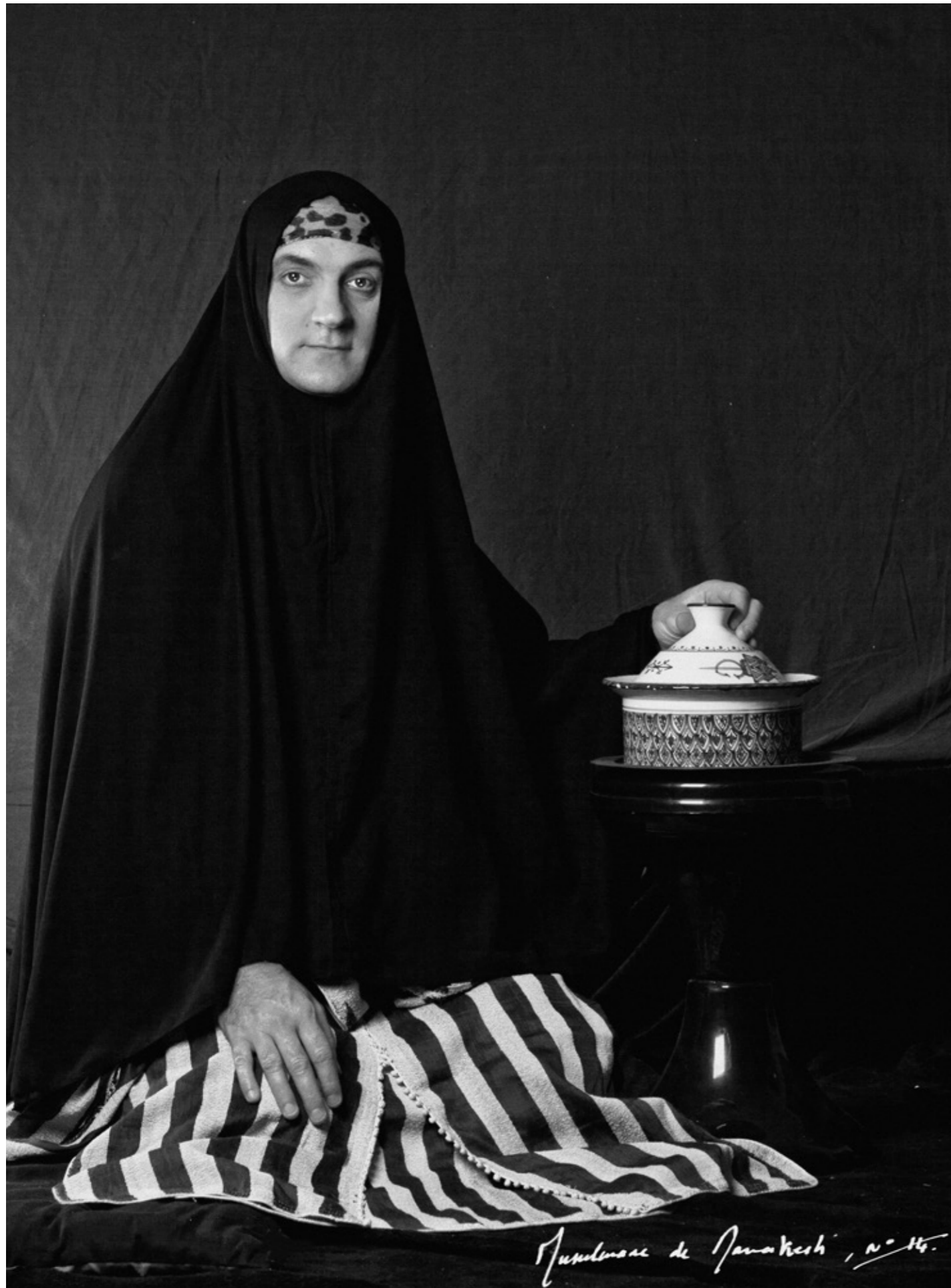
ANTHROPOLOGY & PHOTOGRAPHY

2010 — 2016



MALYSSE, THE ANTHROPOLOGIST-TRANSVESTITE

edited by Caco Neves



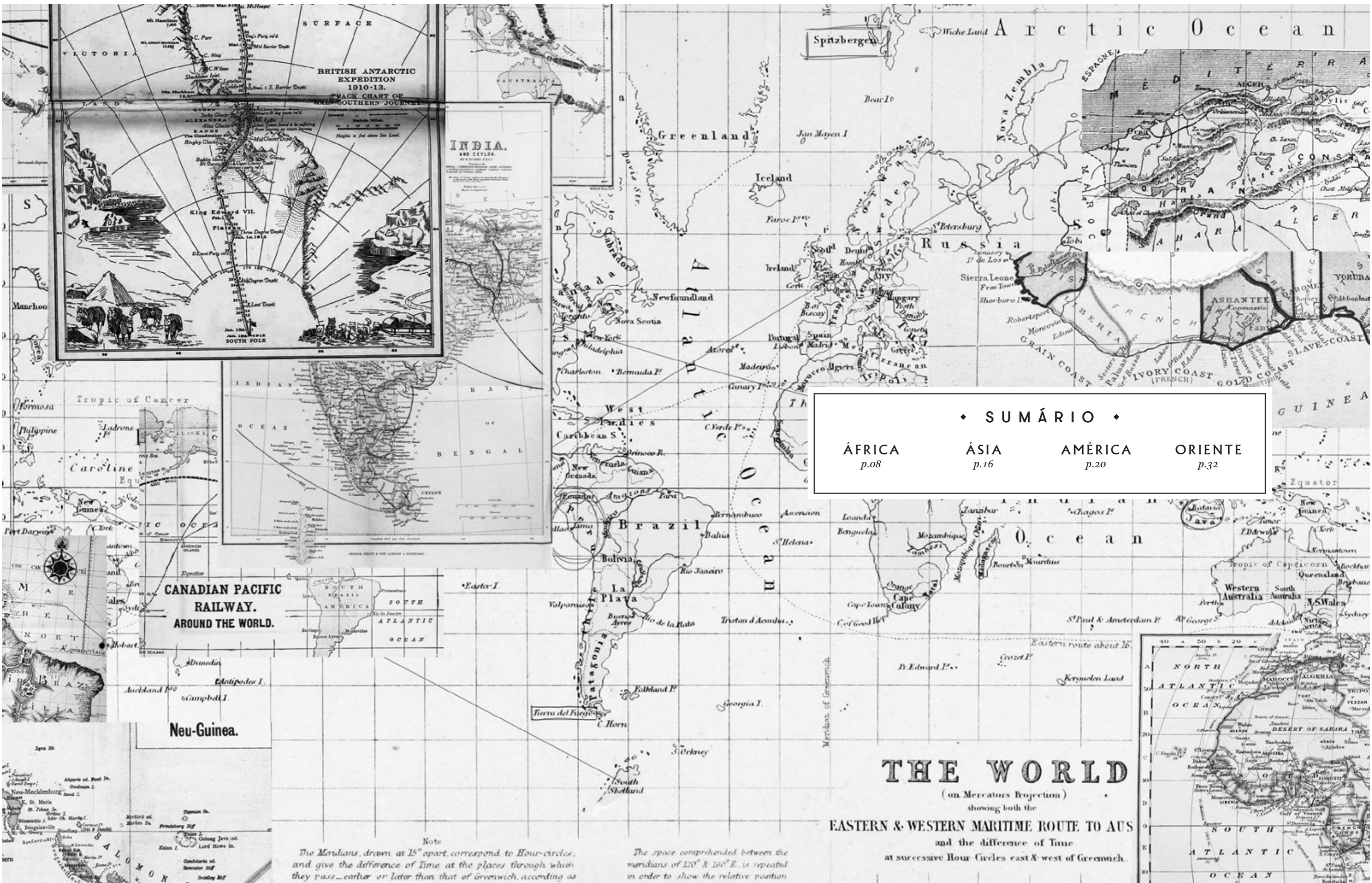
ANTHROPOLOGY & PHOTOGRAPHY

2010 — 2016

“Leaving his own self, the anthropologist glances the possibility of being an Other, transgressing the limits of identity and turning out to be, just for a moment, another human being... There is for sure something exciting about that practice that plays within the frontiers of Identity and Alterity, as you can experience in acting, possession or even in anthropophagy... Released from his own culture and identity, the anthropologist becomes multicultural as a post colonial Zelig ...”

D.BERLINER, 2012

MALYSSE, THE ANTHROPOLOGIST-TRANSVESTITE



♦ SUMÁRIO ♦			
ÁFRICA <i>p.08</i>	ÁSIA <i>p.16</i>	AMÉRICA <i>p.20</i>	ORIENTE <i>p.32</i>

THE WORLD

(on Mercator's Projection)

showing both the
EASTERN & WESTERN MARITIME ROUTE TO AUS
and the difference of Time
at successive Hour-Circles east & west of Greenwich.

