Rethinking gender and waste:
exploratory findings from participatory action research in Brazil

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ABSTRACT
This article focuses on how women waste pickers identify and deal with hierarchical gender relations. Based on findings from an exploratory participatory research action project with women waste pickers in Minas Gerais, Brazil, it reflects on the different forms of oppression experienced by women waste pickers at home, in the workplace and in their national movement. The article seeks to highlight how shared reflections on particular experiences of oppression not only help build awareness of women's multiple and intersectional identities but also foster paths towards individual and collective empowerment.

Introduction

I remember that I picked up a picture of a black woman, she had a very sad look and was carrying something on her head, I can't remember now. So I remember that photo, when I picked it up, you know, it touched me in a way. I can't say exactly what; she was a strong woman, but with a very sad look, we could see her sadness. So I identified with her because I had also been through situations [where] I was always smiling, but was oppressed, suffering, crying because I suffered violence inside my home. (Pollyana Inácio,[1] interview)

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1   Participants' names have been omitted from the text. Pollyana Inácio's name has been included because she claimed it was important for other women to become aware of her story of overcoming violence. For her, this is a way of becoming visible.

Pollyana's narrative during a group meeting reveals how bringing to light personal experiences of oppression in spaces of respect and solidarity can establish an initial foundation for women to claim and redefine their subjectivity. The opportunity to voice one's experience of gender violence is an expression of legitimate knowledge once it creates a platform for the recognition of marginalised women's voices and life stories. In this sense, the participant's situated experience reverses a process of denying recognition of one's subjectivity and challenges gender stereotypes based on women's fragility and victimisation.

Despite its radical origins within the praxis of feminist theory and movements, the incorporation of the concept of empowerment within the development discourse has lead to some mistrust among feminists (Cornwall, 2003; Sardenberg, 2006). A concept with contested meanings, empowerment must involve gender planning that addresses a full range of patterns of oppression, encompassing not just the economic and political dimensions, but the physical and symbolic as well (Wieringa, 1998). The transformative potential of empowerment processes entails individual and collective efforts to re-invent and re-signify dominant discourses and practices embedded in hierarchical relations.

Based on findings from an exploratory participatory research action project with women waste pickers in Minas Gerais, Brazil, from 2012[2] to 2015, this article considers different forms of oppression experienced by a group of waste pickers at home, in the workplace and in their national movement. The article is divided into four sections. The first section provides an overview of constraints faced by informal workers in the waste picking sector, focusing on specific gender vulnerabilities. The conceptual framework for understanding the threats to waste pickers' livelihoods centres on multiple axes of social injustices. The following section briefly contextualises the process of integrating waste pickers in Brazil. The third section describes the feminist participatory action research project carried out with women waste pickers in Minas Gerais. The last section examines the findings from various phases and activities of the exploratory research. The objective is to begin mapping out women waste pickers' perceptions of gender inequalities, their intersectional identities and practical needs for challenging the barriers they face. These reflections seek to contribute to discussions about how situated experience is a fundamental element in pedagogical and feminist processes of promoting gender awareness and change at both individual and collective levels.

Reframing waste picking work through a gender perspective

As part of the informal economy, waste picking is strongly present in urban landscapes, despite structural and institutional efforts to make it invisible.[3] Waste pickers may be poor people rummaging through garbage in search of food, clothing and other basic needs for daily consumption; informal private collectors of recyclables that sell to

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2   As early as 2010, women waste picker leaders from the Latin American Network of Waste Pickers (LAWPN) approached WIEGO requesting support in raising gender issues among workers. Various meetings took place in Nicaragua and Brazil during this period, eventually leading to a decision by LAWPN to support a pilot project in the state of Minas Gerais, Brazil, which would serve as a model for disseminating gender awareness with waste pickers' movements in Latin America. The project was designed with the view of scaling up.
3   Around 1%-2% of the urban population is engaged in waste activities.

middlemen or businesses; or organised collectors/sorters of recyclables linked to unions, cooperatives or associations. These workers are at the bottom of the recycling hierarchy, making them the most vulnerable within this chain. This is especially true for workers who are not organised into unions, cooperatives or associations and do not have sorting infrastructure (warehouses/sorting sheds) and equipment (such as scale, shredders, etc.).

