

Animal Multiples: a visual ethnographic  
reflection on the human-wild animal  
relationship at the Côa Valley

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## Abstract

Although people think that humans are masters of nature, this position has been challenged by many social scholars that now debate novel methods to talk and understand nature. Drawing on ontological multiplicity, an approach that shifts the analysis from what people claim they know about reality to how people construct their reality through practices, the present paper followed the routine of a small rural community and a nature reserve in Portugal. Based on visual ethnographic methods, this present paper offers the reader reflection on how the groups relate to the wild animals during the practices and material culture. Additionally, it also shows how the wild animals come into being through the visual research practices.

Grounded on the idea that multiple versions of reality are created by practices, the research offers three different outcomes, in which the wild animals and the experience of being in the field are enacted differently. This research is the result of a multimodal approach, which resulted in this document, a documentary (Animal Intersection 27 min) and a poetry book (haiku/ethnographic/fieldnotes).

Keywords: Ontological multiplicity; wild animal; visual ethnography; haiku; multiplicity

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## 1. Introduction

This research is about the human-wild animal relationship in Portugal. The study is based on visual ethnographic methods, and I describe three relationships: the anthropologist-wild animal, the rural community-wild animal, and the conservationist-wild animal.

Although studying the interrelationship between humans and animals is not something new, as many scholars have been studying the relationship between humans and animals (Alves *et al.* 2018; Medeiros and Alves 2018; Mitchell 2018; Fritts *et al.* 2003; Knight 2003), it is a relevant topic to discuss in science. To Latour argues nature is problematic: “[I]n a way nature as a concept was invented by the European tradition of science and from the exploration of the world, and the domination at the time of the imperialist time. And now it has to be ‘disinvented’ so to speak” (Nature Outlook 2016). The invention of nature not only disassociates humans from nature but also allows humans to think that they are eligible to tame and master life. In the modernity discourse, wilderness, with its animals and plants, holds a value or a purpose to serve humans (Sloterdijk 2020; Tsing, 2015; He 2009). Therefore, it is necessary to reinvent practices when we think about nature, wilderness, and wild animals. Many scholars offer to us novel ways of rethinking nature. Callon (1984) observed that the scientific method and social forces could not create predictions or explanations about society because, as the author explained, society is not less uncertain or disputable than nature. Analysing the interaction between scallops and fishermen, Callon traced the capacity of actors to influence other actors, whether they are humans or non-humans. On his relational web, society and nature are intertwined. Bruno Latour has been advocating for another approach to study nature in science. On his *We Have Never Been Modern*, Latour (1993) disregards the modern dichotomy culture/nature to create a new gaze to the society where humans and non-humans intersect and create hybrid systems, where engineering and social sciences communicate to recreate a new connection with the world. On *Pandora’s Hope*, Latour (1999) reflects on conceptualising agency and the politics of non-humans, which organises non-human actors to shape humans into specific political orders in society, is a complicated political endeavour. On *Body Multiple*, Mol (2003) argues that things we usually take for granted as common to everybody are in fact multiple versions when we look at the practices and the material culture that enact them. So, we can imagine that reality changes over time. This research is an effort to reflect on the human-wild animal relationship by taking into consideration the local practices and material culture in a rural parish at C<sup>o</sup>a Valley. Through the practices, we can observe that “[a]ctive entities are relationally linked with one another in webs. (...) they make each other be” (Law and Mol 2008: 58).

### 1.1 Losing connection

The global connections, the forces that bring people and places close but also create universal ambitions (Tsing 2015), have been changing the relationship between humans and wild animals. While travelling in Riba-Côa, a historical region in between Côa river and Águeda river in Portugal, the pigeon houses in the landscape remind me of the strong relationship among rural community and animals. Portuguese rural communities rely upon animals, especially domestic animals, to survive (Corral 2012). Nowadays, traditional land-use practices are no longer viable due to depopulation, little economic perspective, aged population, land abandonment (Pellis 2019; Carvalho-Ribeiro *et al.* 2010). The pigeon houses work as a landmark of the old times and tell that the human-wild animal relationship is changing.

While listening to the folks on the bus, I look at the pigeon houses dotting the landscape, and I imagined about the human-wild animal relationship. What versions of relationships do practices enact? How do practices enact wild animals?

## 1.2 Location

In the mountains of northeast Portugal, a region of extensive olive groves and where the almond trees blossom in spring (February and March) and the vineyards in autumn (September and October) are covered by leaves the color of fire, there is a tributary of the River Douro with a universally recognized name.<sup>1</sup>

The region described above is called Côa Valley, a significant area because it had been registering human development for aeons. In the valley, it is possible to find Palaeolithic rock art that opens a window to the prehistoric human-wild animal relationship. It also registered the Lusitanians, Romans and Moors presence. Most notably, the Côa is also the region where endangered birds, for instance, the Egyptian vulture, the black stork, and the Bonelli's Eagle (Geraldés and Sheppard 2019; ATNatura 2018), live and make their nests. Thus, the Côa Valley is a region that weaves human beings and wilderness.

During my period in the field, I lived in Algodres, a small village in between the national road 332 and the Côa River. The village is part of the municipality of Figueira de Castelo Rodrigo. The village is one of the entrances to Faia Brava, a project that aims to conserve the natural spaces of the Côa valley.

I regularly visited the Faia Brava nature reserve. Faia Brava is the first private nature reserve in Portugal. The reserve was created in 2000, and it is operated by Associação Transumância e Natureza (ATN), a non-governmental environmental organisation located in the city of Figueira de Castelo Rodrigo. The ATN mission<sup>2</sup> is to conserve, enhance, and disseminate the natural heritage of the Northeast of Portugal, through the protection and management of natural areas in the Côa. The organisation bought abandoned farmlands close to the Côa River. The reserve covers 856 hectares,

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<sup>1</sup> Retrieved from <https://arte-coa.pt/en/the-region/>

<sup>2</sup> Retrieved from <https://www.atnatureza.org/pt/reserva-faia-brava#equipamentos-instalados-2>

which most of the reserve area is inside the parish of Algodres. The association has the intention to expand the nature reserve to create a large wilderness area. In the nature reserve, there are four main habitats: cliffs, riversides, temporary ponds, and dehesa. These are valuable habitats to maintain the local fauna and flora.

### **1.3 Ethics**

I decided to do a pre-fieldwork from December 15 until December 21. During this period, I contacted potential stakeholders to explain my research and ask if they were interested in participating. On This way, people from my study area were aware of my presence, my research process, and my intentions.

While conducting the fieldwork, I followed the American Anthropological Association (AAA) ethic code, but ethics does not present a definitive solution or a protocol to follow. Ethics is found in daily life and is a permanent exercise of choices (Barros Filho 2016). As a researcher, I am responsible for weighting and making ethical decisions. Additionally, during the fieldwork, I was continually explaining as clearly as possible my research and my intentions to my interlocutors. On this way, my interlocutors could consciously choose if they understood the purpose of my research and collaborate with me.

Representing alterity is a central point in ethnographic practices, and in this research, I used a camera to record my interaction with people. Filmmaking is a political situation (Snowdon 2017), where the decisions taken are negotiated with other actors involved. In this manner, my decision on what and how to portray alterity is political, at the same time, the interlocutors' decision on what to show and how they act towards the camera is political as well. This reflects on the ways a researcher collaborates with the interlocutors and the kind of rapport they construct together. In the case of my research and film, there is always a change of misrepresenting someone and their reality. To avoid misrepresentations, I decided to go back to Algodres from June 28, 2020, until July 07, 2020, to show to my interlocutors the film and have their opinion. Battaglia (2015) argues that filmmaking produces a dialogue between filmmaker, interlocutors and audience, in which create moments to reflect on the filmmaker-interlocutor and filmmaker-audience relationships and in which generate modes that allows the filmmaker to re-think on the representation of alterity.

## **2. Understanding the other**

“Life is not a problem to be solved, but a reality to be experienced”

The Danish philosopher Søren Kierkegaard (1813-1855) offers us noteworthy thoughts to reflect on how people live in modern society. Kierkegaard was concerned with the existence of life in modern Danish society in the XIX century and reflected on the ways the public or the crown affects the individuality in society (Kierkegaard *apud* Hong and Hong 2000). Kierkegaard was thinking of how people experienced life and concluded that the truth must come from the people's experiences and not from the crowd. "The trend today is in the direction of mathematical equality, so that in all classes about so and so many uniformly make one individual" (idem: 259). Kierkegaard's problem with the public is that it puts people in a default identity, as in born in XIX century Denmark would make people Christians. The public turns individuality into something meaningless within the group. But for Kierkegaard, humans are inherently different; filled with passion, will, and desires (Bohlinger 2018). Kierkegaard's concerned that life could become more about the doctrines and rules in society than the experiences that transform the person. People are the ones responsible for experiencing and living life and therefore responsible for living their realities and for their actions and not the public. The act of making meanings is an individual practice, and it is achieved only by experiencing life. Therefore, the truth, as an objective and universal idea that constitutes reality, cannot exist because it lies in the subjective one's experiences and not outside in the crown (Kierkegaard *apud* Hong and Hong 2000).

Thinking on Kierkegaard's idea of individuality helps to introduce Mol's idea of ontological multiplicity (2012), where an entity has multiple versions of itself enacted via diverse practices. Ontological multiplicity is part of the ontological turn, an approach that shifts the analysis to how people construct their reality (Tsing 2018). Drawing from the actor-network theory approach, Callon (1984) observed in the fish practices of St. Brieuc Bay, scallops and fishers do not behave accordingly to scientific and technological practices and framework. Due to the actors' unpredictable behaviour, the practice turned into something different from what the scientists expected. Although actor-network theory approach assumes that experience is relational to the practice, the "[o]ntology is not given in the order of things, but that, instead, ontologies are brought into being, sustained, or allowed to wither away in common, day-to-day, sociomaterial practices" (Mol 2002: 6). In ontological multiplicity, the entities in practice enact each other. We can think that the experience is shaped by the practices that humans and non-humans actors enact that come together in relations of practices, and it does not live outside of those relations (Law 2009; Law and Mol 2008; Law and Mol 1995; Latour 1993; Callon 1984). In ontological multiplicity, it is possible to consider that we experience a shared reality. Still, the reality is enacted differently from each actor as practices are reasonably different from each other, and what looks like a singular object is, in fact, more than one. But ontological multiplicity is not the same as different perspectives. The idea of multiple perspectives gives us the false impression of paying attention to the object. Mol (2002) argues that when we interpret objects, we do not engage properly with them. In other words, ontological multiplicity focuses on the ontological concern of how things are done, how things come into being, instead of concentrating on the epistemological matter of how people claim to know



about things in the world. So, it is necessary to analyse connections that allow it to happen to see how they come into being.