SURFACE

BRITISH ANTARCTIC EXPEDITION 1910-13.

TRACK CHART OF THE SOUTHERN JOURNEY

King Edward VII. Plateau

SOUTH POLE

Jan. 1891

INDIA AND CEYLON

NEW EDITION 1914

SOUTH BAY OF BENGAL

CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY AROUND THE WORLD.

NEU-GUINEA.

SOUTH AMERICA

SOUTH OCEAN

ATLANTIC OCEAN

BRAZIL

PLATA

VALPARAISO

BUENOS AIRES

RIO DE LA PLATA

SOUTH OCEAN

OCEAN

Mozambique

Cape Town

Cape Colony

SOUTH OCEAN

WESTERN AUSTRALIA

SOUTH AUSTRALIA

NEW GUINEA

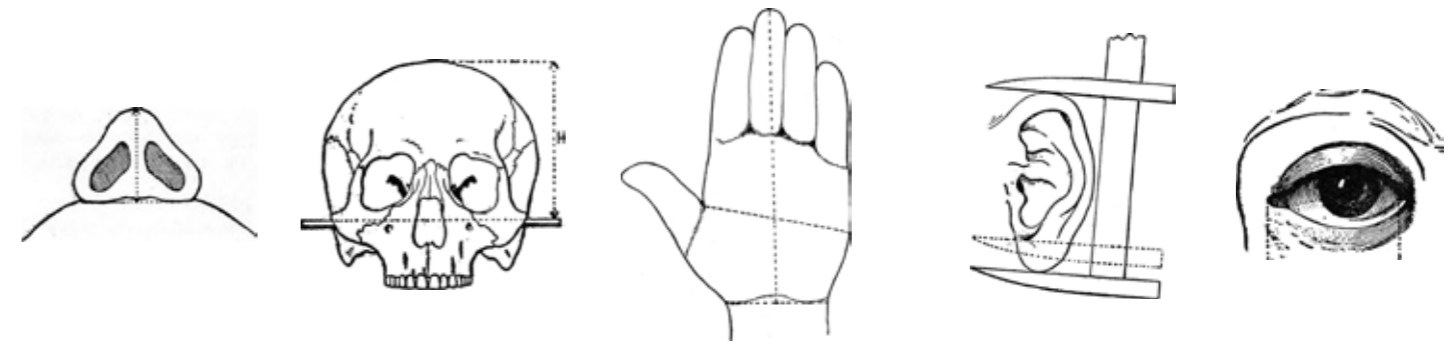
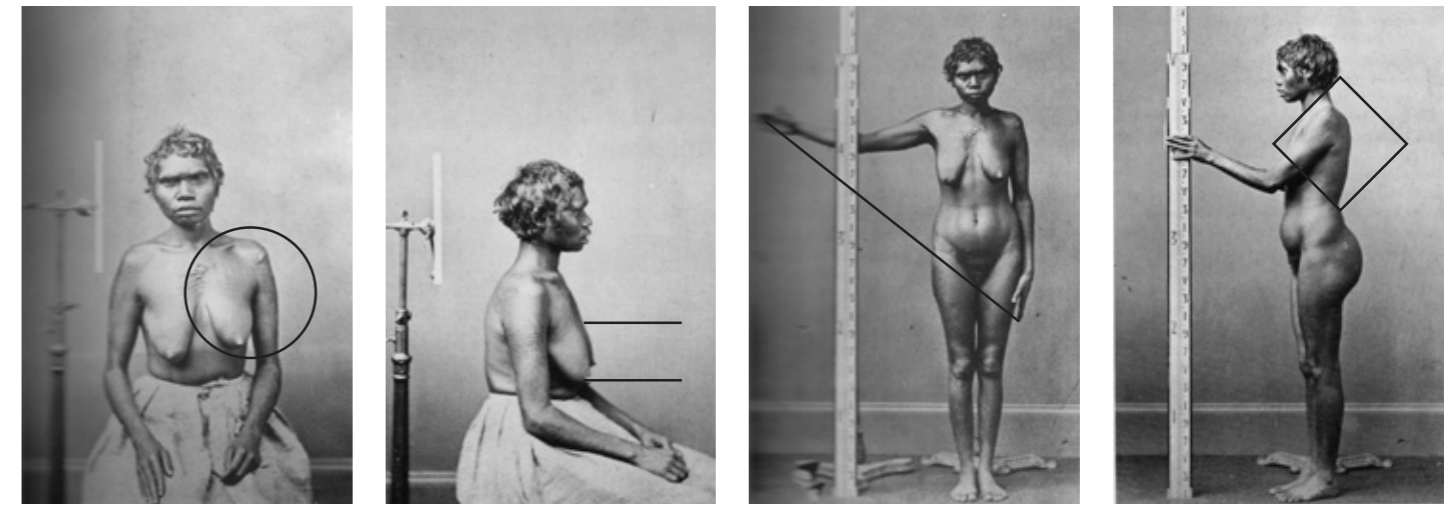
SOUTH OCEAN

Note. The Meridians, drawn at 15° apart, correspond to Hour-circles, and give the difference of Time at the places through which they pass—earlier or later than that of Greenwich, according as

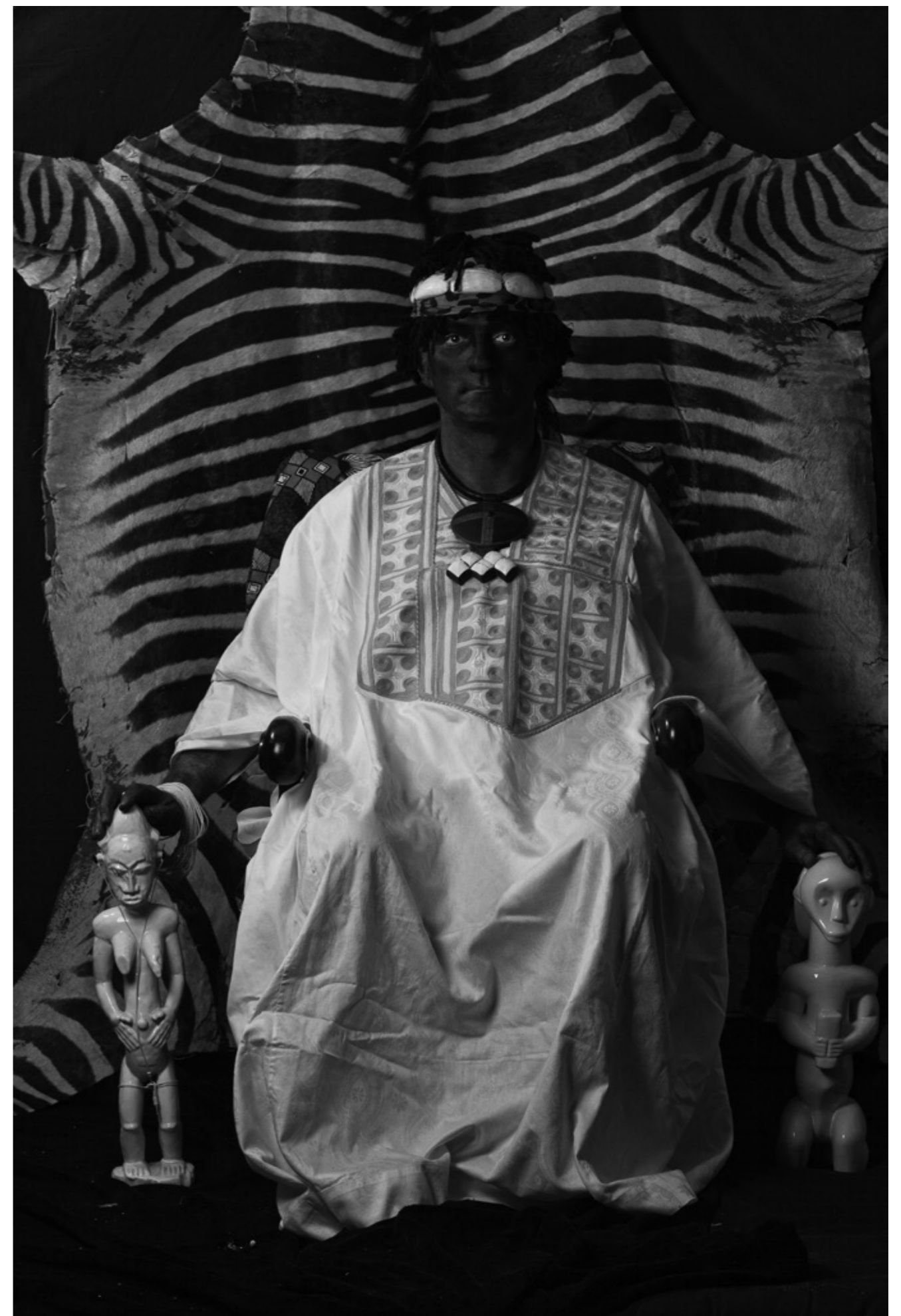
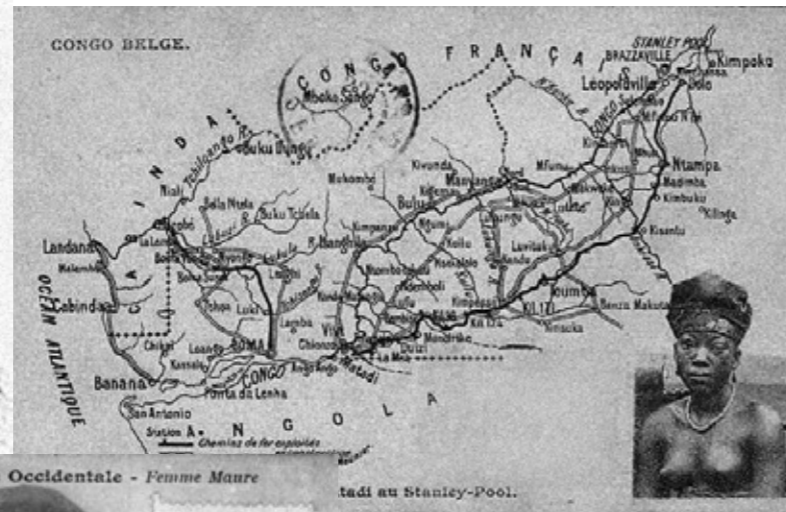
The space comprehended between the meridians of 120° & 180° E. is repeated in order to show the relative position

