MAKING CULTURE, MOVING MARGINS:
CULTURAL POLICY AND STATE-SOCIETY RELATIONS IN BRAZIL

by
Anne Durston Gillman

A dissertation submitted to Johns Hopkins University in conformity with the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Baltimore, Maryland

Abstract

Even under many putatively democratic governments, large swaths of the citizenry experience alienation from states with uneven presence throughout the national territory. Yet while political scientists have examined *why* states might pursue new forms of engagement with marginalized populations, far less attention has been paid to *how* new state-society relations form in practice. This study fills this gap by outlining the specific mechanisms through which the Brazilian state built new relationships with peripheral groups via the Ponto de Cultura program (PdC), a policy that funds artistic initiatives of marginalized communities. Cultural policy serves as a clear lens for examining the cultural dimensions of state-society relations, analyzing how state actions both reflect and produce meanings about the excluded. By recognizing Brazil's poorer, darker-skinned citizens as valued "culture-makers," the PdC upends social hierarchies that, even beyond acute material inequalities, keep the marginalized "in their place." Using evidence gathered from over one hundred semi-structured interviews and more than a year of ethnographic investigation in three different Brazilian states, I demonstrate how the PdC facilitated new modes of state-society interaction that both expanded excluded groups' access to the state and recast their role in the polity.

Bureaucracy played a surprising role in this change process. State documentation procedures predictably emerged as an obstacle for PdC participants, particularly as the program's rigid reporting and accounting requirements clashed with the flexibility and spontaneity required to make culture in precarious contexts. Existing literature has emphasized how paperwork serves to reinforce the subjugated status of underserved groups and deepen their alienation from the state. However, in the PdC context, the

recognition of excluded sectors as culture-making authorities shifted the terms of engagement. Marginalized artists and state agents engaged in innovative collaborations to overcome bureaucratic obstacles, highlighting the potential for dynamism in bureaucratic encounters and creative agency among bureaucrats. State-society interactions around paperwork produced learning on both sides, generating new perspectives and capacities and ultimately leading to new regulations. The study thus links changes in abstract conceptualizations of who belongs in the polity to changes in mundane, technical details of state administration, showing both as necessary for overcoming marginalization.

Readers:

Professor Margaret Keck, Chair
Erin Chung
Adam Sheingate

Acknowledgments

This is in part a story about people making art in exceedingly difficult circumstances. These "culture-makers" shared with me their stories and included me in their worlds so I could witness and record both the inspiration of their creative endeavors and the things they struggled against. They also often fed me, transported me, oriented me, and entertained my son. This is also a story about the people in offices who toiled away at trying to build a state that could support such inspirational artistic projects. Short on time, heavy on responsibilities, these public servants still carved out the hours to sit down with me to explain the details and dig out the documents that might help me construct the story.

Many scholars in Brazil contributed to this project. These include Lia Calabre, who was a wonderful mentor at the Fundação Casa de Rui Barbosa, Deborah Rebello Lima, Adelia Zimbrão, Marcella Camargo, Elder Maia Alves, Beate Frank, and Rebecca Abers. This research, and my family's well being in Brazil, also depended on the generosity of many other Brazilians. I am grateful for the hospitality and support of Cecília Mello, Márcio Selles, Fernando Rodrigues, and Julia Levy. Talitha Peres and her daughters Luciana and Juliana treated me like family from the first day I set foot in Rio de Janeiro in 2001.

Fieldwork for this dissertation was made possible by grants from the Inter-American Foundation Grassroots Development Fellowship and the Social Science Research Council International Dissertation Research Fellowship, with funding from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. Staff members at both institutions provided excellent

iv

Table of Contents

Table of Figures

Glossary of Terms and Abbreviations

articuladores [articulators]
> Contract employees that state and municipal cultural secretariats in Rio de Janeiro hired to facilitate connections with marginalized communities.

asfalto [asphalt]
> Upper- and middle-class neighborhoods in the city of Rio de Janeiro, as distinguished from the hillside shantytowns.

AV, Agente Viva
> Collaborative program initiated between the Ministry of Labor and Ministry of Culture that funded youth apprenticeships within Pontos.

Bolsa Família
> Cash transfer program that provides financial assistance to low-income families throughout Brazil. Flagship program of Workers' Party administrations in Brazil between 2003 and 2016.

BOPE, Batalhão de Operações Policiais Especiais [Police Special Operations Battalion]
> Unit within the Military Police of the state of Rio de Janeiro that played a central role in efforts to "pacify" favelas controlled by armed drug traffickers.

candomblé
> Afro-Brazilian religion involving the worship of different deities. Music and dance feature prominently in religious rituals.

chancela [official seal]
> Refers to the Ponto label given to recognized cultural groups.

convênio [contract]
> Legal contract in which a government entity provides funding to a civil society organization or other government entity to undertake a specific project.

CNPdC, Commissão Nacional de Pontos de Cultura [National Ponto de Cultura Commission]
> The national organization of ponteiros, comprised of representatives from each state and different thematic cultural categories.

CNPJ, Cadastro Nacional de Pessoas Jurídicas [National Registry of Legal Entities]
> Registration of organizations legally recognized by the state in Brazil.

edital [official notice]
> Announcement of state positions or funds designated for a particular end, for which individuals or organizations might apply. Within PdC, refers to selection

process for Pontos. Plural is editais.

favela
> Urban shantytown community in Brazil. Favela residents sometimes referred to as favelados.

fazedor de cultura [culture-maker]
> Within the PdC, refers to societal actors who engage in the artistic and ritualistic activities the program aims to promote.

FCC, Fundação Cultural Catarinense [Santa Catarina Cultural Foundation]
> Entity within Santa Catarina state government responsible for culture.

funk
> Musical genre similar to hip hop that emerged from the urban shantytowns of Brazil. Participants sometimes called funkeiros.

GT, grupo de trabalho [working group]
> Committees within the PdC participatory infrastructure into which ponteiros are organized based on location or interests.

jongo
> Dance and musical form that emerged from former slave communities in the state of Rio de Janeiro and, as urbanization advanced, was sustained in favelas of the city's center. Participants sometimes referred to as jongueiros.

LCV, Lei Cultura Viva [Living Culture Law]
> National legislation passed in 2014 to authorize the continuation of the Ponto de Cultura program.

Lei Rouanet [Rouanet Law]
> Law passed in 1991 that offers private companies tax breaks to fund civil society organizations engaged in cultural production. Largest source of federal funding for culture in Brazil.

maracatu
> Musical genre characterized by syncopated rhythms and heavy percussion, cultivated in Afro-Brazilian religious communities in Brazil's northeast.

MinC, Ministério da Cultura [Ministry of Culture]

MinT, Ministério do Trabalho [Ministry of Labor]

morro [hill]
> Refers to hillside shantytowns in Rio de Janeiro.

PdC, Ponto de Cultura Program

política do balcão
Practice that involves the discretionary distribution of government funds to chosen individuals or entities with the expectation of political loyalty in return. Prevalent source of support for cultural groups in rural or periphery areas.

ponteiro
Participant in the Ponto de Cultura program.

Ponto de Cultura [Cultural Point]
Societal cultural group recognized and supported through the Ponto de Cultura program. Also referred to as a Ponto.

PSDB, Partido da Social Democracia Brasileira [Brazilian Social Democracy Party]
Primary opposition party to the Workers' Party.

PT, Partido dos Trabalhadores [Workers' Party]

quilombo
Settlements originally founded primarily by escaped African slaves in Brazil.

roda [ring]
Dance or singing circle.

SEC, Secretaria de Estado de Cultura do Rio de Janeiro [Cultural Secretariat of the State of Rio de Janeiro]

SECULT, Secretaria de Estado da Cultura de Alagoas [Cultural Secretariat of the State of Alagoas]

SOL [Secretariat of Tourism, Culture and Sports in Santa Catarina]

subúrbio
Poor and working class neighborhoods in Rio de Janeiro located far from the city's center in the northern and western zones of the city.

TCU, Tribunal de Contas da União [Federal Auditing Office of Brazil]

TCC, Termos de Compromisso Cultural [Terms of Cultural Commitment]
Proposed system for Pontos to report on cultural activities undertaken with public funding. Replacement for the convênio.

TEIA [web]
Refers to multi-day events to bring together Pontos for artistic exchanges and presentations. Held at both the state and national level.

1. Introduction

"The cultural policy of this Ministry should be seen as part of a general project to construct a new hegemony in this country. As part and essence of a project to construct a Brazil that is for everyone."

—Inauguration speech, Brazilian Minister of Culture Gilberto Gil

"This [Ponto de Cultura] program came from heaven, but the rules were made by the devil himself."

—Comment from participant of Brazil's Ponto de Cultura (Cultural Points) program

You can hear the drumming from the edge of *Vila dos Pescadores*, a fishing village turned shantytown in the northeastern Brazilian city of Maceió, though it takes twenty minutes to pick your way through streams of sewer water and piles of uncollected trash to reach the waterfront site where the musical group *Enseada das Canoas* rehearses. Under the shaded overhang of the neighborhood Residents Association, looking out onto fishing boats bobbing in the late afternoon sun, a group of young people beat vigorously on hand-made drums. In an innovative mix of old and new, they transition from *maracatu*, a traditional genre cultivated in Afro-Brazilian religious communities, to the heavy off beats of the *funk* music popular in Brazil's urban peripheries. Leaving the coast, and driving three hours inland down roads lined with sugar cane fields as far as the eye can see, you eventually hit a dirt road that leads to the farmhouse where Jose Leão (or just Leão, to friends) hosts a community radio program, featuring live weekly performances of the band *Meninos do Sítio* (Farm Boys). The "boys," an ensemble of octogenarian accordionists, percussionists, and singers, perform a rousing repertoire of familiar folk styles of the rural northeast—*forro, guerreiro, reisado*—and neighbors

1

arrive on foot or by motorcycle to dance a song or two. Zeca do Pandeiro, the group's oldest member who dons a large hat characteristic of the folk hero Lampião, improvises a verse about an American student who came to visit.

Enseada das Canoas and *Meninos do Sítio* are among the nearly four thousands different cultural initiatives in periphery areas throughout Brazil that have been recognized as *Pontos de Cultura* (Cultural Points) by the Brazilian state, receiving $90,000[1] over three years as recognition of their value and stimulus for their continued development. *Pontos* are the cultural raw material of an initiative by the Brazilian Ministry of Culture (MinC) to reconstruct the relationship between the state and excluded sectors of the citizenry and to challenge Brazil's repressive social hierarchies. Established by the Ministry in 2004, then under the leadership of Afro-Brazilian popular musician Gilberto Gil, the Ponto de Cultura program (PdC) aims to gently extend the reach of the state into urban shantytowns, deep rural townships, and other marginalized areas to cultivate the artistic and ritualistic practices—in PdC parlance, the "culture-making"— within. Through its efforts to, in Gil's words, "unhide" cultural expressions of excluded populations, officially affirming previously undervalued or even persecuted practices as part of Brazil's rich patrimony, the PdC upends societal norms and understandings that, even beyond dramatic material inequalities, keep the marginalized "in their place." As a government project to establish new patterns of engagement with excluded populations— including by addressing the meanings assigned to such populations—the PdC case offers opportunities for gleaning new insights into a normatively and theoretically important question: How, under conditions of acute inequality and historical lack of access, can

---

[1] Pontos receive 60,000 Brazilian reais per year, which, during the period of this study from 2005 to 2015, averaged around 30,000 US dollars.

states build new relationships with marginalized communities?

Despite the PdC's best intentions to "unhide" and promote the creative activities of subaltern groups, however, states have particular ways of "seeing" their populations, as political scientist James Scott famously observed, that tend to miss, obscure and distort precisely the kinds of practices upon which popular culture is built. The tools of documentation through which states render their citizenry "legible"—for example, census or employment data—generate "abridged maps" of social reality that fail to represent the ways people actually get things done; society's complexity is fundamentally "bureaucratically indigestible" (Scott 1998, 22). The state's vision is particularly weak when it comes to the poor and excluded, who often remain "undocumented" in many realms, and whose inability to access or navigate government paperwork may constitute a defining feature of their marginalization (Sadiq 2005). Upon being chosen as Pontos, cultural groups become entangled in such "legibility" efforts by the Brazilian state, subject to onerous reporting requirements that require in particular detailed accounting to demonstrate that funds were used in strict adherence to established work plans. While Pontos are by and large generating innovative cultural outputs in precarious contexts, their paperwork (or lack thereof, in many cases) inevitably fails to convey this reality, generating serious problems since funds are disbursed as advances that must be returned with interest if not "properly" used.

The PdC might then exemplify a case of deepening rather than alleviating marginalized populations' alienation from the state, representing a classic policy failure stemming from the incongruence between a rigid rule-bound state and society's complex reality. It could further illustrate how poor people's encounters with bureaucracy

reinforce social hierarchies, as administrative procedures impede access to state resources and services (Fischer 2008 Ch 4; Gupta 2012), and as experiences with state agencies and agents serve as lessons in subjugation (Soss 1999; Auyero 2012). But quite to the contrary, the PdC flourished and expanded over the decade reviewed here, from 2005 to 2015. In 2007, the program was broadened and decentralized, with each of Brazil's 26 states partnering with the MinC to identify Pontos within their own territories, adding thousands of new Pontos to the original network. By many indicators, the PdC generated new and positive patterns of state-society engagement that both expanded subaltern groups' ability to access the state and enhanced state capacity to "see" and support societal practices. Beyond helping to dismantle bureaucratic barriers for marginalized populations, the PdC contributed to cultural change, reordering perceptions of excluded groups' status and role within the polity. How did this happen?

This dissertation documents the specific mechanisms of this change process, demonstrating how state and societal actors engaged in processes of "collaborative improvisation"—a creative learning-through-doing process—to overcome administrative obstacles while allowing Pontos the flexibility needed to make art. The PdC's affirmation of poor people as valued producers of national culture profoundly shaped interactions around the administrative details of its implementation—as "culture-makers," the marginalized were invited to engage with the state as authorities, in stark contrast to the way they are perceived and treated within Brazil's dominant cultural system. Collaborations led to changes in perspectives and capacities on both sides, thus it was in part *because of* rather than despite paperwork problems that new patterns of engagement were built, challenging established notions about bureaucracy. More broadly, the study

offers a detailed account of how new state-society relations can be forged through

concrete practices that alter logistical and institutional barriers to accessing the state, as

well as the meanings that underlie relations of inequality.

States and Margins: Forging New State-Society Relations

Even under many modern, putatively democratic regimes, the state's reach is

uneven throughout the national territory (O'Donnell 1993; Yashar 2005). Both the degree

and character of state presence vary over the physical landscape, but also according to the

social characteristics of the population. Throughout Latin America, dating back to a

history of colonialism and slavery but persisting into the present, particular segments of

the population have been stratified and excluded on the basis of race, ethnicity,

socioeconomic status, geography, and other factors. State actions and inactions play a

critical role in producing and defining the "margins," which we can think of as spatial

and social distinctions that define both the literal and metaphorical "place" of such

populations.[2] Brazil's government "by and for the few" (Montero 2006, 51) has long

channeled public resources and services to elites while neglecting, exploiting and abusing

the poorer, often darker-skinned inhabitants of the country's urban slums, rural areas, and

other marginalized communities. Writings about Brazil's urban poor, for example,

describe the "structural violence" they suffer as basic public services are denied (Leeds

1996) and their "punitive containment" (Wacquant 2008) through excessive and arbitrary

use of state force.

---

[2] In their edited volume *Anthropology in the Margins of the State*, Veena Das and Deborah Poole (2004)
emphasize both the spatial and social dimensions of margins, offering three different ways of
conceptualizing them in terms of state practices and the ways that the marginalized—as defined both by
structural conditions and by the presumed "naturalness" of their marginality— experience such practices in
everyday life.

But margins can move. In particular, states may pursue new modes of engagement with excluded groups that alter their power, material situation and status within the polity. During the first decade of the 21st century, Latin America's "left turn" (Levitsky and Roberts 2013) brought significant shifts in state-society relations, with the expansion of government and its reorientation toward the underserved in many countries. The rise of powerful social movements altered political agendas and brought new actors into the state. Populist leaders emerged in response to unmet demands of underserved majorities. In Brazil, the left-leaning Workers' Party (PT) came to national power for the first time in 2003 under the leadership of Luis Inácio Lula da Silva, or Lula. Under Lula and the subsequent PT administration of Dilma Rousseff, the state significantly expanded distribution of resources and service to the poor (Soares, Ribas, and Osório 2010). "New repertoires of state-society interaction" (Abers, Serafim, and Tatagiba 2014) emerged as societal leaders entered the state and citizens gained greater influence through the expansion of participatory institutions (Wampler 2012; Avritzer 2009). As stated in the opening quote by Minister of Culture Gilberto Gil in 2004, the PdC can be examined as a cultural component of this state project to construct a "Brazil that is for everyone."

While many scholars have documented *why* such changes in state-society relations might occur, this study focuses on *how* such changes advance in practice. Extensive works have analyzed, for example, the kinds of conditions or strategies that allow excluded populations to effectively mobilize and make demands upon the state (Yashar 2005; Ondetti 2010), or the shifting electoral politics that might incentivize governments to respond to the needs of the underserved (Lapp 2004). Here we are concerned with detailing the process itself. In doing so, this dissertation adopts a

"practice-oriented" approach to analyzing change, looking at the nitty gritty details of how state agents and PdC participants, or "ponteiros," acted and interacted in the context of the PdC's implementation. Following in the model of Rebecca Abers and Margaret Keck, it traces a "process of becoming" by examining both the actions and ideas of those involved as they engage with each other and various structures to produce change (2013, xxiii). In doing so, it builds on scholarship by James Scott and others who have shown that, if you want to understand the state and how it relates to its population, you need to pay close attention to the concrete, even mundane details of what states actually do (Scott 1998; Mitchell 1991; Das and Poole 2004).

The exploration of different policies can reveal different politics (Pierson 1993), and cultural policy serves as an especially clear lens for examining cultural politics in Brazil—specifically for examining the cultural dimensions of marginalization and state-society relations. Part of what makes the PdC a particularly fascinating case of changing state-society relations is that it constitutes a deliberate attempt by a government to tackle the perverse *meanings* that underlie relations of inequality. In forging new relations, the PdC aims not just to transfer resources or extend services or even open avenues for political participation, but also to produce cultural change—to challenge dominant perceptions and portrayals of the excluded in Brazil, which are an integral component of their experiences of subjugation. In analyzing how this process played out, this dissertation also pursues a practice-based approach to examining cultural change, demonstrating how culture is made and remade through observable things people say and do.

Cultural Politics and Culture-Making: Documenting Processes of Cultural Change

Culture is a tricky topic for political science. Many within the discipline ignore cultural factors altogether, focusing exclusively on actors' material interests and motivations. Those who refer to culture mean different things by the term, ranging from "ideational variables" (Hanson 2003, 371) to "shared values" (as distinguished from informal institutions as "shared expectations") (Helmke and Levitsky 2004, 728). Most work on culture within the discipline has focused on "political culture," broadly conceived as the attitudes, beliefs, or customs of particular groups of people that explain variances in the political or economic trajectories of different countries and regions (Almond and Verba 1963; Inglehart and Welzel 2005). Yet the emphasis in such works on the relative stasis and internal coherence of bounded cultural systems overlooks—and leaves us without tools for analyzing—conflict and change within. This dissertation builds on emergent political science scholarship that advances conceptualizations of culture as meaning, or the signification ascribed to particular symbols, things and actions that allow us to make sense of our world and role within it (Wedeen 2002; Sewell 1999; Dagnino 1998). Meanings are dynamic and are objects of political contestation; struggles for inclusion and equality in Brazil are also about transforming what it *means* to be poor, darker-skinned, rural, and so on (Dagnino 1998). Meanings are manifested in, and constructed through, concrete practices, allowing researchers to observe and analyze processes of cultural change (Wedeen 2002).

The PdC's effort to shift cultural politics in Brazil centers on culture in its more colloquial sense— culture as artistic and ritualistic practices, or "culture-making" as it is referred to here. While emergent political science scholarship on culture has deliberately moved away from notions of "culture as art" in emphasizing the wide range of meaning-

making practices that shape political life, this dissertation builds on the discussion by refocusing on this "institutional sphere devoted to the making of meaning" (Sewell 1999, 41) where self-conscious efforts to produce cultural change are readily identifiable. Affirming states as cultural actors that both profoundly influence and are influenced by societal meanings (Sewell 1999, 55; Steinmetz 1999, 12), this work also highlights cultural policy as an arena where governments very explicitly shape conceptualizations of the political community and the social groups within (Singh 2010). Cultural policy thus presents a powerful instrument for challenging the cultural politics of exclusion within Brazil. Here is how this worked in the PdC case:

Deploying both the symbolic and material power of the state, the PdC officially promoted those perceived as worthless within Brazil's dominant cultural politics to be valued producers of national culture. This involved, on the one hand, sanctioning as part of the nation's cultural patrimony culture-making practices strongly associated with excluded groups; *funk*—a musical form denigrated and demonized in middle class circles—is deemed national culture, and the *funkeiros* who produce it are "fazedores de cultura" or culture-makers. The PdC's counterhegemonic cultural project also involved showcasing the wide-ranging artistic talents of the marginalized; funkeiros may also play the piccolo on the side. While states often promote essentialized, reified versions of marginalized groups' culture-making practices in advancing elite-defined agendas (McCann 2004; Eschen 2006), the PdC specifically promoted a dynamic and open-ended version of the national culture that recognized subaltern groups' ongoing creative agency in defining and redefining it. "Culture is life, and life is flux," as Gil once put it.

This dissertation focuses on how these altered meanings were manifested and constructed in interactions between state agents and ponteiros within the program. In reaching out to poor communities, the PdC invited them to engage as authorities with unique skills. As affirmed in the PdC's oft-repeated mantra "It is not the state's role to make culture," the program recognized societal actors—and particularly the marginalized—as producing something the state could not, generating what one official called "an inversion of need" in the state-society relationship. The program can thus be contrasted not only to enduring patterns of state neglect and abuse, but also to expanding social assistance programs under PT administrations; the PdC connects to the strongest expression of these poor communities rather than the weakest, identifying them for their capacities rather than their deficiencies. Interactions in which government officials seek expertise among poor people run totally counter to established social patterns within Brazil's "authoritarian culture" (Dagnino 1998, 48).

These altered social dynamics played out in part in state-society encounters around culture-making. In Pontos site visits or artistic exchanges, state administrators experienced ponteiros' artistic authority in a tangible, visceral way, as they engaged as audience members or in some cases co-participants. Both Pontos' actual activities and the kinds of social exchanges they facilitated constituted meaning-making practices that challenged Brazil's authoritarian culture. Far more surprisingly, state-society encounters around the program's administrative requirements also emerged as important sites of cultural change, as patterns of interaction developed that defy Brazil's social hierarchies, as well as our expectations of bureaucracy.

Collaborative Improvisation Around Bureaucracy

If this dissertation advances notions of states as cultural actors, it also reinforces established conceptualizations of states as administrative bodies. It affirms bureaucracy as a defining feature of modern states (Weber 1922, 223) and "legibility as a central problem in statecraft" (Scott 1998, 2). The high-minded cultural project of the PdC was ultimately implemented by a bureaucratic state. Cultural groups that, now as Pontos, had to render their publicly funded artistic practices "legible" became entangled in an administrative mess. The outcome, in this case, answers a question that Scott leaves lingering: if there is indeed an inherent incompatibility between the state's reliance on simplified documentary abstractions to "see" societal reality and society's reliance on informal practices and practical knowledge to actually get things done, how might actors overcome this tension in the context of a policy's implementation? What would this process look like? The answers in the PdC case offer new insights that expand our conceptions of bureaucracy and bureaucrats.

Bureaucracy served as the prime driver of state-society interactions within the PdC. While ponteiros and state agents occasionally came together around art, as noted above, they most often came together around administrative procedures. Starting with the application process, but epitomized in the accounting requirements described in the opening paragraphs, documentation processes emerged as a major impediment—even a serious legal and financial liability—for cultural groups in the communities the PdC sought to reach. Problems over paperwork prompted intense, ongoing contact and extended the relationship over time, turning a three-year contract into a seven- or eight-year process of submitting and resubmitting forms. In unequal societies like Brazil, poor people's engagement with administrative procedures tends to produce further

marginalization. Beyond presenting insurmountable barriers to accessing state services (Gupta 2012; Fischer 2008 Ch4), encounters with bureaucracy perpetuate the meanings that structure social hierarchies. Citizens' experiences with public agencies and agents shape their perceptions of the state in general and their relation to it (Soss 1999), reinforcing excluded sectors' subjugated role within the polity (Auyero 2012; Das and Poole 2004).

But the nature of these state-society exchanges differed in a context of altered cultural politics where poor people were being recognized as valued experts. In negotiations over bureaucracy, ponteiros were treated with respect and even admiration, and they presented themselves as culture-making authorities. Rather than just adversarial or alienating encounters, negotiations over bureaucratic obstacles involved a process I call "collaborative improvisation" among ponteiros and public officials. Collaborative improvisation is a learning-through-doing process to advance a broadly defined collective goal that is advanced through the creative agency of those involved. It involves the construction of something new—for example new patterns of action or organizational forms—but is grounded in and based on existing structures. Similar to improvisation within a small jazz ensemble, where players jointly construct the tune based on their own innovation but within the framework of an existing chord structure, melody, and time signature, bureaucrats and ponteiros creatively worked within and around the rules to jointly overcome administrative hurdles. The recognized "inversion of need"—acknowledging that the state relies on societal groups to make culture—placed impetus on the state to adapt administrative procedures that clashed with societal practices, rather than just the reverse; culture-making requires some space for spontaneity, and state and

societal actors alike recognized that culture ceases to be art if excessively bureaucratized.

Collaborative improvisation thus involved efforts not only to help ponteiros comply with

given administrative procedures, but also to modify these procedures to accommodate

artistic practices in unpredictable contexts. It is important to clarify that creative

collaborations did not involve breaking rules, or even bending them in ways that thwarted

their intent. It meant things like extending timelines or finding one document that would

suffice for another, or it meant developing new outreach strategies for assisting ponteiros

in navigating state procedures. It also involved coming together to formally modify the

policy, and creating a new organizational infrastructure to do so.

Many scholars of public administration have demonstrated how bureaucrats

exercise agency in shaping policy design and outcome, from the higher ranks of state

agencies to the "street-level" policy implementers (Lipsky 1983). Much of this literature

portrays creative discretion by unelected officials as something to be curtailed (Balla

1998)—particularly when it involves collaboration with societal groups agencies are

supposed to be monitoring (Levine and Forrence 1990). Viewed from the other side,

social movements literature has highlighted the dangers to societal organizations of

becoming domesticated and demobilized if they get too cozy with the state (Piven and

Cloward 1979). The model of collaborative improvisation contributes to scholarship that

has shown how innovative action by public officials working in close collaboration with

societal groups can play a key role in building needed capacity to advance projects in the

public interest (Carpenter 2001)—including projects that challenge existing power

structures. Brazil under PT administrations presented many such cases of constructive

cooperation, as activists who took posts within government agencies worked closely with

13

groups beyond the state in pursuing idealistic causes (Abers, Serafim, and Tatagiba 2014; Rich 2012). As compared to models of "state-driven activism" identified in arenas such as health or environmental policy (Rich 2012; Abers and Keck 2013), in the PdC case the open-ended and innovative nature of cultural production—and particularly popular cultural forms—demanded greater societal agency. Moreover, in specifically seeking these cultural producers from within the margins, the PdC engaged a version of "society" that is less organized and more distant from the state.

The PdC case also challenges prevalent depictions of bureaucrats. Some within the program typified the Weberian ideal of the technical expert ensconced with his papers and pursing his work in "a spirit of formalistic impersonality" (Weber 1922, 225). Rather than presume such characters as static, however, the case shows how they were altered through the policy implementation process. Drawn out of the bureau, their encounters with Pontos' art provoked feelings of "enchantment," as many called it, with both the program's participants and its ideals. Many PdC state agents, however, departed dramatically from existing stereotypes, as creative, multi-talented and passionate idealists with social ties spanning diverse categories. In particular, "artist bureaucrats"— state representatives whose skills or enthusiasm in the realm of culture-making facilitated interactions across social barriers before and beyond their government jobs—played key roles in facilitating the collaborative process.

Bringing it All Together: Cultural and Logistical Change

Beyond overcoming immediate problems of "legibility" to enable the PdC's success and growth as a policy, collaborative improvisation contributed more broadly to expanding marginalized populations' abilities to access to the state, and to making the

state more accessible to the marginalized. In exchanges across the state-society divide, both sides built capacity, as cooperation produced new skills, knowledge, and relationships, as well as new rules, practices, and organizational forms. Processes of collaborative improvisation also constituted meaning making practices that challenged dominant cultural norms. Even beyond a government agency calling funk music culture, a bureaucrat soliciting input from a "funkeiro" on how to administer a government program reassigns meaning in ways that destabilize Brazil's "authoritarian culture" (Dagnino 1998, 48). It is important, however, not to overly romanticize the process. Negotiating PdC paperwork created stress for both ponteiros and state officials and took time away from other things; it often felt like "collective suffering," as one state official described it, rather than creative construction. Most artists—and many bureaucrats too, for that matter— would rather be improvising in the context of music, dance or theater than in the context of state forms and regulations. Many people, at many points, questioned the utility of their efforts, and some ponteiros genuinely wanted to withdraw from the program.

Forging new state-society relations in a place like Brazil is a work-intensive, frustrating, nonlinear endeavor that was advanced through the innovation, patience and dedication of a group state agents and societal artists who believed in the PdC vision. Through the processes they pushed forward, the PdC generated new answers to two fundamental questions for any polity. Who belongs? (Or on the flip side, who does not belong?) And, for whom is the state? These are in part cultural questions. Creating new answers requires reimagining the parameters and contours of Brazilian culture, both in a concrete sense of redefining the set of activities and materials that comprise the national

cultural patrimony, and in a more abstract sense of reordering collective understandings of how particular groups of people fit within the national community. Citizens need to reconceive of their place in society and relationship with the state, and state actors have to be able to perceive of citizens in different ways. These are also, however, practical questions. If the state is indeed for you, you have to be able to access it, meaning the system must accommodate a host of practices heretofore "bureaucratically indigestible" (Scott 1998, 22) to it. Forging new state relations with the marginalized through the PdC thus involved constructing a more inclusive system, not just integrating the excluded into an established whole—moving margins not only changes the position of the marginalized, it shifts the entire picture.

