

On Shaken Terrains • Practices of attention at an urban day shelter

Academic Essays

ABSTRACT

This paper builds on short-term fieldwork at an urban day shelter in Brussels, which provides affordable showers and other essential services to *sans-abris* and *sans-papiers*, respectively homeless and undocumented people. In dialogue with Simone Weil's writings on attentionality and ordinary ethics literature, this paper firstly proposes that ethical dispositions informing workers' and volunteers' navigation of the shelter's volatile spaces often grow out of the imperatives of the everyday, rather than being imposed upon practices as external principles. Secondly, it frames everyday ethical action as what philosopher Laugier calls a 'politics of the ordinary'. As such, this paper offers ethnographic insight into modes of social organising that embrace the fluctuating character of the everyday.

keywords: ordinary ethics, attention, politics of the ordinary, Belgium, precarity

Jeanne Coppens

In her collection of essays *Waiting on God* (1978[1950]), the French mystic, organiser and philosopher Simone Weil wrote about attention as the orientation of one's suspended ego towards an abstracted conception of God or the good. In this way, attention is put in motion not by individual will but by an unbounded desire for goodness. Attention could be likened to a waiting posture (*l'attente*) which expands the mind's receptivity, 'ready to be penetrated by an object' (Weil, 1979: 56). It constitutes a 'negative effort': an active-passive orientation that 'is more a "turning" than a "doing", at once spontaneous and directed' (Davis et al. 2020). Most pertinently, the concept of attention enables Weil to consider our ethical dispositions and our embodied navigation of the world around us, as coeval.

Attention is such a crucial dimension of ethnographic practice that it almost seems irrelevant to approach it as a conceptual framework, method or object of anthropological writing (Pederson et al. 2020). Yet during my month-long field-

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work among volunteers and workers at a citizen-led day shelter (DoucheFlux) in Brussels, which offers inexpensive showers and other essential services to those without access to them, it became apparent that different practices of attention cultivated in the building shaped how social relations were constituted. This also speaks to the ethnographic process more broadly, where sharp attentiveness becomes a way to adopt certain embodiments in an unfamiliar social space and thus to avoid disrupting that space by virtue of one's foreignness to it.

This paper explores how DoucheFlux's workers and volunteers develop practices to navigate volatile social spaces like the organisation's busy basement floor, where showering, laundry and medical services are provided. By 'volatility,' I refer to the instability-characterising 'socialities that undergird the lives of the poor [and that] are constantly being shaped by the experiences of precarity that go beyond material scarcity' (Das & Randeria 2015: S3). It is important not to naturalise poverty as an inescapable social category, but instead, to view it concerning 'the tight alignments with other conditions of life, such as [...] the erosion of infrastructure, the denial of citizenship' (Das & Randeria 2015: S4). These conditions produce overlapping material, affective, bodily and spatial volatilities, which I refer to as 'shaken terrains'. They also engender the need for an infrastructure like this one. As such, DoucheFlux's shaken terrains generate atmospheres that are at once incredibly warm and imbued with solidarity, but also where affective eruptions, fights, and breakdowns are weaved into the texture of everyday social relations (Das 2020).

Theoretical framework and methods

To tackle my research question, I turn to the ordinary ethics approach commonly associated with Lambek (2015, 2010), Das (2020, 2018a, 2018b, 2007, 1998) and Laugier (2020, 2015, 2016) exemplifying a novel anthropological commitment to ordinary language and moral philosophy in the early 2000s, also referred to as the 'ethical turn' (Laidlaw 2017: 4, Lambek 2010: 5, Mattingly & Throop 2018: 477). This framework is valuable because the question of ethical 'navigation' posed in my research question not only inquires into the form of processes by which people sustain and inhabit spaces, but also advances a normative query: what does it take to navigate the basement well, or effectively?

The ordinary ethics turn enables us to approach this conundrum without relying too heavily on universal moral concepts like the 'just' or the 'good', which often tend to reify the complexities of the everyday by virtue of their universalising logic. Ordinary ethicists articulate a conception of ethics that emerges from everyday speech and practice (Lambek 2010: 1). Literature on ordinary ethics and emergent anthropological scholarship on attention thus aim to disentangle ethics from its traditional associations to religion and ritual in anthropology—which generally treats ethics as discrete structures that govern social life—towards a posture that embraces the polyvalency and uncertainty of social encounters.

