Divers Engaging Policy—Practices of Making Water

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Abstract

In this thesis I discuss how divers in Rio de Janeiro and Arraial do Cabo, Brazil, are part of a process of making water (Barnes 2014). This I do by examining the relationship between the policies of the non-governmental organization Project Aware and these divers. These policies under question concerns the growing issue of marine debris, asking divers to directly act towards a solution by removing debris, and inform about the issue. I employ the concepts habitus and the entrepreneurial self as heuristic think-tools in order to illuminate the structuring aspect of this relationship, how it affects the way policies are negotiated, embodied, and practiced in regard to society and the environment (e.g Bourdieu 1990; Rose 1998; Gershon 2016). My argument is based on observations, interviews, and media analysis. I show how my interlocutors are engaged in making water, in hands on actions of removing debris, and in discourse making where the issue is forwarded, emphasized, and discussed. Further I illustrate the impact that local power structures hold on practices of agents (Barnes 2014; Karlsson 2015).

Keywords: Making Water; Policy; Political Ecology; Practices
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Image 6: CITES CoP17


Image 8: This image show the view from a dive boat leaving Praia dos Anjos. 27/11-16. Photographer: the author. Page: 49.
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Introduction

The water is chilly and the morning sun has not yet regained its full power. I’m alone in the water due to the early hours. I am enjoying the relaxing feeling of being in the water while observing the hills full of cactuses and small trees surrounding the white sandy beach. There are many sea birds hunting for fish. They make a ‘swooping’ sound when they fly past, and a soft splash when they dive into the water to catch their pray. All of a sudden my feet touch something. Surprised I pull my leg towards me. When I look into the water I see that a plastic bag has entangled my foot. Now my attention is on the many other pieces of plastic floating around me in the water that I had not noticed before, having been too distracted by the beautiful nature surrounding me. I reach down towards my foot to remove the plastic bag, but then I see something moving inside of it. I take a closer look: it is a crab inside of the bag. The crab is floating around in the ocean: it is trapped and cannot make its way out. You could say that the crab was buried alive in a transparent coffin, and it would have died there were it not lucky enough to be rescued.

Image 1, and 2, The rescued crab: Praia do Forno. Photographer: the author. 2/12-16
Our oceans, rivers, and lakes are filling up with debris at an increasing rate. This affects the quality of water—how animals, and humans make their livelihoods in relation to, and with water. The growing amount of debris has provoked action from various governments, NGOs (non-governmental organizations), as well as private persons.

*Project Aware* is such an NGO that were created by PADI (Professional Association of Diving Instructors) to promote environmental work—this organization tries to use policies in order to engage scuba divers in collecting debris from the waters they work in and to dive in a more environmental friendly way. They call divers *citizen scientists* for their active role in data collection that later can be of use for scientists (projectaware.org March 2017). I will show the impact of policies from Project Aware on divers in the two Brazilian towns Rio de Janeiro and Arraial do Cabo arguing that these divers are part in *making water*, practices that directly affect the quality and quantity of water on our planet. Water is fundamental for life, and as such it makes agents come together in their efforts to obtain and control water (Barnes 2014). I use *habitus* and the *entrepreneurial self* as heuristic tools to understand not individuals per se but their relationships with their often economically structured surroundings. Or as Bourdieu has put it, “structuring structures” that both steer the actions of individuals, and creates the field wherein agents can act, a field that agents become co-creators of (Broady 1991: 228; Rose 1998; Gershon 2016; Gherardi 2016). Co–creation is one aspect underpinning the discussion around the *Anthropocene* (e.g Dalby 2016; Collier and Devit 2016). The Anthropocene is a concept used by scholars to explain the increased and increasing impact humans have on the environment, suggesting that it is human action that now steer the development of planet earth and its inhabitants. It is this concept that forms the basis to my discussion in this thesis. However, I will not directly engage this discussion (e.g Haraway et al. 2015), rather I will narrow it down to how humans are making water (Barnes 2014), and to what extent policy can contribute to changing the way social agents act with regards to water. I departure from a *Political Ecology* point of view, which is a scholarly line of thought trying to illuminate and politicize the relationship between political, economical, and social factors that impact the environment. Arguing with Barnes (2014) and Karlsson (2015) that structures of power holds many answers to social practices. And therefore these are vital to study if one aims to understand how certain practices are formed within localities, and this can for example be done following the analogue of water as a “*total social fact*” (Orlove...
and Caton 2010) that connects individuals and institutions by their common interest in water.

Project Aware formulate their policies in absolute terms—this is how you should to do—however, in the real world where practitioners engage with policy it is on their terms, policies are negotiated before practiced, adapted to local contexts and the agenda of its practitioners. The key to ethnographically studying the effects of policies is to select a strategic small field-site that opens the window to a larger picture (Shore and Wright 2011: 10). The small fishing town Arraial do Cabo is such a location. Rio de Janeiro is the opposite of Arraial do Cabo, a mega–city with all that comes with it. These field sites offer differing angles to how policy interacts with individuals and the environment. Observing policies from two locations offers the possibility to understand their flexibility, durability, and ability to reach out and connect individuals within different settings and contexts. These are some of the aspects that I will highlight in this thesis when answering my overarching research questions: *What can we understand about the relationship between the policies of Project Aware and divers by following how they form and are shaped by divers in Rio de Janeiro and Arraial do Cabo?* and, *By what practices are divers making water in Rio de Janeiro and Arraial do Cabo?*

**Outline of the Thesis**

I begin by outlining the methods and theories used to collect the material, followed by a description of the field. Then the body of the thesis is as follow, chapter 1: **Making Water: Online**, in this chapter I elaborate on the policies from Project Aware and how various social agents and practices become part in their formulation. Chapter 2: **Making Water: Offline – on the Shore**, here I engage the local context wherein divers are acting, mapping the various actors that are part in shaping the practices of divers. Chapter 3: **Making Water: Offline – under the Surface**, this chapter takes the reader into the water and describes direct practices of removing marine debris. Chapter 4: **Making Water: Offline – Action**, this last chapter engages with organized and visible practices of environmental work, on land and in water. In these four chapters I will answer and reflect around the research questions, dividing the process between online and offline, but also between water and land. Lastly I conclude on the findings from the chapters above, and propose some further directions for inquiry, arguing for the inclusion of anthropological studies, such as this, in the wider discussion on the Anthropocene.
Method

In this chapter I will outline my methodological approach and begin thinking about what is special when conducting observations under water. I will also shortly discuss interview techniques, and online practices of fieldwork.

Participant Observation, and a short Ethical note

When I set out on fieldwork in early November 2016 I worried about time, did I have enough of it in order to gather the material that I sought? In this moment I recalled Moore’s (2009) argument that long-term fieldwork is never long enough to capture it all. I believe Moore is right: one has to go with the time available and adjust ones questions thereafter. However, methodologically Coleman (2009: 113) has an important point when suggesting that it is by the long-term relationship with interlocutors that anthropological methods are fruitful. Adhering to this notion, with the limitation of time in mind, I put much effort into relationship building from the beginning of my fieldwork and during the 10 weeks it lasted. This was in order to really get to know my interlocutors and their lives—a process that has been rewarding for my project in that it opened many doors that would have remained closed were I not becoming close with interlocutors, and for me as a person with several new friends as a bonus. When the fieldwork went towards its end the question about exiting the field hovered in the background and poked for attention. I had told my interlocutors from the very start when I would go back home, and I mentioned it occasionally during my weeks in field to remind them. This notwithstanding, leaving was an emotional affair. New friends had to stay and go on with their lives, just as it had been before I entered their lives with my questions and inquiries, and not all were happy about it. Strictly speaking, leaving on a professional level was unproblematic: my study focusing on a part of something bigger and nothing ‘holistic’ helped this process (Hine 2000). My fieldwork ended when it had to, and it helped me tremendously that I had bought tickets home before entering the field. If not, the lure of staying might have been too strong.

I did explain my project in short words the first time that I met a new potential interlocutor in order to obtain informed consent, that they wanted to participate in the study and that I was free to use the material afterwards. When making pictures I asked permission if individuals could be identified, according to standard anthropological
praxis (AAA March 2017). I did not encounter any resistance towards my project. Most were positive and liked that I wanted to highlight the ‘trash problem’ as they called it—this awareness was apparently not due to Project Aware, but rather because of a feeling of discontent with the current situation of garbage management. So as not to let anyone down I did my best to scale down expectations as to what I could do about the ‘problem’: to my knowledge, I succeeded in this. Most interlocutors mentioned in this thesis go by pseudonyms in order to protect their privacy: only Luiz kept his own name by his own preference—he was after all officially recognizable through the webpage of Project Aware (AAA March 2017). Practicing participant-observation included interviewing on a varying scale of structure, the most common being the semi-structured interview where the interviewee follows a lose set of questions posed by the anthropologists, but allowing for flexibility and adjustability within the course of the interview (Davies 2008: 105-106; Hamersley and Atkinson 2007: 117). I made several semi-structured interviews with various interlocutors, this in combination with daily unstructured interviews around the topic of my interest together with my interlocutors.

The methods I used are part of an “iterative–inductive research”, evolving in design as the fieldwork went on (Pink et. al 2015: 3). In this way my methods were constantly shifting and developing. I have not applied one approach to all situations but rather adapted to my current context, on land and in water. For example, in Rio de Janeiro I had planned to be part in several cleanups, but as things turned out, many of these events did not materialize during my time there for both personal and weather reasons. Therefore I had to change to observation of the places my interlocutors worked in, and interviews with the interlocutors, as means to gather my material. In Arraial I was on the contrary able to practice diving, observe cleaning and educational practices, and interview interlocutors about these.

My material comes mainly from participant-observation where I have spent time with my interlocutors, at work and during free time. I hung around in dive shops, on beaches, and in the gym. I went walking in town, going on day tours by boat, and went diving with my interlocutors. Initially language seemed to be an issue, almost no one admitted speaking English. When asked they only replied: “Nau falu Ingles” (I do not speak English). However, as soon as someone opened up, admitting they spoke some English, then the rest followed suit and it turned out that English in fact was not an issue at all.
I dived with two centers that both had English-speaking instructors. As I went diving with them, practicing their trade, I could both embody the feeling of working in this environment—down to 30 meters beyond the surface—and observe them practicing their trade. Diving is a special sensory experience where the body is almost weightless and can move in any direction. In this way being in a watery environment further enhances the ‘strangeness’ of this experience for the body (Merchant 2011a,b). While diving sound is everywhere and comes from all directions, it is very hard locating its source. So when a boat passed above the whole underwater world vibrates from the sound of the engine. Light is clear close to the surface, giving corals and fishes clear and bright colors. But the deeper one goes, the greyer the world becomes. Visibility can range from 40 to 1 meter(s), depending on location and weather conditions, an aspect that can very much impact the experience of diving. For example, a dive instructor told me during a dive: “So you have trained in Nordic Water? Cool, that means you dive calmly and does not panic as soon the visibility goes down, like some divers around here does.” The temperature of the water is another important factor. Becoming cold under water is a testing experience: one starts to tremor and it is very hard to think about anything else than getting out of the water. The knowledge that it is impossible to just swim up due to decompression reasons makes the cold feel much more real. The temperature of these waters was mentioned by one of the instructors saying: “The water here in Arraial is very cold. I really think so. I know that many tourists are surprised of how distracted they become by the temperature, they assume that because it is Brazil it will be warm.” Wacquant (2004: 59) argues that in order to understand a practice one has to immerse oneself into that practice. As Bourdieu has put it, we learn by the body about the body (referred in Wacquant 2004: Viii). I agree with this, and therefore I applied this particular method to dive with my interlocutors. This being said, we need to be very careful about how much of a sensory experience a researcher can understand by being present. All experiences are felt in relation to earlier ‘luggage’ (embodied history (Bourdieu 1990) and thus takes different shapes within different individuals (Merchant 2011b), and in different conditions, based among other things on the temperature or visibility in water, as noted above. Thus the way a diver dives is not only about individual skills, or experience (embodied history), but a negotiation between inhabited skills, practices of other divers, and the environment. Continuing on this, the way that a diver acts when diving is in part shaping the environment, something that will affect the
next diver entering the same water. The slogan of Project Aware, “Make each Dive matter”, is rather descriptive of this way of thinking. Practices are developing in symbiosis with their surrounding, for good or bad. This understanding I could not have gained were I to only stay on the surface.

