# Introduction

## Life and Care from South of the Future

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## Semi-Life and Semi-Care

The Semi-Living Worry Dolls were the first tissue engineered sculptures to be presented alive in a gallery. . . . Inspired by the Guatemalan worry dolls given to children to whisper their worries and concerns to, these worry dolls were handcrafted out of degradable polymers (PGA and P4HB) and surgical sutures. The dolls are then seeded with living cells [specifically, endothelial (skin), muscle, and osteoblast (bone) tissues: AB and DC] that, throughout the exhibition, will gradually replace the polymers within a micro-gravity bioreactor that acts as a surrogate body. The worry dolls become partially alive. These semi-living dolls represent the current stage of cultural limbo, characterized by childlike innocence and a mixture of wonder and fear of technology. This work invites you to whisper your worries to the worry dolls—will they take your concerns away?

-Artists' Statement

*Semi-Living Worry Dolls* is a bio-artistic project conjured by two Australians, Oron Catts and Ionat Zurr, and annexed to a folk art tradition of tiny, mostly female gendered figurines from indigenous Guatemala. They were first presented in an Ars Electronica festival in Linz, Austria, in 2000 and toured for over a decade since then. In exhibition, each of Catts and Zurr's seven semi-living dolls represents a different worry: "the worry of biotechnology," "demagogy, and possibly destruction," "the fear of fear itself," "our fear of hope," and so on. These semi-living dolls speak to the continuities and collisions between three related discourses that constitute the central concerns of this book. They highlight how the generation of life and the work of caring are inextricably interwoven; how the Global South, historically and contemporaneously a vital resource for the sustenance of life and care, is emerging anew as the symbolic and embodied locus of our collective hopes and anxieties for the future; and how the relationship between giving and supporting life, dependent on both physical and affective flows of gendered labor from the south, is becoming increasingly mediated by speculative technologies in the twenty-first century.

On the face of it, "care" seems the polar opposite of technological mediation. The most intractably human of terms, "care," in fact, differentiates humanity from other forms of existence. It punctuates language as a noun, adjective, and verb: care workers care for others. They ameliorate their cares. They care, it seems, especially for those who cannot easily care for themselves-hence the repetition "children-childlike" in Catts and Zurr's artist statement. Typically associated with "traditional" southern societies of the globe where caring is imagined to be more intrinsic to communities, in the transnational exchanges with the Global North, southern laborers sell their services, their care work, precisely at the intersection of the economic and affective labor markets. Whether what they sell is the use of their bodies for gestational surrogacy (or sex work), the loving-kindness of their interactions with our children, or the use of their hands to clean the bodies of the elderly and infirm, their work is valued because "they care," while at the same time the reality of capital extracts affect from the economic calculations of their worth on the labor market. The United States, for instance, has a special category of B-1 visas for domestic workers accompanying diplomatic families. Like the worry dolls, such care work is cathected most frequently to female bodies, and the peculiarity of their labor resides in the fact that the very nature of their job description brings together affective and emotional labor along with physical exertion-this is the difference with other kinds of nongendered, or frequently male-gendered service work, like that of dishwashers or janitors. The care worker's job is to worry on others' behalf.

Guatemalan worry dolls are scraps of wood and cloth that already have a semi-living function, pointing to the slippage between people/objects that care for us / that we care about. They are popular tourist items and

are sold semi-seriously for precisely the affective labor they perform. One tourist site tells us: "The indigenous people from the Highlands in Guatemala created Worry Dolls many generations ago as a remedy for worrying. According to the Mayan legend, when worrying keeps a person awake, he or she tells a worry to as many dolls as necessary. Then the worrier places the dolls under his or her pillow. The dolls take over the worrying for the person who then sleeps peacefully through the night. When morning breaks, the person awakens without the worries that the dolls took away during the night" (Shamans). What is suggested is that with the worry dolls, we nonindigenous northerners can imagine ourselves into a time of childlike innocence and wonder, into a time when, like now, placebos really worked. And, of course, the childlike quality evoked both in the Shamans Market and in Catts and Zurr's description of their project-both the innocence and the fear-are exactly why we need the affective soothing in the first place. Scientific studies agree. A report in Harvard Health 2012, for instance, documents the growing recognition that what we call the placebo effect may involve changes in brain chemistry-and that the placebo effect may in fact be an integral part of good medical care and an ally that should be embraced by doctors and patients alike. It is, this article notes, "an effect of care that's caring" ("Putting").