Antropometria

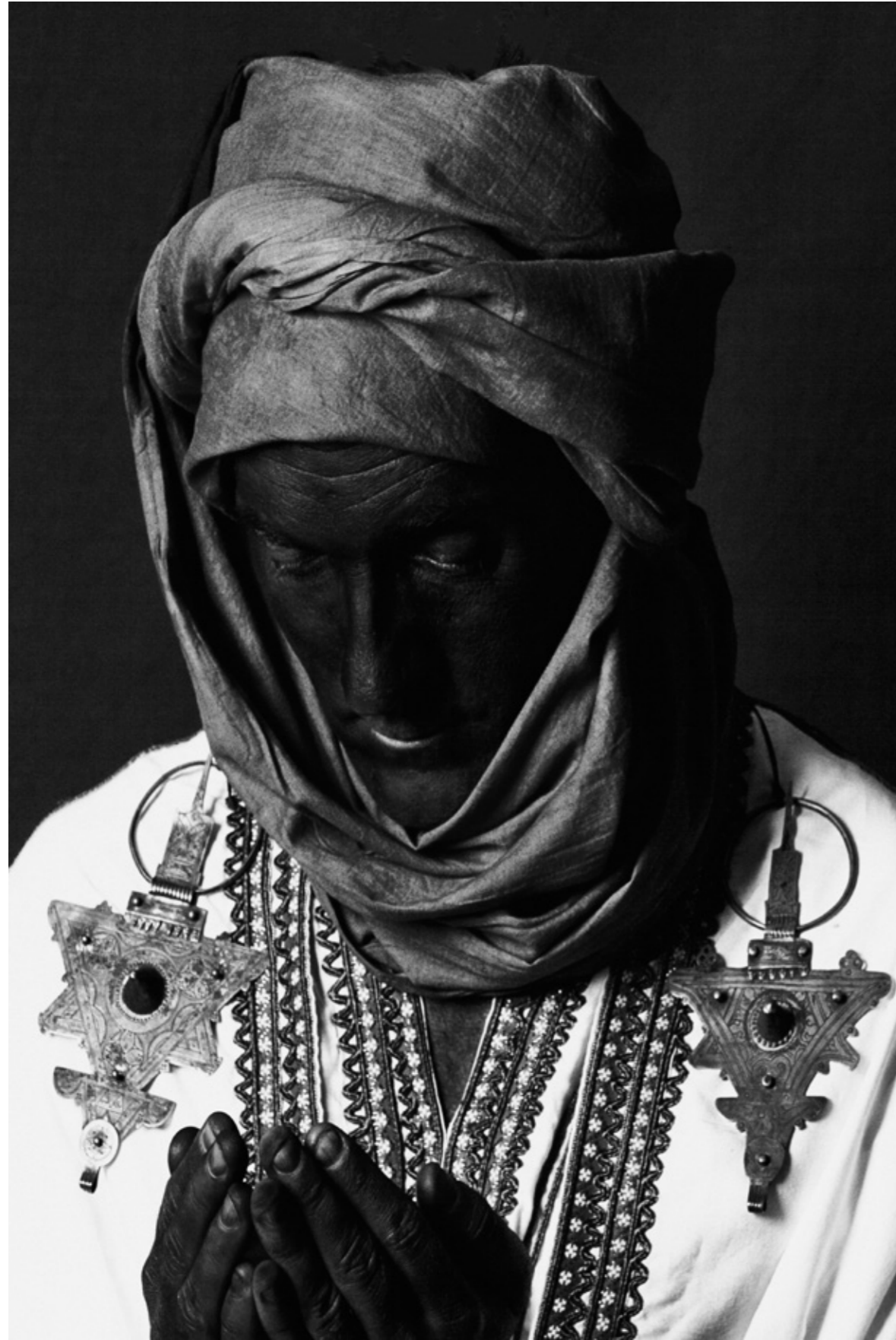
Antropometria (do grego άνθρωπος, transl. anthropos, "homem", e μέτρον, transl. metron, "medida") é o conjunto de técnicas utilizadas para medir o corpo humano ou suas partes