The ordinary ethics literature is certainly not monolithic. In this paper, I favour Das' emphasis on the varied efforts to sustain and inhabit the ordinary, as well as Laugier's insistence on the essential

vulnerability of life, over Lambek's focus on action as a site of ethical dispositional-ity. This is because the former's work is concerned with care and social change, which aligns with DoucheFlux's *raison-d'être*. In this way, ordinary ethicists invite anthropologists to look at how people make sense of the embodied gestures that constitute the everyday, and how, in doing so, they develop capacities to inhabit it. As Laugier (2020) proposes, ordinary ethics is not about living justly, it is simply about living a life; her argument takes as its starting point the fundamental vulnerability of human life-forms and the incessant efforts required to sustain them (Laugier 2020: 35-36). Something very robust emerges from this recognition of instability: a politics of the ordinary, grounded in the question: what matters to people in concrete spaces?

We arrive at Weil's conception of attention as an 'active-passive' disposition, an embodied orientation towards one's conception of the good or the important. The concept of attention can provide a useful start to think about such orientations in ethnographic terms (Pedersen et al. 2021: 19.10).

Locating ethics in ordinary interactions also formed an important part of my experience gaining access to and conducting fieldwork at DoucheFlux. In preparation for the month-long research project, I had long exchanges with Darva, the house's volunteer coordinator, to agree on common terms of participation; this included abiding by the professional secret clause that I had signed as a volunteer months earlier, and more broadly, adopting a thoughtful posture towards the space, which was less rule-bound than practiced during shifts.

Whilst working part-time in the basement for a month, I conducted thir-

teen-hour-long semi-structured interviews with my colleagues during lunch breaks, in cafés, or at people's homes. I practiced a form of 'deep hanging out,' (Geertz 1998) a method that recognises how '[i]n fieldwork, we replicate what we do in everyday life' (Das 2018b: 165) thus allowing the ethnographer to informally immerse themselves in their field-site. The intensity of reflexive interviews combined with the playfulness of our everyday interactions gave way to friendships that grew beyond DoucheFlux's walls.

On Shaken Terrains

On a busy street in the south of Brussels stands a former industrial ruin that was renovated in 2017 to house the 650 m² day centre that goes by the name DoucheFlux. The building hosts twenty showers, a laundry room, four-hundred lockers, and an array of other services: yoga classes and hairdressers, charging stations and computers, consultations with nurses, social workers and psychologists. A passer-by would notice the groups of people hanging out before the entrance during weekdays, against the backdrop of a slogan displayed on its façade reading: 'Homelessness is a crime against humanity' (*Le sans-abrisme est un crime contre l'humanité*). The statement emanates DoucheFlux's ethos rather effectively: no charity-chitchat here, this space pleads for a broad conception of 'humanity' and resists the hostile treatment of *sans-abris* and *sans-papiers*.

DoucheFlux sets itself apart from many government-led and non-government-led social work and humanitarian initiatives in Brussels. It starts with a very concrete objective—providing inexpensive sanitary facilities that are palpably