Studies have contributed to a more comprehensive understanding of the links between the informal and formal economy and the relevance of supporting workers, particularly in developing countries, as a means of reducing poverty and inequality (Chen, 2006; 2012). Without processes in place that recover and add value to waste, as well as integrate waste pickers as key stakeholders in urban waste management, the economic and environmental contributions of informal workers will continue to go unrecognised.

Against this background, workers face increased threats to their livelihoods and stigmatisation from society. Such injustices include a distinctive status exposing them to demeaning stereotypes, harassment, a lack of full rights and lack of access to resources and relevant decision-making spheres as a part of their daily lives. These injustices are sustained by dichotomies fixed in cultural stigmas such as purity/impurity, cleanliness/dirt and order/disorder (Douglas, 2003). As workers experience such vulnerabilities, tackling injustices must simultaneously target economic, symbolic and political structures, institutions and practices that reproduce hierarchies and limit the exercise of their capacity to participate as peers (Fraser, 2003; 2008; Young, 1990). Yet without the resources or assets to reconfigure institutionalised patterns of production and interaction, the possibilities for organising and collectively mobilising demands, as well as creating a worker identity, are extremely fragile (Hill, 2001; Dias, 2002; Bhowmik, 2006; Medina, 2007; Samson, 2009; Chikarmane, 2012).

In addition to these constraints, women waste pickers must also deal with gender ideologies that reproduce inequalities in the private sphere and in the dynamics and relations involved in handling waste (Muller & Scheinberg, 2003; Madsen, 2005; Dias, Matos & Ogando, 2013). Women are usually found in the lower echelons of the informal economy, exposing them to the greatest economic risks. Furthermore, precarious and unsafe working conditions negatively affect women's emotional and physical well-being as they may be more susceptible to gynaecological diseases, sexual harassment and assault from authorities or other key actors (Madsen, 2005; Wrigley-Asante, 2013). Further gender inequalities within the sector may stem from lower education and/or lack of technical skills; different access to financial, human and social capital; patriarchal and cultural practices; and the unequal division of domestic responsibilities. In this multifaceted situation, an intersectional approach to injustices can contribute to unravelling how different sources of oppression increase gender inequalities when gender, race and class identities overlap.

The term intersectionality, a critique brought forth by black feminists in the 1980s (hooks, 1984; Crenshaw, 1989; 1991; Collins, 1998; 2000), has become a key analytical category for understanding the varying dimensions of power relations and how they are intertwined. As these authors have noted, the concept captures how social interactions and subjectivities are impacted when two or more forms of oppression intersect, resulting in a position of privilege or disadvantage. In this sense, we consider that gender

inequalities in the waste sector also cut across race and class lines. Waste picking has historically and culturally been characterised as menial, unskilled and backward labour. While clearly illustrative of class inequalities, in many societies there is a clear association between racial structures of oppression with such kinds of labour being allocated by gender, class, caste, race and ethnicity (Beall, 1997; Samson, 2009).

Attentive to these connections, efforts to build gender awareness within the waste sector must strive towards a critical perspective of how multiple identities are shaped by uneven power structures. Understanding the connection between identities and power structures must be traced along a path that integrates elements of economic, political and symbolic empowerment, considered here to be women's strategic needs (Moser, 1989; 1993). By adopting this approach, we hope to contribute to broader debates by showing that these two analytical axes help reveal practices that reinforce gender, race and class hierarchies, thereby bridging the 'tension between assertions of multiple identities and the ongoing necessity of group politics' (Crenshaw, 1991:1296).

General overview of waste picking in Brazil

Despite the persistent inequalities that plague Brazil, the country has been at the forefront of integrating waste pickers (Dias, 2014). Informal recyclers may fall into two categories: autonomous workers and organised recyclers, who are generally members of workers' cooperatives. In the late 1980s, waste pickers began to organise themselves in several cities, often relying on support from Catholic non-governmental organisations (NGOs). By the 1990s, the cities of São Paulo (1989), Porto Alegre (1990) and Belo Horizonte (1993) included waste picker cooperatives as partners in these cities' solid waste management (Dias, 2009). This integration was largely due to the willingness of leftist municipal governments, run by the Workers' Party, to incorporate these workers' demands, and stimulated the organisation of other workers throughout the country (Dias, 2002; Jacobi, 2006). Efforts to establish cooperatives eventually lead to collective mobilisations which combined to form the National Movement of Waste Pickers (MNCR) in 2001. The MNCR represents approximately 1,200 cooperatives (Freitas & Fonseca, 2012), making it the largest movement of waste pickers in the world to date (Dias & Alves, 2008; Samson, 2009). According to estimates from Brazil's 2010 census, there are over 388,000 waste pickers[4] of whom 31% are women, 66% are black and over 93% are urban dwellers.