África



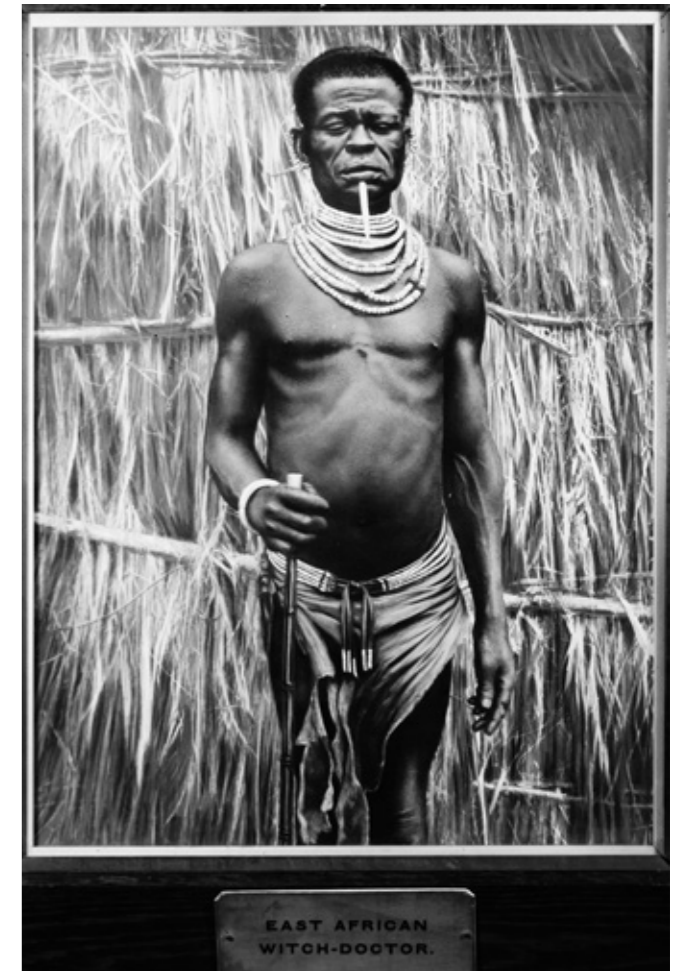
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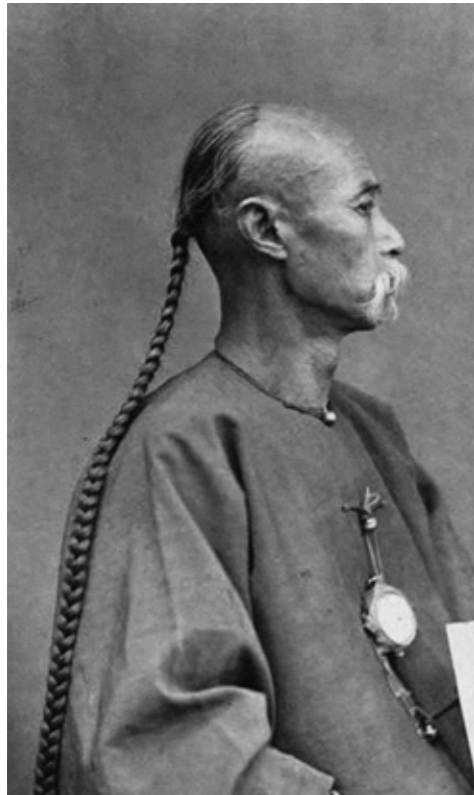
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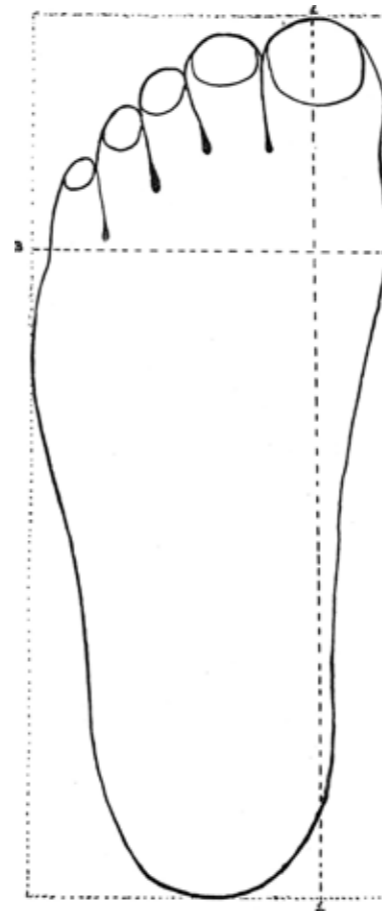
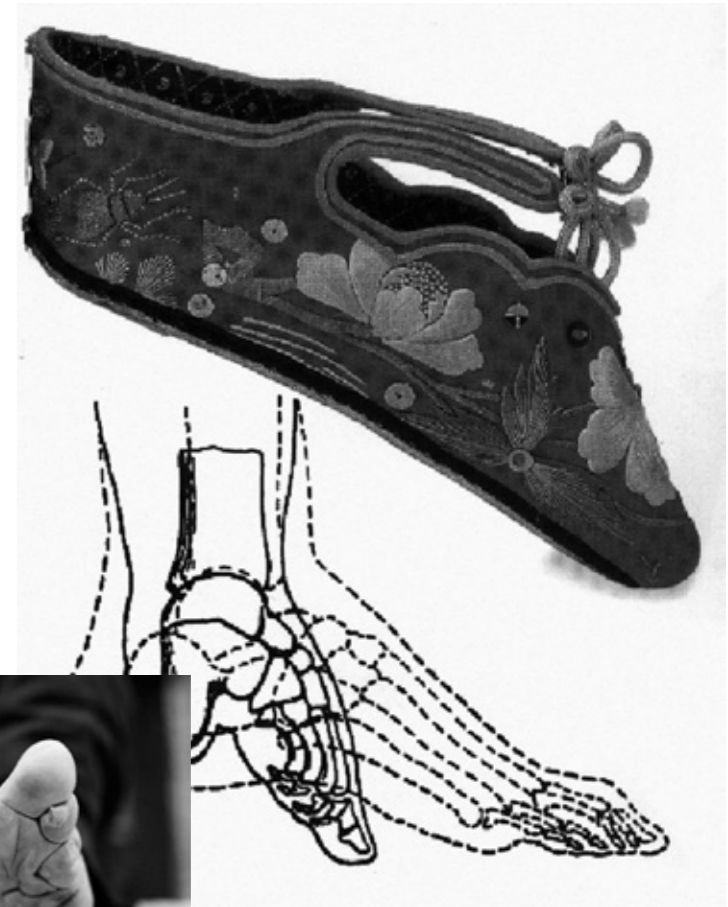
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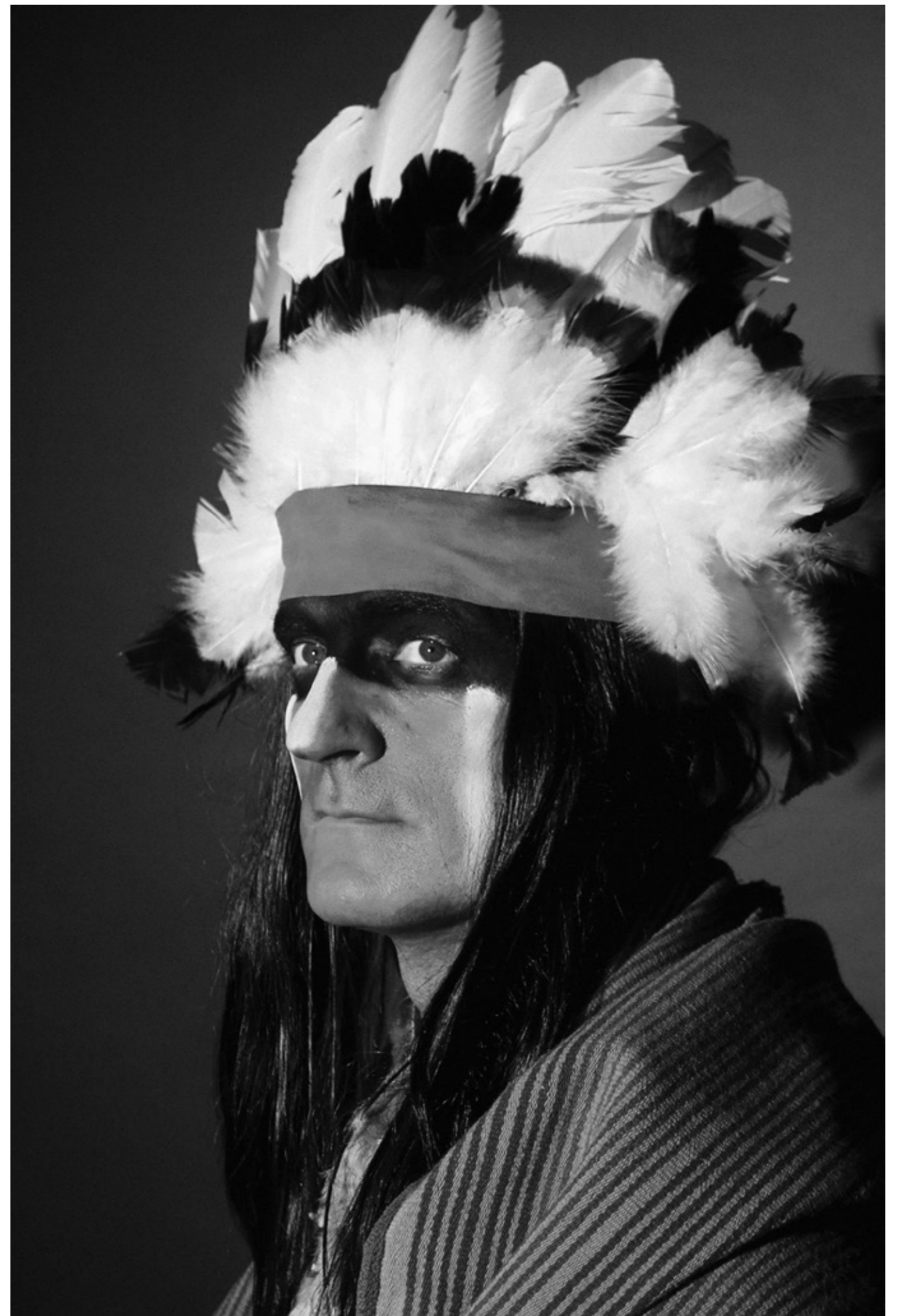
Ásia