*Online Fieldwork, Following the Policy*

Project Aware broadcasts their policies via several online platforms such as their webpage, and they are ambitious users of social media: Facebook, Pinterest, and Instagram, where they both by pictures and text give the observer/reader their message of ocean protection. In order to analyze their online communication I have been researching online, in addition to ‘ordinary fieldwork’, on these various platforms as a mean of collecting data. I followed updates on the webpage and all posts uploaded on social media, mainly pictures with a caption. I use Uimonen’s (2013) theorization on the virtual production of selfhoods on Facebook as a starting point to understand how images and text transmitted from Project Aware are part in shaping a selfhood of the organization. This selfhood is used to distinguishing the organization from other similar ones, in a war on attention and funds by providing a “picture of despair” to attract the public interest (Creve and Axelby 2013: 1). Thus being online, conducting “netnography” (Harkin 2013: 96), or as Máiréad and Hill (2015: 49-50) call it “online ethnography”, has been my method of observing and interacting with these policies being transmitted, and to figure out how they are received, by which means and in what way. I have also engaged with some interlocutors when they have been away. I have made online interviews with Luiz and Gabriel, and I have followed updates on their social media accounts related to Project Aware, diving, and cleanups. Conducting research online is in many ways similar to offline fieldwork; however, the practices of fieldwork are shifting. We are often in mediated rather than personal contact with interlocutors: we observe, we track, and we listen to interlocutors instead of being in person at their side (Pink et. al 2015: 3). I agree with Miller and Slater (2000: 5) when they suggest that “we need to treat Internet media as continuous with and embedded in other social spaces” because this allows an understanding of how policy being transmitted online is still part in constructing offline practices.
Theory

Understanding how the growing amounts of marine debris in our waters impact on local, regional, and global ecosystems is critical. My point of departure is the possible contribution by anthropology in thinking about this. As stated above, by following the relationship between policy and divers, and divers and their societal and environmental surroundings I seek to unravel their practices of making water. First, I will outline the anthropology of policy. Then, I turn to how policy and practice theory come together, how the analytical concept habitus in relation with the entrepreneurial self can help define different aspects of the relationship between divers and Project Aware, as well as between divers and water. Finally I engage literature on making water within the context of societal power structures.

Policy

“[…] policies belong to—and are embedded within—particular social and cultural worlds or ‘domains of meaning’. But they create as well as reflect those worlds. From our perspective, policies are not simply external, generalized or constraining forces, nor are they confined to texts. Rather, they are productive, performative and continually contested. A policy finds expression through sequences of events; it creates new social and semantic spaces, new sets of relations, new political subjects and new webs of meaning.” (Shore and Wright 2011: 1)

These words nicely conceptualize how I define policy in this thesis. By focusing on practices and relations between practices, agents, and organizations I will try to illuminate how policy can become part of making water. Policy is important due to its governing capabilities utilized by governments, companies, and non-governmental organizations in their relationship with their respective jurisdictions (Shore and Wright 2011: 2).

“I believe the mission of Project Aware to impact governments by showing them the quantities of debris in our oceans is important. That is why I always report all the marine debris that I find when diving to Project Aware.”

This was my interlocutor Gabriel explaining that the policy from Project Aware has influenced him to participate in their work, gathering data that will make their policy more reliable and stronger. Earlier anthropology of policy has amongst other things illustrated how policy is created, transformed, implemented, resisted, and how policies
travel (Shore, Wright, and Peró 2011). However, how policy is embedded in a 
negotiation within one individual or a group, and then practiced, or rejected, is a far less 
discussed topic—usually the point of view will be from the implementers, or those 
resisting a policy, not those practicing it. It is this aspect I aim to elaborate on by 
focusing on the negotiation of practices suggested by the policies of Project Aware. It 
seems important to understand how policy works with individuals and groups in order 
to form a clearer image of what policy can, and cannot do. Providing an understanding 
of what results policy can be expected to bring about, and what unexpected results that 
can come as a result—for societies, individuals, animals, and environment alike. Within 
the anthropology of policy there are several approaches: Studying up, down, sideways, 
and through to mention some (Hannerz 2006; Shore and Wright 2011). The ‘through’ 
approach is closest to my study because it suggests ways to “follow how an issue is 
framed and reframed over time” (Wright and Reinhold 2011: 87). That would be the 
reconceptualization of the policies by Project Aware, from their creation to 
implementation by divers in Rio de Janeiro and Arraial do Cabo. My study focuses on 
the end part of this process, where the policies are implemented and practiced, only with 
an awareness of how agents are part in changing the formulation of these policies.

**Habitus and the Entrepreneurial Self**

With practice theory social scientists try to explain the relationship between social 
structure and human agency, how structure is embodied by an agent and then acted in 
relation with the structure. One of the most famous concepts is Bourdieu’s habitus, one 
of my key tools in this thesis. According to Bourdieu (1976: 118) habitus is:

> “the end product of structures which practices tend to reproduce in such a way that the 
> individuals are bound to reproduce them, either by consciously reinventing or by 
> subconsciously imitating already proven strategies as the accepted, most respectable, or even 
> simplest course to follow.”

Shore and Wright (2011: 9) suggest that habitus is useful in order to understand how 
agents come to incorporate, embody, and become habituated to those structuring 
frameworks that policies are—Bourdieu did not speak of policies, but of structuring 
structures (Broady 1991: 228)—something that Shore and Wright seem to argue being 
the same thing. Habitus as a concept is used to make explicit the relation between the
individual and their surrounding in order to explain practices that seem to be ‘natural’ (Broady 1991: 229; Galli 2012: 35). Habitus is thus a person’s embodied history: social (knowledge gained) and biological (the attributes the agent is born with) parts that come together and react with the social environment producing the current practices of the agent (Bourdieu 1990: 55-56). Habitus is, according to Bourdieu (1990: 56) a form of “spontaneity without consciousness or will”, a “second nature” (Bourdieu 1992: 123) of embodied know-how, something that illustrates why rational practices according to the logic of habitus do not always agree with what society or individual agents would like, and why some practices are unconscious. The habitus of an agent can change when in negotiation with other structuring structures (policies for example) that impose the need of flexibility on habitus. Each situation is unique, therefore habitus must adapt slightly to each new encounter in order to act as efficiently as possible (Broady 1991: 229).

Further, there are three other aspects according to which the habitus of agents are part of shaping practices: social capital (connections: with other agents in the locality or the international dive community etc.), symbolic capital (prestige: among divers, and for possible customers), and doxa—a set of unquestionable norms that the agent is set to follow (Broady 1991: 170). Different ways of acting will produce different outcomes, and by this define the agent’s social and symbolic capital as an evaluation of this agent’s actions (Broady 1991: 226; Galli 2012: 35). Moreover, I view habitus to be similar to the concept the entrepreneurial self (Rose 1998: 154). Gershon (2016: 225) elaborates on the concept stating that most aspects of the entrepreneurial self are possible to enhance, except the qualities that are the unique factor that is used to make the ‘brand’ of the self. In the world of today money gives prestige and it gives opportunities. The divers with whom I conducted my study all need to secure funding in order to be able of conducting cleanups of beaches and water or similar environmental practices. Thus I employ the concept of the entrepreneurial self to illuminate the economic engagement by my interlocutors, how they as social agents are actively engaged with their often economically structured context in a competition for attention and success to secure the funds needed for their work. This means that I view the entrepreneurial self as a neoliberal version of habitus in the way that both concepts help me understand how societal contexts are simultaneously embodied and acted upon, and the entrepreneurial self brings an economical aspect that is helpful for my purposes.
One illustrative example of the use of practice theory and habitus is Wacquant’s book *Body and Soul* (2004) where he uses his study among boxers, where he himself learnt to become one, to illustrate the way bodies and minds work in symbiosis. Practicing is a twofold thing that must be done both by the mind and the body simultaneously. Wacquant explains how a person’s habitus can embody a routine. I read it as policy because the routines in boxing are guidelines in how a boxer should act in certain situations, similar to how policies are meant to guide agents actions in society, making them part of the bodily schemata of a person, of his or her body-mind complex (John Dewey, cited in Wacquant 2004: 97). This understanding is paramount in order to understand how policies can affect the way divers dive. According to my experience, when diving one must often act instantly without time for thought, thus the body must know what to do. Something that is crucial in order for a diver to act out the policy while under water. Wacquant argues that in order to understand a practice one has to immerse oneself into that practice (2004: 59). As Bourdieu has it, we learn by the body about the body (referred in Wacquant 2004: Viii).

*Policy, Practice, and Political Ecology*

Emma Crewe and Richard Axelby (2013) discuss the complicated relationship between policy and practice, continuing in line with Moose (2005) on the negotiation of policy between development workers and those being ‘developed’. They explain how policies can be used as powerful tools for constructing a discourse that more or less forces itself onto those on the receiving end of the policy. Policies are by their discursive qualities—their ability to create a discourse that encourages certain actions—embedded in social processes, and are therefore often taken for granted (Crewe and Axelby 2013: 190). Based on this, Crewe and Axelby (2013: 12) suggests that anthropologists need to deconstruct discourses in order to expose the workings of power, something I return to in the chapter *Making Water: Online*.

Policies do not stay put, they tend to travel across space, borders, and nations—a process described by the term “travelling rationalities” (Crewe and Axelby 2013: 7; Shore and Wright. 2011: 3). One could argue that some policies take on a global character when they interact with individuals, organizations, and institutions in a variety of places—brining the work of Project Aware to mind. Their call for divers to clean waters from debris are such “travelling rationalities” due to the call being heard and
practiced in close to 200 countries worldwide. This is further achieved by receivers of these policies beginning to record their own work and then broadcasting it further, just as Luiz does with pictures of garbage in Guanabara Bay. It is a sort of professionalization of citizen scientists, in that ordinary citizens begin to record data that then is used in scientific or political work.

It is important to remember that what people say and do are often not one and the same. Thus when thinking about divers in relation to the environmental awareness proclaimed by Project Aware, a diver might agree with what is being communicated to him or her. However, this agreement does not automatically imply that the diver actually will change his or her habits, their way of diving, how they manage their garbage at home, or anything else for that matter. To agree, to be aware, does not always materialize in practice. Crewe and Axelby (2013: 2) state that their book considers the gap between policy and practice in a development context. This gap is what interests me about policy. Not how individuals frame policies, or what they intend to do with them, but in what way policies interact with individuals and how individuals act back—changing their habits, ignoring the policy, reformulating, or on purpose misunderstanding the often vague policy—are all ways of practicing policy and it is done within the gap between policy and practice. I will primarily focus on how practices of divers engage with Project Aware and with their local surroundings, how these practices become part in making water, and how society changes the environment around them (Barnes 2014). I will also show how different societal agents assist in shaping the formulation of policy and practices through their common interest in water, which is a political and sometimes competitive process (Barnes 2014; Karlsson 2015; Orlove and Caton 2010). This I will do in a typical political ecology approach by mapping the various agents involved in shaping the context wherein divers act and makes water, a process that illuminates power structures within the locality that can help explain local practices (Karlsson 2015).
The Field

In this chapter I will describe the field, the agents within it, and my main interlocutors. I have been interested in scuba-diving for several years, and have myself been diving in different countries. When I was about to ‘find a field’ for my master thesis I speculated about if I could not use my interest in any way. Then I remembered about the NGO Project Aware and their environmental work. I ran the organization in Google and quickly found my way to their webpage (projectaware.org March 2017). Here I began reading up more closely on what exactly the organization wanted, and how they worked in order to achieve their goals, realizing that a policy study would be fruitful in my endeavour.

The Professional Association of Diving Instructors (PADI) formed Project Aware in 1989. In 1992 Project Aware became an independent NGO recognised by the US, and later in 1999 by the UK, and in 2002 by Australia. The focus of Project Aware’s work has changed over the 28 years (Project Aware count it as 25) they have been active. The current focus on marine debris, and shark and ray conservation was initiated in 2011. These are the words the organization uses to describe itself:

“Today, Project AWARE empowers thousands of divers in more than 180 countries by providing them with the tools, resources and inspiration to take actions—large and small—that contribute to advancing the health of the ocean. Project AWARE is committed to bringing together a worldwide community of divers battling ocean threats where scuba divers are uniquely positioned to directly and positively affect real long-term change - marine debris and shark and ray protection.” (projectaware.org March 2017).

Project Aware does not have a single overarching policy, rather they have a set of smaller policies, or messages, that are implemented to steer divers towards certain types of practices and actions. All these smaller policies come together on the topic of the reducing of marine debris, and the protection of sharks and rays. These are some examples illustrating the point above: “Protecting our ocean planet one dive at a time.” and “Global change is empowered by grassroots action. We need you—ocean enthusiasts and the scuba diving community—to help by taking action in your local community or next dive adventure.” (projectaware.org March 2017) Participation is on a voluntarily basis, and ocean protectionists sign up for participation on their own.
There are different levels of participation and partnership: 1, “Dive for Debris”, for recreational divers who remove and report debris during their dives. 2, “Adopt a Dive Site”, for divers who make a promise to remove debris and report the data from this site at least once a month. And 3, becoming a “100% Aware Partner”, where dive centers promise to support Project Aware with 10 per cent of their income from each diver they certify in return for being acknowledged as a Project Aware partner. They also get access to communicative tools provided by the organization, which is also a way to gain ‘eco-credits’ among divers and thus attracting environmental oriented dive-tourists. Those that become partners are listed on the organizations webpage (projectaware.org March 2017).

