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## ORIGINAL ARTICLE

## Feminist Frontiers

# Women of the revolution and a politics of care: A gendered intersectional approach on an initiative to address socioenvironmental problems in a marginalized community in southern Brazil

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## Abstract

The Buckets Revolution is a local non-governmental organization arisen from an initiative implemented in a favela, a marginalized community in the South of Brazil, led and conducted by its women to resist their condition of intersected subordinations and address the socioenvironmental problems caused by the lack of public care. Based on the understanding that women of the Buckets Revolution developed a particular politics of care, this study investigates the configuration of the complex relations between their political practice and the responsibility for care—understood as a core element of women's intersected subordination, and simultaneously, a central value for a new and revolutionary politics of care. From a qualitative approach, the case study is based on an intersectional feminist theoretical framework, epistemology, and methodological design, necessary for the analysis of gender in the South, where its imbrications with race, class, and nation compose a complex, diverse, and unequal scenario. In that sense, the women of the Buckets Revolution, by occupying a social place where these axes of subordination intersect more intensely, offer a “vantage

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point” to make more visible the processes of domination and resistance on both national and global levels—that is, both in Brazilian society and in an otherwise increasingly interdependent world shaped by neoliberal globalization. The gendered intersectional outline is conducted through the combination of data collection techniques, including participant observation, focus group discussions, semi-structured interviews, and bibliographical research. The results show that, with their revolutionary politics of care, the women of the Buckets Revolution built a contextualized, horizontal, and bottom-up care-based counter-hegemonic alternative to address the socioenvironmental problems that resulted from intersected subordinations in the Brazilian context, and more broadly, in the contemporary neoliberal global order.

#### KEYWORDS

gender, race and class intersections, marginalized community, politics of care, socioenvironmental initiative

## 1 | INTRODUCTION

The “Buckets Revolution,” simply called “the Revolution” by its participants and the surrounding community, is a local non-governmental organization (NGO) arisen from a popular initiative that implements a system of organic solid waste management. The Revolution was created with the intent to find solutions to the socioenvironmental problems faced by Chico Mendes, a marginalized community in the Monte Cristo neighborhood of Florianópolis, a major city in southern Brazil. Women in the community assumed leadership of the initiative since its beginning in 2008, currently identifying themselves with feminist perceptions and revindications.

This study is based on the initial understanding that the women of the Revolution, while simultaneously being affected by and challenging the traditional and intersected gender roles, have been developing a particular politics of care to build solutions to socioenvironmental problems of the community that will be further presented in the case description. As a result, they built a localized resistance that challenges the structural intersected subordinations of gender, race, and class that sustain and are reproduced by both the Brazilian society and the contemporary transnational matrix of power (Collins, 2000). This study then investigates the configuration of the complex relations between their political practice and the responsibility for care, understood as a core element of women's subordination, and simultaneously, a central value for a new and revolutionary politics of care. The objectives are to understand how the women of the Revolution in their intersected social place: (i) are particularly affected by sexual, racial, and international division of labor (IDL) and (ii) how they have been building a politics of care based on their particular understanding of care and as a form of resistance to their marginalization.

Although different aspects of the Buckets Revolution are explored in a few studies—among which the most comprehensive is a Master's Thesis describing the solid waste management system conducted by the initiative (Abreu, 2013)—its political practices, actions, decisions, and relations are not yet analyzed under a gendered intersectional approach. In that sense, the theme is still unexplored and represents an important gap to be filled in order to understand the complexities of the initiative, and more broadly, of the local reality where it emerged. Thus, the relevance, necessity, and potential for contribution of this study is significant—especially considering the “vantage

point” of women from neglected communities, or favelas, in the Brazilian context, as is further discussed in the “Epistemology and Methodology” section. Specifically, it contributes to the field of work and organizations by deepening the reflection on how to build effective, equitable, and emancipatory organizational practices in a growingly unequal global context of neoliberal economics shaped by intersected structures of subordination and systems of power. These contributions will be further developed in the discussion.

The paper is divided into four main sections. The first presents a genealogical literature review of intersectional perspectives on feminist studies as a theoretical foundation to analyze the subject of study. From this framework, the section also reflects on how the notion of care resulting from the intersections between the sexual, racial, and IDL is based on, and simultaneously contributes to, shaping social structures and traditional gender roles that perpetuate gender intersected subordination, particularly in the South.<sup>1</sup> The second section draws on the epistemological and methodological intersectional foundation of the research. It also presents the case study of the Buckets Revolution from a contextualized intersectional perspective attentive to how the responsibility for care work based on sexual, racial, and IDL reflects on women's intersected subordination in the local context and in the Brazilian society more broadly.

The third section highlights the perceptions of the interviewed women regarding intersected subordinations, gender roles, and the responsibility for care, both more broadly in the community and more specifically in the creation and conduction of the Revolution throughout the years. Finally, the fourth section, from the intersectional approach proposed and in order to answer the research question, discusses: (i) the collective political practice and the particular politics of care built by the women of the Revolution and (ii) how it relates to while also possibly challenging, traditional intersected gender roles and the unequal social structures that sustain them.

## 2 | THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Referring to what she calls an “intersectional turn,” Vigoya (2016) presents a comprehensive genealogy of intersectional approaches in feminist theory produced in different historical and geopolitical contexts. In alignment with the author's understanding, intersectionality is used here as a perspective that seeks to deal with crossed or imbricated perception of power relations.

Vigoya (2016) then tells the different stories of the development and the conflict among distinct positions on the perspective as a result of power relations, tracing its presence, for instance, in feminist and abolitionist struggles from the 18th and 19th century and in black Brazilian feminism since the 1960s. This understanding challenges the idea that an intersectional perspective is restricted to a specific strand of thought—U.S. black feminism—and evidences the continuities and discontinuities between the work of authors, such as Collins (2000), Collins and Bilge (2020), Gonzalez (2020), Davis (1971, 1983), Mohanty (2003), Brah and Phoenix (2004), Brah (2006), Lugones (2003, 2005, 2008, 2010), and Kergoat (2003, 2010).

Highlighting the theoretical and critical reach of a localized and contextualized intersectional approach, Vigoya (2016) stresses the importance of decolonial epistemic contributions from black feminism, feminisms of color, and Latin-American feminisms. These strands are situated in what is called here dissident feminisms, or Feminisms from the South, as contestants of a white western and hegemonic feminism. Since its emergence in the 19th century in western Europe and the US, hegemonic feminism has been denounced by dissident perspectives of worker and racialized women based on the specific experiences of upper and middle class western women that, from an ethnocentric perspective, positioned themselves as the universal subjects of feminism and proposed a global sisterhood ignoring the complexities of women's subordinations in the South, perceived as homogenized and without agency. From a dissident feminist perspective, the women from the South have been resisting and fighting their intersected oppression and exploitation perpetrated by patriarchy in intersection with coloniality and capitalism along modernity, more often articulated with other movements, such as the abolitionist and communist. Since the last quarter of the 20th century, the feminist field has been marked by the profusion of dissident or counter-hegemonic feminism

approaches and by the intensification of transnationalization, becoming a more plural, diverse, representative of the South, disseminated and intersected with other movements and demands. Dissident feminisms theoretically, epistemologically, and methodologically ground the present study.

Challenging the divides between macro sociological (structural) and micro sociological (intersubjective and subjective processes of identity and difference) accounts of intersectionality presented by Vigoya's genealogy (2016), this study is based on a comprehensive understanding that considers both the global and the local levels as well as the structural, intersubjective, and subjective dimensions of life, proposing a middle ground between these divisions, and in accordance with Collins (2000), Kergoat (2010), and Lugones (2005), refusing the idea of separable categories and fixed and stable positions of power to think about intersections in intermeshed, historical, dynamic, and complex ways.

In that sense, the intersectional approach conducted here, in accordance with Collins (2000), is: (i) focused on a micro level of social organization, intending to understand how the axes of subordination intersect in particular local realities but taking into account that the axes, as hierarchies, structure a matrix of power on a macro level of social organization and (ii) attentive to how the lives of women in the community are both structured by global and national intersected structures, and at the same time, reproduced and resisted by intersubjective relations. The approach also considers both the knowledge and experience levels by grounding the research on reflexive intersectional standpoint epistemology and methodology—as developed in the next section—and focusing the intersectional analysis on the concrete experience of the women of the Revolution.

Conducting their analysis based on the axes of gender, Mohanty (2003) and Brah (2006) point out that gender is constituted and represented in diverse ways according to the location in global relations of power. This location is determined by the articulation of a series of structures of domination that position women in different categories—for instance, “working-class women,” “peasant women,” “immigrant women” that correspond to specific social conditions. Thus, according to the authors, the particular historical contexts of inequality, both national and international, must be analyzed to uncover the problems that affect women in distinct places.

