Sisters[1], Partners or Something More? Collaborative Path Together with Stop Evictions

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ABSTRACT

This article shows the path walked together with Stop Evictions 15M Granada, a broad and inclusive social movement that struggles for the right to housing in a city in the south of Spain, in our attempt to carry out an ethnographic co-research, focusing on epistemological reflection about committed and collaborative ethnography, through the lived experiences as sisters and companions. First of all, and after a brief introduction to contextualize the co-research, we present a movement genealogy articulated with the theoretical production around the political subjectivation processes. Second, we develop on some uncertainties, limits and vulnerabilities lived in the field-work process. Third, we address some cases of co-research through the idea of "knowledges-doings-powers" in which techniques have been first subverted and then re-appropriated to give rise to shared processes of analysis and reflection within the movement and have subsequently given way to a form of dissemination which is useful for the movement. Finally, we reflect on the potentiality that the political subjectivation process has not only for social movements that re-conceptualize the political, but for the collaborative ethnography project in relation to the de-identification of our "knowledges-doings-powers", to institute them in common.

KEY WORDS

Collaborative ethnography, Stop Evictions, political subjectivation processes, knowledge-doing-powers, vulnerability.

¿HERMANAS, COMPAÑERAS O ALGO MÁS? ANDANZA COLABORATIVA JUNTO AL COLECTIVO STOP DESAHUCIOS 15M GRANADA

RESUMEN

Este artículo muestra el camino recorrido junto a Stop Desahucios 15M Granada, un movimiento social amplio e inclusivo que lucha por el derecho a la vivienda en una ciudad del sur del Estado español, en nuestra tentativa de realizar una coinvestigación etnográfica, centrándonos en la reflexión epistemológica sobre la etnografía comprometida y colaborativa, a través de la experiencia vivida como *hermanas* y compañeras. Para ello, en primer lugar y tras una breve introducción para contextualizar la coinvestigación, se presenta una genealogía del movimiento articulada con la producción teórica en torno a la subjetivación política. En segundo lugar, desarrollamos algunas incertidumbres, límites y vulnerabilidades en el proceso de trabajo de campo. En tercer lugar, se abordan algunos ejemplos de coinvestigación, en los que las técnicas han sido primero subvertidas y luego reapropiadas para dar pie a procesos compartidos de análisis y reflexión al interior del movimiento, y posteriormente han dado paso a una forma de difusión y divulgación que es de utilidad para el mismo. Por último, se reflexiona en torno a la potencialidad que el proceso de subjetivación política tiene no solo para los movimientos sociales que reconceptualizan lo político, sino para el proyecto de la etnografía colaborativa en lo referente a la desidentificación de nuestros saberes-haceres-poderes, para instituirlos en común.

PALABRAS CLAVE

Etnografía colaborativa, Stop Desahucios, procesos de subjetivación política, saberes-haceres-poderes, vulnerabilidad.

1. As one will see throughout the article, the generalized use of the feminine is a decision that responds to at least three questions: 1. To make visible that it is women from our collective who use this meaning to name women as sisters and men as brothers; 2. To frame this statement within the feminist debate on the fictitious kinship of the sisters as the axis for solidarity in the struggle and; 3. That the writers of this article have been named *sisters* within the collective.

The fight for the right to housing in a southern city in the global North. Introductory notes

When in November 2015 a group of researchers began our co-research along with Stop Evictions 15M Granada[2] (henceforth Stop Evictions), the housing problem in Spain, linked to the bursting of the housing bubble, was still as present as it was at the beginning of the 2008 capitalist crisis, but at the political, social and media levels it had lost prominence. Granada, where we live, is a medium-sized city in the south of Spain whose population does not exceed a quarter of a million inhabitants. However, it has 140 thousand family dwellings, of which 20% are empty, being the first city of its size in this regard (Ministerio de Fomento, 2011). Since 2013, we have had data on the situation of evictions — judicial executions carried out by police officers who evict people from their homes when they cannot afford their mortgage or tenant payment — and the figures have not stopped rising, passing from 563 evictions in 2013 to 718 in 2016 (General Council of the Judiciary, 2017).

Stop Evictions[3] is the movement that has put a face to these figures, ensuring that hundreds of families are not evicted, and transforming the political action, as it is led by the affected people themselves. It defines itself as an assembly-based, horizontal, nonpartisan, autonomous and demanding movement that fights for the right to housing. Its highest aspiration is the effective exercise of article 47[4] of the Spanish Constitution, and it is expressed both in political demands and in the defense of individual cases of individuals and families in eviction proceedings to recover their homes and, ultimately, their lives.

Its origin is linked to the Indignados Movement 15M (henceforth 15M) of the city, which from its beginnings included the situation of the evictions within its political demands. A week after its birth, on May 22,

2. In the framework of the I+D project (CSO2014-56960-P) "Emerging processes and common agencies. Praxis of collaborative social research and new forms of political subjectivation." At the beginning, the people participating in this group were, in addition to the signatories, Aurora Álvarez Veinguer and Luca Sebastiani. Sebastiani left at the end of 2017 with a postdoctoral fellowship to the University of Coimbra and became part of the Rocío García Soto team.

3. Movement website: https://afectadosporlahipotecagranada.com/.

4. *"Article 47: All Spaniards have the right to enjoy decent and adequate housing. The public authorities shall promote the necessary conditions and establish appropriate standards in order to make this right effective, regulating land use in accordance with the general interest in order to prevent speculation. The community shall have a share in the benefits accruing from the town-planning policies of public bodies.* (Spanish Constitution of 1978. Title I. On fundamental rights and duties. Third chapter. On the guiding principles of social and economic policy)."