Following Kierkegaard's rationale, the truth is subjective and rooted in one's experiences. But if the experience is relational to the practices, as ontological multiplicity and actor-network theory suggest, then truth or the reality is also ontologically multiple.

## **2.1 Enactment**

Daily life happens in plenty of situations or events: at home, at work, in the café, doing shopping, with family and with friends. Enactment underpins the notion of when actors enact a practice; they bring into existence the structure of daily life. Enactment tells about how an entity is organised in practice is not the same as the other under the same name (Mol 2002). Law exemplified that “[e]conomics in theory is all very well, but economics in practice is different” (2009: 151). He argues that something, for instance, economic theories, is not real until it is enacted in practice. But it is also possible to imagine that the entity (economics) are enacted differently even though they are called by the same name. Therefore, by looking at practices, it is possible to trace how the actors are assembled in a web of relations and how they coordinate to make an entity come into being (Law 2009; Mol 2002; Law and Mol 2008). In Ontological multiplicity, the entities turn “more than one but less than many” (Law and Mol 2008: 66). The argument is that for ontological multiplicity practices and enactments are crucial features as each practice creates their material reality and enacts their reality.

In this research, I focus on the enactment of human-wild animal relationships. It means that I will not only see animals as biological entities, but also as active actors that play their part, but also co-act with other actors in a web of practice to enact the relationship with humans (Law and Mol 2008). Law and Lien (2012) argue that, although we can describe a specific entity by analysing the practices, we cannot assume the enactment as a complete description of the entity. The description that we can get from the analysis is always partial (Abram and Lien 2011; Law and Mol 2008). The more we enlarge the image, another equally complex image appears. When we analyse the enactment of an entity, it is possible to observe a network of multiple enactments (Yates *et al.* 2017). This dialogue connects the existing realities in specific settings. For this reason, the wild animal enacted cannot live outside of its set of practice and outside of particular context (Law and Lien 2012; Law and Mol 2008; Law and Mol 1995).

## **2.2 Multiplicity**

When we understand that different practices enact an entity differently from each other, the entity starts to be more. Knight (2003) illustrates a ‘multiple wolf’ in Japan when he describes the people-wildlife relationship in Japan. The wolf has already been extinct in the Japanese mountains since 1905, and now wild animals are considered by many in Japan as pestilence because they harm the lives of those people that who live in rural communities by damaging their crops or eating the harvest. Then,

conservationist groups want to reintroduce wolves to restore the ecological balance. In the debate, the wolf gets an environmental version because conservationists point pieces of evidence that the wolf can balance the ecosystem; it is a scientific/technological version because scientist will have to reproduce the extinct Japanese wolf or and monitor the population and the effects over the environment; there is a post-extinct version, with people searching for the wolf in the Japanese mountains. It is a touristic wolf because at the municipality *Higashi Yoshino-mura*, as the city put a statue of a wolf and market the village as the place where the last wolf was spotted; there is the deity wolf with Shinto shrines dedicated to them throughout Japan; there is the benevolent wolf, which protects people from evil spirits.

Hence, multiplicity is not about having many of the same entity or many fragments of a chopped entity when putting together they recreate a full entity. Multiplicity is about the possibility of the existence of the entity but in many versions of itself (Law and Singleton 2014; Mol 2012; Law 2009). The wolves described by Knight are not about the same wolf. At the same time, it is not about another species. In Knight's ethnographic work, the wolves were the same species, but they were also different animals. The wolves are different as each practice produces their material culture related to the wolf. That is the reason to analyse the practices, to observe the how the multiple actors connect and create the multiplicity that is inherited in the entity.

Ontological multiplicity understands that when one says something is real, it is because the circumstances provided conditions under which it is real in one's reality (Holbraad 2007) but recognise that the reality is also multiple. As reality is done together with practices, and since there are many practices, there are multiple realities. It is better to visualise multiplicity as a patchwork that shows how enactments are coordinated (one square in the patchwork) and sews the possible connections with different versions under a mixed practice (Law and Mol 2008b). Additionally, the patchwork may help to understand the complex idea that ontological multiplicity does not deal with interpretations or fragments.

### **3. Audio visual research**

Although wild animals are deeply rooted in rural communities' daily life, the relationship with wild animals is not always evident. I had to elaborate a set of methods to engage with my interlocutors and perceive in which moments they interact with wild animals in their lives. I got permission from my interlocutors to follow them during their work. In their work environment, I could experience the practices they do, and what is the material culture involved in each practice.

#### **3.1 Meet the multiple interlocutor**

ATN is an environmental association that manages the private nature reserve Faia Brava. It was established on June 06, 2000, in Figueira de Castelo Rodrigo. It is an initiative to protect rupicolous

bird species – birds that live among rocks – in Riba-Côa, a region regarded with high natural heritage value. The association is guided by a board, with Henk Smith as the president, and eight full-time staff members working in the field and the office. I had the opportunity to work together with João, one of the project managers and biologist specialised in birds, and with Abel, Joaquim (Quim), and Zé, the fieldworkers. João's tasks shift from working in the office close to the board to the field by doing diversity evaluation, monitoring endangered birds. Abel, Quim, and Zé do the maintenance in the infrastructure, clean the nature reserve and treat the animals. Every day they need to go to the reserve.

In Algodres, I tried to interact with as many people as I could. In total, I followed three people in their work.

D. Conceição is married to Sr. Henrique, and she is the sister-in-law of Zé Miguel. She is an active lady and her activities consist of cleaning her house, taking care of her mother, helping Sr. Henrique in the café, cooking lunch and dinner for them, and working in three plots inside Algodres where she does subsistence farming. The farming practices change according to the season, and during the winter months she prepares the land for spring. The activities consist of pruning orchards, pruning vineyards, removing weeds, and manure the soil.

Sr. Henrique is married to Conceição and owns the café, which is the usual place where people go there to drink coffee or beer. He had never worked with farming or with animals, but he has many memories of the wildlife when he lived in Mozambique. Sr. Henrique spends his days, from Monday to Sunday, working. The work consists of serving beverages to clients, dealing with goods suppliers, cleaning and organising the café and the mini-market. In the shopkeeper practices, wild animals should not be part of his routine. The material culture in the café demonstrates that Sr. Henrique works with humans and technologies every day, but at the same time, it prevents the presence of animals inside the shop.

Zé Miguel is Conceição's brother-in-law, and he is one of the herders with a large number of animals in the village. He is from Almendra but moved to Algodres after marrying Conceição's sister. Like many men in rural communities, Zé Miguel has multiple occupations, but herding is his primary business.

In this research, wild animals are also treated as relevant actors in the practices and inherited with an agency. Below there are short descriptions about some of the animals I interacted and examined.

At Faia Brava is possible to find three species of vultures: Eurasian black vulture, Griffon vulture, and the Egyptian vulture. Vultures are scavenger birds that use the warm air streams to fly high (3000 meters) to find food kilometres away. These birds have the crucial role of cleaning the landscape by eating the carcasses of dead animals and eliminating lethal bacteria from the environment. Therefore, they were are essential to the region.

Dogs are usually used for many purposes in rural communities. They are commonly used by herders to help to manage and guard the sheep. Although they are domesticated species, stray dogs may return to a feral state. Stray dogs may represent a threat to humans and other animals due to

ferocious behaviour or by spreading diseases. There is also the risk of stray dogs polluting foxes' genetic pool by copulating with vixen (female fox) on heat.

The wolf was an animal that recurrently appeared on my fieldwork. Although they are not there physically, the wolf was a common topic on my conversations with my interlocutors. This my illustrate that wolves are still living in people's memories. Wolves were extinct more than fifty years ago at the Côa valley. In the past, Iberian wolves used to live in the whole Portuguese territory. The Iberian wolf (*Canis lupus signatus*) is 140 cm in body length, 70 cm height, and has brown fur and a black stripe from neck to tail. Although it is a small animal when compared to the grey wolf (*Canis lupus*). They hunt wild prey, such as deer or wild boars, but they can kill livestock when they do not have another option. The Iberian wolf is a creature that rural communities usually fear and associate with the devil. Due to persecution and habitat loss, the Iberian wolf is now an endangered species, and they live in certain mountainous parts of the country. The Côa valley does not have a top predator to control other animals that can damage farms, but the villagers do not want the wolf to return

The cow at Faia Brava is from a Portuguese breed called *maronesa*. The cows are part of a project called Tauros Programme, which envisions to bring back the aurochs, the ancestors of domestic cattle, by using a technique called “back-breeding”<sup>3</sup>, researchers combine cattle breeds that have desired characteristics to create physical, behavioural, and genetical attributes that closely match with the ancient aurochs.

### **3.2 Visual ethnographic practices enact multiple realities**

To understand one's relationship, the ethnographer needs to enter their life and observe and experience their love and hate, their material culture to understand what is relevant or not. Causey (2012) argues that ethnographers tend to privilege the writing form over other forms of art. The research is an attempt to engage differently with the surroundings, and create a new understanding of the human-wild animal relationship. “Film brings people and cultures alive on the screen, capturing the sensation of living presence” (Barbash and Taylor 1997: 1), which is more difficult to recreate by writing. Then it is possible to think of film as a visual alternative to engaging with ethnographic descriptions. Furthermore, MacDougall (1998) argues that through visual representations, anthropologists can reflect on the disciplines and in the methods that are used in their anthropological practices. Therefore, in this research, I use film not only to produce a documentary but also to use film as an analytical tool.