The labor of the Guatemalan doll, then, is imagined as a gift, though there is an exchange of a modest amount of cash to secure them. At the same time, they represent an investment in a certain kind of emotional/ affective labor that is buffered by the ability to see people as objects and things as human. For the northern consumers of women's care work, the value added of southern labor is their imagined investment in a global care chain, distinct from the poor women of the Global North, who imaginarily don't show the proper care for their loved ones. Like other transnational migrants, the semi-living dolls move north to sell their labor, but the employer wants to buy their affect—while not putting an economic value on it, nor compensating the worker for their "care."

The Australian semi-living dolls also represent a kind of monstrous pregnancy within a bioreactor body. As one of the creators notes, "This emergence of [a] new class of object/being, which is positioned in the fault line of our psychological dichotomies in regard to the life continuum, might become more and more visible as our abilities to manipulate life increases. As these creations will contain different gradients of life and sentiency[,] new relationships will be formed with our objects, our environment and with the concept of life itself. Parts of our own bodies can be sustained apart from us

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as independent autonomous entities (currently only small fragments). What kind of relationships are we going to form with these entities? Will we care for them or abuse them?" (Catts). In exhibition, it seems that the semi-living dolls added to people's worries rather than alleviating them; many spectators were concerned by their uncanny aliveness and asked what would happen to the dolls after the show, prompting the artists to a statement that they treated the remains respectfully, even giving them funerals.

The semi-living dolls are more monstrous than ever because scientific advances are continually closing in on the possibility of their movement from object to full life: thus, for example, the 2017 successful in vitro gametogenesis, which resulted in living mice from mouse tail cells. Already there are many uncanny echoes with technological advances that bridge object, animal, and human. Chinese scientists have been developing what they call semi-living embryos to develop heritable modifications to the human genome that can eradicate disease-and, by the way, enhance beauty and intelligence. In a controversial article released in April 2015 they reported successfully using embryos sourced from a local fertility clinic to edit the genetic code and remove a gene responsible for a potentially fatal blood disorder. Readers were quick to note other uses for the versatile and easy to use gene-editing technology CRISPR, including-in a more recent iteration-the Brad Pitt clone scenario evoked by James Vincent. By 2018, this science-fiction scenario became a real-time controversy as the Chinese bioengineer He Jiankui announced the birth of the first child with genes edited to eliminate the human immunodeficiency virus (Bruenig).

One familiar definition of modernity is its drive to mythologize and celebrate prolepsis. The convergence of age-old care work and rapidly emerging biotechnologies in our unfolding present—hypostasized in the speculative project of the semi-living worry dolls—puts a new, cautionary spin on this drive. As Catts and Zurr noted at the turn of the millennium, when they first developed their "symbiotica" from an artifactual template based upon an explicitly gendered, racialized, and commodified embodiment of the Global South, fear and anxiety about the technologization and financialization of life itself seemed imminent over the horizon of the future. Nearly two decades later, what remained unacknowledged in the artists' choice of cultural object has become part and parcel of the north's imaginary of futurity. Semi-life has not only arrived at its shores in numbers too critical to ignore but is here to stay. What is more, the worry doll from south of the future has revealed itself to be a constantly transmogrifying repository of semi-care that is at once intimately familiar and terrifyingly alien.

## South of the Future

Flickering in the asymptote of histories of the future, the miniaturized subjectobject of the artistic imagination serves at once as donor and recipient of care, biotechnologically productive yet incapable of biological reproduction, hypothetically immortal but managed by the assignment of a limited shelf life. The longings and fears called forth by the worry doll are correspondingly Janus-faced. Appropriating an all-too-familiar plaything from a commodified version of the south recuperates nostalgic conceptions of care vested in a racialized, gendered body even as its technologically conjured "vibrant matter" (Bennett) serves as the staging ground for a brave new world in which affective and reproductive labor are simultaneously mechanized and generated to excess.

The seemingly timeless template of semi-life, consequently, is joined at the hip with modern vectors of migrant care work, epitomized by the nanny or eldercare worker providing succor across geopolitical and economic boundaries between north and south. As a traveling exhibit, additionally, the worry doll pits its own premodern and modern prototypes against the perpetually future-oriented plasticity of biomatter and bioinformation fueled by rapid advances in tissue engineering, in vitro fertilization, and synthetic biology over the last three decades. Consonant with the mutating components of the figurine, the holistic caregiver and caretaker from the south fragments and reconstitutes itself into donors, surrogates, and biomedical infrastructures that enable life to be traded as both commodities and futures across unimaginable distances around the globe.

