ON AIR: ANTHROPOLOGY

podcast stories

Daniela Tonelli Manica
Milena Peres
Soraya Fleischer

Pontes

ABA PUBLICAÇÕES

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For Jorge Figueiredo Alves, *in memoriam*

Table of contents

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These people who get into everything

Bia Guimarães

Sarah Azoubel

In one of the texts that you will read in this book, called "From the subsoil to the podosphere – *Conversa da Kata*", the authors say that "anthropologist meddles in everything". This is also the way we journalists like to talk about ourselves. Just like anthropologists, we are hungry to know what we don't live, or what we live, but we don't notice. We have a habit of going around the world looking for stories and never turning off our eyes and ears. Every scene matters, every dialogue matters. The brightest we can find is often hidden in the ordinary.

The pages that follow show anthropology students and researchers immersed in the task of understanding a new medium, a new language, and learning how to pass on the many stories they have known and lived in the field. These are groups that have ventured into the production of podcasts and, as a result, ended up discovering more about their research topics, their colleagues and their profession, in addition to experiencing the challenge of speaking to a larger audience than that usually reached by academic productions.

At the other end, these discussions and narratives were able to reach other departments, other universities and people who did not even know exactly what anthropology does and how it is done. If in the trailer for *Mundaréu*, one of the projects presented in this book, the producers play with the question "Anthropo… what?"– that they must have heard a number of times along their paths -, these *podcasts* arrive precisely to offer answers. Not with a dictionary explanation, but with stories and dialogues that reveal the heart of anthropology.

Relatives and friends of those behind the microphones won a passport to look behind the scenes of anthropological work and to learn more about the issues and communities studied in the area. Representatives of these communities studied, including people who participated in the research, are invited to re-listen, on podcasts, to their own stories and to better understand why they are so dear to researchers.

Telling science stories is, first and foremost, storytelling. We need good characters, thought-provoking scenes, well-constructed scenarios and a narrative arc that transforms, which has a before, a during and an after. They are all ingredients scattered throughout everyday life, but you have to know how to find and count them. Above all, the predisposition to get involved in everything is mandatory, not to be content with just the surface, the skin of things.

In the case of podcasts, there is the fact that these narratives must be designed for the ears. The songs, scenes and soundscapes must transport us to another time and another space. Voices must sound intimate, familiar (would you let a stranger talk in your ear? Yeah).

It may seem like a simple task at first, but the truth is that it is an uncomfortable, painful process. Physically painful. It makes my belly knot, something between disgust, dread and the fight for survival. "Gut churn" were the words used by Mikel Ellcessor and Jad Abumrad, when recalling the founding of Radiolab, an American science program broadcast on radio since 2002.

Abumrad describes this sense of life or death as an essential part of the creative process. Between breaking through the labyrinths of editing software and dealing with the awkwardness of hearing and rehearing your own voice, at the end of the day, we are forced to choose just one of the zillion ways to tell a story or explain a concept. This process begins in the head, of course, but is decided in the gut.

It is the body that alerts us when a choice works or not. What you feel, when the story flows unimpeded from the teller to the listener. That is filled with pleasure, when the pieces of the narrative finally fall into place and calm our desire to see the world through different eyes, understand other lives, feel other things, know other times and places. It's in the body that we satisfy the hunger to get into everything — even if it's just for a moment, until it comes back stronger.

With each chapter, this book will satiate you with stories and new perspectives on anthropology. The respective podcasts, which you can listen to in between readings, will introduce you to voices, dialogues, sounds, scenes and scenarios that, together, bring us a new way of listening to the world.

Bia Guimaraes. Journalist with a master's degree in Scientific and Cultural Dissemination. She is the presenter and producer of the *37 Graus* podcast and co-founder of *Cochicho.org*, a website about audio narratives. Email: bz.guimaraes@gmail.com

Sarah Azoubel. PhD in biology and science journalist. She is the presenter and producer of the *37 Graus* podcast and co-founder of *Cochicho.org, a* website about audio narratives. *Email:* sarah@laboratorio37.com.br

"Anthropo.... what? Humanities, Science and Audio Dissemination"

Presentation Script

Daniela Tonelli Manica

Milena Peres

Soraya Fleischer

Captions:

Parts Sound design

To be recorded yet

Extra material

OPENING

Program opening song: "Mudernage", by singer Ellen Oléria, only the instrumental part. (The music must be in the background (BG), until the end of the third sentence. This way, it will be in the background of the three presentations).

Daniela: Hi everyone! I'm Daniela Manica, anthropologist and researcher at Unicamp.

Milena: Hi, hi, I'm Milena Peres, journalist and Master's student in Scientific and Cultural Dissemination at LABJOR, also at Unicamp.

Soraya: And I'm Soraya Fleischer, anthropologist and professor at the University of Brasília.

Daniela: The three of us worked on the *Mundaréu* podcast, which was born in 2019 with the aim of disseminating research stories in Anthropology. The podcast appeared as a new medium, accessible and full of possibilities to explore. This experience led us to find other people who had the same goal and, just over a year later, *Kere-kere*, an Anthropology podcast network, was born. And it is because of it that we are here, organizing and presenting this book! *On Air: Anthropology. Podcast stories* are the result of a set of experiences. The main goal of this book is to show the podcast as a way of disseminating science, especially Anthropology, which is part of the social and human sciences.

Milena: The podcast is an audio medium, which has voices, music, silences, breaths, crying, laughter and other soundscapes. And it is produced with conversations, interviews and testimonials. The word "pod" has different origins. Some people say it comes from an acronym, "program on demand". Podcasting is not like the radio, where you turn on and listen to whatever is on the air at that time. You, as the listener, can choose the subject, format, style and time of listening. You can pause, listen again, send a suggestion to someone who might like that theme too. Podcasts can be listened to on the computer or cell phone, from files left on electronic sites, or on players or aggregators of this type of media. And there are several aggregators, too, for the taste of each listener.

Soraya: I also like another explanation: "pod" is an English word that means "pod" or "cocoon". In the case of the pod, it is nice to think about the small amount of beans, broad beans, grains that are there together in the same plant. I like the idea of having similarities and being together, even if each clump, each seed, is a little different from the next.

Daniela: "And what can the pod do[1]?". Jokes aside, in this book we want to think about how the podcast has been intensively used in the last two years by Brazilian Anthropology to talk and discuss how we work and do research in this area of Social Sciences.

Transition song "Mudernage", Ellen Oléria (minutes 2:52 to minutes 3:07):

---

[1]   This a joke that only makes sense in Portuguese and that plays with the sonority of the words "pod" and "pode", which means "to be able".

This magic comes from the meeting of our magnets

And it unbalances me, but it doesn't out of tune

Direct from Brasilia, Ceilândia, Taguatinga

The herbalist heals with sucupira

My old father teaches me that swing contaminates

stamp, grooveria

old poetry

And this beat, feel this beat

It is a rich source of vitamin

(From 3:06 until, leaving BG for the following excerpt, and closing with a fade out at the end of Soraya's speech, in the following Block)

BLOCK 1: The pod can publicize, teach, keep company

Soraya: Dani, why do you think the podcast can be a medium for doing and talking about science? What does a podcast do differently from a scientific article, a newspaper column, a lecture, for example?

Daniela: Sóra, I'm suspicious to talk, because I've always loved radio. And radio has this difference in relation to television of being a much less demanding medium: you can listen while doing other things, you don't have to be "stuck" there, with the image, because it is not presupposed. The podcast also has the advantage that on-demand media brings, as Milena just mentioned. Science podcasts won people's hearts and headphones very quickly, as they can be heard when we get tired of working on the computer, on the commute by car, by bus, on foot.

Soraya: And they relieve the eyes, which have been super used in this intense moment of using screens, right?

Daniela: Exactly! In short, they "fit" in different situations.

But I think the main reason for this recent explosion of *podcasts* in science communication is that they allow researchers to "embody" their voices. And the voice conveys so much, right? It shows our emotions and our accents. It shows our thinking in action, happening right there in the heat of the moment. This allows

for a kind of intimacy with listeners that is very seductive. Oral expressions such as laughter, stuttering, hesitation, long silences, and crying also communicate different feelings, such as fascination, fear, joy, surprise, revolt. The tone of voice communicates all these affections with an intensity that the audiovisual does not always do and that the text needs to use many narrative and graphic resources to be able to transmit as well. In podcasts, we can tell the stories of scientific facts and achievements humanizing scientists, showing how science is done by specific people, in a specific world.

The stories narrated in audio also free up a space for the imagination that the visual support delivers as closed. In this sense, podcasts are also similar to literature… we listen to people being interviewed and we wonder what they are like and what the places they are describing are like, we wonder how the stories happened there. It has a creative openness to inventing his own version of these stories and characters, as in fictional stories. I think this is really cool! And it helps to translate the science for those unfamiliar with terms, jargon, and practices. It helps students get interested in science.

Soraya: Students can learn many ways to choose a topic, search and process the bibliography, and then conduct field research. Podcasts can serve as a teaching resource within the classroom. Not only at the university, but in technical education, in teacher training, and even in high school, elementary and even children's education, in my opinion. Podcasts, by bringing in so many anthropologists, present a huge variety in methodological, ethical, political terms, right?

Daniela: That's it! By captivating listeners, we hope to contribute to a revaluation of science, and especially the human sciences, which have been little or poorly understood. And this is an urgent political agenda! To yesterday.

Soraya: Dani, in your opinion, what is the importance of a scientist, a department, a university doing scientific dissemination?

Daniela: In this pandemic, the biomedical sciences felt firsthand how important it is for the population to have a minimum of scientific culture so that scientific health policies can be implemented in tragic situations, such as the one we are experiencing. In Anthropology, we have also felt this, with fronts that promote the discredit of humanities researchers, and with the political persecution of researchers and professionals who work in the area of demarcation of indigenous

and *quilombola* lands. Communicating science is fundamental for us to be able to build a fairer world, to cultivate a collective open to dialogue and knowledge about the world and people.

Soraya: There are a lot of words that science uses and that only science understands, right? For example, "ibid", which we find inside a parenthesis after a phrase that came in quotes. It is one of so many Latin words that have entered and stayed in the language of science, even if we are doing science in a country where Portuguese is spoken. All these characteristics of the academic text are important, of course, but they are not enough in all contexts.

Transition song, "Mudernage", Ellen Oléria (minutes 2:15 to 2:39):

> *Gotta raise dust and stuff*
>
> *Raise dust and such*
>
> *have to step thin*
>
> *Gotta have shimmy and stuff*
>
> *Thing and such*

(From 3:07 to 3:16, leaving BG for the following excerpt, and closing with a fade out)

BLOCK 2: The podcasts gathered in this book

Soraya: How is this book composed, Milena?

Milena: This book has nine chapters. It brings together the first set of Anthropology podcasts that appeared between 2019 and 2020. In each chapter, the team that produces the podcast tells a little about its creation story and the format chosen for the programs.

Soraya: And the challenges faced in each of these stages.

Milena: That's right, the challenges, solutions and lessons learned along the way. In 2019, the podcasts *Museológicas*, from the Federal University of Pernambuco, appeared; *Selvagerias*, from the University of São Paulo and *Mundaréu*, which is carried out in partnership between Labjor, Laboratory of Advanced Studies in Journalism, of the State University of Campinas and the Department of

Anthropology of the University of Brasília. Also at the end of 2019, *Conversas da Kata*, by UnB, was born.

Soraya: And in 2020, *Antropotretas* (*Observantropologia*) came from the Federal University of Paraíba and *Antropólis,* from the Federal University of Pelotas. Also *Sensibilidades Antropológicas*, from the Federal University of Uberlândia, the Campo Podcast, linked to the University of the State of Rio de Janeiro and *Compósita*, in the Pará Amazon. Over the course of the Covid-19 pandemic, many other podcasts have emerged. Here, we will gather initiatives from all regions of the country, it's amazing how 2020 was the year of the podosphere!

Milena: So, you can imagine the world of people who mobilized, teams with professors, students and technicians from all these universities, to produce these programs. It takes time, resources, people, a lot of effort and creativity to present Anthropology to a wider audience. It's hours of recording and editing, and then hours and hours of episodes available to choose from and listen to. This book wants to show the many strategies to produce scientific podcasts, telling research stories, doing interviews, promoting dialogues and round tables, going to know where Anthropology is made. Reveal the backstage of this process and show that it is possible, relatively cheap and very promising.

The book also brings, from the experiences of each of the productions, the various possibilities that exist to make a podcast. The 2020 pandemic showed that it is possible to record online, from a distance, and that even the background noises of audio recorded at home also become content. Each team that created these chapters shared, in a very supportive way, how they went about defining themes and agendas, scheduling conversations, editing, re-editing, publishing... and making the podcast happen! They also told some stories that the episodes bring, such as that of a researcher in an MST (*Movimento Sem Terra*) camp, or of a mother in search of emergency assistance during the pandemic, interesting cases that populate the episodes of this network of researchers, the *Kere-Kere* radio.

Soraya: These nine podcasts have reached the four corners of the world, to very different audiences, inside and outside the university. And the book is a way of bringing to this medium that we love and are so much more used to working – the text on paper – with a little of this novelty. But we want to tell you one more thing.

In *Mundaréu*, in general, we have tried to adopt the feminine as generic, in the Portuguese language. So, when we talk about anthropologists in general, we say "anthropologists", in the feminine: "*antropólogas*". This has a funny effect on people, especially men, who think that, because of this, we are only talking about women and not men. But in fact, this is a feminist resource to think about what counts, and what doesn't count, as "human", as "generalizable". This is part of what we learned from Anthropology and gender issues, which are part of the Humanities. Gender is language, it is culture, and it talks about power relations too. And our social experiences – including in the world of science – are guided by the centralization of power between men. In this book, we suggest that authors try together another strategy in this direction: the use of gender-neutral language when talking about people. Therefore, instead of doing as we do in *Mundaréu*, when using the feminine as a universal generic, here we are going to try to use the derivation in "e" to try to "neutralize" the gender in a non-binary form (masculine/feminine), except when we speak of specific people who have a binary gender identity. So in the English version there will be no difference, but in Portuguese we invented a lot of new gender-neutral words.

Milena: It's a little weird, we know. It was weird for us too and for the authors to write like that too, inventing, making mistakes, experimenting and fighting with the proofreader. But "making things strange" is an anthropological practice that we wanted to bring to the book, to also remember that culture and language are not fixed. They change! And we believe that many of the problems we are experiencing today have to do with the devaluation of minority populations, such as LGBTQIA+ populations, women and many others.

Closing: Readers for the book, listeners for the pods, and Acknowledgments

Music: "Mudernage", by Ellen Oléria, with the instrumental excerpt in BG until the end of the lines in this Closing block (starting at minute 3:35 and continuing until the end).

Milena: For those who want to know the creation and production trajectory behind each of these podcasts, the book will be a good company. Who are these anthropological scientists? How do you study with people? When and why did you

start using audio to talk about your Anthropology? The chapters are short and written in a language more accessible to non-university students.

Soraya: The stories told here are really cool. We want to suggest that you visit the websites of these podcasts, subscribe to their players, follow their social networks and get to know the extra materials on their websites. There is also the Kere-Kere Network website, where you can find these and other podcasts that have appeared more recently. But, above all, we suggest that you publicize these projects in your classes, research groups, lectures and Sunday lunches with the family. Anthropology talks about many topics that have to do with our life, about the differences between peoples, their habits and ways of living. It always makes for a good conversation and, on top of that, it already serves to undo prejudices and misunderstandings about the differences of others! Enjoy these stories, voices and laughter as company when cleaning the house, washing dishes, exercising or circulating in cars, buses, on walks.

Daniela: And help us to publicize these very cool programs precisely for those who say that the Humanities do not promote science, or that they do not deserve funding, because they do not directly contribute to the GDP, or that they are simply called "useless", "frills" or "glow". The Humanities, and Anthropology in particular, teach critical thinking, a fundamental ingredient for a fuller citizenship. There's a lot of good stuff being done! When you hear, give us feedback about the programs, so we can improve every day. Our email is podcastmundareu@gmail.com. Look for social media and podcast pages on the internet. And send email or message. You will find this information in the extra materials.

Milena: We are very grateful to the authors who were willing to tell us about their podcasts and to their teams that work together in the production of this work. We were very happy with the preface written by Bia and Sarah, from the podcast 37 graus, and the back cover, made by Simone, from the podcast Oxigênio. And we are also grateful for all the support received from the Graduate Program in Scientific and Cultural Dissemination; the Graduate Program in Social Sciences, IFCH/Unicamp and Pontes Editores.

Daniela: As you may have noticed, we took the opportunity to write this book presentation in the form of a script for Mundaréu. This strategy reveals to you, how we produce our podcast. And, more importantly, it is a way to get into the mood

of this media, this way of talking and navigating the podosphere. You will be able to listen to this presentation in Portuguese, if you want, through the QR Code that will appear below, and in the other chapters of the book. Just point your phone at the symbol, and the page will open in your phone's browser.

Soraya: Now, it's your turn! Turn the page, press play and let's go!

Extra materials

Kere-Kere Network website

Mundaréu website

Ellen Oleria's website

Daniela Tonelli Manica is a mother, anthropologist and researcher at Labjor/Unicamp. She studied at the State University of Campinas, was a professor at the Department of Cultural Anthropology (IFCS-UFRJ) between 2011 and 2018 and is a professor at the Graduate Program in Scientific and Cultural Dissemination (IEL-Unicamp) and at the Graduate Program in Social Sciences (IFCH-Unicamp). Produces *Mundaréu* and coordinates the *Labirinto* research group. *E-mail:* dtmanica@unicamp.br

Milena Peres is a Publicity and Propaganda technician, a journalist from the University of Vale do Paraíba and has a Master's Degree in Scientific and Cultural Dissemination at the Laboratory of Advanced Studies in Journalism (Labjor/ Unicamp). She is interested in the areas of body, gender and technology and their relationships. *Email:* milenacp1005@gmail.com

Soraya Fleischer is a mother, anthropologist and professor at the Department of Anthropology at the University of Brasília. She studied at UnB, the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul, the Johns Hopkins University and more recently at the Federal University of Santa Catarina. Produces *Mundaréu*, coordinates CASCA (Collective of Anthropology and Collective Health) and researches the Zika virus epidemic. *Email:* soraya@unb.br

Within context: the soundscape of Selvagerias[1]

Frederico Sabanay

Lucas Lippi

Taina Scartezini

Where to start? As Anthropology students, we prefer narrative forms and, in the case of *Selvagerias*, our podcast, this narrative has more than one beginning: the beginning of Anthropology as a Science, our first contacts with the discipline and our beginning as a group of producers. This text will tell you a little about these different starting points. Those environments are entangled in a single plot.

Thinking about a context, a moment which explains the emergence of our motivations and how the podcast infected us, we already have some stories. Final

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1   Episodes can be heard through platforms: Apple Podcast, Deezer, Google Podcast, Soundcloud, Spotify; or on our website: https://selvageriaspodcast.wordpress.com/ ; Instagram: https://www.instagram.com/selvageriaspodcast/

year of undergrad, unemployment, and national elections. This was 2018 for Tainá Scartezini (Tai), who found in listening to podcasts, and later in making them, a way to express her concerns. It was also a way of continuing to discuss Anthropology. In the second half of 2018, we had our first meeting. Discussions and political upheavals intensified in Brazil, making Lucas Lippi (Lippi) wonder where anthropologists were in these debates. This question, shared with Tai, Beatriz Braga (Bia) and Clarice Sá (Clarice), became the fuel for the production of a podcast.

As a group, we realized that anthropological contributions were rarely found in mainstream media. We felt the need for this presence beyond specialized journals. And if this particular area of Social Sciences provokes us to exercise multiple narrative paths, the history of the discipline has to circulate in different spaces. There is a lot to be told, but mostly too many ways to tell. A podcast, therefore, would be a prime vehicle for experimentation.

A few months of meetings converged with Frederico Sabanay's (Fred) concerns and willingness to take risks in practices that are not widespread in Social Science training. Surrounded by this desire, Fred found in the construction of the soundscape of *Selvagerias* the junction of different interests. In episode 4, for example, where we talk about the end of the world, we mix musical instruments with sounds of the wind and silent environments. The intention was to build a feeling of vacuum, of emptiness, which constantly invaded the lines, mingling with the background noises of the recording. We assumed that sounds produced by different sources–musical instruments, animals and climatic factors -, were useful pieces to compose an auditory experience. Fred brought with him Mateus Bravin (Mat), who was studying Literature and already had a degree in Audiovisual, helping the collective with his experience in editing.

The podcast format, an audio medium available on applications and websites on the Internet, has seen its consumption and production increase a lot since 2018. This form of communication, until that time, was not explored by Anthropology professionals in Brazil. The absence of imposed formats or duration limits for each program gives total creative freedom to those who want to produce: a challenge that is both difficult and stimulating. In addition, the audio media corresponded to our main objective: to be a tool for the discussions of Anthropology to reach a wider audience, beyond the small group of students who are dedicated to studying it.

Encounters, concerns and motivations. The precise atmosphere for humanities students. A scenario in which attacks on this area of scientific knowledge gained strength, the year of 2018 and its environment full of tension, provoked us to give concreteness to our desires. How to begin? This question is not just for the text. It has been chasing us since our first meeting. Where to record? It was necessary to find equipment, suitable places for recording, people to help us with the editing. What to talk about? The number of themes and anthropological studies forced us to choose a path.

For different reasons, we maintained our engagement with *Selvagerias*, even after the pandemic. Each of us has a different perspective on how we fell in love with doing anthropology, on what invited us to study Anthropology, as well as what provoked us to produce a podcast. There are different points of view that sometimes bring us together, sometimes distance us. And this constant movement is what unites us.

How is Anthropology done?

From left to right: Lucas, Beatriz and Tainá. Source: *Selvagerias* Archive.

Graduation in Social Sciences in São Paulo. The corridors of the middle building of the Faculty of Philosophy, Language and Human Sciences (FFLCH-USP) are environments in which many things happen. Snack bars too. Supply of coffees and snacks is essential. Keeping the brain working takes energy. The gray vinyl flooring of the interior corridors, which matches the classroom doors also gray; the long lines at the cafeterias at break times; the trees, gardens and lawns that fill the exterior spaces of the buildings. People, as well as their cigarettes, coffees and food, which gave smell and taste to the conversation circles, are also important components of the scenario that formed us. A mixture of tobacco with Philosophy, coffee with Sociology, vegetarian *kibe* with Anthropology; or any other combination of your choice. A truly varied menu that makes us think.

In Brazil, those who wish to graduate in Anthropology commonly enroll for a Social Sciences course. There are few universities that offer exclusive Anthropology courses. In the case of the University of São Paulo (USP), where we graduated, Anthropology goes hand in hand with Political Science and Sociology. This feature is important, as it demonstrates how we, anthropologists in Brazil, approach our studies.

Generally, when we talk about "Anthropology", we don't say "Social Anthropology" or "Cultural Anthropology", because for us this is implicit. Sociocultural Anthropology studies the aspects that unite and differentiate humanity in collectives, societies, groups, ethnicities or cultures. It is a Science that is linked to the Humanities. Elsewhere, on the other hand, Social Anthropology is taught alongside Archeology and Biological Anthropology with its different branches, such as Physical Anthropology, Medical Anthropology and Evolutionary Anthropology. They also study the humankind, but with a different perspective. The connection with these two areas, Biological Anthropology and Archeology, leads to a greater concern with humanity in its biological aspects as well.

Telling our trajectory as a collective is an example of what sociocultural anthropologists do. Throughout our training, we read a set of similar texts, attended classes with common professors, and ended up making friends with people who share the same references. As a result, our private worldviews begin to merge with our collective ones. Our individual views take on a different shade.

We learn to mix our ideas with other people's. But this does not mean that we have lost what differentiates us as subjects. We share many opinions and agree with many analyses, but we have different preferences, choices, personalities and tastes. But it is the events that led to the formation of *Selvagerias* that matter, if we want to approach this history through Sociocultural Anthropology.

The trajectory of each one is quite different. Lippi, the oldest in the class, had already studied Veterinary Medicine, also at USP, but abandoned the course after a few years. He chose the Social Sciences, as he believed the course would provide a more critical view of the world. His intention was to make social theory the content of movies. He did not want to enter a film course, as he believed that it would be too technical, that he would teach how to handle equipment and write scripts. It was more relevant for Lippi to learn to analyze our society in a more complex and profound way. Well, in that regard, we cannot deny that it was the right choice. Once with movies, now with podcasts, Lippi's initial desire to produce content for a wider audience remains.

Tai, in turn, after taking the entrance exam for Literature, Journalism, Architecture and Civil Engineering (all in one year), discovered that she did not quite know what she wanted. Under the influence of a psychologist and reading a little more about the field, she thought that the Social Sciences were good for thinking. So, with that idea in mind, she left the countryside of Santa Catarina, where she was born and raised, and moved to São Paulo with a suitcase and a gourd, as they say in those regions of the country. She finds it curious how after so many years studying Social Sciences she found herself again in Journalism, a career she gave up on, but which is now part of her daily life.

Fred, the youngest of the group to enter the Social Sciences course, has always been attached to images and sounds, long before entering university. From an early age, he lived in a house full of relatives, he was used to listening to many people at the same time. He learned to play guitar at a young age, together with his brothers, without knowing how to read a sheet music,- perhaps that's why this ended up helping him not to enter a course in Music Composition, due to his lack of erudition. He took the entrance exam for Social Sciences, shortly after the June of 2013 movements, a troubled moment that reinserted the yearning for an incessant political debate in an entire generation of young people. Soon, he rediscov-

ered the act of active listening and attentive observation through the approaches present in the field of Anthropology training.

The *Selvagerias* podcast arises, then, from a meeting between colleagues, a friendship between undergraduate students who found themselves seeking the answer for the following question: but after all, what is the difference between Anthropology and the other Social Sciences?

In the first episode of *Selvagerias*, *O que é antropologia[2]?* We spoke with Fernanda Arêas Peixoto and Marina Vanzolini, professors at the Department of Anthropology at USP. Throughout the episode, we talk about some definitions for this Science, through which we discuss our training and our profession. According to Fernanda Arêas Peixoto, starting from a definition given by Lévi-Strauss in a conference called *The place of Anthropology in Social Sciences,*

> [...] anthropology is the social science of the observed... A science that starts from the native's point of view, whatever he may be, not only to understand him, but so that this other point of view affects our own points of view, our own ways of understanding, expanding and transforming them. Anthropological tools teach us from an early age to exercise a kind of decentering of the gaze...

Reinforcing this dimension of "going towards the other", we remember that doing Anthropology is moving physically and mentally towards the people with whom we dialogue, to understand how they think and live. For Marina Vanzolini, Anthropology is "a powerful method of knowledge and reflection". It is a subject that provides us with techniques to reflect on our way of being in the world and of relating to others. Anthropology allows us to overcome prejudices, because it is the Science that prioritizes describing the vision of the people about whom we write.

Moving, experiencing, understanding. If to do Anthropology we needed to go to the people we talked to, to produce *Selvagerias* we also needed to go to a recording studio. After many conversations over coffee, we started looking for places that could provide recording materials.

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2   *What is Anthropology?*

How is a podcast made?

Back in 2018, there was a lack of content of Anthropology accessible to the non-academic audience and circulating beyond university borders. This motivated us to produce a science dissemination podcast. Although today there are already some podcasts of the genre, at the time, none had yet been published. Thus, we wanted to circulate this anthropological knowledge in other spaces and, at the same time, express them with other, more didactic and artistic, languages. This is because Anthropology does not escape the elitist context of public higher education in Brazil. Mainly, when we think about the racial and economic aspects, the graduation in Social Sciences at USP, as well as the post-graduation, is still heavily populated by white people from wealthier economic classes. Furthermore, the timid dissemination beyond the specialized public results from the excessive concern of anthropologists with the vocabulary used by the mass media. The concepts and contexts of important information for anthropologists, when reordered or translated into synonyms, can result in misunderstandings, as there are cultural misunderstandings that are not always well clarified in quick explanations. This makes many researchers refuse to give interviews to journalists.

Precisely for this reason, due to the possibility of exploring the different meanings of words, we opted for a more narrative format, instead of the typical "round table" programs, widely used by podcast producers. Narration allowed us to play with sounds in an attempt to create soundscapes that are more fluid to hearing, in addition to exploring description and storytelling, so dear to ethnographic texts. Ethnographies are texts that describe the fieldwork of an anthropologist and the population with which he/she/they lived. While the narrative format multiplies the resources for telling stories, it requires more careful editing work on the audios compared to recorded conversations. Therefore, this choice also requires a technique to deal with specific computer programs, good hearing and redoubled attention. As the intention is to make a mix, an overlapping of sounds that allow us to bring listeners to the narrated environment, the place where we would record also needed to be chosen carefully. The quieter the better.