It is common to assume that documentaries are a presentation of reality. Barbash and Taylor argue that documentaries are not a presentation of reality. For the authors, films cannot be a presentation because “there's some distance between the actual film and what it depicts” (1997: 8). Many things happened around the camera or the journal that was cut out or ignored. For the authors, through selection and interpretation, filmmakers re-construct the experience they had in the field.

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<sup>3</sup> Retrieved from <https://rewildingeuropa.com/rewilding-in-action/wildlife-comeback/tauros/>

A similar point is possible to make about ethnographic writing. It is necessary to trust in the ethnographer that what is written is not forged, and it is an accurate representation of the experience lived in the field. Moreover, ethnographic writing is a selection and interpretation process as much as filmmaking. The ethnographer must decide what to write about, which aspects are relevant, and style and aesthetic. Contrary to documentaries, ethnographic writing renders the world in more generic terms and dilute sensuous perceptions as it is more difficult to write more detailed scenes. However, the power of ethnographic writing lies in the capacity that “writing makes the unseen person or custom more strange by isolating it from its surroundings, thereby giving free rein to the reader’s imagination” (MacDougall 1998: 246).

The ethnographic practices create a representation of a situation or experience. In visual research, both modes of art - the visual and writing - strive to describe the research experience, but as different practices, the visual and writing practices produce various enactments. In other words, they may be similar in multiple ways, but as their practices are different, so do they enact differently the social reality that they represent.

### **3.3 Filmmaking practice**

It is crucial to understand that documentaries are not a mirror or a copy of what they depict. By using Ontological multiplicity approach, it is possible to argue that filmmaking practice enacts a version of the filmmaker’s reality. “In postproduction, sequences shot in real time are chopped up and reassembled into a new cinematic reality” (Barbash and Taylor 1997: 371). Then, through the montage practices, a new cinematic reality comes into being, and it is as real as the experience it depicts on the screen. Additionally, Barbash and Taylor (ibid) stated that documentaries represent reality in multiple ways as documentaries engage differently with the practices and events that occur in the front and around the camera.

Therefore, in the ontological multiplicity approach, it is possible to think that filmmaking practices also enact multiple realities.

Suhr and Willerslev (2012; 2013a) argues that montage does not dismiss the idea of reality in film. Montage strengthens the reality by using juxtaposing images to create a tension between the sense of reality and disruption. In the book “Transcultural Montage”, Suhr and Willerslev (2013) stated that montage could be used in multiple ways.

Animal Intersection is inspired by many films, such as *Nanook of the North* (1922); *Only Yesterday* (1991); *Sweet Grass* (2009); *Swamp Dialogues* (2015), and represents the human-wild animal relationship in a small rural community in Portugal, where I followed my interlocutors in their work and recorded their practices in order to understand which circumstances they relate to the wild animals. In the end, through a loose narrative, the film is composed by unhinging linked ethnographic vignettes, where each vignette tells a story about their human-wild animal relationship and shows that different practices and material culture in each practice.

The film is an attempt to use ontological multiplicity together with montage. The outcome is a multiplicity of versions that the documentary portrait on screen. In the filmmaking practice, the film is enacted as a new cinematic reality, in which I use montage to assemble and juxtapose the footage to represent the experience in the field. In the research practice, the film is enacted as an analytical tool, in which I use montage to organise and examine the data to produce a reflection about the human connection with the wilderness. It is also relevant to comment that the enactment of the film ends when the practices of filmmaking are over. But it does not necessarily mean that the possibilities for new enactments are done. As an anthropological work, the enactments of human-wild animal portrayed in the film will continue via the audience.

### **3.4 Haiku practice**

Visual and filmmaking are not a synonym. The visual is a broad term and could include other forms of visual arts. In this sense, I decided to enact my experience through poetry practices. In the fieldwork, I decided to engage with fieldnotes in a different practice of ethnographic notes. Instead of doing only long and detailed descriptions, I chose to try writing haiku and test to know if they can have the same descriptive effect as an ethnographic vignette.

Haiku is a Japanese poetry style which consists of small sentences recording a whole scene (more explanation about haiku see Higginson and Harter 2010 and Ross 2002). Due to its length, haiku needs to work straightforwardly and create an image that makes the reader know the object or event more clearly than one had seen it already (Higginson and Harter 2010). Likewise, in film, haiku also plays with montage to create a juxtapose scene. Indeed, haiku was one of Eisenstein's inspirations to develop his theory of montage (Suhr and Willerslev 2013b). A haiku is composed of two images that when compared to each other express a certain feeling or an idea (Ross 2002). "The simple combination of two or three details of a material kind yields a perfectly finished representation of another kind-psychological" (Eisenstein 1949: 32). So, haiku may work similarly to ethnography field notes as the author had to stop and jot down details to represent a whole scene. However, haiku also must evoke the feelings of the poet at the moment the haiku was written. That is the psychological aspect that Eisenstein refers to and reproduced in his montage theory.

Emerson et al. (2011) describe fieldnotes as the systematic activity where the ethnographer produces written accounts about one's experience and observations. In the end, the written accounts help to represent the social world that the ethnographer interacted physically. However, jotting down is a selective process where the ethnographer must decide what and how to inscribe (ibid.). MacDougall (1998) had pointed out that writing has an issue that it is challenging to keep in mind multiple aspects that can reduce the inscription to ordinary features and generic and assimilable structures. Thus, writing is a hard endeavour and what makes words come into life is detail and observations that evoke the feeling of being part of the scene (Taber 2018). However, in haiku, there is no room for detailed descriptions. Because of the practice nature, haiku is always an incomplete or imperfect scene, but "it

is the readers who make the haiku's imperfection a perfection of art" (Noguchi apud Eisenstein 1949: 32).

Undeniably ethnographic writing and haiku are two distinctive kinds of literature. "For being small, haiku lend themselves especially for sharing small, intimate things" (Higginson and Harper 2010: 6), while in ethnographic writing, the writer can take the liberty to inscribe many details and observations in a scene. Although different, both forms of art have characteristics that are similar in their practices: description of vignettes, evoke feelings, reflexive process, a compelling story.

The book haiku/ethnographic/fieldnotes are encouraged by the possibility to communicate ethnographic knowledge in a different medium. Using haiku to convey an ethnographic understanding is not new, but it is rare. John Han defined ethnographic haiku as "haiku that reveal the intricacies of a certain culture which encompass a group's values, ideologies, and frame of reference" (Apud Zheng 2017:142). The haiku presented in my book goes in a different direction. The haiku I wrote are not focused on the other but pays attention to my research practices and my role in the field. Consequently, the haiku enact the personal experience in the field by evoking contemplative moments as well as descriptive and reflexive passages.

Furthermore, the book is a collaborative work with Elisa Brasil, a Brazilian artist who is responsible for making the haiga, the drawing that follows the haiku and illustrates the essence of the haiku (Ross 2002). The idea behind is to create a shared reality between the haiku, the haiga, and the reader. "The central act of haiku is letting an object or event touch us, and then sharing it with another. If we are the writer, we share it with the reader. If we read a haiku, we share that moment, or one like it, with the writer" (Higginson and Harper 2010: 6).

### **3.5 Writing practice**

Once Graciliano Ramos (1892-1953) compared washing clothes with writing. He described the washing clothes process of washerwomen in Alagoas, Brazil: from cleaning the rocks in the river's bed until hanging the clothes to dry. To him, drafting a text should follow a similar process, as the writer is only done after meticulously reviewing his work. To him "the word was not made to adorn, to shine like fake gold; the word was meant to say", which is a critique to writers that do not reflect on the writing practices and are not careful enough with the sentences they build and the reality their writing enacts. As Marcus and Fischer wrote, "[a]nthropology is the use of cultural richness for self-reflection and self-growth" (*apud*. Vohnsen 2013: 143). By contrasting the cultural reality against mine, I may change my concepts to arrive in an adequate knowledge that puts me in a position that I am capable of agreeing with my interlocutors using similar standards (Holbraad 2007). In Holdbraad's idea, concepts can ontologically change in the process of re-conceptualisation. The juxtaposition of snippets corroborates with the claim that otherness does not derive from a shared existential base and permit the reader to imagine how it is to live in one reality (Suhr and Willerslev 2013a). In this view, montage in

writing is a viable practice for creating disruption and encouraging the anthropologist to change the concepts to reach a position that he understands the other and not make the other fit in certain concepts.

In that way, ethnography is a method, as pointed by Clifford (1986), of cultural and political poiesis, that is the constant reconstruction of the otherness and the self through specific exclusions, conventions, and discursive practices. And this materialises in the way I worked with my vignettes. They are a product of interpretation, selection, and exclusion. They are trustful accounts but mix fantasy with realism, science with arts, to provide the reader with critical thinking and re-evaluate the established representational forms of the otherness.

#### **4. The rural practices**

**“BLURRED WINDOWS  
SHEEP, DOGS, BIRDS  
EARLY IN THE MORNING”**

In a rural community, it is necessary to start the day in the early hours. Although it is winter, there still are tasks to be done in the farmlands or the sheep pens, two traditional practices in Algodres. During the winter farmers need to clean and prepare the land for March when spring arrives and transform the landscape; For the herders, winter also means work. Until summer they need to milk the ewes (female sheep) twice a day – in the morning and the evening – care for the lambs, and because of the cold the animals sleep more often in the barns, then it is necessary to clean the area where they sleep. At the beginning of spring, farmers start sowing, and the herders now go faraway with the sheep behind him.