My Field Site(s)
I searched the webpage of Project Aware for dive centers tied to the organization and found one in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. My eyes took hold on Rio de Janeiro due to the recent media attention given to the level of pollution in its Guanabara Bay where health hazards were reported for participants in the open-water events during the 2016 Olympic Games (e.g Branch 2016.). Most of this pollution is man-made: plastic, bottles, cans and other non-biodegradable material produced and discarded by humans often accumulates in nature in and around Rio de Janeiro. Moreover, I wanted to divide my time in field between two sites within the field in order to observe how the policy works in different settings (Nyqvist 2011: 206).

Arraial do Cabo, a small fishing town in the Regiao de Lagoa approximate 200 km from Rio de Janeiro became my second field-site within the field. The town is geographically close to the larger town Cabo Frio (from which it separated in 1985) and further to the north Buzios. Arraial do Cabo has a population of 27000, and was first settled by Amerigo Vespucci in 1503. The area was made a marine extractive reserve by the Brazilian government in 1997 to prevent overfishing and safeguard the old traditional families of fishermen (numbering about 100 families) who utilize the unusual upwelling that occurs in the area—warm surface water is blown away by winds causing cold nutritious water to come up and fertilize the surface water (National Ocean Service 2015, January 2017)—a phenomenon that creates unusually good conditions for marine life and this is very attractive for divers, making the town informally known as ‘the dive
capital of Brazil’. The town is not only popular among divers, but among beach-lovers too, the beaches are regarded to be among the best in Brazil.

My field is multi-sited in that it contains two Brazilian cities, however, it is also possible to view it as a single field-site including an awareness of its multi-sited context, as in how the same issue takes place in both Rio and Arraial, and that they are together surrounded by a wider web of transnational influences (Marcus 1998). ‘My field’ is a construct of words meant to provide me, the researcher, with a geographical space wherein my research can be conducted. As noted by Gupta and Ferguson (1997), earlier this space created for research by the researcher was thought of as a holistic unit: isolated from the world, and the anthropologist was supposed to understand ‘all of it’, the whole culture. Nowadays this is not the case. The space now created is loosely defined, not thought to bind people and social processes within it. It should help the researcher to find a locus for focus, where transnational and global forces can be experienced locally (Clifford 1992; Hannerz 1992; Appadurai 1996). Further, it is important to emphasize that the boundaries of the field, the space for study, is constantly developing (Burrel 2009: 182), and that my ‘field’ constantly has a ‘global’ aspect to it by being connected with the active online community of Project Aware.

The Interlocutors

In this section I will introduce the interlocutors that will be given most space in this thesis. Luiz is one of my key interlocutors and we had been in contact before my arrival to Brazil via social media. In Rio as well as in Arraial many prejudicial conclusions were made about me because I was a gringo, a colloquial term for non-Brazilians (Burrel 2009: 195). It was evident in Rio, and would be ever more so in Arraial, that me being a foreigner prompted an explanation of what I was doing here: being a mere ‘fly on the wall’ was in this way not an option (Mukadam and Mawani 2006: 117; Hammoudi 2009: 25). My observation time in Rio was mostly spent on Colonia de Pescadores on Governor Island, one out of 12 fishermen colonies in Rio de Janeiro. They are located in contact with Guanabara Bay—a very polluted area—and in close proximity to Rio Galeão Aeroporto Internacional. Luiz is in his 30s and lives close to the Colonia de Pescadores. He comes from a family of politicians and currently works in the army. In his free time he is an independent PADI Instructor (Professional Association of Diving Instructors) where his tasks include liaising with Project Aware.
and trying to merge their policies into his work and everyday life. Luiz told me: “Project Aware provides the tools that I use to change the reality of my life, which is Rio de Janeiro.” When diving he tries to encourage other divers to engage in removing debris from the waters they work in. He even goes as far as to offer free teaching for those who participate in two or more cleanup days. This he does in order to educate more people about the concerns with the garbage entering our waters, to make more divers capable of removing the debris already there, and to get more volunteers for cleanups he arranges. He is also actively participating in a collaboration between the fishermen on Colonia de Pescadores and a youth prison center located at Governor Island. There, youths in rehabilitation are put to work on environmental issues. Luiz’s work with youths focuses a lot on changing their habits towards garbage management. In Brazil, garbage is discarded everywhere, most of which accumulates in waterways and the ocean. So, Luiz tries, in line with the policies of Project Aware, to break these habits, to attack the problem at its source.

In Arraial do Cabo I did not know anyone before arriving, I found my interlocutors by visiting the dive centers in town, and while hanging around the harbor at Praia dos Anjos. Ella, my main interlocutor in Arraial is a cabista: meaning a person born in Arraial do Cabo by parents from Arraial do Cabo. According to another interlocutor, cabistas know one another by smell—something I related to the fishing tradition in town. Ella is the owner of one of the dive centres in Arraial. She is in her 40s, and has been working with diving for the last 20 years. Her training in the profession was made in Arraial, and it is here she has worked all her years. She spends most of her time in the dive shop, working from 8:00 to 17:00. Gabriel, was born in Rio de Janeiro, is in his late 20s, and is a dive master (first level of a professional diver) who currently moves between Rio de Janeiro and Arraial do Cabo where, depending on season, he works and studies in engineering. He made his dive master (the first diving certificate on a professional level) at a center in Arraial. And Bob, a local fisherman who originates from Denmark where he worked at the harbour, he moved to town more than 30 years ago and has been living there since. He had arrived as a tourist sailing a boat, but then got along so well with the local fishermen that he stayed and never returned to Denmark. The other fishermen at the dock refer to Bob as the ‘the captain’.
In Arraial I lived close to the harbor, which is located at Praia dos Anjos. The main street with the highest concentration of dive centers goes from the centre and down to the marina. This is the most active spot in town: it is where tour boats, dive boats, and fishermen work and try to attract tourists. I spent plenty of time during these weeks just walking around the marina, sitting and observing, interacting with people, and going with dive and tour boats. I conducted interviews with many divers, tourists and professionals alike. I also talked to ‘ordinary’ locals, fishermen, tour guides, and government officials in order to build a more complex understanding of the workings in town, and to see my research questions from different angles. When talking to these local agents I asked them questions such as: What are the reasons behind all the garbage on beaches and in the water; do you have a suggestion for how this issue could be addressed; what do you personally do about the problem; do you think it is a problem?

The self of Divers

Becoming a diver is not a complicated process. The entry into the sport involves choosing a dive center that will provide with your initial training, to certify you. The first level is known as Open Water. This course usually spans four-to-seven days and includes learning the theory—a book provided by PADI (or another diving association) of about 300 pages that teaches you about pressure levels, how deep you can go, signs, and more—and practical exercises, often in a pool, meant to prepare the student for the first dive in the open water. After these preparations the student then conducts no less than two open water dives where certain important skills are tested: breathing all the time through the regulator; retrieving the regulator after loosing it, emptying a mask full of water, to mention a few. If the student successfully accomplishes all these tasks, and behaves calm and controlled under water, then he or she receives the certificate and becomes a diver allowed to go as deep as 18 meters (the 30 meter level you reach by taking the Advanced Open Water). The license is valid globally, although, the various dive associations sometimes are not too happy about one another. All dive centers in the world are connected with at least one of these associations, with PADI being the largest. After obtaining the Open Water certificate, a diver can dive everywhere in the world. However, some dive sites require divers to hold at least an Advanced Open Water certificate, where the diver has gone through further theoretical and practical training of no less than five dives. Each course has a specialty focus, such as: cave diving, night diving, or Dive Against Debris. Because the training is practically the same wherever it
is given, most divers employ similar embodied knowledge that they practice while diving. But of course local environments impact what skills the diver enhances, and so does other divers, and the society around them.

The embodiment of diving skills and experience is similar among divers due to them all undergoing the same training. The embodied history in diving is thus the specific skills learned that allow the diver to earn his or her certificates. As these certificates become symbols of these skills, I use the term symbolic capital to describe their value for divers. When showing the certificate(s), a diver shows a collection of verified skills. The training I have in diving is not much different from that of Luiz or Ella. While they have more training—indeed, they are specialized on their localities—our basic knowledge of diving is similar. When continuing ones training in diving, new skills are learned and these are accompanied by more certificates that strengthen the symbolic value for the diver by being embodied by the agent: symbolic capital is one of the aspects utilized by the habitus of agents in structuring actions and practices (Broady 1991: 170). In this thesis I will use the terms embodied history and symbolic capital to describe aspects other than diving, mainly concerning how divers engage with society in a self-branding process and a continuous struggle for attention.

Reasons Behind Marine Debris
Locals in Arraial do Cabo blame the tourists (mainly Brazilian but also foreigners) for the garbage on beaches. They told me that the situation is at its worst during the summer. After the town is cleaned, it stays that way until next summer. The tourists are seen to not care about the environment and that is the reason for their littering according to my interlocutors. Another reason behind the garbage for my interlocutors is the tour boats: these boats pollute the water, and the tourists on the boats throw stuff overboard.

My fieldwork begun before the peak tourist season kicked off. For this reason I could observe and compare the differences in the levels of garbage thrown around town during ‘low’ and ‘high’ season. I agree with my interlocutors above that, in Arraial do Cabo the crowd of tourists really cause an unquestionable increase in litter. I want to make it explicit that tourists are not a homogeneous group, and not all tourists litter. However, from my observations and what my interlocutors told me, many do. The following observation from my field notes is but one case in point:
“This afternoon I went to Praia dos Anjos. I was as usual astonished by the vast amount of garbage on the beach. I had brought a bag with me to collect some, it took only a few minutes before it was full. There were a lot of people at the beach, however, my attention stuck on two big dark-skinned Brazilian women. They were seated at a red plastic table right on the beach, sitting on red plastic chairs, under a red plastic umbrella in need of some repair with the beer logo of Itaipava in golden letters on it. On the table the women had a beer cooler made of styrofoam, some plastic cups, and two other styrofoam coolers made to put one can of beer inside to keep it cool while drinking. The wind was strong today, something the women did not think about when they put their empty cans down on the sand—the cans were quickly caught by the wind and flew away. After a while one of the styrofoam-can–holders also got caught by the wind, this time one of the women jumped out of her chair and run after it, and caught it. The beer can inside, which were empty, were however subsequently taken out of the holder and simply left laying on the sand a few meters away while the woman returned with her cup–holder and grabbed another beer.”

These women were far from alone in behaving like this, and this is part of the explanation behind the issue of marine debris, but it is not the only one. Other examples are the light material used onboard tour and dive boats that are taken by the wind and ends up in the water, an example that I will elaborate on in the chapter: Making Water: Offline – Action.
The policies by Project Aware are formulated in clear and absolute terms. However, no matter how clear the formulation of a policy is, when it reaches social agents and they
apply it to themselves a negotiation is being played out. The policy is reformulated: it is adapted to the local context and the ambitions and goals of those practicing it. Project Aware’s policies are meant for a global public, thus, when an agent has engaged with a policy it is passed forward, but now with local adaptations as part of the formulation.

**Origins of the Policies against Marine Debris**

“By visualizing this information, we’re revolutionizing the way the underwater marine debris issue is portrayed—sharing an accurate perspective about a threat that has previously been disregarded as out of sight, out of mind.” (Project Aware March 2017).

Project Aware is an international NGO, also written INGO, that has ocean protection as their core concern. They work with and through divers to clean, inform about, and safeguard the water on our planet. The core focus of their attention is on marine debris, which pollutes water and kills animals within it, bringing hazardous effects to humans and environment alike. They cry out about, as they phrase it, “The Ugly Journey of Our Trash”. This is about how garbage thrown away, wherever it is thrown, eventually ends up in water and thus contributes to the enormous, and ever growing, amount of marine debris. Project Aware estimates that the environmental damage caused by marine debris alone costs US$13 billion a year (projectaware.org March 2017). This issue is of growing importance; studies indicate that if things continue the way they do now, then, in 2050 there will by weight be more plastic than fish in the world’s oceans (ellenmacarthurfoundation and UNEP March 2017). Thus, engaging governments and other important actors in changing the current direction is an urgent mission, a momentum Project Aware is quick to grab. And they do so in a time when this issue gets attention on the highest level: on 23 February 2017 the UN declared a “Cleanseas” campaign to end marine litter (UNEP March 2017). Within this campaign governments across the globe are signing up to this campaign to reduce and remake the way they handle garbage so that it will not end up in our oceans. They are also agreeing on various cleaning activities to get some of the debris already in our waters out.