Ásia



América



Amérique

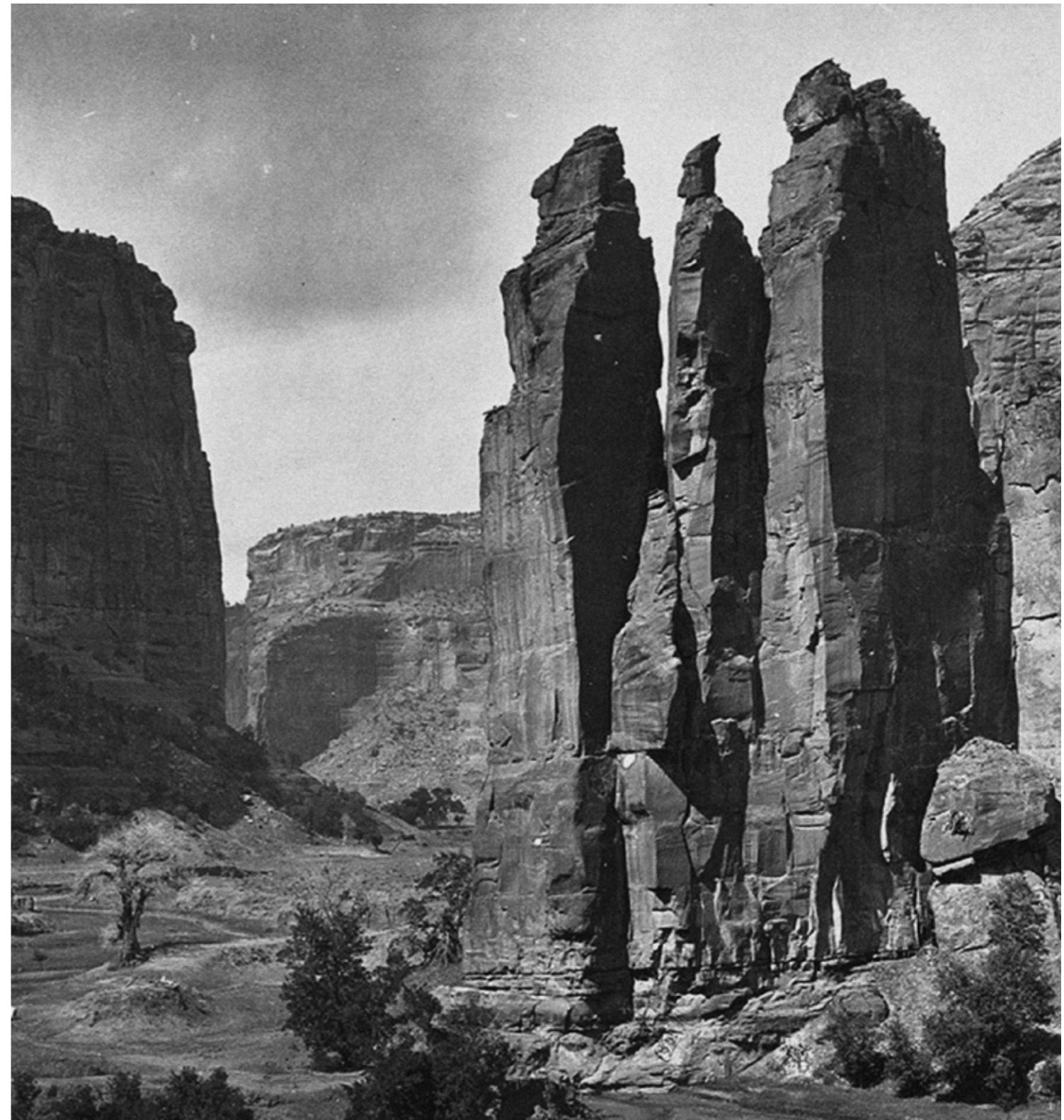
I. — Observations anthropométriques.

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II. — Renseignements descriptifs.

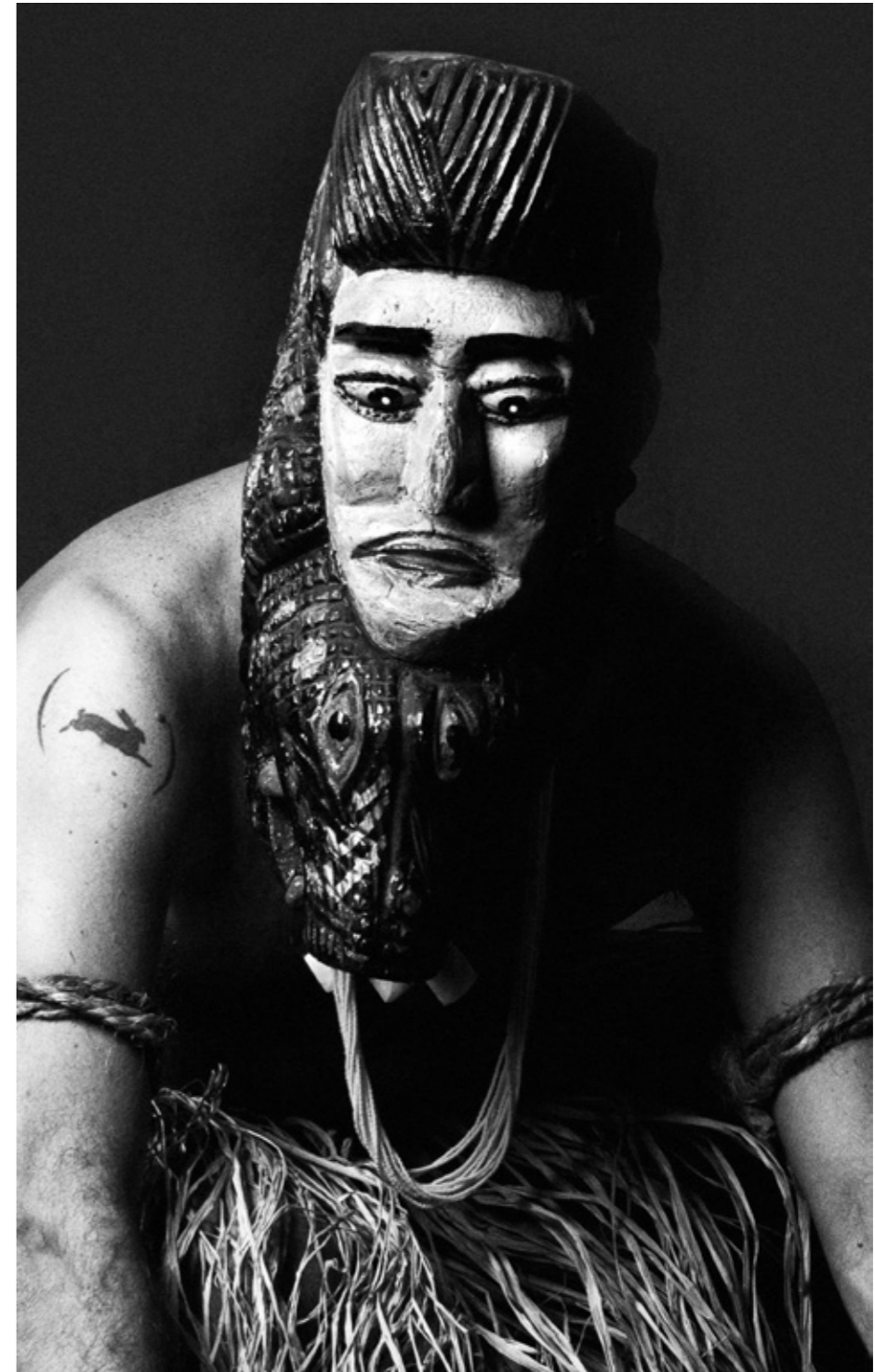
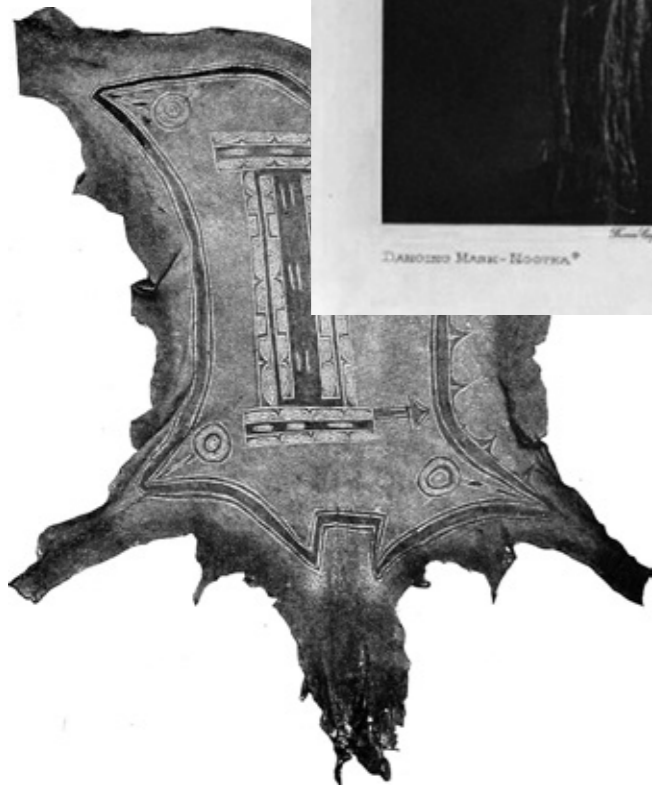
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América



