

ARTICLE

Do Forms of Knowledge Production Circulate?

Argentinian Anthropologists in the Master's and PhD Programs in Social Anthropology at the National Museum of the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (PPGAS-MN/UFRJ)

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Abstract

Forms of knowledge production adopted by academics in a given national space do not emerge without the right circumstances. Student circulation has a bearing on knowledge import processes. Opening with an overview of the field of Argentinian anthropology in the 1970s and 1980s, this article looks at some of the consequences of the international circulation of Argentinian students through the Social Anthropology Master's and PhD Programs at the National Museum of the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (PPGAS-MN/UFRJ) from the late 1980s to the present. Based on documents in the PPGAS-MN archives, interviews with lecturers and former students and a review of PPGAS-MN and Argentinian university syllabi, this article: (i) provides a historical description of the agreement between institutions that has facilitated this flow; (ii) describes how this circulation has given these students a new perspective on the ethnographic approach and on classical anthropology; and (iii) describes how, from a student viewpoint, this shift has altered their way of thinking about social anthropology research and given them a new habitus. The results hint at a new approach to classical anthropology and the use of ethnographic data. There were three main drivers: (i) PPGAS-MN lecturers' emphasis on the relevance of empirical data and the primacy of theory prevailing in Argentina; (ii) the renewed deep reading of classic ethnographical texts; and (iii) the development of a new habitus as a result of socialisation in the ensuing social space.

Keywords

Internationalisation; International Circulation; Academic Mobility; National Museum; Argentina; Anthropology

INTRODUCTION¹

Social science knowledge is produced by academics rooted in given national spaces with particular social and cultural backgrounds (Bourdieu 2002; Siméant 2015). Certain social and international connections influence and shape the ways these producers and disseminators of knowledge work. Analysing the actions and agents that contribute to the specific configuration of exchanges and transformations in research among countries deepens our knowledge about the circulation of ideas across different national fields (Heilbron et al. 2008; Sapiro 2013-5; Gingras 2002). The time people spend in other national spaces brings to light new production formats (Almeida et al. 2004; Fry 2004; Garcia 2009a and 2009b; Keim et al., 2014), and differences in the understanding of the profession contribute to different outlooks, world-views and habitus (Bourdieu 2000). Analysing the reception and appropriation of ways of production, which are frequently linked to personal relationships, facilitates the understanding of cultural, social, scientific, political and institutional dynamics connected with certain flows of knowledge, as well as the possible disputes behind them (Bourdieu 2001).

This paper deals with circulation processes between two strikingly different Southern Cone countries (Beigel 2010; Beigel and Sabea 2014) and describes some of the characteristics and possible consequences for social anthropology students who left Argentina for Brazil – non-central countries in terms of scientific production (Cardoso de Oliveira and Ruben 1995) – to pursue master's and doctoral studies. Such scientific mobility has (i) specific directionality between two neighbouring countries with a certain cultural distance (Grimson and Semán 2006; Sikkink 2009; Lovisoló 2000) and (ii) limited duration (with the exception of Argentinians remaining in Brazil).

Studies have shown that international circulation has on several occasions also been connected with national economic crises (Heilbron, Sorá and Boncourt 2018; Fleck, Duller and Karády 2018) that encouraged the brain drain (Didou Aupetit and Gérard 2009). Democracy was restored in Argentina in 1983, after seven years of dictatorship, but society suffered massive inflation and an energy crisis. As there were no grants for scientific projects or for new research posts, the future outlook for science seemed unpromising. These problematic circumstances created an opening for Argentinian researchers to take their studies to Brazil. In 1987 the Department of Anthropological Sciences of the University of Buenos Aires' School of Philosophy and Letters (UBA) and the Post-Graduate Program in Social Anthropology of the National Museum of the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (PPGAS-MN/UFRJ) signed an agreement that enabled dozens of Argentinian anthropologists to pursue their Social Anthropology master's and/or doctorates in the latter program, which was more highly rated at the time by the Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (CAPES). This agreement authorised Argentinian students to take the PPGAS-MN examination in Buenos Aires. Upon returning to Argentina, some of those students – now doctors and strongly influenced by this experience of internationalisation – created and institutionalised the new Post-Graduate Programs in Social Anthropology in Argentina, at the University of San Martín, at the National University of Córdoba and so on.

¹ A preliminary version of this text was presented in the session 'The Circulation of Ideas, Intellectuals and Texts: The Geopolitics of Knowledge Production in Social Sciences', at the ISA World Congress, Toronto, in the July 2018. I thank Fernanda Beigel and Ana Maria F. de Almeida for their suggestions. As always, responsibility for any errors in the final work remains my own.

This article describes the following: (i) a historical overview of the agreement that facilitated this flow; (ii) how this circulation gave these students a new perspective on the ethnographic approach and classical anthropology; and (iii) how, from a student perspective, this passage changed their way of thinking about social anthropology research and gave them a new habitus.

METHODOLOGY

This article is based on qualitative research, using in-depth interviews and archival research as a data collection technique. I conducted twenty in-depth interviews with PPGAS-MN lecturers and former students in Buenos Aires and Córdoba (Argentina), and in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil). Questions for the lecturers focused on their understanding of Argentinian students, their behaviours, and their adaptation to the program. Questions for the former students focused on their experiences and the impact that such knowledge circulation had on their careers.

The archival research was carried out in the PPGAS-MN Record Office in October 2016. This office burned down in the fire of September 2, 2018, making this research impossible today. Archival resources include: (i) correspondence between Brazilian and Argentinian lecturers discussing ways to sign agreements for the official circulation of Argentinian students in Brazil (these letters are important in understanding how agreements between PPGAS-MN and UBA authorities were negotiated); and (ii) a list of students, including Argentinians, and examinations taken by Argentinians in Buenos Aires (these documents are key in describing the evaluation process for Argentinians entering the PPGAS-MN). Lastly, I reviewed the PPGAS-MN's and Argentinian universities' syllabi in order to understand possible ideas that influenced the students.