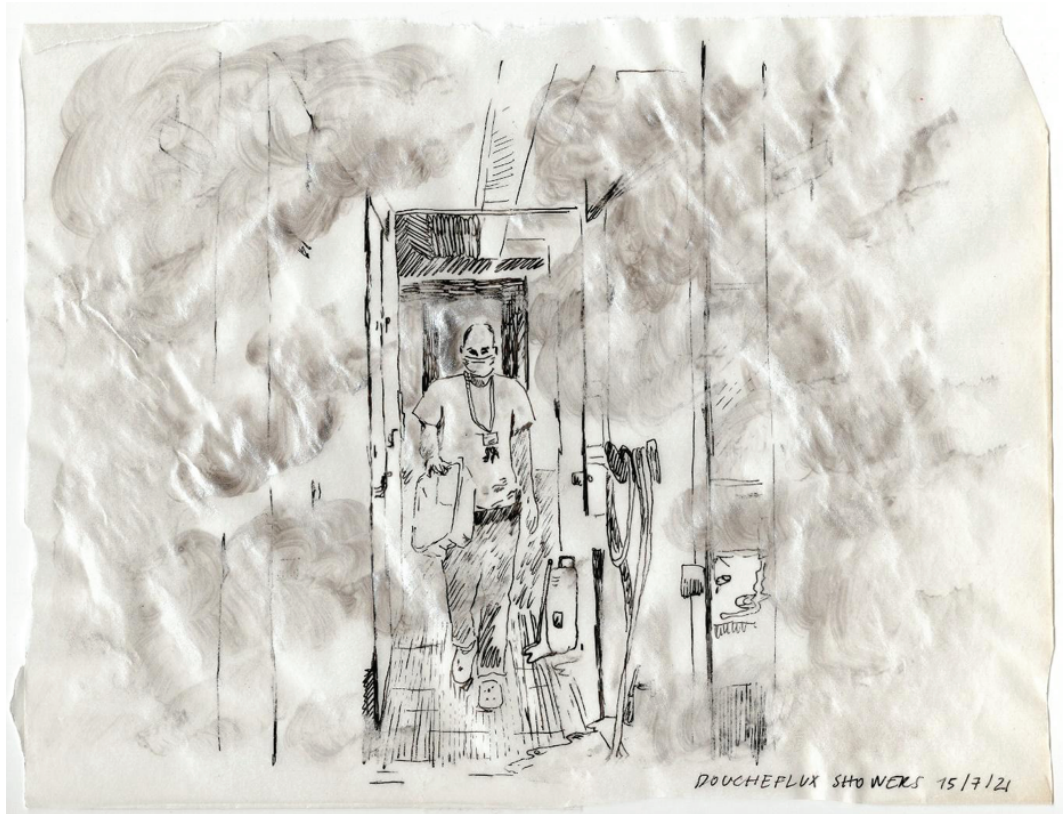


Figure 1: DoucheFlux showers 15/07/2021. Own work.

lacking in Brussels' urban landscape—and then extends this to an array of political demands:

Reclaiming social and medical rights, finding out about residency rights, getting help with administrative tasks. [...] DoucheFLUX wants to go even further by developing a militant and committed 'Advocacy and awareness' hub. (DoucheFlux website)

It is this attention to the imbrication of psycho-social, physical, and political life that enables DoucheFlux to break with humanitarian initiatives that often reduce their conception of recipients of aid to 'bare life'. In Agamben's terms, it is a body that merely survives, 'unqualified by the political and social communities that

distinguish humanity from other types of life' (Ticktin 2006: 34). Such forms of humanitarian or social aid, grounded in a 'moral imperative of compassion,' treat recipients of aid as unmanageable populations that constitute potential threats and must be governed by these same organisations (Ticktin 2006: 34, see also Weizman 2011: 56).

To provide a sense of the kind of destitution that shapes the everyday lives of many sans-papiers shower-goers, I call attention to a contribution to DoucheFlux's magazine by one of its former sans-papiers visitors, Ayo Ebenezer Morenikeji. 'I lack the bare minimum,' he shares, 'No lawyer wants to defend my rights. [...] It is too much suffering: not being able to live like everyone else, not to know peace, to

sleep outside, not to have food, not having a place where I can feel at home, not having rights' (Morenikeji 2019, own translation). Mr. Morenikeji's statement resonates with many conversations I had with shower-goers during my fieldwork, their commonality being the intertwining of life without documents—hence, an absence of political, social, and even 'human' rights—and life without a home. Political and bodily survival become intermeshed and produce a situation of precarity that fundamentally challenges the image of Europe as a pioneer of democracy and human rights protection (El-Enany 2020).