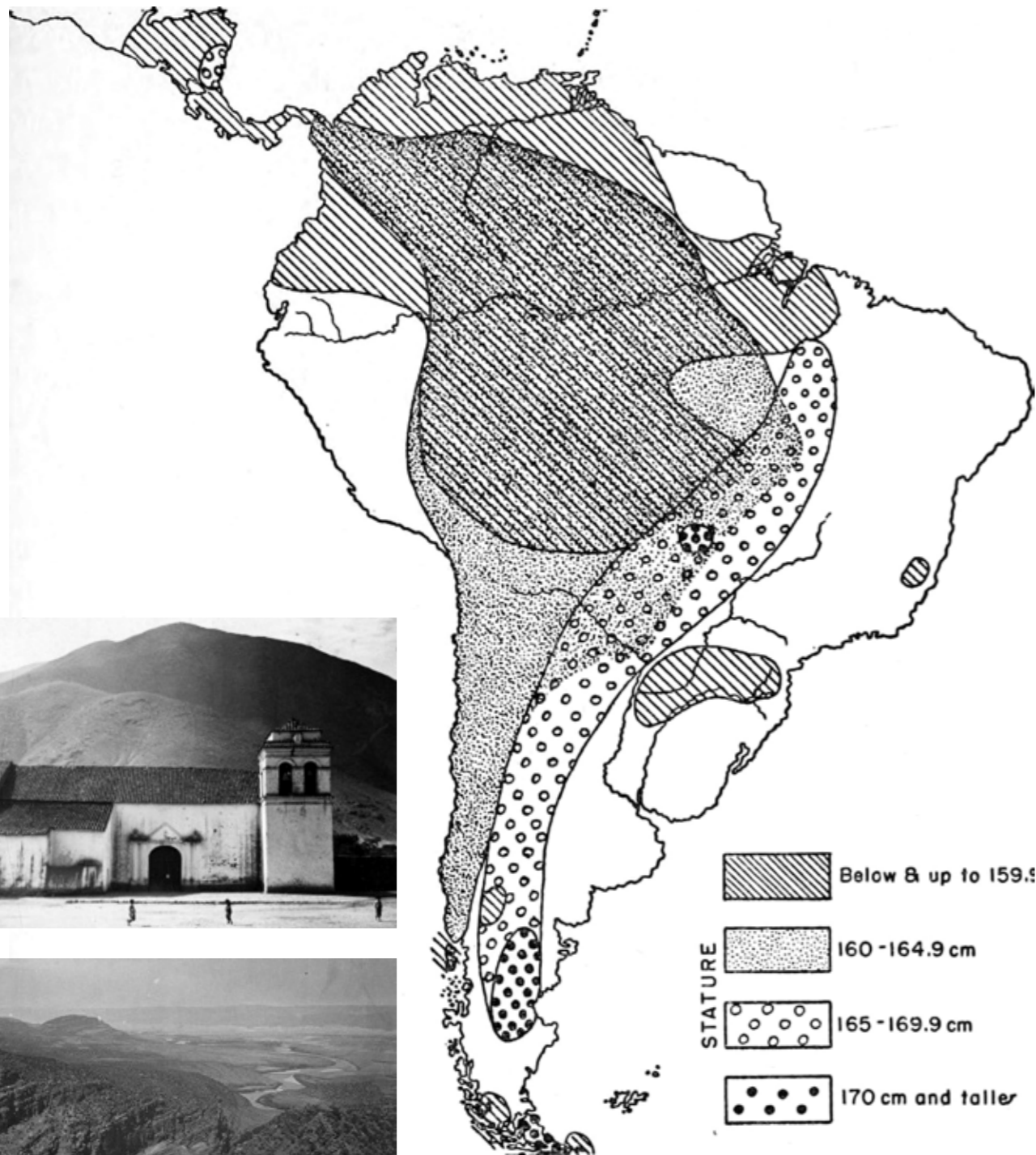
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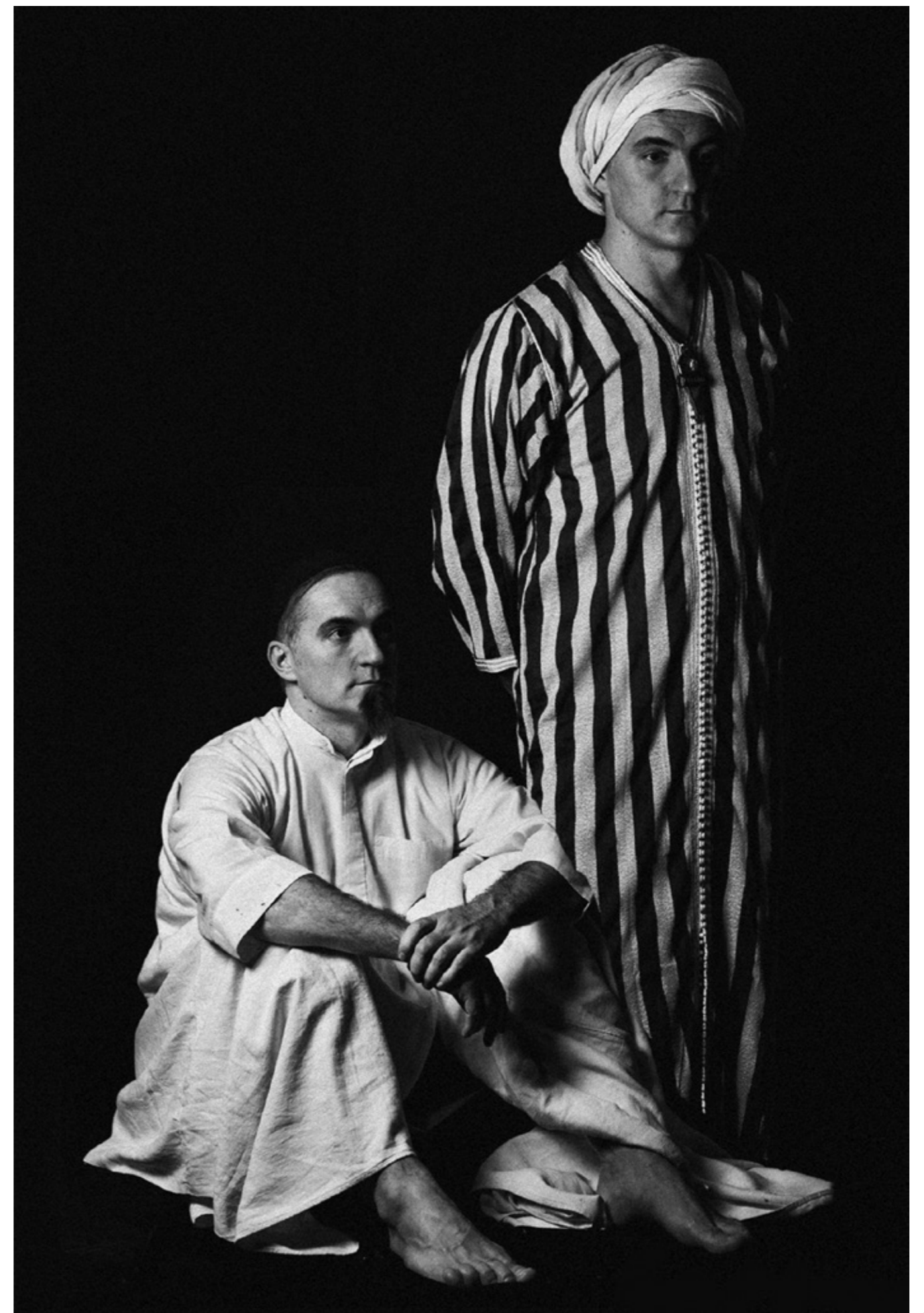
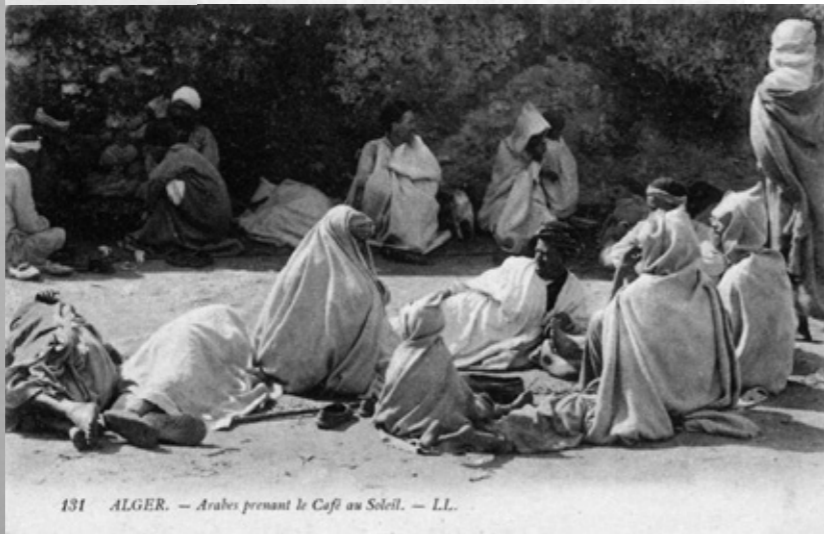
América



América



Oriente



Oriente

M. B. I. Maasse, Augenbestimmung, Alter.

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II. Photographie, deren Ergänzung u. Finger-Abdrücke.

Verkleinerung: 1/7.



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III.

Anthropometrische Signalementskarte der königl. Polizei-Behörde in Berlin. (Clichée von Aug. Scherl-Berlin.)



MALYSSE, O ANTROPÓLOGO-TRAVESTI

1 — Pt

“Afastando-se de sua própria identidade, o antropólogo vislumbra a possibilidade de ser um Outro e realizar, mesmo que de forma temporária e fragmentada, o projeto de Rimbaud – Eu sou um Outro –, transgredindo assim os limites da afirmação de si. Encontraremos certamente nesse deslocamento da identidade algo de excitante... Como em muitas práticas que jogam com o deslocamento vertiginoso entre identidade e alteridade: o jogo do ator, a antropofagia (na qual se opera uma absorção da identidade do outro como elemento fortalecedor) ou também a performance queer do travesti. Muitas vezes, a participação constitui um exercício de criação de uma identidade temporária”

D.BERLINER, o desejo de participação, 2012

O *antropólogo travesti* é um projeto artístico que nasce de minha prática como antropólogo. Comecei a colecionar roupas étnicas em uma viagem ao Peru em 2010, numa espécie de extensão de meu trabalho como professor de antropologia da Universidade de São Paulo e do curso de etnografia têxtil, que tratava dos aspectos culturais da vestimenta, olhando para as modas não-ocidentais desde uma vertente etnográfica. Foi diante destas modas de alhures – exóticas e acessíveis, estranhas e vestíveis – que me ocorreu me *travestir*; me tornar um travesti transcultural.