According to Saffioti (1992), there are no strict boundaries for human relations, since the schemes of domination-exploitation influence each other. Brah (2006) understands that the axes of differentiation, such as class, racism, gender, and (hetero)sexuality, articulate, and thus, outline different forms of life for specific categories of women. To the author, gender is constituted and represented in different ways according to the location within global relations of power, determined by a series of economic, political, and ideological processes. Therefore, analyzing the context of inequality is important for understanding those issues that affect women. In her words, “within these structures of social relations we do not exist simply as women but as differentiated categories such as working class women, peasant women, migrant women.... And real lives are forged out of a complex articulation of these dimensions” (Brah, 2006, p. 341). In the same sense, Mohanty (2003) argues that the intersections between several systemic networks of race, class, (hetero)sexuality, and nation position us as “women.” She emphasizes the urgency of comprehending the complex relationality that shapes our political and social lives; that is, the multiple and fluid structures of domination that intersect to place women differently in particular historical conjunctures. It is then possible to conclude that women will not be equally affected by social problems regardless of their race, ethnicity, social class, and nation, as well as that understanding the imbrications among these factors will serve to unravel the multiple forms that traditional gender roles assume in distinct social places. Thus, according to the authors, the particular historical contexts of inequality, both national and international, must be analyzed to uncover the problems that affect women in distinct places.

Although there is no consensus regarding the axes of subordination to be considered in intersectional studies, here gender, class, and race are adopted because they are essential to understand the unequal and complex Brazilian society. These three axes compose a central core present in the perspective of postcolonial and black feminism studies that comprise the theoretical framework of this analysis, among which I highlight those developed by Brah (2006), Collins (2000), Collins and Bilge (2020), Gonzalez (2020), and Mohanty (2003). This perspective of the “triad of oppressions” is particularly relevant to the analysis of women in vulnerable communities in the colonized and

patriarchal Brazilian society. In this paper, as in Nogueira (2018), “race” is chosen instead of ethnicity, considering its importance to critically analyze coloniality in the Brazilian society, where this analytical concept was used as a form of domination. The intent is to propose the use of the same term adopted by the colonizer as a way to recognize the social inequalities based on it to then overcome them—and the term itself.

All this considered, the intersectional analysis of the politics of care built by the Revolution conducted here, parting from the “triad of oppressions,” is based on the study of how the responsibility for care is shaped by the interconnected concepts of sexual, racial, and IDL in the particular context and social place of the women of the Revolution.

With that intent, it is important to understand that contemporary societies are still based on dichotomic modern ways of thinking, organizing, and structuring hierarchically the world (Harding, 1986, 1991, 1993; Lugones, 2010) as a consequence of the civilizational domination process of western modernity that grounds the current world order and its pattern of power (Quijano, 2002). Therefore, the dichotomic separation between public and private as well as the corresponding productive and reproductive spheres of life characteristic of modern sexual division of labor of industrial societies are central elements to understand the social structures and traditional gender roles that still directly affect gender inequalities nowadays—although the implementation of western institutions, culture, and thought in colonized societies that nowadays comprehend the Global South presented its particularities and intersectional complexities.

According to Danielle Kergoat, the sexual division of labor is characterized by the “priority destination of men to the productive sphere and women to the reproductive sphere and, simultaneously, the apprehension by men of the function with strong added social value (politic, religious, military etc)” (2003, p. 55–56). The figure of “domestic work” then emerges as a specific and historic form of reproductive labor with the free provision of care in the domestic space converted into “women’s work.” To the author, this sexual division of labor, based on naturalizing and essentialist thinking, although having separation and hierarchization as organizing principles that would be valid to all known societies across time and space, should be adapted according to each society and historical context.

As a consequence of the sexual division of labor, the access of women to the formal labor market as wage-workers intensified from the mid-20th century. It was affected by the invisible non-paid care work conducted in the household, which also sustained the division between “male” and “female” professions. With the undervalued work related to care and assistance being performed mainly by women and perceived as a female responsibility, women access the formal labor market in a condition of subordination.

The productive sphere is in great measure sustained and reproduced by the reproductive sphere, that is, by the invisible and non-paid work of women in the household and by the undervalued and precarious care work mostly performed by women in the formal labor market. In that sense, there is an intersection of the axes of gender and class regarding the sexual division of labor and their impact on women in capitalist societies.

Beyond that, and considering the intersectional approach of the “triad of oppressions,” the axis of race is also directly imbricated in responsibility with care related to the sexual division of labor as women from different and racial background are distinctively affected by the sexual division of labor due to, in great measure, the outsourcing of care that perpetuates relations of oppression and exploitation among women. In the world of Flavia Biroli:

The sexual division of labour is anchored in the naturalization of relations of authority and subordination, which are presented as biologically based and/or racially justified. Together, restrictions defined by gender, race and social class shape choices, unevenly impose responsibilities and encourage certain occupations while blocking or hindering access to others

(Biroli, 2016, p. 737).

In the particular social place of the community as a black territory marked by the “triad of oppressions,” it is fundamental to include in the analysis, in imbrication with gender, the axes of race and class—two inseparable axes of oppression in the Brazilian context, as subsequently developed. The understanding of these imbrications can then, on one hand, reveal the complex impacts of the responsibility for care on the women of the Revolution as a result of

the interconnected sexual and racial division of labor, and on the other hand, address the complexities involved in the politics of care built by them in their particular local reality marked by the “triad of oppressions.”

Moreover, from an intersectional perspective, globally and in the Brazilian scenario, the sexual division of labor and the related question of care needs to be understood in imbrication not only with a racial but also with an IDL with the purpose to shed light on how different groups of women are distinctly affected by the responsibility for care that mainly overloads poor racialized worker women, particularly from the South.

In that sense, a particular IDL by which women, colonies, and former colonies have been subjected and exploited to sustain the development of mercantilism and capitalism in Western Europe has been sustaining the global matrix of power along western modernity. For instance, while women have been excluded from political and economic spaces of power and exclusively responsible for the domestic work in societies of industrial capitalism, women from different class and racial background were affected in different ways by the divisions of labor, as, while middle and upper class European women were confined to the household in the beginning of the first Industrial Revolution, poor women were then serving as a cheap workforce in the factories and racialized women were enslaved in the colonies in Latin America and later in Africa and Asia.

An unequal IDL persists nowadays through coloniality, understood as the dark side of modernity and defined by Maldonado-Torres as referring “to long-standing patterns of power that emerged as a result of colonialism, but that define culture, labor, intersubjective relations, and knowledge production well beyond the strict limits of colonial administrations” (2007, p. 243). Due to coloniality, IDL established by western modernity extends the axis of race in the triad of oppressions to a macro level as the phenomenon of racism on national and local contexts is a result of global processes of colonization, enslavement, and domination that still perpetuates unequal relations between Global North and Global South. Therefore, coloniality, in articulation with capitalism and patriarchy, shapes the contemporary world even after the end of formal colonialism, in which countries from the South occupy a disadvantage position in the global order and face deep structural problems that result in the marginalization of historically oppressed social groups, particularly poor racialized worker women from the South.

According to Chandra Mohanty, since the last decades of the 20th century, corporate globalization has been intensifying the overload with care and domestic work that women from the South feel and what the author calls its recolonization of the world. It means to say that more contemporarily, over the background of colonialism, capitalist globalization consolidates new modes of colonization through global processes that are indeed connected to the local “through parallel, contradictory, and sometimes converging relations of rule that position women in different and similar locations as workers” (Mohanty, 2003, p. 142).

In this context, when social protection and services are impacted by the decreasing role of the State in neoliberal globalization, poor racialized worker women from the South are especially affected by the overload with care and precarious work related to it, thus sustaining this model of globalization. In the case of the women of the Revolution, this analysis is further conducted in the discussion of the present case study based on an intersectional perspective to the responsibility for care from the interconnections between the sexual, racial, and IDL.

### 3 | EPISTEMOLOGY AND METHODOLOGY

As highlighted by Vigoya (2016), the intersectional perspective is not new in feminist theories, which have been addressing the problem long before it even had a name. The approach is necessary for the study of gender in unequal complex scenarios, like Brazilian society and the contemporary world shaped by neoliberal globalization. It is also essential for properly comprehending black territory in Brazil.

Thus, the concept of intersections of oppressions from a gendered perspective assumes here not only a theoretical status but also an epistemological status that enables a comprehensive analysis of intricated relations between power and knowledge, proposing a reflexive positioned research perspective attentive to gendered intersected power relations involved in the research process in social structures and relations more broadly.