2011, the 15M published in a press release: "Real right to decent housing, as a social and not economic good. Suspension of the obligation to pay mortgage loans for unemployed workers and end of evictions" (Stop Desahucios and Stop Represión Granada, 2016: 30). A few months later, in September 2011, a working group against evictions was formed, denouncing "more than 1,700 evictions in the province of Granada since the beginning of the crisis, demanding a moratorium against eviction processes for those families affected by the crisis and unemployment who failed to pay their mortgage, as well as the possibility of owing social rents as an alternative" (2016: 68). After the dissolution of 15M, Stop Evictions became a collective with its own entity, but always pointing out its link to this origin and participating in the principles that inspired it.

Its organization and political action are related to the best-known Platform for People Affected by Mortgages (PAH) in Barcelona[5], but it distances itself from it by not assuming some of its precepts. For example, the movement is not only organized to defend mortgaged families who cannot cope with their debt, but also takes on the housing problem from a structural perspective, which includes evictions due to non-payment of rent, the occupation of empty housing by families with no income and families in a situation of social exclusion who cannot access public housing on a social rental basis or who are facing eviction promoted by the institutions themselves.

Stop Evictions is a decentralized movement that covers not only the capital but also municipalities of the province, constituting assemblies. Throughout these years, the assemblies were formed, joined, dissolved, or integrated into others depending on the number of cases and other specific problems. As we write this article, a new assembly is emerging in a municipality to respond to three cases of families facing eviction situations[6].

The most stable assemblies throughout these years are those located in the capital. For three years, the city has had the Central Assembly and the Zaidín Assembly. Centro is the oldest, and heir to the working group that was formed during 15M. For a long time, it was the only one in existence and even when the movement disappeared, they continued to meet

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5. The Platform for People Affected by Mortgages originated in Barcelona in 2009, and since then, it has member organizations in practically all the cities of the Spanish State. In addition to fighting evictions, they have promoted a Popular Legislative Initiative for Dignified Housing and for the modification of the Mortgage Law, which in the Spanish State dates back to the Franco dictatorship.

6. As we are closing the writing of this article, one of these three families has been evicted by a strong police force, despite the mobilization of people, resources, and strategies, leaving the owner couple, their daughter and granddaughter, homeless.

in the same square as one more working group, although it was already the only one.

Zaidín is located in the neighborhood of the same name and is the most numerous. Their meeting place is the Local de la Ribera, a multifunctional space where other neighborhood collectives converge. In addition to the Assembly, the main tasks of the movement are carried out there. There, the training, action, communication, supplies, and negotiation working groups meet[7]. The inter-assembly coordinator meeting and any dissemination activity or meeting with other collectives are also held.

The university group that promoted this co-research has been participating in both assemblies for more than three years, carrying out a collaborative ethnography. The reason for our interest in collaboration with Stop Evictions could be defined as a felt commitment to contribute from academic research based on the symmetry between the principles that the movement itself supports and the principles that collaborative ethnography has been proposing: commitment with the movement (Hale, 2011), contributing to the construction of their own knowledge (Restrepo, 2016) challenging the idea of authorized knowledge, valuing the processes of horizontality and equality, making shared decisions about field work, socializing the analyzes and sharing the construction of the results in multiple formats, not only academic, nor directed for an academic audience[8]. In this article, we condense a set of knowledge, doings, and feelings embodied by ourselves during our experience with the collective. The research proposed at the beginning as a desire for theoretical and practical

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7. The group conducts weekly self-training sessions, which answer technical questions such as how to read a mortgage, what steps to take in negotiating a case, how to fill out forms and learn about the legislation that affects them. The purpose of this group is to empower the people who come with their case to take charge of it. The action group prepares the claiming actions in the public space, mainly before banking institutions, when the negotiations have not worked and organizes the actions to prevent evictions. Communication is dedicated to managing internal communication between assemblies and working groups as well as the relationship with the media, publication of the website and social networks. The supplies group accompanies those cases in which, in addition to debts due to non-payment of housing, there are debts or cuts in basic energy supplies (electricity, gas) and water. Negotiation is the working group that goes with affected partners to the banking institutions for debt restructuring negotiations, getting the dation in payment or transforming the property into social rent.

8. For an extension of the concept of "collaborative ethnography" that we are working on in the project, consult Olmos Alcaraz, Cota, Álvarez Veinguer and Sebastiani (2018): "We understand our collaborative ethnography as an attempt to contribute to the decolonization of research [...] [trying] to escape from methodological universalism and deploy instead a methodological pluriversalism: that is, to practice dialogical and horizontal forms of listening, creative and plural devices that are always adapted to the group and not vice versa, as has generally tended to be the case in a great deal of research."

co-production between anthropologists from the city's university and people interested in the two assemblies of the collective, has been a more tumultuous and stony path than expected. Although at the same time, the experience of disidentification as researchers and learning as partners/sisters, we believe that it is contributing to the debates and reflections on how to make committed ethnography, not placing the emphasis on the construction of knowledge that thickens the disciplinary corpus, but on the possibilities of living in a world where rights such as housing are possible.

This article continues with the following structure. First, we propose a look at Stop Evictions through what we call *processes of political subjectivation*, practicing theory alongside a social movement that does not arise from a political agenda, but from a common problem, and where equality, horizontality and consensus are equivalent to democratic organization. Secondly, we detail some experiences of the implementation of collaborative ethnography, impinging on the uncertainties, limits, and vulnerabilities that we have faced in walking with the movement, and we think are part of the reflexivity of inhabiting ethnography. The third section describes four methodological experiences with the movement, where we return to the proposal formulated by Dietz (2013) and Mateos, Dietz y Mendoza (2016) about "knowledge, doings, and powers": the political training workshop, the debate groups, the talks and the *transmedia* proposal, pointing out the difficulties for its implementation since our renunciation to know and protect these processes as authorized ethnographers.