##### **4.1 Vignette - In the shop**

In January, the days end too early and all nights feel terribly cold. The streets get empty quickly that people usually say, "you cannot even find a ghost". On those cold nights, people enjoy going to the café and talking to friends, drinking, and smoking cigarettes. In one night, three men came to me to ask what I was doing in the village with a camera. I told them about my research, and I was searching for a wolf. From the three men, Miguel is the most communicative. Sr. Henrique was using a horizontal fridge behind the bar counter as a table to point the tabs of each client. Miguel asked Sr. Henrique to bring four small beer bottles. I moved my stool closer to them so hear the conversation more clearly. They told me that I was too late because the wolf does not exist anymore in the region. Sr. Henrique brought the mini beer bottles and said: "the wolf was already extinct when I was sixteen years old and decided to move to Mozambique". In my calculations, it means that the wolf was extinct fifty or sixty years ago. He grabbed the bottle opener from his pocket, and while opening the bottles, he started talking about the stray dogs that roam around the Portuguese villages. For Miguel, the stray dogs are



the same as the wolf. "They are aggressive and dangerous. They can attack anything, including humans". Sr. Henrique agreed with the statement and commented that about five years ago, there were a couple of cases of stray dogs attacking sheep in the villages around. Hugo, another guy from the group, with a cigarette on his hand, said: "They have pleasure in killing. They kill the lambs, but they do not eat it". The conversation stops when on the other extreme of the counter someone called Sr. Henrique for more beers and peanuts. Without saying anything, Sr. Henrique turned his back, and by slow paces went to the fridge/table to point in a tab the four beers in Miguel's tab, opened the fridge door to grab three mini beer bottles and went to the other table. the conversation changed into another topic soon after.

The café has a particular schedule. Every morning, from nine o'clock until eleven am, most of the clientele is female. The tv is always on in those morning shows, and people usually do not drink alcohol or smoke. Gradually during the day, the clientele change, and from six until ten or eleven pm, most of the clientele is male. Then, Patrons can be loud, smoke more and people drink more beer or wine than coffee. The TV is on game shows or in the news. Sr. Henrique is not a big football fan, but he switches the tv to the sports channel every time Benfica or Porto has a match. It is always busy in the café, but there is a quiet moment after lunch that when the café is empty. Sr. Henrique uses this time to tidy the café. He uses water and soap to clean every table, clean the toilets, organise the newspapers and magazines, empty the ashtrays, wash the coffee cups and glasses, dust off bottles from the bar shelf. Often times a client or a food supplier would arrive as Sr. Enrique is tidying up the café. During these moments I would ask them about the birds in Algodres. Sr. Henrique told me, "nowadays you do have as much as before. In the past you could have all the power lines full of birds". He took a smartphone from the cash register and showed me a video of people installing nets to capture birds. "In Morocco or Algeria, people are installing nets to capture the migrating birds and that is affecting the migration cycle to Portugal. That is why we do not have many birds as before". Afterwards, he showed me a dove hunting, where the doves are put in cages. Someone opens the pens to make the doves flying away. Next to the pens are the hunters ready to shoot the animals when they reach the sky. "How can you call it hunting?", he said with a sorrowful face. He put his smartphone back in the cash register and continued: "You know, people think that the wolf is dangerous, but the most dangerous predator is the human. Especially those who use chemicals in their agriculture. Poisoning the plants that eventually kill the animals". He looked at me as waiting for an answer, but I could not make any statement.

#### **4.2 Vignette – With the hands on the land**

A bit further from the café, close to a garage shop, Sr. Henrique and D. Conceição have a small plot of land. The plot is surrounded by walls – one big wall that faces the street and low barriers that permit visitors to see the neighbours' gardens on the sides and a creek behind. There is a symphony of cars passing on the street, metals clanking in the garage, and birds chirping on the power lines. First, D.

Conceição showed me where she plants beans, herbs, vegetables, flowers, and the equipment that is necessary to do the work – water cans, hoes, lawnmower, buckets, seeds. Each season is a different crop and a different practice. She grabbed a hoe, a bucket full of potatoes and a hat to protect me from the sun. She already cleaned the middle of the plot to put the potatoes. I asked if I could do the heavy part for her. She answered: "No. You do not know how to do it. See, it is important to make a straight line and not dig too little or too deep". Instead, she gave me the potatoes and told me to put on the ground and to give space in between the potatoes. She explained that I should put the sprouts up. It is from the sprouts that a new potatoes plant will grow. "You need to know how to take care of the plants. Understand what is happening to them". While digging holes, D. Conceição explained that she learned the techniques from her father when she was a child, and Sr. Henrique does not help her because he never worked on the land. After we planted every inch of the ground, she described the next steps she will do the following day. She waters the crops every other day, and checks for any pest or infestation. "The plant will tell you"; If a fungus or insect infests the plants, she prepares a solution with a "potato medicine" and water to bathe the plant. You have to wait three months until harvest. I mentioned the variety of birds here. She had several stories about the birds: "when it is spring and fall, the sparrows come here to poke the lettuce. A sparrow pulled a whole lettuce out from the ground!", "around September, if you go to an olive orchard, you can see the thrushes flying away from the olive trees. On the ground, you can find the olive pits that they leave behind". She told the stories laughing, and with a positive attitude as she understood why the birds did that to her garden. However, she had a different attitude with a mole. As the mole made a considerable mess. "I noticed that my plants were withering and many heaps around the plot. One day I was watering the plants, and I noticed something was coming out of the ground. Then, I took my hoe and killed the mole. After that incident, they never came back.

### **4.3 Vignette – Following the herder**

Today is a surprisingly warm spring day. Zé Miguel took the sheep to the grass in the outskirts of the parish of Algodres. Instead of walking or riding a horse, it is now common to drive a tractor when herding the sheep to grass. We stopped in an area full of olive orchards and oak trees. He left the sheep enclosed with two big dogs guarding them, and we drove further in the path. The closer you were getting to the Côa River the steeper came to the hills, but Zé Miguel could drive the tractor just fine with me on the side of it. As I held the camera in one hand and clutching the driver's seat with the other, we reached the cliffs where it is possible to see when the Massueime River and the Côa River meet. Zé said: "on these cliffs it is possible to find wild boar, foxes, partridges, and roe deer hiding in the bushes or down close to the water". He sent his small dog to go down the cliff and make one of those wild animals come out. While looking at the landscape, Zé explained the dog's functions, "the small one I use for hunting. She is quick on her paws and can go down fast. The other three dogs I use for herding. They help me to bring them back to the path or to not let them escape. The two big dogs always stay with the sheep. They protected the sheep from stray dogs, people, and foxes. Foxes also attack the

lambs". At noon, we drove back to the sheep to have lunch. Under an olive tree and with a beautiful view of the valley, we unpack the lunch that Ana, Zé Miguel's daughter, prepared for us. The heat, the sheep bell and the wine make the scene mesmerising, but I think for Zé Miguel this is just another day at work. His small dog came back from the cliff. There was not any creature hiding in the bushes. Zé Miguel said "I can recognise which animal she finds only by hearing her barking. If she has a light, weak bark, it means she found something small, like a rabbit or a partridge. If she has a strong bark, it means she found something big, like a wild boar". Zé Miguel also told me that wolves are afraid of wild boars. "Where the wild boars live, you cannot find a wolf". According to him, wild boars are tremendously strong, so they scare the wolves away. Yet, from what I have read in books and talked to other people, I learnt that wolves prey on wild boars.

## **5. The conservationist practices**

**"CIRCLE –  
THE VULTURE'S LIFE IS  
THE DEATH OF OTHER"**

Faia Brava is a project that aims to protect wilderness and endangered bird species by elaborating practices that increase biodiversity and reduce the possibility of wildfires illegal hunting. During winter, most of the fieldworker's tasks consist of maintaining the nature reserve: pruning the oaks, olives, and almond trees, fixing fences, chopping dried trees, feeding the cattle and herd. In the case of João, he does his work mostly in the office, but he has opportunities to visit the reserve, for mapping or guiding visitors.

### **5.1 Vignette - Walking with a specialist**

ATN had installed two feeding areas where the association artificially fed the scavenger birds. The first feeding area is located inside the Faia Brava, next to the valley. The second feeding area is close to the road in between Algodres and Vale do Afonsinho. João explained to me that one of the leading practices that ATN does is feeding the birds. The first location was not ideal because few birds have territorial behaviour and to protect the territory they might neglect the chicks. For this reason, ATN constructed a second feeding area far away from the cliffs. The feeding areas are broad, fenced, to keep other scavenger animals outside, on rocky terrain, so the birds can easily find the carrion that ATN collects from local slaughterhouses. "Feeding the birds is one of the main ATN's practices. It does not only help the birds to settle in the region, maintain the ecological balance, but also is a fantastic opportunity to attract ornithologist tourists". For that purpose, they have installed a shelter where visitors can watch the feeding frenzy. Close to the shelter, João said: "because of EU regulations to protect livestock from Transmissible Spongiform Encephalopathies (TSE), now it is prohibited to leave

carcasses on the field as herders did in the past. Then, this is a viable way to help these birds. The implementation of rigorous health measures that prioritise the international meat market over the ecological system jeopardises the conservationist efforts to protect the vultures and other scavenger animals.

The area is full of bones, but besides that, the feeding area is surprisingly beautiful and full of life. Flowers grow in the rocky ground, insects crawl and fly around. In the back, we see a green hill that contrasts with the blue sky, beside the bones that the birds left behind the whole place do not have a foul smell and do not have blood stain.