THE ORIGINS OF AN INSTITUTIONAL AGREEMENT

The origins of the agreement signed between the PPGAS-MN² and the UBA can be traced to ties between young Argentinian researchers who passed through the Brazilian institution in the early 1970s (Isola 2018): Omar Gancedo, Martín Ibáñez Novion, Roberto Ringuet, Luis María Gatti and Beatriz Heredia from the National University of Córdoba. All were master's students and received grants from the Ford Foundation through their connections to Richard Adams, who taught at the National Museum (Velho 2012; Cardoso de Oliveira 1992) and later worked at the foundation (Heredia 2009). Heredia, Ringuet and Ibáñez Novion completed their masters at the PPGAS-MN.

Some of these students were invited by Moacir Palmeira, who was in northeastern Brazil at the time to coordinate the project "Comparative Study of Regional Development" led by Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira and David Maybury-Lewis, and was associated with the PPPSA-MN and the Latin American Research Centre in Social Sciences (Leite Lopes 2013). Maybury-Lewis had drawn up the Harvard-Central Brazil project in 1962 for the study of indigenous Gê groups under an agreement between the National Museum and Harvard (Garcia 2009a). The National Museum was Brazil's international benchmark institution in anthropological research.

² On the beginnings of PPGAS-MN, see Cardoso de Oliveira (1992), Leite Lopes (1992), Garcia (2009a).

In August 1986 PPGAS-MN lecturers were invited to participate in the Second Argentinian Congress of Social Anthropology held in Buenos Aires. As a result of fruitful exchanges, some academics agreed on the possibility of establishing an institutional agreement between the PPGAS-MN and the UBA. This agreement allowing Argentinians – not necessarily UBA students – to join the Brazilian program was signed in 1987. The first examination was held in 1988 and the last one in 1997. However, the flow of Argentinians through the Program has continued to the present (Annex I): thirty years of exchanges, with dozens of Argentinian students passing through these classrooms. To understand some of the consequences of this circulation of students and knowledge, it is necessary to understand the complex development of the field of anthropology in Argentina in the preceding years.

ARGENTINIAN ANTHROPOLOGY IN THE 1980S

What was the atmosphere like in the discipline during this period? On one hand, the military dictatorship's violence brought about a disruption in institutional processes by invading universities and persecuting and killing students and lecturers.³ On the other hand, internal tensions emerged out of the scholars' theoretical-methodological and political-ideological positions within this disciplinary space.⁴

The dilemma of who funds the research cut across the social sciences. Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira, a consultant to the Ford Foundation, recalled (Guebel et al. 1996) that Richard Adams was rejected in his attempt to establish ties with Social Sciences at the UBA but not at the Torcuato Di Tella University. He then went to Brazil, where he was warmly welcomed by Brazilian anthropologists (Garcia 2009a).

Anthropology in Argentina during the 1980s was an eroded scientific field, highly resistant to certain theoretical-methodological approaches. Some ethnologically-minded lecturers at the UBA in the 1970s and early '80s were exiled from the Axis countries and had settled in Argentina during and after WWII. These scholars took late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century German, Austrian or Italian anthropologists as their theoretical benchmarks (Perazzi 2003; Neufeld et al. 2015). Perhaps the most emblematic cases were the Italian Marcelo Bórmida and the Austrian Oswald Menghin, former Education Minister in Austria under the Third Reich (Fontán 2005).⁵ This involved a different type of international circulation, linked to the darkest history of the twentieth century. These lecturers approached the classic works of anthropology from a culturalist, phenomenological perspective, with a racist framework that objectified the indigenous population

³ For a history of Argentine Anthropology, see Ratier and Ringuelet (1997), Perazzi (2003), Guber (2010 and 2014), and Bartolomé (2007). Regarding the comparison between Argentina and Brazil for the case of anthropology, see Ratier (1983), Ratier and Guebel (2004), and Grimson and Semán (2006), among many others. For more information on the Social Sciences under Dictatorship, see Kirtchik and Heredia (2015).

⁴ Guber (2010) wrote how the researcher Esther Hermitte, a PhD at the University of Chicago, received complaints concerning her theoretical perspective from her young collaborators at the Torcuato Di Tella Institute. Some of the research projects were cut short due to “the structural-functionalist theoretical framework, connoted as colonialist, and the permeability to foreign funding, predominantly American” (Guber 2010:16). Many criticisms of functionalism focused on its methodological and positivist emphasis, which was catalogued as scientism.

⁵ Bórmida was director both of the Institute of Anthropology of the UBA's Department of Anthropological Sciences and of the Ethnographic Museum (Silla 2012).

by turning them into a hermetic cultural space, closed in on itself and disconnected from other contexts.⁶

The generation of Argentinian students who finished their careers during the dictatorship (1976–1983) or the early years of democracy had been taught by the likes of Bórmida, whom they reviled and did not respect intellectually. Two criticisms were made: one was linked to Bórmida's reductionist theory, his way of approaching phenomenology and his background in the historical-cultural school; the other was ideological – his fascism.⁷

In 1984, in an effervescent climate over the restoration of democracy after the military government, the first anthropology cohort at the UBA had 1,500 students, contrasting with entry quotas during the dictatorship (1976–1983) and forcing the hiring of new lecturers.⁸ In fact, the conditions for the professionalisation of the anthropological field⁹ were weak: master's degrees were practically non-existent, as were doctorates; CONICET research degrees were underfunded and there were practically no incentives to conduct research, while attempts to establish scientific publications were just starting. As Axel Lazzari, a student of those years, pointed out:

⁶ The omnipresence of Marxist social thought in the curriculum from the mid-1980s was due to the historical tradition that specific left-wing intellectual groups had in Argentina of fighting against capitalism, especially in the 1960s and 1970s. They had been censored by the dictatorship but, with the new beginning of democracy, Marxist social thought went on to play an important role in sociological theory. In the words of Rolando Silla, a student of those years: "I decided to do fieldwork in '95 or '96: it was frowned upon. It's really crazy. Doing fieldwork was what Bórmida did, it was collecting data, and it sounded right-wing. From Marxism, there are texts by Godelier [Maurice], saying that it's bourgeois to do fieldwork, because: 'If Marx has already told us what the world's like, why are we going to do fieldwork? The empirical is bourgeois, it's from Anglo-Saxon liberalism.' At that time, ethnography only meant collecting data, separated from theory, nobody in the UBA wanted to be a mere collector of data. We were all great theoreticians [laughs]."