Lastly, by way of an open and contingent conclusion, we advance on political subjectivation as a process that frames our experience and we propose for the debate on collaborative ethnography two categories to be incorporated into the set forth "knowledge, doings, and powers," that are being essential for us to be able to theorize about the process. We refer to the "beings and feelings" that question us: Who are we within the movement: anthropologists, partners, sisters? How do we build knowledge-doings-powers in common from the lives damaged by neoliberalism?

1.   Practicing the theory. Processes of political subjectivation and democracy in Stop Evictions

Looking back on the reasons for walking together with Stop Evictions, an idea that we were reflecting on for some time prior to entering the field emerges strongly. We think of research as a commitment to our place and our time. Leaving the neoliberal university and entering "anyone's poli-

tics" (Garcés, Sánchez Cedillo and Fernández-Savater, 2010) meant collaborating with those who were driving a wedge in political participation within the institutional crisis that the 15M Movement had initiated. In this section, we explain why we understand that Stop Evictions challenges the dominant politics by activating processes of political subjectivation that break out with actions carried out by anyone.

On May 15, 2012, Stop Evictions, a year old, had already faced the fight against the evictions of 70 families, of which 14 had been paralyzed, preventing the police authorities from carrying out the eviction, while the rest had been temporarily interrupted through negotiation with the banking institution. In a press release on the balance sheet of that first year, the 15M group stated:

> Stop Evictions has highlighted the wide variety of cases that have reached them and the diversity of their protagonists. According to this, the crisis is reaching social layers that until now were not affected and as an example they brought the matter to attention that even people with high professional and economic levels have come to the group, such as engineers and doctors who have been immersed in the problem of evictions after losing their job (Stop Desahucios and Stop Represión Granada, 2016: 176).

We, after three years participating weekly in their assemblies, have also seen people and families of different social nature attend. The impact of the loss of housing has affected the lives of families of small businesspeople, salaried workers, precariat, unemployed, etc. At the same time, these people are indigenous, foreign or Rom minority, and make up models of nuclear families, people who live alone, in shared housing and single-parent homes. This amalgam of starting situations does not completely cancel out the power relations within the collective, but they have the potential to weave intersectional solidarities by being "[cap]able to cross the divisions of place, identity, class, work, beliefs, and so on" (Talpade, 2008: 453).

The diversity of composition also translates into different previous political trajectories. Although the majority do not have experiences in parties, unions, associations or social movements, nor is political participation their motive for coming to the group, an open space is instituted for the processes of political subjectivation insofar as "subjectivation does not produce political subjects, but existences with the possibility to recognize their commitments with powerful and active forces that transform them" (Piedrahita, 2012: 18). Stop Evictions is not a collective with a political project that its members join to achieve it, but rather people who

join together to solve a common problem they share, which they could not solve individually. The motivation for being part of Stop Evictions is not the achievement of the right to housing through an activist agenda, but the urgency of a situation with respect to their housing that may lead them to lose it. In this way, most of its members enter Stop Evictions to solve their problem/need and once there they discover that their situation can only be solved from the establishment of equality, which transcends the starting social categories. This disidentification does not imply a reidentification, but, in fact, responds to a subjectivation in this political case, or, as Rancière writes: "Political subjectivation is the approach to equality — or the handling of a harm — by people who are together insofar as they are in between. It is a crossing of identities that rests on a crossing of names that unite the name of a group or class to the name of no group or any class, that unite a being with a non-being or with a being that-is-not-yet" (Rancière, 2000).

The movement is not only made up of those affected, even if they are in the majority. Some people were affected and then became supportive, constituting a fundamental support for new cases. We also have people in solidarity who start from a right to housing approach, but the affected people, who should be the ones leading the objectives of the movement, organize their solidarity from mutual support and not from ideologically situated objectives.

There is still more, insofar as there is a disidentification with respect to other struggles for the right to housing: part of its success is that it opens a new reception space to people who otherwise would not have participated. It is then about other forms of doing politics, "other/through forms of mutuality, resistance and transformations in civil society, collective assemblages and the emergence of other forms of social mobilization" (Piedrahita, 2012: 24).

Stop Evictions, as an assembly group, shares composition and structure with other contemporary social movements. In the case of the two assemblies of the capital, between 30-60 people usually attend, and they are held weekly, in the late afternoon, between work and dinner time. The people attending the assembly sit in a circle to give an idea of horizontality and equality.

Mann (2006) links the origins of horizontality, consensus and autonomy, as well as unrepresented spokespersons, led by women, to the Iroquois Peace League of pre-Columbian origins, and shows its permanence and consistency throughout the centuries of European colonization (Cuellar-Barandiarán, 2013). Graeber (2008) argues that this origin on democracy is the one that has survived in a diffuse and intermixed way

to this day, crystallizing in the forms of organization and principles that guide current social movements. He traces a genealogy that goes through the interrelation between the Iroquois League and the Quaker colonies first, moving from the Quaker communities to the second wave feminist movement in the 70s of the 20th century, deepening substantively in the EZLN and the alterglobal movement from the end of the last century, to spread like a spider web toward most of the current social movements, which would reach the 15M, origin of our group with whom we have been co-researching. All these movements share horizontal structures, promote autonomy and self-organization in the face of representative politics and maintain "a/some kind of mechanism to ensure that the voices of those who are normally marginalized or excluded from participatory procedures are heard" (2008: 69), and their processes of political subjectivation are made visible (Olmos Alcaraz *et al.*, 2018).