João turned on the car and said to put the seatbelt because the road is not in good condition. The path we took is a rural road full of rocks and holes, so to drive inside Faia Brava it is necessary to have a reliable car in Faia Brava, as the rural unpaved road is full of rocks and potholes. It is another cold and wet day in Algodres, the second day in a row. Outside we could not see much far as the mist covers the horizon line. He is leading a reforestation project and needs to map some areas, so he invited me to come along and get acquainted with the reserve. On top of the car panel, there is a map that João uses to find the location he needs to be. "I work here for less than a year. I am still not totally used to the road inside Faia", said him while stopping the car to jump out and open a gate. The vehicle went through a vast area that is not possible to see the fences or walls. The first place we stopped was on the top of a hill. There João took the map and started making notes on it, drawing lines to mark territory. After making the notes, João gave a few geographical information about the region. Then he pointed to a place with trees: "We fenced the trees to create better conditions for rabbits to reproduce, but it did not work as expected. The population is not increasing as we had expected. João checked the phone to see if he missed a call or a message and moved in the direction to the vehicle. "We still have two more areas to check". In the bumpy road, he explained that the mapping is to find suitable places for reforestation. I asked about the lack of trees in the area. "We also had funding to reforest Faia, but the action was not well planned, and consequently, the project failed. All the acorns either did not sprout or animals ate them". In the last location, João called my attention to the soil: "do you see this? Do you see how sandy and lighted coloured the grounds?". He grabbed the ground for me to visualise what he was talking about: "It means that this is a poor soil, and probably with low pH. That is one of the reasons why trees do not grow here. To grow a forest, we need first to fix the soil. I think this land is exhausted from the intense farming practice that had happened in the past. So, now we work the soil and later the trees". He dropped the ground and cleaned his hand on the side of his pants. He continued: "also there is the problem in how to manage plantations with difficult access and climatic situations. For instance, during summer may occur that this whole region does not have a single drop of water for months, and this is bad for the young tree. It is necessary to have more structure and capital to invest in a big project like this one. However, politicians and people with money do not understand the complexity of nature. They are interested in big projects - conservation of wolf or reforestation - that return something to them. But

they do not understand the importance of the things that look insignificant, poor soil or unbalanced ecosystem. Usually those projects demand more time to show results and what they want is quick return". He concluded saying: "Improving environmental quality and biodiversity is complex and there are many sides that we have to examine, but also it is necessary political will". It is noon, and now the sky is getting darker, and the wind is getting stronger. We go back to the car. The first thing he does is to turn on the heating.

## **5.2 Vignette – Discovering Faia by car**

"The horses escaped from Faia Brava and we need to catch them". I am squeezed in the back seat with my camera bag, tripod, and rain jacket. Abel was driving, Quim was next to him in the front seat, and Zé was on my side without saying a word. The three have such different personalities, perhaps that is why they work well together. The radio was on, and Quim and Abel were talking and making comments about the things he saw in the fields. Abel said without taking his eyes from the bumping road: "yesterday someone called ATN to inform that a herder of our horses escaped and now they are roaming free. Now we need to find them and bring them back to the reserve". I asked why they must be brought back as the horses are wild animals. Quim explained: "they are semi-wild animals. Also, they cannot go out of the reserve because they can destroy the plantations and young trees. If they destroy something, ATN is responsible for their actions. But sometimes they destroy the fence or jump over it. They are tricky. They can find a way to go out". The road was so bumpy, so I could not write any notes. Also, the back part of the vehicle is small, so it is not easy to use the camera. Suddenly Quim calls my attention: "look over there, on the top of that tree". It was a notable black smudged figure. "It could be a golden eagle or a Bonelli's eagle. Without the binoculars I cannot see it well", said Quim. We drove through the paths around Faia Brava to find the horses, but they were nowhere. Abel stopped driving to call ATN to report the situation and to ask for more information. We also stopped to talk to people pruning olive and almond trees in an orchard. They said that they did not see the animals. Confused with the situation, Abel decided to search a bit longer. On our way back, Abel said: "it is almost five o'clock. Do you want to see the Côa?" I responded positively. It would be my first opportunity to see it. Abel turned the car and took his cell phone and gave to Quim: "tell them that we could not find the animals. Tomorrow we will try again". Quim took the phone and dialled the office number and explained the situation and described what they did. We stopped the car next to the cliffs. I jumped out of the car with my equipment. From the cliffs, I could see the dark clouds passing by and the rain falling. After the rain clouds appeared, the sun lights created a light rainbow over the valley.

Sabóia works as the visitor centre at Faia Brava. There ATN has a shed where they put equipment and the materials they need to work in the field. "Today we are going to feed the cows because they are hungry. It is winter so they do not have much grass to eat", said Quim. The three workers are preparing the baits to attract the cows. Abel is organising the equipment they will use in the car trunk. Quim and

Zé went to the shed to take the cattle feeding bag. With a knife Quim opens the bag and Zé pours the feed in buckets in the trunk of the car. "Put a lot in the buckets. We need to feed all the cows" said Abel. After filling two buckets, Quim got the remaining feed and put it inside the shed, Abel tied the buckets on the grid in the trunk. Now we were ready to go. Quim and Zé stayed on the trunk, while Abel and I stayed inside the car. "The cattle are down the road close to the cliff, but we do not want them there. We want them in an accessible area so we can count them", said Abel. When we saw the first cows, Abel started honking the car and Quim and Zé to call the cows and throw the food. "We are trying to train them to come when they hear the honk. This could make our work easier". This blatant experience continued for minutes: the radio is on, Abel honking the car, and Quim and Zé calling the cows. We stopped in a vast place with low vegetation and a few trees. Abel and I joined the others in the trunk to observe them. Quim informed Abel: "look how big they are. They are pregnant and soon they will give birth. At the end of the month we probably need to come back and check on the calves". Abel started counting the animals. There were missing some animals in the group. The animals came closer to the car as they threw more food at them. "Some animals do not have the tracking collar and the calves over there do not have the cattle tag", indicated Quim to Abel. We stayed there looking at the cows eating and playing around. Abel turned to me and said: "these animals do not belong to the Faia. Indeed, they are part of a project called Tauros where they try to recreate the auroch. The auroch is a primitive cow and this breed is genetically the closest animal to them".

## **6. Reading as a practice to enact conclusions**

In Mol's framework, there is an issue that I tried to work around this document. In Mol's work, and I found the same problem in Law's work as well, the object of analysis is always single: it is a sheep, it is sclerosis, it is salmon. And they are comparable with the different practices that they examine. It is the examination of the practices and enactment of a single entity. But a problem occurs when trying to bring the framework to the relationship with multiple wild animals. The human-wild animal relationship is an assembly of doing practices with the enactment of multiple versions of multiple animals at the same time. It would be necessary more time to follow the multiple practices that happen in the area, go through the different seasons that influence the material culture used in each practice, trace all the wild animals in the practices and observe the stubbornness of the animals alter the practices. However, for that, I would need more time in the fieldwork. Due to time limitation, I tried to understand how one's practice works in order to imagine how they connect with wild animals.

My finds corroborate with Mol's discussion that different practices enact an animal's versions differently. Each practice has its material culture and multiple actors assembled. In this view, the animal's versions only exist within the practice. During the period in the field, I observed three kinds of human-wild animal relationship versions. First is the rural relationship; second, the conservationist

relationship; and the third, the anthropologist relationship. These relationships are correspondences with what I learnt from my interlocutors.

When analysing the human-wild animal relationship, it is necessary to examine the context where the practices happen. Inside the rural community, those that work in the land (farmers, herders, and hunters) have the wild animal enacted differently from those that work in the village (shopkeeper). For instance, Sr. Henrique does not work with animals. The absence of the animals is another way to enact them through the shopkeeper practices. In his practices, the animals, and especially the wild one, are enacted as invasive and against the health protocols. For Zé Miguel, the absence of animals may not be good. In the case of hunting, the lack of animals in the wilderness could represent a problem, no game animals to shoot. At the same time, the absence might be good for his herding practice, so, no animals will attack the lambs. On the other hand, in D. Conceição farming practices, the absence of the animals is enacted as good for her crops to grow and later more harvesting for her.

Although it is expected that a small rural community, such as Algodres, could have a shared enacted human-wild animal relationship, the data corroborates with the idea that the rural version is composed by many individuals enacting many animals. This characteristic makes the rural version convoluted to explain. However, from my observations, it is possible to find some common elements. For instance, the enactment of a wild animal relates to economic precarity in the community. Rural communities do not offer many economic opportunities for their populations. People rely on subsistence farming and animals to complement their livelihood. In this way, wild animals are enacted as valuable, dangerous or a threat to human life in the area.

Likewise, to what happens in Algodres, conservationist relationships also happen through multiple practices and multiple enactments. The difference is that in Algodres, I found a multiplicity of enactments that correspond to multiple rural relationships. At ATN, there is a multiplicity of enactments to generate one single conservationist relationship. The conservationist relationship materialises through ATN's practices, which consist of a political decision from the board, management by office staff, and work by the fieldworkers. For this research, I followed the workers that usually went to Faia Brava and analysed the practices that occurred there.

My vignettes with the ATN's staff show that the practices that ATN does inside Faia Brava are to improve biodiversity and conditions for the animals to survive the precarious situations they live in. My data suggest that ATN takes the role of a caretaker or provider, even though they do not have ownership over the animals. The animals are usually enacted as they need human interventions to survive. The data also questions how much "pure" wilderness Faia Brava has when we use the modernity concept of wilderness that separates humans and nature. In this manner, the animals at Faia were enacted by political, technological, cultural, and economic practices, but they do not dismiss their representation of wilderness. Additionally, external practices also have considerable influence on the way ATN's practices. The EU practices in Brussels enacted the vultures as carriers of TSE, or the Tauros programme genetic practice enacted maronesas as a cow species closer to the auroch.

This research also talks about the anthropological relationship. Throughout the investigation, the animals were also enacted by visual ethnographic practices. In my research, I re-conceptualised my discourse of what constitutes a wild animal. In this way, I enacted them as hybrid entities, species that are a mix of biological elements as well as cultural, political, economic, technological, and artistic elements. Additionally, in the anthropological version, the non-human agency is recognised and is a crucial component in the research practice. The animals may not have a rationale likewise humans, but they certainly do have agency to interfere in the practices that occur around them. In this way, they are not passive actors, and they hold as much significant value as my human interlocutors. Therefore, the anthropological version is a professional relationship. The concerns about representing wild animals were the same I had in representing my human interlocutors.

The possibilities of analysing this version are endless, and that is the reason why this research has three outcomes— first, this document focus on understanding the interlocutors’ realities and their relationship with the animals. The anthropological goal here is to make the human - wild animal relationship comprehensible.

In drafting practice, even though the wild animals are not present in the vignettes, the animals were enacted via discourse practices and relational material culture. They are enacted as objects of study. On the other hand, the filmmaking practice enacts the animals as the co-protagonists of the documentary. Through montage, I could materialise the presence of the animals. Therefore, the film is not only a representation of the research experience, but it also gives more representation to the non-human actors. The poetry book is a reflexive practice that enacts a personal and sometimes romanticised relationship with the animals. By juxtaposing two images, the haiku creates a descriptive and sensorial connection with the reader.