Project Aware uses their webpage as their main basis for communication. On top of this they make use of the expanding outreach of various social media platforms as tools to engage a larger community of divers and environmentally concerned individuals around the globe. One recent example was the campaign launched by Project Aware to promote
the inclusion of new ray and shark species on CITES (Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species and Wild Fauna and Flora) the list of endangered species at their CoP17 meeting. In this campaign a large number of divers connected to the organization uploaded images of themselves together with sharks and rays holding a sign reading “Vote Yes for Sharks and Rays at CITES CoP17”.

Image 6. CITES CoP17

Adapting to Policy and Practices of Branding

If policies are close to individuals, and do not require an enormous amount of change or effort, the chance of individuals actually accepting, embodying, and practicing these policies grows tremendously. The habitus of agents is adaptable and can change if required by the structuring structures (e.g policies and societal context) surrounding it. However, change will only come to a certain degree, and therefore, small adaptations are more likely to yield results (Broady 1991). This is the case with Luiz in Rio de Janeiro. Being a dive instructor already distressed by the increasing pollution of the waters he loves and dives, it was not far fetched for him to adhere to the policies from Project Aware. These policies addressed concerns already on his mind, asking him to engage them through practices already known to him. Thus all he really had to do was to start practicing what he had known before. In other words, the policies got him going, but did not require some dramatic change of his behaviour or practices. However, even
when these policies are attractive to individuals they can still be rejected in part due to external societal factors. This is the case with the dive center in Arraial where my interlocutor Ella works. Her relationship with these policies are complicated by societal obstacles that make parts of them too costly time-wise—these factors I will elaborate on in the chapter: Making Water: Offline – on the Shore.

Ella and her dive center in Arraial do Cabo actively brand themselves as being environmentally aware. They do so with a special focus: it is only they who clean beaches and dive sites in Arraial, and who are extra careful about how their customers dive in order not to damage the environment. This center claims a higher symbolic capital than other centers in town; the popularity among tourists supports this claim. Many tourists told me about how important the work the center did was for the environment (Broady 1991: 226; Graan 2013). This branding of the center is of course facilitated in person in the shop by staff talking to customers, but also online. I could often observe Ella with her attention towards the computer in the dive shop. She was working on the centers webpage, keeping in contact with customers, answering requests from coming customers, and updating the centers Facebook page with the latest events and pictures from the dives and cleanups. On the centers webpage and social media accounts the various environmental actions conducted are highlighted to make sure they are visible, and to enhance the image of the center. When showing the practices online Ella creates a self of the center, and she is explicitly differing it from the other centers in town (Uimonen 2013). This process can be read as a creation of an entrepreneurial self (a version of the self that are competitive on a neoliberal market) (Rose 1998: 154; Gershon 2016: 225). For the center the ‘qualities’ are not just actions made by the center, but also the instructors working for the center. Because they all come with their own habitus and their own embodied histories, and it is the instructors themselves that are different from other centers. As Ella explained during one of our meetings in the dive shop:

“What distinguishes my centre from the others in town is experience. My instructors have a lot of experience. For example Raol, he has been diving these waters professionally for more than 20 years, and of course this experience costs. You get what you pay for, that’s it.”
While we talked she brought up her mobile phone, showing me pictures that she was about to upload onto Facebook of Raol removing debris during a dive last week (how removing is practiced I describe in the chapter: *Making Water: Offline – Under the Surface*). She planned to post these pictures accompanied by comments on the importance of keeping the dive sites clean, and thus letting Raol and his practices represent the center (Uimonen 2013). Pictures like these and lived experiences with instructors are often what customers write about when commenting on their experience with the center on online tourist forums: how they were treated, what the instructors showed them under water, and how the instructors themselves acted towards the environment. Furthermore, it is the instructors that usually follow comments online and respond to them on behalf of the center. This work makes a difference: many tourists for example told me that they made their choice of center based on these comments.

Practices of environmental caretaking, the cleanups for example, allowed the center to brand itself as environmentally aware which in turn attracted the main portion of dive tourists in town: many went elsewhere only when this center was full. Their practices and way of branding themselves—on their webpage, Facebook, and in day–to–day contact with customers—were successful and their social and symbolic capital were enhanced. Even though they had higher prices than many other centers (240 Reai for 2 dives with gear, other places offered the same for about 200 Reai)—the pricing could in fact be yet another argument in favor of the high value of the center—it is as if to say: we are expensive because we are better for you, and for the environment. This is sort of what Ella meant when she told me “you get what you pay for”.

*War on Attention and Funds*

There are many organizations such as Project Aware, WWF, and Trash Hero who for various reasons engage in environmental caretaking. Often a genuine wish to make a difference is what created these organizations in the first place. However, this kind of work cost money and thus secure funding is one vital part of the work of these organizations. Another related aspect in their process of making water via policy is to secure that the policy reaches its intended public. This is just as with any other ‘product’: it must be made visible and attractive on the global market. Currently, with the growing interest in the issue of marine debris, the number of NGOs and other actors offering a ‘solution’ is growing quickly. Two examples are WWF (wwf.se March
Both organizations are active on social media and engaged in making themselves visible to attract the attention of possible contributors, may it be for funding or volunteer work. WWF is actively projecting the “picture of despair” when they post pictures of dead whales and loads of trash spread across beaches or floating in the water. This is in combination with WWF’s statement that if the oceans die, we die too (Crewe and Axelby 2013). This is done both in order to illustrate how serious the problem is, something Project Aware does too. However, it is also done in a way that makes WWF sound like the only organization being capable of fixing the problem, and all we as receivers of the message need to do is become donators or volunteers. One of their statements read:

“The oceans are sick and the threats are plenty. Overfishing, pollution, extraction of oil, gas, and minerals, sea travels, climate change, and acidification of some. It is our responsibility to keep a living ocean for generations to come. As a marine sponsor you make an invaluable contribution.”

In order for a policy to make it all the way, getting in contact with individuals, and arouse their interest the sending organization must be aware of the game-field in order to manoeuvre in it successfully. This is a process discussed by Bourdieu that he named ‘Illusio’, a know-how of the game that allows habitus the courage and interest to enter into the game, and the knowledge to make it through successfully and therewith adding to the social and symbolic capital of the agent (Postil 2010: 8). This concept, Illusio, is something we will return to in the chapter Making Water: Offline – Action, because it is not only on the organizational level that agents are active players. While playing the game these organizations enters into the “linguistic market” by creating a discourse between NGO and the individual, a discourse that defines and creates the market (Bourdieu 1992). In order to understand and analyze how these patterns of words structure the behaviour of agents as well as organizations we must, as pointed out by Crewe and Axelby (2013), deconstruct this discourse. I argue that organizations such as Project Aware are engaged in ‘steering’, just not in the language they use, as suggested by Larsen (2016), but more in the topics they chose to describe. Trash Hero is steering towards environmental activism, or support of such, by cleaning beaches from trash. WWF are on the other hand choosing to include a variety of disaster-based topics: overfishing, pollution, and climate change to mention a few. This in order to attract the
widest possible audience, and steering those interested into becoming donators. And Project Aware works with divers by steering them towards cleaning oceans from debris.

By briefly disseminating what lies behind the discourse produced we can draw conclusions concerning the agenda of organizations. This is helpful in order to grasp how the various actors on the “linguistic market” are part of producing the context wherein organizations and policies are active, bringing the discussion back to Project Aware (Bourdieu 1992). By deconstructing the motives and choices by other organizations, such as WWF and Trash Hero, we gain further knowledge that can be applied in our analysis of the workings of Project Aware, both in how they work via the online dive community—regular updates on social media with catchy images followed by a ocean protection statement—and how they create an image of themselves as part in their branding as an environmental aware organization. Project Aware is just as Luiz and Ella actively creating an entrepreneurial self (Rose 2016) that makes them attractive on the market, and this they do largely by the discourse they produce via policies. By reposting images and statements from their members, a process designed to make members and the organization as one, leading to divers feeling as they are not only supporting but becoming part of Project Aware. The discourse and branding is important to reach target groups, however, if there were not a genuine care for, or practices of environmental protection going on, then no one would believe in the picture being constructed. Thus, even if organizations engage in marketing, they do so for various reasons and in this case one of the mayor ones might very well be that they care for the ocean planet, and this care is what many find attractive. Luiz emphasized this: “I really admire the work of Project Aware, and I am proud being able to support it”.

**Travelling Rationalities**

“I know divers from many countries who are engaged with Project Aware. This community of divers who have the organization as a common link is both an inspiration to work harder, but also a goal. I want to travel and meet these people, work as a diving instructor in other places. Project Aware inspires me here in Rio, but they are also opening my eyes for other places. It is amazing how divers from so many different places can unite over one issue.” (Luiz, December 2016).

The policies originating in Project Aware reach out, getting new agents to engage with them, to become part of their formulation and pass them forward. In this way, these
policies are travelling: they become “travelling rationalities” as they are practiced in various locations across the globe, in turn taking on a transnational character (Crewe and Axelby 2013: 7). These rationalities are thus engaging divers in a discourse that engages them in certain practices. Luiz, for example, actively follows the Project Aware’s webpage and tries to apply their messages in his daily work, he reposts news from the organization on his own Facebook so that the word is spread further, and he uploads videos and pictures that he has taken himself that confirms the argument by Project Aware.

One common theme in the videos uploaded by Luiz is garbage floating into Guanabara Bay via some of the rivers merging with it. These videos usually follow the garbage downstream for a while and show how it floats into the Bay, getting trapped in some of the riverside bushes, or piling up along the bank along the way—this is illustrated by the image above. These videos capture “The Ugly Journey of Our Trash” in how they show garbage moving and adding to the growing pollution of the Guanabara Bay. The discourse about the issue of marine debris has via the entrepreneurial qualities embedded within it created a process wherein divers are attracted to the practice of
environmental care-taking for the sake of both the planet and for personal gain as it enhances their social and symbolic capital.

When Project Aware and divers are engaged in formulating policies and discourses they are actively working for a certain way of making water. Local divers wish for local questions to be heard and addressed on a transnational level—Luiz’s concerns with the mangrove forest on Governor Island in Rio de Janeiro is one example—whilst Project Aware as an organization want to keep their focus on marine debris, and shark and ray conservation because they believe this allows for the engagement of more divers and thus a possible higher impact level.

It is online that Project Aware and divers connect. Furthermore, it is here that governments and policy-makers are contacted and provided with the ‘proof’ about the severity of the issues concerning the organization and the community of divers working with them. The data about marine debris collected by divers is uploaded on Project Aware’s webpage and thus is visible online. As mentioned, the online world is a space of increasing competition for attention. Thus Project Aware must formulate policies that engages divers in order to make their message visible and effective. One of their tactics has been to make practitioners themselves promote the organization whenever they make something for it. Luiz does this with banners and logos as soon as he is involved with diving or connected issues. Project Aware speaks to the world not only via its own channels but also through all the channels available to its community of divers and this relates to how policies form part of and creating new “spaces”, “relations” and “webs of meaning”, and how they travel as “travelling rationalities” (Shore and Wright. 2011: 1; Crewe and Axelby 2013: 7). An online space is created by and for divers where new relations are forged and new goals and principles created, constructing a space where Online Practices of Making Water are defined in a constant negotiation between practitioners and Project Aware. By creating an online platform (the webpage of Project Aware) where divers can search for environmentally aware dive centers on their vacations, the policies in question acts like structuring structures on the realities of divers in Rio de Janeiro and Arraial do Cabo. This platform produces an incentive for instructors such as Luiz to embrace the brand of the organization in order to be listed on it, and in doing so, making himself visible for potential customers—being able to provide environmental friendly diving and at the same time earn a living. Even when
some of these divers do not follow the policy per se it is still making—or inspiring—they to adapt their behaviour in certain ways according to the principles of the policy. The way that Ella practice ‘Dives Against Debris’ without collecting and reporting data about it is one example of this that will be elaborated on in the next chapter: how she practices environmental caretaking resisting societal obstacles. In order to understand the practices of individuals we must understand the context within which they are active.
Ella is aware of the policies from Project Aware. She recognizes the importance of them, and she does practice what these policies ask: cleaning water from debris (these practices will be discussed in the chapter *Making Water: Offline – Action*). However, she reject parts of these policies, namely to participate in the global work of collecting data about marine debris that is supposed to be used in order to put pressure on governments and nation states to take action. These proposed policies are not accepted as a whole, they are deconstructed and pulled into smaller parts, and from these parts a selection is made that fits the local context and which is convenient for those meant to practice it. In Arraial do Cabo there are many obstacles in the way of environmental work, for example: you need permits from the local government in order to make cleanups on beaches and in the water. These are not always easy to obtain, something I elaborate on below. Thinking through the logic of habitus allows us to understand that a relationship between these policies and Ella exists wherein Ella is testing them on her own embodied history (her lived experience of diving, and of making business in Arraial do Cabo) in order to see whether they can be accepted in whole or in part. If they can add some value to the habitus as such, may it be as social or symbolic capital (Broady 1991: 170). In this case the social aspect, the connection with the transnational dive-community in the fight against marine debris was not enough to convince Ella to collect material for Project Aware. As she explained:

“I follow the work of, and appreciate what Project Aware does. But I do not have the time or money to be active within the organization, I prefer to clean my waters by myself and with my people.”