Methodology

Examining complex, interactive change processes and analyzing the meanings people assign to actions and objects requires immersion on the part of the researcher (Schatz 2009). This analysis of the PdC program benefited from one year of continuous fieldwork in Brazil conducted in 2014 and 2015, as well as one month of research in Brazil in 2011 and shorter visits between 2005 and 2011. The empirical research primarily centered on analyzing state-society interactions, though it also examined how ponteiros relate to the communities in which Pontos artistic activities take place, to the way that cultural managers interact with other entities of and individuals within the Brazilian state, and to the way the way that the Brazilian state engages with (or fails to engage with) Pontos communities outside of the PdC program. Given the emphasis on meanings, this is necessarily an interpretive project; meanings are manifested through concrete "artifacts"—speech acts, actions, and in this case in particular, artistic products—and the

researcher engages in multiple moments of interpretation in the move from observing these artifacts to producing generalizable assertions (Yanow and Schwartz-Shea, 2006). (For more details about methodology, see Appendix A.)

During the period of study, I conducted in-depth interviews with over one hundred individuals involved with the PdC program, roughly split between state and societal actors. I used interviews as a means of reconstructing processes of culture-making and learning across the state-society divide in the context of the program. In analyzing political process, interviews are ideal for understanding how they unfold over time, what effects they generate, and the specific mechanisms through which they are advanced (Mosley 2013). In selecting interviewees, I sought out people who experienced and observed these processes from different vantage points. I interviewed individuals directly involved with particular Pontos as coordinators, teachers, participants, or in other roles; state representatives involved in the design and implementation of the program at the municipal, state, and federal level, including elected officials, political appointees, public servants, and state contractors; and, other individuals involved in the PdC program, such as academics or civil society leaders who participated in Pontos selection processes. Interviews generally lasted between 45 minutes and two hours and were semi-structured, organized around particular themes related to interactions between state and societal actors in the context of the PdC program, while also leaving space for interviewees to raise new issues in spontaneous conversation (Hammer and Wildavsky 1993). I also reviewed materials produced by and about the PdC program. This included, on the one hand, government reports, external program evaluations, rules and regulations, meeting minutes, work plans, letters, and myriad other documents. It also included cultural

materials generated by Pontos, such as videos, recordings, crafts, paintings, and other works. (See Appendix B for a list of interviewees).

Research findings are also based on countless hours of participant-observation. Part of this time was spent at twenty-five different Pontos de Cultura, most of which were located in marginalized communities in urban centers within the three Brazilian states that are the focus of the research. As discussed in Chapter 3, it is difficult to accurately depict the "universe" of Pontos de Cultura. In choosing a "set" of Pontos to study, I sought variance in the kinds and degrees of marginality of the communities in which they were located, in their experiences interacting with the state in the context of the program, and in the roles they played within the PdC network (Ragin 2000). At these Pontos, I observed rehearsals, meetings, presentations, classes, and other activities. To complement these shorter visits to Pontos, I spent three months carrying out more extended participant observation teaching piano lessons at one Ponto in a favela in the city of Rio de Janeiro. Beyond time spent observing Pontos activities, I also conducted participant observation in spaces where ponteiros engage with state representatives. This included, for example, site-visits to Pontos by government workers, meetings or drop-in visits by ponteiros at state offices, meetings of the networks of Pontos de Cultura, meetings of the various PdC governance bodies with MinC officials, and four "TEIAS"—state and national level multi-day events that bring together hundreds of ponteiros and state representatives to both engage in cultural exchanges and debate policy issues. (See Appendix C for a list of Pontos visited.)

Participant observation and interviewing are particularly good tools for exploring "how questions" in political science—for understanding the ways in which particular

political processes unfold (Schatz 2009; Mosley 2013). Through observation, I witnessed people making culture in various senses, later probing participants' interpretations of these moments in interviews. During rehearsals, artists choreographed new steps or modified an arrangement to a song, generating cultural products on the spot. I also saw new modes of state-society engagement emerging, as people exchanged information and acquired skills that would facilitate their interactions, or collectively decided on procedures and formed the organizational bodies that would structure these exchanges. Unlike making causal arguments, investigating "how questions" justifies some degree of "selecting on the dependent variable" (Geddes 1990), and I actively sought to be present in these instances of positive transformations in state-society patterns of engagement. When this happens, what does it look like? How does it work?

In some cases engagement with the PdC served to deepen marginalization of participants, reinforcing social hierarchies and contributing to perverse rather than positive state-society interactions. Some Pontos ultimately failed to overcome the program's bureaucratic hurdles and faced significant consequences. Poor state record keeping—with incomplete or inaccurate lists that tend to omit "inactive Pontos"— combined with incentives to prevent politically sensitive information about legally noncompliant cultural groups from becoming public, made it unfeasible to systematically assess the relative frequency of these failures. Failed Pontos understandably tend to evade contact from anyone wanting to talk about the PdC. To attempt to understand when these kinds of failures occur, I thus relied largely on secondhand sources, such as interviews with monitors contracted by Rio's cultural secretariat to provide technical assistance to struggling Pontos. I also aimed to address "when" questions related to the possibility of

state manipulation or coercion through the selection of state cases for examination, as described below. Is the PdC ever used to facilitate clientelistic relationships between the government and cultural groups? When might it serve as a tool for partisan political struggles, for example to rally support for the incumbent or for the PT among poor or marginalized voters?

Finally, it is worth noting that there is an important distinction between describing how a process occurs and claiming why it occurs. This research explores how the contexts in which actors operated presented particular opportunities or constraints, but focuses on the agency and actions of individuals as determining outcomes, which cannot thus be anticipated based on outset conditions (Abers and Keck 2013).

Subnational Cases

Brazil is a federal system, with 26 different states and a federal district. While the PdC is an initiative of the federal government, in 2007 it was decentralized and states became the primary implementers of the program. With partial funding from the MinC, each Brazilian state established its own selection process to identify Pontos within that territory, retaining essential elements of the original policy design but with some state-specific variations. Subnational comparisons of the program's implementation and evolution in different states were important for examining the "spatially uneven nature" of the process of forging new state-society relations through the PdC (Snyder 2001, 94). Brazil is also divided into five different regions, which vary significantly in terms of politics, demographics, and culture. I thus chose for analysis states from three different regions—Alagoas in the Northeast, Rio de Janeiro in the Southeast, and Santa Catarina in the South.

Alagoas is one of the country's smallest states, with approximately three million inhabitants. Its distinct socioeconomic, cultural and political context make it a particularly good site for examining how state-society interactions in the cultural realm might disrupt patterns of marginality. Alagoas is among the least developed states, according to indicators of income and educational attainment, as well as one of the most violent. Culturally, Alagoas is at the crossroads of rural Northeastern and Afro-Brazilian traditions. It has been touted as a kind of "ideal type" of the ways the PdC was designed to function, with Pontos actively engaging in artistic exchanges with each other as well as establishing very close relations with state cultural managers. Alagoas has one of the smallest networks of Pontos, facilitating more intimate exchanges among Pontos and between Pontos and the state. Alagoas also presents an interesting case of a conservative state government that nonetheless embraced the PdC and other social programs promoted at the national level by the Workers' Party. The state is highly dependent on federal resources,[3] leading the state government to tend to collaborate well with the federal government despite differing party alliances.

The state of Rio de Janeiro, in Brazil's Southeastern region, has over 16 million inhabitants and a per capita GDP three times that of Alagoas, but also persistent poverty and striking inequalities. It has one of the largest networks of Pontos in Brazil, with more than 200 Pontos, which has also developed into one of the country's most politically active. Rio's capital, with more than six million residents, is a city of contrasts and boundaries, a "cidade partida" (divided city) epitomized by the dramatic juxtaposition of its affluent and whiter "asfalto" beach communities and the poorer and darker "favelas"

---

[3] For example, about half of all federal funding for the Bolsa Família poverty alleviation program goes to the nine states of Brazil's northeastern region (*O Globo* 2016).

that cover the surrounding mountains (Ventura 1994). It is also a city of people who deftly negotiate those contrasts and cross those boundaries in both directions, and these individuals played a critical role in linking Pontos and the state. The city of Rio is an iconic cultural hub in Brazil, host of its largest Carnaval celebrations and incubator of its most renowned musical genres, and it remains the terrain of diverse and dynamic artistic scenes—elements of which receive intense state attention and support. The PdC has explicitly tried to decentralize this support, targeting popular culture initiatives in Rio's suburban periphery and the smaller towns along the coast and within the state's mountainous interior. Rio's state government has generally been dominated by parties that participate in the PT coalition at the federal level.

The state of Santa Catarina in the South is among the whitest and wealthiest states in the nation and presents a relatively unique cultural landscape. Diverse communities nurture strong cultural traditions rooted in heritages of European immigration, and many cultural groups are organized around what the state cultural secretariat refers to as "ethnicities," including primarily Azorean, Italian, and German. The state is also populated with organizations that celebrate "gaucho" cultural manifestations associated primarily with the ranching traditions of the neighboring state of Rio Grande do Sul. Santa Catarina's relatively small network of 73 Pontos also includes groups organized around less visible and celebrated traditions within the state, in particular Afro-Brazilian cultural practices. In contrast to Rio and Alagoas, Pontos have sustained a much more antagonistic relationship with the state government. Politically, Santa Catarina is among Brazil's more conservative states, tending toward strong opposition to the PT. The state has historically resisted federal interventions, including attempts to use cultural policy to

inculcate its German-descendent populations with a Brazilian national identity during the Vargas era of the 1930s. Particularly given this history, it presents an interesting contrasting case for exploring the kinds of state-society interactions emerging in the context of the PdC.

Roadmap

Chapter two, entitled "Cultural Policy and the Cultural Politics of State-Society Relations in Brazil" offers an overview of the broader context of state relations with marginalized populations in which the PdC emerged, highlighting the cultural politics of inequality that state actions and inactions both reflect and help produce, in which poor people are perceived as worthless. Referencing emergent political science scholarship that conceptualizes culture as dynamic meaning-making practices, the chapter emphasizes the role that culture in its more colloquial understanding of artistic and ritualistic activities—culture-making, as referred to here—plays in the construction of meanings, and particularly how state policies focused on such practices shape and are shaped by meanings about the excluded. It then presents the PdC as a cultural policy that falls beyond existing models, as a program that deliberately uses the state's symbolic and material power to challenge rather than reinforce social hierarchies, directly confronting the cultural dimensions of marginalization. The final section outlines two specific ways that culture-making functions within the PdC's counterhegemonic project, firstly by conveying alternative messages about marginalized groups that the PdC amplifies and officially sanctions, and secondly by facilitating novel kinds of exchanges across social barriers—including the state-society divide— in which engagement is sought based on the valued culture-making capacities of marginalized groups.

Chapter three, "Building Relations Around Art: Bureaucrats and Culture-Makers"

focuses on the particular actors within change process being documented here—the state

agents and PdC participants, or ponteiros, who interact within the program. Applying the

previous chapter's theoretical frame about the role of culture-making within the PdC, it

demonstrates how Pontos' culture-making activities serve as the basis for an egalitarian,

even deferential, engagement on the part of state agents with marginalized individuals.

These altered social dynamics were both a product of *who* was engaged—many PdC

government personnel defy stereotypes of stodgy, rule-following, insulated state officials,

already crossing social barriers as activists and artists outside of their government jobs—

and of the effects of the artistic context of the interaction. Beyond the immediate

experience, such encounters with Pontos' culture-making can produce enduring effects

for state agents, altering perceptions of excluded groups and producing feelings of

"enchantment," as many described it, with the PdC's mission; artistic practices help

construct meanings about ponteiros and about the program itself that shape state-society

interactions in other moments. The second half of the chapter focuses on the societal

actors in this relationship—the culture-makers—examining in greater detail the

communities, groups and individuals that the PdC engaged in each of the three

subnational state cases. Variations in the social, cultural and political contexts of each

state, as well as in the personal orientations and interests of PdC cultural managers,

shaped the extent to which the program truly reached the margins, and whom it reached

within.

Chapter four "Building Relations Around Bureaucracy Part 1: Registering Groups

as Pontos," shifts our focus from the artistic to the administrative, initiating our

examination of the surprising role that bureaucratic procedures played in efforts to forge

new state-society relations within the PdC context. Noting a gap in political science

literature that has focused more on *why* than *how* states construct new modes of

engagement with marginalized populations, it argues that this change process can be

observed by examining concrete, even mundane, practices. The chapter introduces the

notion of collaborative improvisation as the mechanism by which actors across the state-

society divide overcame obstacles in the PdC's implementation and developed new sets

of practices together. The Pontos application process—called an edital— presents a first

instance for examining how such collaborative improvisation advanced within the PdC,

and particularly how it was useful in overcoming problems related to the "illegibility" of

the margins. While in theory an inclusive and democratic instrument for selecting Pontos,

the edital presented both cultural and logistical barriers for subaltern populations; not

only were many potential applicants conditioned to think of themselves as unworthy of

state recognition and of the state as uninterested in them, they were unprepared for

confronting the documentation procedures to render legible their culture-making

activities. Innovative outreach efforts to identify and assistant applicants in periphery

communities both expanded their access to the state and defied Brazil's authoritarian

culture, as state agents engaged with the poor and excluded as valued "culture-makers" in

these exchanges.

Chapter five, "Building Relations Around Bureaucracy Part 2: Accounting for

Art," applies the concept of collaborative improvisation to analyze how bureaucrats and

ponteiros overcame a much thornier and serious problem of "illegibility" within the PdC:

the state's inability to "see" what Pontos were producing with government funds. The

chapter begins by connecting discussions of legibility to analyses of poor people's encounters with bureaucratic procedure, emphasizing how such encounters tend to reflect and reproduce both material and cultural dimensions of marginalization. Yet such outcomes are not inevitable. Drawing on scholarship emphasizing bureaucratic agency, the chapter raises the prospect of dynamism and change within bureaucratic encounters, considering the possibility of learning on both sides. PdC accounting requirements represent an extreme example of how state documentation procedures miss and distort societal reality—and particularly creative artistic activities undertaken in the unpredictable context of periphery communities—creating a legal and logistical mess for cultural groups receiving funding as Pontos. Yet rather than alienate pontieros from the state, these tensions drew them closer, necessitating ongoing and intense negotiations with bureaucrats who creatively strove to build flexibility within the rules for the culture-making practices the PdC aimed to promote. The cases of Alagoas and Rio de Janeiro present two different models of how such collaborations evolved, in the first case as direct exchanges between state cultural secretariat staff and ponteiros, and in the second case with the help of intermediaries contracted to serve as a bridge between Pontos and the state. In Santa Catarina, with a different set of Pontos and under different state leadership, collaborative improvisation failed to emerge, both because the state's largely middle class ponteiros were more capable of overcoming administrative challenges and because of the orientation of state agents. The subnational comparisons demonstrate how collaborative improvisation was in no way inevitable within the PdC, but rather influenced by both the broader social and political contexts in which the program was implemented and by the agency of those administering it.

Chapter six, "Building Relations Around Bureaucracy Part 3: Improvising

Participatory Processes and Institutions," widens the lens to look at the way that

networked Pontos organize themselves to collectively interact with the state, showing

how collaborative improvisation functioned in the construction of new participatory

processes and institutions to shape the PdC as a policy. Situating the PdC within a larger

context of opening spaces for citizen participation in Brazil under Workers' Party

administrations, it highlights how elements of the PdC facilitated ponteiros' active

participation in the policy's ongoing evolution. Once again bureaucratic obstacles drove

these processes. Pontos state and national-level governance bodies emerged from

frustrations with the bureaucratic processes described above, which spurred ponteiros to

collectively organize. The chapter then relates the struggle among ponteiros and MinC

officials to write PdC regulations in order to simplify accounting procedures, showing

how institutional change comprised part of the process of forging new state-society

relations within the PdC context.

The final chapter emphasizes the comparative implications of the findings. It

highlights the utility of studying states by examining concrete practices "in the margins,"

emphasizing such practices as in fact defining elements of the state in places like Brazil,

where the majority of citizens are marginalized in both spatial and social terms.

Advancing this approach, this study specifically contributes to scholarship that examines

interactions among state and societal actors to shape policy and build state capacity as

practices that contribute to the ongoing process of state-formation. By analyzing not only

the organizational or institutional changes produced but also the meanings generated

through such interactions, the study also contributes to our understanding of the role of

culture in politics. It advances emergent scholarship on culture that demonstrates how political scientists can analyze cultural change by documenting observable meaning-making practices, but it diverges from this work by refocusing the conversation on "culture as art" to highlight a particularly deliberate and visible case of cultural construction. Finally, by showing how state-society encounters around bureaucracy, as much as around art, produce and reflect meaning, the study both broadens our conception of where and how cultural change might occur and challenges established theories about bureaucracy. The model of collaborative improvisation answers the question James Scott leaves lingering—how to overcome problems of legibility?—by offering a new ideal of bureaucracy, in which creative, high-minded state officials engage in fruitful collaboration with excluded groups to advance a shared project, building capacity and understanding on both sides. The chapter concludes by raising questions for future research, including the question of whether and how the changes produced through the PdC might endure under a very different Brazilian state.

2. Cultural Policy and the Cultural Politics of State-Society Relations in Brazil

"There is no need to be alarmed, this is only a drill," the voice crackled over the loudspeakers of the Residents Association of the favela (shantytown) of Santa Marta in Rio de Janeiro. "Again, the BOPE [special military police forces] are just here for training. This is only a drill," the voice insisted. I looked out from the small cement building where I was teaching a piano lesson at the Ponto de Cultura *Aos Pes da Santa Marta* or "At the Foot of Santa Marta," which is in fact located near the top of the steep hillside community. Three uniformed men with semiautomatic rifles strapped across their chests walked along the cemented pathway above, the BOPE logo on their arms–a skull with two guns sticking out the sides—serving as a gruesome reminder of the force's record of indiscriminate killing in favela communities that has earned them the reputation as a "death squad" (Barrionuevo 2007). The BOPE played a central role in the state "pacification" initiative to reclaim particular favela territories from armed drug gangs starting in 2008; as one of the most "pacified" favelas of Rio de Janeiro, Santa Marta was in 2014 a good site to practice navigating the narrow, winding alleys of favelas that are a labyrinth to outsiders. Moving with rehearsed stealth, the men crossed through the area community members refer to as the "Espaço Michael Jackson," a small plaza where a statue and mural memorialize Michael Jackson's visit to the community in 1996 to record a musical video for the song "They Don't Care About Us." The video opens with a woman's voice in Portuguese, saying "Michael, they don't care about us," and the King of Pop sings about police brutality and class prejudice as he ascends the alleys of Santa

Marta, dancing past police who stare blankly ahead. We continued with the lesson and the Ponto's founder and coordinator, Robespierre, went out to further investigate, returning minutes later to report disgustedly that the "training" had included frisking a twelve-year-old girl.

This vignette highlights the broader context of marginalization and state-society relations within which the Pontos de Cultura program emerged and which it aimed to upend. As low-income, generally darker-skinned citizens, Santa Marta's residents are subject to Brazil's pervasive systems of exclusion and stratification based on race, class, geography, and other factors, and to "the selective presence and absence" (Leeds 1996, 49) of a state that has historically served the interests of the richer, whiter classes. A colorful graffiti mural at the base of the favela reads, "The poor want peace so that they can stay alive. The rich want peace so that they can stay rich." Abusive policing tactics, driven in part by public opinion, are among the most dramatic manifestations of dominant perceptions of favela residents as dispensable, undesirable and dangerous (Coimbra 2001)—reflecting and reproducing the cultural politics that, even beyond material deprivation, define the experience and status of the marginalized in Brazil. The vignette above also hints at the way that culture in its more colloquial sense of artistic and ritualistic practices–"culture-making," in PdC parlance—can factor in efforts to challenge this system. The name of the Ponto, *Aos Pes da Santa Marta*, is an intentional misnomer, meant to encourage transgression of the dividing line that separates favelados from the middle and upper class neighborhoods, or *asfalto*, below; typically asfalto dwellers do not ascend hillside favelas out of fear and prejudice, so Robespierre named the project to suggest a kind of cultural borderland at the hill's base where residents of the "divided

city" might discover new ways to interact around art (Ventura 1994). Notwithstanding the complex politics of an American pop star's visit, Santa Marta residents memorialize Michael Jackson's visit as an iconic transgression of social barriers facilitated by the arts, as he used popular music and video to recognize their victimization, but also to affirm their humanity and value. Understanding this broader context of cultural politics and state-society relations, and the ways that culture-making can facilitate new social relations and challenge dominant portrayals and perceptions, is essential for beginning to comprehend the PdC's project to forge new state-society relations around cultural policy.

This chapter focuses on two main questions: Firstly, how do cultural politics factor into state-society relations, and how can they change? And secondly, what role does "culture-making" play in these shifts? The chapter begins with a theoretical discussion of the role of culture in politics, advancing political science scholarship that insists on the significance of culture as a focus of political analysis and champions conceptualizations of culture as dynamic and contested "semiotic practices" (Wedeen 2002)— meanings assigned to actions and symbols that get produced and reproduced through the actual things people do and say in relation to each other. The section applies such a notion of culture to analyze the "cultural politics of state-society relations" in unequal Brazil, demonstrating how dominant meanings assigned to the poor and excluded both shape and are shaped by state (in)actions in relation to such populations. The chapter's second section considers the important role culture-making—artistic or ritualistic activities—plays in the construction of meaning, describing the panorama of such activities in marginalized communities in Brazil and emphasizing cultural policy as an ideal case for examining how the cultural politics of state-society relations can change.

This section reviews existing scholarship that has primarily described culture-making activities by marginalized populations as a sphere of resistance to state domination or as a subject of state co-optation, and cultural policy as a tool for reinforcing power hierarchies. The third section introduces the PdC as a deliberate tool for shifting cultural politics and constructing new modes of engagement between the state and the marginalized, considering its role within a broader progressive agenda to reconstruct the relationship between the state and the underserved in Brazil. The final sections zero in on two functions culture-making serves within this counterhegemonic project: firstly, as a *mode of communication* that conveys alternative meanings about the poor and excluded, and secondly as a *reason for engagement* across social barriers that is motivated by the capacities rather than the deficiencies of marginalized groups.

The Cultural Politics of State-Society Relations

> *We have a real social apartheid here. The white middle class you find by the beach, they're there, that is their place. And the black poor class is around the edges of the lake and in the valleys [grotas] and in the favelas. So this imaginary dividing line is a fact that occurs in our society, you know, that is almost insurmountable. And I am saying from even a physical point of view. For example, a black guy from the periphery, if he goes to the shore, he will be watched the whole time. Just like a white guy who arrives in the periphery. So they just avoid those places, you know (Interview 31).*

--Fabiano, musician and favela resident

In the quote above, Fabiano, a drummer from one of Brazil's urban shantytowns, is talking about Maceió, capital city of the northeastern state of Alagoas. But he could as well have been describing Rio de Janeiro, the "divided city" (Ventura 1994) where low-income, largely Afro-descendent populations occupy the *morros* or hills, such as Santa Marta described above, and the periphery *subúrbios*, and where wealthier, whiter populations claim the *asfalto* or paved beachfront communities. Or he might be referring

32

to the imaginary dividing line between Brazil's urban centers and rural areas, and particularly those of the poorer Northeastern region. We can think of these "dividing lines" as constituting the margins—the spatial and social designations of particular populations that are stratified and excluded on the basis of race, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, geography and other factors. Yet margins should not be thought of as the "fringe"; in a country where over half of the citizenry self-classify as nonwhite (Phillips 2011), and a quarter are defined as poor, marginalized populations effectively constitute the core of the polity.

Marginalization is in part a material phenomenon. Brazil continues to rank among the most unequal countries in the world, with grave disparities in indicators of human development throughout the national territory. Despite Brazil's classification as a middle-income country, in 2004 when the PdC was first initiated, nearly a quarter of the population fellow below the poverty line, and more than a tenth of the population was living on less than two dollars per day (World Bank 2017). Grounded in a history of slavery and colonialism, racial and ethnic differences remain closely tied to disparities in income (Bailey, Loveman, and Muniz 2013), educational attainment (Marteleto 2012), health indicators (Moreira Cardoso, Ventura Santos, and Coimbra Jr. 2005), and rates of victimization of violence (Waiselfsz 2015).

Figure 1: Income Distribution in Brazil

70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0

Income share held by highest 20% Income share held by fourth 20% Income share held by third 20% Income share held by second 20% Income share held by lowest 20%

Series1
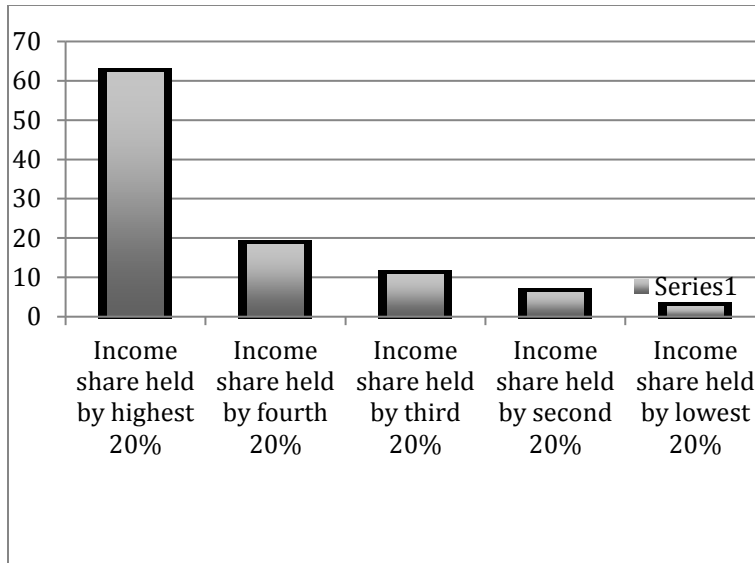
Source: Compiled from data from the World Bank, Development Research Group. Data are based on primary household survey data obtained from government statistical agencies and World Bank country departments. Data for high-income economies are from the Luxembourg Income Study database. For more information and methodology, please see PovcalNet (http://iresearch.worldbank.org/PovcalNet/index.htm).

Marginalization is also a cultural phenomenon. To call marginalization cultural is not to claim that that *marginality* is cultural, as many scholars have in fact asserted. Paralleling theories about a "culture of poverty" in the US (Lewis 1966), academics and casual observers suggested that Brazil's shantytown residents shared particular social and psychological that explained their persistent poverty and exclusion. Advancing what the anthropologist Janice Perlman refers to as a "myth of marginality" (Perlman 1980), they saw such traits as preventing the poor from adequately adapting to modern life and taking advantage of opportunities to improve their lot. Such claims hinge on a notion of culture that has remained dominant in political science since the post-war period, broadly understood as a set of fixed, shared group customs, attitudes and values. In particular, political scientists have identified deficiencies in countries' or regions' cultures, so defined, to explain failures or lags in economic development and democratization (ex.

Almond and Verba 1963; Inglehart and Welzel 2005). Yet such accounts proved overly

deterministic and empirically untenable in many cases, as countries or regions produced

political results that disrupted cultural expectations. For example, the uprisings of the

Arab Spring upended theories that the endurance of authoritarianism in the Middle East

could be attributed to a political culture incompatible with a notion of rule by the people

(ex. Kedourie 1994). Moreover, such notions of bounded, static "cultures" do not offer us

any tools for analyzing conflict and contestation within a given social group, or for

assessing how culture might change.[4]

In contrast, this analysis builds on political science scholarship that promotes the

notion of culture as meaning, or the systems of signification that people rely on to make

sense of their world. These systems are not perfectly cohesive——rejecting presumptions

of internally cohesive "cultures" (Wedeen 2002, 716), we recognize that individuals

perceive and interpret things differently—but they nonetheless exhibit a "thin coherence"

(Sewell 1999, 49) that makes the significance of actions, words, symbols, and so on

broadly "intelligible" within a roughly defined social group (Wedeen 2002, 720). Such

meanings are manifested and constructed through concrete actions, as political scientist

Lisa Wedeen emphasizes in arguing for an understanding of culture as "practices of

meaning-making," or, in shorthand, "semiotic practices" (Wedeen 2002). Meanings are

also in flux, as they are made and remade through social exchanges. Referring to this as

an "intersubjective" version of culture, Marc Ross notes, "The emphasis is on the

---

[4] While Inglehart and Weltzel outline a theory that accounts for ideational change through generational shifts, they run into a methodological problem. The assumption that culture is relatively static is used to justify the use of contemporary measures of "values" as a proxy for older values. On the other hand, culture is portrayed as a dependent variable that fluctuates based on not only "cohort" effects but also "period" effects. As Stephen Hanson observes, "If national poll responses even during twenty-two years of relative institutional and political stability in Western Europe have changed on average by nearly 20 percent, there are few if any grounds to assume consistency in cultural values over the centuries of war, revolution, and social upheaval that characterized the rise of modern capitalism" (Hanson, 358).

interactive, constructed nature of culture, which suggests a capacity to modify beliefs and behaviors" (Ross, 156). Culture understood as meanings produced through social contact makes cultural change an observable phenomenon for scholarly investigation.

Most importantly for this project, meanings structure unequal relations of power. Beyond (and intertwined with) material inequalities in places like Brazil, the *meanings* assigned to the poor and excluded define the margins. As Brazilian political scientist Evelina Dagnino observes: "To be poor means not only to endure economic and material deprivation but also to be submitted to cultural rules that convey a complete lack of recognition of poor people as subjects, as bearers of rights" (Dagnino 1998, 48). Periphery residents in Brazil in fact cross the imaginary dividing lines Fabiano references every day, selling cold beer to sunbathers on the beach, cleaning houses in wealthy neighborhoods—it is how they are perceived and treated in such contexts that conveys to them that this is not their "place" (DaMatta 1979; Dagnino 2003). Dagnino continues:

> Underneath the apparent cordiality of Brazilian society, the notion of *social places* constitutes a strict code, very visible and ubiquitous, in the streets and in the homes, in the state and in society, which reproduces inequality in social relations at all levels, underlying social practices and structuring an authoritarian culture…(1998, 48).

To offer a concrete example, when meeting middle class families with nannies—who are almost always from favelas—I would often get introduced to the six-month-old baby but not the older woman holding the child. Even when on the asfalto, periphery residents are still in the margins, sometimes including through a new set of spatial designations; when middle class families take Sunday afternoon strolls, nannies carefully walk a few paces behind.

The state has played a powerful role in constructing the cultural politics of exclusion in Brazil. State actions both reflect and reproduce understandings of the poor as lacking "the right to have rights" (Dagnino 1998, 48). Low-income neighborhoods have been excluded from public goods and services or left to negotiate access through clientelistic relationships with dominant parties (Gay 1994). Favela residents are subject to a system of "punitive containment" (Wacquant 2008) defined by excessive use of police force.[5] In 2014, one fifth of all homicides in Rio de Janeiro were police killings, and three quarters of those killed by police were black men ("Good Cops Are Afraid" 2016). In both rural areas and urban peripheries, populations are dominated by private powerbrokers, or by coercive networks including both criminals and state agents (Arias 2006). This combination of neglect, abuse and exploitation undergirds Brazil's system of "differentiated citizenship" (Holston 2008), helping to divide full members of the polity from the underclasses. States also shape meaning as symbols of the body politic. The state is, as political scientist Joel Midgal observes, "Janus-faced"— an institution of law and order that controls its population, but also an object of emotional projection that "does not so much stand over the people as it stems *from* them or *embodies* them" (Midgal 2009, 166). In Brazil's "government by and for the few," (Montero 2006, 51) the political class that controls the state has historically been comprised of wealthy, white males, embodying an ideal of nation conceived in narrowly elitist terms. Through official discourse, states also generate and promote narratives about the nation, for example sanctifying the myth of "racial democracy" to obscure the unequal and often brutal treatment of blacks throughout Brazil's history (Hanchard 1998).