According to Harding (2002), this reflexive posture of feminist research insists on situating both the subject-studied and the researcher as real historical individuals positioned according to their gender, class, race, and culture. From this perspective, positioning myself becomes essential to bring a feminist objectivity to the study based on the situated knowledge approach of standpoint feminist theory, according to which defining the social place of both the researcher and the studied subject is fundamental for submitting the beliefs and cultural practices involved in the research process to critical analysis, avoiding an allegedly value-free objectivism. As a Latin-American and Brazilian middle-class women with a light skin and the background of diverse ethnicities, my social place is one of disadvantages regarding gender, a relative advantage regarding class, an advantage regarding race on a national level, and a disadvantage on a global order divided between North and South. By being situated in Academia, I embody a place of power still marked by euro-anglocentrism and the flow of theories from North to South, although situating myself in the feminist field and particularly as a feminist from the South positions me at the margins of Academia. Conscious and attentive to the intersections of power relations that shape my social place, I bring the reflexivity, basing my studies on dissident feminist standpoints with the understanding that no feminist endeavor will be emancipatory without addressing the complex of power hierarchies intersected with gender.

In what concerns to the level of analysis, the intersectional approach conducted here focuses on the local level, attentive to how the intersected axes of subordination are both dynamically structured by, and at the same time, structure the global matrix of power.

In that sense, it is important to highlight that the tapestry of multiple and intersected subordinations is intensified in the turn to the 21st century by the contemporary capitalist globalization that, according to Mohanty (2003), is exacerbating economic, racial, and gender inequalities, and with that, recolonizing the South (or Two-Thirds Worlds). Mohanty (2003) points out that poor women workers from the South, as the most affected by global capitalism in a world traversed with intersecting lines of power and resistance, are situated in a “vantage point,” able to make visible practices of domination and processes of domination of this capitalist recolonization. This “vantage point” is then able to make visible the intensified intersected subordinations and the alternatives built from their place of marginalization to deal with its socioenvironmental problems, indicating how to tackle the interconnected systems of oppression from a bottom-up perspective.

From this understanding, it is possible to conclude that black worker women, who are at the bottom of Brazil's income pyramid (IBGE, 2019), especially those living in neglected communities of favelas and black territories, situate in this “vantage point” both in Brazilian society and globally. From this position, they make visible the ways in which class, race, gender—and for the global scale, nation—imbricate more intensely. Then, they evidence how these subordination systems affect and reinforce each other in the complex Brazilian society within a context of neoliberal globalization.

As an autonomous initiative rising from a vulnerable community in a black territory in Brazil, the BR is situated on what Mohanty calls a “vantage point,” able to make visible the intensified intersected subordinations and the alternatives built from their place of marginalization to deal with its socioenvironmental problems, indicating how to build intersectional resistance from a bottom-up perspective.

Thus, by giving protagonism to the women of the Revolution and their “vantage point,” this paper shed light on how they are more intensely affected by sexual and racial division of labor, while simultaneously challenging traditional and racialized gender roles by building a particular politics of care from the complexities of their intersected social place marked by colonial history and the contemporary recolonization of the South.

An intersectional gendered perspective, as a standpoint approach that refuses any essentialist conception of women (Collins, 2000), according to Harding (2002), can be articulated not only as an epistemology—theory of knowledge—but also as a methodology—research procedure. With that perception, the author also identifies three specific characteristics of the methodological design found in the best feminist research that are followed in the present study: (i) it will define the problem and objectives from the concrete experiences of women's struggles as an important indicator of the studied reality; (ii) it will be sensitive to the diversity that they embody regarding factors as race, class, ethnicity and culture, among others; and (iii) it will intend to understand the power structures that



affect these women and the resistance they have been building to bring about a concrete change in their oppressing conditions.

Therefore, a feminist methodology attentive to the intersections and the reflexive standpoint should start from the experience of women's lives to identify in what conditions, in natural and/or social relations, the investigation is necessary and then what can be useful to women that is questioned in these situations (Harding, 2002). This collective or group standpoint, according to Collins, regards experiences associated with intersecting oppressions.

### 3.1 | Phases of research

Following the feminist epistemology and the characteristics of the methodological design presented by Harding (2002), and since the intersections of oppressions can only be fully understood from situated analyses of local contexts where the axes intersect more intensely, the research is grounded on a qualitative approach via a case study and organized in four different phases (Figure 1).

The first phase of participant observation allowed an exploratory study focused on the local community context to understand the social demands and political practices of the BR and then define the research problem and objectives.

In the second phase of data collection, the focus group and in-depth interviews intended to gather the perceptions and views of women from the community about responsibility for care, gender roles, and the political practices of the Revolution, while bibliographical research focused on the literature on dissident feminisms about intersections of subordinations and divisions of labor related to care work, as well as the correspondent intersectional social markers.

The focus group, lasting 150 min, was conducted at the BR headquarters with members of the Bucket Revolution and with 10 women from the community who participate and have connections with the project. The participants for the focus group were chosen as representatives of the 150 participating families of the BR by a woman leader of the initiative who agreed to integrate the research, building it horizontally, based on her knowledge of the participant families and with the intent to represent its diversity.

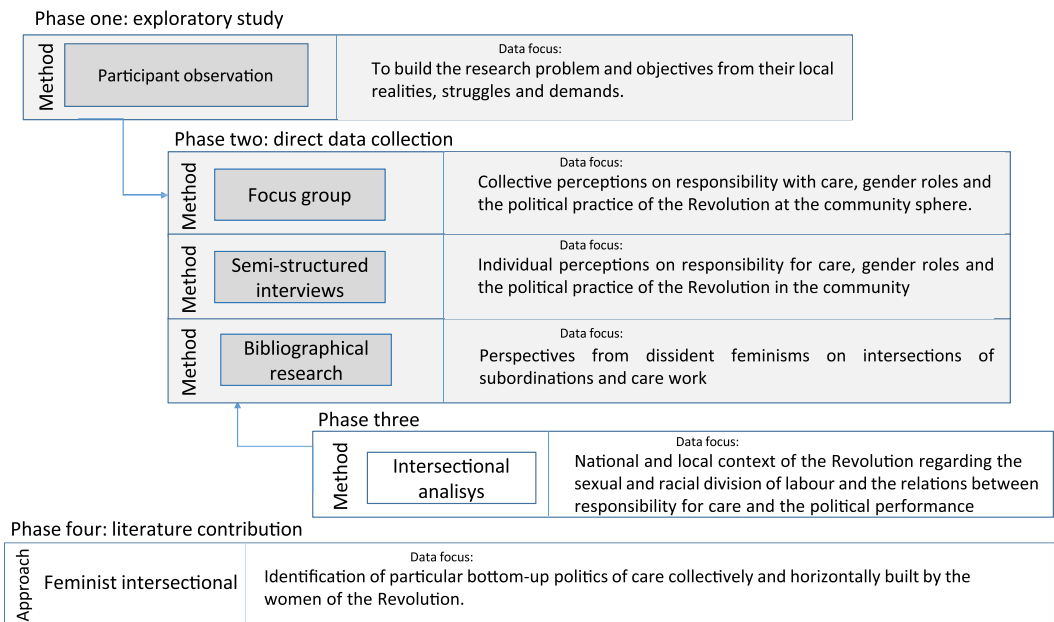


FIGURE 1 Methodological path figure (chart by authors). [Colour figure can be viewed at [wileyonlinelibrary.com](http://wileyonlinelibrary.com)]

The semistructured in-depth interviews were conducted directly with key actors, including: (i) a woman coordinator of the Revolution; (ii) three women of the community, identified during the focus group for their active participation and deep knowledge of the BR since its first days; (iii) one representative of Cepagro, an NGO that participated in the creation and established a significative partnership with the BR; (iv) one former member of the BR and of Cepagro, co-founder of the initiative; and (v) two representatives of Comcap, the administrative body of the local government responsible for waste collection in the city.

The majority of women interviewed in focus groups and semi-structured interviews self-declared as black women and performed care work as their current or earlier professions. They have their social place analyzed here as collectively belonging to a black territory. All women of the community interviewed in-depth had only basic education and earned the minimum wage. Three were retired, aged between 63 and 67 years old, while one, aged 32, worked as a cleaner and a community agent.

Beyond the women member and participant of the Revolution, the other key actors interviewed in-depth—a former and a current representative of the NGO Cepagro and two representatives of Comcap—offer an external view on the political practices of the B, the role of the women of the Revolution in the community and their interactions with other relevant Organizations in the local context.

The real names and other data of the participants and interviewees are not mentioned to assure their anonymity with the intention to make possible their participation under safe conditions, considering their vulnerable position and according to the confidentiality commitment stated on the consent term. Pseudonyms were used to facilitate the understanding of the contributions and gender of the participants. Other interviews available online with current and former members of the Revolution were also analyzed as secondary data.

For the third phase of the research, the participant observation and the collected data were analyzed using an intersectional approach to understand how women from the community: (i) are particularly affected by care work in their particular local reality due to the “triad of oppressions as well as the corresponding sexual, racial, and IDL”; (ii) perceive the intersected subordinations, gender roles, and the responsibility for care in their local context; (iii) built the studied political practices in relation to their perceptions on care and gender roles. Lastly, phase four refers to the contributions of the study to the literature: it provides an original intersectional and situated analysis of the subject that combines dissident feminist theories, social markers, and the results from the case data collected to identify the particular politics of care built by the Women of Revolution as a form of resistance to their marginalization. Data sources of the research are summarized in Table 1.