Ella preferred to focus on cleaning the water around Arraial, and at the same time making a statement that could enhance the symbolic capital of the center: *We are environmentally aware!* This kind of statement gives prestige among a community of divers who in general care about the ocean planet that they explore—I know this from
my experiences with divers from many countries over several years. This prestige gained by making cleanups transforms into a wider customer base because it is trendy among divers to holiday dive with environmentally aware centers. Thus, environmental protection is not only considered a moral good but can also be profitable, profits that in turn can be utilized to dive more environmentally friendly and to conduct more cleanups.

Furthermore, it is possible to argue that by asking divers to be those who initiate action and collect data that can pressure governments Project Aware makes divers responsible for saving the ocean planet in a process of “responsibilization” (Nyqvist 2011: 215). This is one of the reasons I see to why Ella, according to the logic of habitus, does not engage in full with the set of policies of Project Aware. It is more beneficial to voluntarily engage with and cleaning the water as something the center wants to do instead of being responsible. Fulfilling a duty does not earn the same symbolic points as doing an effort out of good will. The field wherein agents act is also part in explaining these decisions (e.g Bourdieu 1976). In order to understand social practices in a locality (field) and their relationship to various scales within the environment, one has to include power structures governing this locality and the agents within it (Barnes 2014: 23-24; Karlsson 2015: 350-355). According to Barnes (2014: 175) water is made, and is not a given. It is within the process of making water that politics and policies enter, it is a process where different social actors use their political and technological toolkits in order to ‘mold’ the way water flows. Thus showing the link between society, nature, politics, and ecology (Barnes 2014: 37). Arraial do Cabo is an example of this.

The town is very popular among Brazilian tourists and there are an uncountable number of tour agencies there. They are simply everywhere, and when you come down to the marina and look out towards the ocean you see a sea of tour and dive boats, there are several hundreds of them according to Bob. Furthermore, he explains that the tour agencies, their agents and the boats are an unmistakable part of the town, that they tell the success story of Arraial do Cabo’s expanding attraction for tourists—this boomed two years ago in response to the breakdown in the Brazilian economy. But they do also indicate the over exploitation of the town and its natural resources, mainly the marine ones. The hundreds of boats are becoming a growing problem for the fishermen of Arraial do Cabo. All the boats at the pier make it very complicated for the fishermen to
do their work efficiently. The intense traffic on the water disturbs the life there, and polluting the water. The garbage thrown overboard by tourists is another issue.

This is one of the strongest conflicts in Arraial do Cabo: the one between tour agencies, divers, and fishermen. Tourism brings in money but fishery does not. Therefore local politicians side with the tourist agencies, and partly with the divers, even when it violates the reserve rights given to the fishermen by the Brazilian government in 1997. According to my interlocutors the officials do this because they are corrupt. To mention an example of this corruption, Bob told me that the government of Arraial had several times earmarked funding for the construction of a larger pier (at the moment there is only three lines where boats can dock). However, the money for this project has not yet materialized. Dive or tour boats occupy all the three existing piers. The fishermen consequently can only come to the dock in order to unload. Their boats must then move away due to lack of space. I sat many mornings observing the complicated system of boats moving in and out from the docs: the small fishing boats would steer between the huge tour boats, skilfully moving their vessels to the dock. The morning air is full of sounds from seabirds, calls among people, the humming sounds of music coming from the tour boats that begin to warm up for a day at sea, and the occasional ‘click’ from a morning beer. When the fishermen arrive they quickly unload, and then they are off except for those who pull their catches on small trolleys towards the market at the pier, or load boxes into white trucks that will deliver fish to locations around town. The important thing in this observation is that the fishermen boats do not really dock in the harbour. During the offloading process the boat is held in place by one of the fishermen by holding a rope. As soon the boxes of fish have been moved, the rope goes back into the boat and it moves away, leaving a place for the next fishing boat.

This growing issue of space often leads to the fishermen being unwilling to permit divers to conduct cleanups as they are viewed to be the interest of the divers only, not the community. The divers need the fishermen’s permission due to the decree from the Brazilian government concerning the reserve. Ella is for example, as I have observed, very polite when interacting with the fishermen at the pier, trying to leave as much space for them as possible in order to ease the tension. When fishermen, divers, and tour guides meet at the pier they are all smiles and laughter, but when they are separate the smiles fade and they have not much good to say about one another. “The fishermen has
overfished these waters. Almost all the bigger fish are gone because of their greed.” Ella told me one morning when I was standing with her in the dive shop. We were talking about the marine fauna when she recalled the earlier years with bigger sharks, octopuses, and other fish that now are only in her memories. A point also mentioned by Bob:

“When I arrived to town you could catch octopuses this big (and bob held his hands out as far he could in each direction), now they are not bigger than my hand. All because they are caught to fast, and too early.”

Another issue concern marine debris, which return us to the point on official permits for cleaning. These permits are hard fetched for several reasons: mainly because many government officials are not very interested in these cleanups. Without getting something out of them, they simply do not care speeding up the process of processing applications for permits. Yet, some initiative exists: the environmental office have on their door a sign for “International Coastal Cleanup”, which promotes local action on 17 September annually for the cleaning up of beaches around the worldiii. When I spoke to those responsible they told me about two earlier years when they had participated. The last time was in 2014, at Praia dos Anjos. The two officials sounded engaged and proud of the cleanups they had done. Yet they were disappointed of not being able to continue this work. However, in 2017 there will be no participation, and there were none in 2016 either due to changing the local government. Thus, there is awareness about the problem, and a willingness to do something about it, but this rarely develops into practical action. Ella elaborated on this:

“I would make cleanups much more often were it not so complicated getting the permits. If you want to clean you need hard fetched permits, in order to throw garbage on the beach you don’t. It’s a paradox in town.”

During an interview with another of the environmental government officials, I asked about these permits. The official was not, however, interested in talking about them: “We change the government this January, now we do not do any cleaning, no permits, we have stopped. We wait the new government.” Ella had said that they had not been able to make any cleanups this autumn because they could not obtain any permits’: I believe the reason is stated above relating to the unwillingness of some officials to
provide permits. I recall another occasion when I visited the environmental government office. I knocked on the door when the office was supposed to open: I was told that this person I sought would come in later. I asked, when? The person at the desk just looked impatiently at me saying: later. I returned later on in the day, again knocking at the door. The same woman opened, and once again I asked when this official would be in. Later, she answered. However, the office was about to close, and I told the woman so. She replied: tomorrow. This experience illustrates the complicated matter getting hold of these officials. This scenario was repeated many times.

**Who is Responsible for the Degrading Health of the Water?**

Every morning at 10:00 Bob returns from his daily fishing trip. After offloading his catch he walks off the pier and along the main street. He stops in front of the ice-cube fabric: across the street there is a local bar where he spends all his days after work. I went visiting him here on several occasions, and one of these times we discussed the relationship between fishermen and divers. I mentioned the comment by Ella shown above. He reacted with a frown:

> “Hah, the divers are maybe better than the tour agencies, but their boats and their customers are devastating for the waters. They make noise, they pollute, and they disrespect traditions. I agree that some fishermen do catch to many fish, some too small, but that is not the biggest problem.”

He continues by explaining how the pollution coming from the tourists is the real concern, and it is the tour agencies and the dive centers that bring them here according to Bob. He has a point, but also fishermen interact with tourists by selling fish to them. Fishermen in Arraial do Cabo are only allowed to practice their trade with traditional methods according to the rules governing the reserve. Some of these methods require a lot of manpower, more than many small groups of fishermen can muster without help. There is a method called *ARRASTÃO* (the Big Catch), the fishermen goes out by a small boat, and puts a huge net in the water. Then, they bring the two ends of the net back onto the beach. From there they begin to slowly pull the net ashore. The net is heavy due to its size, and it becomes heavier still as all the fishes being caught starting to panic and swim from one side to another, bumping into the net trying to break out. Now the fishermen shout out to locals and tourists sitting nearby, asking them for a helping hand in pulling the net ashore. A large number (15-20) usually stands up, and begin pulling
together with the fishermen. When the net is almost on the shore you hear a high drumming and rhythmical sound of fins hitting water, sand, and other fish—the last dance of the bonitos, a type of fish that is very popular in local cuisine. Everyone that has lent a hand to the fishermen is rewarded by choosing one fish each to take home. The fishermen finish of the work by loading the fish into boxes. The mood is full of excitement: many smiles, and high happy voices are heard. I observed the Big Catch many times, most often on Praia Grande, but also on Praia dos Anjos. Despite being a traditional method, it is still very effective. The catch is often huge and the fishermen that I observed did not discern between big and small fish: all were put in boxes. The only exception was turtles accidentally caught: they were let back into the ocean. The fact that all sizes of fish were taken relates to what Ella and Bob sad about the overfishing of the waters. When many small fishes are caught it results in smaller populations of fish in the future. Another example of overfishing is when I one day sat on the stair outside of another fisherman’s house, a neighbour of mine. He went into his home and brought me a big cranium of a shark he killed himself many years ago. He showed it to me in order to illustrate how big the sharks used to be, the mouth was at least 40 centimetres wide. Now the sharks are barely reaching a meter in length. He looked very proud when showing the cranium, but at the same time he was distressed when talking about the current situation where all fish regardless of size are being caught.

Both my neighbour and Bob are aware that fishermen are partly responsible for the decreasing amount of fish in the waters around Arraial. However, as argued by Bob, overfishing is not the main concern. The decreasing quality of the water is an even more pressing issue, something that is partly due to all the accumulation of marine debris. I see possibilities for fishermen, divers, and tour agencies to cooperate and together minimize the amount of marine debris, but my interlocutors did not see it that way. The blame was on the ‘other’: in other words, ‘we are the good and they are the bad’, reminding about the alarmist language used by organizations such as WWF (Larsen 2016). This notwithstanding, there were some things during my time in Arraial that united fishermen, divers, and tour agencies. The motive was not the health of the water, but economical. There is a fee of reais 5 for every tourist who wants to go by a boat in the reserve, a fee that the mayor wanted to raise to reais 35 before leaving office in January 2017. The explanation was that this money would be used to develop the pier,
but with their experiences from before none working at the pier believed this. Bob clearly stated that this was only in order to enrich the mayor. All fishermen, divers, and employees at the tour agencies went to the mayor’s office to protest against the raise, and they got their way in the end. In other cases it had been possible for the government officials to play out the different groups against each other, but this time when they were united the mayor had to accept defeat. During this process I could observe daily large groups of fishermen, divers, and tour agents assembled close to the harbour, discussing and gesticulating. They were not arguing amongst themselves, but uniting over their common wish to keep the tariff down, since everyone agreed the raise would be extremely bad for business.

When looking at relationships between groups in Arraial do Cabo, beginning with the environmental policies from Project Aware, and in following the process of obtaining permits for cleanups several social agents become visible in the political game of making water, policy makers, local politicians, divers, tour agencies, and fishermen all play a part. The field is not very welcoming to these policies of Project Aware, especially so because they mostly reach divers and thus becomes something seen as an interest of divers only. For example Ella wishes to engage more with cleaning the water, but the context within which she lives makes doing so complicated. The theory of habitus suggests that individuals have a “second nature” that function as a guiding principle in these agents lives (Bourdieu 1990: 1992). As I understand the logic of habitus it is supposed to structure choices based on dispositions of the agent (e.g environmental awareness and societal knowledge) resulting in the most rational, logical, and simple but still most beneficial way of actions for the agent. In the context of Arraial do Cabo it becomes illogical to engage too much with cleanups for the reasons of lacking societal interest, and because of the existing conflicts that are putting obstacles in the way for such practices—even if Ella would want to do even more for the water. According to market logics, building a brand that is too much environmentally oriented will not be beneficial in this context: the branding of the entrepreneurial self must be adapted to the society wherein it will act (Gershon 2016), and sometimes the necessity of making a brand in order to survive economically has to take a toll on, or at least go before, other practices such as cleanups. However, we must remember that by becoming successful in town Ella is able to continue with her
cleanups, thus by making a brand for her and the center she works for the health of the ocean in the long run.