---

[5] As Jan French (2013) notes in "Rethinking Police Violence in Brazil: Unmasking the Public Secret of Race," the largely black police force in Brazil is also treated as racialized inferior by others within the government.

Though deeply ingrained and propelled by powerful institutions and actors, the

meanings that structure Brazil's "system of social authoritarianism" (Dagnino 1998, 48)

are dynamic and contested. How do new meanings "become authoritative" (Wedeen

2002, 716) in an unequal and socially stratified place like Brazil? How does culture

change? Recognizing struggles to overcome exclusion as also necessarily struggles over

meaning places culture at the heart of politics. Dagnino writes:

> Because the terrain of culture is recognized as political and as a locus of the
> constitution of different political subjects, when cultural changes are seen as the
> targets of political struggle and as an instrument for political change, a new definition
> of the relationship between culture and politics is underway (Dagnino 1998, 45).

Scholars have examined such struggles in the mobilizations of social movements to

redefine critical concepts in public discourse (Alvarez, Dagnino, and Escobar 1998a, 7),

or in the interplay between explicit acts of domination by ruling elites and subtle forms of

resistance by oppressed populations (Wedeen 1999; Scott 1990). In emphasizing the wide

range of practices involved in the production of meaning, from jokes to dramatic state

rituals, scholars have intentionally distanced themselves from common understandings of

"culture as art" (Alvarez, Dagnino, and Escobar 1998b, 6). By focusing our examination

on cultural policy, this study aims to "bring culture back in," so to speak, emphasizing the

critical and particularly visible role artistic and ritualistic activities play in producing

cultural change. In PdC discourse, to engage in such activities is to "fazer cultura"—

"fazer" means both to do and to make, thus "fazer cultura" conveys the idea of culture as

constructive practice. I thus adopt and adapt the term "culture-making" to refer to culture

in its more narrow sense of artistic and ritualistic practices—as "an institutional sphere

devoted to the making of meaning" (Sewell 1999, 41). Government interventions in this

sphere offer an example of the explicit, deliberate role that states can play in shaping cultural politics.

If culture is a symbolic system produced and perpetuated through social interactions, cultural change involves constructing new symbolic representations and modes of social engagement. Culture-making is a set of practices that specifically convey messages through symbolic expression, and a set of activities around which people may connect outside of their social roles in other spheres. Moreover, the arts are a realm of where different types of authority and capacity may be recognized; those at the political or economic periphery have often been recognized as the nation's cultural core (ex. Wade 2000; Eschen 2006). Thus analyzing the culture-making activities of the marginalized, and state interventions in this arena, offers an ideal opportunity for examining political struggles to effect cultural change.

Culture-Making in the Margins and State Interventions

Brazil is commonly portrayed as a mecca of popular culture. Rio's vibrant Carnaval celebration, with its exuberant *samba enredo* bands and lavishly costumed dancers, has long captivated the international imagination, and other cultural forms such as bossa nova and capoeira are also globally popular. Closer examination reinforces this perception of cultural bounty, revealing a cultural landscape comparable to the country's virtually unparalleled biodiversity. Much of this cultural richness comes from poor communities, with Rio's favelas offering perhaps the best-documented case; a recent study documented more than 400 distinct artistic initiatives in the five favelas surveyed (Barbosa and Dias 2013). To cite an iconic example, the samba emerged out of Rio's *morros* and working class neighborhoods during the 1920s and 30s from the mixing of

39

African rhythms and European instrumentation, and to this day favelas remain the sites of the city's famous samba schools (Shaw 1999). Less known but of similar heritage, the *jongo*, a music and dance form created by slaves in the Brazilian Southeast and cultivated by Afro-descendent populations who moved to Rio's center, continues to evolve in certain favelas ("Jongo No Sudeste" 2007). Recent decades have seen the proliferation of community groups and NGOs within favelas that combine cultural activities with social justice ambitions, such as the well-known AfroReggae, founded after a police massacre in the favela of Vigário Geral, which expanded from a community band into a conglomeration of educational activities and cultural groups ranging from a circus troupe to a classical orchestra. The Brazilian analyst Hermano Vianna contrasts such groups to more commercialized forms of mass entertainment in urban peripheries, such as *funk* music, an eclectic genre often compared to American hip-hop which exploded in Rio's favelas during the 1990s, characterized by the highly-produced *baile funk* shows that draw thousands (Vianna 2006). On the other end of the size spectrum, an interviewee from the favela of Maré related how a resident mounted a projector on his bicycle and rode around showing movies on the walls of the community's narrow alleys. Most cultural activities in favelas are largely self-financed, reflecting both the size of the "internal" market—when favelas are the size of cities, cultural products need not pass through the "center" to become a mass commercial success (Vianna 2006)—and the ingenuity and resourcefulness inherent in many of these efforts (Barbosa and Dias 2013, 154).

Culture-making activities are objects to which meanings get assigned. Just like the people who produce them, the artistic and ritualistic practices of marginalized

communities have been categorized and classified as lesser or evil in Brazil. The "low culture" of the popular classes is treated as inferior to the intellectual and artistic pursuits of elites, or simply excluded from classification as "culture" at all, as the term is used to confer a degree of legitimacy and refinement the "uncultured" masses are lacking; as the Brazilian musicologist Tinharão put it, "In a society of classes, what in the end gets called 'Culture' is a culture of classes" (Tinhorão 2001, 13). In an interview, a priest an Afro-Brazilian religious community reinforced this point, observing, "What is culture was always determined by the dominant classes. It was classical dance, symphonic orchestras." Dating back to a history of slavery, Afro-Brazilian cultural practices, and particularly those related to religious traditions, have been not just dismissed but subject to "extreme villainization" (Johnson 2002, 80)—the priest continued, "In the popular imagination, our culture is associated with evil, with witchcraft." On the other side of the coin, the "othering" of excluded groups' cultural practices can include essentializing or romanticizing such activities (Collins 2007), portraying them as "pure" or "authentic" in ways that overlook their dynamism and heterogeneity, and that also presume a false one-to-one correspondence between a group of people and a set of practices.[6]

Culture-making practices are also tools for conveying meaning, used explicitly in political struggles to contest the subjugation of excluded groups. Those who are silenced in the sphere of formal politics may find "emancipatory cultural voices" (Singh, 2010,13) through the arts. For example, in the face of institutional repression of any discussion around racial politics under Brazil's Vargas regime of the 1930s, black sambistas used clever lyrics set to disarmingly jovial tunes to critique racial inequalities (McCann 2004).

---

[6] Though beyond the scope of this discussion, it is worth noting that subaltern groups may also actively cultivate and encourage outsiders' tendencies to romanticize and essentialize their cultural practices as part of a political strategy to claim rights or resources.

In a less subtle example, jazz singer Billie Holiday's chilling performances of the song "Strange Fruit" in the 1930s made the taboo subject of lynching in the American South a topic of public conversation. As a marker of identity, but also as a social activity, art and ritual also help define particular communities, establishing a space of retreat from, or a base of resistance to, oppression. Partha Chatterjee demonstrates how under British colonialism in India, artistic practices such as theater and literature constituted part of the "inner domain" where Bengalis developed their own national identity beyond the ruling class (Chatterjee 1993, 6). In his analysis of the Afro-Brazilian mobilizations for civil rights in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, Michael Hanchard also emphasizes the role of the arts in creating "parallel political communities," or groupings which operate "alongside or at the periphery of dominant macropolitical practices and communities" (1998, 50).

By most accounts, state interventions in the culture-making realm tend to reinforce the dominant cultural politics and bolster social hierarchies in the face of societal resistance or co-optation (Sewell 1999, 56). On the one hand, states may pursue cultural policies that exclude practices of the marginalized, reinforcing the idea that they (and their producers) are lesser by channeling support to "high culture" forms. For example, Brazil's Vargas regime of the 1930s implemented an expansive program of orpheonic singing in public schools as part of efforts to uplift and civilize the masses (Williams 2001). On the other hand, states may appropriate culture-making practices of subaltern groups to advance elite agendas by reinforcing dominant meanings—and specifically to repress alternative narratives. As part of the US's psychological warfare strategy during the Cold War, the State Department organized tours of jazz musicians, including black artists, to project an image of control, social unity, and freedom for all as

the civil rights movement was revealing the deep fissures within American society (Eschen 2006). Cultural policies constitute a potent state tool for seeing that "certain meanings become authoritative while others do not," and particularly for (re)producing meanings about the national community that either exclude subaltern groups or distort their role within.

Fully appropriating subaltern cultural practices for elite projects requires squelching artists' creative agency in order to control the meanings conveyed—an effort that inevitably falls short. Beyond other "high culture" forms, the Vargas administration also promoted samba to cultivate an authentically Brazilian identity. The regime used censorship and reward to ensure sambistas' lyrics celebrated the regime, while sambistas, in turn, used playful rhythms and melodies to convey the irony of their texts (Matos 1982). In a more recent example, John Collins describes the conversion of Salvador, Bahia's *Pelourinho* neighborhood into a UNESCO Historic Heritage Site in the 1990s—a state project to market a reified version of Bahian culture that also involved the policing and removal of actual Pelourinho residents. During a meeting in the Pelourinho to discuss the project, the discussion is interrupted by the sound of Afro-Brazilian percussion ensemble *Olodum* drumming below, symbolizing how the government effort to "replace actual human beings" with "representations of its Afro-descendent population" (Collins 2007, 386) is disrupted by the agency of the marginalized. In other cases, the dynamic is more one of tense negotiation between state patrons and artists in shaping political meanings. In examining state-society relations around art in Cuba, Sujatha Fernandes describes, for example, the ambiguous role of filmmakers within the state-sponsored film industry as they maintain some degree of freedom of expression, addressing issues such

43

as homosexuality or race in their work, to while also navigating their close relationship with the state (Fernandes 2006, Ch 2).

Departing from existing models of exclusion, co-optation, or even negotiation, the PdC case raises the possibility of a very different model of state-society interaction in the realm of cultural policy: that of genuine partnership between the state and marginalized artists to challenge dominant meanings that structure systems of inequality. How might the state deploy its material and symbolic resources to challenge the cultural politics of exclusion and generate a more inclusive conceptualization of the polity, and how would it engage with excluded sectors in the context of such an effort? How can cultural policy be used to reassign meaning to excluded groups and facilitate new social dynamics, and what role do the culture-making practices of the marginalized play within such a project? We now turn to examine the PdC's emergence and ideological underpinnings before exploring the ways that culture-making functions within its counterhegemonic project.

The PdC in Context

It is not the State's role to make culture, except in a specific and inevitable sense—in the sense that all cultural policy is part of the political culture of a society and of a people...The cultural policy of this Ministry, the cultural policy of the Lula government, from this moment on should be seen as part of a general project to construct a new hegemony in this country. As part and essence of a project to construct a Brazil that is for everyone.

--Gilberto Gil inauguration speech as Minister of Culture, 2003

The PdC emerged within a particular political moment in Brazil, and can in part be understood as part of the larger political agenda advanced by the Workers' Party (PT) when it captured the presidency for the first time in 2003 with the election of Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva. The PT came to national power with an ambitious agenda of reconstructing the relationship between state and citizenry, and particularly the poor and excluded.

44

Brazil's government "by and for the few" (Montero 2006, 51) would now be led by a former factory worker and union leader who promised to respond to the needs of the underclasses. After Lula's election, the state significantly expanded public services provision in marginalized areas, including through major redistributive policies aimed at widespread poverty reduction, contributing to declining rates of poverty and income inequality (Soares, Ribas, and Osório 2010). Social movements and other societal groups forged new "repertoires" of interaction with the state, collaborating in the design and implementation of policies aimed a greater social inclusion (Abers, Serafim, and Tatagiba 2014;). The state also embraced participatory mechanisms that widen the influence of popular classes and traditionally excluded groups over state policies, allowing "millions of average citizens to play an active part in the creation of public policies" (Pogrebinschi and Samuels 2014, 329), though overall levels of accountability of political elites and responsiveness to voter demands still remained low as oligarchical forms of politics persisted under the PT (Montero 2014, Ch 4).

In 2003, Gilberto Gil—then a Senator, but most known as a popular Afro-Brazilian musician who emerged from rural poverty in the Northeast to acquire national and international acclaim and who was exiled for his resistance to the Brazilian dictatorship— was inaugurated as Minister of Culture. As stated in his inauguration speech, Gil saw cultural policy as playing a crucial role in the PT's project to "construct a Brazil that is for everyone," and particularly in challenging the hegemony of the traditional elites and the cultural politics of exclusion and inequality. In budgetary terms, cultural policy has a small role within the federal government; the MinC budget has averaged around a tenth of a percent of the federal budget over the last decade and the PdC cost about R$115

million at its budgetary height in 2012 (Equipe IPEA Redesenho do Programa Cultura Viva 2013). In comparison, about R$20 billion was spent that year on the Bolsa Família program, a cash transfer program for low-income families (Leopoldo 2013). Yet, as emphasized in an excerpt from a later Gil speech, cultural policy plays a unique role in reshaping Brazilian politics because culture is the realm of *meaning*:

> Culture makes Brazil show itself to be alive, makes it come into existence, through the knowledge and work of each of you. The famous "Brazilian Brazil" of Ary [Barroso] [7] springs up from the living, daily Brazil, that is not just a map, a flag, a symbol, a collection of political institutions, systems, laws and relations of production. It is a Brazil with a soul, spirit, and symbolic imagination ("Ministério Da Cultura - Discurso Do Ministro Gilberto Gil Na Entrega Do Prêmio Cultura Viva" 2006).

In this vision, it is culture that makes Brazil more than just a geographic territory, a political arrangement, or even a set of official symbols, imbuing this material reality with an emotional and even spiritual significance. Thus cultural programs are not just part of a broader set of redistributive or social inclusion initiatives but rather unique tools for directly engaging in this realm of meaning, and particularly for addressing the meanings that underlie Brazil's system of "social authoritarianism." In the speech, Gil goes on to affirm, "We are at the center of the jump that the country needs to make…We are the spring, and this is why culture is a reference point for changes that are more profound and with permanent roots." The appointment of a black artist from the Northeast as Minister of Culture already begins to tell a different story about insiders and outsiders in the Brazilian nation, as well as about the state's relationship to society. Gil and other visionaries within the MinC used policies such as the PdC to further destabilize Brazil's social hierarchy.

---

[7] Ary Barroso is a renowned Brazilian musician and composer who wrote the song Aquarela Brasileira, a nationally celebrated piece that opens with the line "Brazil, my Brazilian Brazil."

The PdC was established in 2004, and is relatively simple in its policy design. Artistic and ritualistic initiatives in targeted areas throughout the national territory— including low-income, rural, indigenous, and *quilombo*[8] communities, as well as "areas lacking public services"— are recognized as "Cultural Points," or "Pontos," receiving a total of R$180,000 of state funding, distributed over a three year period, to enhance their activities. The resources are not intended to sustain the group, but rather provide a springboard to further develop ongoing activities, for example by purchasing new instruments or costumes. By 2014 some 4,000 different cultural projects, spread throughout Brazil's 26 states and federal district, had been recognized as Pontos since the PdC's founding. While simple in structure, the PdC served as a quintessential tool in the MinC's counterhegemonic mission. Célio Turino, Gil's first Secretary of Cultural Citizenship who is largely credited for creating the program, describes the PdC as a "radical experiment" in a new mode of state-society relations (Turino 2009). The state PdC coordinator for Bahia described it as part of "a major reinvention of the relationship between the State and culture" (Interview 3) and the former state PdC coordinator for Alagoas referred to the PdC as a "silent revolution" (Interview 43).

It is worth noting that, though broadly consistent with the PT's progressive agenda, the PdC was not initially embraced by President Lula, who had a different plan for cultural policy. Lula proposed constructing "Bases de Apoio Cultural" (BACs), or "Cultural Support Bases,"—physical structures with cultural materials in them—in periphery communities (Turino 2009, 81). As a former MinC official present during initial debates around the BAC observed, "Politicians like to be outdoors," referring to

---

[8] Rural settlements founded by people of African descent, primarily escaped slaves.

the kinds of photo opportunities that ribbon cutting ceremonies for new infrastructure projects present, "But the PdC makes culture with people, not buildings" (Interview 43). Célio Turino, who describes himself on his book cover as a radical, utopian, and communist (2009), proposed the PdC idea based on his experiences as municipal secretary of culture in the city of Campinas in the state of São Paulo. In the early 1990s, he had led a program called "Casas de Cultura," or Culture Houses, that provided modest support for community members in periphery areas to convert their houses into cultural centers. Each Culture House received a library collection of 500 books, funding for a community agent to coordinate activities, and free passes to cultural sites and events in the city (Turino 2009, 67). According to Turino, the term "Ponto de Cultura" was first used in 1980 by an earlier cultural secretary in Campinas—Turino's boss at the time—to refer to an abandoned house in a rural area that had been converted into a cultural center (Turino 2009, 77). In the end Lula acquiesced to the PdC over the BACs, perhaps because cultural policy was, in budgetary terms, small potatoes in the overall PT agenda, perhaps because Gil's independent fame as a popular musician gave him some degree of leverage in negotiations, or perhaps because Gil and Turino's combined inspiration and charisma won him over. However according to the official quoted above, though Lula publicly championed the program, including speaking in person at the first TEIA in São Paulo, in private meetings he continued to grumble about it (Interview 43).

The PdC strategy hinges on two key ideas articulated in Gil's speech. The first is the notion that "it is not the state's role to make culture." A founding PdC principle is the idea that societal actors, rather than the state, create culture—it is the state's role to cultivate those cultural practices and forms which originate within society. The state may

construct roads, deliver health services, or provide education. But it cannot itself cultivate the kind of cultural richness that stems from the creative imagination of its population, and particularly from the marginalized elements of society—those who have been excluded on the basis of class, race, geography or other factors. These are the true "fazedores de cultura," or "culture-makers." The second is the recognition that cultural policy plays a critical role in shaping cultural politics—that the state does in fact "make culture" in the "specific and inevitable sense" of sanctioning and supporting particular culture-making activities to convey particular messages about the nation and its citizens, using its symbolic and material power to ensure that "certain meanings become authoritative while others do not" (Wedeen 2002, 716). By celebrating and promoting the culture-making initiatives of those who rank lowest on Brazil's social hierarchy, the PdC tackles head on the pejorative meanings assigned to them.

The sections to follow further elaborate on the role of culture-making in the PdC's project to construct "a Brazil that is for everyone," firstly describing how it functions as a mode of communication, constructing new symbolic representations that challenge dominant perceptions and portrayals of marginalized populations—as the state "makes culture" by amplifying these messages and officially affirming these practices as culture— and, secondly, analyzing how it serves as a reason for engagement with the marginalized based on their capacities, facilitating new kinds of social relations that defy existing patterns of exclusion and inequality—as the state seeks out marginalized groups for their unique "culture-making" abilities.

A Mode of Communication: Promoting New Representations

49

The soaring lines of a Mozart concerto emanated from the Grota favela, one of the most violent and impoverished neighborhoods of the city of Niteroi, located across the Guanabara Bay from Rio. Delicate melodies on violin and viola wove together in a complex counterpoint with cello and bass parts, then all voices combined in a rich blend of triumphant harmonies to close the concerto's first movement. The *Orquestra de Cordas da Grota*, or Grota String Orchestra, named a Ponto in 2009, was rehearsing on a Saturday morning in the summer of 2012, its young members seated on folding chairs in a half circle in the outdoor concrete amphitheater near the favela's entrance. Tiago, one of the group's most accomplished musicians, bowed finely tuned arpeggios into the warm evening air in a solo cadenza. A heavy-set black teenager with flat brimmed hat and sagging pants reminiscent of the hip hop artists of the urban periphery, Tiago might exemplify the stereotypical image of a favelado in Brazil were it not for the instrument tucked under his chin and the subtle phrasing of melodic lines he produced with his delicate bowing.

Culture-making conveys information that can challenge dominant perceptions of subaltern groups; as noted above, the marginalized may exercise "emancipatory cultural voices" (Singh 2010, 13) to contest their subjugation. In some cases, these messages are communicated directly in the text of the work, as artists use theater, literature, lyrics and other mediums to critique systems of exclusion. More indirectly, when a young black favela resident flawlessly executes a Mozart violin solo, his performance "says" something that powerfully contests dominant understandings about his "place." Demonstrating mastery as an artist of any form already destabilizes many "myths of marginality" (Perlman 1980) that cast the poor as unintelligent or lazy, but the effect is

even more dramatic when showcasing talent in a cultural arena associated with elites. Projecting an identity that clashes so dramatically with stereotypical categorizations of favelados, Tiago's performance suggests that their cultural practices may not fit in categories at all—that the cultural range of the marginalized is as broad as the human capacity for creativity.

As compared to cultural policies described above that either exclude or essentialize and exploit culture-making activities in poor areas, in the PdC case the state's role is to amplify rather than repress these messages. It magnifies the effect of such initiatives by supporting their growth and enhancing their visibility. As Minister, Gil emphasized the MinC's mission to "*desesconder*" or "unhide" the cultural richness of Brazil's "nooks and crannies", showcasing the diverse talents of its residents. Toward this end, Pontos receive funds specifically allocated for purchasing what the program calls "media kits"—technological equipment for recording and broadly disseminating their artistic outputs; the Grota Orchestra used Pontos funding to record a CD that they now promote on their website.[9] The program has advanced mapping and cataloguing projects, both in print and online, that profile Pontos and their work, and has promoted the use of different open online platforms to display Pontos' cultural initiatives. Regularly held public gatherings of Pontos at the national and statewide level, called TEIAs, serve as particular significant moments for publicizing culture-making activities. At TEIAs, Pontos put on musical, theatrical and dance performances, and display their artistic products in public exhibits. TEIAs are filmed and the material is uploaded to Youtube

---

[9] It is worth noting that, in practice, there is wide variance in the degree to which groups possess the technical skills or needed physical infrastructure to fully take advantage of the kits. Problematically, accounting regulations stipulate that PdC funding cannot be used for overhead costs that would facilitate their use, like internet service.

and other websites. More broadly, the program has garnered media attention that often features Pontos' work. Many ponteiros described "visibility" as a key benefit of becoming a Ponto. As one ponteiro in rural Alagoas commented:

> We've been here cultivating all of this cultural material, all of this mastery, all of this time to now be revealed, and to share it with the world. So really, this is the difference between being a Ponto and what we were before. Being a Ponto de Cultura, you have a different degree of visibility (Interview 28).

Messages are conveyed not only through Pontos' actual culture-making activities, but also in the ways that such practices are labeled and categorized. In a variation on the example of the Grota String Orchestra, Fabiano chose the name *Orquestra dos Tambores* or "Orchestra of Drums" for the percussion group he founded in the favela where he grew up. Deliberately transferring meanings assigned to the elite art form "orchestra" to a cultural practice closely associated with Brazil's lower classes, the name signals that drumming, as much as bowing, should be appreciated as high art. Capitalizing on the common understanding of museums as places where things of value are displayed, community residents in the favela of Maré in Rio constructed the "Maré Museum" in an old factory warehouse, collecting and exhibiting memorabilia and daily items saved by the community's earliest inhabitants. As a recognized cultural form, the museum projects a different narrative about Maré residents and their role in the city, turning the stuff of squatters into the artifacts of settlers. More generally, categorizing the artistic or ritualistic practice of subaltern groups as "culture" constitutes a challenge to Brazil's social hierarchy. In reflecting on struggles of Latin American social movements, Sonia Alvarez and co-authors note how deploying "alternative conceptions of woman, nature, race, democracy, economy or citizenship that unsettle dominant cultural meanings" ultimately constitute "processes that seek to redefine social power" (Alvarez, Dagnino,

and Escobar 1998a, 7). We might include in this list "culture" itself; naming something as "culture" is a semiotic practice that can challenge dominant systems of signification.

By publically and officially affirming practices of the marginalized as "culture," the PdC redefines the boundaries of Brazil's cultural patrimony and, consequently, the image of nation it symbolizes, reassigning meaning both to excluded groups within the polity and to the whole. Many ponteiros described the significance of the PdC *chancela,* or label, as even more important than the funding they received. This was especially true for cultural initiatives that have been demonized or even criminalized. A PdC state coordinator related:

> There is an Afro-Brazilian cultural group, out in Baixada [a low-income suburb adjoining Rio], and they were able to challenge stereotypes of the population there when they became a Ponto. Because it is also really strong, there, the evangelical movement in Baixada, you know, that says that these [Afro-Brazilian cultural practices] are witchcraft or black magic, that they come from afar. And this is the state saying, no, that they make up part of the culture here within (Interview 15).

Verifying their practices as part of "the culture here within," the PdC also affirms the practitioners–in this case, Afro-Brazilians who, within a periphery community, are even further marginalized —as full members of the polity here within. A ponteiro that cultivates Afro-Brazilian culture-making practices in the state of Santa Catarina echoed this message, observing, "Upon becoming a Ponto, we became part of the visible cultural world. We were already known. But it was a legitimation—we came to have more credibility."

While the above examples describe a shift in broader societal perceptions, in some cases the intended audience is other sectors of the state. For example, funk music has been largely vilified in the popular imagination based on its association with the drug

trafficking gangs in favelas, and in the late 1990s the Rio state legislature even passed a law, that was later revoked, requiring military police presence at funk dance parties. Rio's municipal level PdC coordinator described how the PdC chancela helped funk groups in favelas avoid police harassment, prompting her team to develop a new program modeled after the PdC in which all eligible applicants received a placard affirming their status as "Local Cultural Actions" although only a portion would be selected for funding.

PdC affirmation can also alter perceptions of the practitioners themselves. Various interviewees commented that they did not think of their activities as culture prior to being recognized as a Ponto. A ponteiro from Bahia described this shift:

> People from the community didn't know that what they were producing was culture. Now, it's different—they are more aware. And the Pontos program was a fundamental thing in this process. There out in the rural areas or in the shantytowns, he [sic] understands that what he is doing is culture….Because the idea was that culture was just for knowledgeable people, an intellectual thing…culture was for the educated. So when you show him that, no, that what he produces in the community is culture, he says, "I make culture? Really?" Pretty great (Interview 110).

For many, the affirmation as culture-makers was linked to a sense of membership and integration into a larger whole. When I asked a woman from a quilombo in rural Bahia what changed when her group became a Ponto, she responded, "The feeling of belonging," explaining that before their cultural activities felt like an "unconnected thing [*uma coisa solta*] in the community…like a person not registered, without any identity. And now we are going to have an identity." I followed up, "A feeling of belonging to what?" She replied, "A feeling of belonging to culture. To this TEIA here, to Bahia, to Brazil" (Interview 11).

It is important to acknowledge that the PdC chancela means different things to different people. Some artists worried that state approval would delegitimize their group,

54

suggesting an affiliation or degree of cooperation with the government that might undermine their status as critical voices. The leader of a German cultural organization in the southern state of Santa Catarina, a state known for its celebration of the population's European immigrant roots, explained that they had chosen not to apply for Pontos status because they are not seeking inclusion, but rather cultivate German singing, dance, and other traditions specifically to define themselves as distinct from a broader national Brazilian culture. Some ponteiros questioned the very idea of state-sanctioned Pontos. If it is not the state's role to make culture, then should it be the state's role to affirm what is (or is not) culture? Modifications within PdC regulations approved in early 2016 allowed cultural groups to self-identify as Pontos after registering online, though such groups do not receive public funding. Finally, it is worth noting that Pontos' culture-making can communicate messages that destabilize some aspects of Brazil's social hierarchy while reinforcing others. At a TEIA in summer of 2015, ponteiros who practice hip hop discussed the problem of homophobia within the genre and the need to make LGBT individuals feel more welcome within their groups.

Notwithstanding these complexities, through its promotion and affirmation of excluded groups' culture-making activities, the PdC is making culture in the sense of reordering meanings related both to the status and value of subaltern populations and to the content and character of Brazilian culture as a whole, using both its material and symbolic power to advance such meanings as "authoritative" in the face of the dominant cultural politics.

A Reason for Engagement: Building New Social Relations

Before, politicians said, "Let's bring culture to the favela." Now it is different: the favela responds, "What do you mean, man? One thing that isn't lacking here is culture! Check out what the world has to learn from us!"

--Herman Vianna in his text *Central da Periferia (Vianna 2006)*

To voluntarily move from Rio's *asfalto* to a favela is virtually unheard of, and friends were shocked when Sayonara announced her intention to leave her apartment in the tree-lined Flamengo neighborhood and move to the crowded favela of Mangueira. Sayonara had first begun frequenting Mangueira nearly a decade earlier, when, at a life turning point, she moved from her hometown in southern Brazil to Rio de Janeiro, deciding to orient the next phase of her life around her lifelong passion for samba. Mangueira is the "capital of samba," in the words of world-renowned Brazilian musician Chico Buarque,[10] birthplace of the samba school Estação Primeira de Mangueira which won Rio's first samba competition in 1932, and home to some of Brazil's most famous sambistas. Mangueira is also the site of the Samba Museum, founded by a local resident, where Sayonara began volunteering to immerse herself in the art form she so loved, eventually becoming one of the museum coordinators. Her middle-aged face lights up with youthful enthusiasm as she walks through the large concrete building pointing out lavishly decorated Carnaval costumes from the 1930s and instruments handmade out of leather and recycled metal by Rio's first sambistas. Ironically, the escalating threat of violence within Mangueira motivated Sayonara's desire to move there. Working late, particularly when the Museum would host its weekly *rodas de samba* for local residents, Sayonara ran the risk of falling victim to a *bala perdida*—a stray bullet from shootouts that claim

---

[10] Comment made in the documentary film, "Derradeira Primaveira,"(dir. Roberto Oliveira, 2005)

so many innocent lives—walking the blocks to the commuter rail station that would take her back to Flamengo. As the "Police Pacification" program unraveled in Mangueira and violence escalated, Sayonara had spent many nights at friends' houses or even sleeping within the Museum. To continue her job cultivating and promoting samba in its "capital," it made sense to just relocate there.