The most incendiary potential of the tightly managed yet unpredictably proliferative worry doll from the turn of the millennium might lie in the in-built anticipation of its own uncanny returns in a future imperfect long after the exhibition's end. In the two years during which this book emerged from conception to completion, the worry doll has repeatedly come back to life as the quintessential migrant pair of mother and child, washing up on the shores of North America and Western Europe on the highest wave of demographic displacement since World War II. Their twinned bodies, though increasingly spectralized, are subjected to ever more futuristic methods of surveillance and violence. The paradoxical pairing of affect and technology, once condemned to perpetual uncertainty in the artistic imagination of the worry doll but now a real threat to the geopolitical imaginary of the Global North, stands at the center of the twilight zone in which semiologies of care, technologies of the body, and ontologies of the future coconstitute each other. Nowhere is their mutuality more vividly visible than at the borderlands of South Asia and the Americas, the two regions that this book brings into generative comparison.

On April 29, 2015, five days after Nepal was hit by a devastating earthquake, the Israeli newspaper Haaretz designated as its "picture of the week" a newborn baby, "wrapped in a woolen blanket and in a piece of blue and white cloth, snuggling in the strong arms of an Israeli Defense Forces soldier in a pressed uniform" (Narayanan). Although the soldier most certainly represented what his uniform and insignia stood for, the baby was not just any baby: it was the product of a commercial contract between an Israeli same-sex couple and a clinic located in Nepal that employed women who had come across the open border from India to serve as surrogates. The IDF's response to the earthquake inadvertently revealed not just a two-tier system of care, in which the state's future citizens were airlifted while their gestational vessels remained both invisible and left behind, but also a bizarre reversal of the traditional trajectories of gender, labor, and migration between the two South Asian countries of India and Nepal. As India's largely unregulated international surrogacy market, whose revenues grew to an annual two billion dollars since its inception in 2004, began to be increasingly restricted by the government, Nepal-a long-standing source of childcare workers for middle- and upper-class Indian households-became a lucrative destination for potential surrogates. This encounter between radically divergent scales of migrant biomatter and technologically mediated care, however, reveals a larger picture of the south as a simultaneous repository of anxiety and hope.

At a seemingly unimaginable distance from the Himalayan highlands, a similar paradox of semi-care and semi-life now dominates the public imagination of the divide between the United States and Latin America. As the US administration pursues an exponentially aggressive policy of separating children from caregivers at the southern border with Mexico as part of its zero-tolerance strategy to deter migration, the ethics of care has emerged as a primary battleground for the politics of life itself. Media dispatches from the border now look like scenes that could be lifted from Alfonso Cuarón's 2006 cinematic dystopia *The Children of Men*, featuring a brown-skinned prospective mother navigating a northern metropolis littered with cages full of migrants—with the additional twist that in real life, it is children rather than adult migrants who feature as the inmates of fenced enclosures and tent cities. Asked about the state's plans for the future of such minors, the White House chief of staff casually speculated that they would be sent to "foster care or whatever" (Burnett). Fox News commentator Laura Ingra-

ham, following her much-reviled description of child detention centers as "summer camps" (Wootson), put forward an even more insidious proposal: the influx of young life from south of the border, she speculated, would solve the perpetual shortage in the domestic adoption market. Media critics pointed out the particular irony of the remarks given Ingraham's own history of adopting a girl from Guatemala (Timmons).

These contradictions, however, are hardly limited to the current moment; they have always been inherent to and symptomatic of the global business of marketing care and speculating life. Commercial surrogacy, and especially transnational commercial surrogacy involving northern intending parents seeking out low-cost options for family-making in the Global South, provides a compelling case in point. Despite the literally rosy images of altruism projected by commercial surrogacy providers, scandal has persistently shadowed the industry, both with accusations of human trafficking involving women forced by poverty to allow themselves to be exploited in baby factories as surrogates and by the trafficking of the babies themselves. The commercial side of this transaction has become notoriously evident in high-profile cases of parents dissatisfied with the outcome of their venture, who refuse to accept their biological children for a range of reasons including mental illness and physical challenges. As many scholars have noted, even in locations where the practice is legal, the patchwork of law and policy does little to adequately protect surrogates or the children themselves (Torres et al.; Pande; Rotabi and Kalantry in this volume).