**Rio de Janeiro**

In Rio de Janeiro I observed another type of relationship between Luiz and the fishermen on Colonia de Pescadores. In Arraial fishermen and divers fight over resources and space. These factors do not exist in the same way in Rio. Here the fishermen have more problems with marine debris than with concurrence from divers. The severity of the issue of marine debris in Guanabara Bay more or less forces all agents interested in or depending on water to cooperate—illustrating the notion by Orlove and Caton (2010) of water as a “total social fact” connecting actors in society. Thus, Luiz is warmly received when he comes to the Colony, he is recognized as one of those who make a difference for the environment, and therefore for the survival of the Colony. When I visited the Colony together with Luiz we had lunch at a fish restaurant, it was located in the center of the Colony, among resident homes. The restaurant was small, with red plastic tables and chairs. The food was nonetheless outstanding: we had all kinds of fish that had been caught by the local fishermen. Luiz told me that he always went here with all the volunteers after a ‘Dive Against Debris’ to celebrate the work done and to support the local restaurant. While we were eating a man suddenly entered the building, Luiz quickly stopped talking. He jumped up smiling, and walked towards the man, shaking his hand, and turning to me: “This is the head Captain! I have told him about you coming, he wanted to say hi in person.” So I went presenting myself and what I were doing here with Luiz, so far away from the touristic areas of town. With some help of Luiz (the man did not speak too much English) we got along and we got his blessing to continue our work. Luiz later told me that if the head captain had not liked me there in the restaurant, then we would have had to leave. This exemplifies how the relationship between fishermen and divers is different in Rio in comparison with Arraial. Here the fisherman captain agreed to not only cooperate with a diver, in this case Luiz, but also with a researcher who was interested in policies coming from a diving organization. All parties in Arraial accepted me too, but there I was not assumed to be one of the divers, but a researcher on my own. In the Colony they explicitly connected me to Luiz. The reason for the difference in relationship, and what the actual relationship circulates around is marine debris, which is a much bigger concern in the Colony than in Arraial. By returning to the logic of habitus (Bourdieu 1990: 1992), and
following the idea of the entrepreneurial self (Rose 1998; Gershon 2016) it is clear that in this situation it is logical for Luiz to emphasize his engagement with Project Aware. By making himself explicitly engaged in environmental preservation he had become an asset to the fishermen at the Colony. This lead to him being able to conduct cleanups which contributes to building his image as an environmental aware diver and to keep the level of marine debris down in the waters he love. Which in turn attracts customers and allows him to apply for funding that as in the case with Ella allow him to conduct more cleanups. Luiz has enhanced his skills and those aspects that make him unique in the context: his capability to dive and remove debris. The fishermen have the boats and the manpower to clean beaches and surface water, but they are greatly benefiting from the help of divers who can remove debris from the bottom of the ocean—this practice we return to in the next chapter.
Making Water: Offline – Under the Surface

We were 12 metres below the surface, hovering above a sandy patch with some corrals on it. We went close to the corrals looking for some seahorses that often could be seen at the site. When we got really close to one of the corrals our instructor for the day circulated it and suddenly stopped. I assumed he had found the seahorses and so I went over to him. But it was not the seahorses that had caught the instructors attention, there was a plastic bottle caught between the corrals. The instructor was checking the area around the bottle to see that there was nothing hindering him from removing it, such as any stinging animals, sea urchins, or similar. When he was positive that nothing was in the way he slowly reached out and grabbed the bottle by his hand (he had gloves on in order to not get cut: the corrals can be very sharp). The bottle was firmly secured so he had to move it back and forward a bit before it could be removed. He worked slowly so as not to damage the corral more than necessary. When the bottle was out the instructor placed it into a small bag he had on his hip and we could continue our dive. When we had resurfaced the instructor told me: “good I found that bottle, it could have caused big troubles for the seahorses there, that would have been really bad”. The instructor was mostly referring to the reason that the seahorses could get hurt and that they were an attraction for divers, but he could also have been referring to the larger state of the water and the growing amount of plastic in the oceans (ellenmacarthurfoundation.org, March 2017). The dive was conducted at a site outside of Arraial do Cabo, and I believe it to exemplify what Project Aware mean by their message: “Don’t let your dives go to waste! Grab your mesh bag, scuba gear and data card to make every dive a Dive Against Debris” (projectaware.org March 2017). When divers always are ready to remove debris, just as this instructor was, then each dive can be beneficial for the environment without having to be conducted with this as the purpose. This draws my mind to the work of Gherardi (2016) about how practices of divers enters in relation with the environment and becomes part in shaping it. As Ella explained:

“Some say that divers are a problem for the environment, but I say they are wrong. We do actually clean the water, and that is more than most around here does!”

This comment Ella made in response to me telling her that I had been told on various occasions that divers damaged the environment. She disagrees with this, and she has a point. Even if divers are not actively diving in order to protect the environment, it is
what some of them end up doing anyway—one could also argue against Ella concluding that the boats used for diving pollute more than what most centers actually contribute by cleaning, or that their customers’ behaviour can damage the environment. Something that I experienced during another dive was this: after gearing up we entered the water by taking giant strides off the boat—with your BCD (Buoyancy Control Device) full of air, you hold your mask and regulator with your right hand and the weight belt by your left, and then you take a ‘giant stride’ forward from the boat, throwing yourself into the water. When the whole group was gathered floating in the water the instructor signalled in the direction we were going to make for and then signed for diving down—a thumb pointing downwards. When the instructor gives this sign, you deflate your BCD, by pressing a red button on top of a cable hanging on the front left side of you, and the weights on your waist (mine were 8 kilos) starts to pull you down. Gradually the familiar world filled with birds and humans is exchanged for a bluish blurry underwater world, where gravity seems disappear thanks to your BCD (it is in/deflated so that you obtain buoyancy)—it is as close as one can get to weightlessness. Our first dive of the day was strongly affected by the wind and the visibility was rather bad, about three meters tops, and this really made for a special sensorial experience (Merchant 2011a,b). The conditions in the water affect the experience, and also the way a diver practices diving. It is much easier being careful and not damage anything in calm and clear water than with poor visibility and currents.

Our group consisted of five divers and the instructor. We moved along the rocky formations of the Island called the ‘pork island’, with the rocks to our right and a long stretch of sand to our left. I wanted to go slow in order to be able to find things among the corals despite the bad visibility, but our instructor moved quickly forward. In the end my buddy and I, an instructor on holiday, went slower than the others looking for things, and the instructor got the hint and slowed down. Two of the divers in our group were moving around in all directions, up, down, left, right, and their fins and hands moved corals, whipped up sand, and sometimes hitting the rest of us. I saw them lifting sea stars, and standing on the corals—which is strictly forbidden. Because it is against sound diving ethics, but also because this is a marine reserve, you are prohibited from touching any wildlife. Ella had back in the shop made it clear that her instructors should be strict about this, because centres not preventing their customers from these kinds of behaviours could get their license withdrawn by the marine. This statement stands in
strong contradiction to what I saw during the dive, and the behaviour of these two worsened in the second dive. One of them even put on gloves that are made in order to touch things, and it was exactly what this guy used them for (not in the sense to remove debris but for the sole purpose of touching). My buddy and I were totally astonished by his behaviour, and the fact that our instructor did not say anything to them about it, not after the first, nor the second dive, even though he saw their behaviour during both dives. But this was not the only thing these two managed to do during these two dives. They even managed not to follow our guide, and instead swim away on their own. This led our instructor to make fruitless efforts to swim back and forth to find them. They later resurfaced by themselves. However, not even this brought a comment from our instructor.

Primarily I think this ethnographic example illustrates the gap between policy and practice (Crewe and Axelby 2013). For example, Ella’s comments in the shop before I booked the dives, where she sad that it was only the less professional dive centers that allowed divers to touch anything, seemed a bit at odds with what I experienced during these two dives, especially because this center claimed to be environmentally aware. It does also continue the argument of Gherardi (2016) in how practices affect their surrounding: crushed corals will for example take decades to grow back—if they ever will—and this ruins habitats for marine animals, bringing repercussions for divers and dive centers. Because less corals means a site become less attractive, less attractive sites results in less divers coming to enjoy it, ending up with dive centers having to close in lack of customers. And on the contrary, a clean site where marine debris has been removed is more attractive for divers, and offers a safer living habitat for marine animals. As Ella put it:

“It take care of the Ocean and the Ocean takes care of me. If the water is destroyed I lose customers and have to close. It is a simple trade off between the ocean and me, it is that simple.”

These words coincide with her statement about how her center is careful while diving. However, it is inconsistent with the ‘real practices’ that I observed while diving with them. But here comes another factor: the brand of the center, that I understand Ella to represent, does not have 100 per cent control over the instructors working for them—every individual’s habitus is unique, based on each agents personal embodied history
(Bourdieu 1990: 55-56). The instructor that I went on these dives with were according to my buddy who had dived with him before: “the worst of all the instructors. He does not enjoy the work, he only wants it done”. I tend to agree with her: the other instructors seemed much more attentive than the one I got this day. Policies of environmental protection accepted and safeguarded by the center are renegotiated and implemented by its instructors, who do not necessarily need to agree with the policies being transmitted via the center. As proposed by Crewe and Axelby (2013: 183), people do not always practice what they say. This is something I noticed again in other dives, and a familiar story told about by various interlocutors during my interviews. Here branding is the key: how you frame a discourse that focuses on your strong sides, the things you do well, and that neglect those aspects that are lesser good—bringing back the logic of the entrepreneurial self (Rose 1998; Gershon 2016). Embodied practices become part of the individual’s body-mind-complex (Wacquant 2004): for example, that you do not touch anything underwater while diving. This sounds easy, however, it can be rather tricky. Your fins usually trail about half a metre behind your feet. Therefore, when there is a current sweeping you in a certain direction and you kick out trying to resist it you might not have had the time to look around and see what your fins could hit in the process. A diver with experience, one that has embodied environmentally aware diving practices does always look around in order to know their surrounding before something happens, such as something being accidentally hit when a current strikes or something else occurs stealing the diver’s attention. This is just like driving a car, a driver with a lot of experience is much more aware of their surrounding than a beginner. Practices must be worked into the body in order for them to bear fruit. These practices are important for the marine environment, and divers know this and therefore it has become prestigious to have a lot of differing experiences from diving in various situations. This has lead to dive associations offering a variety of specialities that can be obtained by divers, both to enhance their skill, but also for them to be able to show centers and other divers that they are capable of diving in special situations and conditions—some dive sites are even restricted to those holding certain speciality certificates due to the complicated dive on offer. These specialities become symbols of knowledge, and thus artefacts of prestige obtainable for divers.
Symbolic Games

One part within the symbolic game of divers is various types of certificates. When you become a certified diver you get a license, a plastic card where your grade of education is written. There are several of these cards, one for each specialty (type of diving, cave, boat, deep, etc.) or grade earned (open water, advanced open water, dive master, etc). Many divers collect these in an album or similar, and a big collection often brings awe from fellow divers because it speaks of much experience under water and in different situations. I recall from my early years of diving when I sat in a dive center on Koh Lipe, Thailand, and the instructor, a Canadian, showed us his collection of certificates. It was a whole book of them! Everyone was impressed, including the other instructors whom had nothing close to that amount of certificates: this guy was a guru among divers. The centers that are ‘100% Aware Partners’ (centers that promotes Project Aware by giving 10 per cent of their income to the organization) have the right to teach the ‘Dive Against Debris’ specialty, and there is a card for this specialty as well. Thus taking or teaching this specialty course is a certain action that speaks about your environmental awareness as a diver without you having to do much more than showing a card. A diver can be environmentally aware and care about taking care of the environment. However, in order to enhance his/her social and symbolic value there are benefits in getting this specialty certification because it will lead to other divers connecting you with environmental caretaking, further enhancing your value in their eyes. This is exactly what Luiz is doing. The course that he teaches the most is ‘Dive
Against Debris’. These courses are held at Praia Velmeha, down of Sugarloaf Mountain close to Copacabana in Rio, and they are his biggest contribution to cleaning this beach, because while doing the course he and his pupils clean the water from marine debris. When an instructor learns how to teach this specialty course, the course then becomes part of this instructor’s repertoire and thus part of the agent: it is embodied, becoming a “second nature” (Bourdieu 1992). When this new skill is practiced in order to teach others, it is both enhancing the importance of the instructor’s symbolic capital in the form of knowledge, and at the same time becoming more and more part of the instructor themselves. This is because practices must be learned, and bodily learning is cemented through repetitions. Thus, teaching is a form of repetition for the instructor’s body, and each time these practices are repeated they merge further into the “body–mind–complex” of the diver (Wacquant 2004). To exemplify, when Luiz teaches the course ‘Dive Against Debris’ he is following a set pattern. First, the student is asked to read a compendium of instructions about the course goals, what to think about while diving, and some contextual information about the dive site (Praia Velmeha in most cases) including what type of visibility to be expected, currents, fish, etc. Then Luiz goes over the same information verbally in order to make sure that the student has got all the details, and to explain tricky parts where the student could get confused. Luiz explained:

“Because there is so much information to take in while learning to dive I only teach the Dive Against Debris course to those who holds at least a Advanced Open Water certificate. This because it gives me a starting point where I do not need to go through all the basics, but can pay more attention to what is important for this course.”