Sayonara's case is an extreme example of a relatively more common phenomenon: though the spatial barriers between rich and poor in Rio are indeed rigid, as discussed at the chapter's beginning, culture-making draws some asfalto residents into favelas. Some enter for short excursions—during Carnaval season, members of Rio's middle class enter favelas to observe the rehearsals of the community samba schools—but others engage in more ongoing transgressions of the city's dividing lines. A recent report on jongo notes the increasing interest among not only researchers but also "urban middle class youth, making participation in a roda de jongo no longer limited to jongueiro communities"("Jongo No Sudeste" 2007, 15). As noted above, in unequal societies, culture-making helps define communities, as a basis for excluded groups to establish an inner domain of retreat or resistance, or as a tool for ruling elites to cultivate a particular version of the polity. But the arts can also facilitate engagement across social barriers, expanding rather than circumscribing societal groupings. They can indeed create the kind of borderland spaces that Robespierre, the founder of the Ponto "At the Base of Santa Marta" where Michael Jackson visited, envisioned. Robespierre himself is not a native favelado but instead a kind of borderland dweller, a musician who ten years ago moved from southern Brazil into the low-income apartment unit at the Santa Marta's entrance and started the music program at the top. Culture-making can also facilitate

transgressions in the other direction. One of Robespierre's former students, now a guitarist, is now a member of a symphonic group in the famed neighborhood of Copacabana and described to me the altered way he was perceived and treated—and felt himself—when entering the asfalto as a musician.

As compared to common modes of interaction—or lack thereof—between members of Brazil's relatively privileged and underclasses, the quality and character is dramatically different when the contact is sought because of cultural capacities. Fabiano, who earlier described Maceió's "imaginary dividing lines," grew up playing the drums as part of a candomblé community in one of the city's most impoverished neighborhoods. He relates the story of how he organized his first maracatu workshop to generate some income:

> I spread the word, and I imagined that, since [maracatu] has a connection from the beginning with the black population, black people from the periphery would come…And what do you know, but it was the middle class who showed up, almost all of them …Doctors, lawyers, professionals, and a bunch of sociologists and anthropologists and folks from the university. And oh boy [he grimaces], I had studied a bit about [maracatu], thank god, but of the theory I only know this little bit. But I *am* the practice, and I know how to talk about myself. I am this, here, I was born this. I am not making myself into something, I am talking about me, my identity. So the dialogue was really great (Interview 31).

Initially intimidated by participants from across the city's "dividing line," given his scant formal education and limited knowledge of maracatu "in theory," he realizes that his practical, lived experience as a percussionist and his deep personal association with the genre—as he asserts, "I was born this"—gives him authority in this context. A "great dialogue" between a poor black man and white middle class professionals, in which the former is recognized as, and feels himself to be, the expert, clashes dramatically with the cultural system that structures Brazil's "social authoritarianism."

The PdC's counterhegemonic project is largely organized around the way that culture-making as a premise of engagement facilitates these new types of social relations; in the PdC case, the state is also drawn into marginalized communities by their cultural capacities. The phrase "não cabe ao Estado fazer cultura," or it is not the state's role to make culture, from Gil's inauguration speech quoted earlier, has become a mantra in the program, serving as shorthand for the idea that societal actors–and particularly, those within Brazil's urban shantytowns, deep rural townships, and other excluded communities –possess a resource and capacity that the state is seeking and lacks. At a gathering of ponteiros in the state of Santa Catarina, a MinC representative summarized the way that the state-society relationship shifts within the cultural sphere:

> The logic of necessity that we were brought up to accept is, in this case, altered. We always thought society needed the state more. This program shows the opposite. The Brazilian state needs Pontos de Cultura because it is the Ponto that is able to ensure the population's access to its own cultural goods, processes, and roots…In this case, the necessity is inverted.

Specifically, the State needs the marginalized elements of society—those who have been excluded on the basis of class, race, geography or other factors— in this culture-making project. They are the central loci of the culture-making processes the PdC seeks to promote, which reverberate throughout society in what former Minister Gil has described as an unleashing of creative energy. Their leaders and participants are the critical culture-makers who propel this process.

It is worth specifically contrasting the PdC to other government initiatives that have also expanded state presence in poor communities. Social assistance programs, such as Bolsa Família, seek to address basic unmet needs of millions of low-income households. The PdC seeks to promote what is flourishing rather than provide what is

lacking. Moreover, as compared to Vargas era cultural policies, when the state also sought out artistic forms of the periphery but used censorship and reward systems to mold them to its own purposes, the PdC affirms ponteiros' authority to define the culture that they produce. Significantly, Pontos selection criteria do not specify the kind or quality of cultural activities to be supported, nor are Pontos evaluated on the basis of their artistic outputs, as the program seeks to promote rather than control ponteiros' creative agency

This basis for contact generates new ways of relating to each other not only in the abstract conceptualization of the state-society relationship, but also in the real exchanges that occur between government workers and marginalized artists in the context of the program. It is to these interactions that we will turn in the chapters to follow.

Conclusion

This chapter has offered an overview of the broader context of marginalization and state-society relations within which the PdC emerged, emphasizing the ways that, even beyond material deprivation and disparities, the meanings assigned to excluded populations define their "place" in the city, Brazilian society, and the polity as whole. The Brazilian state has played a powerful role in producing and reinforcing these cultural politics of exclusion, as state actions and inactions both reflect and produce dominant meanings. Yet culture is dynamic. Advancing a notion of culture as meaning-making practices, this chapter has shown how particular set of such practices—artistic and ritualistic activities, and specifically those of marginalized groups—can factor in political struggles. While the culture-making initiatives of the underclasses are often dismissed or essentialized by the dominant classes, and neglected, repressed or co-opted in state cultural policies, the PdC represents a different model. As part of a broader government

agenda to reconstruct the relationship between state and the underserved, the PdC represents a deliberate effort to reassign meaning to subaltern groups and produce new modes of state-society engagement, embracing the unique role cultural policy can play in directly addressing the cultural dimensions of Brazil's exclusionary system. Finally, the chapter highlighted two ways in which culture-making activities function in this state project, firstly as a communicative medium that the PdC amplifies and promotes to challenge dominant representations of subaltern populations, and secondly as the basis for new modes of engagement across social barriers that are founded on the cultural capacities of excluded groups.

The next chapter begins our examination of how this counterhegemonic project plays out in practice, focusing on the key actors involved on both the state and society sides: the bureaucrats and culture-makers. Applying the theoretical framework from this chapter, the next chapter analyzes how culture-making generated new symbolic representations and social relations in the context of direct interactions between state agents and ponteiros. The chapter also presents the three subnational cases, showing how political, social and cultural variances in each case contributed to differences in the range of culture-making activities the PdC promoted and supported, and in the kinds of communities, groups and individuals which the state engaged.

3. Building Relations Around Art: Bureaucrats and Culture-Makers

"I am a clown," Rogério introduced himself to me when we first met at the supermarket located across the train tracks from the periphery neighborhood of *Bom Parto* in the coastal city of Maceió, Alagoas, where he lives. As we crossed over the tracks to enter the community, constructed from the cheap brick characteristic of Brazil's low-income urban areas, he presented a fuller list of his cultural credentials, including musician, actor, poet ("I was that sketchy black guy [*preto marginal*] selling my verses on the street corner," he told me with a chuckle), and founder of the activist artist cooperative "*Quintal Cultural*" (Cultural Backyard), recently selected as a Ponto de Cultura by the cultural secretariat of the state of Alagoas. For the past decade the group has put on weekly improvised theatrical performances in a small, enclosed cemented courtyard behind Rogério's house that they converted into a kind of theater in the round, decorated in mosaic with "Quintal Cultural" painted in light blue graffiti writing on the wall. When Rogério and friends founded the group, it was the only community organization other than the church and the Residents Association, and the "quintal" remains a popular gathering space for residents who crowd in on Saturday nights seeking entertainment. Rogério projects the confidence of someone who has a made a life from his own talent and tenacity, including by making people laugh. In a neighborhood dominated by armed drug traffickers ("They don't bother me," he responded when I asked him about it), he paints his face, dons a red nose, and engages in all kinds of buffoonery at community gatherings to elicit giggles and guffaws from those present.

In the common parlance of the PdC, Rogério is a "fazedor de cultura." To "fazer" means both to do and to make in Portuguese, allowing the term "fazedor de cultura" to capture the dual elements of cultural practice and production that the PdC aims to cultivate. As established in Chapter 2, the cultural shift that the PdC aims to generate hinges on this recognition of the marginalized—those who have been excluded on the basis of class, race, geography or other factors—as "fazedores de cultura," the cultural practitioners and creators, affirmed in the mantra often repeated by both state agents and ponteiros: "It is not the state's role to make culture." Officially recognizing individuals like Rogério as culture-makers, and periphery communities like *Bom Parto* as privileged sites of for the PdC's creative mission, constitutes a direct challenge to Brazil's "authoritarian culture" (Dagnino 1998, 48) and a dramatic divergence from the typical patterns of state (dis)engagement with marginalized communities, setting the stage for novel modes of interaction between their residents and representatives of the state.

This recognition of this "inversion of need" that assigns new meaning to poor and excluded groups gets produced and reinforced through concrete interactions among state and societal actors—it is through actual practice that new meanings are created—and exchanges around Pontos' culture-making activities play a critical role in this change process. This chapter focuses on such exchanges, as well as on the particular actors involved. The first section describes the various moments of state-society encounter around culture-making within the PdC and the kinds of effects they produce. Applying theoretical frameworks from the preceding chapter, it demonstrates how artistic exchanges within the PdC both create the context for new kinds of social relations—in which state and societal actors play roles of altered authority as compared to Brazil's

established social hierarchy—as well as new symbolic representations—producing new meanings about the poor and excluded, as well as about the program itself, which shape state-society interactions beyond moments of artistic exchanges. This first section focuses on the government actors in these interactions, which include both bureaucrats who fit stereotypes of the rational, rule-following state functionary, as well as activist and artist bureaucrats whose actions and interests defy prevailing models. The second section turns to the subnational cases to answer the question: Who are the "culture-makers" within the PdC? What communities are reached through the program, what kinds of groups were selected as Pontos within these communities, and who specifically within these groups is engaging with state agents around culture-making? Brazil is a large and diverse country, divided into 5 regions and 26 states with very different political, socioeconomic and cultural landscapes, and subnational comparisons reveal the "spatially uneven" (Snyder 2001, 94) process of building new state-society relations through the PdC. Starting with a brief discussion of Brazilian federalism and regionalism, the chapter turns to each of the three states examined in this dissertation—Alagoas in the Northeast, Rio de Janeiro in the Southwest, and Santa Catarina in the South—to consider how different contexts and state-level political dynamics shaped the program's implementation and particularly the sets of Pontos selected in each state. While Alagoas and Rio de Janeiro represent variations of the PdC's vision, reaching the margins and establishing state contact with culture-makers within, Santa Catarina represents a divergent interpretation of the program implemented in a very different context. The Santa Catarina case also presents another kind of actor within PdC cultural agencies—the political appointee whose

motivations are neither idealistic nor institutional, but rather based on crude political ambition.

State-Society Interactions around Culture-Making

Marcos André Carvalho, a division secretary within Rio de Janeiro's state cultural secretariat, or *Secretaria de Estado de Cultura* (SEC), bounded into the middle of the roda de jongo at the annual statewide gathering of Pontos in 2010. The roda had emerged spontaneously that morning, as ponteiros, waiting for the day's activities to begin, pushed aside the rows of folding chairs assembled under a tent and formed the dance circle, widening it as newcomers appeared. Jongo is a dance and musical form that emerged from former slave communities in plantation areas of the state of Rio de Janeiro and, as urbanization advanced, was sustained in the primarily Afro-descendent favelas of the city's center. Members of a Ponto from such a community, the favela of Serrinha, led the circle, while others followed in the call and response format. Rocking back on his heels, with arms spread wide, Secretary Carvalho spun and swayed to the beat marked by the drums and clapping hands that surrounded him, improvising steps in loose coordination with the Serrinha resident in the circle's center. The evening before, he had presided over the panel of local politicians and MinC officials who addressed ponteiros in the formal opening of the multi-day event. Later that afternoon he would moderate a discussion between his SEC colleagues and ponteiros about problems in the process to approve Pontos' financial accounting documentation. But that morning, Secretary Carvalho was more jongueiro than bureaucrat, swinging freely and shifting his weight from one bare foot to the other, beating rhythm into the dry dirt until another dancer entered the roda's center and he rejoined the singing outer ring.

The PdC design includes opportunities for artistic encounters among ponteiros and state agents. Most notably the program calls for regularly held statewide and national gatherings of Pontos, like the event referenced above, known as TEIAs (translated as "webs"). At national TEIAs, hundreds or, as the program has grown, thousands of ponteiros and government officials come together for multiple days of dance, music, theater, and other performances by diverse Pontos, interspersed with talks and workshops. Pontos also exhibit paintings, sculptures, artisan crafts, and other fruits of their labor in mounted stalls. Hosted at large venues, TEIAs have a kind of circus feel, with multiple activities occurring simultaneously; a street theater group performs a comical routine on a mounted stage, while in another area dancers in paper mache costumes enact the ritual of the *Bumba meu Boi* tradition. Since the first national TEIA in 2006, the MinC has organized six others in varied cities throughout the country, and each of Brazil's 27 states has hosted at least one statewide TEIA, with many organizing several. Aside from TEIAs, interactions through culture-making also occur in the context of site visits to individual Pontos by state officials, or by other groups of ponteiros, as well as in smaller-scale gatherings or workshops for ponteiros.

Beyond, and alongside, these more choreographed exchanges, ponteiros and state agents also interact through improvised moments of culture-making. Outside of the scheduled programming at TEIAs, myriad cultural activities go on in the wings, such as spontaneously formed circles of jongo, samba, capoeira, or break dancing. As I interviewed one ponteiro at the national TEIA in 2014, another pulled a set of finger puppets out of her bag to elaborate a clever drama for my infant son in tow in which he was a bear trying to eat them (which he literally was), then fished out a Pinocchio puppet

and riffed on how entangled he was in his lies as she extricated the wooden figure from his twisted strings. The PdC even has its own repertoire of tunes that ponteiros sing for particular occasions. The lilting melody, "Oh sailor, it is time, it is time to work," accompanied by a syncopated clapping rhythm, is often used to initiate a meeting, while the tune "A Ponto is a bird that was born to fly," is used to close an event. Though the jongo circle described above was unplanned, many ponteiros had arrived at the TEIA toting drums and percussion instruments, prepared for these kind of culture-making moments that arose at many Pontos gatherings.

As compared to other spheres of engagement, as described in chapters to follow, interactions around culture-making are relatively infrequent within the PdC– government workers consistently voiced their desire to spend more time at Pontos and less time dealing with administrative issues. Yet these moments of contact play a crucial role within the program, and in the project to reconstruct state-society relations around the ideal of a "Brazil for that is for everyone." In such interactions, state agents encounter the creative agency and cultural authority of the marginalized as a tangible experience, helping produce and reinforce the altered state-society relationships on which the PdC is conceptually based. Reflecting on how musical performances can produce "extra-rational, intensely emotional experiences", Paul Sneed describes participating in a funk dance party as a utopian moment for favela dwellers, where they live—in a very visceral way, as produced through the show's full sensory stimulation—an idealized version of *brasilidade*, or Brazilianness, as humor, friendliness, racial equality, and sexual openness lacking in their harsh everyday realities (Sneed 2008). Cultural encounters within the PdC can also generate a kind of utopian experience of an idealized Brazil, provoking

strong emotional responses. The coordinator of a square dancing troupe in rural Alagoas described TEIAs as a "cultural richness that you live, you know, in the flesh," observing, "To know that Brazil is diverse is one thing, but it is another to go there and see all of those things all happening at the same time…That is a totally different experience" (Interview 36).

These "in the flesh" experiences are critical for forging modes of social interaction and producing meanings that defy Brazil's "authoritarian culture" (Dagnino 1998, 48), as discussed in the preceding chapter. We now turn to examine the effects of such state-society interactions around culture-making within the PdC, focusing first on the state actors involved.

Altering Social Relations: New Patterns of Engagement

The scene depicted above of a government official dancing barefoot with a favela resident is out of synch with the dominant cultural politics of Brazil and the corresponding patterns of state-society relations. This deviation in social roles, in which the white, formally educated state worker is following the lead (quite literally, in *jongo's* call and response format) of a dark-skinned, low-income favelado, is partially explained by the fact that Secretary Carvalho is not your typical government official–as the political scientist Margaret Keck once observed, "The state is a job,"[11] and thus those that comprise "the state" may in fact have vibrant lives as "society" when they are not at work. When the Workers' Party came to national power in 2003, many individuals who had been part of social movements and civil society organizations entered government

---

[11] Actually, Margaret Keck has repeatedly observed this in our various conversations about this project, but apparently this revelation first occurred to her while writing her book about environmental politics in Brazil.

agencies, facilitating modes of engagement that blurred the line between state and society and presented a prototype of state bureaucrat that challenges prevailing stereotypes and models (Abers, Serafim, and Tatagiba 2014). Far from the Weberian ideal type of the rational, rule-following bureaucrat (Weber 1922, 225), often depicted as synonymous with the agencies within which they work, these individuals pursued agendas more consistent with the roles of activists, in some cases retaining strong ties to these causes and organizations from whence they came (Rich 2012). Beyond Brazil, scholars have identified "institutional activists" within the US government agencies working to advance causes of the disability rights movement (Pettinicchio 2012, 505) or the women's movement (Banaszak 2009). As Rebecca Abers has emphasized, bureaucrats without movement ties can also be activists. Highlighting the creativity and commitment mid-level officials within Brazil's Ministry of the Environment demonstrated in shaping policy to advance both social justice and environmental causes, Abers shows more broadly how bureaucrats' personal biographies shape both their motivations and strategies (Abers 2016).

We certainly find activist bureaucrats within Brazil's cultural agencies, such as Adair Rocha, a university professor and former MinC official who balked at my characterization of the PdC as a "government program," arguing that it was in fact the product of social movements whose participants—such as himself—had come to occupy government posts. Many PdC bureaucrats also bring to the job personal biographies as artists—at all three levels of government, and among both appointees and permanent public servants, we find individuals with a deep history and expertise as artists or art enthusiasts, whose ongoing connection is as engaging as their "day job". Before leading

Rio's state cultural secretariat, Marcos André Carvalho was a researcher and non-profit manager who, among other things, helped document and catalog the practice and evolution of jongo in Rio's favelas; this was not his first roda. The Alagoas state coordinator, for example, was a concert violinist and university music professor before being appointed to the government post in 2007. The regional MinC representative for the state of Santa Catarina, a self-described Carnaval aficionado who spent his youth running errands for samba bands for the chance to parade with them, was coordinating an arts-based community center before entering the state through a civil service exam in 2013. Gilberto Gil is the quintessential example, a character whose recognition as popular musician often usurped that of agency leader. Adair, the former MinC official and social movement leader mentioned above, is also a regular participant of the Folia de Reis folkloric tradition—a religious procession and celebration involving music, costumes, and singing—in the favela of Santa Marta in Rio de Janeiro.

Such backgrounds and affiliations facilitate egalitarian or even deferential interactions with members of subaltern groups in the context of PdC artistic exchanges, as government agents who already straddle social worlds engage as fellow culture-makers or art enthusiasts. For many, such as Marcos André, culture-making had already created opportunities for this inversion of social roles in other contexts outside of their professional life. It is also important to note that some, including Gil, came from the communities that the PdC sought to reach; as a result of their role as artists or activists, or other factors, they were able to overcome the social hierarchies that restrict access to government posts, particularly in the context of the PT administration's active efforts to

expand opportunities for those outside of the classes that have long occupied Brazil's "government by and for the few" (Montero 2006, 51).

But many PdC state agents are not long-time artists or activists and fit more squarely within the stereotypical role of bureaucrat, as well as within the demographic categories typically reserved for government officials in Brazil. The Director of Financial Accounting within the MinC, in contrast to of the "culture gang" as he called his colleagues in other sectors, related his appointment was a result of his reputation as a fastidious and unwavering defender of legal protocol, and he spent much of our interview lamenting the level of informality and lack of adherence to fixed rules within the PdC. Complaining about state technocrats' lack of cultural expertise and exposure, one cultural manager in Rio commented, "For the financial folks, their notion of culture is basically limited to someone playing a guitar." Yet while Weberian, rule-following, career bureaucrats are often portrayed as static characters, this case demonstrates how both their perspectives and actions can change as a result of new experiences. Such government agents also came into contact with Pontos' culture-making activities, engaging in the kind of altered social relations that defy existing power hierarchies. The story of a monitoring trip by MinC financial officials to the *Meninos do Sítio* (Farm Boys) Ponto, a musical group in rural Alagoas, as part of an effort to expand fiscal accountability illustrates they dynamic of such encounters. Zeca, the group's oldest member and a weathered native of the rural northeast who self-consciously referenced his missing teeth during our interview as marks of his impoverished upbringing, wrote a song to celebrate their visit. Composed in a format used to comment on local happenings (Zeca also wrote a piece about a cow tied up in its cord that quickly became a community hit), the refrain was, "I saw an

airplane flying through the air; when I looked closer it was the Federal government!" Set to the rambunctious rhythm of the *baião* and played with accordion and triangle, it evoked for me the comical image of bureaucrats waving from their plane as they zoomed in for landing. After the MinC representatives completed their duties checking off sound equipment purchased with PdC funds, the "farm boys" performed. Leão, the Ponto coordinator, related the team's delight at the piece written in their honor (or perhaps at their expense), dramatically altering the tone of the visit to an informal, even playful exchange. Once the music started, state agents went from auditor to audience, as the interaction shifted to a medium in which the aged, toothless peasant was master and they characters in his song.

Culture-making activities within the PdC also serve as a means of designating specific spaces as places of interaction across the state-society divide and the barriers of Brazil's social hierarchies. In various instances within the PdC, the act of making music or art or poetry serves to designate areas as "neutral" territory, where people disregard or deliberately violate informal rules of social exclusion that keep people quite literally in their place. A testimony from Mirane, a functionary within the MinC's regional office in Rio de Janeiro, helps illustrate this point. The MinC in Rio is located within the Palácio Capanema, or Capanema Palace, named after Gustavo Capanema, the Minister of Culture under Getúlio Vargas. As Mirane notes, the "Palace" is aptly named, as for many decades it was a space from which periphery residents were effectively excluded, occupied by government bureaucrats and primarily hosting artists from Rio's "high culture," such as symphony musicians. The advent of the PdC marked the opening of the

space to the popular classes, and she describes an initial gathering of Pontos during the "Culture Day" that the MinC organized:

> There were some 400 people who came. And we got them meal boxes for lunch, because they didn't want to eat in a restaurant, they wanted to eat here… So there on the staircase, everyone was sitting around, eating the meal boxes, spilling yucca flour, invading this space, and playing drums. And people [in the offices] below, were calling me saying, "Hey, they are making noise!" And I said, "But people, they don't play the violin. This [the drum] is their instrument. This is culture. And this is their day. So what are you going to do? They have to play the drums!" I am telling you, it was such a beautiful thing, you can't even imagine. I cried, I tell you. (Interview 64)

They do in fact play the violin as well, as Mirane knows, but the act of drumming—of filling the "Palace" with a noise that is strongly associated with Brazil's poorer, darker citizens—is a means of staking a claim over it, challenging its status as an area for the privileged and instead loudly declaring it as public space for all Brazilians. To offer another example, in selecting the location for the first national TEIA, PdC founders specifically chose the Modern Art complex in São Paulo—a space frequented almost exclusively by elites— in a deliberate effort to use culture-making to designate that space as a site of egalitarian exchange. The even was open to the public and received significant media attention, particularly since President Lula gave an opening speech, conveying the message of the space's re-designation beyond the TEIA's immediate participants.

Producing Meaning: New Representations

Beyond the alteration of roles in the moment of interaction, culture-making as point of contact between state agents and ponteiros is significant in the more lasting shifts in perception such exchanges produce, contributing to the construction of new meanings that counter prevalent portrayals of marginalized. A former PdC state coordinator from Alagoas described the transformational experience of watching a group of eighteen

young people from a Ponto in the remote town of Taquarana, located "at the end of the world" as he put it, perform at the first national TEIA held in São Paulo in 2006. As they took the stage, he related:

> I don't even know if I can describe it…Oh they played, they vibrated, and people ran in to see what was going on…This kind of emotion is constitutive, I am telling you. It is not just a passing emotion, you understand, just something that enchants you in the moment. It is something that marks you, leaving roots in a person, touching you profoundly (Interview 43).

Reflecting more broadly on the varied culture-making processes he witnessed during his tenure as PdC coordinator, he recalled, "For me, personally, it was a magnificent experience. It had the effect of opening my head and imagination….It really reverberated, impacting both my personal and professional life." He got teary eyed toward the end of our interview, as he reflected on Alagoas's extreme socioeconomic inequalities and the pervasive violence that had claimed the life of his cousin, the victim of an armed assault. "I may have been born in the elites," he told me, "but I will never forget about the other side. When you see the efforts of the people, when you see the artistic capacity of poor people, it is impressive, you know. The talent, for music, for dance, song. It is so rich." The current PdC state coordinator for Alagoas described a similar transformation among technocrats who attended the TEIA. When members of the MinC financial accounting team came to Maceió they did not visit Pontos, but rather "only wanted to see the books," she complained. But she saw these same personnel at the TEIA the next year, having witnessed the spectacles of Pontos' performances:

> They were absolutely amazed. They had never seen anything like it. One of them told me he imagined what a Ponto was, but he never imagined anything like this. The change in their expressions, on their faces, not just in the way they talked…I am sure that they are not the same people after that. I have no doubt (Interview 26).

As discussed in further chapters, these emotional responses and altered perceptions are critical for shaping state-society interactions around other activities within the PdC, when state agents are engaging around administrative tasks rather than around art.

PdC founders also deliberately used artistic and performative strategies to generate particular meanings around the program itself. State agents, ponteiros and observers have used the word *encantamento* to describe what those involved feel for the PdC, literally translated as "enchantment" but more loosely meaning a kind of exuberant enthusiasm and intensely emotional, almost spiritual commitment. Various state bureaucrats I interviewed got choked up when talking about the program. The state coordinator for Bahia described how she cried when she read the book about the PdC written by, Célio Turino, MinC Secretary of Cultural Citizenship under Gil, who played a key role in the program's founding. Even the salty director of the Ministry of Culture's Financial Accounting unit, while bitterly critiquing the PdC's administrative implementation in his interview, described it as the "most fucking amazing program that was ever created" (Interview 86). People fall in love with the idea of the PdC.

Gil and Turino use their artistic talents to expand the aura around it. Gil's speeches as Minister often felt like performances, his gift as a lyricist shining through as he described public policies in lofty, aspirational language, inventing words when he found existing vocabulary to be insufficient. He brought his guitar to some public presentations, where his speaking would almost seamlessly evolve into a musical performance. Turino's book, Ponto de Cultura, is a combination of richly descriptive vignettes about experiences at Pontos, poems, and philosophical texts about the role of the state, written in a literary style. He entitled a critical essay on reforms in the program after his tenure, "Once upon a

time," as a kind of mythical allusion to the early years of the PdC. The essay begins by in a metaphor conveyed in short phrases of playful alliteration "It was a crack. A crevice that opened…" [Foi uma fresta. Uma fenda que se abriu...](Turino 2013). The "poetic" of the PdC also gets built through a particular form of romantic discourse about the program that is replete with metaphors. The name "Ponto" for cultural groups is itself a metaphor, derived from Turino's oft-repeated version of an Arquimedes quote, "Give me a fulcrum"—in Portuguese a *ponto de apoio*—"and a lever and I will move the world." As the analyst Deborah Rebello Lima observed, "The program establishes its operations through two distinct mediums: the political and the poetic" (Rebello Lima 2013, 71). Thus beyond Pontos' culture-making activities, the "poetic" practices of PdC visionaries generate meanings that shape state interactions within.

To suggest that meanings are created around the PdC does not signify that they are fully coherent, static or uncontested; people inevitably fell in love with different conceptualizations of the PdC, interpreting its discourse through the lens of their own vision of societal transformation. After the program was decentralized in 2007, managers at the state level obtained primary responsibility for its implementation, meaning that these varied interpretations impacted the kinds of communities and individuals the program reached. Different visions and political interests, combined with variances in Brazil's demographic and cultural landscape, led to divergences in which groups and individuals became recognized as culture-makers within the PdC in each state. Having focused on state actors in this section, we now turn to examine those on the societal side. Who exactly are the culture-makers that state agents encounter in the PdC context?

The Culture-Makers: What, and Whom, the PdC Reaches

Accurately describing the "universe" of Pontos and their culture-making activities is not possible, both because of inconsistent record keeping at the national and state levels and because of the kind of information collected about Pontos. There is no comprehensive national database of Pontos' profiles and activities, as subsequent MinC administrations relied on different systems, and—as described in detail in the chapter to follow—required documentation from Pontos has focused on the details of their expenditures rather than their cultural production. This lack of information about Pontos is somewhat ironic, given the PdC's preoccupation with "unhiding" the cultural richness of periphery areas. But this objective was often pursued through more organic and artistic rather than systematic efforts, for example with the MinC and different state cultural secretariats in various instances collaborating with groups of ponteiros to produce colorful catalogues showcasing Pontos' work, or developing online mapping systems where Pontos could upload their own profile information and pictures. We can, however, offer a general description of the culture-makers that the PdC engages in the three states that are the focus of this study, drawing on records from each of the state and municipal cultural secretariats, lists that Pontos themselves have organized, outside reports and evaluations of the program, and on interviews with ponteiros and participant observation conducted at various Pontos in each state. Without presuming these state cases represent what, and whom, the PdC reached as a whole, they offer some sense of the diversity of communities, initiatives, and individuals the program engaged in different states.

Before embarking on this state level review, it is important to say something about Brazilian federalism and regionalism. Brazil is a federal republic constituted of 26 states and a federal district. State governments exercise significant independent control

over policymaking and spending, with governors serving as key power brokers in Brazil's clientelistic political system (Montero 2006, 43). After the decentralization of the PdC in 2007, the implementation and selection of Pontos involved collaboration between the MinC and state governments, with both entities contributing a portion of the funding but state cultural secretariats primarily managing the program's implementation, meaning that whom the program reached was in part shaped by interests and vision at the state level. As noted in the chapter to follow, elements of the PdC selection process—referred to as an *edital*, or plural *editais*—were designed to prevent the influence of partisan and personalistic political interests. This included, for example, the joint participation of MinC and state government representatives in the selection committee and a transparent and public system for grading applicants. In none of the states reviewed here was the Worker's Party in power during this period, meaning that selection committees included people with different party allegiances. Interviews and participant observation also indicate diversity among ponteiros' partisan affiliations (if any at all). State level politics shaped the communities reached and groups chosen, but not in a way that simply corresponds with instrumentalist partisan or personal political interests. Brazil is also divided into five different regions, which vary in terms of demography and cultural traditions, among other factors. The states chosen here capture some of this variation, including Alagoas from the Northeast, Rio de Janeiro from the Southeast, and Santa Catarina from the South. As emphasized from the outset of this dissertation, the implementation of the program is ultimately shaped by the individual agency of those involved, thus differences in Pontos across states are also a factor of who happened to be running the program at any given time.