### 3.2 | The Brazilian context of the case study

Brazil is a deeply unequal country, a society marked by sexism, slavery, and coloniality. Rated as one of the 10 most unequal countries in the world, it has a Gini coefficient of 0.545, as calculated by World Bank (2018). The black population, including the categories of “pretos,” which comprises people with a darker skin tone, and “pardos” or “mulattos,” which refers to people with a lighter skin tone, comprises 54% of the population and represents 75% of people in extreme poverty in Brazil, making it possible to define it as racialized poverty (IBGE, 2019). Incorporating the gender aspect in the analysis, women’s wages are 25.5% lower than men’s and in an income scale, white men occupy the top position, followed by white women, black men, and black women (IBGE, 2019).

As it is possible to conclude, poverty in Brazil has gender and race, with black women, who are traditionally subjected to the hardest forms of oppression and exploitation since colonization, now occupy the base of the social pyramid in the country and experience subordination more intensely than white women. The black population was excluded from the formal labor marked after the abolishment of slavery with women becoming the majority at providing undervalued and precarious domestic work. As a consequence of structural racism in the country that hinders the social mobility of the black population—particularly of black women—in Brazil, they are continually absent from spaces of power and compose the absolute majority of paid domestic work.

TABLE 1 Data sources table.

Data collection methods	Data sources	Focus of data collection
Participant observation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>* Meetings with the women leader of the Buckets Revolution;</li> <li>* Visits to the community and to the BR's headquarter and initiatives—thrift store, mother kitchen, and composting patios.</li> </ul>	<p>Obtain the necessary contextualized information to understand the local reality of the community and the struggles and demands of the women of the revolution;</p> <p>Build horizontally the research problem and objectives.</p>
Focus group	<p><i>N</i> = 10 women from the community who participate and have connections with the project, chosen as representatives of the 150 participating families of the BR by a woman leader of the initiative who agreed to integrate the research, building it horizontally, based on her knowledge of the participant families and with the intent to represent its diversity.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>* 4 categories                             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(a) Current member of the BR (administrative role);</li> <li>(b) Past member of the BR;</li> <li>(c) Long-term participant of the BR's activities;</li> <li>(d) Recent participant of the BR's activities.</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<p>Gather collective perceptions on responsibility with care, gender roles, and the political practice of the revolution at the community sphere.</p> <p>Deepen the understanding of the community context and of the accomplishments and challenges of the BR.</p> <p>Identify key actors for the in-depth interviews.</p>
In-depth semi-structured Interviews	<p><i>N</i> = 8:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>* 1 woman current leader of the BR (member);</li> <li>* 2 women long-term participant of the BR;</li> <li>* 1 woman recent participant of the BR;</li> <li>* 1 man representative of Cepagro, an NGO that participated in the creation and established a significative partnership with the BR;</li> <li>* 1 man former member of the BR and of Cepagro, cofounder of the initiative; and</li> <li>* 2 members of the local administrative body responsible for waste collection in the city—Comcap—1 man and 1 woman</li> </ul>	<p>Gather individual perceptions on responsibility for care, gender roles, and the political practices of the revolution in the community.</p> <p>Deepen the understanding of the community context and of the accomplishments and challenges of the BR.</p>

TABLE 1 (Continued)

Data collection methods	Data sources	Focus of data collection
Secondary data	Interviews available online with current and former members of the Buckets Revolution.	Gather individual and collective perceptions on responsibility for care, gender roles, and the political practices of the revolution in the community. Deepen the understanding of the community context and of the accomplishments and challenges of the BR.
	Official statistics available on the websites of the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistic and of the United Nations Development Fund. IBGE Cidades (2010), IBGE (2019), UNDP (2010).	Gather the social markers to unravel the social place of the women of the revolution through the structural intersections of the triad of oppressions.
	Publications on dissident feminist perspectives about intersections of subordinations, divisions of labor and care work. Brah (2006), Collins (2000), Davis (1971, 1983), Dias (2012), Gonzalez (2020), Kergoat (2003, 2010), Lugones (2003, 2005, 2008), Mohanty (2003), Nogueira (2018), Vigoya (2016).	Set the theoretical, epistemological, and methodological tools for the structural, intersubjective, and subjective analysis of the presented social markers and the collected data.

Abbreviation: NGO, non-governmental organization.

The phenomenon of feminized and undervalued paid domestic work is intense in the Brazilian hierarchized society, where 92% of domestic workers are women, creating a care chain deeply influenced by class and race. As a result, of the 5.7 million women devoted to the occupation, 2 million are white women and 3.7 million are black women. This means that 10% of white women are paid domestic workers, while 18% black women earn money this way (Pnad Contínua). The paid domestic work of maids, eminently feminine and majority performed by black women in Brazil, is undervalued and largely informal, facing many difficulties in its path for legal labor protection, which passed as a law only in 2015 (Lei complementar 150, 2015).

Florianópolis, Brazil, the city of the Buckets Revolution, has a small black population due to the intense European colonization of this region of the country in the 19th century. Less than 15% of the Florianópolis population is black, according to the 2010 Census carried out by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics. From this percentual, 4.4% are “pretos” and 10.6% are “pardos” (IBGE Cidades). This small black population is mainly located in the favelas of the city, vulnerable communities that emerged as irregular occupations and not respecting the rules located on top of the hills or in other peripheral parts of the city (Valladares, 2005).

Favelas are not a recent phenomenon in Brazil; the first in Florianópolis emerged in the 19th century on the Morro do Antão (Antão Hill), when it was occupied by newly freed slaves (PMF, 2002). Favelas kept arising throughout the 20th century: in the 1970s and 1980s, as a consequence of the impoverishment of the population and a rural exodus, the process of “favelization” sped up (Abreu, 2013). According to the Institute of Research and Urban Planning of Florianópolis, in 2000, there were 56 areas of favelas in the city, inhabited by more than 15% of the population (PMF, 2002). Monte Cristo, the neighborhood where the Revolution started, is a favela and a black territory, defined by Nogueira (2018) as a place in which cultural and symbolic markers conform a black identity, a geographical space of marginalization and recognition; segregation and resistance. The neighborhood has the highest levels of poverty and violence in the city (Nogueira, 2018), and in 2010, had a Human Development Index (HDI) of 0.680,

while in the same year, the HDI of Florianópolis was 0.847 (IBGE Cidades, 2010)—higher than the national level of 0.723 calculated in 2010 by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP, 2010).

The Monte Cristo neighborhood was mainly built as an urban irregular occupation by migrants seeking a better life condition (Abreu, 2013). In this context, women particularly carry the higher burden that results from insufficient or non-existent public services—a situation that is part of the own definition of favelas, or “communities,” in Brazil, despite the welfare state model adopted in the Constitution. Favelas and black territories are historically peripheries, places of neglect, lacking public policies and services, often with the violent presence of the State via extensive policing—deeply associated with the criminalization and massive incarceration of the black (mainly male) population in the country.

In favela, or slum, complex socioenvironmental problems arise from the interconnections between environmental factors and basic concerns, such as health, sanitation, poverty, hunger, and violence. For instance, pollution resulted in inadequate sanitation may contribute to health problems that, without a public and accessible health system, can lead to death, work incapacity, additional financial burdens for families who may already be struggling to make ends meet and also contribute to feelings of frustration and powerlessness among residents of a favela, which may in turn contribute to violence and other social problems.

According to Bonatti et al. (2022), favelas, as neglected territories, face the lack of several human rights and reinforcing cycles of vulnerability, in which insufficient clean water and sanitation, health services, and education, in addition to low income and poor household infrastructures, lead to problematic environmental conditions, diseases, and social discrimination, creating a poverty trap. From this perspective, waste and organic residues in favelas are not only a vector of several problems, such as diseases and water pollution, but also intensify vulnerability and marginalization. On the other hand, addressing socioenvironmental problems in a favela has the potential not only to address basic concerns, such as poverty, health, and hunger, but also to break the cycle of vulnerability by reducing violence and marginalization.

Women from favelas, as responsible for care—and more intensely burdened and marginalized by the care work in the whole society—particularly suffer the consequences of this neglect, as strongly reported in the focus group and interviews. They also are the responsible for conducting and leading the Buckets Revolution based on a revolutionary politics that has been resignifying care and addressing the socioenvironmental problems in the community.