After all, where to record? The fact that USP was a common destination, where we went more often, made it a more obvious alternative. Strategic decision, because urban mobility in São Paulo, the largest city in Latin America, is always a problem that imposes itself. Traffic interferes with travel, but also because of the noise it causes. We need silence. And on the Butantã *campus,* we would also be in relative isolation from the noise of the city. What do you think of a recording studio? Even better! But where are there studios at USP?

After some closed doors, we found in the Laboratory of Image and Sound in Anthropology (LISA-USP), linked to the Department of Anthropology at FFLCH-USP, a welcoming space. There, we started recording our programs. Located in Colmeia, a set of buildings attached to the USP Residential Complex (CRUSP), LISA is a center for research, documentation and experimentation in Audiovisual Anthropology. In addition to its collection of films, images and sound recordings (available for consultation), the laboratory has the infrastructure and technical support we were looking for.

In this environment we would have another beginning. With the support of Sylvia Caiuby, Ricardo Dionísio and, in particular, Leonardo Fuser, we began our journey. We also received support from the Dean of Undergraduate Studies at the University of São Paulo (PRG-USP) with two scholarships for almost a year. This allowed some of our members to dedicate more time to the podcast activities. It was at this moment that Fred and Mat joined *Selvagerias.*

How to tell a story of Anthropology?

During the four episodes of our first season, we sought to talk about the history of Anthropology, addressing some of its milestones and currents. In the first episode, *O que é Antropologia?*[3] We gave some possible definitions for the disciplinary field and pointed out how it relates to our daily lives. In *Selvagerias, Barbáries, Civilizações*[4], the second episode, we enter the terrain that anthropologists tend to point out as the beginning of the discipline: the evolutionists. In the third, *Um caldo à brasileira* [5], we focus on the beginning of Anthropology in

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3   What is Anthropology?

4   *Savageries, Barbarism and Civilizations.*

5   *A Brazilian broth.*

Brazil. And in the last episode, *Os fins da Antropologia*[6]*,* we played with the different meanings of the word "ends", which can mean both finishes and purposes. We explore a newer strand of the discipline, in addition to commenting on major events of 2020: the environmental crisis and the Covid-19 pandemic.

Looking back, we can say that "a specter haunted the *Selvagerias* podcast" and that specter was Marilyn Strathern. The British anthropologist, born in 1941, is internationally known for her work on forms of kinship and on the Hagen, a native people of Papua New Guinea, a Melanesian island located near Australia. In particular, we were moved by her discussion in *Out of Context: The Persuasive Fictions of Anthropology.* In this book, concerned with the possibility (and ways) of expressing alien concepts with familiar ideas, Strathern questions the effects that anthropological narratives on the origin of the discipline and its procedures have on anthropological practice itself. In summary, the author's discussion of the *anthropologist as a writer* helped us to think about how we would tell the history of the discipline, the theme of our first season. Realizing that we could take multiple paths, we had to choose a story and a way to tell it, among so many other narrative possibilities. We were dealing, then, with the problem of how to present to a broad audience what anthropologists do and how they work, and what or who they research.

Thus, we also stopped to think about the way we learned the history of Anthropology, throughout our own training, which, in a way, made illegible some authors considered as evolutionists, such as Sir James George Frazer, Edward Burnett Tylor and Lewis Henry Morgan. The reason they turned into ill-regarded authors is usually linked to the eugenics legacy of such works. Eugenics was a current of thought that sought to produce a racial selection based on the idea of "well born", aiming at human improvement. The bases for these theses were sought, among other references, in anthropological works, although anthropologists did not necessarily agree with this.

However, for Strathern, what made such a diverse set of authors unreadable was not just their legacy, but also the emergence of a new narrative form within Anthropology. Evolutionary anthropologists approached their readers, who were their companions of nationality, class and/or ethnicity, and cast an exotic look at

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6   The ends of anthropology.

other peoples and cultures. The exoticism was in the approximation they made of ethnographic examples so different from one another, but placed side by side without context, that is, without showing their particularities. In turn, starting with Bronislaw Malinowski (1884-1942), a Polish anthropologist based in England and one of the creators of the ethnographic method, modern anthropologists prioritized dense ethnographic descriptions of a single people with whom they lived for a long period of time.

Therefore, we wanted to read these authors again, trying new perspectives on the classics of the discipline, but responsibly treating the perverse effects that some of their ideas helped to foster. With surprise and pleasure, we came across a very different Morgan from what we were used to. We found an anthropologist engaged with the agendas of Native American peoples and who developed a lasting friendship with his research partner, the young Seneca Ely Parker, to whom Morgan dedicated the book *League of the Iroquois* and who he even helped by creating connections with dominant white society. These relationships are more reminiscent of contemporary collaborative research projects than of the evolutionary studies of the time.

In any case, due to our concern with building a non-exotic sound narrative, we resort to an ironic aesthetic in order to subvert the meaning usually attributed to certain words. This is expressed in the episode titles, adding a tone of humor to references, whether anthropological or popular. As is the case of *Um caldo à brasileira*[7], for example, an episode in which we discussed the national miscegenation project. Therefore, we refer to the history of Anthropology in popular terms rather than academic ones.

In this sense, the name of the podcast, *Selvagerias*, makes a double reference: first, to the book *Wild thought,* by Claude Lévi-Strauss, and, second, to the idea of "savagery". In the 19th century, some authors used the expressions "savagery", "barbarism" and "civilization" to categorize the supposed stages of human evolution, in that order. However, only Europeans were considered civilized, which denotes the racism of such conceptions. So why use a pejorative term? Well, because savage is also that undisciplined knowledge, which cannot be tamed, and

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7   *A Brazilian broth.*

to emphasize this is to recognize the strength present in the knowledge of these "savages".

Furthermore, *wild thought* is, for the anthropologist Lévi-Strauss, a way of thinking based on the sensible, that is, based on the senses and materiality, a very sophisticated and recurrent type of thinking in societies formerly described as "wild", although not exclusive to them. Thinking about it, a friend of ours, Clarissa Reche, first suggested the name "savagery", in the singular, but then, at the suggestion of a teacher who supported the podcast project, Fernanda Arêas Peixoto, it was named in the plural as a way of pointing to the fact that there is no such thing as a "savage", or a "savagery". In other words, with this name we mean that exoticism is in the eye of the beholder, and not in the way of life of the person seen through this prism.

It was also out of ethical concern that we collectively formulated a tribute to traditional populations, without whom there would be no Anthropology. Thus, inspired by an Australian Anthropology podcast, *The Familiar Strange,* and by Oswald de Andrade's *Manifesto Antropófago,* we wrote the following excerpt, present in all our episodes:

> We would like to honor the traditional populations, originating or brought to this land on which we produce this podcast. Without them none of this would exist: no body, no idea. For *émigrés,* trafficked and tourists in the country of the big snake, this podcast is intended for all the curious, professionals or amateurs.

Oswald appears at another time, by the way. Our vignette, "we are *Selvagerias* and we are only interested in what is not ours", is an appropriation of an excerpt from the manifesto. It would not be an exaggeration to say that modernism and *tropicália* are two other specters that haunted *Selvagerias*, which brings us to another subject: sounds.

How to experience sounds?

Frederico and Mateus at the editing room, at the Laboratory of Image and Sound in Anthropology (LI SA/USP). Source: *Selvagerias* Archive.

Producing *Selvagerias* made us take on an experimental role. After all, the adventure of creating sound compositions fabricated from diverse layers of sounds and voices was a new experience for us. The creative process involved in the production of *Selvagerias* made us realize that it was necessary to match the sound identity with an anthropological practice. But it took us some time to incorporate that spirit into content creation.

We did not want to assume that we were doing such a big thing right from the start. When we started to attend LISA-USP and understood that we were finally going to make a podcast, we did not want to idealize our results, in the sense that we did not have a fixed format of the programs in mind. We had to face everything that a studio production practice implies: understanding how the equipment works; what would be the best software available for editing; how we must position the microphones. Anyway, we were true amateurs in that universe. We wanted to do something new in relation to what we had contact within the area, and for that, we chose to assume it as an experiment.

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By taking on the rehearsal character of the podcast, we seek to include the very process of producing the episodes in our ideas and scripts. Soon, the idea of causing ruptures as a narrative resource arose, interrupting the speech of Tai, Lippi and Bia and showing that the podcast was actually being edited in a studio.

The pilot episode begins with Fred and Mateus meeting in the editing room, talking about reviewing the podcast. When they pressed the computer mouse, the vignette started, and the first episode of Selvagerias continues. In all the appearances during the episodes, the editors appeared and disappeared at the sound of the mouse click, accompanying from the "outside" universe of the podcast and the inert environment of the silent studio, contrasting with the arrangements accompanied by soundtracks, conversations and interviews from within the podcast. The creaking recording room door, the coffee sips, the computer keyboard, the mouse grip, exterior elements of the narrative and interiors of the podcast editing and editing process itself. Even *WhatsApp* calls with the podcast participants, already distanced from the moment of recording, appeared in these narrative breaks to collaborate in the assembly of the episode with questions and clarifications. We bet on explaining our creative process, creating a narrative bifurcation: the relationship between the process of making the podcast and the final composition of each episode.

Soon our creative process started to work from bifurcations and intersections. We also wanted to cross sonorities, to bring together diverse sound universes that are not common to be heard together. We had a conscious desire to play with the idea of *bricolage,* as suggested by Lévi-Strauss on his analysis of the mythical plane in Amerindian thought. To grope subjective and abstract aspects that could be present in what we approach in the episodes, we seek to create compositions from a repertoire of elements of the most varied types: sounds of planets, birds, forests and their rivers, electronic synthesis, cellphone notifications. We wanted to prioritize the sensibility of the narrative and to bring the perception of conflict and the coexistence of differences through the composition of varied sound frequencies. We tried to use this resource to help paint shades of drama in the constructed narrative, punctuating tensions, doubts and clairvoyances.

From these intersections, we seek to create sound environments and venture into possible mixtures of sounds from different universes to create the land-

scape of *Selvagerias* itself. In the introduction of each episode, a somewhat metallic and transcendent whisper progressively fades in announcing the homage to the original and rooted traditional populations that inspire us and underlie our motivations to practice Anthropology and produce the podcast. This beginner sound is a sound simulation of frequencies captured from Pluto, the most distant planet in the solar system. The voiceover of Tai, Lippi and Bia was accompanied by a diversity of sounds, drumming, guitar fingerings and synthetizations of vaporwave music and video game tracks, together with the sounds of beings and agents that inhabit the forests. Through this narrative amalgamation, questions and discussions with the interviewed interlocutors were linked.

Elaborating narrative compositions required constant debates about what we were producing. We were concerned with how the displacements and experimentation in the discussions would be carried out, without relaxing the words simply by superimposing layers of random sounds. When carrying out *Selvagerias*, we were faced with the challenge of perceiving the reverberations of what we say, especially when it comes to an area of knowledge dedicated to what affects our own point of view. We realized not only how to produce a podcast on Anthropology, but how to exercise an anthropological practice. The meanings we take in our creations are contaminated by the willingness to know different ways of life and to allow their narratives to assemble arrangements in our head. We allow ourselves to be contaminated by the reverberations of different points of view to create compositions of our own narratives.

When we turned our eyes to our formation, in a few moments of our training we were introduced to the life stories of professionals in the area in depth, as we did in episode 2, *Selvagerias, barbáries, civilizações*[8]*,* with events from the life of Henry Lewis Morgan, an American anthropologist. In this sense, Selvagerias was a way of giving vent to diverse interests, which we could not always explore in our own research. It was also a hobby for those who like to discuss Anthropology even in their spare time. And, who knows, from now on it could be a kick-off in the construction of a scientific culture.

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8   *Savageries, Barbaries and Civilizations*

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Access the page of the *Selvagerias* podcast here

Frederico Sabanay: graduated in Social Sciences from the University of São Paulo (USP). He holds a degree from the Faculty of Education of the University of São Paulo (FEUSP) and is the sound editor of the *Selvagerias* Podcast. Internship in the Protected Areas Monitoring Program of Instituto Socioambiental (ISA). With roots in the coast of São Paulo and Vale do Ribeira, he researches socio-environmental conflicts associated with extensive monoculture, biodiversity and climate change, in addition to working in the fields of education, audiovisual and ethnomusicology. *E-mail:* frederico.sabanay@usp.br

Lucas Lippi: is a Master's student in Social Anthropology at USP. He is currently doing ethnographic research with caiçaras from São Sebastião (SP) about the arrival of Petrobras in the downtown area. His reflections involve themes such as development, memory and archive. In addition, he is also interested in debates

about the anthropology of science and techniques. Since 2018, together with Tainá Scartezini and Frederico Sabanay, he has produced *Selvagerias*, as he believes it is extremely important to exercise different ways of communicating scientific work to different audiences. *E-mail:* lucas.lippi.silva@usp.br

Tainá Scartezini: a Santa Catarina born based in São Paulo, she holds a bachelor's degree in Social Sciences from USP and a specialist in Scientific Journalism from Labjor/Unicamp. She is currently studying for a master's degree in Social Anthropology, also at USP, where she is researching the carbon credits project developed by the Paiter Suruí. She is interested in interdisciplinary debates between Ethnology, Ecology and Economics, with a focus on climate change and S&T (science and technology). Since 2018, she has produced the *Selvagerias* podcast with fellow undergraduates. She believes in the word and in listening. Contact *email:* taiscartezini@gmail.com

Sentidos do Campo: anthropological storytelling and sound experimentation

Paula Lacerda and Carolina Parreiras

Introduction

Sentidos do Campo[1] is a product that emerged from our experience with the Campo: an anthropological podcast, which we have carried out together since 2020. In previous publications (LACERDA; PARREIRAS, 2020; PARREIRAS; LACERDA, 2021), we present the history, as well as the main issues that motivated the creation of Campo, our podcast. In order to make the most of our space in this collection, we will not rescue this context again. However, it is worth mention-

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[1] In English, we can translate as Senses of the field. Field here is the sign of the fieldwork, a central concept in Anthropology and for conducting ethnographies.

ing that *Campo* appears within the scope of a graduate discipline and with the purpose of offering, in the face of the Covid-19 pandemic and the suspension of face-to-face activities, an alternative for the teaching of anthropology, in this case, through a digital artifact that is the podcast.

Thus, its proposal is closely linked to education and scientific dissemination, as well as other podcasts in the social and human sciences (AGUIAR; SANTOS, 2020; BAZZO, 2021; PINHEIRO, 2020; FLEISCHER, 2020; FLEISCHER; MANICA, 2021; FLEISCHER; MOTA, 2021). In our case, even after being separated from a formal discipline, we still focused on the presentation of authors and their works, also counting on a study group to discuss the works prior to the recording of the podcast. In *Sentidos do Campo*, our proposal revolves between different and less formal axes: experimentation, ethnography and storytelling.

In this text, our main goal is to share our bets and perceptions about anthropological narrative–or anthropological storytelling, as proposed by authors such as Webster (1983) and Taussig (2004, 2006, 2011, 2015)–mediated by sounds and voices. In other words, we start from the principle that the construction of a narrative in Anthropology is fundamental in the practice of the discipline. However, despite being fundamental, the so-called "ethnographic description" does not follow fixed rules, there is no booklet, and this often raises doubts in those who are starting the training in this area. Within the anthropological field itself, there are many discussions about ethnographic work and, consequently, about what an ethnography would consist of. The ethnographic description, still, can generate doubts in those who do not have training in Anthropology, because, after all, what would be the specificity of this form of description? How would it differ, for example, from the journalistic narrative?

In the following pages, we will not present formulas or closed definitions, as we believe that this is not the way to go. We will argue in favor of a bet on the centrality of experience and on the "adaptive" and "incremental" character (HINE, 2015) of ethnography. We will seek to share some reflections on the ethnographic description of a field of research through the use of the podcast. Although exploring the theme of ethnographic narrative is not something new in the discipline, since it has already been the subject of reflections by experienced anthropologists (GEERTZ, 1978; CLIFFORD, 2008; ABU-LUGHOD, 2018), we believe that a special

contribution of our proposal is to think the narrative of our research from the sounds we hear, incorporate and produce during fieldwork.

And, also, from the most subjective sensations and perceptions, to a large extent constructed by sound materials: what are the first impressions we form about our research contexts? How have these sensations affected us and how have they changed over time? How is it possible to carry out a re-reading of field research from the sound representation, a type of sense that does not always appear in the texts of dissertations, theses and articles? What are the challenges and implications of carrying out this experiment collectively, in which sounds and voices function as an ethnographic narrative and a form of representation? Thinking about these issues was the proposal of our experimentation with *Sentidos do Campo*, which so far has one season, with five episodes.

The making of *Sentidos do Campo*: practical issues and ethical choices

As already mentioned, *Sentidos do Campo* arises from our previous experience with the production of podcasts and from conversations raised by the appreciation of both authors for narrative podcasts[2], especially by those who seek to experiment with the format, with the script or even with editing. Hence the decision to create a "derived product"[3] (PARREIRAS; LACERDA, 2021) that would become an anthropological storytelling based on sound experimentation. This way, there were months of research and tests in which we looked for ways to construct an ethnographic narrative mediated by sounds, some of them recorded during fieldwork research and others that came from a re-reading and rediscovery of ethnographic material, which was done by both authors, in a shared way and carried out years after the research was conducted. Thus, we decided that the experimentation would start with the research developed by Paula Lacerda more than 10 years ago, in the city of Altamira, in the southwest of Pará.

The ethnographic material that we worked on for the production of this season of *Sentidos do Campo* was produced between 2008 and 2012, in the context of

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2   As Santos and Peixinho (2019) show, the production of non-fiction narrative podcasts, especially journalistic ones, began to be done more widely in 2014. However, throughout their arguments, they make it clear how much the model of narrative podcast can be traced back to the heyday of radio storytelling.

3   Or spin-off, as shown by Magalhães (2021).

the doctoral research on the "case of the emasculated boys of Altamira", consisting of documents produced by public agencies, interviews with various agents and also ethnographic observations about the city where the "case" took place. Talking about the Xingu River and the *Transamazônica* road were ways that the victims' families, especially the women, used to narrate their own history, as well as to talk about their children: when and why they arrived in the city, if they liked to swim in the river, bathe in the creek, who sold snacks on the street or shined shoes at the market door.

Thus, more than a "context", from narratives about the city of Altamira, we perceive the possibilities of exploring the multiple sensations and meanings of this fieldwork experience. We wish to emphasize the ways in which these sensations are not "marginal" elements to the research but reveal important aspects about the perceptions of the interlocutors, the researcher and, therefore, they conduct the investigation itself. These sensations–and their meaning–are what we tried to express in the production of the episodes, both in the narrative and in the editing, which we did based on the research experience of the first author and on the re-reading of this experience by the second author, who is a person external to the original research.

As can be seen, for the production of *Sentidos do Campo*, we developed other production and research strategies, something different from the experience that we had already accumulated with the production of *Campo*. In terms of editing, in *Campo*, we created a specific model that is used for all episodes, with slight variations in some of them. In *Sentidos do Campo*, having to revisit a very broad set of materials required more systematicity and control. It was necessary to carry out tests, experiment with sounds and look for audio materials that could be added. Initially, we planned the structure of the episodes, which must, at the same time, be able to present the research carried out, highlighting the senses, sensations, nuances, transformations and the course of the research that led to other questions, some already developed in articles and presentations and others still in development. From this initial effort and from the thematic axes thought by the first author, five episodes were planned.

The first episode, entitled *A Capital da Transamazônica*[4], addresses the researcher's first impressions of the city and explores how the research interlocutors perceive the city where they live. The second episode, *O Rio Xingu*[5], continues in this

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4   The capital of Transamazônica

5   The Xingu River

vein, pointing to ways of telling the region's history, and how this vision is permeated and transformed by political processes over time. The third and fourth episodes, entitled *O caso dos meninos emasculados*[6], directly address the theme of the research developed in Altamira. In general terms, the "case" consists of a set of crimes committed against children between 1989 and 1993, which involved bodily harm (mutilation of the genital organ and others), homicides and attempted murders.

Initially, we had not planned to produce the episode about the "case" in two parts. This was only defined when we evaluated together that the themes to be worked on would extrapolate our expectation for one episode, not only in terms of duration, but also in terms of the narrative to be presented. The Part 1 of the episode, in a way, follows the content that the first author most described and analyzed in her written production: the multiplicity of versions and visions around crimes against boys (the "case" itself), as well as the struggle of victims' relatives for justice and reparation.

The Part 2 of the episode, on the other hand, deals with a topic rarely addressed by the researcher in her production: the universe of accused people, including their articulations with rising conservative politicians. The choice not to present the materials related to the people accused in previous writings was a thoughtful decision: throughout all the years of research, the researcher chose to know the many versions of the crimes, but not to give them the same weight. Nor did she give the same weight to the trajectories of the victimized boys and their families and to the trajectories of the accused people (and their families). But then, why was this decision revised? Why so many years later, and through a podcast?

This decision, discussed both with the second author and with the victims' families, was motivated by the evaluation of the diffusion that this material could have, with a far greater reach than written academic works and with also faster dissemination. For years, the researcher of the "case" has been sought after by press and media professionals interested in reporting and documenting. Most of the time, what triggers the interest of these professionals is not so much the "case" itself, but a set of events related to it: the arrest of some of the convicts, even when, supposedly, there is a confessed defendant, accused of being a "serial killer".

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6   The case of emasculated boys

This way, the possibility of disseminating scientific knowledge about the "case" through a sound production was understood as an opportunity to present a contrary and critical version of the media initiatives that accompanied the narrative of conservative politics associated with the condemned. As a result, the commitment to the victims' families and their struggle was maintained, as their version of these strategies structured the criticisms, and some responses were produced to the press professionals, politicians and other agents.

With this, we emphasize another dimension of the podcast: not only does the dissemination tend to be greater than what we achieve through written productions, but there may be a type of subject and approach that gains dissemination and scale through this form of communication based on the sound diffusion. Furthermore, it is possible that there is an audience that can be more easily reached by a podcast than by an academic article, or a doctoral thesis–something like being "caught by the listening". Our data regarding the access to the podcast, provided by Anchor, the platform we use to distribute the episodes among different platforms, helps to support this statement, showing that there was great interest in *Sentidos do Campo* and, specifically, in the two episodes about the "case".

The following episode deals with the daily life of women in Collective Urban Resettlements. The RUCs, as they are also known, are new neighborhoods created in the context of urban transformations in Altamira. As we close the first season of *Sentidos do Campo* with this theme, we offer an account of a research agenda spanning from more than a decade. We intend to demonstrate how the report of a research allows different approaches.

A theme that permeated the process of elaborating *Sentidos do Campo* had to do with the exposition of materials that could even have been described but had not been "shown" until then. The choice to make such materials public meant revisiting the first field notebooks, revisiting ideas that sometimes proved to be wrong, or certain bets. Hearing again interviews carried out years ago meant hearing voices transformed by the action of time. In addition to the voices that reveal the passage of time, the sounds of traffic, birds, and domestic animals reminded us of where each interview took place: in a house near the side of the road, in a farm, in a house in the city, in an NGO; as well as if there was privacy during the interview or, on the contrary, if the subject was discussed publicly, in front of other adults and even children.

Caption: place where the first author carried out most of the fieldwork and some interviews. Backyard of Dona Rosa Pessoa's house, in Altamira. The photo was posted to Facebook on May 9, 2010 and extracted to integrate this article on September 27, 2021. Description: A backyard with a cement floor, plants and trees, a wooden "lover" style bench with a dog lying down, a purple macaroni chair and a mosquito repellent. Author: Paula Lacerda.

The next step in the production process consists of writing the script. This role falls to the first author, since her field experiences form the base material for the episodes. The second author helps in the process of writing the script, thinking about insertions of material already consulted, editions, clippings. Once the script is closed, it is recorded by the first author, who is the narrator, and shared between the authors. In several episodes, we invited colleagues to read some excerpts, guaranteeing on the diversity of voices.

Then the episode begins to be assembled. There is the extraction of all the audios that will be embedded (some originally in video). In these audios, the second author does not perform any type of editing, in order to preserve their original characteristics, including imperfections. The narration itself undergoes a quick edit, just for noise extraction and normalization so that the sound amplitude is standardized.

During the editing, carried out by the second author, the biggest challenge is to produce a script reading that allows it to be transformed into a sound story-telling. In this sense, it is a process of interpreting data from another research in order to make it intelligible through this specific type of narrative. Consequently, it is something quite challenging and where collective work stands out the most. When the episode is ready, we carry out the same process as with *Campo*: it is hosted at Anchor and from there distributed to eight players. We publicize the new episode on our networks (Instagram, Twitter and Facebook) and, for that, we use some photographic record of the first author. To index our content within the platforms' data universe and boost its dissemination, we use a set of hashtags linked to the episode. On our website, we publish other photographs of Altamira, along with the Spotify player (which currently accounts for 87% of our audience).
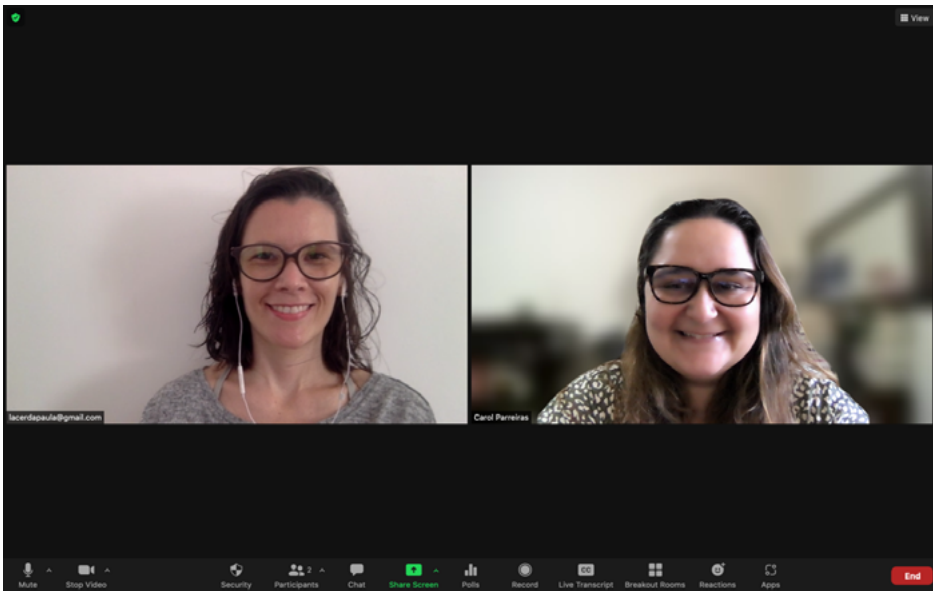
Caption: Zoom screen print, in which a conversation took place between the two authors. Print registered on 09/03/2021. Description: The two authors presented inside Zoom squares. Paula Lacerda has loose black hair, wears headphones, glasses, and a gray blouse. Carolina Parreiras has black hair with highlights, wears glasses and a green and white blouse. Author: Carolina Parreiras.

Storytelling and sound experimentation

Walter Benjamin (1987), in his famous and important essay *The storyteller*, discusses, based on the work of the Russian writer Nikolai Leskov, the importance of narrative. He begins the essay by stating, in a blunt way, that the figure of the storyteller, the one who masters the art of storytelling and who communicates experiences, whether his own or those he hears from other people, would be on the way to extinction. These experiences, according to him, are the central point of the narrative (the oral above all) and will be incorporated, from listening, to the listeners' experiences. He also states that it is when you work–"spin or weave"–that the narrative becomes more alive for listeners. This point will be taken up later by Taussig (2020), by showing how much the act of listening to the radio (and podcasts) is associated with the execution of banal everyday tasks, such as washing dishes or driving. In these moments, the mind would be more open to narratives and to record them (and it is indeed a pity that we do not have studies or surveys on the reception of podcasts from this perspective).

The same Benjamin (2020) adopts this premise in his radio stories for children, in which he presents different places and events in the city of Berlin, both present and past, recalls his childhood days, creates fantastic stories about gypsies, bandits and other characters, or even tells about natural phenomena such as floods and earthquakes. By betting on orality, he becomes the storyteller himself, a craftsman who composes the narrative, who shares the experience and who masters this art.

It is interesting to think about Benjamin's statements contemporaneously and in the face of the continuous expansion of the Internet and different forms of connection. Contrary to what he feared, there was not exactly the death of narrative, but a proliferation of formats and ways of narrating, with appropriations by various social actors. Authors such as Page and Thomas (2011) and Alexander (2012) have been exploring, for example, the way in which new communication and information technologies have been appropriated for the composition and creation of other ways of narrating and for modifying existing ways. This set of ways of telling stories from the various digital tools can be called digital storytelling (Alexander, 2012). The podcast, as a digital artifact, would be one of these ways.