Figure 2: Social and Economic Characteristics of Subnational Cases

(Comparisons are in relation to all other states in Brazil)

	Alagoas	**Rio de Janeiro**	**Santa Catarina**
Per Capita Income 2013 (in reais)	11,276 (3rd lowest)	38,262 (3rd highest)	32,389 (4th highest)
Population 2016	3,358,963	16,690,709	6,910,553
Percentage White	27.8	55.1	85.2 (highest)
Percentage Black	4.3	11.8 (2nd highest)	2.1
Percentage Mixed Race (parda)	67.7	30.1	12.1 (lowest)
Percentage Indigenous/Asian	0.2	1	0.6
Homicide rate 2013	56.6 (highest)	21.7	6.6 (lowest)
Primary education ranking 2013	4th lowest	12th highest	3rd highest
Number of Pontos	73	285	74

Sources:

Elizardo, Marcelo, and Laura Naime. 2015. "Paraná Passou Rio Grande Do Sul E Se Tornou 4o Maior PIB Entre Estados." O Globo, November 19. http://g1.globo.com/economia/noticia/2015/11/parana-passou-rio-grande-do-sul-e-se-tornou-4-maior-pib-entre-estados.html. Accessed 2/17/ 17

"Sintese Dos Indicadores Sociais: Una Análise Das Condições de Vida Da População Brasileira." 2009. Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE). Table 8.1 - População total e respectiva distribuição percentual, por cor ou raça, segundo as Grandes Regiões, Unidades da Federação e Regiões Metropolitanas.

Waiselfsz, Julio Jacobo. 2015. "Mapa Da Violencia: Homicídios Por Armas de Fogo No Brasil." FLACSO Brasil.

Instituto de Estudos e Pesquisas Educacinoais Anisio Teixeira, list of Indice de Desenvolvimento da Educação Básica by state, http://ideb.inep.gov.br/resultado/. Accessed 2/17/17

Alagoas

As of 2015, there were a total of 73 Pontos registered in Alagoas according to

national-level data, selected through editais held by the MinC, the state cultural

secretariat, and the municipality of the interior city of Arapiraca. The state cultural

secretariat hosted its own first edital in 2006, selecting twenty new Pontos, and in July 2015 they launched a second edital to selection another twenty. Alagoas has one of the smallest Pontos networks in the country, a deliberate decision of the state cultural secretariat due to the administrative challenges the original batch of MinC Pontos faced, as discussed in Chapter 5.

In many ways, Alagoas presents precisely the kinds of marginalized communities the PdC was designed to reach. Alagoas is among the poorest states in the nation with among the lowest indicators of development and a dramatic lack of public services in marginalized areas. In 2012, the Ministry of Education ranked Alagoas as having the lowest levels of primary educational attainment of all of Brazil's 26 states and federal district.[12] It is also the most violent state in the nation, as measured by indices of homicide, with much of the carnage concentrated in low-income periphery communities of the capital city of Maceió. The large majority of inhabitants identify as non-white, and one ponteiro referred to the levels of racial discrimination in Maceió as a "system of social apartheid" (Interview 29). Brazil's culture of "social authoritarianism" (Dagnino 1998) is alive and well in Alagoas. The state also exhibits aspects of political authoritarianism, as the northeast is known for its "coronelist" tradition in which power at both the state and local level is concentrated among a small number of families who have dominated politics for ages and exercise authority in repressive and corrupt ways, including through political violence (Vasconcelos 2005). As one ponteiro from a small town in rural Alagoas put it, "Here, with the local government, it's like they've got you in a bridle" (Interview 28).

---

[12] Based on an indicator called the Basic Education Development Index, which incorporates various measures of educational quality and student achievement

Conservative parties have long reigned in Alagoas, and the governor during the decade covered by this research was a member of the Partido da Social Democracia Brasileira, or PSDB—the primary opposition party to the Workers' Party. However the personalistic nature of politics in Alagoas means that governance depends far more on the interests and personality of the individual in power than party affiliation. The cousin of the current mayor of Maceió was appointed as the first PdC coordinator at the state level—an individual who happened to harbor progressive political views. He relates hearing Minister Gil describe his vision for the PdC and becoming enamored with the program (Interview 43). The secretary of the state cultural secretariat, or Secretaria de Estado da Cultura (SECULT), also embraced the PdC as a means of implementing a cultural policy that would extend throughout the entire state and engage civil society groups as cultural producers, as distinguished from his predecessors' primary focus on organizing cultural events within Maceió (Interview 45). From the program's outset, the Alagoas cultural secretariat collaborated closely with the MinC to implement the PdC vision. It is worth noting that the more progressive politics of these cultural agencies diverged from, and in some cases directly clashed with, agendas of other governing bodies within the state. For example, as the SECULT was supporting a Ponto coordinated by the Residents' Association in *Vila dos Pescadores*, a fishing village turned shantytown in Maceió—including helping them organize an artistic exhibition within the city's museum to celebrate the community's artisanal fishing practices as part of the area's cultural heritage—the municipal government was trying to remove the community and redevelop the area in the face of fierce resistance from the Residents' Association.

In Alagoas, the PdC genuinely reaches "the margins." Many Pontos operate in deeply impoverished or violent communities, both within the capital city of Maceió and in the state's rural interior. One Ponto is located in the garbage dump at the capital's outskirts. Another operates what used to be a brothel in the red light district of the state's second largest city. Two Pontos operate within indigenous villages at the state border, which can only be reached by canoe. In the most recent state edital, extra points were assigned to cultural groups within neighborhoods identified by Brazil's "Youth Alive" program as the most violent in Brazil, resulting in many new Pontos within shantytown communities of Maceió.

Pontos in Alagoas also represent an ideal version of the diverse culture-making practices the PdC aims to reveal and celebrate. Many such activities are endemic to marginalized communities. Various Pontos engage in practices related to Afro-Brazilian traditions. Casa da Iemanjá, located in a low-income community of Maceió, was the first spiritual house of the Afro-Brazilian religion candomblé to be recognized as a Ponto. On Saturdays, the Ponto opens to the public for the rehearsal of an Afoxé group—a music and dance form associated with the religion—as dancers, barefoot and dressed in white, move in synchrony across the floor of the house, swinging their heads and swaying their arms to syncopated beat of the accompanying percussion ensemble. Also in Maceió, the Ponto Orquestra dos Tambores has led what its leader, Wilson, describes as the revitalization of maracatu in Alagoas—a musical genre traditionally associated with slave communities of the state of Pernambuco further north. Inspired by research suggesting that Alagoas had its own version of maracatu until it was effectively repressed and

eliminated in the early 1900s, Wilson initiated the Orquestra in the favela where he grew up.

Other Pontos celebrate rural traditions of Northeast, some associated specifically with the state of Alagoas. For example, the Ponto Meninos do Sítio, located in a small town three hours inland from Maceió, consists of a community radio station featuring traditional genres, such as forro and guerreiro. Saturday broadcasts include live musical performances by a community band, comprised of voice, accordion, tambourine, and large *zabumba* drum. Another Ponto cultivates the local tradition of reisado, a form of musical improvisation in which the singer relates local news and gossip. Procópio, one of the group's oldest members, shared his composition, "The Corn Planter," which offers advice on the kind of farm breakfast needed to increase fertility, followed by an impromptu verse about the American graduate student interviewing him.

In contrast, other Pontos engage in culture-making activities disassociated with the marginalized communities in which they are located. The Ponto Indios Online is a digital media project within an indigenous village. Others have an overtly political bent, engaging in culture-making activities that convey messages directly challenge cultural politics of exclusion and inequality in Brazil. Rogério, the multi-talented artist described in opening of this chapter, is part of a movement of periphery artists in Maceió who use their craft to cultivate a periphery identity and organize against oppression and inequality. His Ponto, Quintal Cultural, features theatrical and musical performances that address topics such as racial prejudice or gender inequality.

Pontos coordinators in Alagoas are by and large people who live in the marginalized communities where the group operates, or who grew up there and still retain

strong ties. Some, such as Rogério, are artists themselves, while others are community leaders who founded cultural groups to cultivate culture-making for the social benefit of the community. Enaura, founder and coordinator of the Ponto Enseada das Canoas which coordinates a variety of cultural activities for local residents, was born in Vila dos Pescadores forty years ago and for the last eight years has served as president of the community Residents' Association. José Leão, who founded the community radio program Meninos do Sítio in a small rural town in the state's interior, now works in the capital during the week managing an electronics distribution store but spends his weekends in his hometown. In Alagoas, the institutions of Pontos are generally small and organizationally simple, mostly either self-funded or relying on sporadic contributions from local governments to sustain their activities.

As compared to other states examined here, state agents and ponteiros in Alagoas had greater opportunities to engage around Pontos' culture-making activities, due in part to an institutional twist. In the first MinC edital, state and municipal cultural secretariats could also apply to be Pontos—a rule that was quickly changed. The Alagoas state cultural secretariat was selected as a Pontão—a Ponto that receives additional funding to cultivate ties and build capacity among other Pontos— in this original round. They used MinC resources to organize cultural extravaganzas and exchanges among ponteiros, including a series of what they called "cultural caravans," or traveling exhibits and performances where Pontos would come together and share their work. Given the relatively small number of Pontos throughout the state, state cultural secretariat staff members were also able to make regular site visits to individual Pontos to witness their culture-making.

Rio de Janeiro

Rio de Janeiro has among the most Pontos of any state in Brazil, second only to the state of Bahia. In original MinC editais, 90 Pontos were selected within the state of Rio, and the state cultural secretariat has subsequently held two editais of its own, one in 2008 in which they selected 200 Pontos, and another in 2014, when they selected an additional 34. The municipal government of Rio also held its own edital in July 2015, selecting 50 Pontos. In total, approximately 300 groups throughout the state have been named Pontos de Cultura.

In terms of per capita GDP, Rio de Janeiro is one of the richest states in Brazil, though high levels of inequality produce a pervasive and visible poverty, with the favelas of the so-called "marvelous city" capital serving as an archetypical case of marginalization. The city of Rio's dramatic geography, with steep mountains covered in shantytowns abutting a strip of beachfront property, spatially defines and clearly illustrates the segregation of rich and poor. Yet much of Rio's poverty and violence is concentrated in the northern and western segments of the sprawling metropolis, far from the celebrated shoreline, in communities referred to as "subúrbios." While drug trafficking gangs have long dominated the "morros," or hillside favelas, in the subúrbios militias composed of off duty police and racketeers impose a repressive form of governance upon residents. The state of Rio also has among the highest percentage of individuals who self-identify as black.

State government during the period examined was dominated by Brazil's largest so-called rent a party, which has little ideological coherence and many legislative seats that are "mostly for sale" (Montero 2006, 54), and was generally aligned with the Workers'

Party for most of decade reviewed here. Because of Rio's role as a cultural hub in Brazil, the cultural secretariats at both state and municipal levels are significant institutions in their own right. For example, the SEC has more than twenty high-level cultural managers, each coordinating different programs with their own teams of staff members. The PdC thus played a smaller role in these institutions' portfolios than the other states examined here. As high profile organizations, both the state and cultural secretariat present valuable opportunities to governors and mayors for rewarding political allies with leadership roles, leading to higher turnover among PdC coordinators who are also in turn appointed. Yet based on interviews with ponteiros and interviews with four of the most recent state level coordinators, both high- and mid-level managers have generally embraced the PdC's vision. For some, this enthusiasm stems in part from their personal histories as artists or cultural enthusiasts. Rio is a city that has cultivated an "artist class" that to some extent spans social barriers, and the SEC includes many artist bureaucrats, such as Marcos André Carvalho, the division secretary and jongo dancer, or Fernanda Buarque, a PdC coordinator and relative of the famed national musician and activist Chico Buarque. Many within the SEC PdC team also related their *encantamento*, or enchantment, with the PdC vision, including one coordinator who first worked within the MinC as part of Secretary Célio Turino's initial team during the PdC's inception.

In initial editais, many Pontos were concentrated within the capital city of Rio de Janeiro, and particularly within the generally more affluent Southern and central zone. Among these, many are located within the densely populated favelas. For example, several Pontos exist within each of the large favelas of Rocinha, Maré, and Complexo do Alemão. Some Pontos, however, are located in more middle class areas, such as the Lapa

neighborhood or the downtown area. As compared to beachfront areas, these particular

sections of the asfalto hold a significant place in Rio's cultural history, as neighborhoods

where culture-making cultivated the intermingling of middle class and poorer favela

residents,[13] and they remain sites of cultural initiatives aimed at progressive social

change. In the second state edital and the municipal edital, geographic quotas were used

to better distribute Pontos both throughout the state, up and down the coast and further

into the interior, and throughout the capital city, particularly into the northern and

western suburbios. Pontos are now spread throughout the mountainous rural interior of

Rio de Janeiro, including in small towns where agriculture remains a mainstay of life.

Two thirds of the municipal level Pontos are located in the city's suburbio zones.

  The institutional profiles of the state's Pontos are diverse. Particularly within the

favelas of Rio, some of the cultural groups selected as Pontos are large, well-funded

organizations. The group AfroReggae, founded as a community music program in the late

1990s in the favela of Vigario Geral, headquarters of one of Rio's main drug gangs, is

now a multi-million dollar budget organization with bands that tour around the world.

Named a Ponto in 2005, the funding was even then a small addition to their many sources

of support. Other groups started small and informal and expanded over the course of the

ten years of the PdC. In 2005, when named a Ponto, the Museum of Maré was a

community initiative maintained by local residents to document their history through

their own words and personal collections of artifacts. The initiative has expanded

considerably in the last ten years, now a nationally recognized model for museums in

periphery communities. Many Pontos, however, are still relatively, small, low profile

---

[13] Most notably, samba evolved in encounters within the working class neighborhoods of Rio's center (Shaw 1999).

community groups. Pontos also play varied roles within the communities in which they are located. In a favela community like Complexo do Alemão, with some 70,000 residents,[14] Pontos are among many cultural initiatives, as a recent study documented more than 100 different cultural groups operating in the community (Barbosa and Dias 2013). In other areas, such as small interior towns, Pontos constitute the core of the community's cultural life.

The wide range of culture-making activities practiced by Rio's nearly 300 Pontos is hard to categorize.[15] As with Alagoas, many are oriented around practices associated with excluded groups, such as Afro-Brazilian cultural traditions or genres like hip hop and funk music that are popular in the urban periphery, while others engage in artistic activities typically associated with elites, such as classical music. Within rural areas, some have resurrected or sustained folkloric cultural practices, such as a Ponto that reinitiated a community band founded a hundred years ago in the interior town of Lumiar. Many Pontos are explicitly engaged in promoting social change, such as the Center for the Theater of the Oppressed in Rio, which promulgates theatrical techniques inspired by teachings of the progressive educator Paulo Freire to raise political consciousness and engage audience members in dialogue about inequality and oppression.

Members and residents of marginalized communities coordinate many of Rio's Pontos, as in Alagoas. But some Pontos are coordinated by middle class individuals who became involved in these communities through the arts. This includes, on the one hand,

---

[14] "Bairro: Complexo do Alemão" (in Portuguese). Prefeitura da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro. Retrieved 10 March 2017.

[15] The SEC commissioned a qualitative research project to document Pontos' profiles, but as of this writing the projects' findings were still forthcoming.

artists who initiated projects in low-income communities, such as Marcio, an expert in medieval music and university professor who expanded his mother's work teaching music lessons in the favela of Grota do Surucucu, in Niteroi, into the Grota String Orchestra, or Robespierre, the professional bassist who moved from southern Brazil to the low-cost apartments at the base of the Santa Marta favela in Rio and initiated a music program for young people at the top. In other cases, middle class individuals became involved due to the draw of marginalized communities' cultural offerings, such as Sayonara, who moved to Rio from southern Brazil in middle age to pursue her lifelong passion for samba as a volunteer at the Samba Museum in the Maré favela, or Luisa, a retired teacher who moved to a small town in the interior of Rio to study the work of traditional healers. While "outsiders" by background and demographic traits, many such individuals are integrally involved in these communities. Though Robespierre now lives in another neighborhood, he still spends much of his time drinking beer and exchanging gossip with Santa Marta residents.

The PdC in Rio de Janeiro has created diverse opportunities for state-society interactions around culture-making, though pursuing a different model than Alagoas. Beyond state-sponsored events, Pontos in Rio have also taken on a significant independent role in creating opportunities for artistic exchanges. For example, when the SEC declared that there were insufficient funds to hold a statewide TEIA in 2013, ponteiros organized the multi-day event themselves at a Ponto in rural Rio and invited state agents to attend. Pontos in Rio have also organized a regular schedule of meetings held at a different Ponto each month, including performances or exhibitions of the hosts' work, to which MinC, state and municipal level PdC coordinators are invited. Because of

the larger administrative workload involved with managing hundreds of Pontos spread over a wide geographic area, Rio's coordinators conduct fewer site visits than in Alagoas. As discussed in chapters to follow, the SEC has in part relied on contracted employees to conduct such visits, whose engagement with Pontos' culture-making shapes their roles as intermediaries between ponteiros and the state.

Santa Catarina

In the initial MinC selection process, thirteen Pontos were chosen in the state of Santa Catarina. The state of Santa Catarina issued one statewide edital in 2008, in which they chose 60 Pontos. In addition, the municipality of Itajaí, an industrial area on the coast, entered into a contract with the MinC to launch its own network of Pontos, however the edital was never implemented, as discussed further below.

Santa Catarina is the whitest and among the wealthiest states in all of Brazil. Poverty still exists in Santa Catarina, with hillside favelas dotting the landscape of its capital city of Florianopolis, though these communities hold a far smaller portion of the city's inhabitants than in Rio and Alagoas. In the early 1900s, the state had a large influx of German and Italian immigrants, and this "ethnic" heritage, as the state government tends to describe it, remains a defining feature of the state. German is still spoken in some towns and among some families.

Santa Catarina is also known for its political conservatism, and the state government in power during the decade of study here was from the PSDB. As compared to Alagoas, where the PSDB also dominates but tends to openly welcome federal government resources, the state has prided itself on maintaining a position of independence from the central government—the mayor of the town of Blumenau

emphasized repeatedly how Santa Catarina residents contribute much more than they receive from the federal government. Some interviewees explicitly expressed resentment of cultural interventions on the part of the central state. More than one referenced the Vargas regime's attempts in the 1930s and 40s to use the power of an expanding central government to cultivate a unified sense of Brazilian identity, targeting immigrant communities in the south by prohibiting foreign language schools, clubs and newspapers (Alberto 2011, 129). The municipality of Blumenau rejected the MinC's invitation to partner in developing a PdC program there.

Brazil's clientelist and personalistic political system is alive and well in Santa Catarina, and for much of the period covered here, the PdC was used as a form of "political pork," as the coordinator position was passed off to different appointees. Over the course of six years, the program was run by six different state coordinators, as the state's ruling elite tended to offer this post as a kind of consolidation prize for failed or displaced political actors—for example, to the state official who would have managed the World Cup games in Florianopolis were Santa Catarina's bid accepted. More than one of these coordinators was accused of embezzling funds from the program, provoking Santa Catarina's ponteiros to hold protests outside of state government offices and solicit the intervention of the MinC to demand funds being withheld from Pontos be released. At the time of this research, MinC officials were looking into the canceled edital of Itajaí, where, according to one MinC official, the federal government's portion of funding for the program had already been received by the municipality. In the shuffling of different PdC coordinators, the program also changed institutional homes, starting out in the

Secretariat of Tourism, Culture and Sports (SOL) before moving to the separate Santa Catarina Culture Foundation (FCC).

Within this distinct demographic, cultural and political context, the PdC took a different form in Santa Catarina than in Alagoas or Rio de Janeiro. Many of Santa Catarina's Pontos resemble the kinds of civil society organizations that political scientist Robert Putnam has celebrated in his varied works. In his nostalgic reflections on post-war America, Putnam describes a prevalence of voluntary associations, involving mostly working or middle class individuals who come together around a common interest (Putnam 2000). In an approximation of this ideal, one Santa Catarina Ponto is a community photography club founded by a German immigrant who donates the space above the photography store he owns to serve as the meeting place for semi-professional dues-paying club members. There is also an emphasis on folklore within the Pontos of Santa Catarina, particularly as related to the state's heritage of migration. The late 1700s saw an influx of migrants from the Portuguese Azores to Santa Catarina, and the Ponto Azur Azul, is oriented around this early Azorean culture. Female dancers in long dark dresses, holding parasols, link arms with males donning dark vests and hats and promenade across the stage while others play the traditional instruments of the era. As the group's guitarist insisted, preservation, rather than innovation, motivates this cultural group. Many of these cultural practices are resurrected or even "invented traditions" (Hobsbawm and Ranger 2012); members initiated the group after learning in school about the area's Azorean heritage, and they then traveled to the Azores, with funding from the municipal government, to acquire the instruments and costumes and to train in the dancing and musicianship that they now practice. Various Pontos also promote rural

92

folkloric traditions of the state, celebrating a bucolic countryside lifestyle, for example with craft trades related to sheep farming, including artisanal dying and weaving of wool. The state's Pontos also include a Centro de Tradições Gauchas (CTG), organizations throughout southern Brazil that cultivate forms of dance, games, and competitions related to a ranching lifestyle.

Various Pontos involve the participation of racially or socioeconomically marginalized populations, but primarily as service recipients than as protagonists; in Santa Catarina, the PdC evolved more as a program to provide culture *to* the marginalized than to recognize and promote the culture-making capacities *of* the marginalized. For example, the Ponto Fraternidade (Fraternity), a non-profit organization located at the base of a periphery community and run by a retired banker of German heritage, used Pontos funding to expand its capoeira offerings for children participating in its after school program. One of the most celebrated Pontos in the state, Multiplying Talents, is based on a model of helping poor children acquire education through the arts. Unlike the middle class coordinators of Rio's Pontos, Santa Catarina's ponteiros tend to be educators or managers or rather than artists or cultural enthusiasts, viewing their role as helping the disadvantaged rather than immersing themselves in shared culture-making practices. One ponteiro observed that many Santa Catarina Pontos in fact engage in the culture-making of the marginalized—in particular, Afro-Brazilian cultural forms, such as capoeira—but as recreation activities stripped of political meaning and disassociated with their communities of origin. She observed how whiter, wealthier Santa Catarina "appropriate" such forms, noting "They drink from this fountain, but they think its ugly to say that they did" (Interview 98).

There are some exceptions to these broad generalizations. The ponteiro quoted above leads a group that aims to cultivate pride and appreciation around Afro-Brazilian cultural traditions, including those associated with candomblé. Moreover, some Pontos are involved in challenging rather than reinforcing reified and romanticized depictions of the state's cultural traditions. One Ponto in the city of Lages is using theater to highlight the Afro-Brazilian heritage of what is traditionally portrayed as a "gaucho"—roughly translated as cowboy—town. Ponteiros from such groups commented on how the Ponto label had helped elevate their profile within the broader cultural landscape. For example, the coordinator of the group oriented around Afro-Brazilian traditions noted how becoming a Ponto had allowed them to begin giving presentations in public schools, whereas they had previously been denied due to negative associations around candomblé.

Santa Catarina is also notable for the kinds of cultural groups the PdC did not reach. Interestingly, despite the prevalence of German cultural traditions and associated groups throughout the state of Santa Catarina, none of the more than 70 Pontos within the state is focused on German heritage. In explaining why they chose not to pursue PdC funding, the leader of one German cultural group explained that they received sufficient funding through the contributions of members and the municipal government, and felt that it was not worth the "complication" of getting involved with the federal government; this sentiment derived in part from an overall aversion toward central government intervention, but also in part from real stories he had heard about the bureaucratic mess that Pontos encountered, as discussed in Chapter 5. The leader was also, however, repelled by the PdC's "social inclusion" mission. As he noted, "We know that the PdC is for the low-income classes. But to educate them to be able to participate in our group

would be complicated. For example, we would have to contract security for in here," he commented, gesturing to the large club space (Interview 111). This was a group, he noted, committed to cultivating a particular kind of culture—in the broad sense of the word, beyond artistic activities—and they were not interested in changing it. Interestingly, they had recently become engaged in a much broader range of culture-making activities. On a previous trip to Germany, they performed their usual traditional German dance and song set, but their hosts requested they return the next year with something more Brazilian. In 2014 they had presented a routine that involves rural Northeastern and Afro Brazilian music and dance forms. As the coordinator reported, "Beating the drums, we were a total hit!" As they sought more instruction in these culture-making practices, it was hard to tell if such an "appropriation"—as noted above—might also be an opening.

Finally, state-society interactions around culture-making were generally less frequent in the Santa Catarina case. This was in part because the state government invested fewer resources in such cultural exchange—ponteiros engaged in intense advocacy to pressure the government to hold its first statewide TEIA in 2015—and because Pontos within the state were less organized than in Rio and so did not arrange such exchanges themselves. By early 2015, however, the situation was changing, in part as a result of the appointment of a new PdC coordinator who showed much more interest in the program. One year into her post, she had already made a number of site visits to Pontos, including in rural areas that required travel, and she collaborated with ponteiros in ensuring the TEIA actually came to fruition. As this shifting case shows, while broader

political trends and contextual conditions shaped the PdC's implementation in different states, individual agency played a key role in shaping its evolution.

Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the state and societal actors who come into contact through the PdC—bureaucrats and culture-makers, in different varieties—and on their interactions in the context of Pontos' culture-making activities. Building on Chapter 2's discussions of the role of culture-making in cultivating modes of social engagement and forms of symbolic representation that challenge the cultural dimensions of Brazil's rigid social hierarchy, this chapter has focused on how these new patterns of relating to, and perceiving of, marginalized groups play out in various moments of artistic exchange within the PdC. The chapter also introduced the subnational cases to get better purchase on what kinds of culture-makers, engaged in what activities and where, the PdC engages in different political, social and cultural contexts. Cases presented variation in the kinds of actors on both the state and society sides of the equation, as well as in the way that culture-making functioned as a point of contact.

A key argument in this dissertation is that the cultural context and mission of the PdC shapes state-society interactions more broadly within the program; the experiences of engaging around culture-making, and the kinds of emotional and ideational transformations these interactions can evoke as bureaucrats witness ponteiros in their culture-making capacities, translates into altered modes of engagement in other moments of contact as well. In particular, the conceptualization of poor people as "culture-makers" shapes engagements around state administrative procedures, opening the possibility that bureaucracy—as much as art—can create sites of positive, egalitarian exchange. The next

chapter examines the first moment of state-society interaction around paperwork in the

context of the PdC's implementation: the process of identifying, registering and selecting

cultural groups as Pontos.

4. Building Relations Around Bureaucracy Part 1: "Unhiding" the Culture-Making Margins

"I want the Ministry [of Culture] to have a presence in all of the nooks and crannies of our country. And I want the Ministry to be the home of all Brazilians, the true home of Brazilian culture."
--Gilberto Gil, inauguration speech as Minister of Culture, 2003

"The state should light but at the same time expansive."

-- Célio Turino, Secretary of Culture and Citizenship 2004-2010 (Turino 2009, 137)

Clair's bright blue eyes crinkled with amusement as she recounted the story of how she learned that her folkloric musical group, Azor Azul, had been chosen as a Ponto de Cultura (Interview 95):

> One day, I came home from work, and my mother is 82-years old, and she says, like this, 'Some folks called for you from way out there in that city, from out there in Brasília, out there,' in all her simplicity, in her understanding of it. And I said, 'What Brasília? I don't have anything with Brasília!'

Clair is a retired primary school teacher from the small rural town of Sombrio, about 150 miles south of the capital of the southern state of Santa Catarina. Fifteen years ago she created the group Azor Azul to cultivate an appreciation of the town's Azorean cultural heritage, helping local youth learn the popular dances and musical pieces of the immigrants who arrived there from the Portuguese isles in the 19th century. She continued the story:

I said, 'Is this a joke?' And my mother said, 'I don't know, but the person who called said that she was from the Ministry of Culture, and that there is a lot of money coming for your Ponto de Cultura. It's a heap of money and for you to get in touch.' And I said, 'Could it be?'

Clair had seen a Ministry of Culture ad about the PdC on the TV some months beforehand. She had immediately sat down at her computer and filled out the application describing her group's activities, which was "simple enough" in her assessment, then promptly forgot about it. The mayor of her town had not even heard of the program at the time, she reported. She went on:

So I called, and a woman in Brasília there picked up and said, 'Ah, Ms. Clairinha, it's that your group, Azor Azul, has been selected as a Ponto de Cultura.' …And I said, 'My god, we are going to have a Ponto de Cultura here in Sombrio!' And I began to tell [the woman from the Ministry of Culture] where Sombrio is, and all about it.

Azor Azul is unique among Pontos as the only group focused on Azorean culture, as Clair likes to repeat, yet her account encapsulates the ideal of how PdC founders envisioned using cultural policy to construct new modes of state engagement in marginalized areas. Reaching communities where Brasília might seem like a distant land—Brazil's "nooks and crannies," as Minister Gil described it, ranging from rural towns like Sombrio where the power and presence of the central state is lacking to urban shantytowns where the state is actively repelled by armed groups –they aimed to engage with local groups based on recognition of the merit of their homegrown cultural endeavors. Clair's account of learning about and applying to the program also portrays an ideal of how this process might proceed, but her experience is in fact highly exceptional. Brazil's "nooks and crannies" tend to be spaces where people do not readily imagine themselves as viable candidates for state recognition—as described in Chapter 2, the marginalized are conditioned to think of the state as something that ignores or oppresses

them— and where people do not find the documentation procedures for making themselves and their activities known to the state to be "simple enough." How, then, did the PdC overcome these cultural and logistical barriers to identify and register groups as Pontos?

In answering this question, this chapter considers how states build new relations with marginalized populations in practice—and specifically through observable interactions between state and societal actors around bureaucracy. The chapter begins by examining scholarship on *why* states pursue new relations with marginalized populations, emphasizing the gap in our understanding of *how* such relations are actually forged. It draws on emergent literature in anthropology and political science to promote a practice-based approach for examining such processes as occurring through concrete negotiations among actors over state administrative procedures. It introduces the concept of improvisation, borrowed from musical theory, as a conceptual tool for analyzing such state-society interactions and as the mechanism by which new modes of engagement were formed in the PdC case. Turning to the case, section two describes the PdC's formal application rules and procedures as an effort to extend the reach of the state into marginalized areas and to establish relations based on the merit of cultural groups within, in contrast to predominant clientelistic modes of engagement. The third section of the chapter demonstrates how actually registering and selecting Pontos required both overcoming the dominant cultural politics previously described and the administrative problem of the "illegibility" of the margins. It applies the idea of collaborative improvisation to demonstrate how this ideal of reaching and registering cultural groups as Pontos actually occurred in the PdC's implementation.