### 3.3 | Case study description

According to Rosa (2007), the Chico Mendes region was the first favela in the city to receive resources from the housing program “Inhabit Brazil-IDB” (Habitar Brasil—IBD), promoted by the Inter-American Development Bank, not only due to the poor condition of housing and frequent revindication for better life conditions but also because of the visibility of its location—as Florianópolis is a touristic city (Rosa, 2007). The resources financed a process of urbanization that happened between 1999 and 2011, resulting in the building of houses, improvement of infrastructural conditions, and actions for communitarian mobilization and environmental education. It was also responsible for the creation of a temporary work commission called “Temporary Work Front” (Frente Temporária de Trabalho [FTT]), comprising a group of 12–14 residents, a majority women of the community, who received environmental and health training and who conducted cleaning and care work in the community over a period of 3 months. It is interesting to observe here that it was mainly women who were undertaking the care work promoted by the FTT. Every 3 months the team was changed, and the commission had in total 22 editions (Abreu, 2013).

Although the housing program had already underway for almost a decade, in 2008, regular waste collection was still precarious and only offered in a few parts of the neighborhood via a small tractor, as the regular city trucks could not circulate through its narrow streets and alleys, a result of the irregular occupation and poor urban conditions (Abreu, 2013).

Women from the community interviewed for this study report that waste collection was non-existent nearby their houses before the beginning of the Revolution (Anonymous, 2020, interview by authors). This insufficient

presence of the local government in the waste collection, urban cleaning, and sanitation, combined with the lack of public policies to deal with street animals, was partially responsible for the health problem facing the community that inspired the creation of the "Bucket Revolution." Street dogs were tearing up the trash bags left on the streets, which resulted in a proliferation of rats, and consequently, a leptospirosis outbreak that ended up victimizing two residents of the community.

The case is a strong example of the complex socioenvironmental problems faced by favelas in Brazil, as the convergence of poverty, poor household infrastructure, social discrimination, and lack of public services led to the inadequate waste management that resulted in environmental problems and diseases, that is, accumulation of organic waste in the streets, the rat infestation, and deaths by leptospirosis. As highlighted by Bonatti et al. (2022), waste and organic residues in favelas not only are a vector of several problems, such as diseases, but also intensify vulnerability and marginalization, reinforcing the cycles of vulnerability.

From this serious socioenvironmental problem, the Revolution emerged, suggested as a measure to deal with the rat outbreak by the health unit of Monte Cristo in a meeting that reunited representatives of nurseries, schools, associations, the "temporary work front," and Cepagro, an environmental NGO. At the time, Cepagro was already conducting educational actions and composting of organic waste in the community for 2 years, successfully reducing the number of rats as a result of its activities. The doctor of the health center then suggested expanding the measure, engaging the community with the separation of organic waste in little buckets for composting. The organizations and residents present at the meeting then agreed to create a group to collectively build and organize a system of organic waste management in the community. It was the beginning of the Revolution, started as an environmental solution to social problems (Abreu, 2013).

Two women of the community then committed to the idea, conducting all the work at the beginning of the initiative and were essential to engage local families in the project. As part of the last group of the "temporary work front (FTT)," they had been trained as community agents and had received environmental and health training, which was important for the mobilization they headed in the community. By promoting sensibilization and orientation, these women were responsible for the successful implementation of the project. They got the first families to participate in the Buckets Revolution, convincing them separate and deposit their organic waste in little buckets—hence the name of the initiative. During the first year, the number of participating families increased from 5 to 120; soaring to 200 families after just a few years. Another important aspect of the participation of these women was the fact that they agreed to start working voluntarily but demanded some financial compensation to be paid in a short term. This demand then caused a mobilization from the NGO Cepagro to direct and receive resources (Abreu, 2013; Anonymous, 2020, interview by authors). The partnership with Cepagro and with local institutions from the neighborhood was also important for the establishment of the Revolution. Beyond offering institutional support to monitor, conduct, and finance the initiative, Cepagro committed to the process of listening, adapting the techniques and formal knowledge to the conditions of the community based on the principles of urban agriculture (Abreu, 2013; Anonymous, 2020, interview by authors). The system was built collectively and from the bottom-up, attentive to the conditions and reality of the context, which proved to be very effective for its implementation and continuity (Abreu, 2013).

The families that started participating at the beginning of the project then separated their organic waste into buckets, bringing them for disposal to "volunteer delivery points" where it was collected by human-powered platform carts and taken to a composting patio located in the backyard of the local school. The compost and fertilizer produced in the process, using an Indian technique studied by the Federal University of the city and appropriate for the local climate conditions, would then partially return to the participating families to incentivize urban agriculture (Abreu, 2013).

In its first years, the Revolution was funded by financing acquired from public and private institutions via the mediation of the NGOs Cepagro and Casa Chico Mendes. It also had a brief partnership with the public agency responsible for waste collection in Florianópolis from July 2011 to 2016. However, since 2016, the project started a process of transformation after facing more problems due to a lack of financing and support from the public power.

The year 2016 marks the beginning of a deep social, political, and economic crisis, resulting in the withdrawal of the public budget in Brazil. Resisting and working hard to keep the Revolution alive, these women diversified its activities and conducted the initiative with more autonomy. As a member explained in an interview, “in 2016, conducted by residents, we thought about ways to keep working without the support of the public power. We created the guided tour ‘Rolé’, the thrift store (Brechó), the mother kitchen, and the creative sewing workshop as ways of strengthening the internal actions and potentializing our reality of community agents.”

The community system then started to be maintained exclusively with independent resources, ranging from the commercialization of products like compost, fertilizer, and soap, to the consulting they offered on organic waste management and composting as well as collective financings raised via online platforms. In 2019, the Revolution, which started with the strong partnership of an NGO, became an autonomous NGO, increasingly assuming a strong political role as a favela movement (Anonymous, 2020, interview by authors).

Since its establishment in 2008, the organic waste-management system of the Revolution was registered as a social technology, becoming a reference not just in Brazil, but also abroad, winning prizes and gaining public recognition nationally and internationally (Abreu, 2013), including being named in 2019 as one of the 15 most exceptional agroecological practices of the world by the World Future Council, according to criteria developed by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.<sup>2</sup> Although the initiative has been facing many challenges to its existence, it persists and continues its activities.

As it is possible to conclude, by assuming the responsibility for the community care, the women of the Revolution were crucial for establishing the initiative, and with the cooperation of a network of environmental, educational, and social institutions acting in the community, have been conducting the Revolution ever since through the politics of care.

From a dissident feminist perspective, as women from the South particularly affected by the triad of oppressions, women from a black territory marked by the processes of colonization and enslavement, the women from the Revolution have been since always resisting and fighting their intersected subordinations. In the contemporary context of the diverse and increasingly transnational feminist field, characterized by a plurality of dissident perspectives and the intersections between demands and movements, the women of the Revolution cooperate and dialog with local and international movements and campaigns, like the 8M, the grassroots feminist movement world March of women, black lives matter, and land reform.

## 4 | RESULTS

The information gathered during the first two phases of the research, including participant observation and data collected through focus groups, in-depth interviews, and bibliographical research, is presented in the following to articulate the perceptions of the researcher in the field work with the understandings of the interviewed women regarding responsibility for care, gender roles, and the political practices of the Revolution in the community.

The data collected in the focus group and interviews reveal a general perception that public care in the community is lacking, whether in terms of street cleaning, health care, or educational services. The participants of the focus groups described the health and education system in the community as insufficient and precarious. Moreover, according to them, politicians only visit the community during campaigns with promises of improvements—such as the construction of playgrounds, recreation, and sports areas—that are soon forgotten after the elections. Antonia, a long-term woman participant of the BR interviewed declared that people from the community “feel thrown away. It seems that’s because it is favela. It seems that they are ashamed to enter here.” When asked about violence and public security, the interviewees denounced frequent cases of political violence and strongly stated being afraid of the police. In the words of one of the eldest women, “the favela is a place of injustice” (Anonymous, 2020, interview by authors).

The interviews also show that women from the community understand themselves as subjected to the interconnected oppressions of race and class that marks black territories in Brazilian society. Maria, a leader of the Revolution

reported the “genocide of black population” and “police abuse” inside the community. In her words, the BR should “really revolutionize in the face of everything, for public policies, right to the city, housing, quality of life, protest against the extermination of the black population, for more rights” (Anonymous, 2020, interview by authors).

Catarina, a woman from the community interviewed in the focus group, reported that:

The community itself, called favela, they already look at it with prejudice... who is not from inside... Like, we suffer with that because we are undervalued because we are black... because we are this, because we are that... Everyone thinks that everyone from the favela is a criminal. I think there should be more attention here. Like for health, many times the health centre lacks medicine, vaccine...consultations that you can't get...various things that...sometimes we need more attention...but the attention is geared towards middle and upper class people. And education... I think that if the young people here in the community had more projects...someone to say, "Come on, let's go..."; they wouldn't be becoming young mothers, kids in the drug trade, as we see so much, children in the alley...I think that we have to value ourselves. We can be whatever we want if we study. It's not because you come from below that you can't be a lawyer, a teacher, a psychologist. That's what I think. I just think that the people in the community deserve more attention from the government. Not only during election time when they come, make their propaganda, pick up children in their laps...I think not only in an election year, but all year round.