⁷ Sergio Visacovsky (2017:69), currently Principal Researcher of the National Scientific and Technical Research Council (CONICET) and Director of the Social Research Centre of the Economic and Social Development Institute (CONICET), writes: "Until 1984, the subject syllabi excluded Boas, Margaret Mead, Durkheim, Mauss, Malinowski, Radcliffe-Brown, Evans-Pritchard, Gluckman, Levi-Strauss, Godelier, Victor Turner, Mary Douglas or Sahlins. The stellar authors of those years prior to 1984 were, among others: the German Protestant theologian Rudolf Otto (1869–1937) with his idea of the sacred as the numinous; the Dutch historian Gerardus van der Leeuw (1890–1950) and his phenomenology of religion; the historian of Romanian religions Mircea Eliade (1907–1986) and the manifestation of the sacred (hierophany); the German ethnologist Adolf Ellegard Jensen (1899–1965); the philosopher and historian of French ideas Georges Gusdorf (1912–2000); the Austrian neurologist and psychiatrist, and founder of logotherapy, Viktor Emil Frankl (1905–1997); the Italian ethnologist Ernesto de Martino (1908–1965); and mainly the Italian Marcelo Bórmida (1925–1978), who, from his place in the Institute of Anthropological Sciences of the University of Buenos Aires, called on the majority of these authors to produce what he called a "phenomenological approach to mythic consciousness." Those of us who were students – and many of our lecturers even before 1976 – ignored the crisis of structuralism in Britain and the emergence of the Manchester School, neo-evolutionism, cultural materialism, ethnoscience, French structuralism or the interpretive turn."

⁸ The young lecturer Mauricio Boivin was named Academic Secretary of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters. An Anthropology graduate from the UBA, he completed a master's degree in Social Anthropology at the London School of Economics (LSE), with Chris Fuller as tutor of studies and Michael J. Sallnow as director of his thesis in the field of Development Anthropology.

⁹ The professionalisation and institutionalisation of disciplines imply the emergence of a certain type of institutional position (bureaucracy and professions) for which specific knowledge and qualifications are required (Wilensky 1964; Brunner and Flisfisch, 1983; Abbott 1988; Sarfatti Larson 1988 and 1989; Dubar and Tripier 1998). The institutionalisation of a professional space occurs when it generates stable areas of legitimacy in relation to the market, politics, and the state, its administrative needs, and also to other professions.

When you see it in perspective, we're talking about almost thirty years, and you say: "Yes, Argentinian anthropology was being reinvented." I didn't realise: I was in my twenties, I was being born to life and with me Argentinian anthropology was reborn.

A young faculty took shape during this period, which Ringuet (2010) calls the period of general reconstruction of social anthropology. Recent graduates abounded in the lower echelons. Many exiled lecturers returned to Argentina and others moved on, some of whom had supported the dictatorship. Researcher Roxana Boixados, a student in those times, said:

You look back and those subjects were initially taught by lecturers reincorporated after the dictatorship and by teachers just starting out. It wasn't a great professionalisation of anthropology. Anthropologists were rare, and were trained with all these limitations: syllabi were changing, there was no funding and books were expensive. In that respect, the PPGAS-MN was a blow, a shock.

Anthropologists had serious structural difficulties establishing long-term research projects (unstable institutions, incipient professionalisation and scant funding). Universities and the scientific field lacked the resources to promote internationalisation, which, on occasion, encouraged a localist view that hindered dialogue with the central countries. In Visacovsky's view (2017: 71):

A hostile view of so-called 'Classical Anthropology' prevailed in our anthropology. [...] With some exceptions, the predominant trend in those years was a reduction of theories and research by North American and British cultural and social anthropology to a sort of collection of naive empiricism and colonialist ideology. Both the analytical reading of classical ethnographic monographs as fieldwork and the production of knowledge based on ethnographic research did not constitute legitimised practices. In short, it dominated in the early '90s; there was widespread resistance to these topics and, as a consequence of the disconnection from other anthropological productions, there were enormous difficulties accessing updated academic production.

In fact, students of the UBA, who a few years later became Auxiliary Professors in the restoration of democracy, disapproved of classical anthropology, the ethnographic method and functionalism. As one student said:

I have a vivid memory as a student: it was the holding of a funeral rite for Functionalist Anthropology in the corridors of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters, with a mortuary cage and everything, staged by students from some group in the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters. In many of the classes, the contents had nothing to do with Anthropology but with readings of Marxism. For me it was training in Marx, Lenin and many of their intellectual heirs. I could recite the Marxist creed by heart but knew nothing about anthropology.

The ideological approach prevailed in this environment, with the assumption that functionalists were in favour of capitalism and were therefore colonialists. Another student, Rolando Silla, described what the atmosphere at the UBA was like:

There were no incentives for lecturers to graduate, but neither was graduating welcomed among the students. There are still many people my age [47] who didn't graduate [...] I did a course on Marxism and Structuralism rather than learning Anthropology.

This bias extended to other universities. Laura Masson, who studied at the National University of Central Buenos Aires, recalled that in the PPGAS-MN,

The emphasis was on reading the authors and not commentating on the authors. Well, for me it was rediscovering Durkheim, rediscovering Lévi-Strauss, starting to love Max Weber, all things I'd learnt, like 'Durkheim is conservative', but to the point that we laughed at classmates for quoting Durkheim. All that pigeon-holing and moral condemnation instead of saying, 'What are you trying to say? What did he do?' or 'What's he trying to understand at that time?' Or 'In what historical and political context was he?' Or 'What was he thinking at that moment?' Well, I learnt all that in Brazil. I didn't learn it at any other time.

Although certain groups in the 1980s, like the ones directed by Mauricio Boivin or Hugo Ratier, conducted fieldwork nurturing the ethnographic perspective and reading classic authors, this was not the norm. Virginia Vecchioli, a student in those years, stated:

University entrants were inculcated in the same creed. In my experience as an entrant in 1984, interest in the indigenous world automatically made you an accomplice of the Nazi-Fascist alliance embodied in the figure of Bórmida.¹⁰ In this context, my goal changed drastically and I channelled my interests into what was then presented as a legitimate space: social anthropology. In the context of the subject areas, my first fieldwork essay was not about indigenous populations but settlers in flooded areas of Quilmes [a town in Buenos Aires Province].

The extent to which this hostile environment adversely affected different career paths remains to be studied. Anti-pluralism and constant suspicion towards discursive alterity prevented the strengthening of more professional areas of debate. The circulation of anthropologists in Brazil partially helped to change this landscape.

THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL SPACE IN BRAZIL

A comparison with the Brazilian space provides a clearer idea of the effects of these circulation processes. On one hand, there was no specific anthropological degree in 1980s Brazil (just a generic "Social Sciences" degree) – which was a clear difference between Argentinian and Brazilian PPGAS-MN students. On the other hand, the discipline displayed greater organisation through the development of a post-graduate system subject to evaluation processes and financed by the state through scholarships and incentives.

In Brazil, a PhD had already been established as a pre-requisite for research by the 1980s; in Argentina, this would only be the case in the 2000s. Several master's and post-graduate programs in Social Anthropology had been created in Brazil at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (1968), the Campinas State University (1971), the University of Brasilia (1972), the University of São Paulo (1972), the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (1979) and others. In Argentina anthropology graduates had no real chance of pursuing their academic careers in their own country. Beyond the fleeting life of the master's degree program at the Argentinian branch of the Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences (FLACSO), which opened in 1982 and closed in 1985, or the National University of Misiones in Posadas, located a thousand kilometres from Buenos Aires and started in 1995, there was no opening to become professionals. The availability of scholarships was insignificant and university teaching salaries were precarious to say the least.

¹⁰ Both the Italian Marcelo Bórmida and the Austrian Oswald Menghin were connected with the ideology of the Third Reich and promoted a sort of reification of indigenous populations.

If the institutionalisation of a professional space occurs when it achieves a level of autonomy and legitimacy regarding the market, politics, state and other professions, Brazilian elites have been enhancing the public status of anthropological discourse since the 1960s. In Velho's view (2003: 18), the anthropologist in Brazil was "integrated into a great national enterprise, often to the envy of colleagues from other disciplines. Anthropology itself becomes almost a mass phenomenon." The space of social anthropology in Brazil seemed to show "a high degree of internal, organisational and intellectual homogeneity" (Velho 2003: 18). While some Brazilian academics acted as expert advisers in various organisations and state agencies (Silva et al. 1994, Pacheco de Oliveira 2005, Rego 2007), the media played a significant role as a disseminator of the discipline's debates. The broadening of audiences fostered the valorisation of anthropology as a discipline and of anthropologists as bearers of an active social discourse with the power to influence at the national level (Feldman-Bianco 2013).

This disciplinary status contrasts with what happened in Argentina. One Argentinian research student from the PPGAS-MN has said:

Today everyone wants to be an anthropologist, even an economist. They all claim they have something of an anthropologist, right? In the '80s [in Argentina], nobody wanted to be an anthropologist, not even anthropologists. So, we were all looking at Economics or Political Science or Sociology, we were all looking abroad.

This process of international circulation between Brazil and Argentina must be interpreted with this structural asymmetry in mind.

THE ETHNOGRAPHIC CONTRAST

The flow of students to an excellence-training centre located in another national space can stimulate the circulation of ideas, theories and methodologies. This can become especially significant in a discipline such as anthropology, where scientific work requires a large amount of training time in a specific school with its own readings. It generates differentiated production processes, fieldwork dynamics, and writing and socialisation habits. It also requires funding – non-existent in Argentina – for travel and accommodation at research sites.

The relationship between theory and data as well as the ethnographic method, in all its complex nuances (Peirano 1994, Guber 2001, Balbi 2012, Ingold 2014), take on substantial value in the discipline's scientific work. This was emphasised in the National Museum. As one interviewee stated:

Above all, there's an ethnographic perspective [in the PPGAS-MN] that I didn't have in my undergraduate training, which went something like 'Ethnography is doing interviews.' In the PPGAS-MN, there was a kind of revaluation of fieldwork, a requirement to do fieldwork and very high value placed on the data and the new perspective that ethnographic research brought to your theoretical training. It isn't the application of the theoretical framework to the [empirical] data but the reading of the data with a theoretical perspective that is debatable in itself.

This data-focused ethnographic approach changed many Argentinians' view of the importance given to theory in their undergraduate years (Heredia 2005). It was a conceptual and empirical rearrangement of the relationships between theory and data. In Buenos Aires, classical English and French Anthropology circulated in small groups. One student reviewed the literature included in

the undergraduate syllabi during the democracy in the 1980s and recognised the scarcity of such readings:

In fifteen specific subjects of social anthropology I never read an entire ethnography: in the entire degree [program], you read certain chapters or ethnographic articles, usually as examples of what was not to be done, accompanied by manuals that saw this as colonialist. They only taught us the criticism and barely taught the original authors.

Ideological stances permeated the discipline's discourse. An anti-imperialist outlook in a country with a nationalism ingrained in academia relegated ethnography to mere colonialism. Roxana Boixados, a student in those years, stated the following:

When I was trained here, it wasn't about going straight to Malinowski. It was Malinowski through commentators – the odd introductory chapter, very little. There were no books. It was a surprise to me that [in the PPGAS-MN] in our day they made you read especially the functionalist authors that weren't read or skimmed, or they read with bias, without rescuing the genuine contribution.

As can be seen, there were several rejections within the discipline: functionalism, classical anthropology, ethnography and, with them, various authors and theories that were deprecated. It would be interesting to establish to what extent such rejections were a mirror response to certain lecturers' behaviour in the dictatorship towards, for example, Marxist theories. Some Argentinian anthropology lecturers had a rather rebellious adolescent past and solved these conflicts by means of binary diatribe.

The circulation of Argentinian scholars through Brazil moderated these ideas. In the PPGAS-MN, these criticisms had to have solid historical foundations and contexts, and, above all, had to be made after showing an overall understanding of the author or theory criticised. In this sense, the subordination of theory to empirical research – and not vice versa – was one of the issues that most affected young Argentinians when they came into contact with the PPGAS-MN. It was a substantial and performative professional shift. One Argentinian anthropologist stressed the “capacity that the Brazilians had of employing classical theory to think about research situations new to anthropology also had a strong influence.”

Unlike most post-graduate studies in the social sciences in Argentina, there was a decision in the PPGAS-MN not to have specific methodology courses. Gustavo Blázquez describes the situation:

In the PPGAS-MN you learned to do fieldwork by reading ethnographies, not manuals, and it was very different. I think it was to do with the different way the classics were read: in Argentina they were dead, so methodology had to be taught; in the PPGAS-MN they were alive, and we learned methodology from them.