Examining the "How" of New State-Society Relations

Many social scientists have examined *why* states develop new patterns of engagement with subaltern population. This scholarship can be roughly divided into cases where change is driven by societal demand or by state interest. Within the voluminous literature on social movements, many authors have analyzed the strategies and conditions that allow poor and excluded populations to effectively influence the state. In the Latin American context, authors have cited differences in group resources (material and otherwise) and political and economic contexts (both threats and opportunities) to explain why indigenous populations in the Andes (Yashar 2005), unemployed urbanites in Argentina (Rossi 2015), or landless peasants in Brazil (Ondetti 2010) have in recent decades successfully mobilized to expand access to public resources and decision-making spaces and to achieve state recognition of their rights. On the other hand, scholars have documented state-initiated efforts to extend its "reach" into periphery communities to widen political or territorial control, in some cases to specifically preempt societal mobilization through co-optation. For example, some observers interpret the relatively recent expansion of social programs and participatory opportunities targeting the underserved and underrepresented in Latin America as an effort by rising left-leaning parties to secure the uncritical political loyalties of the underclasses (Seligson 2007; Torre 2010). Yet both societal- or state-led causal arguments leave us wondering *how* new models of engagement are actually constructed between governments and populations the state has long neglected or repressed. In making the transition from established patterns of state-society relations to new modes of exchange, what is actually happening "on the ground"?

The previous two chapters employed the notion of culture as meaning-making practice to demonstrate how cultural politics can change through the particular practices of culture-making, and specifically through encounters between marginalized individuals and state agents around such activities. This chapter continues this practice-based approach to analyzing change processes by looking to the administrative aspects of state-society relations, arguing that understanding *how* new modes of engagement are formed requires examining concrete, even mundane, interactions of state and societal actors. Such an approach builds on scholarship from both political science and anthropology that has examined the state from the perspective not of identifying some essential core, but rather of documenting specific actions and effects of state actors and institutions in contact with societal actors (Mitchell 1991a; Sharma and Gupta 2009). In Rebecca Abers and Margaret Keck's "practice-based approach" to analyzing institutional change in the context of Brazilian water policy, they trace the diverse ways that state representatives engage with civil society leaders and experts to imbue legally established entities with the "practical authority" to actually exercise power in the management of Brazil's river basins (Abers and Keck 2013). In their account, new organizational capacities are built through the "slow, laborious effort to enact new policy ideas against obdurate resistance" (Abers and Keck 2013, 2), as the creative agency of those involved in these efforts gets instantiated and exercised in their actual activities in relation to each other. Constructing new modes of relating to excluded populations also involves building new capacities on both sides of the state-society equation, and can similarly be examined through the details of how state agents interacted with marginalized artists in the efforts to implement the PdC.

Connecting this approach to our analysis of cultural change, it is important to emphasize that state-society negotiations over the details of policy implementation, as much as encounters around artistic and ritualistic activities, can be meaning-making practices; meaning is conveyed and constructed when ponteiros and cultural managers sit down to fill out state forms together as much as when they samba together. Moreover, the broader context of cultural politics in which the PdC is implemented shapes the kinds of administrative exchanges that occur within, as the marginalized are sought out by the state for their culture-making capacities.

The Mechanism: Political Improvisation

We are building the airplane while we are flying it

--PdC participant describing the program's construction

In the PdC case, actors constructed new state-society relations through a mode of political action I refer to as "collaborative improvisation." In elaborating the concept of improvisation, the comparison to music is helpful:

> A defining quality of creative improvisation is precisely the generation of the unpredictable, the unusual, the unforeseen, within the pre-existing structures of the song form, navigating the edge between innovation and tradition (Berliner, 1994). In jazz improvisation, a commonly shared goal is to create within a musical and social context, requiring both control and spontaneity, constraints and possibilities, innovation and tradition, leading and supporting (Montuori 2003, 239).

The idea of improvisation captures a form of action that is both creative and bounded, that is spontaneous but also cumulative. Improvisation is also an activity that is both social and individual, as each player engages in a separate creative process that is linked by the common musical form and the goal of ultimately generating an artistic product.

Various authors have used the concept of improvisation to suggest the interplay of structure and human agency in political life. Playing on the idea of institutions as the "rules of the game," or "the humanly devised constraints that shape human interaction," as the economist Douglass North famously put it (North 1990), Gerald Berk and Dennis Galvan describe institutions as rather the "instruments" of human improvisation. They state:

> What we call the experience of living under rules is really an experience of living through rules, of not just playing by the rules, but actually playing the rules as if they were instruments. That play is a form of ongoing potential improvisation with regard to the rules themselves (2009, 544).

In this account, actors are able to manipulate the institutions that supposedly bind them in ways that generate unpredictable outcomes, a result both of the rules themselves–the instruments—and the creative ways that actors play them. Focusing on the learning-through-doing aspects of improvisation, Christopher Ansell also describes what he calls "loosely structured improvisation" in the implementation of public policies. Ansell notes how "evolutionary learning" takes place within the context of an educational reform initiative in the United States (2011, 34), showing how teachers' actions are guided by the overall plan of the reform effort, but also how they adapt the plan to the local context in which the program is implemented using their own creativity and problem-solving capacities.

Building on these ideas, we can identify three essential components of improvisation: creativity, structure, and concept. Improvisation is, firstly, driven by individuals' *creativity*, as they invent new ideas, patterns, and ways of getting things done. As compared to an evolution model, where variance is also the source of advancement but there is less focus on where the variance comes from (in biology, it is

randomly generated), the concept of improvisation focuses on the more deliberate production of novel options, emphasizing the human capacity to make things up. The open-ended creative process ultimately builds on, and is held together by, some shared *structure*, or commonly understood and acknowledged forms or rules. In music, for example, players may spontaneously create new melodies and rhythmic riffs, but they also jointly follow a particular scale (or scales), a set of chord patterns, and a time signature. Finally, a loosely shared *concept* of what is being improvised guides the process, offering a broadly defined idea of where it should be heading. This concept may of course change—a group of jazz musicians may start off playing a ballad, but through the course of playing, turn it into a bebop piece.

There is some degree of improvisation involved in any policy implementation process. As the quote from the PdC participant above suggests, however, collaborative improvisation in the PdC case goes beyond the modification of existing policy and constitutes rather a ground-up construction of something novel in concept—creating the airplane in flight. Not only was the policy's end product—the cultural goods it produced—very deliberately undefined within the program from the outset, as discussed below, the program itself was largely conceptualized as an experiment in a genuinely novel mode of state-society engagement. This sense of collective construction self-consciously accompanied the PdC's evolution, and was articulated by various actors. Moreover, the process of collaborative improvisation within the PdC refers to improvisation that is interactive, advanced through exchange and communication among different individuals, and specifically exchanges that span the state-society divide involving interactions among cultural actors in marginalized communities and state

agents. In so far as the ultimate goal is to construct a "Brazil that is for everyone," this process necessarily involves the participation of the excluded, recognizing, in the words of political scientist Evelina Dagnino, their "right to participate in the very definition of that system, to define what we want to be members of" (1998a, 51). Finally, it is important to note that collaborative improvisation is both a building-through-doing and a learning-through-doing process. It is a process of construction that involves generating and trying new approaches over time, as actors learn both from experiences and from each other, exchanging information and ideas across the state-society divide.

If improvisation involves creativity, structure, and a guiding concept, previous chapters have already outlined the concept guiding the construction of new state-society relations in the PdC, based on an "inversion of need" in which the state seeks out marginalized communities to recognize and support their cultural capacities. In this chapter's analysis of the first step toward this goal—the process of identifying and registering groups as Pontos—the next section will describe the structure of the application process, detailing the selection procedures and criteria. The third section focuses on the innovative interactions required among state agents and cultural actors to actually implement the application process, as they creatively negotiated within and around established structures to advance the PdC project.

Structuring New State-Society Relations: PdC Selection Procedures and Criteria

The mechanism by which Pontos are selected constitutes a fundamental aspect of the process of constructing new modes of engagement, both reflecting the kind of relationship the state is seeking through the PdC and shaping the outcome of this pursuit.

The Selection Process: Pursuing a Merit-Based Relationship with the Marginalized

Pontos are chosen through a process called an *edital* (plural *editais)*—a generic process by which individuals or organizations compete for state positions or state funds designated for a particular end. Comparable to a grant or job announcement or a request for proposals, an edital is a public statement of government posts or resources available that outlines in detail the criteria for selection, the application requirements, the amount of funding, and the means by which eligible applicants will be adjudicated. The MinC held the first PdC edital to choose 73 Pontos in 2004, conducting two additional editais in 2005 and 2006 to select a total of 606 Pontos. As previously noted, in 2007 the PdC was decentralized into a partnership between the MinC and each of the state governments, and in some cases between the MinC and municipal governments. From 2008 on, state cultural secretariats and municipal governments primarily administered Pontos selection processes. Between 2008 and 2014, each of Brazil's 26 states and one or two municipalities within each state held at least one edital, and some held more, generating different "batches" of Pontos to reach a total of 3703 by 2011—the last date at which national level data was available at the time of this research.

Figure 3: Number of Pontos by Government Level

MinC Pontos	712
State Pontos	2118
Municipal Pontos	730

Source: Powerpoint presentation by MinC Secretary, Marcia Rolemberg, at Fundação Casa de Rui Barbosa in Rio de Janeiro May 7, 2014

Figure 4: Number of Pontos by Year

Number of Pontos
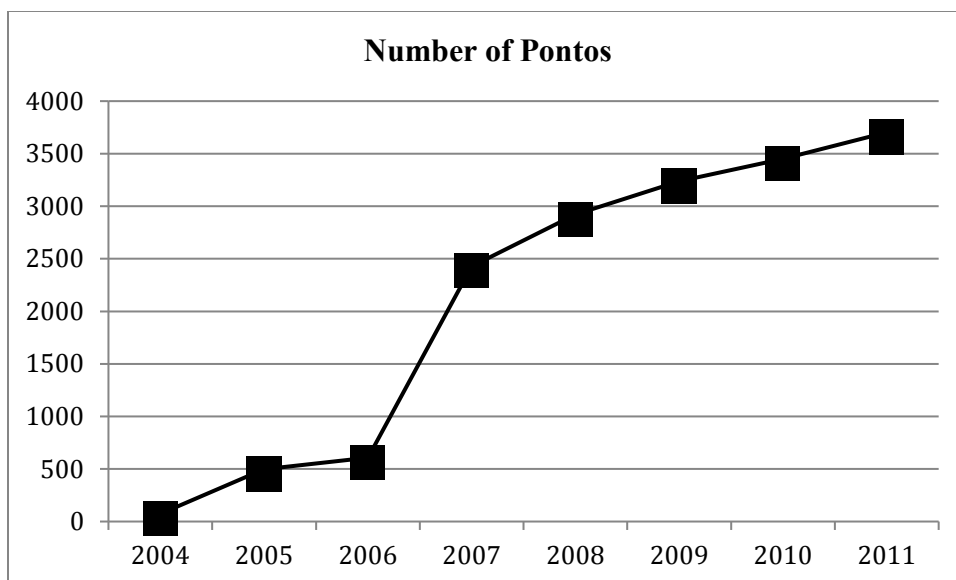
Source: Compiled from information shared in powerpoint presentation by MinC Secretary, Marcia
Rolemberg, at Fundação Casa de Rui Barbosa in Rio de Janeiro May 7, 2014

As an instrument for selecting groups and individuals based on their capacities,

the edital as an instrument for choosing Pontos reinforces the idea that the marginalized

are producers of something valuable; editais are not for identifying people who need

something, but rather for identifying people or groups who have something to offer.

While editais are used in various policy areas, for example to identify community

organizations to pursue an identified public health objective or academics to undertake

research in a particular area, the edital is certainly not the most common tool for

distributing public funds within Brazil's "nooks and crannies." Programs such as the cash

transfer initiative Bolsa Família, where selection is based on need not level of capacity,

represent a far more prevalent means of extending the state's reach throughout the

national territory and into marginalized communities. In contrast to such need-based aid

programs, the edital is a mechanism for seeking out societal capacity to advance a given

objective, reinforcing the PdC's key premise of the "inversion of need" between state and

the marginalized in the arena of culture-making.

Moreover, the edital is designed to be both inclusive and objective, where the rules are explicit and publicly presented, the candidates are adjudicated by an unbiased selection committee, generally comprised of a mix of state and civil society representatives, and anyone who meets the eligibility requirements is welcome to apply. As one MinC official commented, "We knew that the edital would be the most democratic instrument [for selecting Pontos], where everyone would have a chance" (Interview 59). The edital can be contrasted, firstly, to the primary means of distributing public funding for culture-making in Brazil, based on the "Lei de Incentivo Fiscal" (Fiscal Incentive Law) or Lei Rouanet (Rouanet Law). Passed in 1991, the law offers companies tax breaks to fund civil society organizations engaged in cultural production, and is the largest source of federal government funding for culture in Brazil (Calabre 2007). To access the funds, cultural groups must first acquire government affirmation of their eligibility, a relatively simple task, and then find a company that selects them as their funding recipient, a much more difficult endeavor. Most Lei Rounet-funded projects are located in Brazil's richer Southeastern region, principally Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, and within the centers of capital cities where businesses are concentrated, and many are large scale, well-established cultural groups, such as symphonies. Ultimately, business executives determine how public resources are spent through the program, shifting power from the state to the private sector in a reflection of the neoliberal ideals championed by the law's proponents. Acquiring Lei Rouanet funding often requires having personal ties among Brazil's economic elites and pursuing cultural activities that would produce positive marketing effects for sponsoring companies (Calabre 2007). Thus the Lei Rouanet effectively excludes grassroots cultural initiatives in marginalized areas,

consistent with Brazil's broader pattern of channeling government resources to the privileged while neglecting the poor. With some exceptions, the Lei Rouanet approach also fits within the predominant model of cultural policy described in Chapter 2, in which states promote either elite cultural forms or essentialized versions of marginalized artistic practices.

The edital can also be compared to a widely prevalent, but less institutionalized, mode of distributing government funding for the arts, which reaches grassroots groups in marginalized areas but rewards them not for their value as culture-makers but rather their value as potential votes. Referred to as política do balcão, this practice involves the discretionary distribution of government funds to chosen individuals or entities, whereby artists or cultural groups directly approach government agents seeking both longer-term infrastructure support, such as rehearsal space, or one-time payments, such as cash to buy costumes for a particular performance. This selection system reaches far into Brazil's interior and periphery, particularly operating as the key means of promoting cultural production in small, rural towns. Many pontieros related at one point receiving this kind of support. Consistent with Brazil's pervasive system of clientelism (Montero 2006), public resources are granted through the política do balcão system as a favor and used to reward or incentivize political loyalty. Consequently, as many pontieros related, a change of government often meant that support would be cut off. Moreover, politicians generally expected supported artistic groups to use their culture-making capacities to contribute to publicity and campaign efforts, for example performing at political events.

In contrast to Lei Rouanet or the politica de balcão systems, the edital is designed to make cultural funding both more accessible and less arbitrary, truly reaching the

margins and establishing different terms of engagement with applicants—genuinely soliciting and valuing them for their culture-making capacities. In PdC editais, specific elements of the selection process are designed to ensure transparency and eliminate the influence of personal connections or political affiliations. Anyone with any relationship to a public servant, including "companions" or "relatives to the second-degree," is prohibited from applying. The process is divided into two phases. In the first phase, a technical committee, comprised of individuals from within the agency managing the edital, determines whether applications are complete and eligible for consideration, meeting basic requirements. In the second phase, a Selection Committee evaluates qualified projects by awarding points based on established selection criteria. This committee consists of at least one representative from the MinC, one from the state or local cultural secretariat (after decentralization), and one from civil society who is a recognized expert in the cultural arena. Civil society representatives often included artists, academics, or, in later years, ponteiros chosen in earlier editais. Selection committee members are prohibited from having any relation to the project or applying institution, and their names are publicized.

The specific selection criteria are published with the edital, including the number of potential points assigned to each category of criteria, totaling 100 points available. Groups reaching 50 points or more are considered "classified." From among the cultural groups considered classified, Selection Committee members may use other previously established parameters for evaluation, for example ensuring a relatively equal geographic distribution of Pontos throughout a given territory or diversification of the cultural activities Pontos pursue. Government webpages then publicly list applicants' results and

point totals (in the case of qualified projects), divided into those disqualified based on technical considerations, those qualified but not classified, those classified but not chosen, and finally those selected as Pontos.

Finally, it is worth noting that the PdC edital system allows cultural groups to apply directly to the Ministry of Culture or state cultural secretariat, in the case of national or state-led Pontos selection processes, bypassing local power brokers. In the state of Santa Catarina, the coordinator of a group celebrating rural cultural traditions described how the regional secretary—a political appointee at the regional level within the state—would intervene in other attempts to secure funding from the state cultural secretariat:

> All of the projects that we sent [to apply for state funding], the regional secretary had to approve. And he blocked all of our projects...But I sent the Pontos application, in the mail, directly to the state cultural secretariat. And when the regional secretary learned that we had been chosen, he was furious. He looked at us like, "How could it be?" (Interview 92).

In some cases, local leaders even intervened to try to prevent this direct contact. In state of Alagoas, for example, a mayor from one small town where a group had applied for Pontos status approached the state cultural secretariat to request that funding be allocated to the municipal government to then distribute to Pontos, thus retaining the capacity to negotiate support for cultural groups for political gains.

Selection Criteria: Operationalizing Concepts of Marginality and Culture

The essential criteria for selecting which cultural groups would become Pontos was established by the MinC in 2004 when the program was initiated, creating a module which was implemented with minor modifications in successive round of Pontos editais, as well as in different states or municipalities. The criteria essentially address three basic

questions about cultural initiatives in assessing whether they should become Pontos:

Where is it located? Who is involved? And what are they doing? These criteria relate

both to the kinds of people the program is trying to reach and to the kinds of initiatives

the PdC aims to promote. Each of these categories is discussed in turn here.

Location:

The goal of reaching Brazil's "nooks and crannies" gets operationalized in the

criteria used to evaluate the demographic and geographic profiles of Pontos applicants.

From its inception, the PdC prioritized the spatial decentralization of state funding for

cultural activities, implementing a cultural policy that is spread throughout Brazil's 26

states. Brazil's population is nearly 85% urban ("Sinopse Do Censo Demogáfico 2010"

2010), heavily concentrated along the country's long coast and in capital cities, so the

PdC aimed to reach both periphery areas of metropolitan centers and towns deep within

the country's rural interior. In his book "Pontos de Cultura," Former Secretary of Cultural

Citizenship Célio Turino describes in vivid detail the far off places he traveled

throughout Brazil, some only reachable by canoe, to visit newly chosen Pontos. MinC

presentations on the PdC almost always include maps of Pontos, highlighting their

dispersion throughout the national territory (2009). The PdC's decentralization in 2007

helped widen the distribution of Pontos throughout the national territory, as each state has

since held at least one edital. However the number of Pontos chosen in statewide editais

has varied greatly, depending both on the budget and the interests of the state

coordinating agency. (For a map of Pontos by state, see Appendix D).

Some state editais included specific mechanism for ensuring the geographic

decentralization of Pontos. The second statewide edital in Rio de Janeiro use quotas to

113

widen distribution throughout the interior of the state, specifying that at least half of the newly chosen Pontos would come from municipalities without any established Pontos, and another third would come from municipalities with fewer than three Pontos. Similarly, in conducting its own edital, the municipal government of Rio specified that that 60% of the new 50 Pontos be located within the northern and western areas, defined as planning areas 3,4 and 5 (See Appendix E for a map of Pontos in Rio's planning areas). As the municipal secretariat coordinator explained, while the hillside favela's of Rio's southern zone and center (in areas 1 and 2) have become archetypes of marginality, the militia controlled *suburbios*, where levels of violence are rising and residents commute three hours each way to arrive at their work in the city center, represent in many ways a more extreme and unrecognized version of marginalization. The state of Alagoas awarded extra points for cultural groups located in neighborhoods identified as having among highest rates of homicide in the country by the program Juventud Viva (Youth Alive), a national initiative to direct federal resources to areas where violence is concentrated.

Participants:

Beyond geographic specifications, PdC editais also include demographic criteria to ensure the program reaches the socially marginalized. About a third of the points assigned to applicants in all PdC editais are based on the extent to which projects involve particular "target populations," as defined by the MinC. These include "low income populations, occupying areas with limited offering of public services and cultural services, including rural areas," thus specifically seeking out groups operating where state presence—at least in the form of service provision—is limited. Applicants are also

awarded points for engaging public school children, which serves as a proxy for socioeconomic status, as middle and upper class children almost exclusively attend private schools due to the low quality of public primary and secondary education in Brazil. Finally, points are specifically linked to participation by minority groups, vulnerable or at-risk populations, and disabled individuals. These broad criteria reflect the PdC's objective of reaching those who rank low on Brazil's social hierarchy of class, race, ethnicity and geographic location, which states and municipalities in some cases expanded upon. The state of Rio de Janeiro's 2013 edital offered specific points for groups involving LGBT, indigenous, caiçara and quilombolo populations. The 2014 edital hosted by Rio's municipal government disaggregated groups even further, listing more than 25 target groups including gypsies, black brotherhoods, artisanal fishing communities, populations affected by dams, landless workers, immigrants and their descendants, homeless groups, and transvestites, among many others.

It is important to note that the basic PdC criteria leave open to interpretation what constitutes "participation" of target populations. Significantly, the basic MinC criteria do no specifically distinguish between groups *of* marginalized individuals, for example cooperatives of street artists, and organizations *serving* marginalized populations, for example professionalized NGOs offering artistic after-school activities for at-risk youth. This distinction is critical, shaping whether the PdC ultimately serves to affirm the cultural capacities of subaltern populations as opposed to delivering culture to the needy. As discussed in the preceding chapter, the state of Santa Catarina largely interpreted the PdC as program to fund cultural initiatives *for,* rather than *by,* the marginalized.

PdC funding is available to groups, not individuals, a seemingly simple eligibility requirement that ultimately became among the most controversial elements of program. Acquiring official recognition as a group in Brazil requires registering in the "Cadastro Nacional de Pessoas Jurídicas," or national registry of juridical persons. From the outset, most Pontos editais required that applicants possess a CNPJ for a least three years, consistent with the idea that the program funds established groups with a history of activity in the community. As detailed in the section below, the CNPJ requirement was a significant aspect of the collaborative improvisation by which the application process was implemented in practice.

Activities:

While PdC editais specify in detail the kinds of communities the program aims to reach, the criteria for evaluating the actual activities being executed are vague. Groups must be "developing cultural activities," but what constitutes "cultural" is not defined in the edital. Moreover there are no selection criteria related to the aesthetic quality of the cultural activity; selection committee members are not supposed to be evaluating what constitutes "good" culture. The edital does include selection criteria related to the social impact of the activity. Groups are awarded points based on the extent to which they are "contributing to access to, or production of, cultural goods" and whether they are advancing "actions of cultural training and that strengthen cultural identity." They are evaluated on the extent to which the initiative "promotes self-confidence, a sense of belonging and of citizenship" and whether it "brings dynamism to the cultural spaces within the area." Groups must submit evidence that such activities have been ongoing for at least three years, supplying historical material or statements by local community

residents and leaders, as consistent with the PdC's mission of supporting *already existing* community initiatives. They are also assessed on the extent to which these initiatives are dynamic and evolving, earning points based on evidence that they are "developing continuously creative processes." But significantly, the actual *thing* that the state is seeking to produce through its partnership with societal actors—the cultural content—is not specified in the terms of the PdC edital.

Leaving undefined what constitutes "cultural activities" is consistent with the broadly open-ended concept of culture the PdC is designed to promote, and the recognition that societal actors are the true "culture-makers" and thus retain the authority to determine what constitutes culture through their ongoing creative endeavors. Community recognition and integration is a sufficient indication of the endeavors' value. Moreover, the selection criteria explicitly promote a notion of marginalized groups' cultural practices as dynamic and evolving, rather than reified or essentialized.

Selecting Pontos in Practice: Interaction and Innovation

The PdC edital presented the institutional structure for a "democratic" selection process, and PdC criteria were designed to select for underserved communities. Yet in practice, both cultural and administrative barriers emerged in forging new modes of state-society engagement based on the culture-making capacity of the marginalized. Overcoming these obstacles required collaborative improvisation—interactions among state actors and marginalized artists to creatively negotiate within and around existing structures and achieve the broader goal. The "theme and variation" model of PdC editais—in which Pontos selection processes were undertaken in different moments by different agencies—facilitated the learning-through-doing elements of collaborative

improvisation. State agents, through their interactions with cultural groups, developed new approaches for reaching and registering potential Pontos over time. Beyond advancing logistical changes to facilitate collaboration between the state and marginalized groups, such interactions both constituted and caused shifts in cultural politics, as actors altered their perceptions of themselves and others in these exchanges. By engaging in collaborative improvisation, they forged modes of interaction that stand in stark contrast to established social dynamics within Brazil's "system of social authoritarianism" (Dagnino 1998, 48).

Overcoming Illegibility and an Authoritarian Culture

As noted above, an edital is a solicitation of individuals or groups that have some particular skill or capacity that would make them competitive candidates for the distribution of state resources or opportunities. Thus to be motivated to apply, underserved groups have to overcome Brazil's dominant cultural stigmas discussed in Chapter 2 that cast the poor as worthless, as reflected and reproduced by through state neglect and abuse of such populations. Applicants must both perceive of themselves as worthy producers of something important, and of the state as interested in their capacities. Here, it is important once again to contrast the PdC efforts to not only to predominant patterns of state neglect and exploitation of the marginalized, but also to other forms of state support for subaltern populations, in which they are granted aid because of their needs or deficiencies. In applying for PdC funds, cultural groups have to believe they have something that the state would seek out and value.

The actual application process also presents logistical barriers for underserved populations, as a form of rendering "legible," in James Scott's phrasing, the cultural

activities of societal groups. As Scott observes, states "see" their populations through bureaucratic documentation procedures, relying on tools such as the census or employment data as an abstract representation of their citizenry and its activities (Scott 1998). The PdC application constitutes such a tool. Groups must submit a one-page description of their institution and their cultural project, as well as a short description of what they intend to do with the funds and how they would help expand these activities. In most editais, applicants also had to submit documentation proving their CNPJ registration. Application materials are submitted in hard copies, either via mail or dropped off in person. While for some, such as Clair, the founder of Azor Azul noted in the chapter's introduction, this process might be "simple enough," state administrative forms and procedures have long served as a barrier to access for Brazil's underclasses. Reflecting on the expansion of public protections and resources for the popular classes during the Vargas regime of the early 1900s, historian Brodwyn Fischer notes, "The process of extending economic and social rights necessarily involved registration and documentation…Yet the challenge of equitably introducing such a system was enormous in a country with an undocumented, dispersed, and illiterate population," concluding that "bureaucratic agility became a source of entitlement and documents became the chief intermediaries and obstacles between ordinary Brazilians and full social and economic rights" (Fischer 2008, 120). Such challenges remain, as many potential PdC applicants lacked the resources, formal educational skills, and familiarity with bureaucratic practice to apply. Reflecting specifically on the CNPJ requirement, the director of a street theater group in a periphery community of Maceió, Alagoas, commented:

> Most groups, depending on the people involved, don't know how to navigate that
> bureaucracy of getting all of the documentation. And it requires money. Because

you have to pay to get things notarized, and for the three certifications at the federal, state and municipal level. And you have to pay this for three years just to be able to apply [to the PdC], not saying that you will win, but just to apply (Interview 32).

Building on Scott's ideas, political scientist Kamal Sadiq asserts that that certain populations fall not only beyond the state's reach, but also beyond its "vision," as state documentation tools both miss and misrepresent excluded groups (Sadiq 2005). Minister Gil's goal of "unhiding" the culture-making margins by recognizing them as Pontos thus required first overcoming the considerable challenge of making them legible as applicants.

Conversely, the state also falls beyond the vision of marginalized communities, insofar as state opportunities, workings and policies –even those directly intended to target and benefit such communities—may remain unknown to them. PdC editais are announced through an "oficio"—an official statement that is published in the government ledger and posted on the website of the hosting agency. The MinC and state cultural secretariats also used other mediums for publicizing the edital, for example via television announcements, as referenced in the chapter's introduction, as well as radio programs. Yet many potential applicants, even upon hearing about the edital through these channels, would not necessarily know how to pursue it. As the MinC regional representative in Rio de Janeiro, observed:

We started to think, how could those people who are so far away, who don't have internet, how are they going to access an edital that is launched on a website? Or in the daily bulletin of the government?...How are they going to apply, if they don't really have awareness of those things? They didn't even know what an edital was (Interview 59).

Informing potential applicants in marginalized communities about the PdC edital and convincing and enabling them to apply ultimately involved developing new patterns of

engagement with marginalized communities on the part of the state. Working within existing structures, the process also relied heavily on the creative agency of those involved.

Reaching and Registering Pontos

Part of the story of how marginalized cultural groups came to apply to the PdC has to do with who was in the state. As noted in Chapter 2, the appointment of Gilberto Gil to the Minister of Culture position already challenged the dominant cultural politics in Brazil, in which black men from impoverished backgrounds are not perceived as state authorities. Jose Leão, who runs a community radio in a small village in the interior of Alagoas, two hundred miles inland from the coast, shared his perception of Gil:

> Gilberto Gil, he was a guy from the ghettos. He came from the underbelly, from the favelas of Salvador. He became a professional really young, with music, and he understands the reality of the artist. Gilberto Gil, he didn't come from the big time. He came from the bottom, from hardship. He knows how people from the favelas suffer. And the music was what brought him to the point of being Minister of Culture (Interview 28).

Gil's leadership within the MinC gave credibility to the idea that a poor, dark-skinned, geographically marginalized individual might actually come to occupy a state post or, more modestly, apply for state funds and be selected. More broadly, artist bureaucrats, as described in the preceding chapter, gave the state a different face and persona, helping shift perceptions about the kind of relationship with the state available to marginalized groups and their viability as potential applicants. Such individuals also in some cases had knowledge of, and access to, the kinds of cultural groups that might be eligible to apply and the communities in which they were located, with personal networks that spanned not only the state and society divide, but also marginalized and middle class divide; they were able to "see" cultural groups that were otherwise potentially "illegible" to the state.

As the coordinator of a cultural group organized around traditional children's games in

Rio's favela of Rocinha related, as a popular musician Gilberto Gil had visited the

community and met with various groups there (Interview 52). Relying on personal

networks, however, would not generate a truly inclusive process that would extend to

every corner of Brazil.

Ultimately, advancing the PdC's vision required developing creative strategies for

seeking out and assisting potential applications, modifying these approaches through the

"learning-through-doing" process of interacting with cultural groups over time.

Boundary-spanning state agents were also particularly helpful in the PdC application

process because they were good improvisers—their experiences and contacts enhanced

their ability to work across the state-society divide to innovate and implement new

outreach strategies. One such strategy involved what was referred to as "caravans."

Valquiria, the MinC regional representative quoted above, described how the idea of the

caravan emerged during a MinC meeting early in the program's development:

> It was suggested in the meeting that we should have encounters in the community
> where we could talk about what it was. What an edital is, how to apply, how to
> access it. In sum, to explain, to read it, actually. And that is what we started to do.
> And it turned into a very cool thing (Interview 59).