In the same sense, Francisca, another woman who participated in the focus groups asserted that “the City Hall comes here, talks, promises, we sign a lot of papers, a lot of things, and they don't do anything. ... And it's easy to come here and talk, talk... talking is easy. So that's what I have to say.”

Thus, the interviewees see the community as a marginalized territory subjected to intersected subordinations of race and class, marked by the lack of public services and the violent presence of the state. They also, on one hand, value and strongly demand care from the public power, while, on the other hand, they understand that women are responsible for family care, stressing the importance of family and portraying women as its base and the foundation of society (Anonymous, 2020, interview by authors).

Regarding their condition and roles, many interviewees in the focus group highlighted the strength, power, self-sufficiency, autonomy, courage, initiative, and leadership of women from the community. Maria, a BR leader, noted that women have the differential of constantly reinventing and putting themselves out there, carrying on with their lives and taking care of others. For her, “these spaces of power, of potentializing these actions and being able to call more and more women is fundamental,” and despite the fact that women are the base of the family, they do not have their own base, someone to complain to, or somewhere to regain their strength. Hence, the importance, for her, of talking, sharing, and helping each other in community spaces to socialize and evolve together (Anonymous, 2020, interview by authors).

The consciousness of the protagonism and strength of women in the Revolution is present among the women participating in the Revolution as reported in the focus group and in-depth interviews. When asked about the role of women in the initiative, Maria says that women are not only the majority, but the foundation of the BR, responsible for its coordination, “with the intention to occupy and resist to transform realities inside the community” (Anonymous, 2020, interview by authors).

On the other hand, she states that men in the Revolution “follow up on the transformation, on the collection and treatment of waste in the community, and on the promotion of urban agriculture.” According to her, “this is cool, because all actions and initiatives, at least during the time that I have been managing the project, came from women and the man simply complied. We were building together, but the woman is the base. Today we have more women than men” (Anonymous, 2020, interview by authors). The role of men in the Revolution is then punctual, a role of support and collaboration.

Women of the Revolution have been leading the initiative and have been very interestingly building a politics of care within the community. They have been developing a very particular politics of care based on care roles and



domestic activities and with a high potential of finding sustainable ways to deal with environmental and social problems. Starting from where they were and doing what they knew, these women have been transforming community life.

The care approach is evident since the beginning of the project, in the process of sensibilization of the families to participate, in keeping close contact with the families, and, in some cases, collecting the buckets directly in the houses (door-to-door), when needed (Anonymous, 2020, interview by authors). According to a Lucia, a community agent, former leader, and one of the two women responsible for founding and engaging the community with the initiative:

We prepared the families over four months. Every day I went: what's up, the buckets is up? Hey, I got a bucket. The "Big" [a supermarket branch] was our sponsor, they got us 5 buckets. The buckets were five litres. We went and gave them to the families. But every day we had to be with the families to say what was organic and what was not.

(Revolução dos Baldinhos, 2022)

Pedro, a technical advisor from Cepagro, an NGO that closely collaborates with the Revolution since its creation, reported "we have people from the Community doing all the work and it was a differential, because they come to the families already with an identity, they are not an outsider." Another woman who is currently a leader of the Revolution said that, "we work in our backyard. If the community doesn't come together, doesn't collaborate, there will be no way, because the sensibilization is fundamental" (Anonymous, 2020, interview by authors).

This sensitivity and the affective bonds have been present in the initiative since the beginning. The constant contact and sensibilization resulted in improvements of BR initiatives, collectively built with the intent to do something to solve the problems while making the community feel part of the construction of the project. The intention, according to the BR leader Maria, is to work directly with the families, paying attention to their needs. This attentive look and the care perspective is observed when women conducting the Revolution report that they identified people in need within the community by noticing the reduction of organic waste separated by a few families:

We saw the need to pay better attention to the community, to understand what are the needs, so we can ask in the sensibilization with the residents what are their opinions, what they think the project could be changing. And we hear a lot of need for donations of essential food parcels, that would help a lot. And we can identify many needs of the residents and try to act from that in our reality.... The mother kitchen came from the sensibilization of a family when we went to know why the bucket had decreased, the amount of waste... and then she said that that month for her was tight, that the family had increased, in fact there was no leftovers for the buckets. Then we started to think: there are people starving here inside of the community... and without understanding the food they have at home.

The situation of need and poverty identified then inspired the mother kitchen as an initiative to fulfill the need of food security in the community not only as a space to reunite and serve the community through collective cooking and sharing of experiences but also as a cultural and educational hub where workshops, events, and family parties are held (Anonymous, 2020, interview by authors).

Beyond the mother kitchen, the thrift store and the sewing workshop are other initiatives that emerged based on traditional gender roles associated with femininity and domestic spaces that are emblematic examples of the politics of care conducted by the women of the Revolution. They are deeply associated with the idea to dress, feed, and protect as actions of care that the Women of the Revolution are incorporating in their politics in a community level. The purpose is to increase the bonds, the social consciousness, the sharing of multiple knowledges, and the collective construction of the initiative, attentive to the needs while intending the prosperity and empowerment of the community (Anonymous, 2020, interview by authors).

In fact, there is the intention of the women of the Revolution to take care of the community, and at the same time, the feeling of the community to be taken care of by the initiative, even though its impact is limited by the lack of support of the local government. According to Maria, the coordinator of the BR:

Since the time I started, I always try to have a family party, try to bring food parcels, because I know it helps, I know it is nice to have this moment of confraternization... So, more than just integrating awareness on the issue of waste, I want us to evolve as a community, that we can socialize and evolve together, you know, in space and use the Revolution for this.

(Anonymous, 2020, interview by authors)

She also affirms that their goal "is to totally serve the family of the Revolution" by offering health improvement through a partnership with the university and food distribution through the mother kitchen. Going further, she states that, from an understanding of the community's needs and as a form of retribution for embracing the project, the BR would like to be able to do much more for the 150 families registered, it should "be able to help with health, improving education, helping within the networks," as well as "to attend 100% to families with a psychologist" (Anonymous, 2020, interview by authors).

Joana, a participating woman of the Revolution, referred to the coordinator of the Revolution in the focus group as a warrior who fights alone to protect the community. In her words:

If it wasn't for her, they would have already taken over the community.... I only ask that someone gives her some help because she fights alone. I ask you to help her because she is a fighter. She is a warrior.... And when we can be there in a meeting, we come. But we don't have anything to help. Whoever works here needs, doesn't they. A little or a lot you need to have. And nobody helps, nobody is helping.

(Anonymous, 2020, interview by authors)

The central role of women in the Revolution is also recognized by the external agents who have been part of the conduction of the initiative and even by the public power. Carlos, one of the founders of the Revolution from Cepagro, stressing the role of women, mothers, and partners of convicts in the community, reports that some of the social benefits of the Revolution include the internal reconstruction of relationships, trust, and reciprocity bonds in the own community, finding alternatives in the own neighborhood, in the own local tissues to solve the local problems. Pedro, another representative from Cepagro states that women have not only occupied decision-making places and provided representation in political spaces but also conducted the heavy work in the Revolution. They have been responsible for establishing relationships and dialogs, strengthening the initiative, and improving its achievements (Anonymous, 2020, interview by authors).

Concerning how the Revolution built its politics of care, the member and participant women interviewed highlight the collective building inside the community, considering its local particularities and necessities. Maria, the coordinator of the BR, draws attention to the fact that the initiative, with all its potential, has been happening in Chico Mendes, seen as the most violent community in Florianopolis. For her, this contrast shows the advantages of the Revolution's methodology, which is applied in interaction with the community as a territory of daily transformations and resistance (Anonymous, 2020, interview by authors). In her words, "it is a territory of resistance because even though the people are full of problems, they are always smiling, always having fun, always reinventing themselves, they are always searching." With that, she stresses the potential of the community to conduct the important task of taking theories into practice, parting from this social technology to articulate, strengthen, collectively transform, and bring improvements to the territory (Anonymous, 2020, interview by authors).

## 5 | DISCUSSION

In order to answer the research problem and reach the objectives of the study, this section discusses the results presented in the previous section.

The purpose is to analyze in articulation the intersected social markers and the perceptions of the interviewed women regarding the community and the Revolution based on a dissident feminist approach to care work considering the intersections of gender, race, and class subordination (Collins, 2000; Collins & Bilge, 2020; Gonzalez, 2020) and the related interconnections of sexual, racial (Kergoat, 2003, 2010), and IDL (Mohanty, 2003).

