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 fulfils 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 readymade 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.
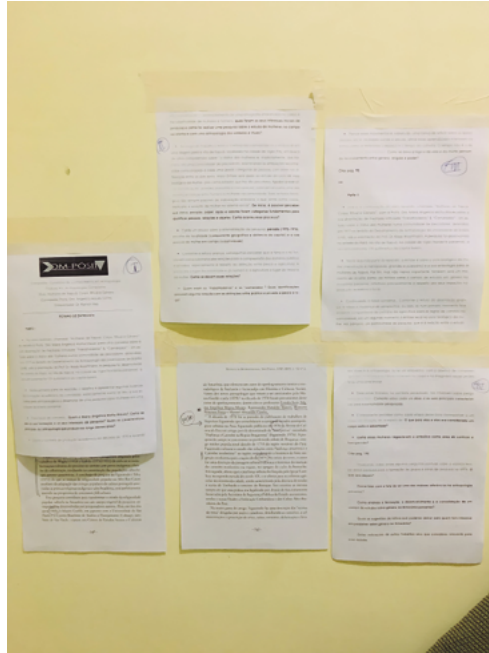
Parts of a script. Author: Ramon Reis.

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-

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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