Still in relation to narratives, Taussig (2006, 2011) is an important reference for us to think about the centrality that the act of narrating has in anthropology. In

the opening of the book *Walter Benjamin's Grave* (2006), he defines storytelling as a form of analysis, inseparable from writing, fieldwork and the "intense curiosity" that moves the anthropologist. In a later essay (2015), he advances this idea, showing how "making stories" involves an almost artisanal work around experience, which requires the coordination of "hands, soul and eyes" (p. 30).

Thus, we use the notion of storytelling inspired by these ideas and seek, through technology, to build a form of narrative that is at the same time anthropological, experimental and sonorous. Something that has been widely discussed since the 1980s is the making of ethnography. Clifford Geertz (1978) states that the culture of a people is like a set of texts that can be deciphered as codes, dissected as an organism, ordered as a system (p. 210). The metaphor between culture and texts, despite its limitations, is an inspiration for our experiment that involves ways of communicating experiences through sounds. Although the author refers to written narratives, the most fascinating characteristic of ethnography (and ethnographic work) is its experimental and always open character. This is what guarantees the possibility of "creating stories" in different formats (field diaries, drawings, videos, sounds or even a mixture of all of these) and from, above all, a focus on the experience–of the people we meet in the field and ours–and the constant search for "a way of knowing" (TAUSSIG, 2015).

Conclusions

As we have argued, we consider *Sentidos do Campo* as a sound experiment through which we seek to convey the idea of the multiplicity of senses and voices that make up fieldwork in Anthropology and its descriptions. We bet on communicating this experience as a way to launch reflections on something that sometimes appears naturally in our speeches, our writing and even in our activity, that is the "ethnographic description".

Combining anthropological narrative and research materials in audio and other sounds, we feel encouraged to talk about research and description as something in a continuous process of construction, interpretation and montage. We consider that even something that happened in the past and already has a set of narratives, apparently consolidated, is still subject to new interpretations. Thus, we seek to point out an important contribution of Anthropology, which is to have instruments to understand, record and analyze social transformations,

even though, at first glance, some of these transformations–and, consequently, the people who are involved in them–are considered irrelevant or even invisible.

With the use of technologies, different sounds and voices and in a shared way (and, why not say, artisanal?), we seek to build a form of storytelling that gives an account of a set of experiences lived in the field. By betting on the centrality of the narrative, we try to "create stories" and transmit them in sound format, evoking an infinity of sensations that also involve the listener.

However, we recognize that a part of what we explore here – senses and sensations, hence our inspiration for the title of the product derived from *Campo*, – would not necessarily need to be approached through a sound narrative. Undoubtedly, it is also possible to write about how the body reacted to being in a different city, about what are the memories, including sensorial ones, that marked the fieldwork. However, in this article we seek to argue that reading about personal experiences is different from being able to hear them. We bet that it is a different way of sharing in which the spectator is invited to this field of research, being able to also hear part of what the researcher heard and feel sensations close or not to those that the researcher felt and described. By listening to the episodes, it is also possible to access the narrative, elaborated jointly by the two authors, carried out at the time of editing. The narrative that is presented to listeners, this way, is the product of collective reflection and work.

While, as we said, the first author's challenges consisted of revisiting the research material, exposing something considered "intimate" and even being willing to present other narratives about what was so close to her, in the case of the second author, the challenge was working on someone else's material and shaping it into a podcast. Something that, for people with other backgrounds (think of film editors, for example) is commonplace, in anthropology, even in collective research, guidance or text editing, is not so usual.

Thus, we conclude that our position is also the position of a listener, who creates his/her own interpretations from what he/she hears and that is what all of us have in common: who recorded or produced the material, who re-listened to it years later, who listened to it to debate and edit, who listened to the episode after it was published.

Editing a podcast, as well as listening to it, requires being open to being surprised by the voices, sounds and the many noises of the shared materials on which one works. If we, who produce, experience the challenging construction of creating a story from other stories, we understand that listening also creates its own interpretations and connections. This is very reminiscent of Benjamin's proposal, that listening to the storyteller creates a relationship: "whoever listens to a story is in the company of the storyteller". It is this company that we seek to make possible with *Sentidos do Campo*.

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Access the *Campo* podcast page on Radio Kere-kere here

Paula Lacerda is an anthropologist, professor of Anthropology at the State University of Rio de Janeiro. She studied Social Sciences at graduation, then Collective Health at the Master's degree at the Institute of Social Medicine at the University of the State of Rio de Janeiro and completed a doctorate in Anthropology at the Graduate Program in Social Anthropology at the National Museum of the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro. She is a co-producer of Campo, an anthropological podcast and conducts research on gender, state and social mobilization, especially from the Brazilian Amazon. *Email:* lacerdapaula@gmail.com

Carolina Parreiras is an anthropologist, postdoctoral researcher at the Department of Anthropology at State University of Campinas (Unicamp). She studied Social Sciences as an undergraduate, a master's degree in Social Anthropology and a doctorate in Social Sciences, always at Unicamp. She is co-producer of Campo, an anthropological podcast and conducts research on gender, sexuality, internet and violence. *Email:* carolparreiras@gmail.com

CONVERSAS DA

IKATA

antropologia & irreverência

From underground to podosphere – *Conversas da Kata*[1]

Ana Oliveira

Bruner Titonelli

Marina Fonseca

Yazmin Safatle

Teaser*:* The origins

They had just had lunch. The three of them left the University Restaurant talking in pleasant randomness that were endlessly amended. The steps were towards *Katacumba*, a space with some rooms, pantry and bathroom reserved for graduate students in Social Anthropology in the basement of the University

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1   On our digital networks, we share not only episodes, but also profile referrals, podcasts and much more. You can find us on twitter and instagram with @podcastdakata. Our episodes are available on the following players: Anchor, Spotify, Apple Podcast, Breaker, Overcast, Google Podcast, PocketCast and Radio Public. Our special thanks go to Marcelle Lucena for the Logo design and Fabian Zierler for the QR code inclusion.

of Brasília (UnB). They passed the transition stairs between the world of the sun and the underground of *Minhocão*, also known as the Central Institute of Sciences (ICC), a famous building at UnB, and soon after they were in front of the entrance gate. The keys opened the bars and, as an already ingrained habit, they made their way to the pantry.

Two minutes later, Mimi, the cuteness in the form of people, took care of the water that was about to boil. The coffee powder was ready in the filter waiting for its moment. Marina and Ana sat on the benches next to them, talking about the riots in Latin America. They all agreed that not enough was said about it. Now they were in Chile, but they had just left Bolivia. As she cleaned and heated the thermos, Mimi kept her magical ears open, which, in the near future, would be great for reviewing episodes. Once again, she gave us an accurate comment: *Colombia is also in an uproar.* The three were amused by the word that had just circulated between them, and Marina was already thinking about throwing more gunpowder on everything. Sprinkling a thought-provoking reflection here and there, along with an amusing commentary, is rightly one of her best qualities. Now, the smell of coffee was spreading, and Peru and Argentina also joined the wheel.

Coffee with a Latin conjuncture ready, they headed to their desks. Second door on the left. Distance traveled in the midst of *Geente! There's coffee!* that the members immersed in their rooms listened with a smile animated by the new batch of fuel announced. Each one in their corner goes back to their research with the steaming cup at their side. Anna lets out a sigh. *Ah, I want to smoke a cigarette.* Marina jokes: *I want my mother!* Soon after, Ana announces a bizarre new tweet from the president. She, our future Twitter queen and artist of communicative aesthetics, is always up to date with the latest news. The three of them stop for a while and look at each other thoughtfully there, immersed in our little revolutionary stronghold, between submerged railings.

Images of speeches depicting a flat Earth and voices in defense of tortures flashed through their minds. They were lies repeated countless times that paraded through the country, bothering and indignant. Being silent was terrifying. *We must record our conversations, there's a lot of gossip but there's also good stuff here. What do you think?* The question planted the seed of the podcast and halfway between the idea and the first episode, the fourth element appeared. As he grabbed a cup of coffee in the same pantry, Bruner could hear an animated conversation about the

proposal walking along. Curiously interested, he asked about the project and soon after he was integrated into the newly created team of future podcasters with his head clouding with ideas. His trademark would be this spontaneity and creativity, always coming up with a thousand ideas for the podcast.

Episode#0: Why Kata[2]?

It wasn't exactly like that, but it could have been. Our podcast takes the audience into this world of cozy and informal atmosphere, with the smell of coffee, conversations and reflections between colleagues and friends. *Katacumba*, affectionately called *Kata*, is one of the enchanted corners of UnB, where masters and doctoral students in Anthropology have been working since 1972, the year of the creation of the Graduate Program in Social Anthropology (PPGAS). It is a space of bookshelves, books, tables, chairs, a nap hammock, people, headphones, strong coffee without sugar and bats. Yes, bats! So, at the beginning of each episode, you hear the sound of little bat wings beating. Some time ago, our anthropologists in training lived with bats in the Kata and, since then, the katacumbers are also called bats.

But Kata is also a space for debates, concentration, drafts, games, ideas, writing, companionship, projects, reception and friendship. Our vignette was designed precisely to bring you some of the different topics and most common phrases that circulate and fill our (almost) home. In the chairs or in the hammocks, we vent, we put our anxieties, we throw to the underground winds what, sometimes in written or typed words, we can't express.

The name of our podcast, *Conversas da Kata*, was borrowed from the academic event that was the face of Katacumba transformed into a congress and organized by PPGAS graduate students. The event came about when the katacumbers took the debates and lively conversations that took place without an appointment in this environment to the meeting room, a spacious former classroom with a board on the wall. These katacumbers already knew at the time that what they were talking about could be taken to other colleagues. Thus, works were presented and discussed in a cozy atmosphere. Roundtables and workshops with topics of great interest to students inspired and animated some generations of Katacumbers. As of 2013, the event became official and annual.

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2   In English, the name of the podcast can be translated to "Kata Conversations".

The seven editions of the *Conversas da Kata* event were more than enough to transform this event into a tradition very well-liked by undergraduate and graduate students. Each organizing committee has the autonomy to reinvent everything according to the conjuncture and the needs they discover. Thus, what began as a more internal conversation between more or less close colleagues turned into a space for reception, debate and experimentation that expanded to undergraduate courses, other institutions and even other formats. The autonomy, the informal way and the very productive conversations of this student meeting, was what inspired us to guide the spirit of the event out of that basement. So, it acquired a new form: sound waves sailing through the podosphere.

Our dear Kata: warmth and concentration. Author: Bruner Titonelli

Episode #1: The trajectory of the *podcast*

But our project did not just come out of Kata. It took shape in conversations during class breaks, at bar tables, on walks through the university, in the anguish of reading... until one day what some people call coincidence and others call the universe working in our favor happened: Ana appeared with a public notice from the Ralacoco Studio of Community Communication of the Faculty of Communication (FAC) of UnB. They were proposing to help with podcast projects.

We sat together in *Katacumba* and put our ideas down on paper. So, we were welcomed into a small, soundproofed room and instructed by a very dear team in the art of recording and editing.

The podcast was born from our desire to jump the university walls with our voices, reach an audience that normally does not read our texts and does not attend our events, talk about our research and show the importance of the science of Anthropology around the world. We were choking on reflections and words just spoken between us about so many things that are not going well, but also about events that bring us joy and hope, subjects that captivate us, that make our hearts beat faster.

As we well know, for dreams to come true, the road is long. Who has never started a project, a text, a work of art without knowing exactly where it will end up? With our podcast it was no different: from the initial ideas to the format we have today was quite a journey. We debated, disagreed, delayed, changed, rethought, until we could understand what our goal was and how we wanted to achieve it. The lessons learned were not just about production techniques, but also about teamwork, developing what we call the editorial line, reaching a consensus on how we want to take forward the podcast.

The process of collective creation has these things, right? And we realized that being open for this project to be transformed according to the needs faced, as it was also the case with the academic event in each edition, is an important step. Thus, spontaneity and experimentation are part of the organization. From time to time, important and moving events have forced us to readapt the schedule so that we don't miss the moment to talk about the subject and, who knows, contribute to the defended causes. So, it was with the protests that took to the streets of Peru and with the topic of the Time Frame (Marco Temporal) in 2020.

The demonstrations in Peru came after the now ex-president Martín Vizcarra was impeached and a politician named Manuel Merino, linked to a right-wing conservative agenda, took office. He appointed a number of ministers along this political line. In the episode, we talk about the police violence that claimed two young victims in Peru and about the various demands of these protests. The demand was not just for Merino's resignation, but also for a new constitution.

Our Episode #06–"A história não começa em 1988 – O marco temporal como negação do direito originário"[3], concerns a lawsuit in the Federal Supreme Court (STF) that argues that indigenous peoples would only have the right to the lands they effectively occupied on October 5, 1988, the day of the proclamation of the constitution. If enacted into law, this thesis would have the power to paralyze the processes of demarcation of indigenous lands in progress and even to reverse demarcations already made. We discussed why this law would be a tragedy for indigenous peoples and we talked about its somewhat colonialist content and how it ignores the history of expulsion and denial of access by different ethnic groups to their lands.

Resuming the thread: when the path of our podcaster team seemed firmer, the COVID-19 pandemic came, taking us away from the Ralacoco studio and our dear Katacumba. The podcast ended up becoming more and more a space for connection, venting and dissemination of what we were going through and researching in the midst of this scenario worthy of a dystopian movie. It was the way we found to stay connected with each other and with our colleagues, even with the physical distance, and transform some anxieties into a creative process to be shared with a few clicks.

Our team: from left to right: Marina Fonseca, Yazmin (Mimi) Safatle, Ana Carolina Oliveira and Bruner Titonelli at the late Ralacoco studio. Author: Fernando Alves.

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3   History does not begin in 1988–The Time Frame as a denial of the original rights

Episode #2–Popularizing Anthropology

Anthropologist Tim Ingold (2016) says that if Anthropology does not have the impact it deserves on the world, this is partly because it is too closed in on its own world, stuck in thinking about itself. We like to say that "the anthropologist gets into everything", this is reflected in the diversity of research topics and workplaces. We are present in every possible corner of the public sphere, working in the Ministry of Health, in international relations, in NGOs that work in defense of the environment or that fight in defense of victims of violence. In our episode *Antropologia a serviço de que(m)?*,[4] we discussed the extent to which anthropologists work outside the university, but, as our professor Henyo Trindade Barretto Filho put it, Anthropology has not yet been able to guide its own image. This means that most people do not know what to understand by "Anthropology" or have ideas that are far from reality.

In another episode, *Procura-se antropóloga: O misterioso mercado de trabalho da antropologia*[5], we talked to the anthropologist Soraya Fleischer about the (hidden) Anthropology job market, which is also the subject of one of the courses she offers at the undergraduate level in Social Sciences at UnB. We discovered together the different roles that anthropologists occupy, and the various skills acquired during the training.

We believe that a world in which people know what Anthropology is is possible and desirable. We are part of this wave of podcasts in Social Sciences that, as Soraya Fleischer and Daniela Manica well describe, "communicate, translate and popularize the knowledge produced in the area" (2020, p. 50). These authors mention the importance of reaching a wider audience, especially in times of attacks on Science. This is also because if people do not know Anthropology, they will not recognize its importance and will not contribute to its defense when this area of knowledge "suffers attacks, has resources cut off, has its legitimacy questioned" (FLEISCHER, 2020). For this, it is essential to think about other forms of dissemination than text, building an attractive material, with short and creative texts, images and videos and audio material.

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[4]   Anthropology at the service of what(whom)?

[5]   Looking for an Anthropologist: The Mysterious Anthropology Job Market

With the podcast, we take a step in that direction and bet on a public Anthropology (MARTIN; MADRONAL, 2016). That is, an Anthropology that is not restricted to the academic environment and intends to actively contribute to the transformation of society. This does not mean positioning oneself in terms of political parties, but in Ingold's (2016) sense of a committed Anthropology: having a commitment to life. Maybe you've already seen the phrase: *If you stay neutral in situations of injustice, you choose the side of the oppressor.* This phrase attributed to Desmond Tutu, bishop and human rights activist from South Africa, corresponds well to what has been discussed in Latin American Anthropology, driven by the contributions of black and indigenous anthropologists (JIMENO, 2004). We echo the anthropologists who conceive the position in the face of situations of violence and injustice as part of the intellectual work, in addition to being a commitment that we assume with the communities that receive us (MARTIN; MADRONAL, 2016). Commitments are part of what it means to do research.

Episode #3: Irreverence and Anthropology

Unlike academic writing, our episodes, lasting from 30 minutes to an hour, are generally less formal, less solitary: the comfortable atmosphere of conversation appears, as if we were in our dear Kata. We can make jokes, we can get a little slurred in speech and the irreverence is in it: freedom of speech, freedom of form and even to swear at times and criticize everything and everyone we want. Irreverence is each one being able to express themselves authentically, the way they are. We come from a university environment in which language, especially writing, is very regulated and subject to different norms. This language, the difficulty of access,–it is necessary to know how and where to look–and the size of many texts, ends up keeping research restricted to the academic community.

We want to talk more about our research without worrying about whether we are using Times New Roman 12 font and 1.5 spacing (so-called "ABNT standards"). And what could be further from that shape than the irreverent sound wave? Thus, we allow ourselves to escape these rules. Although we know that, in the world of podcasts, other rules apply, we realize that these are more conditioned to what we want and our personal goals and not to what is already imposed. This reminds us of our dear Kata: feeling free to express ourselves as we want, to be more our own way with our rules. We understand, for example, that

even our different tones of voice and ways of speaking are important and help to get the message across.

We don't think we need to say: *Now let's do a social analysis: here's the thing...,* but that we can approach the themes from our concerns, question, criticize, bring references. Involving the public without a warning that what we are doing is social criticism, it is problematization. We try to maintain a broader editorial line and generally avoid the heavy theory, which often amazes even anthropologists. We strive to dilute a little bit of this knowledge in the conversations of each episode, without any pretense of exhausting the complex subjects we talk about.

In this vein, our scripts are a guide, a guide for conversations, and not a ready-to-follow recipe. Overall, we divided our episodes into thematic blocks and thought of some central questions for our guests. In the longer episodes, we can delve into one or another issue and even allow ourselves a little daydream. We do all this in a light, relaxed way, as in a chat with coffee.

Because we believe what Ingold (2016) told us earlier, we also know that accessing Anthropology outside the academy is difficult and has its obstacles. We ourselves have already questioned if we really understand what this author said because of a writing so far-fetched that it looked like another language. Obviously, we love to read, but the colors provided by podospheric waves are potent experiments in connection with other non-academic worlds.

So, we use different episode formats depending on our goals. Our "series" are sets of episodes and pills that have a major theme in common, an umbrella, so to speak, like the 2019 uprisings in Latin American countries. Our podcast is born along with this popular effervescence. As soon as we took the first steps, we already started with a series that we call "Especial América Latina" which at the time of writing this text has three episodes (about Chile, Colombia and Peru) and is not yet finished. Through our conversations with people living the protests up close, we seek to explain some of the motivations behind popular mobilizations and understand the differences and similarities between what our Latin American neighbors are experiencing. The anthropological vein of making comparisons pulses strongly when we talk about this topic. We and our guests were always surprised by the parallels between the situations experienced by our countries. The

fundamental characteristic of this series is the analysis of the existing similarities with the Brazilian situation.

When we realized the importance of thinking and talking about the moment we were facing collectively–although physically isolated -, we created our second series: *Conversas de Quarentena*[6]. It came about when two of our members did something that would become routine for the next year: a video call. Something unimaginable at that time. In this conversation full of heated debates, we try to understand how to maintain our research, health and life during the pandemic. The series came from the need to vent about the conditions of study, anthropological work and everyday issues facing the pandemic. So far, we've dealt with problems involving fieldwork, academic productivity, emergency remote teaching implemented by UnB, the working conditions of application deliverers and research mothers in these times of isolation.

The format chosen for this series was the "pills". Basically, they come in "smaller doses" and are more synthetic than episodes. They are shorter in duration, more focused and often feature stories with a beginning, middle and end. In them, we bring more of our own elaborations and talk less with guests. It is a great format to deal with more urgent issues, which need engagement on the part of society, such as the delivery strike, and to carry out a more "jet" outburst. Because they are shorter, they circulate through networks more easily, reaching more people.

In *Conversas de Quarentena*, we talk about the challenges of working from home and the gaping inequalities in this pandemic. In one of the five pills produced in this series, we talk about fieldwork, the most used method in Anthropology, in times of pandemic. As this usually involves the displacement of an anthropologist to observe, participate, talk and learn from other people, we sought to talk to those who carried out their fieldwork in the last minutes of the second half, before the whistle that started the quarantine by COVID-19.

Another pill from the quarantine series that deserves special attention is the one about UnB's Emergency Remote Teaching. In this one, we were able to add the narratives of a teacher, an undergraduate student, a doctoral student who is also a mother, an indigenous master's student and a graduate student in Social

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6   Quarantine Conversations

Sciences who had COVID-19. In-person classes have migrated to the virtual format, as have seminars, academic events, meetings, among others. This meant that the entire academic community had to readapt to this new format. Many students had problems with access to the Internet, financial difficulties and also faced grief, illness and the care of more vulnerable family members. The episode is a way of not making us forget that, behind the screen, there are different stories and challenges to be faced in these times of pandemic.

Another subject discussed a lot in our podcast, and especially in our pills, are experiences of political mobilization, protests and social movements. After all, it was these events that fueled our desire to do science in another format, right? In the podcast, we always seek to bring a more general context and understand what is behind movements. In the pill on the application delivery strike, for example, we discussed how the phenomenon of the so-called platformization of companies make precarious the working conditions of this category. This concept concerns the process of companies offering their services through applications and websites on the Internet, so that physical encounters between the agents involved become increasingly scarce. Under the promise of "freedom of choice" and "little bureaucracy", these precarious workers have to work many, many hours a day to get a minimum wage. They are not entitled to insurance in the event of an accident or burglary.

We are also venturing to talk about some more general subjects, because there is magic in the most everyday things! And not just magic. Daily life reveals a lot about our society, how it suffers the effects of a connected, globalized world, as we say in the Social Sciences, and the way in which the economy and the relationships between people and countries take place. Football is a good example. Just look at how teams are financed and what it tells us about the interests of those in power. Or, then, why were there changes in the style of the game? Where does this particular way of playing come from? Who determines this? What does this have to do with globalization? Anthropology also looks to the stands in this never-ending attempt to understand the world and must appropriate these situations that are taken as commonplace to feed important debates also held outside the academy. Why not discuss racism, using the chants of organized supporters?

We want to demystify the idea of an anthropologist Indiana Jones with a notebook, hat and machete clearing the jungle, as well as that idea of a silent ac-

ademic sitting in his office reading until dawn. Our Anthropology is also done in the hallways and at the bar tables, and it doesn't lose its potency because of that. The freer format of the podcast, and the publications written on the Internet that accompany it, also allow us to bring in authors not so valued within the university. In addition to rescuing the production of inspirations for us like Zora Hurston and Marlene Cunha, we use our space to publicize the work of our colleagues, as in our episode 5–*Zora Hurston e as Negras Antropologias*[7] and in pill 6–*Nossos passos vêm de longe – Coletivos Negros na Pós-graduação, construção e resgate do nosso saber*[8].

Zora Hurston and Marlene Cunha are black anthropologists. Zora was born in 1891, was North American and worked with black folklore in the United States and with the Voodoo religion in Haiti and Jamaica. Her works show the relationship between gender and race and the subversive role of folklore. Marlene Cunha was a Brazilian anthropologist, a pioneer in the work of gestures in the Afro-Brazilian religion Candomblé, showing the relationships with African ancestry in Brazil (Cunha, 2017). Two black collectives pay homage to these two anthropologists: Coletivo Zora Hurston (PPGAS from UnB) and Coletivo Marlene Cunha (PPGAS from UFRJ). You can find these two collectives on Instagram: @coletivozora and on Facebook: @coletivonegromuseunacional.

Episode #4: Building networks

As we enter the podosphere, we realize the need to be present on social networks, such as Instagram and Twitter (the era of Facebook is kind of over, right?). We were experimenting with different ways of managing the networks, getting the hang of it and getting to know our audience. According to data provided by Instagram, our main listeners are from Brasília (57.8%), women (60.2%), mostly between 25 and 34 years old. This also shows that we still have a way to go to circulate on the Internet in order to dialogue with people from other corners of Brazil and of other ages and professions.

To be able to expand our network, we realized that we must start by approaching colleagues and people with whom we have affinities. That is why we

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7   Zora Hurston and the Black Anthropologies

8   Our Steps come from far away–Black Collectives in Graduate Studies, construction and rescue of our knowledge.

created the #IndicaçãoDeKinta[9] Series on our social media. In times of devaluation of science, social, political, health crises, and hatred of diversity, these networks become even more important. Just as *Katacumba's* physical space and the Kata Conversations event lead us to discover wonderful research and projects that often don't get the reach they deserve, #IndicationDeKinta was the way we found to do that in the virtual model. Every Thursday we release a tip on our social networks about some work we like–from independent publishers, scientific dissemination channels with proposals similar to ours to writing clubs.

Increasing the visibility of the podcast and the number of listeners–and, thus, anthropologizing more ears -, is possible, among many other ways, through engagement on social networks as well. The way we found to keep the networks active not only with episodes was by diversifying what we post and sharing more interesting information from the world of Social Sciences and Anthropology.

So, in addition to listening to us, you can also read Katacumba stories that are being released little by little. These are reports from colleagues and professors who experienced this space of coexistence at different times. The *Antropólogas Marginalizadas*[10] Series also emerged from the desire to keep the networks active, with a different approach: we briefly present the biography and relevance of anthropologists who are discriminated against in the academic environment on account of race (here we are talking about a social reality, not a biological one), class, sexual orientation and/or country of origin. This way, podcasting is much more than just making sound episodes. In today's times, it's also about being present on social networks and using them to talk about what is important to us.

Of the various tools that these platforms offer us, Instagram stories are the ones we use most often. We always share previews with titles, images and a short audio of the episodes and pills. We like this tool because it's a more personalized environment, where the audience can get to know the faces behind the voices of the podcast. We made everything more personal, more affective and satiated some of the curiosities by putting both our face and the recording and editing process for the game in the stories. Last but not least, it is on our social networks that you meet our fifth member, at the same time our mascot: the revolutionary

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9 The litteral translation would be #Thursdayindication. In Portuguese, "quinta" (thursday) also refers to "de quinta categoria", which means something "cheap", "sleazy".

10 Marginalized Anthropologists

cat Mercedes. The owner of the great meow of Latin America is always present in the moments of recording and editing the episodes and following the news from the global South.

Our fifth member: the cat Mercedes. Author: Marina Fonseca

Episode #5–Anthropologizing the podosphere

We started our journey in the podosphere by taking to the networks the chats we had inside Katacumba, our space for cozy conversations. It was a way we found to jump over the walls of the university. With the Covid-19 pandemic, the *podcast* has also become a way to keep us connected and to vent and reflect on these times. Some mishaps crossed our path, of course, but amidst spontaneity and experimentation, we gradually found our best rhythm.

Navigation on sound waves took place with irreverence. With our different tones of voice, we deviate from the standards established by rules in Times New Roman 12 and space 1.5. We move towards non-academic worlds using some concepts from the Social Sciences in an accessible way, anthropologizing more ears. In such a polarized moment, marking positions means advancing a little in the trenches. We add a little flea behind our ear, a dilemma, a new perspective to the universe of possibilities in which our listeners circulate.

This way, we share and provoke reflections without losing the touches of lightness necessary for life. So, what are you waiting for? Go to your favorite platform and press play...

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Access the Kata Conversations *podcast page* on Radio Kere-kere

Ana Carolina Oliveira is a Master's student in Social Anthropology at the University of Brasília with a focus on Economic Anthropology. She is interested in issues related to the phenomena of globalization, financialization of the economy and State formation. She also studies the practices and technologies involved in national development projects focused on agricultural practices. *E-mail:* a.carolinaroliveira@gmail.com .