As for the dynamics of our assemblies, at the beginning and on a rotating basis, a person delegated welcomes, presenting the principles that guide the movement, which are summarized as follows:

> Welcome to Stop Evictions. We are a mutual support group that fights for the right to housing in general and for the right that no family to lose their home in particular, accompanying them in solving their specific case. Each family is the one who takes their own case, the rest of the people in the assembly support them based on what they have learned and their experience. That is why no one charges, and no one pays. We are a political movement because we claim rights, and nonpartisan, because we do not agree with any party or propagandize it. We are horizontal because all members are equal and we use deliberation and consensus (Camp Diary. February 8, 2016).

Next, the cases under follow-up are updated, then the new cases are presented, and members of the assembly propose themselves to accompany them, and finally information is given on the working groups, coordinator, and summons.

The reason why the cases in follow-up precede the new ones has a pedagogical and emotional function. People prepare a summary of their case for the assembly and update their situation; if they are short on time, other people who follow their case complete the story with technical details and context. Listening to the cases in follow-up first gives value to the first-person testimony. Affected partners with a certain track record often tell their case even if they solved it long ago to exemplify the importance of this step. They remember that telling their story for the first time was a mixture of guilt and shame, which they had never done before in public space and even less so in front of strangers. Even some of our part-

ners have shared with us that it took them weeks to speak before the assembly, unable to do so because of the emotions they felt.

During the hardest years of the crisis, the Spanish government, with two different political parties, accused Spanish society of "having lived beyond its means," so most families assume their guilt in the debt process and their individual inability to cope. This discourse is strongly contested by the collective, affecting the structural problem of housing in the Spanish State, which has never been answered as a right (Rodríguez and Espinoza, 2017). In front of analysts, political professionals and academics who elaborate speeches on the origin and causes of the crisis, as well as ways to reverse it, Stop Evictions displays its own responses: knowledge and practices experienced and replicated. One of these lessons is the slogan given when attending an assembly for the first time: "From now on, you will never go alone." In this way, ties are strengthened, since most of the cases we welcome do not start from Stop Evictions as the first option, but when other networks and resources no longer work. Accompaniment delves into private relationships between members of the collective in a different way than conventional social movements do where the private is left out. In addition, the movement knows that the appearance of the affected person next to a partner of the movement in their banking institution implies that no more loans will be accepted, or telephone harassment, nor will they be deceived in the bureaucratic tangle, and that they will have to accept negotiating conditions more favorable to the affected person. An intrinsic and experienced knowledge that has not been assumed by the State in the form of law as the broader coordinators claim. In this and other ways, guilt and shame are deconstructed and theorized in the assembly arena and in public actions, and "their political project is not simply political but also epistemological (Walsh, 2001: 69)."

2. Reflecting on the collaborative ethnographic methodology. Uncertainties, limits and vulnerabilities of walking

The fight against evictions in Spain, due to its defiance of the established political arena and new political subjectivities, fuels the interest of those of us in committed research and it is not surprising the enormous academic production that has emerged in this regard (Bolívar, Bernal, Mateo, Daponte, Escudero, Sánchez, González, Robles, Mata, Fernández and Vila, 2016; Cano and Etxezarreta, 2014; Colau and Alemany, 2013; Flesher Fominaya, 2015; Flesher Fominaya and Hayes, 2017; Flesher Fominaya and Montañés Jiménez, 2015; Mir García, França, Macías and Veciana,

2013; Parcerisa, 2014). On the other hand, much less attention has been paid to the methodological reflection resulting from researching together with the collectives that lead these struggles and how their own thinking, knowledge and doings are located based on experiences embodied in these investigations, which Dietz (2011) calls "double reflexivity," that is, thinking of oneself as a research subject, reflecting on how research is perceived at various levels and enabling/promoting that all participating subjects are self-reflective. That is why our interest in co-researching together with Stop Evictions was not so much aimed at increasing academic knowledge about the movements for the right to housing, as at the possibility of opening an interstice between academic knowledge-doings and experienced knowledge-doings, from the implementation of a collaborative process, which from the research design to its forms of dissemination, will result from a process constructed as horizontally as possible and which would be useful for the movement (Lassiter, 2005).

In this section, we share some methodological notes with the intention of reflecting on collaborative ethnography, unraveling vulnerabilities and uncertainties that have been walked, within the debate on committed methodologies, based on what the process itself questions us, since "we do not have second thoughts about our purposes, methods and narratives in times of theoretical closure and consensus. Only the sense of difficulty, dispersion, unfulfilled promise and doubt lead us to question ourselves about the product of the trade" (Van Maanen, 1993: 52).