Conducting fieldwork at Douche-Flux provided devastating insight into the weight that Belgium's repressive anti-migration policies exert on the everyday lives of irregularised migrants. Is it possible, then, to create and sustain spaces of social solidarity in the face of such unabashed hostility? Can workers, volunteers and customers adopt habits of attention in volatile conditions? These questions surfaced in many conversations I had with the organisation's workers. What stood out to me was the general refusal to engage with moral imperatives of compassion that underpin contemporary humanitarian regimes. One of Douche-Flux's founders reminded me to:

Always remember that a right cannot be earned. It is either vested or it isn't. If [social] aid is a right, then it is to be granted without conditions; it is not a reward for good behaviour, commendable effort or polite friendliness.

Francis, the house's long-standing laundry worker, added:

Besides, we don't do charity, we sell our

services. And this is deliberate. Because, frankly, it would be easier to say that it's free: you come in, get a number and when the 150th person has arrived, we finish and say goodbye. No! They are our customers. And so, they have the right—like any customer—to be a little annoying or demanding [chuckles]. Absolutely, why not?

What stands out in both statements, is that their conception of rights—in this case, to crucial hygienic provisions, psycho-social assistance, and more broadly, the right to exist in Belgium untethered from hostile police forces and migration services—is political rather than moral. Their emphasis does not lie on who should and should not access Douche-Flux's services—which can often result in direct forms of governance—rather, it lies on ensuring that these services can be sustained. When the aim is not to manage those entering its premises, but instead to ascertain that the thing they have set out to provide can indeed be provided, everyday activities are not contained by externally imposed rules. It is the everyday that establishes the imperatives for action at DoucheFlux.

By being attentive to the flux of words, affects, and gestures that emerged in the basement, my colleagues and I were continuously negotiating the thin boundary between enforcing measures to ensure the good functioning of the space, whilst providing a service that is responsive to clients' needs and can allow for a degree of flexibility with them. This flexibility—or the possibility to adapt to people's specific needs and affective states— is also what made working in the basement meaningful. Rather than merely performing a set of repetitive tasks, these negotiations became a way to include our various judgements and sensibilities in

our work. However, to return to the conversation above, these flexible, attentive approaches to a volatile space like the basement are not a mere matter of goodwill or ‘charity’, in Francis’ words: they are grounded in a firm political position that militates against the hostile treatment and abandonment of *sans-abris* and *sans-papiers* in Brussels.

In simpler terms, it is not the end that justifies the means at DoucheFlux, but instead, the means shape the ends; the way things are done in the everyday is what gives the organisation direction. This does not signify that DoucheFlux has no ambitions, or is apolitical; rather, it suggests that much importance is placed on the possibility of being attentive to the shifting everyday that grounds DoucheFlux’s functioning.

A descent into the ordinary: attention and habituation

DoucheFlux has a particular warmth to it before doors open: the spacious common room patiently anticipating to be peopled by ninety-or-so shower-goers, the silence awaiting exclamations like ‘hermano!’, and ‘how are you, my friend?’ As one is let into the premises, they first encounter Josef, the house’s mediator, and the receptionists in the rather chaotic entrance hall, where regulars pay for their showers and laundry, book appointments with nurses or social workers, and lost visitors are directed to the services they need.

Down the corridor, clients await their turn to shower or attend appointments in a spacious common room adorned with houseplants and mirrors, with large slabs of repurposed wood covering the walls. An open staircase leads

to the basement floor, where clients are greeted by Faheem, one of the house’s most cherished employees. Faheem calmly checks the customers’ ticket numbers and subsequently hands them a plastic container with a towel, shampoo and flip-flops. Customers can also ask for a range of items like razors, donated clothing, creams and perfumes. After their shoes are stored away, they head towards the shower stalls, where they can stay as long as they please. There’s a rhythmic quality to the procedures on the basement floor: a sequence of repeated bodily movements in a restricted space, of habitual phrases—‘ticket number?’, ‘toothbrush?’—and of objects changing hands—a cycle of dirtying, cleaning, and dirtying again.

These procedures are bounded by small conventions that often remain unspoken and require familiarity to learn. When a less experienced volunteer fails to follow baseline procedures to anticipate the shower-goers’ demands, the entire functioning of the basement is momentarily destabilised. This can quickly escalate to heightened stress and even psychical or verbal aggression. As Francis pointed out during an interview, the basement is a particularly ‘touchy’ space: many visitors are on a comedown, have barely slept, or may find themselves in states of acute distress or physical pain.