Bruner Titonelli Nunes: PhD in Social Anthropology from the University of Brasília and master's degree in Anthropology from the Fluminense Federal University. His thematic research is related to the State, politics and institutions. He is a member of the Research Group Ethnography of Institutions and Power Practices (CNPq). *Email:* brunertnt@gmail.com

Marina Fonseca: PhD student in Social Anthropology at the National Museum/ UFRJ and Master's at the University of Brasília. In addition to being an anthropologist and podcaster, she is an artisan, cyclist and football lover. She works with agrarian conflicts involving indigenous peoples in Mato Grosso do Sul and Maranhão, with land repossessions and other forms of self-defense and construction of autonomy. *Email:* marinafonseca.b@gmail.com

Yazmin Safatle: Mimi, Master's at the University of Brasília. She has worked with women who had children with congenital Zika syndrome in Recife, life history, oral history and the struggle for land in the 1980s. She is currently studying resistance strategies in rural and maroon societies. Her focus is on the narrative of women. Member of the Matula Laboratory–Sociabilities, Differences and Inequalities. *Email:* yazmin.safatle@hotmail.com

Social policies with Anthropology? Stories that intersect in an episode of *Observantropologia*[1]

Camilla Iumatti Freitas

Stephanie Sacco

Patricia dos Santos Pinheiro

Anatil Maux

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1   The podcast is available on major streaming platforms including Spotify, Deezer and Apple Podcast. In June 2021 the podcast was renamed as part of our new goals and directions regarding to the podcast mission and design. We seek to deepen the proposal for scientific dissemination of Anthropology from sensitive and controversial topics that we address in our research. You can find us both as *Observantropologia* and *Antropotretas*. To learn more, visit https://www.observantropologia.com/audiovisuais or www.antropotretras.com, and follow us on Facebook, Instagram and Twitter @antropotretras. To listen to all episodes since 2020, visit: https://pod.link/antropotretras.

Why, after all, would anthropologists venture into sound media like podcasts? Within this universe, what is the best format to inform about research in Anthropology? What topics must an Anthropology podcast cover? These are questions that we, from the Observantropologia Podcast team, asked in early 2020, amidst a pandemic not seen in such proportions for a long time. The podcasts is an initiative of researchers from the Graduate Program in Anthropology at the Federal University of Paraíba (PPGA/UFPB) and, in its first design, presents how senior and junior researchers in the field of Anthropology dealt with the pandemic and the people they were conducting research with. In this sense, it was part of the project of an observatory which the podcast gets its name from.

Meeting remotely, we proposed a sequence of pictures and episodes that brought together professors, students, representatives of social movements and people who participated as research interlocutors. We made two show formats, considering the trajectory and purpose of the episodes: *Antropologia à conta-gotas* [Anthropology with a dropper] and *Pílulas Antropológicas* [Anthropological pills]. The first meets with students who had to rethink their research projects because of the pandemic. In the episodes, students were invited to discuss their research together with special guests, in general interlocutors. We cover topics such as medical usages of cannabis, the heritage politics related to clay art in Northeast Brazil, popular culture, mourning and sickle cell anemia and racism. In the second format, senior professors presented their academic trajectory and the episodes focused on research topics such as health, technology and biosecurity, care, mental health, and public social assistance policies.

Over time, we saw that we could do more, and that's when Pop Up's episodes came out. It was a third show format in which we experiment with sound poetry and other types of sound landscape, as in *Você já amou uma travesti?*[2]. In this episode, we created an ambiance where four transgender artists presented their work in an imaginary theater. In this mixture of themes, formats and characters, we seek to get out of a restricted idea of anthropology and show the importance of the discipline for understanding the world in its complexity. Thus, the first season of *Observantropologia*, which began in May 2020, ended with 16 episodes in December of the same year, with the aim of disseminating what Anthropology is and what we study with it.

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2   "Have you ever felt in love with a transvestite?

The first episode using the *pílulas antropológicas* format was recorded with Professor Pedro Guedes do Nascimento and is called *Covid-19, políticas públicas e cidadania*[3]. It went on air in June 2020, bringing together two central themes: the *Bolsa Família Program* and its conditionalities, and the emergency aid in face of the covid-19 pandemic. When we recorded it, basic income and emergency aid were in wide debate in Brazil, since many people lost their source of income during the quarantine and needed to guarantee their livelihood. Those who lived on street commerce, gigs, and other informal jobs could not work in a home-office for obvious reasons. However, until emergency aid arrived in the hands of these people, they were invisible to the state, but exposed to the virus. Thus, with each day that passed in the delay of this release and in the absence of an official plan of action to combat the pandemic, social inequalities increased.

More than an important topic for public debate, this episode reminded us of our trajectories as anthropologists, currently located in the Brazilian Northeast. In order to tell how research in Anthropology happens about and with people, in addition to approaching the research that Pedro shared with us, we will fable from our experiences with social policies, whether as researchers or professionals managing social policies. For this, we turn to fiction. Not in the sense of something that is not real, but situations that we experience at different times. Other names, other places. Sometimes bitterly remembered, sometimes they give us shards of hope and inevitably remind us that much remains to be done.

Thinking about social policies, like anthropologists, points to the crossroads of several paths. From public policy management to the university, from research to social movements. And vice-versa, perhaps. Or at the same time. These paths are full of bifurcations, of stones, but also of shadows that relieve the heat, of corners to rest and to breathe. Guided by the conversation with Pedro, we present here some of the crossroads between Anthropology and social policies.

Public policies and citizenship through *Bolsa Família*

Who has never heard a story about some "injustice" regarding those who receive *Bolsa Família*, the cash transfer program that benefits more than 13.9 million Brazilians in situations of social vulnerability? Reports like "I know a person who has children just to receive the benefit!" Or "they earn the *Bolsa Família* and

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3   *Covid-19, public policies and citizenship*

buy *cachaça*" or "after *Bolsa Família*, no one wants to work as a maid", illustrates the atmosphere of suspiciousness surrounding the Program. These are harsh phrases that populate the universe of criticism from those who imagine that the beneficiaries of programs like this would be *unworthy,* not very *hardworking, accommodating,* etc.

According to Pedro Nascimento's research, public policies such as *Bolsa Família* face those judgments all the time. At the beginning of his field research as an anthropologist, it was common to confuse his role as a *researcher* with that of an *inspector* – a role that every public policy manager is committed to fulfilling. After all, there are many judgments about receiving the benefit, whose maximum value can reach BRL $205.00 in 2020.

Created in 2004, the *Bolsa Família Program* (PBF) has several criteria and obligations for its beneficiaries. According to its guidelines, it is designed as support to families in poverty and extreme poverty throughout the country and aims to provide the means to get out of this situation of vulnerability. Okay, but how does one do it? Where is the information? How does one know if he or she is eligible to receive the benefit? As usual, there is a conflict between the conditions and rules placed on paper by the government, and the reality about how the program is lived in a daily basis. For starters, PBF is a "conditional cash transfer benefit". It means that there is a calculation made according to the income level of each person and the number of people in the family. The amount each family receives is credited in a bank account, which is usually in the name of the woman responsible for the family.

There are a series of requirements to be fulfilled so that they continue to receive the assistance. These requirements are called "conditionalities", and imply that children must be properly enrolled and attend school, must present and register regular visits to the health center, and have a vaccination record updated. The conditionalities are focused on children. But it is the engagement of women in the areas of health and education that indicate whether or not the family can receive *Bolsa Família.* In addition, there is a surveillance network in order to check the observance of the conditionalities. One of the things that prompted Pedro to research the Program was to understand how these counterparts affects the lives of the women benefited from the Program, and how they end up regulating their practices so as not to lose the benefit.

Would the PBF be "government aid" or a right? Is its purpose to reinforce the role of women to take care of their children? What idea of care are we talking about? Understanding how daily life is seen and experienced by people is precisely one of the goals of Anthropology, and an infinity of possibilities arises from there. In this tightrope of rules and judgments, anthropological research on social policies looks closely at the points of view of beneficiaries about themselves.

In the PBF, there is the possibility of interrupting the benefit at any time. The fear of losing the resource causes a certain vigilance among the beneficiaries themselves. Conditions are no longer seen as a way to favor access to fundamental health and education rights. In fact, these conditions gradually become a form of control and pressure related to the regulation of practices in the lives of these women if they fail to comply with the *conditionalities.*

In fact, it is crystal clear that the PBF promoted changes in the idea of public policy for the most vulnerable Brazilian population. It promotes engagement in institutions, the search for information, articulation in networks of contacts and the autonomy of families through the ability to manage, at least in part, their economies. In addition, it is worth noting that this public policy supported women to construct their autonomy. However, what was in focus in our conversation with Pedro were the models of surveillance and control around a family ideal, often unrealistic, focused on a model that comprises mother-father-children. Added to this, the promotion of intersectoriality, that is, the articulation of the entire social, educational and health network, often creates obstacles and accentuates inequalities. That's what our next story is about.

Scene 1–The odyssey in a Municipal Department of Social Assistance

Laura was a young student of Social Sciences. The low income she had to keep studying led her to look for a job, and she ended up getting a position in the city hall of Recife. During the week, she took the bus "Dois Irmãos–Rui Barbosa" and used the two-hour journey in traffic to read the texts that would be discussed during the classes. She liked cinema and politics and was enrolled with a research group on dictatorship and violence. Reading, writing, critical thinking, curiosity... those are some of the practices that anthropologists (or scientists in general) seek to incorporate into their daily lives and help in their training, whether traveling

the roads or taking on administrative positions. All of this was essential to Laura's student life.

As a manager of socio-educational measures in the open environment, Laura worked in institutions for youth conflicting with law. Her role was to support the socio-educational activities for teenagers caught by police authorities who were complying with measures in the regime of freedom, accordingly to the Brazilian law. Her new position was in the department of special social policies. Laura shared a room with the municipal manager of the *Cadastro Único* (CadÚnico, the register for social programs by the Federal Government) and *Bolsa Família*. Bárbara had been in the area for a long time, and it was with her that Laura got to know the bureaucratic procedures of such direct cash transfer programs, such as *Bolsa Família*. She learned about conditionalities, how the program terminations work, the documents required, the implementation of financial resources, among others. Early on, she began to understand the paths taken by the city's population to access such policies, and thus became an anthropologist, while working and putting social policies into practice.

On a Tuesday morning, while working at the city hall, Laura received an unexpected visit from a teenager, somewhat euphoric, who introduced herself as Joana, asking to *ficar limpa* [get clean]. *Ficar limpo* was the code that designated the person who wanted to be treated for addiction to alcohol and other drugs. It was the first time that Laura came across the *via crucis* of intersectoriality. Inspired by anthropological readings, Laura believed that policies should communicate with each other, that is, a social policy must be integrated with policies of education, health, work, employment etc. Furthermore, she believed social policies, which must encourage well-being and a more equitable distribution of resources, are effective when they allow civil society to participate in the entire process, generating a broader and more comprehensive understanding of its effects. And that was what she understood by intersectoral.

The municipality, which prided itself on being a pioneer in the implementation of harm reduction for people who use alcohol and other drugs, did not cover adolescents under 18. At the age of 16, Joana lived in a popular neighborhood in the city of Recife. She was the eldest of five siblings who depended on *Bolsa Família* as an alternative to unemployment. Laura requested to move from her

family house to a shelter for alcohol and other drugs abusers in order to rehab. And it was behind these policies that Laura engaged.

"She is committed to crack, if she has an abstinence crisis, we will not have a prepared team in this unit. She needs to go through a detoxification process", that's what the professionals of the only CAPS/AD for teenagers said. CAPS is the acronym for *Psychosocial Care Center*; AD are specific centers for people committed to alcohol and other drugs.

Laura, along with Joana and her father, Sebastião, visited the treatment centers trying to find out where Joana could be welcomed for the necessary time until she was safe to return home. The only vacancy they got was in a psychiatric emergency area in a hospital on the east side of the city, and the reception happened in a violent way. The psychiatrist barely waited for the young woman's report to start asking the nurse for an injection. "To stay calm", he affirmed. Joana felt abandoned by Laura, who had given her confidence during the treatment, but who had to leave her hospitalized there. As Laura noticed the injection started to work in Joana's body, a feeling of helplessness took her completely. Laura still remembers this compulsory-consented hospitalization with sadness.

Joana took part in the treatment for a long time and got sober. Thus, the problem became unemployment. Her family, which depended on *Bolsa Família*, had lost a significant portion of the monthly income. Her twin sisters had not been able to find a place in the day care center and therefore did not study, being unable to obtain the necessary proof for the PBF.

It was time for another conversation that Laura would need to have. What might seem easy became a great challenge, and the partnership with Bárbara was fundamental for the reconnection of Joana's family to the PBF, which actually depended on the release in the CadÚnico system. And since the youngest kids weren't enrolled at school, it was impossible to release that family into the system. In other words, the public policy itself – in this case, education – took away the possibility of helping a family in extreme vulnerability. Laura needed six months and countless signed papers, phone calls and e-mails to regularize Joana's family's situation. But it was too late – they had already returned to the semi-arid region of Paraíba, where her mother, Fátima, was born.

Scene 2: In the confines of the sertão (semi-arid region), the emergency aid

Eight years have passed, and a lot has changed in Joana's family. As impressive as the rainbow that appears on the long horizon of the sertão and the green that sprouts as soon as the rain shows, some things also flourished from a hard past. Luckily, working with the land was good for the girl, who is now a woman. She married Joab, the son of her mother's cousin, who has also worked in the cooperative since he was a boy with his mother and mother-in-law. They got married at a very young age, and the family was growing: Joana was about to have her second child last time we met.

2020 was a bit of a crazy year for the family. Just like it was for everyone. Until March, everything seemed usual. The three of them lived in the one-room house they had built as soon as they were married, on Joab's mother's land. Life was a little tight, but at least they didn't have to pay rent. Between the work in Joab's fields, Joana's work with the cooperative and the assistance from the PBF, they managed to earn about BRL $500.00 per month. And that made life tight, because in addition to keeping her small family growing, Joana needed to help her mother and her twin sisters. The girls went to school, but their father, who had long gone to São Paulo, was no longer able to help the family.

In mid-March, everything changed. The whole community started to get worried about the news they heard on the radio and TV: a virus, which came from abroad, was starting to spread through Brazil. Soon the school closed, and the children's noise took over the community. Everyone was more guarded indoors. The bus didn't circulate as much, shops had to close, and everyone was worried about the lack of work.

A short time later came the news about the emergency aid. Nobody wanted to be left out and lose this benefit, imagine having an income of up to BLR $1200.00 per month in the family! More than twice of what many of them were used to. Everyone started making plans of what they were going to do with that money, but until it arrived, it felt like it was a joke. They had to download a cell phone app to apply and receive the aid. There in the community, to get a cell phone signal, one must have a specific cell phone operator and go under the hose on the corner of the market. Who would be able to apply? Luckily, the only neighbor who

had satellite internet at home helped everyone sign up. It was almost always common to find a group of people at her door. And after what seemed like an eternity, a part of the people received the aid and another part supported themselves, thanks to the contributions that came from the neighborhood. In the community it's like that: what works for one, works for all.

With the extra income, Joana and Joab took the opportunity to renovate their home, the way they had dreamed of. What was just a room, in 4 months, became a house with a living room, a kitchen, a bathroom and two bedrooms. But in the meantime, Sebastião, Joana's father, in São Paulo, was going through hard times. He didn't want to accompany his wife to the countryside and ended up going to the big city. Life had ups and downs since he got there. Sometimes it was possible to send a little help to the family. But in the last few years, he barely had enough to his own daily life.

As soon as the pandemic started, he lost his job. He was a cleaning assistant and worked for an outsourced company that provided services to those large corporate offices in the city. He earned a little more than the minimum wage and paid BRL $600.00 in rent in a small studio nearby the center of the city. He barely had enough to do the groceries, so sending money to the family, or saving a part of his income was not really possible.

Unemployed, he was pushed to get out of rent and went into a homeless situation. He got the R$600 emergency aid, but he would only pay the rent with that money. And the rest? Since April, he has spent his days looking for a public hostel to sleep, donations at churches and a job to get out of this situation. When he can't get a place at a hostel, he uses the aid money in some cheap hotel downtown, or for other emergencies. He did not tell his family that he was on the street. Things are never easy there, and he didn't want to worry them about his situation. He was afraid of catching the virus, getting sick and dying alone. But he had hope that this phase would pass, and that life would get back on track, and that he would find a good job and who knows, maybe even return to the Northeast.

At the crossroads of life, stories connect

It was at the beginning of the pandemic that these stories intersected. Laura, that Social Sciences student working at the municipality, was at this point

starting her doctorate at the Federal University of Paraíba. For that, she quit her job and moved to João Pessoa. But the experience at the city hall still reverberated in her thoughts: she remembered the cases, the people who came asking for help, sharing their realities of life, difficulties or sufferings. In addition to a bureaucratic position, Laura turned the office she shared with Bárbara into a space for welcoming and listening. She thought about the people who passed by. How would Joana and so many others be now?

As the emergency aid was intermediated by the public bank *Caixa Econômica Federal*, this system ended up overlapping CadÚnico and the entire network of the social assistance system. It is sad to think that many people who could have been identified and included by the assistance network ended up being left out. Now, if we look at the margins of society, not even the succession of events over time can account for history.

At the university, Laura met Paloma, who soon became an inspirational friend. Paloma is also an anthropologist, coming from another state, Rio Grande do Sul. The two exchanged stories about their memories of home. Their lives had been so different! But when they talked about the pandemic and its consequences, especially for people in greater vulnerability, their experiences ended up becoming similar. Together, they reflected that what the pandemic did was to expose situations that were until then little known, considering a wide range of populations living in precarious condition, and that are outside the assistance network, the registers, the numbers. Either because they were not seen or because they did not perceive themselves as someone who could resort to some policy on the part of the government.

Uncomfortable with the social inequalities they saw in their surroundings, in their research, and in the lives of their colleagues, they decided to take action. They gathered a group of students to carry out a social action project. The group started to accompany several communities through support actions in the fight against the pandemic and ended up becoming an umbrella project of several initiatives, which also included sound media such as the *podcast*. And that's how the last meeting of this crossroads happened: the reunion of Laura and Joana. One of the communities served by the group was precisely the community where Joana lived, in the semi-arid region of Paraíba.

Lives reflected in anthropological research

One of Anthropology's greatest contributions to the research and development of public policies, such as PBF or emergency aid, is that it looks at the lives of people who are influenced by these policies. As a kind of analytical magnifying glass, anthropologists such as Pedro Nascimento seek to know what happens in practice when the aid of these programs promises is received – or not. These researches often turn into thesis and articles, which, although extremely important, end up not coming out of Anthropology itself. With the *Observantropologia* podcast we seek to overcome boundaries and tell the world what we anthropologists do and how our research helps to create other possible worlds. Here, when we talk about public policies, by looking closely at how they affect people's lives, we see more clearly what sustains injustices and the possibilities for social transformation.

The story of Joana and her family brings to life Pedro Nascimento's main reflections in the episode he participated in on our podcast. From the bureaucratic obstacles they suffered for not being able to comply with the conditionalities of PBF for almost a decade in Recife, to the difficulties and consequences of emergency aid in the semi-arid region of Paraíba. The pandemic not only opened up but worsened social inequalities in Brazil. According to Pedro, the race for emergency aid has shown that a third of the country is chronically or often poor, and that many people who did not receive any social assistance from the government began to need it. It also revealed how many Brazils exist in Brazil. The completely different ways in which Joana and her father experienced the pandemic illustrate well those different social realities. While she and her community represent part of those people who did not have access to the internet, but who accessed aid, her father, in São Paulo, ended up on the streets, receiving the same aid.

Bringing these discussions to Anthropology opens space for us to rethink the views that are often crystallized when thinking about social policies for income distribution. Who, after all, are the people who are entitled to this kind of benefit? As well as the research work by Pedro Nascimento (2020), research such as that of Claudia Fonseca (1995, 2004) and Claudia Fonseca and Lúcia Scalco (2015), among others, help us to think about how these rights are (or not) fulfilled in difficult contexts. One risk, for them, is that policies end up being built from generalizations that reduce unique and diverse people and stories.

Our professional experiences, which combine experience in public administration and social organizations with academic practice, inspired the construction of the story of Laura and Joana and her family, as a way of bringing up dramas and paths full of inequalities, including the access to some social policies. On the other hand, some of them, despite having immediate effects, point to the difficulty of thinking about a care network that could insert the most vulnerable population into these rights in a more permanent way. In a different political situation from the one we are experiencing with the freezing of public spending, we could even think of a universal basic income model, as Pedro himself addresses in the episode. He recalls the struggle of Eduardo Suplicy, currently a São Paulo councilor for the Workers' Party, in defense of this universal basic income, which, for him, would be a principle of freedom and dignity for all. Having the basics guaranteed, perhaps Joana's trajectory as a teenager was different. Or her father hadn't had to submit to a job at a third-party cleaning company, with almost no labor rights.
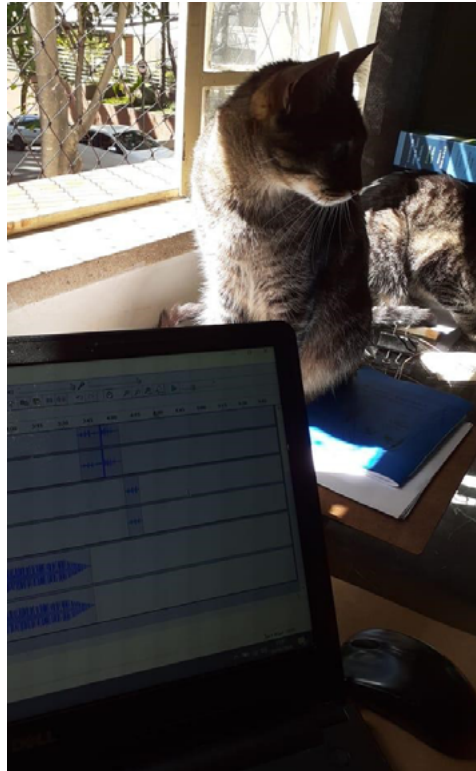
Audios, whiskers, sweat and fur: editing in many voices. Photo by: Thiago Oliveira

The meeting with Laura stands for this place we sometimes occupy. Conducting research about and with other people, with social organizations, from academia to management, or, as in the case of Laura, in the opposite direction, informs us about the tensions that we seek to present in the podcast. Joana, Joab, Fátima, Laura, Sebastião, Bárbara and Paloma are the combination of several people we meet in our daily lives, whether within public institutions or in anthropological readings. They do exist and resist!

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Access the *podcast page* on Radio Kere-kere here

Camilla Iumatti Freitas is an anthropologist, holds a master's degree from the Federal University of Alagoas, and is a doctoral student in Anthropology from the Federal University of Paraíba. She is a researcher in the area of health, body and gender from the perspective of feminist anthropology. E-mail*:* milla.iumatti@gmail.com .

Stephanie Ferreira Sacco is trained as an internationalist by Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo (PUC-SP), a specialist in Sociopsychology from the Fundação Escola de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo (FESP-SP) and a Master's in Anthropology from the Federal University of Paraíba (UFPB). She researches new ruralities and the relationship between ecology, health and spirituality, in addition to working as a consultant for social projects. E-mail*:* stephaniefsacco@gmail.com

Patrícia Pinheiro is a visiting professor at the Federal University of Latin American Integration (Unila). PhD in Social Sciences from the Federal Rural University of Rio de Janeiro (CPDA/UFRRJ). She researches the historical trajectory of racism and ways of confronting it, socio-environmental conflicts and policies of recognition of the quilombola population. E-mail*:* patriciasantspinheiro@gmail.com

Anatil Maux is PhD candidate at Federal University of Rio Grande do Norte, where she works on drugs policies, consumption of psychoactive substances and methodological approaches to deal with sensibilities tensioning the distributive model of right to life. E-mail: anatil_@hotmail.com
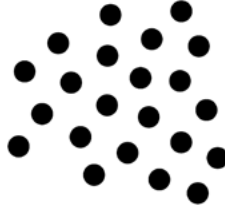
Museológicas Podcast: An experience report of our adventure in the podosphere

Hugo Menezes Neto

Francisco Sá Barreto dos Santos

In April 2019, a group of five professors from the Department of Anthropology and Museology at the Federal University of Pernambuco – Alexandro de Jesus, Daniel Vieira, Elaine Muller, Francisco Sá Barreto and Hugo Menezes Neto – founded the *Museológicas* Podcast extension project. By the end of 2020, with a pandemic in the way, we launched 79 programs, accounting for approximately 100 hours of content released for free to society, available on the main free podcast platforms [1].

We will tell you a little about our history, motivations, goals and challenges. We will also describe our work process, team dynamics and, finally, we will bring some data that quantify our experience while helping to reflect on processes and

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1   Anchor, SoundCloud, Spotify, Deezer, Apple Podcast and Google podcast, among others.

results. The aim is to exchange experiences with readers, listeners and producers of *podcasts,* feed an ongoing debate about new forms of scientific dissemination and the introduction of new media to help communication between the university and society.

A podcast as an extension project

The 2018 elections and the government that started the following year consolidated a strong movement against the public university. The function, or performance, of these institutions has been questioned by politicians who try to manipulate public opinion by placing it against the Brazilian academic experience. For example, in 2019, the education minister accused the university community of making "shambles" on *campuses.* He stated, without evidence, that "there are extensive marijuana plantations" in the teaching units, decreed severe budget cuts, extinction of research grants, suspension of competitions, end of important educational programs. Questions like "What is the university for?" or "What do professors and students do?" began to circulate in the public sphere, especially in relation to the Human Sciences.

In this context, we (the five professors involved in the podcast project) discussed the need to contribute to this debate. However, we needed to find a way to broaden our audience beyond the academic community at UFPE and still invest in an accessible language to respond to society. Our conversations revolved around new communication tools, technology as a tool for the extension and dissemination of university research.

We would like people to know what we think and do, to access our production and easily understand the proposed discussions, as we recognize that the language of academic articles has a limited reach. The idea of creating an extension project aimed at the realization of a podcast seemed the most financially viable to us, as it demands a low-cost technology for production and free access for users. It was also more interesting to meet the expectations we elaborated, since academic podcast programs dedicated to other areas of scientific knowledge were already presenting themselves as efficient tools for scientific dissemination heard around the world. In addition, it seemed like a fun idea, as we could experiment with various formats, make it our way, exploring form and content, exercising our creativity by articulating the aesthetic and discursive dimensions.

As a result of the extension project, we would deliver to society programs that everyone could listen to at any time of the day, even reconciling with other activities. In our conversations, we always imagine listeners washing the dishes or doing physical exercises, while listening to one of the programs. This is an advantage of the podcast that attracted us a lot: in the rush of life, it is possible to fit a podcast into your daily schedule without prejudice to other face-to-face activities. It is worth mentioning that the option for a podcast was also linked to the desire to produce an archive. We wanted to build a "podoteca[2]" bringing together a set of debates on topics that interested us as a collective and our students, with points of view of participatory diversion. A file that was also available to be integrated into classes and that itself was a source of research for safeguarding the record of discussions in the Human Sciences of a given moment and context and could always be revisited and its contents critically analyzed.

Some of us already followed podcasts, but we had never produced academic content for the internet, so technique and expertise with the necessary technologies were our challenges. Despite the difficulties, we took risks. We organized our ideas and prepared an extension project. We called this project the "*Museológicas Podcast*" which began to be coordinated by the professors Francisco Sá Barreto and Hugo Menezes Neto and involved the research groups of the five engaged professors [3].

Then, we managed to voluntarily join a group of students[4], forming a team that remained together until the end of 2020. This entire team has been working intensely on carrying out the project's actions, exchanging knowledge and learning to deal with the demands of the podcast, something so new for everyone. The main objective was to build a set of contents that could be collectively elaborated, as we will show later, but not only that. The general idea was that the *Museológicas* Podcast could function as an instrument to bring professors, students and other interested parties closer to those themes, believing in what Paulo Freire would call an "innovative pedagogy". In other words, from the beginning, our main interest

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[2]   A podcast library.

[3]   The Observatory of Museums and Heritage – Observamus; Museum-Logics Study Group; Multimedia Laboratory, Laboratory for Advanced Studies in Contemporary Culture, LEC; and the Curupiras Research Group: colonialities and other epistemologies, in addition to the Expography Laboratory (Expolab).

[4]   The students of the Bachelor's Degree in Museology: Iri Freitas, Sofia Moreira, Talita de Melo and, also, Maria Clara Costa, of the Bachelor's Degree in Cinema (UFPE), in addition to Luísa Nóbrega, Master's student in the Graduate Program in Anthropology at UFPE.

was to use the podcast as a tool to increase didactic resources for the classroom, as well as the interest in going beyond its borders, producing and reinforcing what we could freely call an arena of debates.

The name chosen derives from the undergraduate course in Museology, housed in our Department and in which all five professors work. At first, we would like to explore museum and museum logics, namely, a podcast that talks about heritage and museums, in interface with Anthropology, the graduate course of our Department. Over time, *Museológicas* became a cultural critique podcast, discussing issues of contemporary society, expanding the initial museological universe.