## **6.1 Closing**

I had to spend some time thinking about how I could end this document. What message or conclusion I could give to the reader? How to conclude a paper that argues that reality is enacted through practices, while reading is also a practice that shapes the readers’ reality? How to finish something broad as relationships that are assembled by multiple practices and multiple actors, and inherit a multiplicity of versions? Vohnsen argues that the practice of writing anthropology is to write against conclusions “to enrich it; it is the refusal to direct conclusion and the attempt to stall it for a bit by embracing contradiction and multiplicity” (2013: 143). Holbraad (2007) and Suhr and Willerslev (2013a) suggested that anthropologists should lift assumptions to have the capacity to imagine the possibility of living other multiple realities. Perhaps, visual practices may offer modes to engage with a new representation of non-human actors and to organise, describe and represent the messiness that is the web of multiple realities.

The goal is not to come up with conclusions that dictate the reader or viewer how to interpret. Indeed, the research offers modes for critical analysis, which makes visible the gap that exists between



realities (Salamon 2013). It gives the freedom to the people to reflect on my experience in the field and project a new version of this document, documentary and haiku book.

The research, as a whole project, indicates multiple ways of looking at the anthropological practices. In this way, the research is open for multiple understandings because the practices of reading or seeing also enact an audience-wild animal reality. Therefore, this anthropological work remains open for further reading.

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## 7.1 Filmography

**Barbash, Ilisa and Lucien Castaing-Taylor**

2009        Sweet Grass (105 min). Cinema Guild

**Barros Filho, Clóvis**

2016        Ética do cotidiano. Café Filosófico CPFL. Youtube. Retrived from  
[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9\\_YnlPXKILU&t=141s](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9_YnlPXKILU&t=141s), access on August 13<sup>th</sup>, 2020

**Flaherty, Robert J.**

1922        Nanook of the North (79 min).

**Latour, Bruno**

2016        Philosophers' dialogue. PBL Nature Outlook Project. Youtube. Retrieved from  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V8ZMwIagqAk&t=20s>, access on August 13<sup>th</sup>, 2020

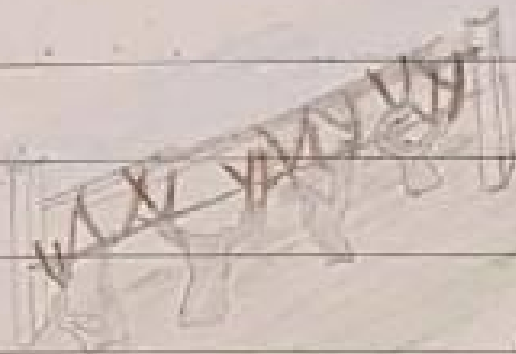
**Plájás, Ildikó Z.**

2015        Swamp Dialogues (53 min). Leiden, Leiden University.

**Takahata, Isao**

1991      Only Yesterday (118 min). Japan, Ghibli Studio.

Também se produz uvas. Agora as minhocas já estão sem nada. Parecem que estão mortas. Algumas vinhas são plantadas junto das oliveiras.



Na altura da Fais Brava eu encontrei um pasto com ovelhas. Os cães estavam a guardar-las. Quase foi atacado por eles. O pastor não estava por perto. Foi um momento tenso.

# HAIKU

# Ethographic

# FIELDNOTES



Institution: Leiden University  
Program: MA Cultural Anthropology and  
Development Sociology  
Specialisation: Visual Ethnography  
Supervisor: Ildikó Plájás

Student: Rodrigo Machado Gecele Castro  
Student Number: s2343665  
Submitted on: August 13, 2020

**Haiku**  
**Ethnographic**  
**Fieldnotes**



fences and gates  
what wild thing to do  
disrespect borders

During the period of fieldwork, I explored the use of haiku in ethnographic research. I wrote haiku to create ethnographic accounts that later I used as data to examine the human-wild animal relationship in a rural community in Portugal. This book is a test to verify if haiku can have similar descriptive effect as the ethnographic snippets.

In this book, I include contemplation, descriptive and reflexive moments to explore the haiku nature to reflect on my practices as an ethnographer.

The art in this book was created by Elisa Brasil, a Brazilian artist. The juxtaposition of two different modes of art generate a shared reality, an active process between the writer, the artist and the reader, that creates a new image and enacts experiences recounted in the haiku.

Therefore, this book is encouraged by the possibility to communicate ethnographic knowledge to a larger public but is an enactment of the ethnographer experience.



janeiro –  
sapos coaxam  
mais cedo

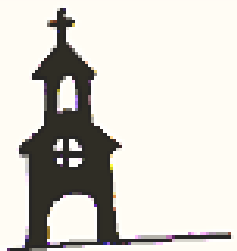


january –  
frogs croaking  
earlier

noite fria  
o fumo enche a rua  
vazia

frosty night  
the smoke fills  
the empty streets

paz –  
a capela do alto  
olha pela aldeia



peace –  
the chapel above  
watches the village



bark

ovelhas no palheiro

bark



bark

sheep in the barn

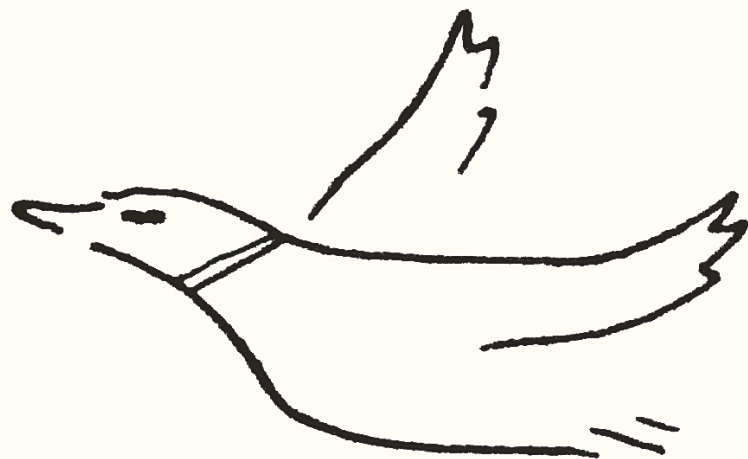
bark

nuvens negras –  
bom pra natureza  
ruim pra mim

dark clouds –  
good for nature  
bad for me

o sopro gelado  
desperta as aves no prado  
não estou só

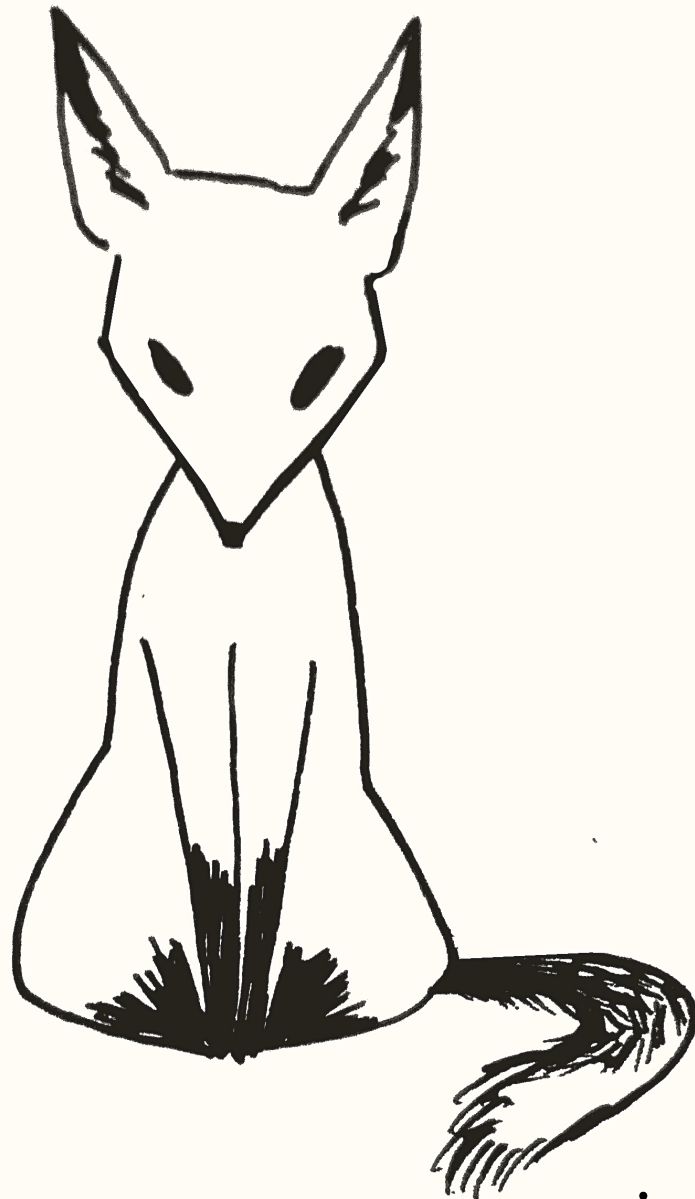
the cold gale  
awaken the birds in the fields  
not alone