The very initiative of carrying out a collaborative ethnography with Stop Evictions was born vulnerable; unlike other collaborative processes, this did not start from a demand of the group (Rappaport, 2008; Segato, 2015), although the movement is open to research as long as it is aimed at its visibility or contributes to its demands[9]. Our proposal emerged more

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9. On October 15, 2012, Stop Evictions met for the first time before the Regional Administration's Health Delegation to point out that, although the effects of the crisis "[d]eteriorate our physical and mental state, it is the lack of right to housing that affects us the most. The anguish produced by losing the space in which you live has dangerous consequences for our health, in many cases not recoverable" (Stop Desahucios and Stop Represión Granada, 2016: 199). A week later, J.M. Domingo, who did not belong to the movement, committed suicide at home when he was evicted. The movement staged a day of protest and a mass demonstration before the General Strike on November 14. On July 25, 2014, the partner from the G. Arguellas collective, who had been trying to reach an agreement with the banking institution for months, also committed suicide. The headline of the demonstration 48 hours later read: "They are not suicides, they are murders" (2016: 320). In September of that same year, the Andalusian School of Public Health launched an investigation taking as an object of study the health of members of the movement, which validates its claims: evictions damage health, aggravate diseases and cause depression that can lead to suicide (Daponte, Mateo and Vásques-Vera, 2016). Investigations on evictions and health have been used by the

than anything from a desire for commitment, interwoven between some researchers who had been participating in the movement as militants and some researchers who were rethinking their anthropological commitment within decolonial horizons (Hale, 2011). However, sometimes, one of us with training and experience in social intervention accompanied social services, the public defender or before political representatives, partners from the movement, but insisting on the strategic and useful use in these cases and questioning "expert knowledge" (Dietz, 2011).

A limit to the collaboration was related to the financing of the project and the places of enunciation of the researchers; a broad contradiction that is the responsibility of all of anthropology, but that cannot be further clarified. The research has been funded by a government institution and none of us had an eviction problem with our housing situation. This could have been a setback for us if we had tried or been rejected, but after talking with other people in the movement we concluded that none of us receives a salary from this research; institutional responsibility is to respond to theoretical-methodological horizons that interest academic research, and some of us find ourselves in such a precarious situation, combining research with low-paid jobs and renting in shared apartments, so the structural problem of housing does challenge us — in fact we were already there as militants. Furthermore, "if the criterion is the ultimate use of knowledge, we are faced with an entire guild of the condemned" (Hale, 2011: 496). A project, in short, born at the university and financed by a government institution, could nevertheless be of use to the movement: "through the reciprocal negotiation of academic and political interests it is possible to generate, as Escobar (1993) proposes, 'a novel mixture of theory and practice'" (Dietz, 2011: 14).

An important methodological uncertainty was how to share the project with the movement, taking into account that, in its two assemblies, the movement comprises about two hundred people, where approximately half are intermittent, frequently entering and leaving it, since it is an intensive and exhausting experience and even people affected withdraw in moments of calm when they get a temporary moratorium for their eviction. We knew the guidelines of the collective itself for this type of request: go to one of their assemblies and present the proposal; this, in turn is transmitted to the inter-assembly coordinator, since the assembly in question might not be interested, but instead the coordinator would consider it opportune and another assembly would assume it. But as a member of

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movement itself to legitimize some claims; the issue is that those who did the research were quite committed to the cause, the complexity is that the knowledge of the movement itself is nullified and not assumed (Cota and Sebastiani, 2015).

the team had been part of the collective when it was a 15M working group, another member regularly attended their actions in the public space and participated in their activities, and one more had participated in experiences in the same space where they met, finally not having a closed and formulated project of objectives, techniques, scheduling or expectations of results, we thought that the proposal raised in an open assembly would not be understood and we organized a meeting with like-minded people of the movement, where we agreed to go to introduce ourselves to one of the assemblies and they would collaborate in facilitating its understanding. Even so, just in case not everyone understood it, since what we wanted was to open a co-research process and we did not bring a closed planning, we insisted that there was no rush. First of all, we should learn from their work processes and if they allowed us, we would start accompanying them until common interests emerged in which we could be of use and the co-research felt part of it; even the very understanding of what co-researching implied would have to be constructed, but keeping this limit in mind "because ensuring the understanding of what one does, says or writes can make the difference between success and failure in a political or social movement" (Fals-Borda, 2015: 284).

Uncertainties have continued to accompany us in the process, such as the impossibility of working with the entire group of the two assemblies, that only people with previous affinity participate or those who already unbalance power relations within the movement, perpetuating them. This is not just a concern of the research team, because as developed in the following section, in the discussion groups some people showed discomfort due to leadership and protagonism of certain members in a movement that is assumed horizontal, so collaborative work has tried to address issues in which neither the research team, nor the participants regardless of their previous trajectories, were *a priori* legitimized or qualified to make decisions and define routes, as is the case with the *transmedia* proposal (see next section).

In the collaborative walk, some limits have been related to the difficulty to sustain longitudinal processes in time, due to the rhythms and urgencies lived in movement. Paths that are initiated cannot be closed because, suddenly, an eviction arises, and all the energies must be overturned so that the affected family does not lose their home. When we returned to the daily routine of the movement, dynamics of co-research initiated as the conversations lose sense and the work does not continue or is difficult to recover. However, as Pearce (2011) recalls: "[t]he methodologies that truly build research processes with practitioners and militants lose considerable control over these processes. Creativity lies in the

unexpected and the contingent, and this creates tension with respect to academic conventions, their deadlines and funding regimes. The co-production of knowledge must confront these tensions without ignoring them" (2011: 292-293).

As a closing to this section, we return to the processes of political subjectivation to open a methodological reflection on a vulnerable limit of our collaborative practice together with Stop Evictions. Unlike other "experts" such as lawyers, economists, therapists and doctors who carry out their work in solidarity, we have not had a recognizable and differentiated role as anthropologists. Esteban (2015) recovers the notion of "crisis of presence" elaborated by De Martino (1999), to explain the coinciding relationship between the conscious loss of authority in anthropology and the need to generate experiences of collective memories when collaborating with social movements; a coexistence in favor of multiple bodies, where one's own body in a neoliberal world may no longer have the force, agency, power, to transform its reality, but it can unite with other bodies — all of them weak and vulnerable — and become "another thing," which he calls "being-together" and "doing-things-together," as research and action experiences starring multiple subjects (Esteban, 2015: 86). The first time we were named as "sisters" in an assembly, it may have gone unnoticed, perhaps as a colloquial manner of someone's speech. From our situated knowledge as anthropologists, it did not tell us anything. As our experience grew[10], we found that it was not something specific or anecdotal, but rather a word that reinforces the bonds of solidarity and horizontality between partners[11]. Giving up being anthropologists to walk like sisters not only took time and commitment, but also meant dislocation to know what to look at.