Then Luiz and the student gear up and enter the water from the beach. Before diving Luiz makes a shorter recap and double checks that the student are clear on what signs that will be used underwater so that there will be no misunderstandings. When in the water Luiz and the student are practicing the removal of debris. There are three main tools used: a mesh bag to collect the smaller debris; gloves for removing items without getting hurt; a knife to cut ropes or nets stuck around corrals or fish. With these basic tools the diver goes close to the debris, first checking the surroundings to make sure it is safe to remove the item—as described in the beginning of this chapter—then the debris is slowly taken away from wherever it has become stuck to. Heavier items can be lifted
to the surface by using special balloons that are filled with air via the regulator. However, these balloons are only to be used by those who have been trained in their use, otherwise they can cause damage to the diver or the surrounding. Thus balloons are not what Luiz initiates his students with in the first round. This will be done when the student knows the basics in removing debris under water. After resurfacing Luiz reflects on the dive with the student. Discussing what went well, and what aspects that they need to work more with before the next dive. The ‘embodiment’ of these practices is done by reading, listening, practicing, and then again by listening, reading, listening, and finally practicing. By repeating practices in multiple ways diving protocols are made to be part of divers, whether student and instructor, “body–mind complex” (Wacquant 2004).

Making water under the surface can, as has been shown, be done during recreational dives when divers by accident encounter debris and remove it, or in a negative way by the diver managing to crush corals or similar. Making water can also be done by purpose, as when divers dive in order to remove debris, as Luiz is teaching his students to do. The policies from Project Aware asks divers to both be ready to remove debris wherever and whenever it is found, but also by partaking in ‘Dives Against Debris’, special occasions where debris is removed from a larger area. These policies develop along the way, and if they are practiced it is done in a negotiated form, adapted to the intentions or, and, skills of the diver (Gherardi 2016). In order to learn a practice one must train, and in order to understand it, one must engage. Learning about the body is done by active bodily participation (Bourdieu: referred in Wacquant 2004: Viii). The same could be sad about policy, in order to understand how a policy is practiced it is vital to engage with those practicing it: divers removing debris for instance. When engaging it appears how the policy is more as a guide than a rule, practices are made in the direction of the policy, not strictly obeying it. And this understanding is important when making policies, because if a policy is made without knowing the local context and those acting within it, then it will most likely not have the intended result. In the next chapter I elaborate on the negotiation taking place in the gap between policy and practice, and on how the policy from Project Aware is understood by agents in wider terms leading to environmental actions in water and on land.
Making Water: Offline – Actions

Arraial do Cabo

“Rasmus, come have a look! This was the first cleanup that we did, five years ago at Prainha. You see here, they are the big bags of trash that we collected, both from the water but also from the beach. We had many divers collecting debris from the water as well as local kids collecting along the beach. It was a great day!”

These were pictures Ella showed me on her mobile phone. I had been walking down the street outside of the dive shop, and she had waved me in to show them. Two days earlier we had discussed ‘Dives Against Debris’, and she had told me about some of the cleanups she had done, and wanted to show me pictures but could not find them at the time. The center where Ella works conducts at least three ‘Dives Against Debris’ annually. This, however, does not happen during the summer season because it is ‘impossible’ with all the tourists and the intense boat traffic. Ella told that:

“We try make one cleanup after Carnaval, the beaches and the water are so dirty then. We do always combine underwater cleanups with beach cleanups, we believe it is more effective that way.”

When they do cleanups they have a big tent on the beach with advertisement about what they are doing. Of course, the dive centers name is clearly visible in order to promote the brand of the center, enhancing the qualities and symbolic capital (Gershon 2016; Broday 1991: 170). At a cleanup the participants meet up early in the morning to divide themselves into groups. Each group takes a part of the beach or an area of the water that they will search for debris. The most complicated part is the removal of marine debris because divers can only be under water for a certain amount of time. Depending on the depth and temperature of the water, but in average conditions of water temperatures at 20 degrees plus and a depth of about 10 to 12 meters a diver can spend about 60 minutes under water, followed by a surface interval of about the same length: this can be repeated three times. Thus the cleanup of the water is limited by time. After all the debris is collected on the beach it is packed into large bags and properly disposed of.

All of this sounds very much like what Project Aware asks of dive centers, only that no data is reported and thus not included in the transnational work of the organization. This center engage in cleanups that obviously have a positive impact on the environment, with loads of debris being removed from the water and the beaches. However, they, just
as the other dive centers in town, used plastic cups on their boats while out diving. These cheap disposable cups were used in large quantities, and due to them being light they were often taken away by the wind, ending up in the water and adding to the marine debris that the cleanups were supposed to tackle. Using ordinary ‘heavy’ cups could solve this, but that would result in more work cleaning—the ease of using disposable cups came before the health of the water and the life within it. Thus the practices of the center are twofold: officially and most visibly they are environmentally aware and do their part in taking care of the water, however, they are simultaneously making the same easily fixable ‘mistakes’ as the other centers and tour boats, and by doing so distressing the environment further. This ambivalence by the center illustrates the point by Crewe and Axelby (2013: 183) that what people say and what they do not always correlate. It also supports their notion of how the gap between policy and practice is a moment of negotiation: one could say that the policy and the habitus of these divers meet in a liminal’ sequence wherein new practices are decided. Before this meeting took place there is no way to know how the practices would turn out, at least not in detail. The center has after all adapted to being environmentally aware, however, these plastic cups are one speaking example of how this environmental awareness is not including all practices and aspects of the center. Being environmentally aware is clearly a definition open for interpretations and this is done in the gap between policy and practice.

The first times I dived in Arraial I was confused by the clean dive sites, looking at the beaches and the shallow water that were full of trash I had assumed there would be plenty in the sites too. The reason for this was another negotiation done by most dive centers in Arraial, they too are aware that marine debris is not something that ought to be in the water. All dive sites around town are cleaned from marine debris regularly by dive centers: debris is removed as soon as it appears on these sites. If the debris is small the instructors simply collect it during ordinary dives, if larger quantities or items have appeared these are removed on specific cleaning dives that are organized as quickly as possible after detecting the debris in the dive site. These dives do not need special permits because they are operated from the dive boat and do not take much space on the water nor on the beach, and is therefore not disturbing the fishermen or anyone else. Thus, centers in Arraial practice some kind of ‘Dive Against Debris’, just that most do so only on especially lucrative sites where they keep them clean in order for tourists to
enjoy their dives. When I spoke with divers at these centers most emphasized how complicated it was obtaining permits to clean the water, and that they had settled on the idea of keeping the dive sites clean and to be careful not to distress the environment more than necessary while diving. These centers are following the easiest path suggested by the context within which they operate. This is accordingly with the logic of habitus in that their behaviour reproduces the structure around them due to that being the simplest and most beneficial course of action (Bourdieu 1976: 118).

**Rio de Janeiro**

Luiz has differently from Ella and the dive centers in Arraial do Cabo reordered his social milieu in a way that makes it logical for him to fully engage in environmental work according to the policy of Project Aware. While Ella adjusts to her societal context Luiz remakes it (Bourdieu 1976: 118).

“I have remade my social life so that most people I know, and that I spend time with, are either divers or in some other way engaged with water. This I have done because I believe the more people around me that share my ideas and values, the better it is for me as a person, and it also helps in reaching my goals.”

By socially surrounding himself with people who hold environmental protection in high regard, Luiz is enhancing his own social and symbolic value. By both practicing and teaching these practices he develops his own position within the group. This is because in this group being environmentally aware and actively pursuing a cleaner climate is considered the morally right thing to do. His work for, and affiliation with Project Aware gives him a legitimate claim to being not only personally but also officially environmentally aware. This too earns him further symbolic points. Allowing him to easily move within the field that this group of people create for him in Rio de Janeiro. By embodying the policies and the call from Project Aware to promote environmental action and to clean water from marine debris Luiz is both making something for the environment and making something for himself. Project Aware has created an image that Luiz can make use of in his own life—take the example from Colonia de Pescadores where Luiz become important to the fishermen because of his environmental engagement—this image gives him not only the credits of being environmentally aware, but also makes him more visible. Being listed on the webpage
of Project Aware as an example: it is a visibility that result in more customers and makes his voice stronger when in negotiation with government officials in Rio de Janeiro about his environmental work. Luiz regularly conducts ‘Dives Against Debris’ on various sites around Guanabara Bay; one of the sites is for example Ilha Seca, an island in the bay. On this island a lot of debris get caught so it is an effective site to remove a lot of debris in one time. The 'Dives Against Debris’ that Luiz make are just like those of Ella a combination of underwater cleaning and beach cleanups (even if Project Aware only wants Luiz to report the debris found under water to them, because they want to calculate the amount of marine debris). Before going to the site Luiz advertises on his Facebook page and other places about the coming action. This in order to get volunteers to help him. The more participants, the bigger impact it has. It is for these cleanups that Luiz offers free dive training to those who participate two or more times. The boat and the tools used during the 'Dive Against Debris’ is borrowed from the fishermen at the Colonia de Pescadores, and more often than not some of the fishermen are part of the cleanup. The number of volunteers is usually between 10 and 20 in the ages of 20 to 50 and it is both men and women. Most are locals, but sometimes the advertisement on Luiz Facebook has caught the attention of environmentally aware tourists who decide to join the event.

These 'Dives Against Debris’ are one example of how Luiz’s work according to the policies of Project Aware becomes part of shaping the environment (Gherardi 2016; Barnes 2014). Another example is his engagement on Governor Island, where he not only engage with the Colonia de Pescadores but also with a youth prison center where youth on rehabilitation are set to do environmental work as part of their rehabilitation. There is a mangrove forest that is badly hurt by the overall pollution in Guanabara Bay and by increased levels of salt in the water coming as a result of the construction work that has been made prior to the 2016 Olympic Games. Luiz and the youth are together growing mangrove saplings that they are using to reforest the area. They have a special greenhouse where they grow the saplings. When they reach a certain number (usually about 60) Luiz and the group of youth set out to try plant them into the forest, they did this last in November 2016. This must be done when the tide is low, otherwise there will be no earth to plant into. It is a tricky process: the saplings are vulnerable and can if not planted properly die straight away due to the high salt and pollution levels in the water. The mangrove forest is important because the trees clean the water, and provides
habitat for a vast number of animals. When Luiz and the youth do these reforesting missions they usually assemble a smaller information tent where they have some speeches about their work and provide information about environmental protection for the locals. This they do with the hope that some will be influenced into handling their trash more responsible than just throwing it into the bay. These practices of reforesting the mangrove forest at Governor Island can be compared with the cleanups arranged in Arraial do Cabo by Ella’s dive center. In both cases a tent with the slogan of the dive center involved is present—on Luiz’s tent the banner of Project Aware is present as well—making the surrounding community aware of what is being done by the center is an important reason for making anything in the first place. There is both economic and symbolic value in these practices, without making it known that these cleanups or reforestations are being carried out there is no chance to get something back from them, nor will they have any societal impact. Project Aware needs the attention in order to allocate funds for their work. Luiz needs the attention to be acknowledged by Project Aware and his social milieu, as well as to get funds to continue his environmental work. Ella needs the attention in order to promote her center, attract more customers, and being able to conduct cleanups. As I have mentioned, environmental awareness and caretaking is not simply out of a good heart. There are economic, symbolic, and social aspects behind it as well. And it is these that the concepts of habitus help us to understand and distinguish. However, the love for the ocean is the underlying and driving reason for my interlocutors engagement. When thinking with habitus we understand that each action taken by an agent is supposed to be rational. To clean rivers, beaches, and water from debris, to grow and plant mangrove seedlings just because it can be good for the environment is maybe rational if viewed from the perspective of the planet. However, if viewed specifically from the viewpoint of one agent, and with the time-span of one agents life, these practices might not be that rational, or logical. Habitus is not the answer in itself, but when trying to understand the workings of habitus we begin to think about social practices in another way, that practices are part of a social milieu, a milieu of lived experiences that the habitus knows well, and that in order to make habitus to try change, or adapt to this milieu some strong motivation must be the reason, such as for example money—or, and, a large environmental engagement (Broady 1991: 229). Thinking through habitus (Bourdieu 1976 etc.) and the entrepreneurial self (Rose 1998; Gershon 2016) allow us to follow and analyze relations between various agents and processes in society, and how they relate to the
environment. We come to understand that actions by agents that seem altruistic simultaneously often are part of a management and branding of the self (Gershon 2016). This does not decrease the importance of these actions and practices, nor their impact on the environment. However, in order to understand what makes these agents to engage when other do not we must see to their underlying motives, which also must include ways of survival for the agent.