With the financial support of the Fundação de Amparo à Ciência e Tecnologia do Estado de Pernambuco (FACEPE), by promoting a research project, we acquired basic equipment for recording programs (recorders, microphones, soundboards, etc.). This resource, however, did not cover the items for the payment of the platform that would house our material (SoundCloud). To solve this problem, we divided the expenses between the five professors involved and, thus, for almost two years we prorated this payment with our personal resources until we transferred all the content to a free platform (Anchor), in December 2020.

We recorded and launched our first program in May 2019. It is an interview with museologist and anthropologist Bruno Brulon, a professor at the Federal University of the State of Rio de Janeiro (UNIRIO), who was in Recife to give a lecture at the Fundação Joaquim Nabuco (FUNDAJ). That first moment was a great laboratory. We ventured into the making of a program without knowing exactly a formula, a right way of doing things. Unconcerned with time and editing, each of us asked questions without a previously consolidated script. With the subsequent experience, of months of work, however, we developed our own step by step of pre-production, production and dissemination.

From then on, many programs were created, we saw our audience grow and we learned little by little, with mistakes (many) and successes, about how to make this idea work. We understood right from the start, mainly, that we needed a script and a more efficient control of time, and that one would be linked to the other. However, reflecting on our own work with the extension project, we came to understand that the script is a preliminary forecast of the program's progress, not an instrument to control the unpredictable encounter between us and those we invite. It needs to be porous and we need to be willing to let us walk through the

unexpected, what escapes the script and makes the program something surprising for those who produce and for those who listen. We quickly realized that the ideal time for a program to be played well is 30 to 40 minutes and that a script, and an edit connected to it, can help us maintain this average.

However, in the course of the project, we learned again that this must not be the most important thing, that some discussions must not be reduced and adapted to a specific time, that some people need to be heard fully, because they were historically silenced. We believe that the most important thing is the documentary value of the record we are producing and safeguarding. Thus, in the same way that we carried out programs within the stipulated average, we also aired, for example, a program with three great names of Afro-Brazilian culture in Pernambuco (Mãe Lúcia dos Prazeres and the capoeira masters Orum and Joab Jó) with more than two hours in which they brilliantly discuss racism and black ancestry.

We started with no experience and learned to do it in practice, building and deconstructing ideas daily through a critical analysis of our work and our goals towards society.

Seduced by communication

The success of academic podcasts in the field of Social Sciences, like ours, points to the demand for new communication policies with the use of technology in favor of the democratization of access to knowledge. We do all parts of the production process of the *Museológicas* Podcast ourselves, without the help of a studio or specialists in recording and editing techniques. It was necessary for us to learn, for example, editing techniques and also ways of disseminating the material produced, in order to carry out the stages of the process in our homes, even before the social isolation imposed by the Covid-19 pandemic.

Each team member collaborates on activities with which they most identify; some behind the scenes, others in the conduction of the programs and in the diffusion. It is important to emphasize, however, that we do not intend to compete for a professionalization of the techniques and the device itself. We understand that the maintenance of amateurism, in this sense, contributes to the adhesion of students and to the idea that the project is, in fact, not only commanded, but fully carried out by professors and students who learn from each other to keep the project running.

The *Museológicas* Podcast is based, as a fundamental concept, on programs of meetings with good conversations between us from the team, and people invited to participate. However, they must always be the protagonists, and we are mediators. We want to print a direct language that does not refer to an academic text. Thus, we believe that recording a podcast program becomes an excellent opportunity to meet people we want to meet, consolidate dialogue, exchange experiences. For the meeting, then, we formulate questions that drive our interaction. We don't want to make the podcast a self-promotion platform, even though it gives the team some visibility, since it circulates widely on the internet. Our interaction must be captured in a sensitive way, the conversation must be intelligible and occupy a central place in the listening experience. Therefore, we direct the listener to dive only into dialogue, almost always dispensing with the use of other sound resources. In this sense, we do not edit people's speeches, just hesitations and empty spaces. In all recordings, we only edited lines when invited people asked for it to be removed for the final version.

We also developed our own *modus operandi,* a set of procedures in stages with a view to making the programs, established as follows: pre-production, production and dissemination. The organization of these procedures is done in systematic meetings with the team.

In pre-production, we jointly discuss the theme of the program, list who the participants will be (invited people and team members), study the subject to be addressed, build the script, make contact with the guest and schedule for the recording. In addition, we decide who will be the presenters among our team members according to the affinity with the content to be discussed.

In the production stage, the actual recording takes place. Then, the recording takes place (Audacity and GarageBand are the most used software by the team) of what was recorded, with the cutting of unnecessary parts and sound editing, to achieve greater quality in the finished program.

The last step is dissemination, which consists of publishing and promoting the program. Scholars of the project develop an individual graphic project for the program, which illustrates the content aired and which will be uploaded along with it to the platforms. The graphic design is posted on social media, along with a text created specially to explain the content of the material released. The disclosure occurs especially on Instagram, Facebook, YouTube and also by WhatsApp. Behind the

scenes photos of the recording are published on the eve of the program's publication, with the art, the explanatory text and the link to access.

The entire team strives to push the programs forward on their networks. Two people are in charge of communicating with the audience, which interacts through these networks. In this respect, comments are important *feedback* on the work and even offer suggestions for new programs. But we still consider the *podcast* a cold support of interaction–without immediate interaction–with the audience, since we don't know when and how listeners are accessing the programs.

Although we make a strong effort to make the podcast programs visible, the most important thing for us is the formation of a collection, a set of debates and discussions that can serve to present to society what the public university does, what researchers think, in particular, those linked to the human and social sciences. We deliver free, accessible and informative content as a social feedback and as a strong extension activity. The number of plays or hits is an offshoot of the hard work, but it mustn't be the main concern.

In time, it is important to insist that the podcast is an invitation to an unknown audience, as it seems clear, but it is not only so. It has worked as an important tool for internal articulation between members, as well as other professors and students in the department and in the Museology and Social Sciences courses, in a more immediate way. There is, in it, the possibility of the realized desire of scientific communication executed in a more linear, less hierarchical way and in language supposedly more accessible to a user that we are still in the process of getting to know.

Series work

We started in 2019, in what we consider a year of experimentation and learning. We released two episodes a month, on average, and invited many researchers from Pernambuco. We recorded in person, with our equipment, and, due to the lack of financial resources for travel, we depended on the opportunity to get an agenda with a guest from outside the state of Pernambuco. We took advantage of academic events to articulate recordings in between activities, or when professors from other institutions were in Recife and UFPE for some scientific activity or participation in boards, and so we were able to meet people with different profiles for the interviews, but almost all of them were linked to an expanded field of cultural criticism–professionals, researchers, students of a vast thematic universe of culture.

Photo from the recording of the podcast with Professor Verona Segantini (UFMG). In-person recording made on December 4, 2019. Author: Manuela da Silva.

In our first program, we were four professors interviewing a guest: this would be the initial format to follow. The idea was to offer a qualified interview without the tone of academic quizzes, like a conversation. However, we soon realized that we could test other formats. We recorded lectures given and, after authorization, we converted the material into a program; we recorded a program with an audience, trying to capture the spontaneity of the immediate interaction; we also recorded conversation circles on specific subjects with the participation of the team's professors.

The themes of the programs were related to the public debate of the moment that could mobilize Museology and Anthropology, or to the political calendar, as important dates for social struggles concerning issues of gender, sexuality and racial relations. We made special programs, such as, for example, the month of black awareness, the period of celebrations for the month of LGBTQIA+ Pride and the celebrations of International Women's Day. Events that demanded urgent discussions, such as the fire at the National Museum, or the success of a film with a political content, such as Bacurau, also gave rise to our production. It was a very guided work at the time, at the opportunity, and taking advantage of the names of local researchers as a priority.

In 2020, the project gained new contours. The Covid-19 pandemic pushed us to produce from records in a virtual environment and we needed to reinvent our work dynamics. We were surprised, however, with the new possibilities, especially with regard to the expansion of the network of contacts and the availability of professors from various regions of Brazil, as well as abroad. Our first move was, together with the Graduate Program in Anthropology at UFPE, to build a series of programs that would present Anthropology debates about the ongoing pandemic, with anthropological researchers from all over the country.

Thirty programs were produced in the series entitled *Anthropológicas,* the same name from the Journal of the Graduate Program in Anthropology at UFPE, a resource to mark the link between undergraduate and graduate actions. Between April and August 2020, we released at least two episodes a week. We have 45 guests who gave interviews to the authors of this article, who, together with Professor Alex Vailati (PPGA/UFPE), produced the series in online meetings*,* with audio recorded by the Jitsi platform, all in their homes, talking about the most different cities around the country.

Online recording of program 24 of the *Anthropológicas* series. Alex Vailati, Francisco Sá Barreto and Hugo Menezes interview Salima Cure (Colombian Truth Commission) about the Covid-19 pandemic and the armed conflicts in Colombia.

The noises, delays*,* momentary interruptions due to the domestic dynamics of the team and unguests, the lower quality sound, all these new elements have been incorporated into what we call the aesthetics of the pandemic. We immedi-

ately answer the question of how the Human and Social Sciences can act during the pandemic: helping to think about the social experience in the course of the biggest health crisis in recent history, researching and identifying problems and effects of social isolation and pandemic experience. The *Anthropological* series had great repercussion, was reposted by the Brazilian Association of Anthropology (ABA) and in the bulletins on Covid-19 of the National Association of Graduate Studies and Research in Social Sciences (ANPOCS), in addition to having been and will continue to be used as a subsidy for asynchronous classes by several universities. We reached expressive numbers of reproduction and access to the programs. Between April and August 2020, there were more than 12.000 reproductions of the series' programs on all platforms where *Museológicas* is available.

With the installation of quarantine and social isolation in Brazil, we started to offer more programs, with themes, in many ways, focused on the debate on Covid-19 in several aspects and with more possibility of people to be interviewed directly from their homes, attracting greater public attention and reaching places we didn't expect to reach. The data produced by the platform that hosted the *Museológicas* Podcast, *SoundCloud,* helps to illuminate the growth of the project, as shown in the following table:

REPRODUÇÕES ANTES E DURANTE A PANDEMIA DA COVID-19

MAIO DE 2019 A MARÇO DE 2020
2008 reproduções pelo SoundCloud em 16 programas

MARÇO A JULHO DE 2020
5217 reproduções pelo SoundCloud em 42 novos programas

DA SÉRIE ANTHROPOLÓGICAS
Cinco dos dez programas mais ouvidos do projeto, que, ao todo, soma 5832 reproduções em 30 programas. Os cinco programas mais reproduzidos somam 2655, somente no SoundCloud.

Reproduzida em mais de 50 países. 11 cidades estrangeiras entre as 50 que mais reproduzem programas do Museológicas.

Made by the authors, with CANVA® *software*

These data highlight the relevant expansion of clicks and circulation of a type of program that is not inscribed as mere entertainment. They indicate that the podcast is consolidating itself as a (new) technology in favor of the construction and dissemination of knowledge, showing society what the university has done, more specifically the Human and Social Sciences, during the pandemic.

The successful experience of the *Anthropológicas* series led us to reorganize our work dynamics. We divide time and effort between the production of new series, with episodes interconnected by a guiding axis, and individual programs related to the dates of social struggles and important events that occur in the course of social life. The objective of continuing with individual programs is not to lose the freshness of the debate that follows a critical event, and to prevent us from becoming disconnected from the mobilizations around politically important themes with which Anthropology and Museology work, and which are also directly related to the public university.

We then produced the series *A China e a Covid-19,* about China's place in the discussion about the pandemic, and the series *Linhas Cruzadas,* which discusses the intersection between Museology and other areas of knowledge. We innovated with partnerships and new formats. The podcast was the platform for the launch of a book, with the series *Carnaval Sem Fronteiras* (in partnership with UFRJ and UFF), consisting of four episodes in which authors of the homonymous collection participated, talking about their articles, released in the second half of 2020. We also experimented with the podcast being part of the schedule of a virtual event with the *Museums and Resistance* series. In it, every week of October a program was launched as part of the activities of this Congress of the same name promoted by the Museology course at the Federal University of Santa Catarina (UFSC).

Examples of graphic designs from the *Anthropological, Covid-19 and China series;* and
Carnival without borders

In 2020, 46 programs were produced, distributed in 5 series. In addition to them, the Museológicas Podcast has 14 other "single" programs, which present questions about museums and heritage, and also discuss other topics in the Social Sciences, totaling 60 programs throughout the year. Below is a table with data from the 2020 series systematized for better appreciation:

Series	Episode Number	publication period	partnerships
Anthropológicas /anthropological Dedicated to the discussion of Anthropology on social issues related to the context of the pandemic.	30	April– August	The last four episodes were made in part- nership with the PPGA of UFPB.
Linhas cruzadas/crossed lines Discusses themes that permea- te Museology and other areas of knowledge.	4	June July	
A China e Covid-19/China and Covid-19 Debates China's place in the discus- sion about the Covid-19 pandemic.	3	July August	
Carnaval sem fronteiras/Carnival Without Borders Held for the launch of the homony- mous book about samba schools in Brazil and around the world. The au- thors present their articles published in this collection.	4	September	UFRJ and UFF
Museus e Resistência/Museums and Resistance This series was an integral part of the event of the same name. It deals with themes that articulate museums and an agenda of urgent social debates.	5	October	UFSC

Programs published, in addition to the series, in 2020.
- *Frevo patrimônio Imaterial do Brasil* /Frevo Intangible Heritage of Brazil
- *O 8 de março e a luta social das mulheres*/March 8 and the social struggle of women
- *Desafios das Museologia 10 anos depois*/Challenges of Museology 10 years later
- *Gênero e democracia*/Gender and Democracy
- *A Museologia e a pandemia partes 1 e 2* /Museology and the pandemic parts 1 and 2 (double episode for the anniversary of the program).
- *Cidades Globais e pandemia*/Global Cities and Pandemic (Interview with Saskia Sassen).
- *Políticas culturais, Neoliberalismo e pandemia* /Cultural Policies, Neoliberalism and Pandemic (Interview with George Yúdice).
- *Musealização de objetos de carnaval no Museu Nacional*/Musealization of carnival objects at the National Museum
- *Questão racial na perspectiva marxista* /Racial issue in the Marxist perspective (interview with Jones Manoel).
- *A Universidade e o ensino remoto* /The University and the remote teaching (interview with the Rector of UFPE, Alfredo Gomes).
- *As tarefas políticas da Museologia e a formação universitária*/The political tasks of Museology and university education
- *O pensamento de Paulo Freire e os Museus*/The thought of Paulo Freire and the Museums
- *Representatividade de gênero e raça nos museus: mulheres negras na Museologia*/ Representation of gender and race in museums: black women in Museology
- *Ancestralidade e cultura negra: uma conversa com os mestres*/Ancestry and black culture: a conversation with the masters

Organizing the work in a series format allows for deeper discussions on important topics, presenting different points of view, based on more than one meeting with different guests, on the same or related topics. With the series, we gained more space for debate and brought more people into dialogue. However, even if we previously organized ourselves to produce programs within series, we believe that there must be room in our agenda for individual programs that respond to the demands of the moment and the calendar of political struggles. As well as the series, the individual programs aim to disseminate research, qualify the academic experience, but they also propose to give space to voices of militancy in favor of feminist and anti-racist causes, in favor of sexual and gender diversity, against

LGBTQIA+phobia, racism and sexism. We understand, along the way, that the podcast can be an important tool for political formation and in symbolic disputes to favor historically oppressed and subordinated groups.

The world as an audience

The project has its vast majority of reproductions based in Brazil (75%, approximately). The remaining 25% are distributed across 54 different countries, especially the United States, France and Portugal. In Brazil, being a project originating from UFPE, about 25% of the reproductions are from Recife (2449). Rio de Janeiro (868), São Paulo (466), Brasília (381), Salvador (367), Porto Alegre (351), Goiânia (335), Fortaleza (263), Paris-FRA (253) and Belo Horizonte (225) complete the list of the 10 cities that most listen to the project's programs on the SoundCloud platform. We also highlight the presence of Aushburn, San Francisco and Columbus (United States), Dublin (Republic of Ireland), Vila Nova de Gaia and Lisbon (Portugal), Ris-Orangis (France), Maputo (Mozambique), Brussels (Belgium) and Jakarta (Indonesia) – 11 foreign cities – among the top 50 cities. Among the top ten, we are talking about three cities in the Northeast, three in the Southeast, two in the Midwest, one in the South and one foreign.

These data demonstrate a circulation throughout the Brazilian territory, notably when the people interviewed–from the most diverse Brazilian universities–were from these cities. Perhaps the best exception to these observations are, fundamentally, the programs that circulated the most: episode 3 (Jean Segata, on epidemics and digital sociability) and 7 (Lília Schwarcz, on China and contemporary racism), both with a large number of reproductions distributed throughout the territory and with a more modest percentage in Recife.

Both in the *Anthropológicas* series and in the other programs of the project, the data show that the circulation of content has also accessed cities without a university *campus,* as well as less prominent centers in the production of Social Sciences in Brazil, configuring itself as a potentially promising device for scientific communication. During the pandemic, our podcast minimally maintained connections between very different actors, either in the programs themselves, or in the geographic profile of their audience, which allows us to infer a complex understanding of the audience dimension in times of a pandemic.

The public can turn out to be a diffuse and uncontrollable set of digital files, articulating houses and streets in large and small cities and different social classes. This characteristic has always guided the project, which understands the set of products as a file to be consulted by listeners interested in the subjects, not necessarily when the programs are published. The programs with greater circulation reflect the presence of more well-known guests, who manage to circulate the program more widely, an effort beyond what we already do to promote it.

What does (or could) it mean to have an even greater circulation of published material? If, on the one hand, the processes of knowledge circulation incorporate typical dynamics of the "click economy", we cannot deny, on the other hand, that these processes make it possible to reach a wider audience and further democratize the contents of the Humanities and Social Sciences in Brazil. This dilemma clearly arises from our experience with the podcast and is punctually inscribed in the debate on multimodal ethnography, understood here as the use of a specific infrastructure, which allows producing specific forms, and which, at the same time, enables a critical analysis of the infrastructure used.

Final considerations

In these almost two years of the project, of learning and intense exchanges between our team, and with the hundreds of guests who were part of our programs, it is possible to identify, in addition to the joys and successes, some challenges to be faced.

The first of these is funding and maintaining the team. An extension project like a podcast needs people with very specific expertise. We need grants to attract and keep students involved in the activities, as well as funding to invest in the qualification of personnel in the various technical stages of producing a podcast, even though we have chosen amateur as a political language. However, extension is the component of the university experience that receives less attention, resources and scholarships, which limits our actions and makes us work with a reduced team and with technical restrictions due to the impossibility of acquiring equipment to achieve greater sound quality of our products. The project does not yet stand on its own. At this moment, after a year and eight months of paying from our own resources, in an apportionment format among the five professors of the team, we are moving from a paid host to a free one, *Anchor*.

Another challenge is in terms of promoting or disseminating the work. It is not easy to circulate programs and also access similar material produced by different universities. To this end, we are organizing around a promising network of Anthropology podcasts*, Kere-kere,* devising solutions to promote each other. *Kerekere* has been a great group for exchanging experiences and techniques to seek solutions to the problems that impact, in one way or another, all Anthropology podcasts in Brazil. We are very excited about the idea of being in a collaborative podosphere, which includes interesting people with different products, as well as the real possibility of designing the podcast as a didactic-methodological tool and a more accessible place for reflection and analysis of the social, part of new communication policies to bring academia closer to society.

Still, a challenge to be overcome is the valorization of this work. Making a podcast takes time, study, articulation and results in academic content material. However, where to put it in the *curriculum lattes*[5]? How can graduate professors get involved with an extension project that demands so much if it counts (almost) nothing for their curricula or for the institutional evaluation of the professor? How can graduate studies welcome and encourage projects like the ones we have spread across universities in Brazil if they don't earn points with podcasts*,* like other academic-scientific productions, for their evaluations with science incentive and promotion agencies? Professors linked to graduate courses are not encouraged to invest in projects such as the production of podcasts because they are not yet part of the accounting of institutional evaluations, although new forms of scientific communication are a topic in the debate of universities worldwide.

Finally, we understand that the biggest challenge in question remains that of structured communication in dialogue. Can the podcast operate as a powerful instrument for the production and circulation of communication, in the Freirean sense of the word? In times of digital sociability, we cannot and do not want to avoid the challenge, not necessarily of answering this question, but of continuing to qualify its elaboration. Knowing, communicating, articulating and expanding seem to be major pedagogical challenges that comprise expanded areas of our work at the university for the university, but also at the university for what sustains and justifies it: Brazilian society. The dialogicity that challenges us, therefore, is the one that mobilizes us from a policy of meetings that does not end in classrooms;

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5   Brazilian academic curriculum platform: https://lattes.cnpq.br/

that it expands to the countless corners of the country, but, still, is also willing to rebuild the teaching and student experience in such dark times.

Access the *Museológicas* podcast page on Radio Kere-kere here

Hugo Menezes Neto: PhD in Anthropology (UFRJ/IFCS), professor at the Department of Anthropology and Museology and at the Graduate Program in Anthropology at the Federal University of Pernambuco (UFPE). Coordinator of the Museological Extension Project Podcast. Researcher dedicated to topics related to intangible heritage, museums, object theory, festivals and popular culture. *E-mail:* hugo.menezesnt@ufpe.br

Francisco Sá Barreto dos Santos: PhD in Sociology (PPGS-UFPB), Professor at the Department of Anthropology and Museology and at the Graduate Program in Anthropology at the Federal University of Pernambuco. Coordinator of the Museological Extension Project Podcast. Researcher dedicated to urban studies and heritage policies in post-colonial contexts. *Email:* francisco.bsantos@ufpe.br

Antropólis Podcast*:* far beyond academia

Guilhermo Aderaldo

Francisco Pereira Neto

Claudia Turra Magni

Ediane Oliveira

Gabriela Lamas

We often ask ourselves: why is Anthropology, which studies the entire universe of humanity, so unknown? Why is the newest of the Social Sciences often confused with Ornithology (study of birds), with Archeology (study of material remains of peoples) and other "logies"? We do not want to unravel this mystery here, we just seek means to make it more understandable. Through the report of the construction of our podcast, *Antropólis*, linked to the Graduate Program in Anthropology at the Federal University of Pelotas (UFPel), we hope to contribute to make this fascinating area of knowledge resonate better in your ear.

Anthropology in the podosphere

The use of digital technologies in the production and dissemination of anthropological knowledge has been an exciting challenge, particularly (but not only) for the new generations. Some academic centers, such as the *Image Bank and Visual Effects* of the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (BIEV, UFRGS) have had great success in this regard, as revealed in the interview we did with one of its coordinators, Professor Ana Luiza Carvalho da Rocha[1]. The conditions imposed by the COVID-19 pandemic have made these technological resources unavoidable, especially for teaching.

Microphones, computers, internet and cheering for everything to work out. Author: Guilhermo Aderaldo.

In Brazil, we are experiencing political setbacks, with budget cuts, authoritarianism and worsening difficulties in working in public universities. Faced with this new scenario, we were encouraged to develop other possibilities of exchange mediated by digital resources, such as lives, podcasts, open classes, image banks, virtual exhibitions, etc. These initiatives have become promising and have enabled new ways of exchanging ideas, opening up previously unthinkable opportunities. Research centers located outside large metropolises have been able to articulate through national and even international channels, giving great visibility and "au-

dibility" to their scientific production, far beyond the academic universe. Among the examples of this decentralization of production via digital channels, we have, in the city of Sobral-Ceará, the Laboratory of Memories and Daily Practices–LABOME, of the Federal University of Vale do Acaraú (UVA), which has been weaving the history of Visual Anthropology in Brazil through a series of lives with old and new generations of researchers, broadcasted on YouTube [2].

But it is digital broadcasting that we want to focus on here, and its sphere of scope has been such that the term *podosphere* has been adopted by podcast lovers. In this case, in addition to our recent experience with Antropólis, from the Federal University of Pelotas, in Rio Grande do Sul, on which we will discuss later, we can cite other podcasts that have become established outside the South-Southeast academic axis, such as *Museológicas,* from the Federal University of Pernambuco (UFPE), or the *Observantropologia,* from the Federal University of Paraíba (UFPB), both presented in chapters of this book.

But it is not just anthropological production that has benefited from the expansion of its diffusion in the podosphere. The populations that were traditionally investigated by Anthropology became protagonists in this and other communication vehicles, bringing to the scene new languages, ideas and concepts capable of transforming this area of knowledge in theoretical, methodological, pedagogical and political terms. This is the case of podcasts produced and broadcasted by indigenous populations, such as, for example: *Audio Wayuri* or *Copiô, parente*–newsletter of the Instituto Socioambiental (ISA) that brings weekly news from Brasília concerning indigenous and forest peoples.

Furthermore, the access to dialogue between anthropologists and interlocutors was another possibility that opened up in the podosphere. This is what does Mundaréu, a podcast produced in partnership between the Laboratory for Advanced Studies in Journalism (LABJOR) at Unicamp and the Department of Anthropology at the University of Brasília (theme of one of the chapters in this publication). Similar to what *Dziga Vertov* did with the film *A Man with a Camera* (1929), which revealed the film making method, this podcast exposes the way in which anthropological research is constructed. It deals with negotiations in the "fieldwork" (as the process of elaborating research data is called), the exchanges

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2   The interviews can be seen at: https://www.youtube.com/c/LabomeVisualidades/videos

with interlocutors, including the feelings of both, their joys, pains and tensions, inseparable from the ethnographic encounter.

It is not uncommon to encounter people who are disappointed with researchers (not only anthropologists), as they feel that their knowledge was used by expertise and not shared with the researched groups. In fact, Anthropology has developed in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, in a context of colonization of European knowledge about colonized peoples. But for several decades it has pursued a "turn" in this way of doing science, recognizing the importance of "native" knowledge, bringing together and sharing knowledge and practices of researchers and research subjects. Thus, the podcasts resource can contribute to establish mediations, returns and translations of advances and results achieved by researches. In ethical terms, therefore, the podosphere opens an excellent opportunity to strengthen exchanges and communication between anthropological production, the populations and collectives that give meaning to their existence and to the broader society.

Antropólis: experiencing new skills through the podcast

At the Federal University of Pelotas, the teaching of Anthropology has existed since 2008, when the Bachelor's Degree was created. The Master's and Doctorate courses started shortly after, in 2012 and 2016, respectively. The wide dissemination of studies and activities developed in these courses is the keynote of university extension projects. In 2017, Baccalaureate students, supported by teachers, created a weekly radio program broadcast by the Pelotas community radio (RadioCom, 104.5 FM): "Nós Nosotros: antropofonias e charlas" [3]. The extension project remains active until today and was converted into a podcast after the COVID -19 pandemic.

But *Antropólis* was the precursor in the *podcast experience*. Created in 2019, it was an initiative of Guilhermo Aderaldo, who had just arrived in Pelotas as a postdoctoral fellow and collaborating professor at the Graduate Program in Anthropology [4]. The desire to develop a dissemination project on themes related

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3   Available at: https://www.listennotes.com/podcasts/n%C3%B3s-nosotros-nos-nosotros-ZorXN-7-HWMw/

4   The construction of a podcast was part of the work plan that the researcher intended to develop at the institution, however, with the formation of the current team, it was found that the desire to build a project like this was also shared by other colleagues, which made the proposal develop enthusiastically and in a deeply collaborative spirit, as we hope to make clear throughout this chapter.

to Urban Ethnography and Anthropology of Image came from his research trajectory in several academic centres: the Urban Anthropology Nucleus (NAU), the City Anthropology Study Group (GEAC) and Urbandata Brasil, at USP, in addition to the Laboratory of Contemporary Anthropology of the School of Higher Studies in Social Sciences (*Laboratoire d'Anthropologie Contemporaine–Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales*), in France.

In the Graduate Program in Anthropology at UFPel, the initiative was fully welcomed by the Laboratory for Teaching, Research and Production in Anthropology of Image and Sound (LEPPAIS) and the Urban Ethnographic Studies Group (GEEUR). It was understood that the creation of a podcast would allow the development of new technical, communicative and political-pedagogical skills, in a more interactive way and capable of strengthening exchanges, bridges and dialogues between centres inside and outside UFPel, as well as with society. At that time, there were not so many initiatives of this kind in the field of Anthropology, and the skills required to the podosphere were still scarce among us.

With the arrival of the COVID-19 pandemic, at the end of the first quarter of 2020, and the frustration of the social distance, the dedication to the construction of the project became an important associative opportunity or a "collective therapy", as we used to joke among us. We set up a small committee and a WhatsApp group with people connected to the aforementioned laboratories and we discussed possibilities related to the proposal, the title and the visual identity of the project. Guilhermo suggested the title *Antropólis,* a term invented to combine the words "Anthropology" and "Pólis" (a concept created in Ancient Greece to designate what we understand today as a city). The urban, in this case, is thought of in its cosmopolitanism, as an environment for exchanges, cultural interactions, circulation of knowledge and symbolic power. At first, the name seemed strange and we decided to leave it, provisionally, while we sought to develop images that, in some way, represented the visual identity of the podcast.