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10. Not only in the sense of passage of time and daily life, but in the practice of talking with partners who have felt abandoned by their families — from whom they expected material and symbolic support at the time they were going to be evicted — and instead, they found mutual support from unknown people until they formed the collective. This radical experience led them to resignify the most committed partners, as sisters, returning to family ties (see "Letter from Carmen and Letter from Rosario," in Stop Desahucios and Stop Represión Granada, 2016: 328-333).

11. Oyewumi (2001) notes that the choice of siblings as a fictitious kinship of solidarity and horizontality arises at the moment in which African people without relation to each other see each other as equals during the period of American slavery. The concept regained strength in the Civil Rights movement in the United States and second wave feminists reappropriated it, giving rise to sisterhood as a universal recognition among women. However, Oyewumi is critical of the concept, pointing out that Western feminists chose to call each other sisters as a rejection of the figure of the mother, which in the Western family is authoritarian and hierarchical. In contrast, for African feminists the mother is not a figure of rejection, and "sister" is a concept that does not exist in some languages, so it cannot be a universal figure of solidarity between women.

3. Non-knowledge to institute common knowledge, doings, and powers. Four collaborative experiences

Despite the uncertainties, limits and vulnerabilities exposed in the previous section, we began to go to the assemblies willing to carry out a co-research with the movement, but without concrete proposals and from our reflexivity, with an emphasis on decolonization, understanding that the non-knowledge is an exercise of conscious renunciation of the knowledge that identifies us as "experts" from academic fields; as an intentional resignation to promote and protect research processes as "authorized ethnographers;" and as an exercise in assuming the conflicts and challenges of the power relations that this positioning has generated in our co-research work, which helps us to institute common doings and powers.

To think about this question, we found interesting the typological proposal of "knowledge, doings, and powers[12]" made by Dietz and Mateos (2013), Mateos, Dietz and Mendoza (2016) — also taken up by Dietz and Mateos in the present monograph — and we use it to explain how we are instituting these common doings and powers. In this section, we choose to describe and reflect, in the light of this analytical-conceptual attempt, on some concrete events experienced within our co-research.

In the ethnographic work that still continues, many experiences and events have taken place in which problems, crossroads, (dis)encounters have been evidenced; in short, challenges regarding the ways of being and being in the field work, of being committed and of being militants while we are there and are part of the university. We are interested in reflecting on these situations and processes in reference to what we have called "listening devices," materialized in: 1) Discussion groups; 2) Political training workshop; 3) Conversations; and 4) *Transmedia* proposal[13]; to try to think about the difficulties of starting them, derived from this position of not knowing and renouncing to protect the processes within the

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12. Dietz (2013) proposes to maintain a procedural look toward knowledge, to understand that the various actors-emitters of the same are not simple carriers, but creators and generators. As such, "knowledges" are not abstract, but are particularized as "knowledge-knowledge" (academic, pedagogical-classroom); they are internalized and dialogically created as "knowledges-doings" (practical knowledge); these can also be "doings-knowledge" when they respond to skills generated from local, situated and contextualized knowledge; "knowledge-powers" when they empower actors to critically deconstruct discourses and power structures; they become "powers-knowledge" when they are resignified to generate political involvement; and they are "doings-powers" when they refer to practical capacities to manage power relations based on their own cultural praxis.

13. At present, we are preparing a methodological manual which will include chapters of a monothematic nature that will develop in depth each of the techniques designed and implemented throughout the project.

co-research. The exhibition strategy will be to think of each one of them as scenarios where some type of "own thought" has been put into play, generated and/or made visible: knowledge(s)that has/had derived in doing(s) and power(s).

Firstly, we point out that all these "listening devices" have meant resignifying known research techniques, and sometimes reversing the logic of their operation, producing languages and formats on the edges of academic communication. And all of them have meant an unlearning so as not to invalidate, from our privileged places of enunciation, other epistemologies, and knowledge. The discussion groups have turned out to be a subversion of the conventional focus groups. As we have already shared, trying to do research in a different way to how many projects do it — and we ourselves had done it — we did not establish *a priori* objectives: they would have to arise from the interests, concerns, and needs of the group[14]. This has placed us in a vulnerable position, because we renounce the security that the hegemonic ways of doing ethnography gave us, but "the objectives" were slow to arrive, arise, and in emerging from the group. We have had to learn to be patient and unlearn to be governed by academic times, because the essential thing was that the process responded to a collaborative will. An issue that did not explicitly demand co-research, but that constituted a discomfort in the assemblies that emerged at specific times, was that we did not have a space to listen to each other in a serene manner and reflect on the movement itself; for this reason, we proposed to make focus groups and try to open a listening process toward the inside of the group and learn about what we were concerned about, what we needed as a group beyond a solution to the housing problems that could be addressed from our research project. The focus group in turn became a "discussion group," not by mere nominal transformation, but because "debating" instead of "arguing" responded to a will of the group. The name of this work dynamic responded, therefore, to a process of self-designation and subjectivation, and was decided by the participants during the first session. For all the assemblies, the groups are known as "reflection groups". Finally, we got to hold 15 discussion groups, lasting approximately two hours. To disidentify ourselves from the role of typical moderation meant unlearning, as on one occasion when after reaching confidentiality within the group, a partner who was not participating entered the room and one of us indicated that it was a closed space so as not to interrupt the ongoing dialogue. Later, reflecting on this attitude, we