Data from small-scale studies in Brazil show increasing numbers of women employed as informal recyclers in cooperatives, rising from 18% in 1993 to 55% in 1998 (Dias, 2002). More recent data show that women comprise 56% of workers in the cooperatives (Instituto Nenuca de Desenvolvimento Sustentável [INSEA], 2007).

The higher concentration of female workers in cooperatives has positively impacted women's active membership and participation in the MNCR, yet it is not necessarily indicative of gender equality. Although recent studies have documented the conflicts arising from the sexual division of labour at the cooperatives (Wirth, 2010; Goulart & Lima, 2012), only a few have questioned the power dynamics beyond the workplace and

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4   This estimate does not capture workers who live in open dumps or on the streets. The MNCR believes there are 800,000 to 1 million pickers in the country.

within the MNCR, reinforcing how women are still at the margins of the organisation (Dias & Fernandez, 2013; Dias, Matos & Ogando, 2013).

Research approach and methodology

This section considers the theoretical underpinnings of the exploratory research action project with women waste pickers in the state of Minas Gerais as well as the activities that led to its establishment. It should be noted that the research was of a pilot scale because of the time and effort involved in developing a participatory process that would reflect women waste pickers' own interests and demands. Action research was understood here as a bottom-up approach, enabling collaboration between the researchers and the women waste pickers at all stages of the project.

The Gender & Waste project was designed according to a feminist participatory action approach, based on the principles of Freirean pedagogy.[5] The general tenets that guided the project's design included the prioritisation of women's situated experience as the starting point for building gender awareness (Weiler, 1991; Maguire, 2001; Kesby, 2005). Nevertheless, the researchers recognised that consciousness raising must be tied to political action and cannot only be centred on individual experiences in order to ensure more effective challenges to hierarchical social practices and institutions (Freire, 2005; Miraftab, 2004; Frisby, Maguire & Reid, 2009). They were also alert to other risks and were cautious with regard to the emphasis on individual subjective experiences as a means of avoiding a sense of victimisation, as well as a universalising lens that places women into a coherent, homogeneous group. Emphasis was placed on the recognition that building gender awareness is part of a long-term process with its own tensions and contradictions, given concrete challenges to creating transformative paths that address the levels of structural and institutional gender inequalities. Hence, situated experience was an initial and fundamental step for participants to begin understanding how the personal is indeed political.

The research included various group meetings held throughout Brazil, in addition to smaller, more intimate meetings carried out with key women waste pickers and leaders from Minas Gerais. These initial events helped inform the four exploratory gender workshops held in 2013, representing four regions in the state.

The workshops lasted for an entire day with groups of 12 to 22 participants. Overall, 67 women from 41 cooperatives[6] participated in the workshops. The workshops covered topics such as women's autonomy, socially constructed gender roles in Brazilian society, perceptions of the advances and obstacles related to gender equality, how different identities intensify levels of oppression and the resources needed to confront given barriers. In addition, a final event was held in 2015 with the women participants and other waste pickers from Brazil and Latin America as a means of disseminating the

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5   This is based on Paulo Freire's vision of empowering the oppressed by shifting epistemological claims. For Freire, experience is knowledge that is capable of raising consciousness regarding different forms of oppression. In this approach, the teacher or educator is not the only bearer of authority, truth or knowledge. The construction of knowledge is in itself a political act.
6   According to the Minas Gerais Reference Center on Solid Waste (CMRR), there are two hundred cooperatives in the state. Our project studied 20% of the cooperatives in the state.

general findings, personal impacts and outputs[7] from the project. This event sought to engage other waste pickers at the local, national and international levels, including male waste pickers.

Acknowledging debates over scale and rigour in participatory methods (Brydon-Miller, Greenwood & Maguire, 2003; Mayoux & Chambers, 2005), it is important to note that our main objective was to test how gender awareness could be built with a group of women waste pickers through participatory methodology. Within this context, we looked to explore gender constraints in the sector and begin a process that would enable women's voices and agency to emerge in a variety of settings beyond the project. Our findings can be used as a starting point for larger scale studies with women waste pickers.