Thus, transnational commercial surrogacy has become a rapidly changing enterprise, moving from place to place as local governments catch on to the stigma attached to it. Thailand (2015), Nepal (2016), Cambodia (2016), and Mexico-where commercial surrogacy was only legal in Tabasco, but banned in 2016, and is now treated as a form of human trafficking-and India (2018), all banned transnational commercial surrogacy in quick succession after booms, or the promise of major booms. Russia is considering a ban, though its commercial surrogacy companies mostly serve nationals, and Ukraine is reeling under a 2019 crisis as reports appear of parents abandoning "imperfect" babies (Hawley). April 2019 brought news that Nigeria, Kenya, and Ghana seem to be the next places this fast-moving industry is trying to land (Fenton-Glynn). Given the loose regulatory environment in these countries-there is neither explicit legislation nor an outright ban-reports of baby factories in Nigeria are popping up ("Nigeria Police"). As attention rapidly moves to the next great place for middle-class foreigners to commission a child, the countries are getting quicker and quicker to shut it down.

Regardless of location, however, the nexus of semi-care and semi-life continues to rely on an instantly recognizable paradox: while age-old tropes of dehumanization and demographic panic inform the denial of care, the south nevertheless remains an essential repository of surplus reproductive potential, a resource of vitality ripe for biopolitical and technopolitical extraction in the proleptic imagination of the north. This is the commonality that provides this book with its object of study and conceptual point of departure. *South of the Future* follows the intersecting and intertwined trajectories of semi-life and semi-care across two regions that have not only been historically entrenched in transnational flows of care work but also, more recently, become flashpoints of global traffic in speculative technologies of life. By examining them in juxtaposition, it comprises the first comparative and interdisciplinary investigation of care markets and biomarkets in the Global South.

## Care and Life in Interdisciplinary Comparison

This volume seeks to add a new conceptual frame and a new methodological toolkit to the body of recent scholarly work that attends to the outsourcing of both biological risk and the burden of care (Hochschild; Hochschild and Ehrenreich). By examining traditional types of migrant care work such as milk-nursing and nannying in close engagement with speculative technologies of producing, managing, and financializing the building blocks of life itself, it aims to reveal the historical continuums and structural contiguities between older forms of affective and reproductive labor and the newest pathways through which migrant life is mediated by traveling technologies across the asymmetries of the north and south. While engaging deeply with recent theorizations of this transformation—articulated through concepts such as "biocapital" (Sunder Rajan), "clinical labor" (Cooper and Waldby), and "tactical biopolitics" (Da Costa and Philip)—the essays in this volume perform an altogether different kind of work than the macrostructural studies previously cited.

Our contributors approach the south not as an abstract space and a general category of inequality, but as a constellation of concrete sites and embodied subjectivities that are deeply imbricated in broader global movements and flows. This disaggregating impulse is evident in the diverse ways in which the chapters that follow address multipronged vectors of biotechnology and differential imaginations of care, accounting for cultural

and political imaginaries that constantly cross the line between mimetic and speculative modes. Focusing on specific places, languages, histories, and texts while demonstrating the theoretical and methodological value of comparison, our contributors repopulate the umbrella term of the south with gendered, racialized bodies. Such an approach puts into generative comparison two regions not usually studied together at the conjunctures of geo-, bio-, and technopolitics despite their visible convergences. The rich body of scholarship on migrant care work in the Americas, for example, has never been put in dialogue with landmark recent studies of outsourcing life on the Indian subcontinent (Pande; Vora), and literary and cultural debates on the subjects rarely intersect with the deliberations of public policy and law. The chapters in this volume, separately and together, bridge precisely these gaps while also retaining each author's deep attention to local, regional, national, and transnational conditions.