14. At the end of the process, these objectives were drawn as the need to activate processes of visibility, strengthening and destigmatization of the group, which ended up promoting the idea of the so-called *transmedia Project*.

learned that the certainties of the hegemonic methodology no longer served us, and that it was possible for that person to interrupt without invalidating the process, because no one but us had perceived the fact as an interference. We questioned our "knowledge-knowledge" based on the practices we were experiencing, to try to make a more symmetrical investigation as to the ways of producing knowledge and putting it into dialogue.

The discussion groups evidenced "knowledge-doings" and "doings-knowledge." We met weekly to share and discuss issues that emerged from the group itself in the previous session[15], but simultaneously exchanged experiences on their own eviction cases (communication with banks, resolution of bureaucratic procedures, etc.) that were internalized by the group and became practical knowledge and skills.

The experience we had with the "Political Training Workshops" in the other assembly was different. A group of militants who have belonged to the movement from the beginning pointed out to us a concern about the fact that the majority of affected people were leaving the movement once their case was resolved, which perpetuated the structural problem of housing by not being addressed from a political point of view, but as a solution to individual cases. We did not just share the demand to revitalize workshops for political training, because it placed us in a position of "academic experts." Although we could not neglect it, since at that time it seemed to be the will of the group, we explained our concern when it was formulated by people with "knowledge-knowledge" who were questioning us as creators of "knowledge-knowledge," so that "those who do not know" could learn politics and acquire "powers-knowledge." We then opened a space to listen to our problems related to housing to highlight the "political" nature of our daily lives, which is not usually called "politics," as a preliminary stage for co-research. We met up to four times, trying to put into practice collaborative work tools. In the first session, a brainstorming exercise was prepared where we evidenced that any daily action and interaction, however insignificant it may seem, could have

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15. In the first session, we did propose and invited to speak about the first memories that each one had of Stop Evictions-15M and which they considered fundamental milestones of the movement. In the following sessions, the themes did emerge from the interests and concerns that the group outlined in the previous session. The central themes were: the meanings and implications of the collective organization of a movement and the work carried out and/or to be carried out from the group to achieve this; how to care for and "hook" people into the movement; and aspects related to communication between the participants and between the movement and other social partners. The last sessions with each group of people were dedicated to discussing what was analyzed in the previous meetings, and co-interpreting the meanings of the issues and problems addressed.

political effects and/or connotations. Hence, we tried to take the step to differentiate between "political" and "partisan." Other topics that seemed relevant were advanced by some of the people most involved in the workshop, such as climate change, the European elections, the TTIP, ethical banking and the social economy. However, this methodological experience did not go beyond a few sessions on our "knowledge-knowledge," and did not generate greater involvement and/or transformation: the "powers-knowledge" that part of the group was missing from the other part did not emerge; it was not a way to generate involvement, because only the people who — paradoxically — claimed that "training-for-involvement" (politics) for others ended up participating. We ended up abandoning the idea and continued accompanying the assembly[16] and thus arose the shared idea of talking with these militant people: would it be possible to learn about the needs, concerns, and proposals of this group with respect to our research project? Could we, through conversation, learn about different implications and processes of political subjectivation of the partners in this assembly? Could we, through them, activate collective processes of co-research? At the present time, we have carried out fifteen "conversations," trying to get out of the interview scheme where one person asks the questions and remains impassive to the answers and another person responds without participating in the analysis and reflection. We negotiated the name of "conversations" and the dynamics of these conversations, as dialogues between those who had shown personal concerns to reflect on power relations, conflicts, flaws, and concerns about the movement. All this in the hope that it will allow us to carry out a work of co-analysis and co-interpretation capable of enriching the production of collective "knowledge-powers-doings." On this occasion, the problematization of the researcher/investigated dichotomy has taken on a different dimension, because our condition as militants — and recognition as such, given that we were part of the movement before the start of the I+D project — trying to apply a more conventional-looking research technique has made relations between partners more complex. So far, we have learned a little more about the "doings-powers" of the participants and about different ways of living Stop Evictions. Although these conversations were recorded and transcribed, the collected knowledge did not produce doings

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16. Although, paradoxically, this experience radically modified the agenda of the assemblies. The search for efficiency had ruled out stating the political principles of the movement and information was given rather than listening to the people affected. After the unsuccessful workshop, it was decided to welcome in each assembly from the political point of view that guided us and step by step, to listen to the cases in follow-up and the new cases, leaving the tasks and information at the end, putting in value the story of the affected people and by spending time making it a political issue.

and powers for the moment. However, we return to Restrepo's (2016) proposal about how to build our own thinking, because we have tried to include not only the epistemological contributions and knowledge of the academy, but we have counted on our own thinking produced by the group in a self-managed monograph (Stop Deshaucios and Stop Represión Granada, 2016). The last chapter of it is co-written by three people who belong to the collective from the beginning and one of us, using in the story a mixture of formats and content, which were activated through the conversations.