The data analysed here are based on informal conversations with women waste pickers who participated in various stages of the project, participant observation and detailed reports from each exploratory workshop and five semi-structured interviews with women. All of the conversations and interviews were conducted by Dias or Ogando, as were the reports following the workshops. The representative quotes for this article have been translated from Portuguese by the authors.

From theory to action: findings on gender inequalities and agency

While established hierarchies produce inequalities, they do not necessarily establish permanent positions of domination. As Mohanty (2003:148) notes, structures of domination are often met with 'vibrant, creative, collective forms' of struggles for justice. Against this dialectic, this section looks at the findings on women waste picker's perceptions of oppression and their own forms of resistance.

Figure 1 illustrates how we understand the dynamic process of building gender awareness and its connection to different forms and levels of empowerment. Cognitive and symbolic empowerment form the basis for understanding and unravelling how identities are intertwined and produce impacts on identities that are already marginalised. Strengthening women's sense of self-worth is essential then for identifying which resources (practical needs) can, in this context, lead to symbolic, economic and political empowerment (strategic needs). Broadly speaking, economic empowerment refers to increased access to and control over resources that lead to increased agency and choice capable of improving one's livelihood. Political empowerment refers to the opportunity for establishing and/or encouraging a critical feminist consciousness with respect to the need for women's entrance in distinct public spheres and decision-making processes. Finally, symbolic empowerment involves intersubjective experiences built on respect.

The figure attempts to capture a process that is not unidirectional, but one in which the levels are related to each other. Hence, while the starting point is at the personal level, it is interconnected simultaneously to the collective and to the boundaries of both practical and strategic needs. This is because we claim that effective changes in the

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7   For more information on the outputs and project, see: http://wiego.org/wee/gender-waste-project.

Individual	▶	▶	Collective and structural
	Practical needs		Strategic needs
Building gender awareness (cognitive empowerment	▶	Reading and writing skills Computer literacy Management skills Speaking skills Leadership skills Learning about laws and public policies that affect women	Economic empowerment Political empowerment Symbolic empowerment
▲			
▼			
Building self-esteem (symbolic empowerment)	▶		

Figure 1: Building gender awareness and levels of empowerment

Source: Authors' own elaboration.

sector must be grounded on women's collective, grassroots action. As Pollyana stated, 'if I hadn't known the movement perhaps I would not have been exposed to this gender discussion ... I may not be alive today'.

This dynamic process can provide insights on how changes in beliefs and attitudes that begin on a micro level work their way to the macro level. The workshops reflected this ideal in that activities focused on offering women the space to value their experiences and knowledge, helping them establish a new sense of self-worth. As they discussed the barriers they face in different spheres and identified the resources needed, the participants moved from an individual to a more collective reflection on how to tackle such problems. While we do not claim to have answers for consolidating this process based on the findings, the continuous effort to work with women on key concepts such as autonomy and gender equality and their connection with broader forms of injustice, exposing class, race and sexuality discriminations, may be a path for countering hegemonic discourses and practices. The underlying question is how can building gender awareness among waste pickers foster consciousness that effectively translates into social activism and practices of gender equality.

Situated experience and perceptions on gender inequalities and intersecting identities

Situated experience offers women a platform for identifying both the patterns of inequalities present in their lives and the ways they have contested them. The process of making visible what has been marginalised is in itself a form of challenge to practices that have denied women the recognition of their experiences and voices.

In the overwhelming majority of the workshops, women waste pickers emphasised the importance of having a space for women to discuss their personal experiences of oppression. As one workshop participant noted, 'This was beneficial, sometimes we are embarrassed to express ourselves. Here we felt comfortable'. For many, the workshops allowed them to express how proud they are of the work they do. On a symbolic level, it was significant that women claimed their value as workers, militants, mothers and

wives. In other cases, workshops provided women with the chance to speak about gender-sensitive issues such as sexuality and gender violence.

Interestingly, the women who participated were quite aware of the sexist and heteronormative cultural norms that essentialise gender roles. Such discussions led to reflections on how both men and women reproduce gender ideologies. The majority of the women in all workshops complained of the difficulties they face in terms of the unequal division of domestic labour. Asymmetrical power relations in the household impact the time and energy women have to take part in leisure activities or even extend their work time. Though they recognised the need for equally dividing the work a home, they also recognised that there were serious cultural barriers limiting their possibilities for more just relations within the home.