Consonant with the objectives outlined earlier, contributions to this volume are organized to simultaneously illuminate and provoke interrogations of the intersections between histories of care and technologies of life in the two regions. To that end, the eight essays that follow may be read sequentially in cross-reference with each other, or contrapuntally in thematic and conceptually related pairs. The first essay, by Karen Smith Rotabi, lends a unique on-the-ground perspective to the comparative study of intercountry adoption in Guatemala and international surrogacy in the state of Gujarat in western India. For well over a decade, Rotabi had been involved in intercountry adoption (ICA) research, with an emphasis on identifying adoption fraud and reforming systems to meet international standards of ethical practice. With the ascension of commercial global surrogacy (CGS), she began a comparative study of the human rights issues that extended from the "old" economy of adoption to the emerging Wild West of commissioning babies beyond borders. Rotabi's chapter considers the lessons learned along the way as she interfaced with the dynamic marketplaces of ICA and CGS, emphasizing that one of the most important questions researchers can ask is how we can truly address and alleviate the underlying index of poverty that serves as their driving force. She argues that perhaps this is the only real question in the scheme of global realities, since desperate conditions push women into all sorts of exploitation-much of which puts lives in danger and not only traumatizes the people immediately affected but scars families and entire communities as economic inequality becomes ingrained.

Community also provides the fulcrum for Kumkum Sangari's comparative investigation of the poetics and politics of motherhood in contemporary South Asia. Drawing upon a range of literary and cultural imaginaries of competing futures, she contends that uneven temporal relations between distant dystopias and existing polities, between realms of fiction and the realities of policy, can provide an entry into the dislocations, displacements, and de- or renationalizations of the figure of the mother across the Global North and South. In Hasan Manzar's "A Requiem for the Earth" and P. D. James's novel The Children of Men, the mother materializes as a guarantor of orderly social reproduction, species-sameness, and survival. These anxious and relatively denationalized fictive future imaginaries emerging from Pakistan and England resonate, retrospectively, with contemporary misogynist and sectarian social imaginaries centered on fertility and motherhood in India. Both modes, as her essay shows, revolve on common axes of total or partial extinction, de- or renationalization, social reproduction or care, local or global surveillance, enclavization, eco-destruction, and the production or repression of heterogeneity. She then proceeds to situate the anxieties of these futuristic fictions in the allied controversies around commercial surrogacy and cow slaughter in India. The recent policies to curb both practices converge in a divisive nationalism even as they seek to pull surrogate mothers and cows out of the transnational market economy and seem to go against the grain of neoliberal state policies. The altruistic surrogate as a "close relative" and cows revered as "collective mothers" become, ironically, neoliberal subjects who are also expected to continue the violent political work of enclavizing lower-caste citizens and religious minorities. Yet, the anthropomorphism of the cow as a mother binds the human with the nonhuman in a single servicing economy of care, a care that still depends on the servicing labor of excluded others. In opening up questions of human/nonhuman subsistence and unconditional care in a neoliberal era, this figure of the mother is caught in the crisis of futurity.

The third chapter, by Sherryl Vint, positions the bio-socio-technological imaginary of the future in a different kind of borderland, marked by the multiethnic traces of migration between the United States and a number of locations in the Global South. Through a powerful corpus of contemporary fiction and film by minority and diasporic authors, she posits the search for biological and affective citizenship in North America as a mode of inquiry in itself—an inquiry into the work of speculation in an age of radical reorganization and financialization of life. The border emerges in her work not as a geopolitical or ethnocultural abstraction but as a fraught space for negotiating the economics of bodies and health. Whether these are transnational borders relevant to transplant and surrogacy markets, the walls

that separate the privileged from the dispossessed in accessing the conditions of well-being, or indeed the states of incarceration that inevitably attend traffic in racialized and gendered conditions of providing care and generating life, the speculative narrative in Vint's analysis is uniquely equipped to expose their entanglements. Through the trope of promissory futures, a rearrangement of time that colonizes the imagination by generating value in the notion of futurity itself, the essay pushes the boundaries between near-future scenarios and the unfolding present.

In contrast with the work of the imagination, Sital Kalantry's contribution deals with the intricacies of legal procedure and public policy in India's unregulated market of gestational care. She focuses on the turning point of 2015 when the government turned from favoring robust growth to a prohibitionist stance, denying surrogacy visas to foreigners and later proposing a bill to completely ban surrogacy. She documents the little-known but crucial role played by the Indian Supreme Court in this change, which, though never issuing a final opinion, effectively ordered the executive branch to crack down through numerous oral hearings. The Court held these hearings in a public interest litigation (PIL) brought by one woman who believes that surrogacy violates surrogates' fundamental rights under the constitution. While PIL is a special procedure created in the 1980s by the Court to give voice to marginalized communities, in this case surrogates were never consulted by the lawyer who brought the case. When they sought to intervene in the case to claim they had a right to sell gestational care, they were not given voice in the proceedings.