The first cohorts of Argentinians were accustomed to a theoretical approach far more focused on philosophical or sociological perspectives. In the PPGAS-MN theory was bound up with an ethnographic outlook that was already present in the entrance examination.¹¹ During their studies at the PPGAS-MN, students had to read many complete ethnographies, generally in their original

¹¹ Students had to read Edmund Leach's *Political Systems of Highland Burma*, Jeanne Favret-Saada's *Les Mots, la mort, les sorts, la sorcellerie dans le Bocage*, or a Max Gluckman text entitled “Analysis of a Social Situation in Modern Zululand,” where ethnographic details were key.

languages, and they had access to all those books in the copious library.¹² While some Argentinians were familiar with ethnographic texts, others “hadn’t read anything from this bibliography” before entering the program. By examining the syllabi available for the years Argentinians studied at the PPGAS-MN (<http://www.ppgasmn-ufri.com/cursos-antiores.html>) and conversing with these students, it was possible to verify the work with ethnographic texts and the importance of the ethnographic approach (Annex II).¹³

Although some lecturers had been promoting fieldwork and the writing of ethnographies in their research groups since the 1980s,¹⁴ thus strengthening and relaunching the tradition of the ethnographic method, this was not the discipline’s norm. Rather, it was an exception in the late 1980s and ’90s following a period when such a perspective had been marginalised. One Argentinian researcher has stated:

The most important influence of Brazilian Anthropology was to nurture a generation of researchers who capably passed on the ethnographic method. You could do ethnographic work in Brazil better than anywhere else in the world. In short, to all of us trained in Brazil, I think we were attracted by the chance to use categories from classical anthropology to analyse contemporary urban societies.

Former student Gustavo Blázquez recalled:

There was a new way of reading the classics that involved not reading them as systems of the past, or part of a history of anthropology. The PPGAS-MN cultivated a fertile reading of the classics. So it was crucial for me to discover that ethnography could be done not only with people, but with texts too; that “natives” could be “texts”, ask questions of texts, look for structures of meaning, recover local categories of texts and authors, and so forth. That was quite a discovery.

This revitalized vision of the classics in a university context, which recognised the creative and productive use of these works and allowed for greater freedom of thought, would not have been common in Argentina. It was a new intellectual adventure for the Argentinian students.

This systematic use of the classics in master’s and doctorate training at the National Museum and other Brazilian post-graduate programs had repercussions for Argentinian anthropology. One was the incorporation and debate of classical anthropology authors in the bibliography of specific syllabi, the writing of projects and the discipline’s scientific output.¹⁵ The time spent at the PPGAS-

¹² Faced with partial and biased readings in Argentina, the PPGAS-MN’s updated bibliographic collection impressed the Argentinians when it came to carrying out their research: ‘I went in [to the library] and started to review the card index, and they had all the things I’d ever wanted to read and never been able to get hold of here in Argentina. There it was: the whole classical literature. I was fascinated. Even the library was a dream for me. I don’t know how many kilos of photocopies or excess baggage I paid for on my successive trips to Buenos Aires to bring back that material.’

¹³ The influence can also be seen in the theses of many Argentinian students, who feel that their master’s and/or doctoral works are ethnographic (<https://minerva.ufri.br/F>).

¹⁴ In 1994, the Institute of Economic and Social Development (IDES) Social Anthropology Centre held the First Conference on Ethnography and Qualitative Methods “with the aim of opening up a space for theoretical-practical discussion of the different modalities of qualitative fieldwork and its use in the production of knowledge for teaching, academic research, and management” (<http://cas.ides.org.ar/jornadas-y-seminarios/jemc>). Further editions of the Conference appeared in 1998, 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010, 2013 and 2016.

¹⁵ Anthropological Theory seminars administered by tenured lecturers of the PPGAS-MN, where Classical Anthropology is relevant, include: Gustavo Sorá at the National University of Córdoba; Gustavo Blázquez also at the National University of Córdoba; Axel Lazzari at UNSAM; and Fernando Balbi and Boivin, at the UBA. Classical anthropology is important, too, in the course ‘Classical Anthropological Theories’ by Laura Masson for the UNSAM/IDAES Social Anthropology doctorate program.

MN wrought changes among Argentinian anthropologists in, for example, different ways of embedding theory and data. Virginia Vecchioli points out that “This was a reason for constant discussion of how we had changed our minds; it was also a topic of conversation when we returned to Argentina. What do we do now? How are we going to submit projects?”.

The changes in research methodologies became a problem, namely the question of how to apply the new ways of production in such a different context. The change was so radical that it sparked conflict with the previous paradigm and produced greater cohesion among those who had been through the PPGAS-MN experience. Upon their return, these changes in habitus impacted the way students shared with their former thesis directors and the previous generation. The students’ mobility through Brazil had thus allowed a circulation and revaluation of authors, methodologies and ways of doing research in Argentina.

PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS AND GROUP TIES

Internationalisation processes are originated and sustained by specific actors. It is not surprising that the idea of an agreement with the National Museum was linked to a group of researchers who reclaimed both classical anthropologists and the ethnographic method, the cornerstones of the National Museum.

Hugo Ratier, who had studied at the PPGAS-MN in the early 1980s, developed a research project on his return to Argentina with Federico Neiburg, who was studying a cement factory in a workers’ village in Olavarría. This project had the same grant as “Economic Structure and State Intervention Policies in the area of the Entre Ríos Paraná” on fishermen’s cooperatives. Contributing to the project were: Mauricio Boivin (director); Ana Rosato and Sofía Tiscornia (researchers); Cecilia Ayerdi, María Laura Furniz and Gabriela Scotto (scholarship holders); and Fernando Balbi, Jorge Gancedo, Claudia Guebel, Carlos Kuz and Axel Lazzari (research assistants). Later, when Scotto, Guebel and Kuz moved to the PPGAS-MN, Virginia Vecchioli and Sabina Frederic also joined the project.

These researchers maintained ties with Moacir Palmeira, a PPGAS-MN lecturer, and Beatriz Heredia. Axel Lazzari points out:

The pivot of the agreement [between the UBA and PPGAS-MN] is the research group of Mauricio [Boivin], Sofía Tiscornia, etc. The first students recruited in the PPGAS-MN are those working on the fishermen’s cooperatives project. This is essential. Why does Beatriz Heredia find affinities beyond the political and so on? Because we worked with peasantry models within the horizons of problems in rural anthropology concerning the social, political and economic organisation of fishermen.