These outreach efforts took different forms in different editais. In the first MinC PdC

edital, Valquiria herself traveled to different favela, suburbia, and rural communities

throughout the state of Rio, hosting workshops with residents. Rio's municipal cultural

secretariat expanded on the caravan model with their edital in 2014, hiring state

contracted *articuladores* or articulators—usually individuals who grew up in

marginalized communities, but possessed some training in project management or

administration—to assist in the outreach. Coordinating with local community leaders and

artists, they organized twelve workshops in diverse communities over the course of three

months, bringing laptop computers to help individuals fill out the application on the spot.

In yet a later iteration of this model, the municipality contracted and trained youth from

target communities to organize and publicize the outreach workshops, as well as to

provide ongoing assistance to applicants. Youth articulators had broad leeway to develop

their own innovative outreach strategies, for example creating videos to post on YouTube

or social media to publicize the edital and promote their workshops.

Outreach efforts often involved very close contact among state representatives

and individuals from marginalized communities. At one application workshop in the

favela of Mangueira, the organizer gave out his personal contact information, telling

participants, "Email me, message me, text me. Call me at three in the morning with

questions." Such efforts also brought state agents into territory that the Brazilian state

does not control. One articulator's description of a caravan workshop held in the

community of Maré, one of Rio's largest and most violent favelas, highlights the

significance of entering such communities as state representatives:

> We went there in the center of Maré, before there was UPP [Police Pacifying
> Unit], at the height of the trafficking, right next to the drug trafficking
> headquarters [boca da fuma]. And the car of the municipal government was able
> to stop there, and we had a meeting, right there in the square, with all of the
> presidents of the residents associations, including from different drug trafficking
> factions (Interview 56).

As he went on to affirm, police, politicians, and other branches of the state face violent

resistance when they attempt to enter the community of Maré. In 2015, after the failure of

the UPP program in the community, the military was sent to occupy the favela in an

attempt to quell the rising violence. He explained that PdC representatives were able to

safely gain access both because of the cultural content of the program—"culture,

education and health" are the only state agencies that enter, he observed—and because of the important bridging role that he and others undertook in coordinating the workshop with local contacts.

These kinds of state-society exchanges were significant for overcoming administrative hurdles, but also for helping overcome cultural barriers for potential applicants who were conditioned to think of themselves as unworthy and as of the state as uninterested in them. In particular, such interactions were crucial for overcoming perceptions that only the formally educated have expertise and authority that the state might recognize. Valquiria, the MinC's regional representative for the state of Rio de Janeiro, described her exchanges with artists in marginalized areas in the context of the caravans.

> So many people who said, shucks, I never imagined that one day I could write up a project like this, and I'm going to do mine. You know? And we were happy that folks were able to understand that, either they could try to make things fit within this tool [the edital application process] that might not be the best for them, but was what we had, or they would forego the resources [of the PdC]. We said, "You can write slang or curse words, it doesn't have to be difficult words. It can be misspelled. You can fill out the application sheet by hand. But do it. Because they [members of the selection committee] are going to be very interested, and they are going to understand how you write from the heart about what you do (Interview 59).

Valquiria's interpretation of the rules is much softer than the written parameters of the edital which, in Rio's 2008 version, specify that should be "preferably typed," but that it is "acceptable to submit documents written by hand, as long as it the writing is print, legible, and without any erasures." Her intervention was necessary, she explained, not only in helping applications overcome technical difficulties in navigating the process, but also in overcoming their feelings of inadequacy, shifting their perceptions about the state and their relation to it. She continued:

I perceived at many gatherings that people didn't send [the application] in because they were ashamed because they didn't know how to write well. So I said, send it in the way that you know....That is your story. So this is important, also, breaking down that fear. When they saw us [from the MinC] there, having a simple conversation with them like equals, in that local context, they felt much more comfortable participating (Interview 59).

A state agent conversing with a poor, semi-illiterate individual "like equals," and emphasizing the value of their story as expressed in their own words, constitutes a radical departure from established state-society relations and a practice that directly challenges dominant meanings about the excluded and their role in polity.

Beyond the application itself, the requirement to be formally registered as an organization, possessing a CNPJ as described above, constituted its own administrative hurdle for potential applications that required creative collaborations. Many dynamic cultural groups with long histories of activity in marginalized communities are not registered due to these bureaucratic complications and financial requirements; as one cultural manger in Rio explained to me, by their third PdC edital, they had difficulty finding groups eligible to apply—not because all cultural groups throughout the state were already Pontos, but because the vast number that remained were not legally registered (Interview 49). The CNPJ requirement raised the question of the extent to which the program was actually "unhiding" cultural initiatives heretofore unfamiliar to the state, playing an important symbolic role in signifying the extent to which the PdC could—or intended to—truly extend state support into the "nooks and crannies" of Brazil. In practice, it served as a litmus test of state capacity to effectively engage with those that were actually beyond the state's reach and vision

Some states and municipalities suspended or modified the CNPJ requirement. For example, in the first round of Pontos chosen by the state of Alagoas, the state cultural

secretariat eliminated the CNPJ requirement, however they reinstated it in their second

selection round because the more informal cultural groups selected in the first round had

such difficulties completing the accounting requirements of the contract (as described in

the chapter to follow). In Rio de Janeiro, the state Secretariat of Culture loosened the

CNPJ requirement in their second edital in response to input from existing ponteiros, still

requiring that applicants possess a CNJP but without any history of registration.

Ultimately the question of the CNPJ requirement became a significant agenda item in the

institutionalized dialogue that emerged between the MinC and organized Pontos

networks, as discussed in Chapter 6 (on network activism).

In their outreach efforts, state representatives and "articulators" agents also

worked to help established cultural groups circumvent barriers the CNPJ requirement.

One tactic involved facilitating connections between non-registered cultural groups

collaborations and established institutions. For example, most favelas include a legally

established Residents' Association, so state agents might help a hip hop group partner

with the Association to apply, allowing the association to serve as the recipient of the

funds while the samba group was the implementer of the project. State agents also helped

non-registered groups acquire CNPJ status on their own. Viviane, a community theater

activist from a periphery community in Maceió, described how this process played out in

the city:

> The people, the artistic masters who were not formally educated, went about
> learning how to deal with the system...Because, for example, here there were
> various groups that didn't have CNPJs. And at that time, one of our partners in
> this struggle, Maurício, who is a state manager, he went out seeking out those
> groups, because he know that they didn't know how to navigate the bureaucracy.
> And he went out helping them, and got CNPJs for various groups, that now can
> access resources because of the CNPJ. So it was this thing of one giving a hand to
> another, actually (Interview 32).

It is worth pointing out that Maurício, the "partner" in Viviane's story, is a perfect example of an artist bureaucrat—a community activist who, at the time of the first Alagoas edital, worked within the state cultural secretariat and who directs an Afoxé dance ensemble on the weekends—making him a particularly good improviser as he was able to work across the state-society divide. In the working class city municipality of Nova Iguaçu outside of Rio de Janeiro, where the PdC coordinator estimated that 60% of the cultural groups not registered, state agents allowed such groups to apply and then helped them acquire CNPJs after their selection (Interview 57).

Viviane's account above highlights the learning-through-doing process that collaborative improvisation involves, as the artistic masters "went about learning how to deal with the system" with help from state representative, acquiring the skills to make themselves legible to the state. This learning process operated in the opposite direction as well. In face-to-face exchanges in which state agents helped marginalized cultural actors understand and negotiate paperwork requirements of the PdC, they also brought back important information about the realities in which these groups operated. As Fabio, head of the MinC regional office in Rio de Janeiro in 2014, commented:

> The caravan workshops had two functions. One was to respond to questions, to share technology, help people read the edital, learn how to log on to the website and navigate the system. But there was an objective behind this too, that was to bring the Ministry to that locale for feedback…for us to understand what the difficulties were with the edital (Interview 55).

Information that state officials gathered about the disconnect between state procedures and cultural actors' realities helped advance the improvisational process, as they used these insights to develop further innovations in later editais.

In sum, while the edital established the basic structure of the application process—as the "most democratic instrument" for selecting Pontos–making this structure actually work to build new state relations with the marginalized based on their cultural capacities required creativity and interaction across the state-society divide. Those involved had to "build the airplane as they were flying it," problem-solving as they went, trying new approaches in subsequent rounds of selection, and learning from each other. Processes of collaborative improvisation not only helped PdC applicants overcome the cultural and logistical barriers of the application process, but also constituted a mode of state-society interaction that challenged the cultural politics of exclusion in Brazil. The intense state-society engagement involved in outreach efforts—as state agents insisted on marginalized individuals' worth and contributions—falls far outside of the social dynamics of Brazil's "system of social authoritarianism" (Dagnino 1998, 48). These exchanges portended the kinds of collaborations across the state-society divide that would continue to evolve throughout the program's development, as discussed in the chapter that follows.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the process by which cultural groups in marginalized areas become registered as Pontos, the first step in our exploration of the concrete process by which states forge new relations with excluded populations. Emphasizing the gap in scholarship that has focused primarily on *why* rather than *how* states pursue new modes of engagement with such populations, the chapter argued that this change process can be examined by looking at the level of practice, and particularly at the concrete ways that state and societal actors interact. The chapter introduced the notion of collaborative

improvisation to describe such interactions in the PdC case, advancing the concept as a mode of political action in which individuals creatively engage with established forms or structures to jointly construct something new. The chapter described the edital as the structure in this improvisational process—an instrument for selecting Pontos that invites applicants based on their capacities and rewards selectees based on their value as culture-makers, standing in stark contrast to dominant modes of state (dis)engagement with excluded populations and specifically to the two most prevalent modes of distributing public funding for cultural production in Brazil. Yet enabling cultural groups to apply to the edital required overcoming cultural barriers—defying cultural politics described in the previous chapter, marginalized groups had to conceive of themselves as valued culture-makers and of the state as genuinely interested in supporting their endeavors—as well as administrative hurdles related to the "illegibility" of the margins. The chapter then described the innovative interactions between state agents and marginalized artists to overcome these barriers, as public officials and "articulators" established new strategies for reaching as assisting potential applications. Beyond helping cultural groups navigate state documentation procedures, the learning-by-doing processes of collaborative improvisation constituted a mode of state-society engagement that defies Brazil's "authoritarian culture."

In terms of problems arising from the "illegibility" of the margins within the PdC, the application process was the very tip of the iceberg. The next chapter examines bureaucratic hurdles that presented far greater challenges, with much higher stakes—those related to Pontos' accounting and reporting requirements. Difficulties around these administrative processes were more intense and sustained over time, in turn widening

opportunities for developing processes of collaboration among the actors involved. The analysis to follow both furthers our understanding of the concrete process by which new state-society relations are forged, emphasizing the need for both cultural change and alterations in the technical details of state administration, and further disrupts expectations of the role bureaucracy plays as a point of encounter between the state and subaltern populations.

5. Building Relations Around Bureaucracy Part 2: Accounting for Art

The previous two chapters have described new modes of state-society interaction emerging around the PdC culture-making activities and the PdC application process. This chapter focuses on the most prevalent and sustained arena of state-society interaction within the PdC—exchanges around the program's reporting and accounting requirements—demonstrating the surprising role that bureaucracy can play in cultivating new modes of state-society engagement and shifting cultural politics. While in other contexts poor people's entanglement in bureaucratic paperwork tends to exacerbate their alienation from the state and reinforce their subjugated status within the polity, in this case the PdC context engendered different terms of encounter with bureaucracy as marginalized individuals were solicited by the state for their creative capacities and recognized for their mastery as "culture-makers."

The chapter begins with a discussion of bureaucracy as a defining feature of the modern state, extending the analysis of margins as "illegible" spaces in Chapter 3 by considering marginalized populations' experiences in navigating state documentation. This section advances our discussion of the cultural politics of state-society relations by emphasizing bureaucratic encounters as sites where dominant perceptions of the poor as worthless tend to get reproduced. Emphasizing the potential for creative agency among bureaucrats, however, it raises the possibility of a very different outcome in these encounters. Section two analyzes the problematic disconnect between PdC documentation procedures and Pontos' cultural practices, noting the frictions that emerge in practice between the ways ponteiros advance artistic projects in their communities and

131

the instruments for communicating this reality to the state; most Pontos are making culture, but their paperwork conveys a different story. Section three then explores how Pontos and state agents interacted around PdC administrative requirements in the three subnational cases. In the states of Alagoas and Rio de Janeiro, frictions compelled sustained and repeated encounters between state agents and marginalized artists to resolve the administrative problems that threatened to derail the program, and that legally compromised the cultural groups receiving public funds as Pontos. State agents and ponteiros jointly struggled to overcome the PdC's bureaucratic hurdles and enable Pontos to continue making culture, engaging in processes of "collaborative improvisation" that both constituted and caused a shift in the cultural politics of state-society relations. Section three also describes how these kinds of collaborations failed to emerge in the state of Santa Catarina, demonstrating how the same program can generate varying effects when set in a distinct context and delegated to a different set of state officials. The fourth and final section shifts the frame to examine exchanges around PdC accounting requirements *within* the state, emphasizing the heterogeneity of the state by demonstrating how creative cultural managers negotiated with technocrats and financial managers to alter their perceptions and practices to help accommodate Pontos' culture-making.

Encountering Bureaucracy

The previous chapter applied James Scott's notion of "legibility" to demonstrate how state documentation procedures, which tend to miss and distort societal reality—and particularly that of the poor—contribute to the exclusion of such populations. This section continues our consideration of bureaucracy as a defining feature of modern states

by examining in greater detail state-society interactions around bureaucracy as conceived in the "vulgar and frequent" sense of the term—to bureaucracy as "the slowness, the ponderousness, the routine, the complication of procedures, and the maladapted responses of 'bureaucratic' organizations to the needs which they should satisfy, and the frustrations which their members, clients or subjects consequently endure" (2009, 2).

In contexts of acute inequality, bureaucracy often goes beyond producing frustration and becomes a central component of poor people's subjugation and disenfranchisement, playing a key role in the "structural violence" to which they are subjected as part of the "political, administrative, and judicial action and inaction that prevents poor people from making a living, obtaining medical aid, and securing such necessities of life as food, clothing, shelter and sanitation" (Gupta 2012, 5). Beyond and intertwined with the material effects of bureaucratic procedure, encounters with bureaucracy produce and reinforce "cultural rules that convey a complete lack of recognition of poor people as subjects, as bearers of rights" (Dagnino 1998, 48). Anthropologist Deborah Poole shows that, for Peruvian peasants seeking justice, the "endless procedures and always inconclusive paperwork that drifts among different instances of the judicial system" constitute a lesson in subjugated citizenship, as "practices by which subjects are made to learn the gap between membership and belonging" (Das and Poole 2004, 17). Sociologist Javier Auyero observes that, for poor people in Argentina, time spent waiting for state aid becomes a productive lesson in political subordination, effectively manufacturing "subjects who know, and act accordingly, that when dealing with state bureaucracies they have to patiently comply with the seemingly arbitrary, ambiguous, and always changing state requirements"

(Auyero 2012, 9). Administrative processes are powerful "semiotic practices" that reflect and convey meanings about the role of subaltern populations within the polity.

While the patterns of bureaucratic encounter described above are well documented and pervasive, they are not inevitable. How bureaucracies function— including their impact on and interactions with those they are intended to serve—depends largely on the attitudes and actions of the bureaucrats within them (Lipsky 1983; Carpenter 2001). Analyses focusing on citizens' encounters with bureaucracy tend to portray bureaucrats as relatively static characters, or as exhibiting agency by exercising arbitrary power over clients (Soss 1999, 366) or engaging in acts of insubordination against their superiors (Sharma and Gupta 2009, 15). However, as noted in Chapter 3, emergent social science literature has emphasized how agency officials may be high-minded idealists who proactively work to advance lofty causes (Pettinicchio 2012; Rich 2012), often in innovative ways (Abers and Keck 2013; Abers 2016). Several works have emphasized how bureaucrats exhibit creative agency beyond their role as paper-pushers, for example in assembling policy coalitions (Carpenter 2001) or providing technical expertise in a particular policy area (Abers and Keck 2013). This case considers how officials exercise creativity with regards to paperwork itself—in the way that they push the paper. Moreover, bureaucrats, as much as societal actors, may be shaped by encounters around administrative procedure. By examining not only how citizens experience bureaucracy but also how bureaucrats experience the citizenry, we raise the possibility of a more dynamic model of interaction that considers the potential for learning on *both* sides. The PdC case offers an opportunity for analyzing not only how cultural politics shape bureaucratic encounters, but also how shifting state-society

practices around bureaucracy can alter "cultural rules" that dictate the place of the poor within an unequal society like Brazil.

"Seeing" Culture-Making at the Margins: The Convênio

The [Brazilian] State is not prepared to relate directly to the people. Bureaucracy is a necessity, but the laws and norms that regulate it are from a time when most of society was excluded from the experience of citizenship (Turino 2009, 38).

—Célio Turino, Brazilian Secretary of Culture and Citizenship, 2004-2010

Ironically, much of the bureaucratic misery to which Pontos are subject also derives from their status as culture-makers —generators of the cultural processes and products that the state seeks to promote. Because cultural groups in marginalized areas are treated as providers of services solicited by the state, rather than, for example, recipients of state aid, they are subject to a particular set of documentation procedures through which the Brazilian state "sees" what is produced with public funds (Scott 1998).

Pontos funding is administered through an instrument called a "convênio," a particular type of contract that is regulated by the law 8666, requiring compliance with rigorously detailed planning and accounting processes, as outlined in detail below. Consistent with the characteristics of state mechanisms for rendering "legible" citizen activities that Scott identifies (80), the convênio is designed to convey a set of written, static, standardized, and utilitarian facts about Pontos, generating a simplified abstraction of what actually occurs on the ground. It thus inevitably fails to accurately or fully represent the "complex social practices" of Pontos' operations or the "irreducibly local" contexts in which they function, generating a quagmire of problems described below. As ponteiros repeatedly emphasize, the convênio is a particularly unsuitable tool for documenting the culture-making practices of small community groups due to its

135

exaggerated administrative complexity. It was initially introduced as an instrument for regulating the transfer of funds between the federal and state or local governments, for which it still used. It was only later applied more broadly to regulate transfers to private societal entities partnering with the federal government to provide some service or product, including, for example the construction of a bridge (or, more likely, a soccer stadium) by a huge corporation staffed with teams of professional accountants.

Thousands of civil society organizations have entered into convênios with the federal government in the past decade (Lopez and Barone 2013), as the state has expanded its cooperation with societal groups, and many of the problems described below are representative of more general tensions emerging in these particular forms of state-societal partnership (Cruz 2015). However these tensions may be exacerbated in the PdC case for two reasons. Firstly, the cultural mission of the program drew the state into relationships with less formal or institutionalized civil society organizations as compared to other contracted entities. As described in the preceding chapter, using cultural capacity, rather than any sort of organizational metric, as the criteria for selection, the program deliberately reached out to small community groups in truly marginalized areas. Notably, in a recent study of civil society organizations engaged in convênios with the government, Pontos were specifically omitted from the analysis because many were not actually registered as organizations (Vargas and Feijolo Souto 2014). Secondly, the program's cultural content adds an extra layer of incompatibility with the convênio's rigid requirements, insofar as it presumes some degree of spontaneity and is predicated on the idea of an open-ended outcome; if state documentation tools are designed to collect static facts, as Scott claims, culture is certainly a moving target. Culture-making—

and especially popular cultural initiatives which are often built through improvisation—may be, in Scott's words, particularly "bureaucratically indigestible" (Scott 1998, 22). Culture-makers within the PdC program are sought out for their ability to think outside of the box rather than check boxes.

It is worth noting that the founders of the PdC within the MinC anticipated to some degree the clash between the bureaucratic instruments through which the program would be implemented and the culture-making endeavors in marginalized communities they aimed to support. As many have repeated in interviews, public presentations, and written reflections, however, these were the tools available to them; they inherited a bureaucratic state, they did not get to remake it from scratch. Significantly, they note that the Brazilian state lacks instruments designed for genuinely partnering with, rather than assisting, poor, informally educated populations. As one MinC representative within the state of Rio de Janeiro recalled, "We had to either execute the program with the instruments we had or not execute it at all."

Planning Art and Accounting for Culture

Two of the most problematic administrative instruments that Pontos encounter—the "planilho de trabalho," or work plan, and the "prestação de contas," or year-end financial documentation package—are described below. It is important to note at the outset that funding is released to Pontos as a kind of advance for anticipated activities. Pontos receive $15,000 at the beginning of the year to implement a work plan, and at the end of the year they submit extensive documentation to "prestar contas," or account for funds spent on designated activities. The Tribunal de Contas da União (TCU), or Federal Auditing Unit, is the final arbiter of whether public funds are appropriately used in

Brazil, and, in recent decades the strength and scope of this institution has expanded as a result of efforts to improve fiscal responsibility and combat corruption (Melo, Pereira, and Figueiredo 2009). The stakes for effectively navigating the PdC program's bureaucratic hurdles are thus high. In the case of failure to sufficiently "prestar contas," the Ponto is held in "non-compliance" status, making the group ineligible to receive further payments within the contract or apply for other sources of state funding. The institution is also responsible for all funds administered with interest, risking serious legal consequences if not repaid. The director of the Auditing Division within the Ministry of Culture commented to me, "The state doesn't care if you owe one dollar or a million dollars—if you can't show how you spent the money you are in trouble" (Interview 86).

The Pontos Work Plan

Upon being selected as Pontos, cultural groups are required under the contract to submit a detailed work plan, outlining all activities they will undertake and expenses they will incur over the course of a three-year period. Once this plan has been approved and funds have been released, even a minor deviation from the work plan—as one ponteiro related, the decision to offer orange juice rather than coke as a refreshment at a samba rehearsal—requires submitting an official written request to the state PdC coordinator, who ultimately must obtain approval from a MinC financial manager in Brasília. Pontos must wait for this approval, which can take months, before implementing the modified plan. One ponteiro summarized the contradictory logics governing state and societal actions that clash in the context of the PdC: "For society, everything not prohibited is permitted. For the State, everything that is not permitted is prohibited" (Interview 63). Whereas cultural groups are used to a mode of action where anything that is not explicitly

illegal constitutes a valid means of achieving the desired end, when contracted as agents of the state they must learn to operate in a context where anything not explicitly authorized within the work plan is forbidden to be executed with PdC funding.

Most Pontos are situated in communities where a high degree of unpredictability is part of life. A Ponto in Rio's favela of Mare hosts a monthly samba rehearsal that hundreds of residents attend, but they had to suspend activities indefinitely when the Army occupied the community after a series of violent clashes between police and drug traffickers. In the face of such unforeseeable but nonetheless inevitable obstacles, it is virtually impossible to accurately predict activities three years in advance—a problem exacerbated by regular delays by the MinC in releasing PdC funds, meaning that a three-year work plan might start a year after its intended start date. Cultural groups that evolved to function in such fluid contexts rely heavily on their creativity and flexibility, captured in the Brazilian idiom "jogo de cintura,"[16] and their capacity to "dar um jeitinho," or to find a way through informal workarounds in the face of hurdles (Neves de H. Barbosa 1995).

In many cases, the culture-making activities Pontos undertake are also specifically defined by improvisation; Rogério's theater cooperative "Quintal Cultural" creates a new piece each week. As one Brazilian artist associated with the PdC put it, "The unpredictability of artistic results should be a condition of the process" (Turino 2009, 115): "culture-making" presumes space for spontaneity. For these culture-makers, their success at their craft specifically derives from their ability to explore uncharted territories and innovate, to indulge their inspiration to deviate from an expected path. Ponteiros thus

---

[16] The best translation I have heard for this term thus far came from Prof. Margaret Keck, who described it as "the ability to wiggle in wiggle-room."

expected plans to change to some degree because they were self-consciously pursuing an objective that was deliberately intended to be open-ended—explicitly defined as such in the discourse of the PdC. "Culture is life, and life is flux" as former Minister Gil stated on various occasions.

According to state PdC coordinators and monitors, almost all Pontos diverged from their work plans. Some recognized the rigidity of the convênio's stipulations and sought authorization, generating a constant flow of requests within the state bureaucracy. Most, however, made at least minor modifications without authorization, failing to appreciate that even seemingly insignificant alterations to enhance the final outcome of their work could not be enacted with PdC funding unless officially approved. Wellington, a state-contracted monitor hired to help resolve administrative issues, described to me over lunch the misconceptions among ponteiros that he had repeatedly encountered on Pontos site visits. He grabbed two toothpicks and a pack of sugar to improvise a dramatic illustration of his point:

> So the guy [ponteiro] goes and he buys one package of sugar and three toothpicks instead of two (Wellington pulls out an additional toothpick). But it is not in the work plan. So the auditor is like a bloodhound. They always know. They show up there and say, 'You have to return the money. You are in non-compliance' (Wellington imitates the stern voice of an auditor). But the guy doesn't know what he did. 'It was only a toothpick!' (This in the voice of the surprised ponteiro.) But it doesn't matter. It wasn't in the work plan (Interview 53).

As Wellington emphasized, ponteiros simply could not believe the level of detail that compliance demanded—that swapping a shaker for a tambourine, or even altering the rehearsal beverage, as noted in an earlier example, could be considered a violation of the rules. In various cases, ponteiros just disregarded the plan altogether. I accompanied Cris, another state-contracted monitor in the state of Rio de Janeiro, on a site visit to a Ponto

operating in a shantytown in the city of Niteroi. While one of the Ponto's coordinators searched through a stack of papers to try to find the work plan that Cris had requested to see, another enthusiastically showed him pictures of the dance performances they had held in the community over the past month. The plan was stashed away somewhere and meanwhile they were making art.

In reality, discrepancies between activities detailed in the work plan and those undertaken tended to generate complications for ponteiros not in the rather unlikely event of a visit by a state auditor, as Wellington described, but rather in the end of the year financial documentation process. And even when expenses exactly lined up with those described in the plan, problems often still arose.

Pontos Year-End Financial Documentation

At the end of each year of the three-year contract, Pontos must "prestar contas," or account for funds spent, by submitting a package of documentation providing evidence of the way that PdC resources were used in accordance with the work plan. The package must include detailed reports on activities undertaken, signed lists of attendees, updated certifications of the community entity's legal status, and official receipts for every purchase made over the course of the year, among other required materials. Each of the receipts included in the year-end financial documentation package should have printed on it the supplier's identification number as a legally established entity. Only after state financial managers have approved the first year's annual reporting package can the state release the next year of funds. Pontos must send paper copies of these materials, following detailed rules about formatting that specify, for example, where to put the staple on the group of papers.

To begin with, in the urban slums, indigenous villages, remote rural towns, and other communities where Pontos operate, official financial receipts are virtually unattainable. To illustrate the impossibility of complying with these regulations in the context of their culture-making practices, ponteiros repeatedly used the example of buying gourds to construct *berimbaus*, or artisanal instruments used in the Afro-Brazilian cultural tradition of *capoeira*. After perhaps a brief negotiation, you hand the person the money, they give you the gourds. At best, someone scrawls a number on a piece of paper. To complicate things even further, the law 8666 requires that for transactions above a particular amount, recipients must seek three official proposal bids, selecting from among them the least costly supplier. One ponteiro in Rio related that her musical group operating in a *favela* (hillside shantytown) controlled by armed drug traffickers had to return all of the funds spent on gallons of water because, due to the regularly occurring shootouts in the community, there was only one water supplier that would venture up the hill for delivery (Interview 71). Pontos also struggled to keep notarized certifications up to date, which are costly and have a limited validation period. When state auditors rejected financial documentation packages, the certifications within the package often expired before the errors could be corrected, requiring ponteiros to obtain new ones at their own expense. To make matters worse, ponteiros often tried to "dar um jeitinho" to creatively resolve financial issues that arose. Vinícius, one of the original state PdC coordinators in Alagoas who is now Maceió's municipal Secretary of Culture, described how this played out in his state:

> It was chaos, chaos. Within six months of the program, we were tearing out our hair. People were committing errors of all kinds you could imagine. In our state, the network of Pontos started exchanging receipts. "You give me a receipt for such and such amount…" that kind of thing. Like a bank for receipts. It turned

into a corruption ring! A network of mistakes! But was it their fault? No. They were doing what was in their capacity to resolve the problems (Interview 43).

As Vinícius and other state cultural managers and monitors affirmed, Pontos are by and large using PdC funding to advance the program's creative mission, capitalizing on state support to continue and expand their inspiring culture-making practices, but this is not at all corroborated by what gets transmitted through the documentation that they submit (or fail to submit, as is often the case). Wellington, the monitor quoted above, asserted that of the supposedly "non-compliant" Pontos within the state of Rio de Janeiro, "99.9% are honest, they just don't know how to handle public money" (Interview 53). In sum, there is a dramatic gap between what is conveyed through Pontos' paperwork and the actual culture-making activities they undertake; between what the Brazilian state "sees" and the social reality that its tools of documentation are supposed to represent. Ponteiros frequently expressed their frustration that the state was more interested in their accounting reports than their artistic outputs, valuing *notas fiscais* (financial notes) over *notas musicais* (musical notes). Within the MinC building in Brasilia, a large storeroom holds a random array of videos, musical recordings, photos, books, paintings, crafts, and other objects that ponteiros included with their year-end financial accounting packages in an effort to demonstrate the results of their work. While their paperwork often portrays them as crooks that misuse public funds, these objects offer a glimpse into their stories as culture-makers.

It is also critical to note, however, that the PdC's bureaucratic debacles stem not only from the inherent tensions between state documentation procedures and Pontos' practices, but also from incoherence and unpredictability within the Brazilian state. When, in presenting preliminary findings of this research to a group of ponteiros, I talked

about a rational-bureaucratic, rule-bound state clashing with creative, improvisational society, one participant vociferously objected, "The Brazilian state is the most irrational rationality that ever existed! And there is no one more creative than the state—they build a mountain just to construct a tunnel!" Various ponteiros reported a lack of clarity or consistency in interpretation of the rules within the MinC financial sector, where there was a high degree of turnover, due in part to changes in administration but also likely related to the stresses of the position. Ponteiros also told stories of their documentation getting lost within the state, and delays in transferring funds that stemmed from confusion within state agencies even when their accounting documentation was ultimately deemed complete and adequate.

Results for Pontos within these trying bureaucratic processes varied. Firstly, not all Pontos suffered the same difficulties with the convênio. As noted in the previous chapter, some Pontos possess greater organizational and administrative capacity and operate in less precarious contexts, most notably within the state of Santa Catarina as elaborated below, and were able to complete the contract in a relatively timely manner. Secondly, some Pontos did spend funds in truly inappropriate ways. Cris, the monitor mentioned above, related a meeting in which a ponteiro admitted to distributing the money among people he knew in the community. Finally, some cultural groups that used the funds well but ultimately got overwhelmed in administrative issues faced serious consequences. One state coordinator described a Ponto that ended up owing thousands of dollars back to the state, bankrupting the community organization and creating ongoing juridical complications for the group's legal representative. On a few occasions, ponteiros referred to the story of "the clown who went to jail" due to failure to comply with the

144

program's financial requirements—a likely apocryphal but nonetheless revealing tale that conveys both the perceived danger and the absurdity of the PdC program's bureaucratic hurdles. Truly failed Pontos were particularly hard to investigate; incomplete historical records, due in part to changes of administration within the MinC and to the PdC's decentralization process, as well as to the political sensitivities of publicizing the program's deficiencies, made it difficult to obtain lists that included Pontos that were no longer considered "active" but had not completed the contract. Representatives from failed Pontos also understandably avoided contact from anyone wanting to talk about the program.