As the theoretical analysis and social indicators demonstrate in the previous sections, care work in Brazilian society is shaped and distributed differently according to the intersections between gender, class, and race as it is often outsourced from white privileged women to poor, and in particular, black women. This means that the class and racial position can make women more or less engaged and overloaded with care in certain contexts, revealing how intersections put different women simultaneously as oppressors and oppressed in a social context. According to Lelia Gonzalez, black women in Brazil are subjected to a triple discrimination due to racism and sexism and occupy the higher level of oppression. To Gonzalez, the social role of the “doméstica” (domestic, in literal translation, as in the expression “domestic maid” used to design the domestic workers or housemaids) marks the “natural place” of black woman in the Brazilian society and contributes to sustain their process of exclusion (2020, p. 48). When not domestic workers, they work as “serventes” (in literal translation, servants) in the provision of low-income services in supermarkets, schools, and hospitals.

As pointed by Juliana Teixeira, in Brazil, that has more domestic workers than other countries, the domestic work has been part of the “bourgeois family model” and “structured on slavery grounds, making slavery, colonialism and structural racism inseparable from gender-based violence that forced Black women into the most vulnerable socioeconomic conditions” (2021, p. 250). To the author, the continuity of “the position of Black women as maximum representations of intersectional inequality” is one of the consequences of what the author calls “the nostalgia for slavery in Brazil” as the domestic work was preceded by slave labor and “the historical predecessors of the housemaids where the so-called domestic-slaves, who were chosen during the slave period to work in the colonizer’s houses, serving them in their intimacy and taking care of their children” (2021, pp. 252; 253). For the author “race is a marker that structures domestic work in Brazil,” in intersection with social class and gender, resulting in a hierarchy not only of occupations, but of humanity. This scenario is well illustrated by Quental and Shymko (2021) when presenting the roles of black women as “second mothers” due to their predominant presence in the domestic work, as a common and undervalued work, often performed by women from the favelas in the Brazilian context.

The precarious situation of black women in Brazil is also intensified by the IDL due to historical colonial factors constantly reproduced and reinforced by social structures as well as by the current stage of global neoliberal capitalism that recolonizes the world contemporarily as already noted. In that sense, from their social place in the Brazilian society, where the impacts of neoliberal structural adjustment programs were strongly felt in the 1980s and 1990s and public care offered by the State is still precarious and insufficient, black women are particularly burdened by the responsibility with care, which is often outsourced from other women privileged in terms of race and class, as the social indicators demonstrate.

While the social indicators show that the responsibility for care shaped by the intersected sexual, racial, and international divisions of labor results in oppressions, putting black women in places of intersected subordination in the Brazilian context, the data collected in the focus group and interviews show that this responsibility is exacerbated by the absence of public care and by the violence perpetrated by the state in the community as a social place shaped by the intersected “triad of oppressions” of gender, race, and class—to a great extent due to the colonial past and the global neoliberal present.

As it is possible to conclude, as a favela and black territory, the community of Monte Cristo is a social place in which women are more intensely burdened by the responsibility for care, not only because the place mainly reserved for black women in the Brazilian labor market is a place of undervalued, precarious, and outsourced care work (Quental, Shymko, 2021; Teixeira, 2021) but also because the burden of care increases in a neglected territory

that also suffers the violence of the State. As stated by Lelia Gonzalez, the black population in Brazil is concentrated in favelas e peripheries where political repression and violence is strongly present (2020). To Quental and Shymko (2021, p. 770), “favelas in Brazil are stigmatized spaces, off-limit zones where police repression and violence can break out at any moment.”

In that sense, beyond mostly performing feminized occupations related to women's reproductive roles and the sexual division of labor, that is, paid care work—the most undervalued work in society—women in black territories are also overloaded with non-paid care work due to, on one hand, an absence of public policies and services alongside, on the other hand, the violent presence of the State in these neglected communities in Brazil. Thus, by replacing social services and mostly conducting the reproductive work in their context, the women of the Revolution are particularly affected by the reduced role and insufficient presence of the State in terms of public care and its excessive presence in terms of policing and repression.

Nevertheless, as the collected data demonstrate, women inside the community value care as a feminine responsibility, thus highlighting the importance of family and the core role of women in society. This can be related to the fact that, in complex societies marked by the intersected “triad of oppressions” and structured from colonial and slavery history, like Brazil and the USA, care is not only perceived as oppressive and a source of exploitation—as highlighted by feminist analysis—but also, on intersubjective and subjective levels, as humanizing and empowering regarding the particularities of enslaved communities and families.

It is also essential to highlight the ambiguous relation with care lived by black women in Brazilian society, where the development of good abilities related to care would mean a better status and living conditions for enslaved women, who would be allocated as domestic slaves at the farm's headquarters—the Casa-grande, literally translated as the Big House—instead of conducting the harder work on the plantations. However, enslaved women in general, largely outnumbered by enslaved men, had little to no possibility to care of their own family and children due to the subhuman conditions of slavery, the disseminated sexual violence and the common practice of separating families in Brazil (Dias, 2012). The care could then represent, in these situations, a connection with family and lost affection as well as, consequently, a reconnection with their own subjectification and humanization.

To Davis (1983), the domestic work—that has been the central expression of the socially conditioned feminine inferiority—was the only meaningful work in the enslaved community through which black women set the basis for a certain level of autonomy, becoming essential to the survival of the community. Davis highlights that the sexual division of domestic work in the enslaved family was not hierarchical or rigorous and included tasks that were not exclusively female. In that sense, “for while women cooked and sewed, for example, men did the gardening and hunting. (Yams, corn and other vegetables, as well as wild animals such as rabbits and opossums, were always a delicious addition to the monotonous daily rations.)” (position 288, kindle edition).

These particularities of enslaved families and communities demonstrate how an intersectional analysis is essential to reveal the complexity involved in black women's relations with care in societies marked by slavery and colonization, like Brazil, particularly in this local context, which comprises a marginalized community, a favela, a black territory. It can help to explain the ambiguities and complexities of the female condition as well as the resignifications performed by the women of the Revolution. The analysis can be further developed in future research comparing the care politics and perceptions observed in the present study with other contexts either with a similar history of colonization and enslavement, like the USA, or other complex particularities.

As it is possible to conclude from the concepts, social indicators and collected data presented, the responsibility for care is a factor of intensified oppression and exploitation of black women in Brazil and in the community, while at the same time is perceived by the women of the revolution as a humanizing factor. In other words, the responsibility for care is simultaneously a core element of their intersected subordination and a central value for a new and revolutionary politics of care, showing the complexities between the intersected social place of the women of the Revolution, their perceptions on care, and their political practice.

This complexity is present when the women of the Revolution, despite mostly performing precarious, underpaid and undervalued work related to care and traditional gender roles, being particularly burdened by the responsibility

with care, understand care as valuable, and from this perception, claim not their release/freedom from the responsibility with care, but the recognition of the importance of care as an essential need that should be offered but is neglected by the State to the community, challenging the devaluation/undervaluation of care that sustains the sexual division of labor. From this understanding, they base their political practices on traditional gender roles and challenge the devaluation of care that sustains the sexual division of labor—proposing the understanding that care is political, promoting care on a community level and claiming care as a valuable social need.

From the valuing perception of care demonstrated in the focus group and the interviews, the women of the Revolution have been leading the implementation and ongoing work of the initiative, creating a revolutionary politics of care based on gender roles that fills the vacuum left by the public power, offering resistance to their social condition marked by intersected subordinations and substantially improving life in the community parting from its own needs and particularities. With that, they confirm that the favela, as a black territory in Brazil, is also a place of resistance. In favelas, as stated by Quental and Yuliya Shymko (2021, p. 769), “the fight for justice emerges from the history of the quilombos—a collective resistance to colonial power.”

Furthermore, by developing a politics of care and conducting a care work that is undervalued, precarious, and a factor of intensified intersected subordination for black women in western culture, while simultaneously a factor of humanization to enslaved and colonized people, the women of the Revolution challenge the human/nonhuman dichotomy defined by Lugones (2010) as the fundamental hierarchical dichotomy of modernity that divides the western colonizer and the colonized. By humanizing and valuing care, they challenge the western sexual division of labor and its underlying dichotomic gender roles, creating a resistance, a political practice through a politics of care from what Lugones defines as an infra-political, decolonial, relational, and subjective resistance, a “tension between subjectification (the forming/informing of the subject) and active subjectivity, that minimal sense of agency required for the oppressing-resisting relation being an active one, without appeal to the maximal sense of agency of the modern subject” (Lugones, 2003, 2010, p. 746).

To Lugones, this politics of resistance toward liberation:

Shows the power of communities of the oppressed in constituting resistant meaning and each other against the constitution of meaning and social organization by power. In our colonized, racially gendered, oppressed existences we are also other than what the hegemon makes us be. That is an infra-political achievement. If we are exhausted, fully made through and by micro and macro mechanisms and circulations of power, “liberation” loses much of its meaning or ceases to be an intersubjective affair.