Some suggestions for images and logos emerged, until Gabriela Lamas, a graduate in Cinema and Audiovisual at UFPel and a master's student in Anthropology, created an illustration of the facade of the Institute of Human Sciences (ICH), with its characteristic *pixos* (a type of graffiti) and its cobbled street. Located in the port region of Pelotas, the ICH building is part of the city's industrial patrimony, which dates back to its past of economic prosperity and is among the buildings recovered by the Federal University for academic purposes,

and the pixos, a trademark of the ICH facade, bring social intervention in the urban. In the foreground, the drawing shows the cobbled street, also emblematic in the Pelotas region.

After a series of application tests, the drawing in white lines was applied over a photo of a peeling wall, with a violet color filter, with the intention of inserting the *Antropólis logo* in the city, like a *pixo* on a peeling wall. The peeling wall refers both to the marks of memory and aging, as well as to a characteristic of the city of Pelotas, which with its intense humidity does not spare architectural surfaces and structures.

On top of the illustration rests the sound waves symbol in orange. In balance with this warm colour, a cold colour, dark violet, was used for the title "*Antropólis* podcast". This image convinced everyone as a logo, as it conveyed the feeling of an expanded connection between the academic community and the city. In this illustration the name of the podcast seemed to make more sense, and thus the definitive brand of the project was approved. From this visual identity, the covers of the episodes were created, with small variations, according to the photograph provided by each person interviewed.

Cover images of the *Antropólis podcast episodes.* Author: Gabriela Lamas.

The next step was to define a technical team to organize and produce the episodes. Guilhermo began to act as host and editor; Gabriela, in addition to producing the arts and images, took on editing assistance; as respective representatives of the two associated centres (GEEUR and LEPPAIS), Prof. Francisco Pereira Neto and Prof. Claudia Turra Magni joined the team. With experience in community radio in Pelotas (RádioCom, 104.5 FM), Ítalo de Castro, an undergraduate student who had participated in the beginning of the project, left the project to take care of the podcast *Nós Nosotros.* Subsequently, the team began to count on the valuable participation of the master's student Ediane Oliveira, who currently shares the role of hostess with Guilhermo. Graduated in Journalism, Ediane brings with her skills as a cultural producer and as a presenter at *RadioCom,* where she maintained a weekly program for years.

To test the technical features and talk about the podcast proposal among ourselves we made a test with members of the initial team: Guilhermo, Gabriela, Francisco and Ítalo. With the result approved, we decided to publish it as a "pilot episode". For the premiere program, we arranged an interview with Prof. Claudia, also a member of the team, who was in France, away from UFPel for a Post-Doctorate at the University of Aix-Marseille. At that point, we were still taking the first steps in developing the necessary skills for audio editing and there was some difficulty in trying to deal with the technical challenges that were presented. But we were very satisfied with the first results and, little by little, we were advancing in the domain of *Audacity,* free software for audio editing.

Since the first meetings of the team, we had agreed that the podcast would have as its theme the areas of Urban Anthropology and Anthropology of Image and Sound. The idea was to use of the experience accumulated by the two aforementioned partner laboratories (GEEUR and LEPPAIS) to develop the following proposal: in each episode, invite a researcher to an approximately one-hour conversation about his/her trajectory and performance in those fields of research. To contribute to the interview with these researchers, we decided to invite, at each meeting, a person outside the permanent team, who was interested in studying the topic to be addressed. This way, the podcast has become a platform for increasing pedagogical experiences, opening up the opportunity for graduate students and professors to talk about their researches with leading researchers on certain topics.

It is not a coincidence that we had several deeply moving occasions, which unfolded from conversations with guests. In other words, the intention of our program was to honour the craft of Anthropology, revealing different facets of the personal paths in the formation and career of a researcher: the marks imprinted by their academic and extra-academic experiences; the choices of topics studied and the ways to reach them; the lessons learned and dilemmas inseparable from the challenge of building knowledge together with their interlocutors in fieldwork; the ethical reflections that accompany any ethnographic description of a culture; the commitment to return the results achieved; the conciliation between research and teaching/learning of Anthropology and much more...

With the development of the project, we started to bet more and more on editing experiences, inserting multiple voices and sound layers in the record of the conversation with the invited person, in addition to making available references to books, movies or other publications highlighted in the episode. As we experimented with new features and discovered other podcasts, we realized the incredible communicative possibilities of the podosphere and its ability to make us dive and move through different sonic universes.

Hearing: a sensory and educational experience

There are several styles of podcasts. Some have a more narrative profile, others are focused on dialogues and interviews; there are those who privilege comments on authorial works or biographies, among so many communicative possibilities. But in addition to this diversity of styles, which differ from strictly academic language, another peculiarity of podcasts is the insertion of sound effects produced by tape recorder, musical ambiences, excerpts of songs, sounds and audios available on the internet, in addition to the records from fieldwork. These sound materials integrated into the speeches that drive the programs are by no means an appendix or mere "flourish" of the discourse. In addition to the rational understanding of the topic being discussed, this sound environment excites the audience's sensory perception and contributes to the performance interaction of communication.

For a renowned contemporary anthropologist, Tim Ingold (2008), hearing and seeing are not separate senses: sound can make us see, just as vision allows us to hear. Both senses are integrated into a body that, in turn, interacts with the

environment. This way, the sound experience is not restricted to the ears, but is caused by vibrations in the surroundings and surfaces that surround us. For this author, sound is not an "object" that reaches us from the outside to the inside of our mind, which would remain in a passive attitude. On the contrary, we listen with the whole body, actively and immersed in the environment in which we are. Just as light is the "medium" through which we can see, sound is the "medium" through which we can hear. Therefore, we do not hear "the" sound, but "in" the sound. Hearing is a way of participating in the world, a way of experiencing it through our perception.

This way, when we recover and produce sound ambience to orchestrate them in the midst of the verbal language that guides podcast programs, we are, in some way, reactivating the memory of lived experiences, awakening the imagination of listeners and promoting experiences of immersion in the social and cultural universes which are being addressed. This is not, at all, a passive listening, but an attentive listening, through which the person interacts sensorially, interprets, assigns meanings and mobilizes memories and reflections on the subject in question.

In addition to enhancing, valuing and dynamizing the interviews, this sound montage allows "opening" the discourse to multiple voices, located in different contexts, times and places, around a common theme. The importance of this montage of programs with sound ambience and narrative diversification is such that, many times, the guests themselves are surprised by the final result. It is as if they rediscovered their own reports from other points of view and listening, opening themselves up to a new experience in the face of what was lived, hearing and seeing in a renewed way what they had once experienced and reported. In turn, they are often encouraged to share the program with others, and we have had the opportunity to receive positive feedback from many of these listeners.

At a pedagogical level, podcasts in educational experiences have become increasingly common, so much that the Brazilian Association of Technical Norms (ABNT) has developed a format to standardize the citation of this type of reference in academic works[5]. Among some successful initiatives for the production of sound materials, created specifically for classes, we highlight the series "Mundo

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5   Citing *podcasts* should be done like this: Post title. [Voiceover by]: Speaker's name. Location: Producer, day month year. podcast Available at: link. Access on: access date.

na sala de aula", from the Mundaréu *podcast,* in which students of Social Sciences and, in particular, Anthropology, are invited to produce short episodes based on questions worked in class[6].

In our case, based on the experience of the Antropólis *podcast,* Prof. Guilhermo Aderaldo has made use of this resource in his disciplines in the Graduate Program at the Federal University of Pelotas (UFPel), and the initiative has shown to be very promising. The teaching method consists of the following: the researcher/professor guides students to do what he/she calls "audio-reviews", which basically consist of the audio recording of a critical reading of articles to be discussed in class. After receiving the audio files from the students, the teacher values that record, adding other sound materials, such as music, speech excerpts, both from characters indirectly linked to the discussion, and from the authors of the reviewed articles. Other narrative elements, sound ambience and narrations selected by the teacher are also included. Finally, the edited materials return to these students, stimulating a more comprehensive and immersive apprehension of the discussions contained in the texts. In pedagogical terms, conditions are created for a collaborative production of knowledge, involving several protagonists: the author of the reference work, the author of the review, and the educator, who reviews the material and contributes to enriching the final product, such as a maestro conducting an orchestra.

Learning from experience, creating networks, diversifying approaches and expanding sound universes

In 2020, we finished the first season of Antropólis, with 12 programs published. In addition to the pilot episode, several researchers participated as guests: Claudia Turra Magni (professor of the Anthropology course at UFPel), Otávio Raposo (audiovisual director and professor at the University Institute of Lisbon (ISCTE-IUL)); Denise Pimenta (post-doctoral researcher at FIOCRUZ); Guilherme da Rosa (professor of the Cinema course at UFPel); Rafael Bastos (professor of the Anthropology course at UFSC); Bianca Freire Medeiros (professor of the Sociology course at USP); Patrícia Pinheiro (post-doctoral fellow at the Graduate Program in Anthropology at UFPB); Handerson Joseph (professor of the Anthropology course at UFRGS); Edgar Barbosa Neto (professor at the Faculty of Education at UFMG);

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6   For more details, see: https://mundareu.labjor.unicamp.br/series/mundo-na-sala-da-aula/

Ana Luísa Carvalho da Rocha (professor at FEEVALE and researcher at UFRGS). The season finale episode was built from conversations with podcast representatives who, along this path, became partners.

These exchanges with other *podcasts,* by the way, have been extremely stimulating for the Antropólis team. From the beginning of this process of collective construction, we could count on the fundamental help of João Freitas, host of "Urbanidades", a *podcast* organized by the Urbandata Brasil team, linked to USP and to the Center for Metropolis Studies (CEM). Later, we started to communicate with the teams of several other Anthropology and Social Sciences *podcasts*, especially: *Mundaréu*, *Observantropologia* and *Museológicas*.

These dialogues and exchanges were rapidly expanding and, inspired by other experiences such as the radio stations "Novelo"[7] and "Guarda Chuva"[8], we decided to create a podcast network*,* with its own label and visual identity (created by Thiago Oliveira, member of the *Observantropologia* team). The *Kere-Kere* network[9], in a short space of time, has already demonstrated its importance, expanding supporters and providing articulation and political, scientific and collaborative engagement between teams. Proof of this is the representation it obtained from important scientific organizations, such as the Brazilian Anthropology Association (ABA) and the National Association of Graduate Studies and Research in Social Sciences (ANPOCS).

For its part, the *Antropólis* team had the opportunity to make a final balance in December 2020, ending the first season with a lot of learning in the development of necessary skills to guarantee its space in the podosphere. In the closing episode of this first year[10], we dealt precisely with the *Kere-Kere* development process and, to do that, we had interventions from the three *podcasts* that, together with Antropólis, took the initial step in the network's founding process, that are *Mundaréu*, *Observantropologia* and *Museológicas*.

The realization of the episode also announced a novelty in the format of our broadcasts. This is because it was a narrative episode, with a script and a montage written and produced collectively. The experience stimulated us to think about

7   See: https://www.radionovelo.com.br/

8   See: https://www.radioguardachuva.com.br/

9   See: https://radiokerekere.wordpress.com/

10   See: https://open.spotify.com/episode/15MdGpkCiRcath6Kdk89ya?si=iied5CjGSU2nkr6_tk5v6g

a narrative series, which we intend to intersperse with the traditional series in a roundtable format, with interviews, from the second season onwards.

Cover image of the *Antropólis* Podcast season one finale episode. Author: Gabriela Lamas.

In the course of this journey, we also noticed that the thematic lines initially defined (Urban Ethnography and Anthropology of Image and Sound) were gradually becoming more flexible, which encouraged us to expand and diversify our field of action in Anthropology and also to invest in dialogues with other areas of knowledge, inside and outside the academy.

As previously mentioned, in the second season, we plan to invest in new experiments, in addition to the original format, characterized by dialogued interviews with leading researchers. The elaboration of narrative series has already become a reality and we also examine the possibility of creating episodes based, for example, on fiction plots produced collectively from ethnographic work (which we call ethnofiction).

Thus, it is possible to conclude by saying that *Antropólis* has configured as an experience not only for teaching, learning and practising the craft of Anthropology, but also, and above all, as a way of increasing dialogue and the collaborative construction of knowledge far beyond academia.

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Access the *Antrópolis* podcast page on Rádio Kere-kere here

Guilhermo Aderaldo holds a PhD in Social Anthropology from the University of São Paulo (USP) and is a researcher/professor of the Graduate Program in Anthropology at the Federal University of Pelotas (PPGANT/UFPEL). His research revolves around the following themes: urban anthropology, anthropology of politics, anthropology of mobilities and youth cultural practices. *Email:* guiade@ymail.com

Francisco Pereira Neto holds a PhD from the Graduate Program in Social Anthropology at UFRGS and is a professor of Bachelor's and Graduate Program in Anthropology at UFPEL, where he is part of the Urban Ethnographic Studies Group (GEEUR). *Email:* francisco.fpneto@gmail.com

Claudia Turra Magni holds a PhD in Anthropology from the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (EHESS) and is a professor at the Bachelor's and Graduate Program in Anthropology at the Federal University of Pelotas (PPGANT/UFPEL), where she also coordinates the Teaching Laboratory, Research and Production in Anthropology of Image and Sound (LEPPAIS) and the Anthropoetic research collective. *Email:* clauturra@yahoo.com.br

Ediane Oliveira holds a degree in Social Communication–Journalism Qualification (UCPel), a master's degree in Anthropology (UFPel) and is currently a PhD student in Journalism (UFSC). Her research addresses epistemological theories of black

women, media and necropolitics. She also works as a journalist, advisor and cultural producer in projects with black, social and artistic movements in Rio Grande do Sul. *Email:* edianecomunica@gmail.com

Gabriela Richter Lamas holds a degree in Cinema and from the Federal University of Pelotas (UFPEL), where she is currently a Master's student in Anthropology. She directed short films, including "Sesmaria" (São Lourenço do Sul, 2015), for which she was awarded at film festivals in Brazil and abroad, and works with art direction for cinema and audiovisual. *Email:* gabirlamas@gmail.com

Compósita: a way of learning about the Amazon through listening[1]

Ramon Reis

> If listening is being worried, let's start by putting ourselves in a situation of restlessness, listening (PESSOA, 2017, p.14)

In April 2020, one of the most critical periods of the Covid-19 pandemic, I decided to put on paper an old project whose goal was to make anthropological research produced in the North region of Brazil accessible, with attention focused on the state of Pará, as it is my place of origin and the place where I graduated in Social Sciences.

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1   Produced by Ramon Reis and distributed from the Anchor audio platform, the Compósita *podcast* is available on some of the main players, such as Apple, Google and Spotify, and on YouTube.

From 2005 to 2012, I attended the undergraduate and master's degree in Social Sciences at the Federal University of Pará (UFPA). Since then, I felt a discomfort present in the texts I read in class, mainly because I noticed that the Anthropology produced in the Amazon was on the sidelines of other texts considered classics in the area. In class or participating in local, national and international academic events, I was almost always left with the impression that the Amazon was good for thinking, never for referencing. I lost count of how many times, in some of these situations, I felt like a mere object or just a subject reproducing knowledge.

These discomforts gained new meanings as I advanced in the readings and I proposed to exercise some kind of reflection that made me strange in relation to what they used to call "Amazonian Anthropology" or "Paraense Anthropology". I had to run around to understand the meaning of each of the terms. The admission to the doctorate program in Social Anthropology at the University of São Paulo (USP), in 2012, was decisive for the construction of a kind of Anthropology of returning to myself and to all the readings and people I met since graduation.

Encouraging a distanced look and finding strange what was familiar to me from the readings of Gilberto Velho (1978), both at undergraduate and graduate levels, was a constant exercise during this period of return, which seemed more like a movement of looking from the outside to inside, and trying to find some loose thread on which I could demarcate a writing (SOARES, 2020) and a listening, or perceive what proximity informs in situations of reunion with our origins (BEMERGUY, 2017). I used to be intrigued by not knowing what to do with a series of ideas and drafts that from time to time came back and told me: Anthropology is not just made up of a set of texts marked by theories and methodologies about a specific research context; learn and teach Anthropology as if you were on the street talking to a stranger; experience what you already know by asking yourself and others which paths bring us closer and further apart.

The end of the doctorate, in 2016, and the return to Pará, in 2017, brought to light a change of perspective. Marked by the interface between the studies of gender and sexuality and Urban Anthropology, my academic trajectory also had (and still has) a direct relationship with all the annoyances and estrangement I experienced during my training in Social Sciences and Anthropology. The re-encounter with my origins in the following years, 2018 and 2019, served as a starting

point for: I–my recognition as a producer of knowledge; II–the valorization of the so-called "Amazonian Anthropology" or "Paraense Anthropology" as a territory of scientific production that is not limited to the romantic idea associated with biodiversity.

I saw the birth of what I initially called consulting and then knowledge curation. Without realizing it, I perceived that I had a research problem at hand and a certainty: although my goal was to make certain knowledge accessible, I never intended to transform it into a ready-made formula on Anthropology and the Amazon.

Inspired by the relationship between Anthropology and Museology (GONÇALVES, 2007; CARVALHO, 2015), especially in the possibilities of mediating certain production of knowledge from complementary and confluent aspects of a regional context, constituting processes of historicization translated by choices that are common to me and nearby, the *Compósita* curatorship is a self-reflexive space about anthropological work in the Amazon and the various nuances that cross this work, a kind of compass that guides or borders aspects that are ingrained in our ways of seeing, listening and speaking[2]. In addition, another source of inspiration was the knowledge curatorship *Inesplorato*, a São Paulo company that creates collaborative processes of systematization of knowledge, organizing content and materials (books, films, articles, videos, websites, etc[3]).

Between comings and goings, conversations with friends, theoretical formulations, definition of audience, logo and name, I came to the conclusion that the best way to make visible everything I thought and wrote was to create a profile on some social network platforms to serve as an official channel of communication. This strategy emerged after noticing a low number of scientific dissemination profiles on the internet about Anthropology in the Amazon. I chose Instagram as the social network that best suited what I wanted at that first moment, which was to make scientific knowledge accessible from the relationship between text, image and sound. It is worth mentioning that this choice was also due to my ability to handle Instagram.

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[2]   For more information about Compósita curatorship, visit: https://www.instagram.com/compositacuradoria/

[3]   For more information on Inesplorato knowledge curation, visit: https://www.instagram.com/inesplorato/

The countless possibilities of relating text, image and sound made me put up one of the arms of the curatorship, the *Compósita* podcast. Released on July 12, 2020, on some audio platforms such as Spotify, the first episode of Compósita was named "Gênero, Sexualidade e Educação"[4]. With the participation of anthropologist and historian Ana Lídia Nauar, professor and researcher at the University of the State of Pará (UEPA), the episode served as a business card for the project, as well as a thermometer to measure its audience.

The three topics of our conversation (gender, sexuality and education) made me realize that one of the central points for the creation and development of the *Compósita* podcast looked at the Amazon from four thematic axes, which are: citizenship, identity, difference and diversity, as they are guidelines that cross my academic trajectory, justifying the starting points of the project mentioned above. It is, therefore, an aspect that deserves extra attention when doing anthropology in the Amazon, mainly because talking, for example, about racism, LGBTIphobia and violence against women remains one of the main problems, whether because of the difficulty of working with them, or by the production of negationist postures about them, evidencing, among other factors, a learning gap, since the look cast on this place, the result of secular processes of sociocultural exploration, encapsulates such themes, placing them in the background to validate telluric, superlative and fanciful narratives. The problem posed does not concern the impossibility of thinking of land and soil as substrates of relations in the Amazon, but rather the creation of narratives and images that legitimize the Amazon exclusively through the ecological space and time of the forest.

Choices and meanings

"Why *Compósita*?". This was the question that several friends asked me to try to understand the reason for that choice and what meaning is attributed to it. The first name I thought of was "Nortes Antropológicos"[5], a direct reference to the homonymous collection organized by Wilma Marques Leitão and Raymundo Heraldo Maués (2008), two important names for the formation of many anthropologists at UFPA. Talking to friends, I came to the conclusion that the term

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4   "Gender, Sexuality and Education"

5   The title plays with the double meaning of "norte" in Portuguese: The North region of the country and "norte" as a guide.

"Anthropological North", despite its self-explanatory appeal and great sound, could reaffirm, to some extent, an Amazonian imaginary marked by a colonizing tone based on the natural richness associated with biodiversity. It is important to emphasize that none of the texts presented in the collection reaffirms this type of imaginary.

Observing the collection from the inside and reading the chapters, I glimpsed the possibility of understanding that the paths and research trajectories presented led me to the construction of an unusual name, something I had already looked into during my doctorate, which was the possibility to present to the general public the development of anthropological research in the Amazon from a place marked by relations of sociocultural production considered "peripheral" and which perhaps for this reason, at times, needs to name itself in order to be visible or recognized.

In this sense, thinking about the Amazon and the Pará context of production of anthropological research had sense and meaning when I understood that my starting point came from a place that, although it had served as a deposit in which the colonizers placed all their frustrations, is also complex and heterogeneous (composite) as I understood that the local population is not oblivious to the impact of certain processes of exploitation of their workforce and their knowledge.

After repeating the word composite several times, it didn't seem to me that the masculine inflection sounded good. I even put the words anthropology and composite together, but I realized that "Composite Anthropology"[6] not only didn't sound good, it also raised more doubts instead of arousing the curiosity of possible interests. A crucial point that made me change the name from compósito to compósita[7] was the relationship with the axes of curatorship. If I had the intention of talking about Anthropology developed in the Amazon in relation to citizenship, identity, difference and diversity, reaffirming this place linked to the male gender gave me an image of universality that has long been questioned by the feminist and black movement.

"Com-posite Anthropologies" or simply "Com-pósita", as I named what I called knowledge curation in anthropology, a space where it is possible to mediate

6   From the original "Antropologia Compósito".

7   In Portuguese, this represents the change from compósito in the masculine to compósita in the feminine. In English, the same word – composite – is used for both genders.

what is produced locally through choices based on minimally shared historicities and subjectivities. Then I sketched some drafts of what would become the *Compósita* podcast, still hyphenated to convey an image of something in process, unfinished. The use of the hyphen also represented the possibility of thinking about the exchanges involved in the production of knowledge, constituting horizontal paths of learning. Visually, I consider that the permanence of the hyphen in the logo fulfills an aesthetic function related to a strategy that is much more sensorial than commercial. On the other hand, the option for its suppression in the curator's name (read: sign) occurred when I understood that textually the creation of a kind of prefix (com) must go along with what I called a horizontal path of learning. Temporally, this insight occurred to me in late 2020.

My interest has always been related to the possibility of curatorship being a set of actions on Anthropology and its intersections with other areas and knowledge, such as History, Philosophy, Pedagogy and the so-called traditional knowledge, which is not necessarily produced inside an university.

Based on this path, it is possible to perceive that the idea came first and then the name, which helps to understand that the existence of the *Compósita* podcast is the result of a process based on the relationships between thought/meaning, text/word and sound/listening. Also, if it weren't for the Covid-19 pandemic and the social isolation measures, maybe I wouldn't have challenged myself to the point of making such an ingenious project possible. As contradictory as it is to worry about creating a curatorship and a podcast at a time when lives are being lost to a virus and a disease due to denialist attitudes about public educational and health institutions, the way I found not to go crazy and succumbing to chaos came from the possibility of using education as a tool for building collectively engaged political and educational processes.

Insisting on this possibility was what gave life to the *Compósita* podcast, which ended up becoming, together with the curatorship, a space for the production of collective knowledge in Anthropology, without losing sight of the four axes of action–citizenship, identity, difference and diversity -, which together support this collaborative network coming from the Pará Amazon, with a view to creating decentralized communication channels in large urban centers.

Paradoxically to this collective creation, it is important to emphasize that such an undertaking is an individual initiative, after all, I am primarily responsi-

ble for all stages of production of the *podcast.* Even so, I use the term collective to locate myself within a field of knowledge, *par excellence*, heterogeneous, that is, to reflect anthropologically on the Amazon is to understand it in the plural. In the end, a process like this that begins individually, interviewing anthropologists for the purpose of specific scientific dissemination, finds its materialization in collective senses marked by a multiplicity of paths, sounds and voices.

It is a space that looks more like a field of internal and external forces with an intense flow of inputs and outputs. In other words: the *Compósita* podcast is a "listening territory" (PESSOA, 2017, p. 8), that is, a "network that is articulated from multiple sources: the sensorium and our knowledge about it; the symbolic relationships established by an individual from this sensorium; the different fields of knowledge and the different cultural interpretations of the world and its historical variation". It means that it is not something restricted to the world of ideas (CARMO, 2009). The existence and persistence of this space serves to create less unequal or non-unequal strategies for the insertion of the most diverse subjects in public and private spaces (on and offline), making it possible to question pre-established models of scientific knowledge production, which insist on saying that subjects and territories placed on the sidelines cannot recognize one another's political and intellectual potential.

Compósita is, therefore, an action that believes in a world without ready-made formulas, not for nothing in the logo the first and last letters are on the contrary showing that what is understood as education and knowledge is the result of a process that involves dispute and autonomy (FREIRE, 1967; hooks, 2013) and it is not always consensual.

Production steps

I started putting on paper the initial sketches of the *Compósita* podcast during the first wave of the Covid-19 pandemic, in April 2020. At home, following all the health care measures, I took my cell phone, headset and computer and I started the production process. I listened to dozens of *podcasts* over the course of a few weeks and highlighted some points that caught my attention, among them: the script, the intonation of the voice and the vignettes. I filtered out the ones that came closest to my goals in terms of form and content. In a wide universe of podcasts with different formats–interview, discussion/chat, program, informative/

journalistic, stories, meditation and educational, I chose the interview format because I understand that the voices of anthropologists would lose meaning if they were not the protagonists of each episode.

After choosing the interview format, I trained the voice and listening and did some tests with the cell phone recorder. It seemed like an incessant training: turn it on, pause, turn it off, listen, erase, approach, move away, look for a quiet place, use a lower tone of voice. I practiced these same commands for hours until I found a pleasant sound that made me want to keep listening. Finally, I created a standard initial text that served as a guide and that I even used it to publicize on the curator's profile on Instagram (@compositacuradoria), thus saying: "Hello! I am Ramon Reis and this is another edition of *Antropologia Com-pósita*, an initiative conceived by the curatorship of knowledge, a collaborative space for the production of content on anthropology with an emphasis on the themes of citizenship, identity, difference and diversity".

Before detailing the three main stages of production of the episodes of the *Compósita* podcast, I highlight the importance of the exercise of sharpening the voice and listening as fundamental resources for the development of what I called Anthropology of return, and which I later understood as a movement from an "atavistic listening" (used to hearing sounds of their own reality) to a "political listening" (manifested to demarcate political positions in relation to our way of being in the common space (PESSOA, 2017). Interested in showing that the emergence of this *podcast* is part of a broader process of recognition of the self and of the multiple voices that produce anthropological knowledge in the Amazon, it is no wonder that it is a collaborative space with a northern accent precisely for unfamiliar listeners to train listening to it before, during and after each episode.

I now proceed to the four stages of production, divided into: I–selection of guests; II–elaboration of a script; III–recording, editing and finalization; IV–divulgation.

I–Selection of guests:

The step of selecting or choosing guests consists of forming communication networks based on the use of mobile messaging applications, social networks and e-mails. The aim is to use these resources to create a field of mediation that

brings the podcast closer to the production of anthropological research in the Amazon, especially those related to the themes of citizenship, identity, difference and diversity. This strategy is an indication that the *Compósita* podcast seeks to bring together, for the most part, a group of anthropologists who have developed or are developing research on the studies of gender and sexuality, or are related to issues involving the categories of gender and sexuality, in intersection with some social markers of difference, such as race/color, ethnicity, generation/age, social class, territory and region.

I proceed by establishing a first contact with each researcher to verify if there is interest in participating. If so, the conversation progresses through a general presentation about the project, followed by a question-and-answer game between the guest and me regarding some details related to the script, the duration of the recording of the episode and the channel where the interview will take place[8]. This first step ends with the definition of the recording date and the sending of the script of questions for each interview.

II–Elaboration of script:

The script is one of the production stages that requires extra attention in reading and writing, it contains information about the academic trajectory of the interviewee. This is a process that takes time, as well as patience to read, write and rewrite, after all, an academic trajectory is not a given in itself. There are many paths that lead us to understand how researchers came to occupy certain places, from the influences of relatives, friends and professors even before entering the university, to situations that involve changes in courses, research topics and orientation.