Ainda que no Brasil o termo remeta à figura estereotipada do homem que se veste de mulher, “travesti” é, a rigor, alguém que se fantasia. Composto pelo prefixo latino *trav* (“deslocar”) e pelo radical de vestimenta, designa a usurpação de uma identidade pelo uso de um traje que não corresponde às funções sociais ou ao gênero de quem o veste. Nesta operação, eu, o antropólogo, me fantasio das pessoas que estudo; usando vestimentas, maquiagem e fotografia, usurpo uma identidade visual e crio aparências *bi-culturais* que não correspondem à minha função social, origem étnica ou gênero.

Mais: ao entrar na vestimenta/pele do Outro, realizo a grande fantasia teórica do antropólogo, ao mesmo tempo em que transformo o sujeito antropólogo em objeto étnico, o observador em observado. Desta operação, que escapa da esfera do acadêmico e rompe a fronteira entre antropologia e arte, nasce um projeto de

antropologia visual e material composto por uma série de *auto-retratos bi-culturais* nos quais minha identidade de antropólogo francês se dilui na aparência exótica e transformadora dos Outros. Do índio peruano de Martin Chambi às gueixas japonesas, do guerreiro *massai* ao judeu ortodoxo, representantes de mais de trinta etnias e tipos regionais clássicos se fazem presentes nas imagens, inspiradas tanto na fotografia etnográfica do século 20 quanto na fotografia do Outro e na obra de Cindy Sherman em particular.

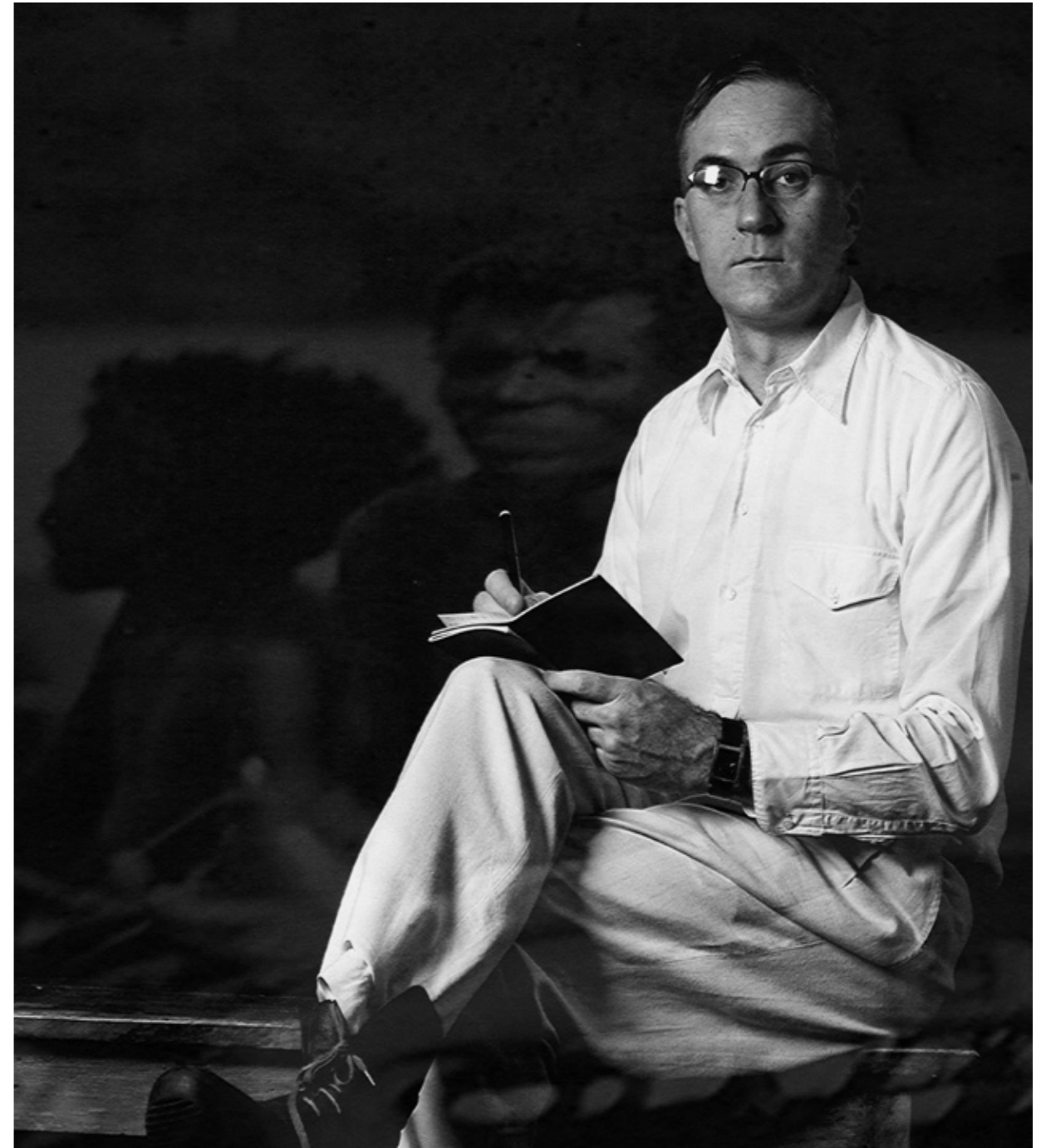
Como em uma reencarnação fotográfica, o ritual de se travestir em Outro coloca em evidência as armadilhas das aparências, aquelas que permitem, justamente, transgredir os limites da identidade biológica: o hábito faz o Outro. Se os clones étnicos que crio – servindo-me de recursos contemporâneos de produção de imagem – não respeitam minha etnia, gênero ou fisionomia, tampouco escondem minha identidade de antropólogo. Na esquizofrenia cultural e pessoal que se produz assim, procuro contaminar o material etnográfico com meus encontros étnicos. Ou, como diz Aby Warburg, produzir uma auto-análise travestida de encontro com o Outro, ela mesma matéria dupla, reflexiva, exótica.

Algumas teorias reflexivas e metodológicas alimentam essa experiência trans-étnica. Como a imagem do antropólogo como “*homem-camaleão cultural cuja identidade se transforma no contato com outras identidades*”, de Berliner, para quem “*partici-*

par” da vida dos outros, nas pesquisas de campo, “*é também brincar de ser uma outra pessoa, até às vezes sair de si mesmo*”. Ao entrar temporariamente na pele destes personagens, minha intenção também é mostrar que, apesar de “*bi-cultural*” (Tedlock, 2003), o antropólogo nunca muda de guarda-roupa diante da realidade alheia. Ao mostrar que um antropólogo francês pode ser ao mesmo tempo um guerreiro *massai*, uma peruana de *Cuzco* ou um índio *ashaninka*, minha intenção é trabalhar o multiculturalismo de forma autobiográfica e insistir sobre o fato de que as aparências são produções culturais e, portanto, relativas. Humanista e irônico, O *antropólogo-travesti* trata da possibilidade de fazer arte com antropologia, ao demonstrar que podemos mudar de etnia como trocamos de roupa.

Neste projeto inédito, ao mesmo tempo de Arte e Antropologia, o artista transforma-se em *antropólogo-travesti* através da produção de mais de 60 autorretratos, de tipos e tamanhos variados, que constituem uma coleção etnográfica à parte, sendo que toda a diversidade étnica é incorporada por uma só pessoa: o antropólogo-artista. Profundamente romântico e nostálgico, esse projeto conta também a história de um antropólogo que perdeu suas tribos prediletas e que tenta, como ele pode, resuscitar os personagens que povoam sua imaginação antropológica...