(2010, p. 746)

Thus, the Revolution's politics of care has been built horizontally and bottom-up, deeply rooted in the needs and the particular social place of the community as a black territory marked by the intersections of oppressions related to sexual, racial, and international divisions of labor that they are committed to face in their local context. With their actions, the women of the Revolution deal with these intersected subordinations by presenting a situated, complex, collective, and autonomous alternative to challenge these hierarchized structures on the intersubjective and subjective levels, promoting socioecological justice through dignity of life and ecological integrity in the community. By horizontally, locally and collectively addressing the complex socioenvironmental problems that propelled the Revolution, they accomplished positive outcomes not only on basic concerns, such as health, poverty and hunger, but also on social discrimination, and became a model of socioecological technology recognized and incorporated by the State as a public policy—as will be analyzed in greater detail in a future paper.

Regarding the field of work and organization, as recognized by Rodriguez et al. (2016) and Woods et al. (2021), the intersectional perspective is still not fully explored despite its potential to make visible and address structures and systems of power and inequality in the current context of neoliberal economics and corporate feminism. In a presentation of special issue of the Journal “Gender, Work and Organization” intended to “focus attention on

the potential of intersectionality to explore the dynamics of subordination and power in work and organizations," Rodriguez et al. (2016) describe the state of the field "as encompassing two distinct approaches to the study of intersectionality in work and organizations." According to the authors, "one approach focuses on subjectivities and explores intersections to highlight the texture and consequences of inequalities experienced by individuals and groups given their social membership," while the other "embeds subjectivities within systemic dynamics of power and explores intersections to highlight these dynamics and make them visible and available for analysis" (2016, p. 202). According to this classification, the systemic perspectives of intersectional equality as way of understanding and dealing with inequalities in the workplace, as proposed by the seminal work of Acker (2006, 2011) and more recently by Woods et al. (2021), would be inserted in the second approach.

To the extension of our knowledge, our contribution to Organizational research presents an alternative exploratory approach that combines a structural, intersubjective, and subjective account on intersections to highlight how the BR as a local marginalized community-based organization makes visible and faces structural intersected oppressions and inequalities through the perceptions and collective practices of the women of the revolution as intersubjective and subjective forms of resistance.

In that sense, the case study makes visible how they, from their "vantage point" as poor racialized worker women from the South, subjectively and intersubjectively resist to the intersected structures of power and divisions of labor that particularly affect them through a successful politics of care that resignifies and values care work and challenges the modern gender dichotomy and divisions of labor. As a consequence, they set paths for more equitable and efficient institutional and organizational practices based on local contexts of intersected oppression with its specificities, understandings, challenges, demands, resistances, and solutions.

The intersectional analysis here conducted then shows that the emancipatory organizational processes of the women of the Revolution in the micro level not only shed light to but also challenge the macrostructures of the global matrix of power and its interlocking systems of oppression—capitalism, coloniality, and patriarchy—by finding effective and transformative local solutions to complex socioenvironmental problems. These solutions built through a horizontal bottom-up local organization and can then be replicated by larger organizations—as the practices of the Revolution have in fact been replicated and recognized by international and national organizations, as well as by the local government in Florianópolis as a model of community-based socioecological technology (Abreu, 2013; Anonymous, 2020, interview by authors).

## 6 | CONCLUSIONS

Inhabiting a social space marked by intersected oppressions in the Brazilian society and globally, a black territory characterized by segregation and resistance, the women of the Buckets Revolution occupy a social place shaped by the complex relationality of multiple and fluid structures of domination, such as gender, race, and class. From a broader perspective, understanding this context requires considering that contemporary neoliberal globalization has been creating a neocolonial order and recolonizing the world, particularly the South as understood by Mohanty (2003). As black worker women in a vulnerable and black community, these women occupy the bottom of these hierarchies of gender, class, and race, experiencing its imbrications of subordinations more intensely. From this "vantage point," they are able to make visible the ways in which different axes of oppression imbricate more intensely in a local context, merging, influencing, and intensifying each other. This social place, however, is not only a place of subordination but also a place of constant and complex resistance, shaped by its particularities. In that sense, women of the Revolution present an historical and contextual ambiguous bond with the issue of care.

On one hand, the sexual division of labor that still keeps women mainly responsible for care is intensified by the axes of class and race in the Brazilian context, making poor black women mainly responsible for paid and non-paid care work in the country. As a consequence, they become overloaded by the responsibility for care as well as by the absence of public policies and services, particularly in the context of favelas or neglected communities, like that of Monte Cristo in Florianópolis.

On the other hand, the women of the Revolution, as poor black worker women or poor worker women living in a neglected and black territory, as previously seen, are not only occupants of the base of the social pyramid in Brazil and more intensely burdened by the responsibility for care—including care outsourced by more privileged women—but are also heirs of a humanizing perception of care. This particularity of the context creates an ambiguity in the Brazilian society marked by colonization and slavery: the same responsibility, that is, a central element of traditional gender roles and social structures, resulting in gender inequalities, perpetuating women's subordination contemporarily, and keeping them restricted to undervalued professions, represents the humanization and the possibility to care for their own people, for their children, and for themselves.

This deep and contradictory relation with care can help to explain why the Buckets Revolution started with the strong initiative of two women from the Monte Cristo community, in partnership with a network of institutions in the neighborhood. It can also explain why women have been conducting and leading the Revolution since then, as the initiative emerged as a socioecological initiative of organic waste management to deal with a lack of public services that resulted in environmental, sanitary, and public health problems—therefore, problems of care.

The women of the Revolution then assumed the responsibility to solve these socioenvironmental problems and to care for the community, taking the initiative to mobilize and propel the Buckets Revolution. Since then, they have been developing a particular politics of care from a horizontal and bottom-up perspective. Their political practice is not just related to traditional gender roles but also attentive to the needs of the community, promoting actions intended to feed, dress, promote security and wellbeing, as well as, in a general sense, care for the community. However, as the drivers, current leaders, and significant force in the Buckets Revolution, women have been not only acting within their roles as the responsible for caretaking and social reproduction, but also challenging traditional gender roles and gendered intersected subordination by assuming political protagonism in the community, occupying a place of political power strongly denied to them in the Brazilian hierarchical, sexist, and racist social structure. Thus, from these ambiguities, influenced by, and at the same time challenging, gendered social structures and traditional gender roles, the women of the Revolution have been promoting the valorization of their territory, occupying the empty space left by the state in the community, emerging as public actresses, taking place on spheres of collective power and citizenship, as well as, in general terms, blurring the modern western dichotomies between traditional masculine and feminine spheres of life.

The Buckets Revolution is a prime example of how gender roles historically responsible for subordinating women can be resignified to build alternatives via political initiatives of care. Through their participation in the organic waste management system and in the other initiatives—especially the mother kitchen, the thrift store, and the sewing workshop—women implement measures to protect the environment and improve social conditions and quality of life in their contexts.

Furthermore, with their care-based political practice, women of the Revolution, through intersubjective and subjective resistance, have been materializing the possibility to build collective futures, taking the protagonism of the community change to offer an alternative that addresses the failures and violences of the intended welfare state in a deeply unequal and intersected Brazilian society in a context of prevailing neoliberal rationality. Starting a community political arena created in a gap left by the state, they have been promoting the dignity of life and ecological integrity within the community, improving the social status of the whole community, adding value to the territory, affecting intersected hierarchies, and occupying social places denied to black poor women in Brazil. This overall promotion of socioecological justice will be analyzed in depth in a forthcoming paper.

With their contextualized, horizontal, bottom-up, and revolutionary politics of care, women of the revolution have been providing social services denied by the public power to attend the needs of the community and presenting a care-based, counter-hegemonic alternative to address the socioenvironmental problems that resulted from intersected subordinations in the Brazilian context, and more broadly, in the contemporary neocolonial global order. From this vantage point at the marginal bottom of the system, they present the possibility of a new, more sustainable, attentive to care, horizontal, and humanizing politics.

As an indication of possible paths for future research, the case of the politics of care built by the Women of the Revolution, with its particular and complex perspective on care, can be analyzed in terms of its possible contributions to the ethics of care from an intersectional feminist dissident perspective.

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## CONFLICT OF INTEREST STATEMENT

The authors declare that they have no known conflict of interest, competing financial interests, or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

## DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

The data that support the findings of this study are available on request from the corresponding author. The data are not publicly available due to privacy or ethical restrictions.

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## ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup> North and South are understood here, according to Mohanty (2003), not as geographical, but as complex and metaphorical concepts relating to power relations that shape social spaces. From this perception, the North can be formed not only by countries and regions more economically evolved and politically influent of the international system but also by people, communities, and institutions that occupy a dominant and privileged position in global geopolitics as the subaltern and marginalized that constitute the South are not restricted only to countries and regions of the Global South or to the rest of the non-European/Euro-American world.

<sup>2</sup> For the full report, see <http://www.fao.org/brasil/noticias/detail-events/pt/c/1178601/>.

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