As assistants in the “Systematic Anthropology I” course under Boivin, this group taught authors from British Social Anthropology, like Edward Evan Evans-Pritchard, Edmund Leach, Meyer Fortes, Julian Pitt-Rivers and Victor Turner. Many students in this group close to Boivin took the entrance examination for the PPGAS-MN. The closeness of these two research teams was one of the stimuli that provoked this internationalisation strategy at first (Siméant 2015, Dezalay and Garth 2002).

THE PPGAS-MN: A TERRITORY OF CONTRASTS

Although the body of PPGAS-MN lecturers actively participated in Brazilian national scientific policy discussions and was consulted over the expansion of post-graduate programs, PPGAS-MN lecturers' levels of academic autonomy was higher than those of lecturers in the politicised Argentinian university space, from the Argentinian students' perspective (Isola 2014; 2018). In the PPGAS-MN the discipline's scientific language was less influenced by the political climate and dispute, and gave primacy to a more scientifically classified and structured discourse framed in a less ideological perspective (Bourdieu 2000).

The international habitus (Xavier de Brito 2004) instilled by PPGAS-MN lecturers reflected their own academic mobility. Many teachers had studied or researched in major global centres and participated in exchanges in France or the USA (Fry 2004). Among many other exchanges, Gilberto Velho, for example, maintained a close dialogue with Howard Becker, with whom he taught the Anthropology of Complex Societies Seminary in 1990; Abdelmalek Sayad twice visited to give seminars in 1990 and 1994 (Garcia 2009c); alongside Lygia Sigaud and Elisabeth Claverie, Luc Boltanski taught the Political Anthropology seminar, again in 1990.

Many of the readings assigned in the PPGAS-MN seminars were in English and French, thus reflecting this international environment. This format incorporated a world of authors who were read in their own language and whose bibliography was available in the library. It also added the possibility of traveling abroad, especially to France, through "PhD sandwich scholarships" available in Brazil.

However, this circulation did not come about without asymmetries. Student testimonies make it clear that entering the PPGAS-MN was a culture shock. Other habits of socialisation were required to adapt to their new environment: university rituals and lecturer-student relations in Brazil were more distant and less informal than in Argentina. At the same time, there was a freedom to pursue any topic of study, often forbidden in Argentinian university spaces. These issues made the relationship between students and lecturers asymmetrical, which was quickly read by Argentinians as a mark of authority and a hierarchy of relationships and languages within which they had to move.

Student testimonies also reveal a culture clash. When one PPGAS-MN lecturer asked the students if they had read the texts of the day, only one student had completed the readings. Disgusted, the lecturer decided to cover the topics briefly and terminate the class. Student Carlos Kuz recalled that: "In this symbolic and political micro-world it was a scandal. He was furious. If you didn't do the reading, it was better not to turn up. I didn't go once, pretending to be ill. It was a white lie. You couldn't not answer a question." This testimony reveals how some PPGAS-MN lecturers were trying to standardise a type of practice and student participation that was alien even to Brazilian students. Another student described symbolic violence in pursuit of rigorous thinking. Gustavo Sorá recalled:

We arrived with Argentinian mindsets: a theoretical framework. In Moacir and Afrânio's seminars, I had to present something about Redfield and peasant society. "Redfield is a North American culturalist who..." They let me talk, then said: "We don't think like that here." Blood, sweat and tears: a violent transformation.

This process of transformation consisted of the PPGAS-MN lecturers categorically establishing common scientific parameters and challenging the students' intellectual frameworks. Several students felt overwhelmed and intimidated by this context; some expressed how the stress of academic pressure made them ill. For the professional habitus of Argentinian students who were accustomed to being critical of authority, the intellectual infrastructure of these Brazilian researchers was a determining factor in changing the students' systems of assessments, norms and expectations.

These Argentinian anthropologists had to enter a new ethos seen as, following Bourdieu, a unifying principle of behaviours conceived as a certain system. The interpersonal contact and socialisation that took place within the National Museum brought them into other possible orientations towards the actions, logics and ethics of the profession. This, according to the students, acted as a hallmark of this imagined community's identity. María Gabriela Lugones, who studied at the PPGAS-MN, feels that:

The PPGAS-MN left an indelible sacramental mark on me. After being at the Museum, the possibility of thinking only in terms of a theoretical framework and methodology for me is over.

These anthropologists were enlisted in new ways of being and doing academia, which functioned as a new code and included them in the new community. One student recalls:

A great Brazilian friend made me understand. We lived a block away, then we went to the National Museum and came back together. She told me: "You can't come dressed like that." I was wearing shorts and flip-flops. She kindly taught me the rules of the game and made me see where I was.

The first time I rented an apartment, they asked me where I was studying. When I said I was studying at the PPGAS-MN, they didn't ask for any more documents. I realised there was something about the game rules in the PPGAS-MN that was different [in comparison with the Argentinian academic style].

Those rules made the PPGAS-MN students' assessment of the academic game and the desire to play it – the *illusio* – more significant (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1995). It was about more than doing a post-graduate degree. It was a process of initiation into a field with different, hitherto unknown regulations. For some, it was about the acquisition of a new academic habitus.

These processes of change were combined with an exercise performed at the PPGAS-MN that was infrequent in Argentina, namely, the moral relativisation of authors: do not judge them, for example, on their alliance with international "imperialist" organisations but rather on the basis of their production and ideas. This intellectual freedom seems to have influenced and broadened the research spectrum in Argentina. In Nicolás Viotti's view:

At the PPGAS-MN there was more pluralism about anthropology and the legitimacy of issues than in Argentina, where religion, indigenous cosmology and aesthetics weren't legitimate. In Argentina, studying a popular religious festival was not a scientific matter. The mobility of Argentinians in Brazil altered the criteria for evaluating and validating these subjects.

Another Argentinian anthropologist who studied in the PPGAS-MN felt the same:

In Argentina, I felt crushed by the scant freedom of thought there. At the PPGAS-MN, I learnt to work differently, I learnt that theory is really something that helps me think, not a limitation. It became something very creative. There was a lot to say.