Social Games: Being in the ‘Illusio’

I argue that Luiz and Ella are engaged in the same social game, illusio, as I mentioned in the chapter Making Water: Online. The illusio is according to Bourdieu a sort of fiction that players—social agents—choose to believe in, deciding that common rules are worth following because they are part of a common reality—thus fiction is by choice becoming reality. These social agents are “taken in and by the game” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992b: 116). Bourdieu (2000: 102) further writes that practitioners do not have ultimate answers as to why they play the game, that the illusio is created through repetitive practices that makes agents committed to reproducing the game. My interlocutors are aware of why they entered the game—in the meaning of why they engage in environmental work. But when already playing, they repeat the practices that constitute the game and thus reproduce it. Luiz has chosen Project Aware as a tool to forward his own position, providing official recognition of his environmental work, while Ella picked environmental awareness to distinguish her center. These are two strategies, but they boil down to a set of practices: branding of an environmental awareness that is adapted to a local context, environmental engagement, and the use of both online and offline sources in communicating their actions to society and other agents in it. Being successful in this kind of game requires a “know–how of the game” according to Bourdieu (Postill 2010: 8; Rodineliussen 2016). I read this “know-how” as an embodied knowledge of a set of practices that can be practiced within the structure and context of the game. Policies thus become “structuring structures” (Broady 1991: 228) that the agent engages with the help of habitus, adapting if necessary in order to advance within the game. The longer Luiz and Ella play, the better they become in playing because they embody the structure of the game field. In other words “they have the game under their skin” (Bourdieu, 1998: 80). This is visible in how they learnt to manoeuvre in their local contexts so as to benefit their own situation and the work they want to do. However, the “structuring structure” is not written in stone: at the same time
that their habitus change in relation to the structure (e.g. the policies of Project Aware and their surroundings), the structure is changed by the habitus—how Luiz got his environmental work started by his contact with Project Aware, and how he then has adapted these policies to his own context and simultaneously the context to the policies. One could also say that because the habitus becomes accustomed to the field (of environmental caretaking and promotion of one's self), it is possible for the habitus to predict changes or initiate such (Lupu and Empson 2015: 21). Luiz did this by reconstructing his social milieu so that it better fitted the type of game he wanted to play when he begun socializing only with individuals engaged in, or who cared about, environmental work. By a simultaneous adaptation by the habitus of agents, and the structure of the field, these two structuring forces—internal and external—agree and embrace one another, continuing the game with combined force to promote their now common goal. This means that agents can enter the game knowingly, but that the more they play, the more they become part of the game, consciously and unconsciously. If Luiz or Ella would quit playing it would mean that the symbolic and social capital they built would fall together with the game.

Habitus is not a force within individuals that keep them on the ‘high road’, but rather something that help them navigate their social context as smooth and beneficial as possible, leading to Ella and her center being environmentally aware and destructive at the same time (cleanups and plastic cups). Practices depend on how visible they are to tourists and others who can evaluate the center, and the individuals within them. This is also clear in the examples with Luiz, where he for example reordered his social milieu so that those who evaluated his actions were themselves pro-environmental conservation. As noted when introducing the concept of entrepreneurial self, habitus is engaged in self-marketing, by being unique and at the same time not too different. It is a fine line between success and disaster. Being too environmentally aware would be costly for Ella, costs that would not be earned back in cash. The official connection with Project Aware is for example not necessary for Ella due to the organization being little known in Brazil outside of the dive community. And because the center mostly earns its living on beginners or first time ‘discover scuba diving’ customers this connection will not make a difference. Ordinary environmental awareness does, because that is something new customers can relate to, and by purchasing their diving from this center they take some of the environmental credit. Further, Ella can take care of the water she
loves without having to invest time in filling reports to Project Aware. This is different for Luiz. In Rio de Janeiro there are so many dive centers and other attractions that he needs to stand out, being one of a few that are officially recognized by an organization of the size of Project Aware is one way to do this. The high level of pollution in Guanabara Bay is another reason, making his environmental work part in attracting customers, but also in keeping water and dive sites in such a condition that makes diving there enjoyable and possible.
Conclusion

In the introduction to this thesis I begin with a story about a crab trapped in a plastic bag in the ocean. This crab is just one out of many, many, animals being hurt by marine debris. To mention a few examples: among sea birds 90 per cent have man-made debris in their stomachs; sea turtles mainly eat jellyfish and they regularly confuse these with plastic bags, and eat them, often with fatal results (projectaware.org March 2017).

“I have seen so many turtles dead because of them being full of plastic and other trash. Last week the fishermen opened a dead turtle; it was just plastic all over. These bags in the water are devastating for the turtles.”

The example above by Ella illustrates the reason behind the research for this thesis, the growing issue with marine debris. I have discussed how practices of making water among divers in Rio de Janeiro and Arraial do Cabo are affected by, and in a relationship with, the policies originating from the non-governmental organization Project Aware. These policies ask divers to clean water from marine debris and to educate the public about the issue. This relationship between diver and policy is analyzed from the viewpoint of practice theory, anthropology of policy, environmental anthropology, and political ecology. Water is important for the survival of all humans, and therefore everyone is interested in and engaged with water in one way or another—water becomes political. Water as “a total social fact” (Orlove and Caton 2010) is thus the backbone of this thesis. I have showed how various agents (divers, fishermen, tour guides, government officials, and tourists) come together and interact on issues concerning water. By following how these policies from Project Aware is negotiated and later practiced by divers different but still related practices have emerged, including: taking and uploading pictures of marine debris, engagement in online discourse(—making), self marketing as in branding (online and offline), and actual practices of removing trash on land and debris in water. These practices that my different interlocutors and individuals in their surrounding has engaged are, as I have shown, related to the context within which they operate. In relation to their own lived histories, their habitus, that has guided their choices (e.g Bourdieu 1990; Broady 1991). It has become evident that there is a gap between how Project Aware formulates their policies and how divers understand and practice them, and within this gap a negotiation has taken place (Crewe and Axelby 2013). This negotiation often concerns the
necessary middle-way between my interlocutors love for the water they dive and their need to earn a living. I have focused much on their practices of branding, however, I want to highlight that much of the money they can make by attracting customers or funding is then used in their work of making water clean from marine debris. My interlocutors need to find a way where they can economically support themselves—by attracting customers—and still find the funding, time, and engagement to clean water from marine debris.

Habitus (e.g Bourdieu 1976) and the entrepreneurial self (Rose 1998; Gershon 2016) as heuristic concepts has throughout this thesis helped me to understand and analyze practices of engaging with policy and making water. Habitus can in some of Bourdieu’s formulations be read as being deterministic. However, that is not how I understand the concept, and it is not the way I have used it in this thesis (agreeing with among others Hilgers 2009). Change is slow but possible (Broady 1991). Neither do I view habitus as the whole of an agent who has a will other than that of the habitus. Habitus in this sense is the part within an agent, the embodied history and second nature (Bourdieu 1992), which assimilates experiences gained by the agent and applies these to new circumstances in order to navigate and make the most rational decision. However, an agent does not always want the most rational. When the will of an agent wants something other than their habitus a rift between the two occurs. In these situations the agent often tries to renegotiate their position in society according to the logic of habitus so that to make the will fit a rational move. For example, after becoming interested in the environmental work promoted by Project Aware, Luiz reconstructed his social environment. His ‘will’ (will is here not suggested as a concept but only the wishes of the agent) wanted to become environmentally aware. Habitus allow us to understand the negotiation within Luiz that made it possible for his will to get its way, how Luiz begun the work of remaking his social relationships so that he could use this environmental aspect to enhance his symbolic and social capital, making environmental work a rational and logical path to take. In this case the habitus of Luiz adapted to the ‘will’, in the case of Ella it was instead the ‘will’ that had to give way for her embodied history, habitus. This was due to local power structures not being interested in those issues being brought forward by Project Aware; it became simply too costly and irrational for Ella to follow all parts of these policies. As Barnes (2014) and Karlsson (2015) explain, structures of power hold many answers to social practices, and therefore they are
important to study if one aims to understand how certain practices are formed within localities. It is vital to not only grasp the relationship between an agent and a policy, but what societal factors that shapes this relationship (Barnes 2014). When diving is not only about adventure but also providing the income of an agent, then keeping water clean becomes more than environmental protection, it becomes a way for agents to support themselves. This aspect is illuminated by the logic of the entrepreneurial self. Explaining how the habitus of divers engage with market logics.

I have shown that by studying relationships between organizations, policies, agents, societies, and environments a web of relations are made to be visible and thus possible to analyze. For example, the way that Ella relates to the policies of Project Aware, how she negotiates and adapts them to her social context illustrates the importance of other agents around her. She needed to adjust her practices so that government officials will be more likely to provide her with permits for cleanups that are part of her branding to attract tourists coming to town. Ella must also build a relationship toward the fishermen so that they will agree to allow her to conducting cleanups. Furthermore, she needs to be in contact and cooperating with other dive centers in order to keep the dive sites clear from marine debris, otherwise she will have to do that herself, and thus bringing more costs upon her business. All these societal factors are what create the game field and the rules that Ella must follow, and by accepting these rules as her reality, she is in the ‘illusio’ (Bourdieu 2000: 102). By doing this, it is possible for her to use this to her own advantage when following her entrepreneurial agenda, as described in the process of creating an entrepreneurial self (Rose 1998; Gershon 2016). When accepting the rules, it is also possible to see beyond them, and thus advance within the game.

The authors of Policy Worlds (2011) argue that the study of policies renders social processes visible; it works like a window to the interaction between local agents, governments, NGOs, and their connection to a larger context. By viewing policies as discourses transmitted from an organization to individuals, they can be seen as becoming part of the “linguistic market” (Bourdieu 1992) and as such can be viewed as social practices produced within a situated socio-historical framework (Roca 2015: 432). According to Shore (2011: 125) the study of policies also allows an understanding of how macro forces can possibly affect the local, as again being part of the market and vice versa how local forces can have an effect on global issues. Policies frame new
ideas in a way that eases the process of change; this is often, as I have shown, achieved by policies entering into a relation with individuals and their social environment (Shore, and Wright 2011: 2-3). Cassidy (2012: 29) elaborates on this point, arguing that it is the ambiguity in how voices, narratives, and problems are heard that is interesting for an anthropologist. Suggesting that in order for local concerns/processes to take on a ‘transnational language’ they must make them of interest to policy-makers. These processes must be translated into such a language, something anthropologist can assist with. If anthropologists were to do this that could possibly lead to more social studies being included in discussions concerning the world we live in, such as the one around the anthropocene. I believe together with Collier and Devitt (2016) that through an in-depth understanding of relationships between society and environment it is possible to gain an understanding of how through societal change it might be possible to steer our world towards a sustainable future. One way to achieve this change could be via policies, but for that to be possible a more developed and nuanced understanding of the relationship between policy and agents will be needed. This study presented here is but one small addition to this work; further scholarly attention is required as well as an engaged and informed public debate on the issue. Thus I hope this thesis encourages further studies conducted to a variety of places on topics related to the work presented here. I also hope that the conclusions from these studies will be brought to the public in order to engage not only scholars but also society at large, with these topics of concern for the wellbeing of our planet and the growing scholarly community interested in policies, environment, and related topics. Studies of societies are as suggested by Collier and Devitt (2016) important and vital if we want to understand the relationship between societies and environment, and studies on processes of making water are part of this (Barnes 2014).
References

AAA
American Anthropological Association


CITES Cop17

Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species and Wild Fauna and Flora


Ellenmacarthurfoundation
Copy in author’s possession.


Trash Hero


Rodineliussen, R. 2016. Motherhoods in becoming, Social Media, and Belonging. *Anthropologies, the e-journal of British Mensa SIG for Anthropology*, vol 1, no. 2.


WWF
Copy in author’s possession.


UNEP
UN Environment
http://www.unep.org/newscentre/un-declares-war-ocean-plastic
Copy in author’s possession.

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1 https://www.cites.org

2 Project Aware has made a video describing the ugly journey as an addition to the poster shown above, it can be seen here: http://www.projectaware.org/publication/ugly-journey-our-trash

3 For further information: http://www.oceanconservancy.org/our-work/international-coastal-cleanup/

4 Divers employ hand signals for communication while under water. It is a universal language, however, local variations exist and therefore instructors repeat the most common and important signs before each dive. This site provides illustrations of some of the more basic signs for the interested reader: https://www.scubadoctor.com.au/underwater-hand-signals.htm

5 Victor Turner develops the concept of *liminality* from Arnold van Gennep. *Liminality* is explained to be the second step in a *rites de passage*. The first step, *separation*, is when the individual is separated from a known environment. Step two, *liminality*, is a state of not knowing—where anything can happen. The final step is *incorporation*, when the individual once again gains a distinguished role in society (Turner 1969). The concept of *liminality* has been used by scholars interested in rituals, border studies, and many other areas.

6 A ‘Discover Scuba Dive’ is offered by dive centers to those who do not hold a dive certificate but would like to try diving. When doing this dive the diver is held by the back by an instructor throughout the entire dive, and they do not go below 10 meters.