Another topic that generated intense discussion among the participants was the issue of sexuality, with many claiming that they had never had the chance to discuss this issue in a collective setting. In two out of the four workshops, it was important to deconstruct some moralist judgments that countered the objectives of the research. Some of the opinions on women's sexual behaviour and how they should dress represented patriarchal and conservative points of view. In these cases, the facilitators played an intervening role in questioning why such perspectives have such a stronghold in Brazilian society today. These tensions created an important starting point for exploring the reproduction of gender ideologies and reflecting on how autonomy also includes women's control over their bodies.

In other workshops, the discussion on sexuality provided the space for lesbian waste pickers to draw attention to the discrimination they have encountered. When these experiences were shared, other women commented that they had not reflected on their own negative stereotypes of LGBTQIA (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, intersex and asexual) workers in their cooperatives. We believe that by discussing such examples, women waste pickers began to pinpoint how gender oppressions are enforced by external and intragroup forces as well.

Discussions on sexuality were almost always closely linked with mentions of other forms of gender violence. This was one of the most urgent and recurrent concerns expressed by women in the workshops, interviews and activities. Personal stories played a crucial role in demystifying notions of victimisation and encouraging others to confront oppressive situations. Women were clear in pointing out that it was husbands, fathers, brothers or other male figures who were to blame not only for instances of physical violence but also for verbal, sexual and psychological abuse. The sense of subordination was captured by a woman's comment:

We have this fear not only of our husbands, but of our brothers or even our sons, [a fear of] men in general. If we as women do not look them in the eye, there is no way around it. We need to set our minds to this and end our fear.

Expanding the definition of violence allowed women to publicly voice their strengths and self-worth. In her interview, Pollyana explained how a 'simple discussion on gender' changed her attitude towards accepting violence in her home:

Because inside the movement, we always discussed topics [related] to waste pickers, but we didn't have anything, until then ... like this discussion on gender, something centered on women, on what we are going through, on what we feel, what we

hope for. So when this occurred, I felt that it was the moment for me to find strength from those who were guiding me. So in that first discussion I decided, I chose to not subordinate myself anymore to violence. So it was something like I revealed my story and was able to openly tell all the people there what I was going through and I had this certainty, this conviction that I could change. I could have a chance. Because up until then, I didn't know where to find this [strength].

As in some of the second-wave feminist reflection groups (Weiler, 1991), discussions on violence were marked by an understanding of the pervasiveness of violence in their lives, but also of what strategies have helped other women confront such violence. Stories of overcoming violent relationships illustrate how some women have been able to challenge the frontiers of a subjectivity designated to them by creating new meanings and paths for their lives. Furthermore, in the interviews, women claimed that after the workshops they had discussed gender violence with other women in their cooperatives and families. The practical outcome of this is that awareness of gender inequalities and knowledge of how to address them travel beyond the group of participants.

It should be noted that discussions on race appeared tangentially in the workshops. Yet when reflecting on other axes of oppression, class and race were associated as identity markers that intensify the experiences of discrimination and marginalisation, primarily because the majority of waste pickers are black. In one workshop, a participant gave an extensive testimony on how slavery and racial discrimination are embedded in Brazilian society. Another woman reflected on their experiences as black women stating, "black women have been very discriminated against, but things have been changing". The intersections of class and race were also noted in the urban landscape when the same waste picker claimed, 'This is the white class which is the class with money. They can find us in the slums'.

Barriers to gender equality

Women clearly signalled how the unequal division of domestic labour is a central factor of inequality. However, they mentioned other obstacles related to their work environment and movement. In all of the workshops, participants were proud to claim that they carry out all types of activities in their cooperatives, even those designated for men. In their opinion, this represented greater gender equality. However, this was an opportunity to reflect on how gender is relational and the fact men are refusing to take on what they consider more 'feminine' activities reinforces a sexual division of labour. Clearly, this mirrors the public-private dichotomy where typically feminine tasks or reproductive labour are often unnoticed and undercompensated both in the workplace and at home (Young, 1990:51).