muda de rumo  
o pato assaltado  
céu bravio

change directions  
the scared duck  
stormy sky

instante –  
a raposa e eu  
na campina



instant –  
the fox and I  
in the meadow

imóvel  
sob o sol a fraga  
calafrios

motionless  
under the sun a cliff  
chills

fevereiro –  
florem brancas brotam  
sinais



february –  
white flowers spout  
signals

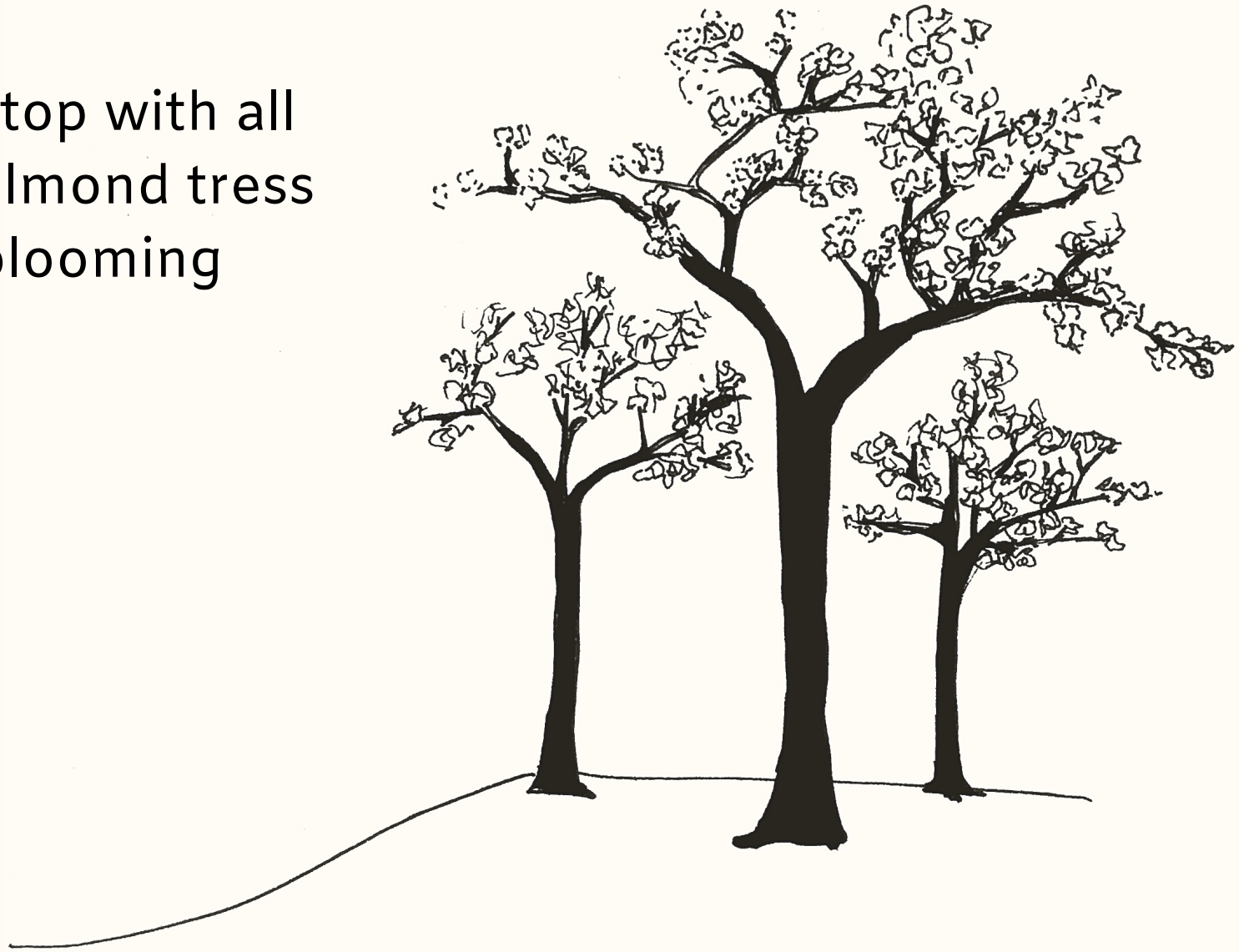
paredes branca  
um video na minha tela  
frustração

white walls  
a footage on my screen  
frustration



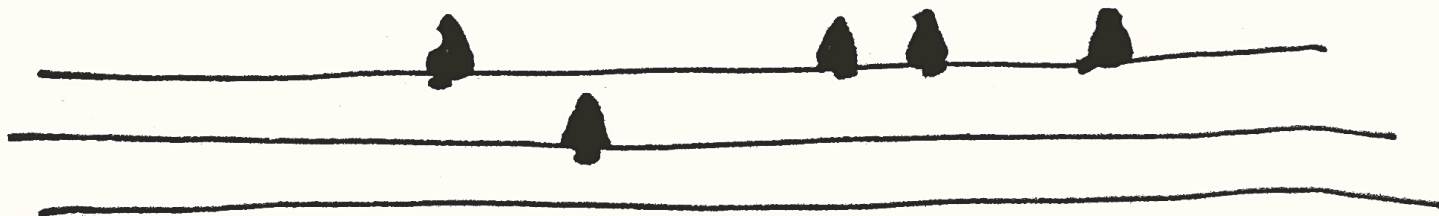
pare tudo  
amendoeiras  
em flor

stop with all  
almond trees  
blooming



sempre em frente  
a linha do Douro  
corta o vale

always straight  
the Douro line  
cutting the valley



pouco de paz  
poupas a cantar  
rolas nas linhas

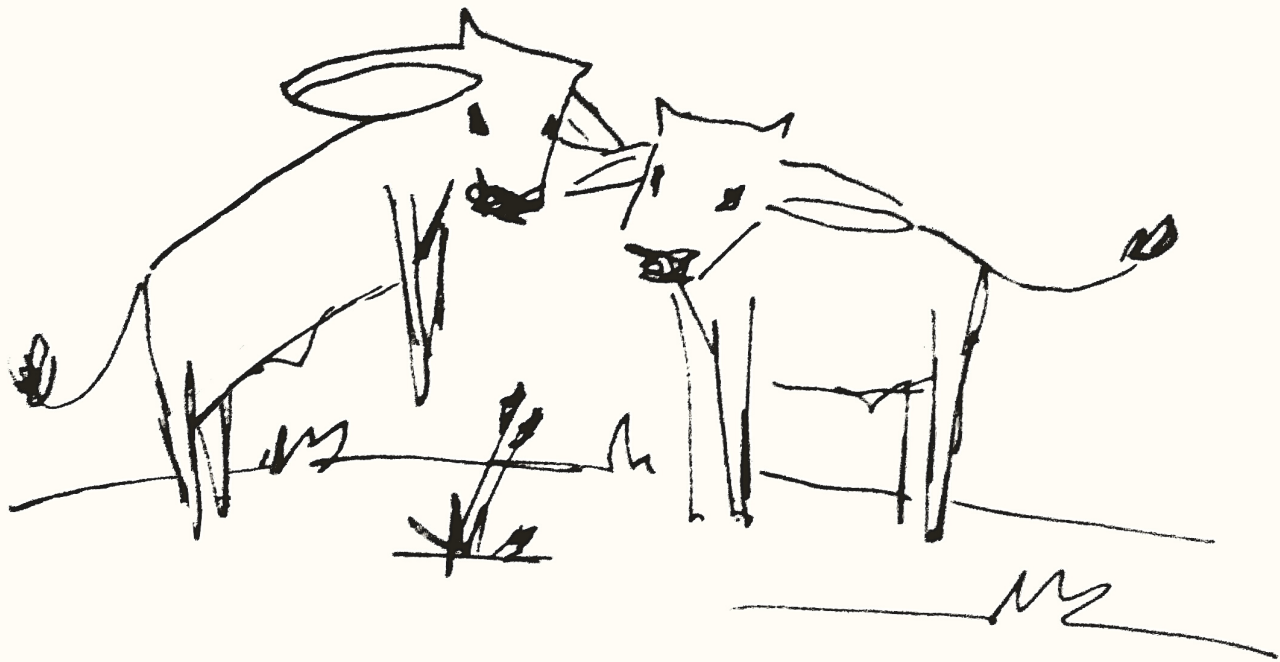
bit of peace  
hoopoes are singing  
doves in the lines

gado a frente  
em cima da árvore  
espero

cattle ahead  
on the top of the tree  
I wait

perigo...  
dois vitelos brincam  
cade a mãe?

danger...  
two calves playing  
where is the mother?



o lobo partiu  
agora no vale ecoa  
as vacas

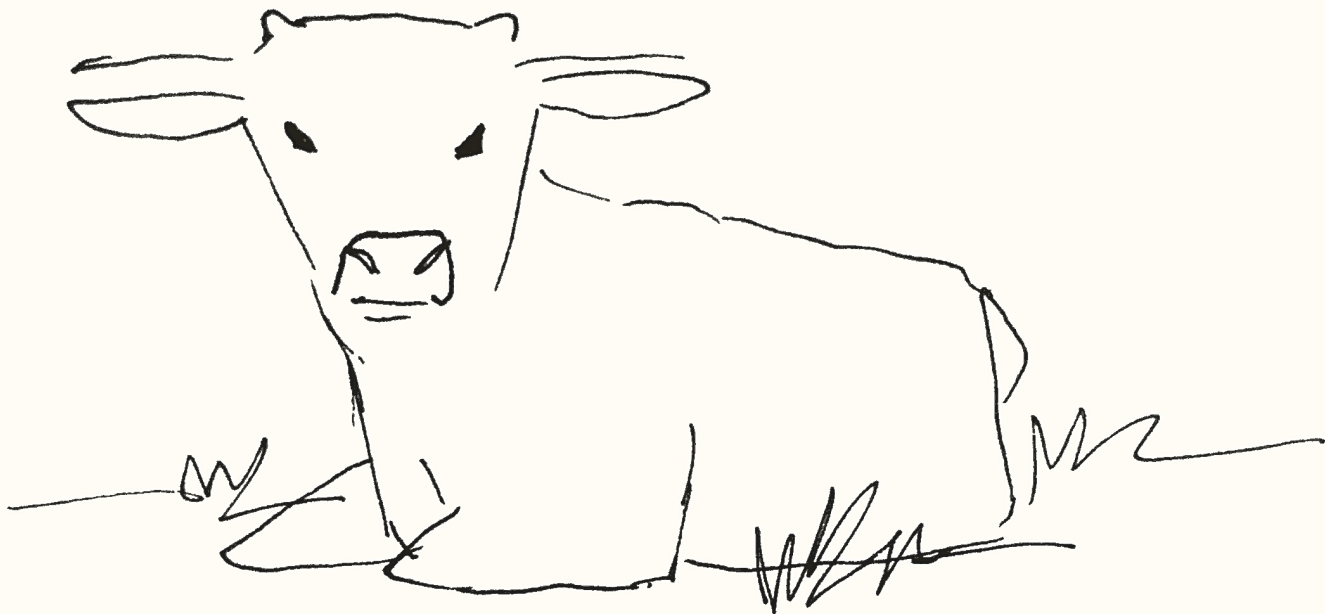
the wolf is gone  
now in the valley echo  
the cows