In Argentina, many biases were internalised, preventing greater pluralism in university discourses (Terán 2002). Training in Brazil was hierarchical in its pedagogical forms, but pluralistic in thinking about possible approaches and topics. For many, this freedom was a relief that allowed creative thinking outside of certain ideological straightjackets.

CONCLUSIONS

Interpersonal relationships were a good gateway to begin this circulation flow, which ended up crystallizing in an institutional agreement between the UBA and the PPGAS-MN/UFRJ. This involved a mutual strategy (Dezalay and Garth 2002). On one hand, after a highly professionalised and internationalised stage, the return of Argentinians, to important academic positions facilitated the revival of social anthropology in the country, especially regarding the uses of classical anthropology and ethnography. On the other hand, this flow allowed PPGAS-MN to attract graduates from anthropology rather than the “social sciences” as Brazilian students tended to be, and favoured a greater diversity in student profiles, which PPGAS professors appreciated. Some Argentinians remained as professors in Brazilian universities; this meant that Brazilian anthropology also reaped the benefits of these academic exchanges. It was a game in which both sides won.

Internationalisation is above all a relationship between national contexts. In this interplay between the non-national and the national, there are many personal and institutional processes involved. This is why internationalisation must also be thought of as a temporal relationship that changes and may even become contradictory.

In this complex relationship with the international, some Argentinian researchers migrated abroad to survive in times of economic crisis and institutional weakness. This internationalisation for academic survival can be read as a strategy to move from spaces of relative institutional weakness to more stable or prestigious spaces. Circulating in renamed spaces may eventually be a kind of professional salvation.

Generally, in the research on international academic circulation, outgoing flows are more researched than the process of return of researchers and the effects produced in their country of origin.¹⁶ As other international studies have shown (Heilbron, Sorá and Boncourt 2018; Fleck, Duller and Karády 2018), cases of regional circulation (Beigel 2014) enable us to think about the different ways the international circulation of scientists affects academic practices in the country of origin.

In the case of Argentinian anthropologists and their academic mobility, the effects on the country of origin include: (i) a new articulation between theory and data; (ii) a new vision of classical anthropology and the ethnographic method; and (iii) the promotion of a decisive scientific task, in this case the institutionalisation and professionalisation of the Post-Graduate Programs in Social Anthropology in Argentina. The socialisation of Argentinian researchers within the framework of an internationalised pedagogical space was significant in providing a different model for thought,

¹⁶ In truth, many changes may be due to the dynamics and transformations of the national space of origin themselves rather than to innovations directly caused by this academic mobility. Undoubtedly, it is a hybrid and nuanced process, where certain parameters and comparisons can help conceive the origin of such changes.

perception, and action that broadened their choice of research topics and their approaches to solving particular anthropological problems (Bourdieu 2000).

The personal ties among scholars and the institutional agreement described herein were followed by various institutionalised spaces for dialogue, such as the meetings of the National Association of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Social Sciences (ANPOCS), the Brazilian Anthropological Association (ABA) and the MERCOSUR Anthropology Meeting (RAM). Brazilian academics visiting the new Argentinian post-graduate programs also stimulated the circulation of texts and experiences. In addition, the flow of Argentinians to other Brazilian post-graduate programs of excellence in social anthropology, like the ones at the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul or the University of Brasilia, further strengthened ties between researchers from the two countries. This network is still strong today.

The 2000s in Argentina was a “period of institutional consolidation for social anthropology” (Ringuelet 2010) characterised by the incorporation of Argentinian master’s and PhD students who circulated in Brazil in the new social anthropology post-graduate programs created in the period. This was one of the tangible after-effects of this flow. Two examples are the anthropology master’s program created in 2000 at the National University of Córdoba and the post-graduate program created in 2001 by an inter-institutional agreement between the Institute of Economic and Social Development (IDES) and the Institute of Higher Social Studies (IDAES) of the National University of San Martín (UNSAM). The role of Argentinian researchers at the PPGAS-MN was important in the founding and institutionalisation of both of these programs. Scholars such as Gustavo Sorá, Gustavo Blázquez and María Gabriela Lugones were at Córdoba, while Axel Lazzari, Laura Masson, Rolando Silla and Pablo Semán were at the IDES/IDAES-UNSAM.

These are just some of the palpable consequences of this circulation. Although there are other variables, there is no doubt that students’ mobility in Brazil has made a substantial impact on the landscape of Argentinian social anthropology.

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Interviews conducted (chronological order)

Gustavo Sorá, September 11, 2015, Córdoba, Argentina.

Federico Neiburg, October 5, 2016, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

Moacir Palmeira, October 6, 2016, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

Hugo Ratier, February 27, 2017, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Claudia Guebel, February 27, 2017, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Mauricio Boivin, March 1, 2017, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Fernando Balbi, April 6, 2017 (teleconference) and on July 14, 2017, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Roberto Ringuélet, written interview by email on April 10, 2017.

Roxana Boixados, June 15, 2017, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Laura Masson, June 16, 2017, Buenos Aires, Argentina, and by telephone on September 28, 2018.

María Cecilia Díaz, June 22, 2017, Córdoba, Argentina.

Gustavo Blazquez, June 23, 2017, Córdoba, Argentina and by telephone on September 22, 2018.

María Gabriela Lugones, June 23, 2017, Córdoba, Argentina, and by telephone on September 23, 2009.

Carlos Eugenio Kuz, July 10, 2017, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Axel Lazzari, July 10, 2017, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Rolando Silla, July 12, 2017, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Pablo Semán,¹⁷ July 18, 2017, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Virginia Vecchioli, written interview by email on May 3, 2018 and telephone interview on September 29, 2018.

Fernanda Figurelli, telephone interview conducted on September 26, 2018.

Gabriela Scotto, telephone interview conducted on October 1, 2018.

¹⁷ He completed his post-doctorate at the PPGAS-MN.