Along these lines, participants recognised that there seem to be more women than men working in their cooperatives, yet it is usually men who sit on the cooperatives' boards. In some cases, women's voices and representation are differentiated. Women mentioned how men cut them off in meetings, do not give them enough time to speak and do not respect their opinions. According to one participant, 'when men sit on the board [of the cooperative] there is almost no recognition [of women]'. Some women also expressed concern about bullying and sexual harassment that they experience at work.

Discussion of these examples encouraged women to think about strengthening their own relationships among women in the cooperatives.

Nevertheless, there were notable cases of women serving in administrative roles in the cooperatives. These women are very articulate, enjoy their leadership positions and take great pride in recounting successful stories of negotiations with local politicians. Overall, it became evident that participation and equal representation are central for changing decision-making processes and for creating more democratic practices within their workplace and movement. This activism may also affect how women perceive other struggles for social justice in society. Along these lines, a woman mentioned the connections between struggles:

As a militant in the movement, as a woman, as a waste picker, the discussions on gender all feed into each other ... because we have the conviction that when we are all there, women [coming from] various places and with various stories have shown us they were capable of overcoming [hardships]. This encourages [us] more and more, [and encourages] this militancy that we have to continue struggling, that it is possible.

In other words, raising political consciousness and participation is one way that women can understand how their identities are interconnected and must be linked to broader levels of action.

Future paths: identifying practical needs

In all of the workshops and interviews, women expressed interest in participating in additional workshops to discuss gender. They also said that capacity-building courses would help their self-esteem and enable them to participate more actively within their cooperatives and national movement. Along these lines, a woman expressed her concern about being illiterate: 'How can I be the treasurer at my association if I can't read or write?' Despite the lack of specific skills, another woman affirmed that this should not be used as an impediment to participating: 'We don't know how to read, we have ears ... we cannot be scared of being leaders. I'm not afraid because I can't read'.

In general, women would like the opportunity to enhance the skills that would directly impact relationships within their cooperatives and facilitate negotiating processes with male colleagues and key actors in the value chain and political system. After taking part in an activity on communication skills as part of a follow-up to the workshops, a woman who is the president of a cooperative stated,

Sometimes it is complicated, we are leaders of a cooperative and a job like this requires us to give orders to men, right? So sometimes it is difficult for us to delegate responsibilities, and so sometimes there are confrontations and such but I was able to deal really well with this confrontation.

Learning to manage conflicts within the workplace is a form of empowering women. It also improves the levels of productivity and social ties in the workplace, positively impacting all workers.

Concluding thoughts

As we have argued here, we have made a modest attempt to demarcate how building gender awareness is part of a complex process. In order to continue working on gender

awareness, numerous obstacles must be faced. On one level, gender planning means more than organising events for women. It involves the institutionalisation of action plans[8] with short- to long-term activities, which is still a challenge for the waste pickers' movements.

On another level, given the stereotypes and misconceptions attributed to feminism, dealing with gender issues within the waste picking sector and movement has created its own tensions. Engaging key male leaders as supporters of projects of this nature is important for dispelling the notion that feminism and gender awareness work against men. Therefore, there is a need to strategically think about when and how to involve men, as traditional male leaderships may boycott the process at an early stage. We nevertheless consider it important that a gender approach must involve both men and women in order to foster an emancipatory agenda based on democratic practices within cooperatives and the movement.

The comprehensive approach to empowerment we have undertaken sought to contribute to a reflection on the various zones of invisibility waste pickers experience, particularly those that relate to gender dynamics in the sector. We argue that these invisibilities are tied not only to economic, political and symbolic practices and structures but also to multiple identities such as class, race and sexuality, among others. If gender equality is a path for envisioning more just relations, further ties between collective feminist struggles and other social movements must also be established. This was best expressed by a black, older woman waste picker who asserted, 'the feminist movement exists, but it is time for the movement to recognise and include women waste pickers'. In a similar vein, she called upon the MNCR to be more receptive of women's demands and concerns.

Finally, deepening women waste pickers' understanding of the interconnected ways in which oppression crosses their lives has proven to be an enriching experience for researchers and participants involved in the project. Women's conviction to continue struggling along with other waste pickers for respect and access to resources and decision-making spheres represents the ideals of solidarity and citizenship that inspired the very foundation of the waste pickers' movement in Brazil.

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8   This would include continuous and inclusive actions such as literacy programmes, political training, management and public speaking training, educational campaigns on issues such as gender violence, day care centres, sexuality, women's health, and actions against homophobia, etc.

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