Despite the volatility of the basement, I observed how workers, volunteers, and customers were generally able to avoid or de-escalate conflicts. Veena Das’ work (2020) on habituation and attention offers a useful lens through which to read such events. She starts with the idea ordinary life has a twofold character: it holds the potential to be ‘world-annihilating,’ where words and gestures can cast doubt

onto the reality of a space by virtue of being unanticipated, thus becoming extra-ordinary (Das 2020: 60; 1996: 180-182). Conversely, it is the site where life-forms are sustained through repeated habits and procedures, and this, as Das suggests, also constitutes the generative dimension of the everyday. Yet habits are no mere mechanical repetitions; indeed – and crucially to Das’ broader argument – life is fundamentally unpredictable and unstable, vulnerable to fluctuation, particularly in contexts tainted by precarity. It would therefore be futile to take a stab at discerning distinct conventions that drive these habits. Habits themselves are subject to flexible adaptations. She notes: ‘[w]hile no one would deny that habituation involves the dulling of the senses to some extent (I do not have to think every step of the process when I cook our daily meals), it also involves heightened awareness and attentiveness to other aspects’ (Das 2020: 108).

To illustrate, Das recalls the small gestures that one woman performed when serving tea to her family. She recalled that Das preferred sugarless tea, that her son liked unmixed clotted cream in his, and that her husband favoured glasses over cups. Her attention to people’s preferences constitutes not only an expression of domestic care; more fundamentally, being attentive becomes a modality through which individuals become aware of the presence of others in a common space and react accordingly. Attention thus opens space, or a ‘contact zone’ (Stewart 2007), to articulate ethical dispositions. Ethical action is less a matter of learning a distinct set of rules than of ‘the cultivation of sensibilities within the everyday’ (Das 2020: 98). We return to Weil’s conceptualisation of the

‘habit of attention’ as an active-passive orientation that is shaped by our embodied and reflexive engagement with ordinary life (Weil 1978: 53; Freeman 2015).

However, the question remains: in the absence of explicit rules, how do volunteers, workers and customers manage to navigate the basement as a social and physical space? Wittgenstein’s seminal remarks on language games might be useful to understand how procedures are formed, and above all, how they continuously alter. Wittgenstein’s later work posits that there exists no unifying logic that connects meanings to words (Wittgenstein 2001: §65). Grasping meaning is a collective process insofar that the rules governing language are collectively formed. Yet the rules that give meaning to words are not pre-determined fixities, and following rules does not always guarantee that a word or gesture is used correctly. Hence, understanding a language game is less about rule-following than inhabiting the form of life that constitutes the backdrop of language-games (Das 2020: 107-111). ‘[T]he term ‘language-game’ Wittgenstein elucidates, ‘is meant to bring into prominence the fact that the speaking of language is part of an activity, or of a form of life’ (Wittgenstein 2001: §23).

In DoucheFlux’s basement, the performance of gestures and words also takes shape within the flux of everyday life in that space; by such repetition, they take on the form of conventions. Navigating the basement requires familiarising oneself with the events that give form to the ordinary. As Silvestre, a retired mechanic who had been volunteering at DoucheFlux biweekly for the past three years, explained:

The atmosphere here is: we don't get too caught up in it all. There are other structures

where it's much more regulated (encadré, literally 'framed') [lowers his voice to sound authoritative]: If you don't have your ticket, well, you're out! But here there is a relative... latitude. You've seen it downstairs. Sometimes it annoys me because some people don't follow the rules, but hey, we don't take it personally. Between us [staff] neither! I have a lot of fun coming here, really. When we arrive, we say hello! to such and such... ah! how are you?... This good-natured, playful atmosphere— [pauses] I haven't experienced that anywhere else. But I've been told that it's unique in DoucheFlux, this thing. Unique!