Stéphane Malysse
Edição de Tete Martinho





MALYSSE, L'ANTHROPOLOGUE-TRAVESTI

2 — Fr

“Se dessaisissant de lui-même, le je de l’anthropologue entrevoit la possibilité de devenir autre, de transgresser les limites de l’affirmation identitaire et de réaliser, provisoirement, et de manière fragmentaire, le « je est un autre » de Rimbaud. Certainement y-a-t-il dans ce déplacement identitaire quelque chose de grisant... Comme dans ces pratiques qui jouent, elles aussi, sur le déplacement vertigineux entre l’identité et l’altérité : le jeu de l’acteur, l’écriture mais aussi la possession, l’anthropophagie ou encore l’expérience queer du travesti... Soulagé de ne plus être rivé à lui-même, l’anthropologue devient pluriculturel... »

D.BERLINER, le désir de participation, 2012

L’anthropologue-travesti est un projet artistique qui est né de ma pratique d’anthropologue : j’ai commencé à collectionner des vêtements ethniques lors d’un voyage au Pérou en 2010, dans une sorte d’extension de mon travail comme professeur d’Anthropologie à l’Université de Sao Paulo, je travaillais sur les aspects culturels des vêtements non-occidentaux... Devant ces autres modes – exotiques et étrangères – j’ai décidé de les essayer, me travestir de façon temporaire et de devenir ainsi un travesti transculturel, premier *anthropologue-travesti* en son genre...

Si le terme travesti renvoi souvent à la figure stéréotypée de l’homme qui s’habille en femme, le travesti est aussi celui qui se déguise. Composé du préfixe *trav* (déplacer) et de *vesti* (vêtements), le travestissement désigne l’usurpation d’identité par l’usage de vêtements qui ne correspondent pas à la fonction sociale ou au genre de celui qui les porte. Dans mon cas spécifique, l’anthropologue s’habille avec les vêtements de ceux qu’il étudie et, avec l’aide du maquillage et des recours de la photographie, je crée des apparences biculturelles qui ne correspondent ni à ma fonction sociale, ni à mon origine ethnique et pas toujours à mon genre.

En entrant dans la peau de l’Autre, à travers ses vêtements, je réalise l’un des grands fantasmes de l’Anthropologue : entrer dans la vie de l’autre afin de mieux l’observer... Je transforme le sujet-anthropologue en objet-étudié, l’observateur en observé, l’anthropologue en travesti d’objet/sujet d’étude.

Par cette opération, qui rompt les frontières académiques entre l’Anthropologie et l’Art Contemporain, un projet d’anthropologie et photographie est né. Comme dans une recherche de terrain en Anthropologie Visuelle (2010/2016) j’ai composé et incorporé des personnages que j’avais étudié, que j’aurais voulu étudier ou qui hantaient, comme des fantômes, mon imagination anthropologique. Dans cette série d’autoportraits, de l’indien péruvien au massai-marra, du juif orthodoxe au marquis libertin, je visite et interprète plus de trente ethnies des plus exotiques aux plus familières...

Entre photographie ethnographique et autoportraits d’anthropologue, comme dans une *réincarnation photographique*, le rituel de se travestir met en évidence les subterfuges de l’apparence photographiée, ceux qui permettent notamment de transgresser les limites de l’identité biologique pour se transmuter en un Autre soi, un alter-ego ethnique. Dans ce clonage ethnique, je deviens autre tout en restant moi-même... Dans une schizophrénie culturelle, je cherche à contaminer mon matériel ethnographique et mes rencontres sur le terrain de toute ma subjectivité ou comme le dit si bien Aby Warburg, « *produire une auto-analyse travestie en une rencontre de l’Autre, elle-même double, réflexive et exotique...* »

De nombreuses théories anthropologiques alimentent cette expérience transculturelle. Comme par exemple l’image d’un anthropologue caméléon culturel dont

l’identité se transforme au contact des nouvelles identités étudiées (Berliner, 2012) ou bien pour qui participer à la vie des Autres, c’est aussi jouer à être un Autre et parfois sortir de soi-même... En entrant dans le corps (et l’esprit) de ces personnages ethnographiques, l’anthropologue devient une chimère, un être “*bi-cultural*” (Tedlock, 2003). En travaillant le multiculturalisme de forme autobiographique, tout en insistant sur la nature et la relativité des apparences humaines, l’anthropologue-travesti montre que l’ont peut faire de l’anthropologie comme on fait de l’art, comme on peut changer d’ethnie en changeant de vêtements.

Dans ce projet inédit d’Art et Anthropologie, l’artiste se transforme en *l’anthropologue-travesti* au travers de plus de soixante-dix photographies, de types et dimensions variées, qui semblent constituer une collection de photographie ethnographique réalisée, par faute de personnel, avec la seule apparence de l’anthropologue. Profondément romantique et nostalgique, c’est aussi l’histoire d’un anthropologue qui a perdu tous ces sujets d’études et qui les fait revivre comme il peut, avec sa propre image, un peu comme dans une exposition ethnographique dans laquelle un seul homme incarne à lui seul toute la diversité humaine et met fin au mythe des races. Dans ce clonage ethnique, je deviens autre tout en restant moi-même...

MALYSSE, THE ANTHROPOLOGIST-TRANSVESTITE

3 — En

“Leaving his own self, the anthropologist glances the possibility of being an Other, transgressing the limits of identity and turning out to be, just for a moment, another human being... There is for sure something exciting about that practice that plays within the frontiers of Identity and Alterity, as you can experience in acting, possession or even in anthropophagy... Released from his own culture and identity, the anthropologist becomes multicultural as a post colonial Zelig ...”

D.BERLINER, 2012

The *anthropologist-transvestite* (2010-2016) is an art project that is intimately associated to my practice as an anthropologist. I have been collecting ethnic clothing and other items of what we call *material culture* ever since I began teaching textile ethnography at the University of São Paulo (USP/ BRAZIL). By studying different ways of dressing and being exotic, I have quickly felt the urge to go native and to break the anthropological taboo of becoming the Other. By temporarily entering others’ appearances, I have become a transcultural transvestite; the first anthropologist of a new category; a kind of postcolonial cultural chameleon...

Appearance confronts the theme of ambiguity and transgression with the lightness of irony and play, denoting a fascinating perspective for the collaboration of Art and Anthropology during this new millennium. Disguises, masks, ironic self-portraits, false pretenses, scientific fiction, deceptive perception, and the manipulation of reality are deceitful transgressions that deform reality in order to escape the traditional rules of representation in Anthropology and Contemporary Art.

Magnus Hirschfeld coined the word *transvestism* (from Latin *trans-*, “across, over” and *vestitus*, “dressed”) to refer to the sexual interest in cross-dressing, but the term quickly escaped his own definition and describes a large range of practices and behaviors. In some cultures, *transvestism* is practiced for religious, traditional, or ceremonial reasons. For ex-

ample, in India some male devotees of the Hindu god Krishna, dress in female attire to pose as his consort, the goddess Radha, as an act of devotion. In Italy, the Neapolitan *femminielli* (feminine males) wear wedding dresses, called the *matrimonio dei femminielli* (marriage of the femminielli), and a procession takes place through the streets, a tradition that apparently has pagan origins. Even if the term is generally used to describe persons who habitually and voluntarily wore clothes of the opposite sex, we can also find that the meaning of the word *transvestite* simply describes someone who uses clothes that do not belong to their social category or cultural identity... The possibilities of *transvestism* expands generously if we look carefully at the work of artists such as Wilhelm Von Gloeden, Pierre Loti, Claude Cahun or Cindy Sherman...

In my case, as a real transcultural cross-dressing experience, the anthropologist is dressed as the people he is supposed to study. That way, I have created bicultural appearances that transcend not only my gender, but also my own ethnical origin and my social function as an anthropologist. The subject-anthropologist and the Object- studied become the same person through a successive process of embodiment. Through this singular operation, as in a visual anthropology fieldwork, I’ve composed and incorporated more than 30 ethnographic characters I would have studied as if acculturation and cultural globalization were just a dream... Instead, I have chosen, as romantic compensation,

to make these Ethnographic ghosts alive again, like for example when I decided to create *Malysnowski*, interpreting Malinowski entering his field of research...

Between ethnographic photography and contemporary self-portraits, the ritual of becoming another, of looking through the eyes of someone else, allow me to expose every limit of biological identity. In these ethnic cloning, this cultural squizophrénia, I look forward to produce, as Aby Warburg said, “*a self-analysis transformed and transvestited by the encounter with the Other, as such double, reflexive and ambiguous.*”

Many anthropological theories and methodologies feed this genuine transcultural experience: To enter someone else’s head and to think as this Other in order to best inquire about his/her exotic mind... Going native at the price of loosing one’s own identity... Experimenting a new identity by contact with another culture... Going Wild... In this inverted acculturation, many times, the anthropologist plays along with autobiography, acting and performing the Self. By entering the body (and soul) of several “ethnographic types” that I studied, and by working on multiculturalism as an autobiography, I have attempted to insist on the relativity of human appearances, showing that the concept of “race” and “type” are no longer possible now that the anthropologist-transvestite exists among us...



A sicilian boy cross-dressing as a spanish woman



An african muslin woman



An american indian woman

“ En transformant le Je est un Autre de Rimbaud, en un je suis les Autres, L' anthropologue-travesti se transforme en un Zelig post-colonial, comme dans la comédie de Woody Allen où le personnage principal est celui d'un « homme-caméléon » dont l'identité se transforme au contact d'autres identités (il devient gros parmi les obèses, nazi en présence de Nazis, noir avec des Noirs...)”

Stéphane MALYSSE

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