At the present time, we are immersed in the development of what we call "*Transmedia* Proposal[17]," arising from the demands outlined in the discussion groups and in some conversations. This project is showing both "knowledge-knowledge," "knowledge-doings," and "doings-knowledge." But we also believe that it can promote "knowledge-powers," "powers-knowledge" and "doings-powers." It arises from the felt need to communicate differently, and to communicate with society in a more relational way. Those of us who are involved in this proposal felt the need to know more and better from the outside, what and who we are integrating into Stop Evictions. In the course of this initiative, there are those of us who contribute our "knowledge-knowledge" to the rest of our partners (video camera management, assembly and editing, etc.); said knowledge becomes "knowledge-doings" as a person starts recording after a couple of sessions experimenting with the video camera; and they are evidenced as "doings-knowledge" when one knows what one wants to show with the camera and how (people, many people; and very diverse) because one knows what those who are not part of the movement do not know. We insist that we have just started this project, and that limits in some way to know the drifts that it may have. But we do believe that it may be serving to activate "knowledge-powers" that give meaning to the struggle, while those of us who participate wish to deconstruct existing stereotypes and prejudices about the movement by telling stories; and as knowledge and doings are activated that are diverse from those that had been developing in the movement and in the university, power relations are being disrupted by actively participating people who attended assemblies but were not involved in working groups, building new "powers-knowledge," despite the fact that we are aware that not all of those who initially proposed and wanted to take part, are getting to participate in the same way

17. *Transmedia* as ways of relating experiences based on the combination of different audiovisual platforms, where all documents — regardless of the format — are connected to each other to tell a story. The process is open and collaborative, and each one contributes in their diversity, through what they know-want-can.

and continuously. And the purpose when starting this *transmedia* project was none other than to create/disseminate knowledge from other formats as a way of reinforcing the processes of political subjectivation, which — in essence — would enhance the movement's "doings-powers."

Through all these analyzed examples, we claim a methodological pluriversalism[18] that values non-knowledge to enable the common institution of knowledge, doings, and powers as a strategy of political subjectivation.

4. How much are we partners/sisters (or in the process of being)? Axes for a reflection on collaborative ethnography as a process of political subjectivation

We co-research with Stop Evictions from the conviction that "[t]he collective thought generates common practice. Therefore, the knowledge production process is not separable from the subjectivity production process (Haraway, 2004: 35)."

Problematizing our own reflections and not falling into interpreting, but waiting/awaiting co-interpretation and coanalysis, implies not analyzing, dissecting and classifying into categories data that are being produced in the research, but rather talking about methodological processes and how we are inhabiting the research: how we live it, how it goes through us and how relationships, emotions and affections are present in it. As we tried to disavow and de-identify ourselves in case "expert knowledge" perpetuated power relationships, we have been recognized as sisters — a very intense bond — but without being fully recognized as collaborative ethnography researchers. Sisters, but not anthropologists, or anthropologists as being recognized as sisters by the movement itself?

There are two more dimensions that are being essential for us to be able to theorize about the processes we experience when practicing collaborative ethnography: we refer to "beings and feelings." These dimensions, incorporated into the proposal on knowledge/doings/powers enunciated in the previous section, allow us to ask ourselves: Who are we to Stop Evictions? How do we feel about disidentification as anthropolo-

18. Grosfoguel called pluriversalist thinking that "a real communication and horizontal dialogue with equality can exist among the peoples of the world beyond the logic and practices of domination and exploitation of the world-system" (2008: 212). We are thinking not only about theorizing, but about the way of doing it, which leads us to reappropriate it in methodological terms.

gists[19] and what consequences does it have for the co-research we are trying to carry out? We have come to feel blocked in our abilities to "comfortably assume the anthropological self" (Abu-Lughod, 2012: 134). This is one of the results of disidentification, the adoption of a "non-knowledge" and/or the refusal to give more value to some knowledge than to others (Dietz, 2013; Mateos, Dietz and Mendoza, 2016). We are and feel at the same time militant and investigative; sometimes half militants, half investigators; or completely militant and/or investigative; sometimes more militant and other times more investigative; some of us more militant, others more investigative. The boundaries between some realities and others are not fixed and are not clear. This exposes us to situations of felt vulnerability (Behar, 1996; Haraway, 2004).

Within the framework of a project — and within the neoliberal university — we have to publish "results" and we cannot wait for "processes to be activated." In most cases, these issues are incompatible. But our vulnerabilities are the vulnerabilities of others as well, and this is being evidenced in a necessary interdependence between us.

The *transmedia* Project is perhaps the first step that we are taking to be able to produce "own thought" in equality and horizontality. Initiated as a process of common knowledge, it has emerged from shared reflections and the intention is that it will revert and be useful for the whole group. For this, based on the felt experience of a problematic communication, the group is incorporating the *mainstream* communicative culture, which is allowing us to inhabit ethnography from a variety of devices and languages capable of being multipliers of participation and audiences. This experience is helping us to collectively question ourselves: why don't people create lasting links with the movement? Why are there those who are still linked to it after solving their housing problems? What strengthens the processes of subjectivation policy within Stop Evictions? What reaches society about the movement and who is part of it? How do we feel about being perceived by society? Why do traditional communication channels not satisfy the needs of the group to "tell our stories?" All these questions and many others are being interpreted and signified together in a process of "being" and "feeling" in which we nourish ourselves and others with knowledge-doings and powers.

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19. Something that, on the other hand, is not exclusive neither to our experience nor to committed ethnography, since, as Comaroff (2010) has argued, anthropology can be considered an "indiscipline" to the extent that it no longer has the exclusivity of the ethnographic method, nor is it characterized by the study of culture or the comparison between non-Western societies, which makes it indistinguishable from other social disciplines, journalistic research or artistic creation. Although in our case we think that this is accentuated by our militant role and recognition as partners.

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