Silvestre, like many other colleagues I interviewed, emphasises the importance of atmosphere over rules. 'We don't get too caught up in it all' hints that regulations are not the principal way of relating to each other and doing labour in the basement; what matters are the everyday greetings, games and improvisations that become weaved into habits. What Silvestre refers to as 'good-natured, playful atmosphere' could be associated with the Wittgensteinian conception of life-forms. Rules and procedures emerge out of ordinary life-forms, and by immersing oneself in this life-form and becoming attentive to the small gestures, the words and affects that texture it enables people to navigate volatile spaces like DoucheFlux's basement.

A politics of the ordinary

To close this section on attentionality and habituation, I recall an example of a moment when efforts to be attentive failed momentarily. Its violence, which stood in contrast with the overall playful atmosphere in the basement, characterises it as an extra-ordinary event. That said, the conflict escalated and de-escalated with a series of small gestures which were

woven into the space's ordinary functioning. I investigate whether this can be considered as a politics of the ordinary.

The basement floor was rapidly crowding, unusual for an early Tuesday morning. A man in his forties sitting by the shower's entrance locked his eyes at Esteve and threatened: 'don't even think what you're thinking, I know what you're thinking.' Esteve reacted to this accusation with a puzzled glance, exclaiming 'but I'm not even thinking!'. You could tell by his heavy breathing that the client was in a sort of anxious, fatigued daze. The humid and echoey surroundings weren't helping either. And then the atmosphere shifted: the client started insulting the person seated to his left. Both men were now pushing one another against the door that led to the shower stalls. Heerad, a fellow volunteer standing near me, shook his head and sighed 'this is a jungle'.

Josef, the house's mediator, sprinted down the metal steps to join the dozen men gathered around the argument and exclaimed 'calm down!' to de-escalate the situation. But all the sounds morphed into one indeterminable buzz, making the air even more tense. In a matter of seconds, Josef forcefully placed his palms onto the man's shoulders, who resisted by jerking his arms. Faheem and Esteve intervened, there were now five or so men holding the man. I was scared stiff and returned to the laundry room to jot down fieldnotes and pick up the tasks I had left off.

That afternoon, the out-of-the-ordinary event replayed incessantly in my mind. One thing stood out to me, which went on to inform not only the way in which I performed labour, but also the form of my ethnographic attentiveness. I came to feel and understand that glances lasting

a second too long, a single misplaced word, an unanticipated gesture could set off moments of great tension or vulnerability. The basement, to return to Francis' expression, is a 'touchy' space, constituting a 'world of its own'. Moving through DoucheFlux's basement is a deeply relational and affective experience, where one is compelled to constantly re-assess their movements and words.

As he recollected the fight the day after it happened, Faheem told me that the client's mother had passed that week. Faheem understood his anger: 'He's having a hard time. You know, staff at the reception wanted to call the cops,' he whispered, slowly shaking his head to communicate his incomprehension. 'But the two men reconciled', Faheem went on to explain, 'they even shook hands. We dealt with it on our own. We didn't have to kick them out.' This wasn't the first time that Faheem had expressed his frustration with the minority of employees who were so keen to call the police when conflicts swelled up. I asked him whether they ever arrest people here, and he quickly exclaimed 'Yeah! Last week, three people got arrested on this block! They don't have papers and then get locked away for two, three months'. A long silence followed and was broken by our mutual pull towards the infinite, mundane tasks that lied ahead of us.

While a few workers were inclined to resort to police forces to maintain order, Faheem was attentive to the consequences that such interventions can have on the lives of those involved in conflict. The threat of detention was too great in the presence of police forces, and there were other ways of de-escalating conflicts. His approach was shaped by a recognition of the vulnerability of life without documents that places *sans-papiers*

in narrow proximity to the states' policing and bordering authorities. In fact, Faheem had been in that very same position before. So, by being attentive to the concrete consequences of forms of conflict-management, Faheem articulated a politics of the ordinary. Indeed, French philosopher Sandra Laugier argues for a 'redefinition of ethics as attention to ordinary life' (Laugier 2020: 1). In doing, she veers away from an approach to ethics grounded in the quest for the 'good' or the 'just', and instead asks: what is important to people, what matters to them? The process of figuring out what matters in one's everyday life and the lives of others is, Laugier argues, a highly ethical and political one.