"Altruistic surrogacy," the Indian government's proposed alternative, is taken up again by Emily Vázquez Enríquez as a much older figure of life support in Mexico. The archetypal site of contestation she examines is the body of the wet nurse, which from colonial times all the way to the end of the twentieth century served as an epicenter of debates about the cultivation of the future. Enríquez identifies anti–wet nursing discourses with prejudicial structures against both minority and gendered identities, with anti–wet nursing advocates worrying that subordinate subjects could contaminate the biology or behavior of the infant and thus shape the character of the nation. The transformation of this earlier biologic is catalyzed by the confluence of modern technology and migrant care work, namely, through the appearance of formula and domestic workers called *nanas*, who were devoted to child care without the organic obligation of providing nutrition. It was not until after wet-nursing as a form of labor disappeared and wet nurses were replaced by nanas, Enríquez contends, that the maternal surrogates were not only accepted but also transformed into ideal subjects in the Mexican popular imagination.

The inherent contradictions of agency and voice that attend transnational economies of mother substitutes return as the subject of Kavita Panjabi's analysis of affective discursive structures of the Indian surrogacy debates. Tracing the modes by which motherhood is "both shaped and conscripted" for "a culture of biotechnological innovation to take root" (Sunder Rajan, 78), her essay takes up the aftermath of the PIL in which the Indian government proposed a system of "altruistic" surrogacy to replace its commercial incarnation. Panjabi contextualizes the concept of altruism in this context through the intersecting markets of care and biotechnology, pointing out the asymmetry of different positions of the surrogate mother and a neoliberal transnational industry, the lack of access to the standpoint of the surrogate mothers, and the unacknowledged "excess" appropriated in the creation of the "commodity" of new life. She locates the ruptures in the disciplining discourses of commercial surrogacy-the silences, the ambiguities, and the contradictions-showing how they constitute an ethical lens that reveals suppressed concerns. The concluding section of the essay returns, via the discursive privileging of sacrificial love, to other disturbing questions confronting the future prospect of official "altruistic" surrogacy by law.

The last two essays in the collection are oriented toward posthuman horizons of marketing care and speculating life, a dive into predictive storytelling in the Americas and South Asia that identifies the gendered, racialized work of care and reproduction with the feminization of labor on a global scale. Silvia Kurlat Ares examines the redefinition of the living to include artificial systems, along with the attendant concepts of autonomy and agency, in Argentine science fiction of the new millennium. She surveys these futuristic texts as a chronicle of transition from traditional party systems to neoliberal and populist agendas, engendering the displacement of blue-collar workers from their traditional forms of employment, and the emergence of new forms in consumer and visual cultures. Placed in dystopian worlds that clearly read as a future Argentina, novels like El corazón de Doli (2010, Doli's heart), by Gustavo Nielsen, and Casa de Ottro (2009, Ottro's house), by Marcelo Cohen, create new idioms of life through radically reconfigured forms of subjectivity-a speculative dynamics of reproduction mediated through transgenic clones and cyborgs. In this chapter, Kurlat Ares explores how these other-bodies, these other-biologies, allow for a meditation on the value of agency in the absence of community. The concluding essay by the editors extends the analysis of millennial science fiction across South Asia

and the Americas toward a necropolitics of "unbearable" futures—futures in which the trade in tissues, organs, fetal matter, and bioinformation has divided the world into a supranational north of bioconsumers and a south of *abhumans* suspended in zones of etiolated care.

Drawing from fields as diverse as anthropology, law, literary studies, public policy, and social work, each contribution to this collection draws upon the most diverse of genres, discourses, texts, and contexts. Through the loci of South Asia and the Americas—separately, in juxtaposition, and inevitably from south of the future—they offer multifocal approaches to the ongoing afterlives and possible incarnations of the figure that once coalesced in the artistic imagination as the semi-living worry doll. Together, the essays simultaneously amplify and offer a rich tapestry of responses to the question that Elizabeth Povinelli posed in *Economies of Abandonment*: "To care is to embody an argument about what a good life is and how such a good life comes into being. . . . [W]hat do we believe care to consist of, such that when we experience a form of relating to one another socially, we experience that form of relating as a form of caring for others?" (160).

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