Previous research on the interviewee trajectory is decisive for the production of a podcast that has the format of an interview, especially in relation to researchers with extensive bibliographic production. Although the *Lattes Curriculum* is a great way to build the script, it is just one of the possibilities present on the internet and beyond. In this sense, the *Compósita* podcast benefits directly from the work I develop in knowledge curation, as the fact that it is a space for collaborative content production has helped me not only to build or strengthen networks,

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8   With the exception of the first three episodes, which were carried out in person, the production of the others took place entirely online through the Zencastr platform.

but also to bring people together from one of the skills I learned in anthropology, which is the possibility of establishing dialogues, that is, being willing to talk and listen regardless of the means of communication.
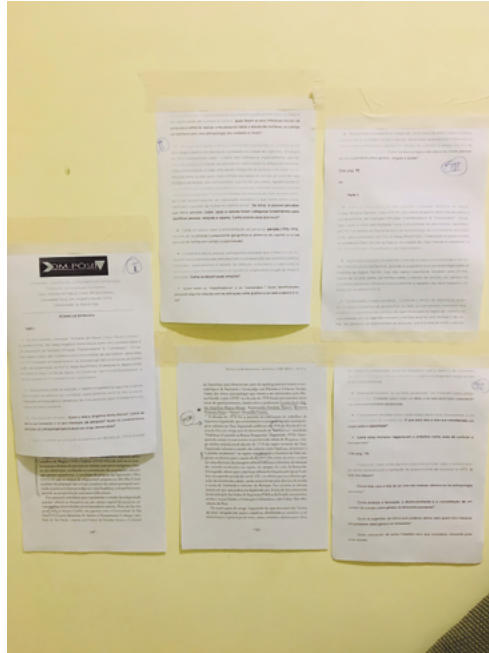
Parts of a script. Author: Ramon Reis.

It's based on some research on the internet that I build the pieces of the episodes' script, like a jigsaw puzzle. I'm putting together some parts of articles, theses, dissertations, cbt and audiovisual materials (if applicable) from each interviewee with some topics that I intend to address during the recording. Then, I make small notes and start writing the interview script, which is based on the following axes: I–academic training and trajectory (choices, positionalities and thematic crossroads); II–the research developed (problem, goals and development); III–referrals and subsequent impacts to the research developed (creation of groups and inter-institutional and/or intersectoral networks, the processes of subjectivation and the "place" of research in certain power relations with and between interlocutors, researchers and the university). Based on this structure and

the definition and confirmation of the recording date, I move on to the next stage of production (recording, editing and finalization).

III–Recording, editing and finalization:

Recording, editing and finalizing is one of the production stages that precedes the release of each episode, there are three parts that configure the technical procedures regarding the internet connection (in the case of *podcast*s produced in virtual rooms) and the handling of sound and listening. With little structure and no available budget, I started the first episodes using only my cell phone to record the interviews. From November 2020, with the entry of *Compósita* on Rádio Kere-Kere[9], a national network of *podcasts* in Anthropology, I started to use other technological resources to record the episodes without having to go to the interviewees' residence.

In one of the conversations on the Kere-Kere network in the WhatsApp message group, I discovered the existence of a platform for remote recording, Zencastr. It is a virtual room that allows you to make audio and video recordings in a compartmentalized way, which facilitates the editing process since the files are recorded separately. I did some tests and started using it from the fourth episode. This discovery opened up a range of possibilities for me to interview researchers who do not live in Belém or neighboring cities, but who have developed or are developing research on the Amazon and the thematic axes of the curatorship's interest.

Another important aspect during the recording of episodes is the external interference of some type of sound, the so-called communication noises. In a pandemic and indoors, it is almost impossible not to come across the noise of motorcycles and cars passing on the street, sounds of music in the neighborhood, family and television dialogues, food preparation in the kitchen, in short, one cannot lose sight of the fact that the production of an Anthropology that intends to be public or applied to the ordinary character of everyday life is closely related to the proximity of the noises of our intimacy. It means that noise is an active device in the construction of a podcast series (VAILATI; BARRETO; MENEZES NETO, 2021),

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9   For more information about Kere-Kere radio, visit: www.radiokerekere.org

that is, it is part of the stories that are told precisely because they break or interrupt the flow of expectations.

This way of telling stories, observing the noises of everyday life, makes up the last two parts of the third stage, which are editing and finalization. In both, the process is done with Audacity, a free software for editing audio. It is a tool widely used by creators of sound content, especially by those who do not have technical knowledge in the area. It is worth remembering that editing and finalizing a podcast episode is not an easy task, as it requires the ability to create layers in a recording, making it dynamic.

After filtering the podcasts that most closely matched the goals of *Compósita*, I began to realize that the layers they talked about so much were the interruptions of a dialogue, the so-called vignettes (sound effects) or interferences (for example: audio fragments of journalistic articles or snippets of music) that enter into a conversation to broaden the listener's imaginative horizon. The insight into the use of layers also occurred to me during the completion of one of the episodes. After listening to the same episode several times and somehow having addicted my listening, I noticed that I needed to insert something that could make it less tiring. I resorted to the script, selected some characteristic of the research that was related to traits of the culture of Pará or with facts that happened and that could challenge the presented narrative. I finished the edit including excerpts from a song from Pará.

It was these insights that helped me understand that recording, editing and finalizing a podcast are procedural and, in the case of *Compósita*, territorial. As much as I am producing all this material alone, the steps mentioned expand my view of a reality that is common to me. I depend directly on these interviewees to tell me which Amazon will be told/publicized.

IV–Divulgation:

The dissemination or release is the last stage of production, which includes: hosting the audio file of the episode on the Anchor platform, responsible for distributing the podcast on other audio platforms; converting the audio file into video for my YouTube channel (Ramon Reis); the preparation and publication of images (cards) with and without sound effects, and caption, on the curator's

Instagram profile (@compositacuradoria), on the Facebook page (*Compósita*) and on my personal Twitter profile (@ramonrpr) and LinkedIn (Ramon Reis); and the creation of a standard presentation text posted along with one of the cards and the link to Spotify, one of the main podcast players, on social networks and mobile messaging applications.

All of this information is usually exchanged with each interview the day before the episode's release. In addition, some calls are made on social networks with a view to mobilizing listeners and curiosity. These strategies have the main goal of activating listening, sharpening the look and capturing interested listeners, mainly because it refers to a cascading movement performed simultaneously in different profiles. To publicize is, above all, to foresee an exchange.

Amazonian voices: territorializing listening

Hi! Welcome to the *Compósita* podcast*:* a way to learn about the Amazon through listening. So, I return to what I consider the business card of a project that seeks to amplify the anthropological knowledge developed in the Amazon about citizenship, identity, difference and diversity. In fact, it has been a mutual learning experience to talk about the Amazon, recognizing its importance within a communication vehicle that we were not used to using until recently. Doing this alongside friends and professional colleagues has increasingly encouraged me to think about the "place" of anthropology produced in the Amazon, about the experiences that make anthropological knowledge public (FLEISCHER; MANICA, 2021) and about reciprocity or mutuality (SANJEK, 2015) as an element that builds affections.

The return to myself and to the readings and to people who were present in my academic training are the basis of this project. All these voices together allow me to envision possible horizons of territorialization of communication in the digital environment (ZANETTI; REIS, 2017), in the sense of amplifying accents and languages to activate listening and sense of belonging. This Anthropology of return has a lot from those who have been through the *Compósita* and reminds me of the dialogues between mother and daughter, Suzana Karipuna and Ana Manoela Karipuna, in episode #8 "Indígenas Mulheres são território".[10]

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10   "Indigenous Women are Territory".

Cards for episode #8. Author: Ramon Reis.

Released on April 23, 2020, the eighth episode addressed the role of indigenous women of the Karipuna people from the village of Santa Isabel (Oiapoque-AP). Composing a mosaic of stories and trajectories in relation to the subjectivity of Suzana and Ana Manoela, the episode is crossed by the notions of identity, ancestry and indigenous anthropology for the construction of dialogues and reflections on the possibility of experiencing kinship and territoriality in situations of urban displacement between village and city. The meeting with the authors became a watershed for the construction of later episodes, because it helped me to understand that writing, knowledge and listening are factors that highlight the disputes we have throughout life.

The more I talked and listened about the Amazon, the more I understood that the Compósita is a space for dialogue and reflection on the right to life: for those who carry out research on topics considered non-scientific, such as gender and sexuality; of those who publicly manifest themselves in favor of the struggle of indigenous peoples, women, blacks and LGBTI+; of those who refuse to agree with a political-economic system that dehumanizes knowledge that is not located in large urban centers, in short, of all who are willing to question the idea that we are all equal and therefore have the same access conditions.

In the case of podcast production in a pandemic context, this set of disputes and inequalities is fierce as illusory market strategies are created to con-

vince, opening space for voices that are intended to be homogeneous and unique. In addition, "it is important to note that the increasing production facilities do not mean that there is greater democratization of technological access, much less the repertoire of applications, software and platforms, which operate in very specific languages and require learning" (PARREIRAS; LACERDA, 2021, p. 17).

In this process, attention is drawn to the role of women researchers, characterizing the *Compósita* podcast as a space that recognizes and values their importance for the production of Anthropology in the Amazon. Of the first 15 episodes, women were present in 9:

Guest name	Episode number and title
Ana Lídia Nauar	#1–Gênero, sexualidade e educação/ Gender, Sexuality and Education
Rachel Abreu	#2 – Emoções e Sexualidades/Emotions and Sexualities
Telma Amaral	#4 – A (homo)sexualidade como um espaço-tempo pioneiro na escrita/The (homo)sexuality as a pioneering space--time of writing
Izabela Jatene & Adelaide Oliveira	#5 – Sob vestes drags: arte, cultura e política/Under Drag Clothes: Art, Culture and Politics
Angelica Maues	#6 – Mulheres de Itapuá: corpo, ritual e gênero/Women of Itapuá: Body, Ritual and Gender (parts I and II)
Ana Manoela Karipuna & Suzana Karipuna	#8 – Indígenas mulheres são território/ Indigenous Women are territory
Natalia Cavalcanti	#9 – Vida de professor na educação profissional tecnológica/Teacher's Life in Technological Professional Education
Denise Cardoso	#14 – Silenciamento e invisibilização do trabalho de mulheres/Silence and invisibility of women's work
Telma Bemerguy	#15 – Etnografias da "proximidade" no Tapajós/Ethnographies of "proximity" in Tapajós

Another important factor is related to the intersection between gender and sexuality. Five episodes were starred by gay men:

Guest name	Episode number and title
Milton Ribeiro	#3 – Sexualidades dissidentes na Amazônia/ Dissident Sexualities in the Amazon
Amadeu Lima	#10 – As encruzilhadas do tempo nas histórias de mulheres travestis e transexuais/The crossroads of time in the stories of transvestites and transsexuals
Rafael Noleto	#11 – Festas que fazem sujeitos/Parties that make subjects
Ernani Chaves	#12 – Foucault e o orgulho LGBTI+/Foucault and LGBTI+ Pride
Nathan Souza	#13 – Masculinidades e sentidos de violência/ Masculinities and senses of violence

Marked by the predominance of women and gay men, the *Compósita* podcast is based on the exchange of experiences whose representativeness and engagement transform invisibilities into collectively reflective and positioned efforts[11]. This shows that even in situations where the echoed voice is not of Amazonian origin and the subject being interviewed is a heterosexual man, as is the case of the guest in episode #7 "Queer indigenous and anti-authoritarianism in Brazil", anthropologist Estevão Fernandes, from the Rondônia Federal University (UNIR), the topic addressed and the dialogues held were important for the understanding of how subjects and identities are formed, allowing a reflection on the challenges of producing scientific knowledge in intellectually conservative and politically negationist contexts.

Hearing these voices is a way of territorializing listening. It is an exercise that materializes as the individual recognition of those who produce the podcast becomes co-extensive with something that already exists, which is the anthropological knowledge disseminated. It means that I am connecting personal and collective interests in favor of circulation in the competitive and unequal scenario of scientific production and dissemination in Anthropology. Therefore, to produce a podcast on Anthropology in the Amazon is to talk about: the geopolitics of knowl-

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11   Until the closing of this text, 15 episodes were published.

edge (read: asymmetric practices developed within and outside this context); alliances and hierarchies based on disruptive and multivocal movements; and insurgent activism that seek to break the distance between academia and militancy, reason and emotion, objectivity and subjectivity.

In this sense, observing that listening is a device that modulates our historical, social, personal and technological perceptions (PESSOA, 2017), I understand the territorialization of listening as an action that involves socio-spatial, sound and epistemological (material or symbolic) disputes captured by the sensory stimulation and the curiosity aroused by each episode. Such disputes refer to the place occupied by the Amazon in relation to the construction of an imaginary guided by ideals of modernity associated with predatory logics of development, with forms of communication that are permeated by languages inhabited by caboclo and riverine ways of life, called traditional or regional (to highlight the importance of accents in this process), and the circulation of knowledge mediated by the possibility of crossing knowledge that comes from inside and outside the university, amplifying voices and strengthening listening.

If a word decides the fate of a theory, as the poet from Pará João de Jesus Paes Loureiro says, it is this geopolitics (read: territorialization), with all its local characteristics, that makes the *Compósita* real and the possibility of deciding what type of Anthropology will be vocalized about the Amazon, moving from a place of object to that of producer.

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Access the *Compósita* podcast page on Radio Kere-kere here

Ramon Reis is an anthropologist graduated from the Federal University of Pará and the University of São Paulo. He works as a teacher at the Pará State Department of Education. He produces the *Compósita* and is a volunteer at the Arte pela Vida Committee, an NGO from Pará that develops actions to prevent and combat HIV/AIDS. *Email:* ramonrei@gmail.com

Cooking research stories: the *Mundaréu* podcast[1]

Daniela Tonelli Manica

Soraya Fleischer

A world of stories to tell

"Does your mother understand your research?". This question circulated on social media at some point in 2020, bringing to light the controversial and complicated relationship between the scientific knowledge produced at the university and its understanding by non-academic people. Some people defended the public importance of knowledge that is produced and paid for with taxpayers' money. Others tried to explain that, in the collective of scientists, some degree of specialization is necessary and that it is not always possible to translate the details of scientific research to a lay audience.

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[1]   Mundaréu is produced by Daniela Manica and Soraya Fleischer, and is available on the main players and on Instagram, Twitter and Facebook, @mundareupodcast, https://mundareu.labjor. unicamp.br/

Mundaréu was born from this discomfort between wanting "our mothers to understand our research", and that we can also legitimize and defend this type of knowledge that has been so fiercely attacked in recent years: Humanities and Social Sciences, and, in particular, Anthropology. We intend to defend a type of science that is done together with people, with the most diverse types and groups of people. The more diverse, the better. Anthropology is born from the perception of human diversity.

Mundaréu was born from the desire to use more accessible language, to reach more people and to show how an anthropologist can become a teacher, write articles, have a *Curriculum Lattes* and give lectures. It was from the desire to hear less and less "*Wait, anthropo... what is that?!*", that we created, in 2019, a podcast to disseminate and popularize what the field of Anthropology studies, does and produces. Since then, we've released two seasons and two series, with a total of 30 episodes, and counting. Here, we will talk about how *Mundaréu* is conceived, but the production process can be known in more detail in another article we wrote (FLEISCHER; COUTO, 2021).

Daniela Manica and Soraya Fleischer in front of the Labjor/Unicamp building, after recording one of the episodes. Author: Daniela Manica.

This was a project that emerged from the meeting of several women. Soraya became a fan of podcasts when she needed company to face the treadmill and physical exercise. It was almost at the same time that Daniela joined Labjor, where she met Simone Pallone de Figueiredo, who coordinates *Oxigênio*, one of the first experiences in scientific dissemination via podcast in Brazil. She also met Bia Guimarães, who interviewed her for an episode of Oxigênio (called "Estranha célula das entranhas"–Strange Cells of the Entrails), and Sarah Azoubel, who had also returned from the US excited about this media. Bia and Sarah created *37 Graus*, which is an exquisite narrative podcast that we are huge fans of, and they continue to tell stories "with one foot in science", as they say.

With the support of these women, and the entire infrastructure of Labjor at Unicamp, the Department of Anthropology at UnB and funding agencies such as CNPq and FAPESP, we managed to air *Mundaréu*. It was a very beautiful (and laborious) process to think of a name, logo, website, script, editing, participants, format. And it continues with the presence of many people, such as the students of Social Sciences, Education and Music who join (or have already joined) the *Mundaréu* team – Ana Noronha, Arthur Ulhôa, Bruno Campelo-Pereira, Camila Pissolito, Fernanda Andreia Andrade, Hugo Virgílio, Irene do Planalto, Janaína Aleixo, Lucas Linardi Carrasco, Melissa Beviláqua, Milena Peres (and Julia Couto, Luísa Nascimento, Nicollas Douglas de Souza Pereira, Rosânia do Nascimento and Vinícius Fonseca). And also the anthropologists and their interlocutors who come talk with us in the episodes.

This was the case of Nashieli Rangel Loera, whom we invited to participate in the fourth episode of Mundaréu, "Lona, Luta e Andorinhas", aired in March 2020. And she invited Irineu Pereira, one of the main rural activists with whom she has spent a lot of time together with in the recent years in the west of São Paulo. Nashieli Loera is an anthropologist and professor at Unicamp. She has studied the following topics: "social processes and territorialities, spatialities and temporalities, forms and languages of collective social demand and their relationship with the State". This is how she presents her expertise in the introductory text on her *Curriculum Lattes*.

In a scientific article, the abstract explains that she intends to understand "the social mechanisms that allow the production and implementation of land distribution policies in the State of São Paulo" (LOERA, 2015, p. 57). And she opens this same article with the following sentence, "In Brazil, land occupations and

the setting up of camps organized by movements are a way of claiming social demands from the State, in this case, expropriation of land for the purposes of agrarian reform" (*ibid*, p. 27).

She does research themes as peasantry, family farming, rural violence in the State of São Paulo. This is perhaps how the organizer of an academic conference would introduce Nashieli, before she delivered her lecture. These are all ways to explain what she's been up to in the last few years.

On the one hand, a more general public may come across unusual words, such as "social processes", "territorialities", "social mechanisms", "peasantry". On the other hand, all these explanations are panoramic, broad and perhaps make it even more difficult for this same audience to imagine how, in practice, she does all this. In *Mundaréu*, by listening to Nashieli and Irineu, we want to know how they do Anthropology. We listen to their stories about how they met and how, over time, they produced this science together.

Daniela Manica, forcing a *selfie* with Soraya Fleischer, Nashieli Rangel and Irineu Pereira, in the recording of episode 4 of Mundaréu. In the background Octávio Augusto, piloting the Radio da Unicamp studio.

Author: Daniela Manica

What are the ingredients of *Mundaréu*?

<u>People</u>

Science, research and work only happen because there are a lot of people behind it. A book, a class or a lecture does not materialize overnight. Podcast too, of course. We need to know the people behind the scene. People are the first ingredient in this recipe.

In the university, researchers are presented through their *Curriculum Lattes*, which is the official platform that gathers information about institutional affiliation, undergraduate and graduate training and advisory, research carried out and in progress, publications, participation in the media and at events. In journals and books, academics are presented briefly in a few lines, with a limited number of words. At events, they are presented (or present themselves) in a few minutes, before the conference starts.

At *Mundaréu*, we present Nashieli as a Mexican anthropologist who has been working in Brazil for many years. She did research on the rural world in Mexico during her undergraduate course, then on the rural world in Brazil in her master's and doctoral degrees. She has been working with this theme since she was very young, she has spent decades understanding agrarian conflicts, poor distribution of land, struggles and social movements for more rural justice.

We also learn about Irineu's life and work trajectories. Born in the State of Alagoas, he moved as a teenager to help on his family farm in the State of Paraná and at age 18 he moved to work in the city of São Paulo. His jobs were in the big industry – rubber, pneumatics, textiles and communications – and he soon joined a labor union. From there, it was a leap to learn about the struggle for the right to grow one's own food. In the Landless Worker's Movement (MST), Irineu got to know the rural São Paulo and ended up camping under the black tarp for many years on the roadsides in the Pontal do Paranapanema region. And, after facing a lot of meetings, demonstrations, many gunmen, shotgun points, negotiations in notaries and government agencies, he and his family were duly settled in a land that had been, for a long time, in the hands of a single owner who did not produce, and did not pay taxes.

So, this podcast episode starts with introducing both characters. Our intention is to humanize this social scientist and this social movement scientist. We learned that they have migration, moving, circulation in common. And, after traveling the world, both find themselves in the State of São Paulo. We get to know the Anthropology made by Nashieli and Irineu, entering by the backyard and the kitchen, not the sidewalk, the porch or the living room. *Mundaréu* usually opens its episodes remembering that it is people who make science, it is their personalities, anecdotes and choices that build research themes, that write up the results found. We want to show how research is produced.

Meeting the people who make science is not a very common practice in science. ABNT, for example, which governs much of the way we must write, format and publish our articles, requires that the names of authors, in the References that are listed at the end, only carry their initials. So, for those who do not know the researcher, they will not know, for example, that "LOERA, N." is a female author and not a male author. Fortunately, on the last page of Nashieli's article, we find: "She is a professor at the Department of Anthropology and a researcher at the Center for Rural Studies (CERES) at the State University of Campinas" and not just "Department of Anthropology", "CERES" or simply "Unicamp".

Many scientific areas, Social Sciences as well, roll their eyes at texts not written in the third person, which make the text generic and "impersonal", to the point we cannot know who, in fact, is writing. Nashieli avoids writing "as shown", "the hypothesis of this article" or "something will be analyzed here". Throughout her article, we highlighted the ways she prefers to conjugate gender, number and degree:

> **As I have shown** in other texts (Loera, 2010, 2011 and 2013), camping time can have different meanings, all of which refer to the context, the situation, as well as the positions that people occupy in that particular social world. (LOERA, 2015, p. 29)
>
> **My hypothesis** is that the time spent in camp, as a mechanism for selecting families in the world of land occupations, has been constituted in the relationship with the State bodies in charge of the expropriation of land, and it is in the dynamics of this relationship that it is being shaped by the move-

> ments themselves, and it takes on other meanings. (LOERA, 2015, p. 30)

> On this occasion, **I will ethnographically analyze** the dynamics of organization and configuration of camps led by the Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra (MST) in the region of Pontal de Paranapanema, western part of the State of São Paulo, the region with the highest number of landless camps in the State. (LOERA, 2015, p. 31)

We are taking advantage of Nashieli's article to show how her writing subverts the conventional pattern of scientific language. And similarly, in the podcast, we explore other ways of talking about science. The microphone, and the voice itself, give body to the scientist. It is no longer possible to maintain the idea of a scientist without gender, color, history. The presence and spontaneity of the conversation reinforce our focus on a situated science, in which we talk about a certain place, which marks and is marked by that person's position in the world. The voice comprises the expression of the speakers emotions, when telling about their research stories. In live recorded audio media, there is no way to disappear behind beautiful and flowery words, or an ABNT rule or the initial letter of your name. In *Mundaréu*, we experience a science made in the heat of the moment, and we want precisely to reinforce this beat of life, of the encounter and of the relationships that are created from there.

The places

This is the second important ingredient of *Mundaréu*. In the episode "Lona, luta e andorinhas", Nashieli describes what she saw at the camps. For example, the size of the plants told her how long people had been there, living on the side of the road, waiting for a piece of land to be demarcated. There was no electric light, so people listened to battery-powered radios, made a fire to warm up at night, made a circle to chat. The children were always present, playing, taking care of pets, calling the researcher to meet their grandmother or introduce an uncle who came to visit that Saturday.

When she tells us about the spaces of a camp, we can imagine where she arrived, walked and circulated through. We can imagine the way the anthropologist approached people, presented her research and checked if they could talk for a

bit. Nashieli must have asked about the names of plants she saw growing near the kitchen, about what news came on the radio. She agreed to sit with the children, listen to their singing and jokes. She spent time with them, gained confidence and also answered their questions about her own family, her children and her foreign accent from Mexico.

The students from Unicamp, who always accompanied her around the place, may have asked questions about relatives who came only on weekends, and where they came from. And with that, they would begin to understand how kinship relationships could unite different camps. Perhaps they noticed that, in some tents, the family slept late and understood that, the night before, they had been on the security schedule of the camp, dividing the many tasks around there. And in this house, it would be more appropriate to arrive in the afternoon, to help wash the lunch dishes, to have a coffee on the porch (instead of arriving in the early morning, when the family would be tired and sleepy).

Describing places, rhythms and also the roads traveled is one of the most common practices in Anthropology. We value the details, we mention colors and smells, we remember who we talked to and what subject we followed. All this also helps to translate where, how and with whom we do our research. This is all about the methodologies of our scientific area.

In the episode, we also hear Nashieli and Irineu talking to each other. He tells how he was invited by her to teach her students at the university. She tells how she was called to help pick vegetables in his garden, make daily visits to the camps, find out about new babies or whoever was sick. These invitations come and go, there is a two-way question style and also coexistence. Both have visited each other's worlds. If she spent seasons at the camp and later at the settlement to do her research, at the time we recorded this episode, he stayed at her home in Campinas to commute easier to the *campus*, and the studio. Places expand from the side of the road to the university and vice versa. All these places are populated by people, anthropologist and interlocutors, their questions and ways of carrying out their research. While we heard about these places in the podcast, we also learned how they were visited by Nashieli and Irineu, by Unicamp students and agrarian reform activists. The conversation in *Mundaréu* recollects a bit of the prose that happened before, in other spaces and with many more people. And so, we get to know where and how this Anthropology took place.

The relationships

In our scientific texts, we often explain about the lives of others, we bring excerpts of verbatim transcripts, we analyze these ideas against others that we hear from other people, in other corners. Talking "about" or "of" another person is the narrative form most commonly found in articles, books, classes and lectures in Anthropology. But we want to tell these stories in yet another way: we want to tell them **together with** this other person. The goal is to talk about relationships, this third important ingredient in our podcast.

In *Mundaréu*, when we bring together anthropologist and interlocutor, first of all, we open space for both of them to narrate about the experience of anthropological research. Second, it will no longer be the anthropologist who will tell us what the interlocutor told him, but the person him or herself that is present in the studio, and will be able to tell his version and in his or her voice how he met this researcher, where they went and what they talked about. We listen to Irineu, with his accent from Alagoas, Paraná and São Paulo, pausing a sentence just in time to create a tone of suspense, and win our sympathy. We hear Nashieli's voice, its timbre and rhythm, then we hear Irineu's voice, his humor and laughter. One after the other, in a dialogue with so many sounds, so much diversity of stories. The way of talking, the atmosphere given to the sentence, the kind of emotion we hear in the voices, all this resonates the relationship between the two.

In the podcast, we use less passive voice, less past tense. There are fewer information brokers or mediators, but stories told by the people who lived them together. There is room for a story to be told by one and complemented by another; for it to be started by one and taken along a different path by the other; for the story to receive different versions, even discordant or contradictory among them. It is as if Irineu was also making notes and additions to Nashieli's article or, when listening to her lecture at a seminar, he interrupted her and added more details, or updated her on something that happened after she left the settlement.

Bringing these two characters into a *podcast* is shaking up the way we've been doing and publishing our research. It is thinking of Anthropology as a science that is also read and evaluated by the people who populate the world that makes this form of science possible. And betting that another science is possible, different from the one that uses a language, a text size, a form of publication (expensive

and inaccessible) exclusively produced and aimed at other scientists to read and consume. Of course, Nashieli also wants to be read and known by fellow anthropologists at Unicamp and other Brazilian and foreign universities. But, above all, she wants Irineu, his wife Silvana, his teenage stepson and all their companions to know what she is thinking about agrarian reform. And she also wants to know how they think their thoughts can become clearer, can gain strength.

But these frank and mutually critical conversations inside *Mundaréu* are not new for those pairs who have been doing this for a long time before, as is precisely the case with Nashieli and Irineu. They only agreed to come and talk to us because they were very comfortable in this place of horizontal conversation, complementary learning, mutual and collective growth. The researcher receiving questions back from the person with whom she does the research does not frighten or destabilize Nashieli because, in her fieldwork with Irineu and his colleagues at the campsite or the settlement, this already frequently happens. She does not produce a kind of science closed off to disagreements or adjustments. Her Anthropology is dialogic, permeable and this is not very common in our area or in other areas of science.

In fact, in the episode, she said that she has a habit of delivering, sending and sharing what she writes about this community. At a certain point in the research, she took the book she published and gave it as a gift to several of the settlers (LOERA, 2014). After that, on an occasion of conflict, when a lady had her "camping time" questioned, threatening that she had the right to a plot of land, it was precisely Nashieli's book that gained use. The lady found her name and photograph in Nashi's book, revealing exactly how many years she had been under the black tent by the side of the road. A book is an expected and valued research result in the scientific community of which Nashieli is a part, but for Irineu's community, the book has gained many other meanings.