In line with Das (2020) I have demonstrated that small gestures rarely announce what they do: they can manifest as amicable expressions of attention or induce harm. It is therefore useful to consider the volatility of the everyday and to continuously adapt to these shaken terrains by paying close attention to the surging words, gestures and affects that texture it. Yet these habits of attention are not rule-bound; they are shaped by the way one inhabits the shifting atmospheres, or life-forms within a space. It is through attentiveness to the people around us and to the implicit language games that give meaning to social encounters, that DoucheFlux's basement workers can respond to the particularities of that space and working against the urge to manage and govern recipients of social aid. As such, workers and volunteers at DoucheFlux express their ethical dispositions by being attentive to what matters, to the tangible consequences of their actions in the everyday, which gives way to a politics of the ordinary.

Conclusion

Writing about sans papiers aid agencies in Paris, Miriam Ticktin suggests that, in the contemporary humanitarian landscape, 'the recognition of suffering [results] in a political program for change politics' whereby the 'joining of ethics and politics actually limits rather than expands notions of humanity' (Ticktin 2006: 35) because such discourses substitute urgent claims to political recognition with moral sentiments of compassion and benevolence. This paper demonstrates that in politically combative organisations like DoucheFlux, where a politics of the ordinary and not moral sentiments of benevolence drives its everyday functioning, there is perhaps a way to join ethics and politicised social solidarity. This ethics is articulated in everyday habits of attention, in affective responses to surging gestures, within a framework that already opposes the hostile treatment of people living in precarious conditions. It is an ethics from the ground that responds to the heterogeneity and volatility of social life. It also takes into consideration the fundamental vulnerability of efforts to collectively create counterhegemonic spaces. As Francis elucidated during a conversation:

One can either hope or regret that DoucheFlux will still be active in the coming fifty years. If there is a need, we will continue. In that case, we will always have the building. But if one day we stop because, in the best case, there is no more need, or in the worst case, we can't do it anymore, this social cooperative gets the building back and can do something else with it.

Unlike interventionist humanitarianisms that tend become particularly invested in

upholding victims' states of injury and thus produce asymmetrical relations of dependency (Ticktin 2006, Ahmed 2004), Francis emphasised that citizen-led infrastructures like DoucheFlux should not have to exist, because everyone should be able to access sanitary facilities without the benevolence of a third party. He also suggested that, in a hostile political climate, the existence of spaces of social solidarity will always be under threat. Francis, like many other workers and volunteers I met, demonstrated a degree of flexibility in his attachment to the space, as though to say: 'if we are needed, we'll stay, if we aren't, we will go'.

Flexibility, however, is not enough to navigate volatile spaces in a way that is both efficient and refrains from reproducing systems of harm that govern Brussels' urban landscape. The process of understanding how to carry out labour in a manner that is attuned to the ordinary course of ethically informed events takes the form of stochastic processes of trial and error and of playful experimentation with words and affects, which demands continuous adaptation to altering circumstances. Such embodiments would perhaps have been side-lined in lofty, aerial descriptions of social aid initiatives (Das 2020: 92). We thus return to Simone Weil's writing on attention, which she conceived of as an 'antidote to force' (Davis et al 2020) whereby attention a means through which to articulate one's ethical commitments.

When European governments are making life increasingly hostile for anyone racialised as other, and where the cost to sustain ordinary life is escalating at a frightening rate, doing research at DoucheFlux has provided insight into the immense challenge in organising social solidarity and mutual aid initiatives. Citi-

zen-led infrastructures like DoucheFlux become crucial actors in making these hostile spaces inhabitable for those excluded from them. DoucheFlux's members' work becomes a way of 'reclaiming the quotidian when it is felt to be disappearing under the mass of bureaucratic regulations of life' (Das 2020: 93). Together with local organisers, sans-papiers and sans-abris, social workers, and other actors, anthropologists can start conceptualising forms of social solidarity—where practices of attention are not confined to the domain of repetition and routine, but rather, are considered as a political and embodied modality that generate relations that take seriously all those gestures, words, and affects that texture everyday life.

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