Annex I

Argentine students who circulated through the PPGAS-MN between the years 1988 and 2016¹⁸

Year of Entry into PPGAS-MN	Took the Test at UBA	Name	Entry into PPGAS-MN	Thesis Supervisor	Current Institutional Position
1988	No	Federico Neiburg	PhD	José Sérgio Leite Lopes	Tenured Lecturer at PPGAS-MN/UFRJ
1989 (First Test)	Yes	Claudia Fabiana Guebel	Master's	Moacir Palmeira	Lecturer at UBA
	Yes	Carlos Eugenio Kuz	Master's	Moacir Palmeira	Lecturer at National University of de La Pampa
1990	—	—	—	—	—
1991	Yes	Axel Lazzari	Master	João Pacheco de Oliveira	Lecturer at IDAES-UNSAM/Conicet
	No	Román Goldenzweig	Master's and PhD [re-entered in 2015 – in progress]	Luiz Fernando Dias Duarte	Lecturer at Human Sciences Department, INFES, UFF
	Yes	Gustavo Alejandro Sorá	Master's and PhD	M: Afrânio Garcia Jr. / PhD: Afrânio Garcia Jr. e Luiz de Castro Faria	Lecturer at Institute of Anthropology UNC, Conicet. Córdoba, Argentina
	Yes	Maria Gabriela Scotto	Master's and PhD	Moacir Palmeira	Lecturer at Nacional University Federal Fluminense
	Yes	Silvina Dezorzi	Master inacabado	—	—
1992	Yes	Roxana Boixados	Master's	Giralda Seyferth	Tenurer Lecturer at Faculty of Philosophy and Letters, UBA / Social Sciences Dept., UNQ, Conicet
	Yes	Nora Arias	Master's and PhD	João Pacheco de Oliveira	Deceased in 2011

¹⁸ Information obtained from the researchers. Where this was not possible, CV and institutional websites were consulted. N.B. The Argentine-born siblings, Claudia and Fabio Mura, did their master's and doctorates at the PPGAS-MN. However, they arrived in Brazil from Italy, where they had lived from childhood, without having any link or knowledge of the circulation from Argentina resulting from the agreement. They are therefore not included in the list.

1994	Yes	Octavio Bonet	Master's and PhD	Luiz Fernando Dias Duarte	Lecturer at Institute of Philosophy and Social Sciences in Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (IFCS-UFRJ)
1995	Yes	Adriana M. Villalon	Master's and PhD	Federico Neiburg	Postdoctoral researcher at Institute of Philosophy and Human Sciences in University of Campinas
1996	Yes	Gustavo Alejandro Blázquez	Master's and PhD	Antônio Carlos de Souza Lima	Lecturer at Faculty of Philosophy and Humanities, UNC - Conicet
1997 <i>Last test (to 1998 entry)</i>	Yes	Hérrnan Gómez	Master's and PhD	Federico Neiburg	Lecturer at Rural Federal University of Rio de Janeiro
	Yes	Jorge Pantaleón	Master's and PhD	Federico Neiburg	Lecturer at Anthropology Department, Université de Montréal
	Yes	Laura Masson	Master's and PhD	Federico Neiburg	Lecturer at UNSAM
1998	Yes	Fernando Balbi	PhD	Moacir Palmeira	Lecturer at UBA – Conicet
	Yes	Sergio Chamorro	Master's	Lygia Sigaud	Lecturer at Social Sciences Department UNQ / Social Sciences Faculty UNICEN
1999	No	Fernando Rabossi	PhD	Federico Neiburg	Lecturer at Cultural Anthropology Department – IFCS/UFRJ
	No	Virginia Vecchioli	Master's and PhD	Federico Neiburg	Lecturer at Social Sciences Department – National University of Santa Maria
	No	Mariana Paladino	PhD	Antonio Carlos de Souza Lima	Lecturer at Education Faculty in Fluminense Federal University
	No	Evangelina Mazur	Master's and PhD	Luiz Fernando Dias Duarte	Lecturer at Master in Humanities and Social Sciences – UNQ / Social Work Faculty – UNLP
2000	—	—	—	—	—
2001	No	Rolando Silla	PhD	Otávio Velho	Lecturer at IDAES-UNSAM, Conicet
	No	Eloísa Martín	PhD	Otávio Velho	Lecturer at United Arab Emirates University
	No	Horacio Federico Sívori	PhD	Luiz Fernando Dias Duarte	Lecturer at Institute of Social Medicine – Rio de Janeiro State University
	No	Silvina Bustos Argañaraz	Master's	João Pacheco de Oliveira	—
2002	No	María Gabriela Lugones	Master's and PhD	Antonio Carlos de Souza Lima	Lecturer Faculty of Linguistic and Researcher of CIFFyH – UNC
2003	No	Laura Zapata González	PhD	Giralda Seyferth	Lecturer Nacional University of José C. Paz

	No	Andrea Lacombe	Master's and PhD	M: Otávio Velho / PhD: Adriana Vianna	Researcher at Center for Legal and Social Research – UNC
2004	No	María Laura Colabella	PhD	Lygia Sigaud	Lecturer Arturo Jauretche National University. Invited Lecturer in Master of Sociology and Political Sciences – FLACSO
	No	Julieta Quirós	Master's and PhD	M: Lygia Sigaud PhD. Lygia Sigaud e Federico Neiburg	Lecturer at UNC – Conicet
	No	Andrea Claudia Roca	Master's and PhD	João Pacheco de Oliveira	Lecturer at Department of French, Hispanic and Italian Studies – Univ. of British Columbia
2005	No	Fernanda Figurelli	Master's and PhD	Moacir Palmeira	Researcher at Conicet – Nacional University of Misiones
2006	No	Nicolás Viotti	PhD	Luiz Fernando Dias Duarte	Lecturer at FLACSO and UNSAM - Conicet
	No	Salvador Schavelzon	PhD	Marcio Goldman	Lecturer at Federal University of São Paulo
2008	No	Laura Navallo Coimbra	Master's and PhD	Antonio Carlos de Souza Lima	Lecturer at Social Communication – National University of Salta
2012	No	María Cecilia Díaz	Master's and PhD	Luiz Fernando Dias Duarte	Lecturer at Faculty of Philosophy and Humanities – UNC
	No	Carolina Castellitti	Master's and PhD	Luiz Fernando Dias Duarte	—
2016	No	Nahuel Blázquez	Master's and PhD	Adriana Vianna	PhD Candidate at PPGAS-MN

Annex II

Below is a bibliography of some of the ethnographies included in PPGAS-MN seminars (in alphabetical order of authors and as they appear in the programs):

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Source: <http://www.ppgasmn-ufRJ.com/cursos-antteriores.html>

N.B. This list is not meant to be exhaustive and some items may be debatable. Ethnography has been considered here in the broad sense given by many of the National Museum's lecturers. The syllabi for 1993 to 2003 are not available on the National Museum website.