atenção  
pare, escute, olhe  
comboios na linha

attention  
stop, listen, look  
trains in the track

sob a sombra  
o vitelo encara  
um susto

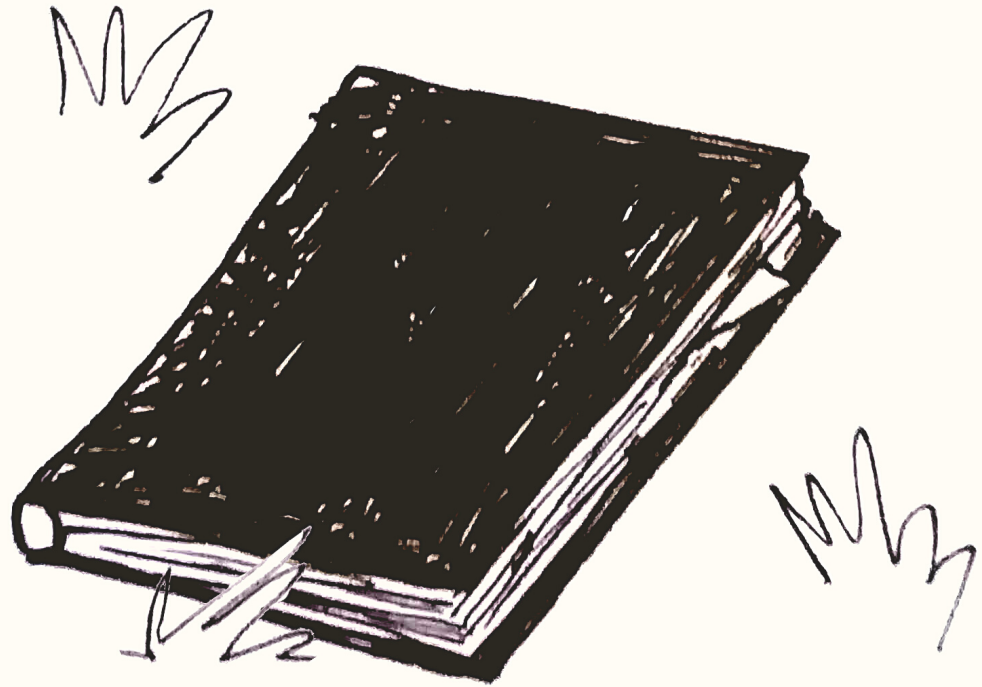
under the shade  
the calf stares  
scary moment





na faia  
o livro mostra os bichos  
ao redor

at the cliffs  
the book points the creatures  
around



após o livro  
mais connecções  
com a Faia

after the book  
more connection  
with Faia

calor  
o abutre voa  
alto

warmth  
the vulture flying  
high



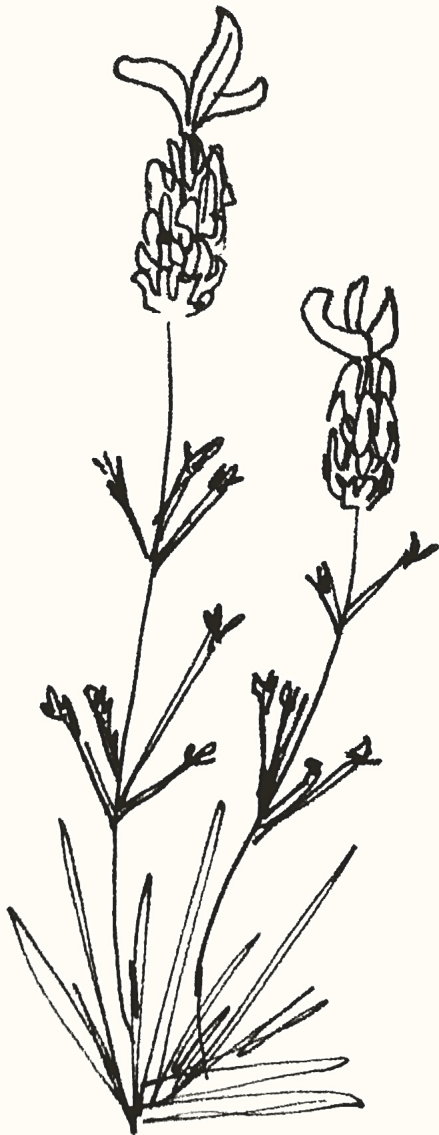
ciclo –  
vida pro abutre é  
a morte d'outro

cycle –  
the vulture's life is  
the death of other

março –  
a terra ganha mais cor  
e sons

march –  
the land gets more colours  
and sounds

rosmaninhos  
sinais dos javalis  
pela reserva



lavenders  
the signs of the wild boars  
at the reserve

caminhar  
no campo trabalha  
ninguém

walking  
in the fields working  
nobody



em algum lugar  
um corvo chama  
só

somewhere  
a crow calls  
alone



tarde quente  
pelos arbustos a perdiz  
canta

warm afternoon  
in the bushes the partridge  
sings



silvestre

vida selvagem selecionada  
por humanos

wilderness

wild live selected  
by humans

árvores balançam  
saudam os visitantes  
que não vem

trees swinging  
greeting the visitors  
that do not come



no ermo topo...  
o vento forte corta  
o vale

at sole summit...  
the strong wind cut  
the valley

água fervendo  
trabalho debaixo do cobertor  
outro dia frio

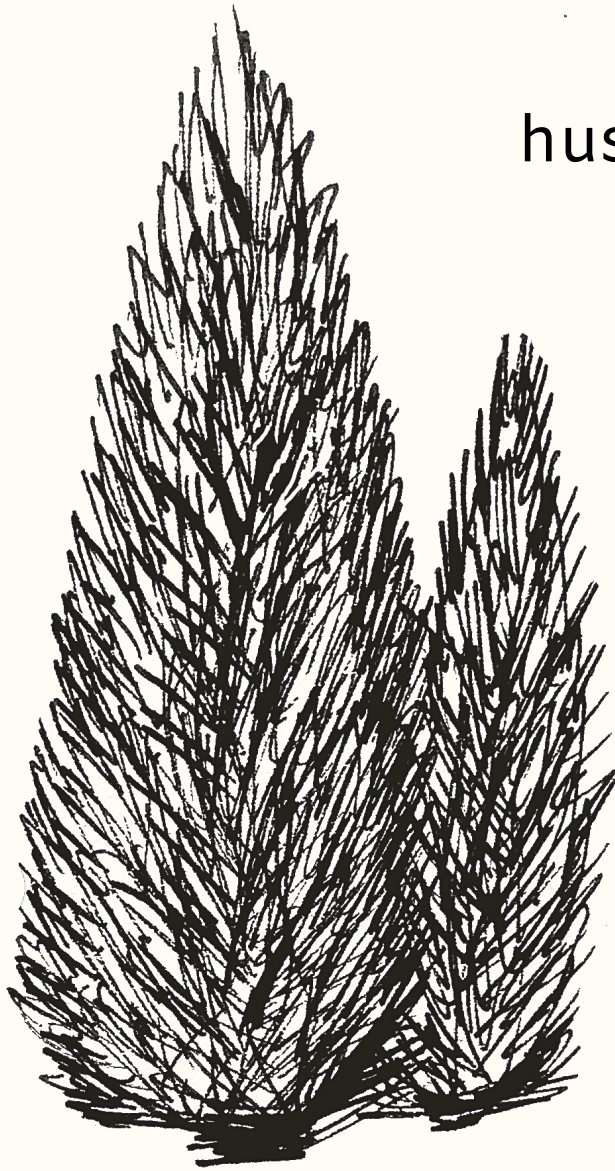
water boiling  
working under the blanket  
another chilly day



camera afora  
desafiando as nuvens negras  
rotina diária

camera is out  
defying the dark clouds  
daily routine

a tempestade  
calou as aves no cipreste...  
sem inspiração

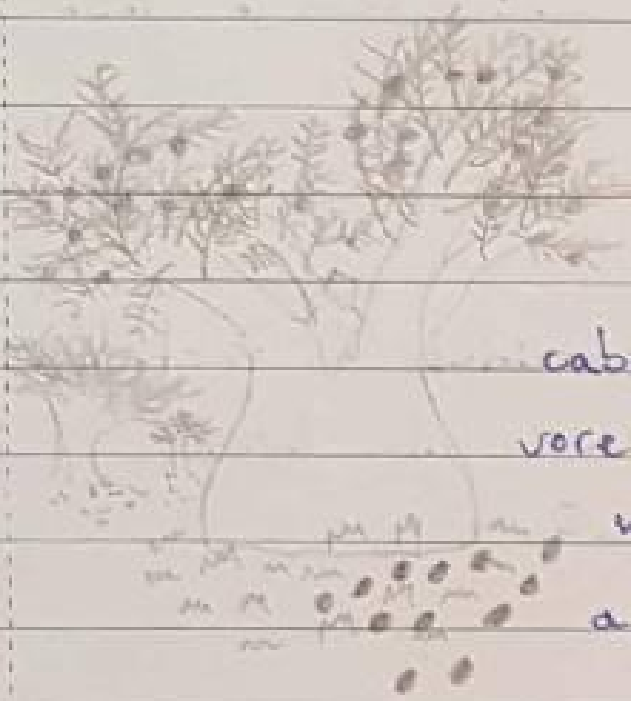


the storm  
hush the birds in the cypress...  
no inspiration

breu  
no Sr. Henrique esperando  
para ir

dark...  
at Mr Henrique waiting  
to go





No campo não tem muito trabalho a ser feito. A colheita da azeitana já acabou. Dá-se tanto que têm árvores carregadas de azeitonas, mas ninguém as colhe. Ficam agora pelo chão.

O serviço agora é de poda. Corta os ramos para as árvores ficarem saudáveis.

Os pastores ainda tem que levar os animais para pastar.



Outro fruto que dá aos montes é a amêndoa. Nesta época do ano as árvores não tem mais as folhas. Ficam penduradas os frutos. A amêndoa vem em uma casca preta.