We show in the episode that if Nashieli does research, Irineu and his rural companions do too. She writes articles, publishes books; they carry out surveys of unproductive lands, keep updated the frequency of who is camped, who works and who "scores", that is, who meets the necessary conditions for claiming the right to land. Observing reality, reflecting and talking about it are scientific procedures performed by both.

But how does an Anthropology podcast talk about Science?

With *Mundaréu*, we want to discuss the obstacles and possibilities for the dissemination of Anthropology. On the one hand, we are living a moment when the Humanities seem to be constantly questioning its way of doing research, of relating to people during research and, afterwards, of writing about all this. On the other hand, issues related to health crisis and Biological Sciences have been in the foreground for a long time. Defining what counts (and what does not) as "science" and as "technology", what are the parameters for evaluating scientific work, how the allocation of resources will be made and, often, defining the research agendas in a close engagement with the market and, therefore, with capitalism.

In the last two centuries, the Social Sciences have been framed by guidelines of the Natural Sciences and, in the case of Anthropology, also of colonialism. Anthropology is a discipline that has been constituted in different ways in its different national matrix. In Brazil, we learn about the French, English and American way of doing Anthropology. It is a scientific area focused on the study of "others", of "otherness", in the technical jargon of the area. At the beginning of Anthropology, based on Euro-American traditions, this "other" was incorporated by the peoples originating from the European colonies (indigenous people in the Americas, African people and people from the macro-region of Oceania). People that today constitute, for the most part, the "global south", the "tropics", what has been called the "third world".

In the last 50 years, this "otherness" has expanded to other human groups, but still "others" in relation to the "civilized white man": women, blacks, Amazonian, poor, urban and peripheral populations and, as in the case of Nashieli's research, rural and peasant populations. More recently, we started to dare in a movement of reversal of these colonial hierarchies and we also started to study systems of power: state, industry, market, biomedicine and Science themselves.

Anthropology produces passionate philosophical questions, such as: "what constitutes 'humanity'?"; "how do myths and rituals work?"; "how are State-less people socially organized?"; "from what categories do people understand the world?". Initial works, turning from the 19th to the 20th century, were based on epic narratives of the displacement of those European scientific men to the recesses of the tropics, where they spent a lot of time (years, even) isolated, living

with these people, learning their language, writing it all down and then organizing those ideas into a long and detailed form of writing that we call "ethnography".

If, on the one hand, some of these experiences were "ordered" from the colonizing countries, with the explicit purpose of better knowing in order to better dominate; on the other hand, with the consolidation of the area, Anthropology ended up gaining more autonomy and produced, based on other priorities, hundreds of ethnographies. These works register the questions and problems that arose from these encounters, about those populations that were being studied and also for the anthropologists, in relation to themselves and their societies of origin.

Anthropology is science because it is urgent to expand the meaning of science. We understand science as an organized and collective form of knowledge production, open to changes and contestations, as long as they are shared by the constituted collective. This science is a type of practice – fascinating and absolutely necessary – that involves a basic and fundamental movement, a leap that the human species has managed to take, and to record, especially in writing, which implies a conversation with the world.

An interested conversation that tests, experiments, asks, but above all, that waits and depends on the answer. And the answer does not come from himself or from some authority to whom the scientist responds, but from how the other responds. This other may be a leader of the agrarian reform movement, a community of people camped by the road, a potato planted there, a pesticide, a virus, an atom – or also the anthropologist herself, who is invited to participate and respond questions in a podcast episode. It's not a monologue. For us, recognizing this is the only possibility for a science in the 21st century, which is up to the challenges that we, our children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren will have to face.

We have inherited a very problematic scientific legacy from our ancestors, which participates in a colonialist, extractivist, genocidal, ethnocidal, racist, sexist, capacitist, fatphobic society. This society, supported by science itself, usually looks at "nature" as a resource, as a raw material to be appropriated; looks at native peoples as the inferior and indolent beings; looks at the Brazilian people, mostly african-indigenous, as "weight", "cost" and "problem", and not as power or strength.

This society has developed horror and fear of any group of people who raise their voices and question the historical violence of landowners, traditional families or owners of local power. We are both ashamed of that heritage. We know that we have a heavy legacy and we also have an enormous task ahead of us, if we want to still sustain this violent science fiction that is the Brazilian State. Brazilian science, unfortunately, colonized, dependent and absolutely unable to see itself in this global geopolitics that deprives us, has confirmed the structures that produce profit, land and food for the few, while producing social inequalities, suffering and death for the many.

Other sciences are possible

We're from another crowd that thinks they can do better than that. We have to be able to do better than that. Although we are not alone, we are still a minority, often silenced. Because the Natural Sciences have always been in the foreground, dictating the rules of what is "science" and "scientist" against what they consider "quackery" or "pseudoscience", defining what is true and what is myth/false/lie. And they generally propose science as technoscience, which generates innovation and products to be inscribed in the consumer market. They even defend that seeds, water, land and even the scientific articles themselves are capitalizable intellectual property. Therefore, we are always affirming that scientific articles – now also scientific podcasts – be free to access, come in an understandable language, and be available to everyone, especially taxpayers (since in Brazil science is basically produced with public money) and interlocutors (like Irineu and his colleagues, who have taught Nashieli so much).

We have invested so much in *Mundaréu*'s format because it communicates this vision of science, which we are defending. We assume that science is something that is produced by many people, and always from an encounter. In the case of Anthropology, this encounter frequently (although not exclusively) takes place **between people, places and relationships,** as we showed earlier, based on the example of our fourth episode, "Lona, luta e andorinhas". How did Nashieli and Irineu meet? How does research in rural contexts happen? How to tell the stories of anthropological science?

Our option, considering the heavy legacy and heritage that our area carries, was to bring an anthropologist and her research partner. We intend that our interviewees tell us their life and encounter stories. And that interlocutors can talk about what they thought of the interaction, the presence, the research relationship that was established with those anthropologists who did the research **with** them (and not **about** them). What is between "with" and "about" is not a minor difference. Talking about the other person at a distance, without that other person being able to give any opinion, reflects a kind of science that objectifies, that de-subjectifies this other. It is a science that reinforces power relations, that does not recognize the humanity of others, that does not anticipate that this other person thinks, asks and criticizes, but simply receives and responds.

In Mundaréu, we propose another type of meeting and listening, and we try to produce another Anthropology, as so another way of doing science can emerge. Of course, there are limitations in our choice, but we are trying to endorse a model of science that refuses the sole authority and exclusive holder of the truth to the researcher. People want to feel confident and secure when an anthropologist or any other scientist arrives planning to do research. We need more shared meanings, meanings all over, not just to be included in the *Curriculum Lattes* or accounted for by the graduate program at that researcher's university. Authoritarian discourse – from science or from a single scientist – is not disseminating disinformation, it is producing false information to destroy alliances that aim to transform power structures and the proliferation of fear. Our idea is different, we want to win hearts and dispute meanings that are shareable.

Our intention is on producing a human science that is open to possibilities of contestation or validation. With *Mundaréu*, we are trying to show how the scientific "fact" in Anthropology is **made.** We want to know the ingredients and recipes that constitute the food of anthropological research, what sustains and strengthens their bodies, through people who cook together in a research process. Pull up a stool, sit down and exercise critical listening and dialogue.

"Information" is not something that circulates unilaterally, from top to bottom, from the outside to the inside. Information is something new, that transforms, that produces difference because it changes all the common directions of producing knowledge. It is from the piece of ground in Pontal do Paranapanema,

from the pots on the wood stove, from the handful of organic veggies, from the flowers in the window that Irineu and his family showed Nashieli what it was like to camp, settle, produce and guarantee the right to exist. It was this world, known closely and with careful coexistence, that flooded the texts, classes and lectures of this anthropologist from Unicamp. It was in the continued conversation that what counts as "scientific data" reached her, that Anthropology became possible.

If we still want to save something from the ruins that will remain of the university and of Brazil at the end of this ghost train in which we find ourselves in this very challenging period, it will not be without building and strengthening alliances with people and with the beings, lands, rivers, forests and things that make up, inhabit, and sustain our existences. It's work for a bunch of people, for a *Mundaréu* of people. Let's go?

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Access the *Mundaréu* podcast page on Rádio Kere-kere here

Daniela Tonelli Manica is a mother, anthropologist and researcher at Labjor/Unicamp. She studied at the State University of Campinas, was a professor at the Department of Cultural Anthropology (IFCS-UFRJ) between 2011 and 2018 and is a professor at the Graduate Program in Scientific and Cultural Dissemination (IEL-Unicamp) and at the Graduate Program in Social Sciences (IFCH-Unicamp). Produces *Mundaréu* and coordinates *Labirinto* research group. *Email:* dtmanica@unicamp.br

Soraya Fleischer is a mother, anthropologist and professor at the Department of Anthropology at the University of Brasília. She studied at UnB, the State University of Rio Grande do Sul, the Johns Hopkins University and more recently at the State University of Santa Catarina. Produces Mundaréu, coordinates CASCA (Collective of Anthropology and Collective Health) and researches the Zika virus epidemic. *Email:* soraya@unb.br

Farewell Sounds: journey through Médio Jequitinhonha (MG) on the tracks of the Sensibilidades Antropológicas *podcast*[1]

Valéria de Paula Martins

When I left the Jequitinhonha river valley, in Minas Gerais, after years of working and researching in the region, I felt that I could write my doctoral thesis

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[1] The *Sensibilidades Antropológicas* podcast can be accessed from different aggregators such as Spotify, Breaker and Pocket Casts. It is also possible to listen to the episodes and learn more about the project on the website *Poéticas da Terra* https://poeticasdaterra.org/projetos/sensibilidades--antropologicas/, on our Facebook page: https://www.facebook.com/sensibilidadesantropologicas/?ref=py_c or Instagram: https://www.instagram.com/sensibilidades.antropologicas/

there, at that moment. I was completely wrapped up in that world, those people and their lives.

I know it was very unlikely that this would happen as easily as I imagined. But I couldn't prove it: in a month I would be living in another country, to continue my studies, and I needed to organize a series of papers, in addition to finding out at what address, exactly, I would live.

At that moment when I left Jequitinhonha – more specifically the region of the middle channel of the river, called Médio Jequitinhonha – I imagined that the cover of the text I would write should be covered with earth. Because that's how I felt: covered in earth. And not only my skin, but my thoughts, feelings, were affected by ways of life in which the earth – its types and uses, its sharing, what was born or not born from it... – was a central element.

I spent six months away in France, having very different experiences from those I had in the field – as we usually say in Anthropology when naming, generically, the places where we carried out our research. And the earth was slowly detaching itself from me. When I returned to Brazil, with the task of writing the text that would proclaim the end of that period of studies – the doctoral thesis – I had difficulty finding signs of it on my skin, thoughts and feelings.

It was necessary to find them, in any case, at least to a sufficient extent for the presentation of the work to a group of professors at the end of the doctorate. But the research experience was also very sensorial, full of colors, smells, sounds... and, with writing, I could not mobilize and share these sensibilities as I would have liked.

In this text, I share a little bit of the process of finally returning to that kind of atmosphere that permeated my field. A process that has taken place especially–from the realization of the *Sensibilidades Antropológicas* podcast, whose first episode was aired in March 2021, in the middle of the Covid-19 pandemic.

This return process, as we will see later, is also configured as a farewell. And it is not by chance that this journey back, and at the same time departing, takes place through a podcast, therefore based on sound waves, and in a way associated with some images that I share with each episode. That's what I'll tell you here.

If you want to accompany me on these paths, don't worry about taking heavy luggage: a small suitcase, supported by attentive bodies and senses, and which can carry some light and multicolored clothes, will be enough.

Portrait of feet in the field. Author: Valéria Martins.

The station from which we depart

Once, talking to a friend about the work and research experience I had in the Jequitinhonha river valley region, she told me a phrase that I have never forgotten: "You cannot die with it".[2]

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2   In 2002, 2003 and 2004 I worked in a non-governmental organization in the entire river basin – Upper, Middle and Lower Jequitinhonha –, acting as an advisor in a program that sought to know and value the so-called local traditions focused on toys and various games and jokes, such as parties and dances. In 2007, I joined the master's course in Anthropology at the University of Brasília and, in early 2008, I would be back in the region – in a location I had not yet known – to start the research to which I would dedicate myself in the following years. To learn about the works produced in the master's and doctoral courses in the vicinity of the Machado stream, see, respectively, Martins 2009 and Martins 2013. The friend who said the sentence I quote, and whom I thank, is Alice Sosnowski.

I had already written the dissertation and thesis, all interlocutors I worked with directly had received their copies, the texts had been read by some teachers – and who knows, other people – so somehow "I wouldn't die with it", but my friend's phrase continued to echo.

Years before, at the end of the research, I remember having one of the last conversations in the field with Mr. Deca, the dear singer José Maria Rodrigues, such an important interlocutor for the research. I had recorded, for many, many hours, a huge number of songs that he sang, with the guitar in his arms, in the living room of his house in the city of Araçuaí. And I wasn't quite sure about what to do with those records — or even if I should do anything other than consider them in the research and writing process.

I told him something like this: "Would you like me to do something with these recordings? Produce a CD, for example? What would you like me to do with this material?".

The "material" I was referring to, the songs and associated cases that he told me, were related to *Nove*, a rite permeated by collective musical dances and marked by sung poetry. This ritual has been performed for countless generations in that region and brings together people old and young in nightly gatherings over food and drink. It is usually preceded by prayers, commonly Rosaries [3].

Nove is the name of one of the dances, also called *brinquedos* or *brincadeiras de viola*, but as this is usually the–dance that occupies most of the night, it ends up naming the festive meeting. "Shall we play?" people say, or "Shall we make a *Nove*?".

In the composition of the *brincadeiras de viola*, those who want to participate, but the singing is led by specialists: the singers. These are the people who know the *brinquedos* and their repertoires outstandingly. Most are already retired as rural workers, and a few younger work as bricklayers and cleaners. The singers

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3   The Rosary is composed of a sequence of prayers: "Our Father" and "Hail Mary", interspersed with the so-called Mysteries and another small prayer, "Glory to the Father". At the beginning, the "*Credo*" is said and, at the end, the "*Salve Rainha*", when the Rosary is *offered* to one or more saints, saying their name. This prayer can be done with the handling of a rosary of beads, a kind of necklace that displays a crucifix at the end and whose pieces, usually small spheres – the beads –, indicate, each one, the prayer to be said at the moment.

were the people I lived with the most during my stay at Jequitinhonha, and many are present in my life to this day, with frequent contact.

Well, that day at Mr. Deca, when asking him those questions – "What would you like me to do?*"* –, he stopped for a while, thought, and said to me: "Do you know what I wanted, Valéria?*"*. I was excited, thinking "great, I'll be able to do something specific for him and the people linked to *Nove...*". And then he said to me something like: "I wanted to make a *Nove* for you to see, but the ones I had in my house when I was a boy*"*.

In this *Nove*, according to him, great local names would be present as singers, most of them already deceased, of whom I had already heard a lot... And Mr. Deca was then saying the name of each singer, men and women, that would be present in the Nove, one by one. And he continued: "Then we were going to sing along all those *noves* that I sang for you*"*.

I, still a little startled, said, trying somehow to pick up the point from the records I had in my hand: "But I've recorded far more than you could ever sing in a *Nove*, Mr. Deca*"*. And he promptly said: "then we would do another *Nove*, and another *Nove*, until we sang it all*"*.

I had nothing more to say.

Faced with my question about the recordings of his songs, what he wanted was for me to meet the *Noves* that he knew long before my arrival in the region and my admiration for the beauty of those brincadeiras. "You were going to see what *Nove* was...", he told me.

Thinking about Mr. Deca's wish, I think what he wanted was for me to be able to experience those old *Noves* as he had lived them in his childhood and youth... In a way, then, he evoked an issue we usually debate in Anthropology: the limits or the (im)possibilities of affectation and translation from a research. Supposedly, the challenge is greater when we cannot, as researchers, live a certain experience for ourselves, like the *Noves* from Mr. Deca's childhood, in this case. But the question also arises even when we are all – researchers and interlocutors – in the same context, experiencing, at least apparently, the same situations.

In Anthropology, we have generally sought to deal with these delicate issues in order to assume the limitations of our task. At the same time, seeking to explain how this task is multifaceted, formed by different perceptions of some people on multiple perceptions of other people...

Thinking this way, I can consider that, in a way, I had already experienced those old *Noves* that Mr. Deca talked about: through contact with himself, his memories, cases and the perceptions he shared with me, in addition to the narratives of other singers. And I already had, in my small suitcase and in my own body, countless other experiences related to the *Noves* in which I had been physically present and to the other experiences in the field.

I had been affected (FAVRET-SAADA, 1990) by those people and what I had experienced there. I occupied the ranks in the *brincadeira* of *Nove*, I turned and stamped on the *brinquedo* of *Batuque*, I enjoyed smiles and greetings in the meeting of eyes in the dances. I silenced in moments of prayer, I found the repertoire of songs in everyday life: plants, kinship relationships, work, disagreements, lack of love and love. I was received in the houses, I drank coffee, ate cookies coming out hot from the clay oven... I heard and saw people get emotional and rejoice, I got emotional and rejoiced.

Recalling my friend's phrase, it seems to me that it was this experience she was talking about when she told me that I could not "die with it".

And in this retrospective look that I have now, I realize that despite having made public two long texts about the research, the dissertation and the thesis, I could still tell more things or, perhaps, I could tell things in other ways. In ways closer to the multiple experiences I had, which I remember and reconstruct, and to the sensitive ways of being there, through attention to sounds, smells, colors, flavors...

Following our journey, I will tell you in more detail, next station, how I have revisited and recreated field experiences from the realization of the *Sensibilidades Antropológicas* podcast. With my face resting on the train window, I watch the landscape go by and I find myself thinking that maybe the podcast is a slightly unexpected way of "doing something" with the "material" and immaterial that I

received so much from Mr. Deca and all the people who welcomed me in the bands of Médio Jequitinhonha.

Anthropological Sensibilities

With the pandemic that has been plaguing the world since the beginning of 2020, and the sudden pause we had in the daily rhythm, at least at that initial moment, I found myself with some projects interrupted. This, in a way, opened space for others, more compatible with the conditions imposed by the virus, to be able to outline themselves.

It was in this context that, unpretentiously, I recorded a literary text that I had long wanted to share with some people, and then I sent it to some friends. I enjoyed the experience of recording and sharing, I received very delicate and beautiful comments, and I decided to continue with those recordings.

Despite having a degree in Social Communication and, therefore, having some familiarity with audio recordings and montages, it had been a long time since I had dealt with these processes. In any case, the confinement in houses, the physical distance and a certain atmosphere of loneliness and fear seemed to me compatible with the audio recordings and the sharing and diffusion, through them, of poetic texts that dealt with themes evoked by the pandemic. It would be a way, perhaps, to better deal with the loneliness that visited us, and who knows to nourish or even strengthen affective bonds.

I didn't know very well the podcast format, but it seemed to me that it suited the context and the possibilities that the moment established. Podcasts allow reasonably easy access and sharing between people, as they tend to be lighter in terms of connectivity demand. Also, as Fleischer and Manica (2020) remind us, they generally involve low production and diffusion costs, are more accessible to visually impaired and illiterate people, in addition to resting the eyes in these times of excess screens. So I imagined creating a podcast.

Social Poetics/Poética Social, prior to *Sensibilidades Antropológicas*, aired between May and December 2020. The monthly episodes, built in partnership with friend and co-worker Márcio Ferreira de Souza, brought literary texts that dealt

with topics such as isolation/withdrawal, time, modes of perception and presence, affections, longing and silence [4].

I tell you about social poetics because, in fact, it appeared as a kind of cradle of waters that, when navigated, made me find, in a bend in the river, the anthropological sensibilities. For in addition to the experience having enabled me to have a renewed and pleasurable contact with sound production, the themes addressed, and the entire context of that moment showed me my own affections. In the midst of so many goodbyes, I realized that it was important to say mine too. And I realized that I could now talk about field experiences freer from the constraints associated with academic work. Also, in order to emphasize the sensitive ways of experiencing a research and the relationships we establish in its construction.

As I said at the beginning of the text, it is not by chance that this kind of return and farewell to the ethnographic field is taking place from the sound waves and images that I share in each episode. In my opinion, the possibility of activating my voice and those of interlocutors, their timbres and tones, also recordings of soundscapes of the region, reconnecting with different images, in their colors and shapes, in addition to recreating many memories, this is all a lively way to visit again the surroundings of the Machado stream, where I carried out the research. And then, being able to get out of there in my own time, from the farewell I was willing to make.

In order to be a podcast, that is, to have a public character, I considered it important that, in this process, the issues I deal with do not boil down to a personal experience, even if they start from it. Thus, I weave considerations on certain themes or events in order to seek broader resonances and closer to the lives of other people. This attention is given especially when dealing with the processes of carrying out an ethnographic research, the relationships with interlocutors, the choice of themes... the intention is to try to contribute to the work of other people in their own research or studies, considering the audience of area students, or others, interested in field research, anthropology, ethnography.

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4   The podcast was part of the extension project "In quarantine with Incis", from the Institute of Social Sciences of the Federal University of Uberlândia (UFU), created in mid-2020. To learn about the podcast, visit: https://poeticasdaterra.org/projetos/poeticas-sociais/ or Social Poetics .

Images recorded in the house of D. Antônia Alves, an old singer and dear interlocutor of the research. Author: Valéria Martins.

Well then, *Sensibilidades Antropológicas* is a podcast focused on the intricacies of ethnographic research in its multiple sensorialities. The first season, which I am currently directing and is like the farewell I mentioned, started in March 2021 and I still don't know when it will end.

Regarding the format and frequency of the episodes, they are monthly and have a short duration: around ten minutes. They begin with a presentation of the theme of that edition and a brief contextualization regarding other episodes. This opening speech, which sometimes occupies a reasonable part of the episode, has a more informative character. The idea is precisely that it concentrates a factual character so that in the second and last part of the episode I can bring the theme in a more playful, free and poetic way.

The second part has a soundtrack, which can simply be the sound of birds or a river, depending on the theme. Sometimes, it constitutes itself in a track, as in the case of episode 5, of July 2021, which brought a series of excerpts of songs re-

corded during the research to compose a kind of musical landscape of the region: the music that played on the radio, another sung around a bonfire, the sound of the accordion and other instruments on the occasion of the *Queima do Judas* in the village of Machado [5]...

In this poetic part, so to speak, I have also brought, for example, a sound letter to a dear and already deceased interlocutor of the research, the singer and storyteller Manoel Maceda (episode 3 [6]), beautiful speeches by interlocutors (episode 4 [7]), and in episode 6, of August 2021, four short texts, related to each other and situated at different times in relation to a night of *Nove*, the rite of music and dance that I studied [8]. These texts were constructed from events that took place during the research, and I created, for the podcast, the sequence in which they appear: one of them takes place before the rite, two during the *Nove* and the last, the following day.

As I mentioned, when we were at the first station of this path that we are now walking, this rite is also called *brinquedo* or *brincadeira*, toy, play. Maybe with this inspiration I want to play a little with the way I present the themes. The "joke" here consists of experimenting with words, tones of voice, soundtracks, times of silence in the editing or even repetitions, followed by excerpts of speeches, as in episode 4, in which I brought phrases that I heard in the field. It is thus an experimentation: a toy experiment.

Regarding the choice and sequence of themes in the season, I did a survey of possible themes, but not a planning of all the episodes, subsequently. Often, it is from one episode that the inspiration for the next comes. It can also come from pressing events or issues: the discussion about the absurd idea of a "time frame" in relation to the demarcation of indigenous lands inspired me to create one of the

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5   The episode "*Cantos dos lugares: paisagens musicais*"/"Songs from places: musical landscapes" can be accessed here: https://poeticasdaterra.org/cantos-dos-lugares-paisagens-musicais/

6   "*Carta sonora ao Sr. Manoel Maced*a/Sound letter to Mr. Manoel Maceda", accessible at https://poeticasdaterra.org/carta-sonora-ao-sr-manoel-maceda/

7   "*Breves anotações de um falar poético: o que ouvi em campo*/Brief notes of poetic speech: what I heard in the field", accessible at https://poeticasdaterra.org/breves-anotacoes-de-um-falar-poetico/

8   Titled "*O brinquedo do princípio do mundo*/The toy of the beginning of the world", the episode can be accessed here: https://poeticasdaterra.org/o-brinquedo-do-principio-do-mundo/

episodes, focused especially on the theme of land and its presence in cosmology and ontology in those surroundings [9].

Regarding the process of elaboration and production of the episodes, despite being somewhat lonely, I count on the important presence and partnership of my friend and former undergraduate colleague Leobaldo Prado, a professional in audio production who masters the episodes, and also of a graduate student, who assembles the files with the written version of the episode.[10] With these text files, we want to facilitate or even make it possible for people with hearing impairments to access the podcast. Both they and the images selected for each episode are available on the website *Poéticas da Terra*[11].

In terms of the sequence of steps in the realization of each episode, we generally follow this way: writing the text; recording[12]; choice of soundtrack; editing[13]; sending the text and edited episode for the production of the written version; submission of the edited episode for mastering; and then the stage of choosing images that will accompany the publication of the episode on the website *Poéticas da Terra*, in addition to the image associated with the episode in podcasts aggregators. Finally, publication and dissemination. As steps in a process, they have an impact on each other, which can change the flow cited: with recording, for example, I can modify some part of the text I had written because I believe that, in speech, it would be better otherwise.

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9   The so-called "time frame", which has been discussed within the scope of the Federal Superior Court, wants to establish the demarcation of indigenous lands only for territories occupied by these peoples when the Federal Constitution was promulgated in 1988. Thus, insofar as it disregards that a large part of these territories were not occupied due to the fact that indigenous peoples had been violently expelled from them, the time frame serves as another instrument of historical massacre of indigenous populations since, in addition to interrupting ongoing demarcation processes, it nullifies those that have already been established and are judicialized.

10   Between March and October 2021, the work was done by Vitória Brasileira, a Visual Arts student, and from then on it has been carried out by Marcela Lima, a graduate student in Social Sciences.

11   The website *Poéticas da Terra* includes a series of references and materials related to projects and research in Anthropology that prioritize awareness of difference through the activation of devices such as photographs, films, drawings, music, sound elaborations, writings, etc. I created it from the impossibility, due to the covid-19 pandemic, of continuing with the Anthropology with Children extension project. To learn more, visit https://poeticasdaterra.org/

12   Made from a digital audio recorder that I had acquired a few years ago (H2n–Zoom).

13   Editing is done using the free software Audacity.

Well, these are the elements that have composed landscapes of the paths of this new and at the same time old journey through Jequitinhonha. And so I follow the trails, also sonorous, of *Sensibilidades Antropológicas*.

Farewell Sounds: the last station?

I'm still not sure if the podcast will continue after the first season ends. Perhaps it was created for this, I cannot say.

What I can say is that *Sensibilidades Antropológicas* has been a great opportunity both to relive and re-elaborate experiences and to talk to these interlocutors and even other people who knew very little about the region and are becoming interested in it. Or who are especially touched by questions related to research and Anthropology. Sometimes, the feeling I have is that I receive them all in a large backyard full of trees, affections and memories that we rebuild together, and redo, like new fruits.

Perhaps, behind the facade of the stations, what exists is this large backyard in its multiple relationships, always renewed: the station, in fact, from where we started and where we arrived.

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Access the *Sensibilidades Antropológicas* podcast page here on Radio Kere-kere

Valéria de Paula Martins is an anthropologist and professor at the Institute of Social Sciences at the Federal University of Uberlândia (UFU). She studied Social Communication at UFMG and holds a graduate degree in Anthropology at the University of Brasília (UnB), with a period of studies at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales. She is interested in rural cosmologies and ontologies and multispecies studies from poetic approaches. *E-mail*: valeriacpmartins@gmail.com

The Humanities have always been neglected in Science Communication. The internet has changed this scenario a bit. Without relying on intermediaries – other than technology – scientists in the Humanities found space to make more research emerge in the areas of History, Sociology, Linguistics, Literature and… Anthropology. And in this cyberspace, the fastest growing medium is the podcast. *On air: Anthropology. Stories in Podcast* tells the adventures of anthropologists that have become public. Stories that involve people, science, technologies, places and much of what is studied in this area. All this in a podcast, for those who want to listen, whenever they want, the way they want. In chapters, the authors write about the podcasts, inviting readers to get to know this science and also to follow the episodes to learn more and more about the world, the people and things that inhabit it, from the perspective of Anthropology.

Simone Pallone de Figueiredo (Labjor/Unicamp)