Overall, however, of the thousands of Pontos throughout Brazil, estimates suggest that the vast majority is in a state of bureaucratic limbo. They are doing good work but are currently entangled in administrative paperwork, or were entangled and got out only after a good deal of struggle, according to state cultural managers, contracted monitors, and ponteiros I met. Based on site visits, Wellington estimated that 90% of the close to 200 Pontos in the state of Rio had some issue pending, with only 10% successfully submitting all three financial reporting packages to complete the contract. Available documentation indicates that most convênios are still active, even including those dating back to initial selection rounds in 2004 and 2005, meaning that Pontos have not yet completed the financial accounting process but are still eligible to receive final payments when the documentation is completed.

This limbo status draws out the relationship between Pontos and the state. What is designed to be a three-year contracted partnership turns into a protracted back and forth of submitting and resubmitting documentation, requesting approvals for changes and

prolongations of deadlines, and waiting for delayed payments. Paperwork serves as a

mechanism for compelling ongoing and intense interactions between ponteiros and state

representatives.

Collaborative Improvisation Around Paperwork

> *We try to make things work within the given legislation, but in an agile way.*
> *Because culture is dynamic by nature. But at the same time, we have to work within a*
> *structure that is really rigid.*
>   –PdC state coordinator in Rio de Janeiro (Interview 15)

As established in the opening of this chapter, in general, marginalized citizens'

encounters with state bureaucracies tend to be negative experiences. Beyond merely

establishing or defining the boundary between state and society, bureaucratic procedures

often serve to expand the distance between the two, alienating poor citizens from the state

and exacerbating their experience of marginality and reproducing the cultural politics of

exclusion and inequality. Yet as established in preceding chapters, the culture-making

context and pretense of the PdC program set the stage for a very different set of

encounters between marginalized citizens and state bureaucracy, mediated by a key set of

cultural managers and state-contracted monitors that serve as ponteiros' principle point of

contact with the state. Ponteiros' "culture-maker" status within the program compels state

agents to receive them as people who are providing something rather than seeking

something from the state. While ponteiros tend to lack the formal educational training

helpful for negotiating administrative issues, they are recognized as having qualifications

in an arena where other forms of knowledge are valued. Moreover, PdC bureaucrats tend

to readily recognize the problematic gap between culture-making and paper-pushing, and

thus the need to help translate ponteiros' activities into something "legible" to the state,

as well as to create more flexibility within state regulations to accommodate the realities Pontos face.

Examining the PdC program in the states of Alagoas and Rio de Janeiro, this chapter will now consider two different models of cooperative interaction that have emerged between state agents and ponteiros. In addition, it will describe how in the third case, Santa Catarina, this kind of collaboration did not occur, both because the tensions were lesser and because, when they did emerge, state-society negotiations were not as central to their resolution.

Alagoas: The Intimacy Model

Catarina, the coordinator of the state of Alagoas's PdC program, hovered over the photos spread across her office table, grinning at the splay of colorful images, including one of a crowd of people waving clarinets over their heads. "They are all so good, it is hard to choose, but I think this one really captures the essence of your Ponto," she advised Furlano, a 73-year-old clarinetist and leader of a community band that received state funding for the first time in its hundred-year history when it was selected as a Ponto de Cultura. Furlano is trying to select which picture to include in the catalogue of Pontos to be released later that month. Catarina has visited this and all of the other Pontos de Cultura in the state multiple times. Later, as she goes over the list of Pontos with me in her office, she gives a little detail about each one and their leaders. "Wilson is amazing…learned to play drums growing up in a *candomble*[17] house, and now has the best *maracatu*[18] percussion ensemble in the state. You should definitely talk to him." Catarina does not "see like a state"; she is intimately familiar with the dynamic and

---

[17] Afro-Brazilian religion
[18] Afro-Brazilian rhythmic genre

147

creative culture-making practices of Alagoas's Pontos and the idiosyncratic folks who tend to lead these artistic initiatives.

Catarina and other functionaries within the Alagoas State Secretariat of Culture (SECULT) have developed close relationships with ponteiros over the course of the eight years in which the PdC has been managed at the state level. Testimonials abound of ways they personally assisted ponteiros in filling out a form, locating a needed document, interpreting a rule, or generating the correct format for a financial receipt. To provide ongoing assistance after hours, they give out their cell phone numbers or connect with ponteiros on Facebook. One ponteiro reports, "Catarina really gives of herself. She will stay up until the early hours of the morning helping someone get their paperwork in" (Interview 31). Ponteiros in Alagoas commonly refer to Catarina as the "mãe dos Pontos" or the Pontos mom, and Natalia, her assistant, as the "madrinha" or godmother.

The PdC has also cultivated a physical proximity between the state and ponteiros. During the three weeks I spent hanging out in the SECULT office, located in the basement of a large government building, I observed an almost constant flow of ponteiros dropping in to ask questions and seek advice. Generally, these solicitations had to do with the details of some administrative procedure. Many of these individuals had never had any contact with a state official or even entered a government office before their engagement with the program. I asked one such ponteiro how many times she had visited the SECULT after her cultural group was selected as a Ponto. "I lost count," she replied with a chuckle. When ponteiros arrive at the SECULT seeking help, PdC state managers treat them as valued artists, not incompetent illiterates. Catarina gets teary-eyed

describing the amazing *reisado* and *forro*[19] band led by a ponteiro who just walked out of her office after receiving guidance on how to fill out an expense form. Never mind that he didn't complete high school. Natalia raves about a circus group located at the outskirts of Maceió, insisting that I go visit them.

As compared to other states where the PdC was implemented, Alagoas presented among the greatest tensions between the state bureaucracy and societal culture-making practices. As explained in chapter 3, Alagoas is among the poorest and least developed states in Brazil, and marginalized citizens are not conditioned to feel welcomed within the state. Alagoas also epitomizes the kind of cultural diversity the PdC program aims to promote, and the PdC program genuinely reached artistic groups located in periphery areas, largely because state cultural secreriat staff embraced the ideals of the program. In describing the way that the first round of Pontos, selected in 2004 by the MinC, interacted with the program's paperwork requirements, one state representative relates: "Everything that could go wrong did. They were the guinea pigs of the Ministry of Culture" (Interview 41). The secretary of the SECULT, in dialogue with Catarina, thus decided to only expand the program slowly, ensuring that the relatively small team of state functionaries could give future Pontos selected the individualized attention they needed.

The personal dedication that secretariat staff demonstrate in their interactions with ponteiros stems in part from some of their personal histories with the arts—some are "artist bureaucrats," as described in Chapter 3. Catarina was trained as a classical violinist and taught music for a number of years at the state university, but she is now

---

[19] Genres of northeastern folk music

pursuing her second passion: "I always loved spreadsheets," she relates. Eight years ago, the state cultural secretary offered her a position as the coordinator of Pontos de Cultura, a post she has since pursued with the passion of an artist and the compulsivity of an accountant. But even for state agents without such a background, the broader PdC context—in which the marginalized are sought for their particular talents— shapes the relationships developed with ponteiros. Luiza, a secretariat staff member with no artistic training, commented of the program: "Sometimes the artist doesn't necessarily have to be a good administrator. He is the artist. But the system forced them to learn. And they are learning. They are becoming bureaucrats. Artist bureaucrats" (Interview 41). Significantly, she attributes ponteiros' administrative incapacities not to their subaltern status but rather to their creative tendencies. The cultural context of the engagement also significantly impacts the way that ponteiros approach the state. One MinC representative commented:

> Of course, [ponteiros] are artists. They are culture people. They have this self-love—if they didn't they wouldn't be artists….So imagine, these people, they are coming from the popular classes, from the Pontos de Cultura…And they don't have this reverence for formal education. This hierarchy of who has a doctoral degree, or all of that. They don't care. They have the appropriation of their own knowledge, within them, and they sit and talk with us, equal to equal (Interview 64).

United in their commitment to the PdC's end goal, state agents and ponteiros in Alagoas came together to jointly tackle the bureaucratic hurdles that hinder the culture-making practices both sides saw as valuable.

Through this learning-by-doing process of collaborative improvisation, ponteiros in Alagoas have acquired new skills and knowledge that enable them to better access and manage state funds. A resident of one of Maceió's periphery communities and founder of

a neighborhood theater program there, commented, "It was a school for me, all of this fiasco over accounting…We suffered to learn" (Interview 44). Catarina affirms that, after almost a decade of struggle, almost all ponteiros in the state are now prepared to handle the documentation and accounting requirements of a convênio. Yet many would agree that producing "artist bureaucrats," as Luiza described it, is not necessarily an ideal—that something might be lost when artists become too immersed in bureaucracy. Rogério, founder of the artistic cooperative "Quintal Cultural" described above, complained that since his group was chosen as a Ponto he has spent more time filling out forms than playing the guitar. As one hip hop artist involved with the PdC observed, "There is danger of Pontos becoming the system instead of changing the system." State cultural managers recognize this tension as well, and endeavor to create space for the spontaneity and creativity of culture-making. As one PdC coordinator related, beyond helping ponteiros acquire skills to comply with bureaucratic requirements, state agents strive to build in flexibility by stretching timelines and pushing for generous interpretations of ponteiros' documentation so that these factors "do not interrupt the action on the ground" (Interview 15). As discussed below, much of this facilitation involves internal negotiations with state technocrats and financial managers.

As a result of these collaborations, most Pontos in Alagoas state have succeeded in navigating the PdC's administrative requirements well enough to continue to receive state funding to pursue their culture-making activities. Only one Ponto among forty has discontinued its activities, according to the SECULT. Lest this picture seem too rosy, however, it is worth noting some of the tensions in the new state-society relationships evolving in the context of Alagoas's program.

Firstly, the learning-by-doing model developed over the decade reviewed here depended heavily on the patience, dedication, and uncompensated overtime work hours of passionate bureaucrats. In our last interview, Catarina pulled down her lower lip to show me the canker sore festering there. "Stress," she explained. After eight years, a new administration was taking over the state's cultural secretariat in 2015, raising questions of whether ponteiros would retain their connections with the SECULT after the current cadre of nurturing staff members left. The openness within the SECULT is not characteristic of other state agencies, or of Alagoan political culture more broadly. Aware of these challenges, Catarina and others in the SECULT have tried to help ponteiros acquire not only the technical skills to comply with rigid state systems, but also the political tools and confidence as citizens to pressure the state as an institution. At a final meeting with ponteiros, Catarina urged them to consider jointly composing a letter to the incoming administration to introduce themselves as a mobilized network of cultural actors and insist on continued support for the PdC program. She also repeatedly reminded ponteiros that the SECULT was a "space of the State, not the government," meaning that they would have every right to continue convening there even if they found the next administration less inviting.

Rio de Janeiro: The Intermediaries Model

To some extent, state cultural managers in Rio de Janeiro have also developed direct and close relationships with ponteiros in the state, cultivated primarily through contact over how to resolve administrative challenges. Veronica, the PdC coordinator in 2015 who had been in the position for three years, can describe many Pontos and their activities and participants in detail. Many ponteiros fondly relate how Veronica and other

PdC bureaucrats have provided personal assistance in one way or another. One ponteiro, Deise, told me:

> Veronica is a traveling Ponto de Cultura herself. She knows everything. Everything. She even knows what you have inside your Ponto de Cultura. The other day, she says to me, "Deise, you did this, and this, and that, right?" "Well, yes!" I said. "Then send me an official notice that you did that," she says. So I sent in the document (Interview 51).

State coordinators' surprisingly comprehensive knowledge, acquired as a result of their dedication to the program, allows them to partially fill a needed translator role, helping render Pontos' practices "legible" through official documentation.

However, there are nearly 200 Pontos in the state of Rio de Janeiro, spread out across a significantly larger geographic space than in Alagoas. Rio's large Secretariat of Culture (SEC) also has relatively high turnover of personnel. A high profile and politically important institution, due in part to Rio's status as a cultural hub in Brazil, it is staffed largely with political appointees. As compared to the basement SECULT office, where Pontos frequently drop in, the Rio SEC office is located on the eighth floor of a sleek office building downtown, where one is greeted by a receptionist and waits to be invited back to meet with a state functionary. While many ponteiros reported close relationships with Veronica and others who had held the same coordinator post, these feelings did not transfer to the SEC as an institution.

Aware of the continued gap between the SEC and communities it seeks to reach, PdC state coordinators developed teams of *articuladores* or articulators—individuals with personal connections to marginalized communities, but also possessing particular skills and training, as described in the preceding chapter's discussion on outreach efforts around the application process—to improve the relationship. Articuladores are contracted

to directly reach out to and respond to Pontos, and to in turn facilitate their contact with personnel within the SEC. One such articulator, an actor and founder of a community theater company in the periphery community of Jacarepagua, described the need for this intermediary role:

> You know those gears that just don't align? It's like the Mayan wheel. You have this big wheel and these two smaller ones, in the Mayan calendar. And what I recently discovered is that there is also another wheel that aligns the other two. And that is what we needed. A third gear in this process. You have the wheel of the government, that finances the projects, and the cultural actors are supposed to rotate around that wheel. But now you need a third one that allows the others to be in coordination, to be in dialogue (Interview 56).

This model took different forms in different stages of the program, but in 2014, the SEC was working with a non-profit organization to develop and manage a set of monitors who conduct individual site visits to each of the state's Pontos. Monitors usually spend many hours at a Ponto troubleshooting administrative problems and either helping ponteiros resolve them on the spot or referring them to the correct individual within the SEC through a kind of triage system. The director of the non-profit described them as "half state, half civil society," with the goal being "to turn the bureaucracy of the State into a softer object" for ponteiros (Interview 54). Wellington, the monitor who improvised the toothpick drama above, noted, "Since we don't have the name 'SEC' people feel more at ease. They don't think they are going to be audited" (Interview 53). Ponteiros also often take advantage of these visits to demonstrate their artistic activities, though interestingly this is not the explicit objective of the monitoring, as there is an underlying presumption that Pontos are engaged in culture-making and just need help with the technical details of documenting it. Cris, another member of the monitoring team, described amusedly how one Ponto coordinator wanted to teach him to play guitar, piano, and percussion before

letting him leave (Interview 62).

Beyond augmenting state capacity to attend to ponteiros, these articulators also, in Veronica's words, help "change the image of public administration" (Interview 49). Veronica herself is a black woman who grew up in the working class suburb of Nova Iguaçu, the municipality adjacent to Rio. The team of monitors is composed primarily of young people from marginalized communities who have developed skills in accounting and project management, many through their participation in the myriad non-profit initiatives within Rio's favelas. Wellington is a dark-skinned man with dreadlocks who was born and raised in the favela Cidade de Deus and worked for many years in an NGO based there. Within the SEC, there is also a team of contracted young people who respond to questions by ponteiros, process requests for changes in work plans, and conduct preliminary reviews of financial documentation packages, among other things. While in Alagaos bureaucrats themselves are serving as bridges between the state and ponteiros, Rio's specialized class of intermediaries has allowed the state to partially outsource that role. If Rio is a city of contrasts and boundaries, a "divided city" epitomized by the dramatic contrast between the wealthy beachfront neighborhoods that run right up against the hillside shantytowns (Ventura 1994), it is also a city of people who have learned to negotiate those contrasts and cross those boundaries in both directions.

Pontos leaders themselves are also intermediaries between the marginalized and the state to a greater extent in Rio than in Alagoas, insofar as some of Rio's ponteiros are not originally from the marginalized communities in which they work. As elaborated in Chapter 3, in various cases artistic endeavors were already serving as a bridge between

members of Rio's middle class and subaltern groups. With their formal educational backgrounds, some middle class ponteiros have an advantage in navigating the paperwork requirements of the PdC program and helping others as well. Ponteiros in Rio have also developed relatively strong networked connections to help each other overcome the bureaucratic complexities of the program (and also to jointly advocate for changes in the accounting procedures by which Pontos demonstrate that state funds were well used—a topic covered in the chapter to follow). State cultural managers help facilitate these connections, for example referring a struggling cultural group to a veteran ponteiro who has already run the gauntlet to become an "artist bureaucrat."

While all indicators suggested Pontos' culture-making activities are as vibrant in Rio as in Alagoas, Rio's ponteiros have had relatively less success in overcoming the PdC's administrative challenges; the majority of the state's Pontos still find themselves unable to adequately comply with the convênio, and the state cultural secretariat is not as directly accessible to them. One monitor related that at many of the Pontos he visited, ponteiros initially told them they wanted to withdraw from the program, claiming that the headache of the convênio was not worth the benefits they received. By the end of the visit, he reported, most felt much better about the PdC and want to continue to struggle, and almost all ponteiros request a second visit. For many of these communities, he noted, it was the first time that anyone connected to the state had ever shown up there. In sum, efforts to strengthen state-society connections through intermediaries represent an improvement over the status quo for most cultural groups in marginalized communities throughout the state of Rio, but the transformation in the relationship is not as dramatic as in Alagoas.

Santa Catarina: Reinforcing Margins

In Santa Catarina, the kinds of collaborative improvisation between state agents and marginalized groups described above largely did not occur. Firstly, as noted in Chapter 3, as compared to its evolution in other Brazilian states, here the PdC developed into more of a social assistance initiative in which the state funds middle-class cultural groups to extend their services *to* the poor, rather than a state program to recognize and cultivate the cultural activities *of* the poor. Marginality clearly still exists in Santa Catarina. One ponteiro commented that the touristy town of Blumenau, touted for its cultural celebrations of its German heritage, is far more "favelizada" (populated with shantytowns) than the government would like people to believe. However the state cultural secretariat (SOL) used the PdC to engage such populations as recipients of services, rather than as culture-makers; complying with PdC selection criteria specifying that Pontos "involve" particular target populations, they selected organizations that provide cultural activities and training for the underserved.

To the extent that the PdC's documentation requirements produced increased state-society contact, these exchanges occurred between state agents and the primarily middle class coordinators of such organizations rather than marginalized artists. Moreover, compliance with the requirements required far less negotiation and collaboration, as such organizations were better prepared to navigate bureaucratic procedures. For example, the majestic municipal theater in Blumenau was named a Ponto based on a project that offers classical music lessons to children from one of the town's shantytown neighborhoods. On a visit to the theater, I was introduced to their financial accounting staff, who have their own basement office. The accountant complained about

the excessive administrative work the PdC had created for him—in particular, lamenting the new system being piloted in early 2015 to move from physical documents to computer-based forms with frustratingly limited drop-down menu selections, which actually made him miss the paperwork and its relative flexibility— but he certainly did not find it insurmountable (Interview 108).

For much of the PdC's development, ponteiros actually sustained an overtly antagonist relationship with the cultural secretariat, as the program was managed by political appointees driven by electoral ambition rather than dedicated public servants, some of whom were accused of outright corruption. Under these circumstances, interactions between ponteiros and state cultural managers tended to reinforce margins— not those that define the poor from the relatively more privileged, but rather those that separate elite political insiders with direct access to state funds from the rest of the citizenry.

While this was generally the model that evolved in Santa Catarina, there are some exceptions. The state's Pontos did include a few lower income folkloric cultural groups that struggled greatly with the PdC's financial documentation process. Nado, a public elementary school teacher who drives an old car with headlights that work only intermittently (notably, not during our nighttime drive in the rain), has helped preserve the "Boi de Mamão" tradition in his neighborhood in Santa Catarina's island capital of Florianopolis. During Carnaval season, Nado and other community members dress up in paper-maché costumes of cows, horses, the notorious "bernuncia" (an alligator-like monster), and other figures, and sing and dance the celebration of "Boi de Mamão." Nado does not have a passion for spreadsheets, and initially found the PdC paperwork

overwhelming. Through connections with other ponteiros in the state, he came into contact with one state bureaucrat who did not even work specifically on the PdC program but was sympathetic to his cause and enthusiastic about his cultural endeavors. As he related, he could never have completed the PdC requirements were it not for her assistance. Relations between ponteiros and Santa Catarina's state cultural secretariat have also shifted significantly in since 2013 when a new coordinator was appointed who has shown far more dedication to the program and interest in its cultural outputs. For example, for the first time in 2015, Santa Catarina hosted a statewide TEIA, and the relations were visibly warming as the new coordinating team enthused over Pontos' performances and exhibits.

In sum, in Santa Catarina we observe neither the same dynamic of tension between culture-making processes and accounting procedures, nor the state impetus to overcome this tension because of its genuine desire to harness the artistic capacities of the bureaucratically illiterate. We also see how the same program, placed in different contexts and delegated to different kinds of state officials, gets reinterpreted to fit what they think the state's customary behavior will support.

Boundaries Within the State

When Catarina, the Alagoas state coordinator, describes the theatrical performances, musical compositions, or artisanal crafts produced by ponteiros within her state, her eyes shine with pride and inspiration. When she talks about the team of financial managers in Brasilia who handle Pontos' accounting documents, her tone changes dramatically. "They didn't even take the time to go see the performances," she noted disdainfully when federal auditors came to visit Pontos in Alagoas. "They only

wanted to see the books" (Interview 26).

An examination of the PdC program reveals harder boundaries within the state that divide different sectors of the bureaucracy, a border that is physically well represented by the long corridor separating the Cultural Citizenship sector from the Financial Accounting Sector within the Ministry of Culture. Pedro Domingues, director of the former, and Alex Peres, director of the latter, are a study in contrast. Trained as an actor, Pedro has retained his thespian flare in his public official position. During our interview, he gestured dramatically with his arms and used different voices and accents to convey particular points. Alex Peres took his blood pressure during our interview, noting dryly the damage the stress of the position had wrought on his health. At the annual Pontos convention in Santa Catarina, Pedro wore a dress shirt, slacks, and loafers all of varying shades of purple. At public PdC events, Alex consistently dons a black suit.

State cultural managers like Pedro tend to see themselves as Pontos' advocates in negotiations with financial managers like Alex. Many state cultural managers saw their role as helping financial managers more adequately "see" ponteiros' artistic actions, widening their understanding of the diversity of Pontos' cultural practices and in some cases stretching their perceptions of what constitutes culture. Paola, an assistant within Rio's SEC commented, "By their training, they [the financial managers] see the guy [ponteiro] as just as a pile of five hundred pages. But we know that the guy is doing an incredible project. We end up really admiring ponteiros. And we feel like, how cool, how beautiful their work is" (Interview 83). Her colleague summarized, "We're the bridge between the affective and the bureaucratic" (Interview 84).

Because of the close relationships they develop with ponteiros, state cultural

managers also better comprehend the challenges and uncertainties Pontos confront in the

communities in which they operate, and the informal strategies people use to get things

done in such contexts, which may make following a rigid work plan or generating official

receipts an untenable proposition. Part of bridging the "affective and the bureaucratic"

thus involves trying to create more wiggle room within state administrative processes for

Pontos to continue making art in these environments. Paola related:

> They [ponteiros] call [the SEC] to get help, and we do everything we can. We talk
> a lot with them. It's really far from that kind of bureaucratic way of relating to
> people…. It is a lot about trying to understand, about putting ourselves in their
> shoes. That's why we fight a lot with other sectors. We say [to the financial
> managers], "Hey, the guy [ponteiro] is going through this and this and this. Let's
> try to extend the deadline a bit, to give a bit of flexibility" (Interview 83).

Through these internal negotiations, which may be quite tense and conflictual, state

cultural managers try to create some buffer space between the rigid rules of the state and

the informal practices on which Pontos rely.

Interestingly, Alex Peres, the MinC Director of Financial Accounting, also sees

himself as a defender of ponteiros against the rigid rules of the state, and as a buffer

against an even harder juridical reality that "the cultural crowd" across the hall (as he

calls the cultural citizenship sector) does not fully appreciate. "I know the guy [ponteiro]

isn't a crook," he commented, "but he's being pursued by coercive actions of the state"

(Interview 86). The rules must remain rigid, in Alex's opinion; "Informality just doesn't

work," he said repeatedly in our interview. But they can be adjusted to the reality

ponteiros face in their communities and in their culture-making processes. Alex affirms

his support of the radical mission of the PdC to transform the relationship between the

state and cultural groups in marginalized communities. As noted in Chapter 3, he and

other technocrats came into some contact with Pontos' culture-making activities. One

lawyer within the division emphasized to me that, despite Catarina's observation above, on oversight visits to "see the books" he always made an effort to see Pontos' creative work. Alex was influenced by the *encantamento* that many state agents experience. "This PdC program is the best program that ever was," he told me. But "nonconformity doesn't mean you can have irregularity," he asserted.

Because of his domination of state technical procedures and juridical requirements, Alex can conceive of solutions to these situations that, in his assessment, "only someone who works on this side" of the MinC corridor could invent. He has proposed a new legal instrument called "compensatory action" to resolve the compromised legal status of Pontos deemed "non-compliant." Pontos owing money to the state due to their inability to present adequate financial documentation might pay off this debt by undertaking cultural actions beyond those outlined in the original work plan—for example, presenting an additional public performance, or expanding the number of participants in a community art workshop. As this study was concluding, ponteiros and state representatives were still debating the viability of this proposition. How would the state adequately "see" and assess the monetary equivalent of such activities? Nonetheless, it represents an interesting example of one artful bureaucrat's creative efforts to address problems arising from the gap between societal cultural practices and state administrative tools for documenting and accounting for these practices.

Ultimately, ponteiros and state representatives alike tended to conclude that the answer lies in changing the rules for accounting for public funds spend in supporting societal cultural actions, rather than in trying to find greater wiggle-room within the existing legal structure. Paola, from Rio's SEC, acknowledged that "it's not really the

financial manager's fault," because we are "all up against the same legislation [8666]. It is collective suffering" (Interview 83). On the other side, Alex affirms that, while they remain committed to upholding the rules, the financial manager sector, and even the Federal Auditing Unit, have acquired "a vision that is more social, not just technical" as they increasingly acknowledge and appreciate the realities Pontos face. As described in detail in the chapter to follow, technocrats, cultural managers, and marginalized artists jointly participated in institutionalized dialogues and political struggles to try to change the rigid documentation requirements that severely hamper the PdC's cultural mission.

Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted the surprising role bureaucracy can play as a site for developing new state relations with the marginalized. Building on discussions of the challenges stemming from the "illegibility" of the margins in the previous chapter's review of the PdC application process, this chapter examined a much more problematic and complex case of state myopia: the incomplete and distorted story that Pontos' paperwork conveys about what they are doing with state funding. Yet rather than derail the PdC, this source of ongoing frustration—but also of ongoing contact between bureaucrats and ponteiros—created opportunities for collaborative improvisation across the state-society divide in two of the three cases examined. While bureaucratic encounters tend to reinforce subaltern groups' alienation from the state and reinforce the cultural politics of exclusion, the PdC's recognition of excluded groups as valued "culture-makers" engendered different terms of engagement. Using their creativity to negotiate set rules and structures, bureaucrats worked both with ponteiros and their state

colleagues to comply with PdC documentation requirements while also creating the flexibility needed for Pontos to make culture in unpredictable contexts.

The next chapter examines how Pontos as an organized group engaged with state agents to move beyond this adaptive approach in attempts to formally change the rules. Applying the concept of collaborative improvisation to analyze collective, rather than individual, exchanges among ponteiros and state representatives, the chapter demonstrates how ponteiros and bureaucrats creatively engaged with existing rules and forms to not only modify the policy, but also to construct the participatory infrastructure that would allow ponteiros to shape the policy.

6. Building Relations Around Bureaucracy Part 3: Improvising New Participatory Institutions and Processes

Barefoot with a partially shaven head, the word "Revolução" [Revolution] printed in white graffiti lettering across her bright red t-shirt, the representative of Brazil's National Commission of Pontos de Cultura (CNPdC) looked the antithesis of the Ministry of Culture (MinC) bureaucrat she was intensely debating. Middle-aged and balding, donning a black suit, he clearly played the role of "state" and she "society." The subject of debate: the new PdC accounting procedures. The exchange took place within the Teatro Mapati, a small community theater and Ponto in Brasília. Other ponteiros and MinC representatives who were gathered in the round sporadically chimed in as the CNPdC representative advocated for the further "desburocratização" (de-bureaucratization, if that were a word—essentially simplification) of the accounting rules; gesturing emphatically, her voice rising and falling, she insisted that Pontos should be assessed on their cultural outputs rather than their financial receipts. Beyond the accounting procedures themselves, those present also debated the procedures by which these procedures would be decided—the process by which Pontos participants and state representatives would jointly construct the new rules—in a back and forth that wore on through the evening and beyond the point that I had to leave to catch my plane back to Rio de Janeiro.

In outlining the process of establishing new modes of state engagement with marginalized groups in the PdC context, this chapter widens the frame to examine how Pontos organized to *collectively* engage with the state, focusing on negotiations over PdC rules and procedures. Advancing on the previous chapter's argument on paperwork's role

in facilitating new modes of interaction between individual ponteiros and bureaucrats, this chapter demonstrates how the tensions between culture-making and state documentation procedures compelled state agents and Pontos to construct new organizational forms and institutions. Here, again, ponteiros' status as valued culture-makers played a critical role in facilitating processes of "collaborative improvisation" to address problems with PdC documentation procedures; marginalized artists engaged as authorities with state agents in discussions over PdC rules, and both sides recognized that the state needs to change its regulations to accommodate Pontos culture-making practices, rather than just the reverse.

Section one of the chapter returns to the broader political context in which the PdC was founded, situating the program within the new "repertoires of state-society interaction" (Abers, Serafim, and Tatagiba 2014) under the Workers' Party that included the construction of new participatory institutions. While the PdC did not originally include a participatory policymaking infrastructure, section two highlights how the program presented fertile ground for its construction, stemming both from the nature of cultural policy—in which "culture-makers" are necessarily involved in defining the policy's end goal—and specific elements of the PdC design that facilitated Pontos' interactions as a network. Section three describes the role that bureaucratic obstacles played in compelling the construction of new organizational structures and participatory processes within the PdC, analyzing how ponteiros and state agents within the state of Rio de Janeiro developed a model that then spread to other states over time. Finally, section four zooms in to describe in ethnographic detail modes of collaborative improvisation that occurred among state agents and Pontos at the national level in the

context of the ongoing process of reforming PdC accounting procedures in ways that would "debureaucratize" the state and ultimately make it more accessible to societal groups—and particularly the excluded.

Participatory Mechanisms and Collaborative Improvisation

Shifting state-society relations in the context of Latin America's "left turn" in the early 2000s (Levitsky and Roberts 2013), which brought in governments oriented toward the underrepresented, included expanding mechanisms for channeling citizen input beyond traditional democratic institutions (Cameron 2012; Selee and Peruzzotti 2009). Brazil stood out as a leader in this trend (Avritzer 2009). Brazil's experiences with local-level participatory budgeting, in which local residents help decide how funding is spent on public projects, date back to the 1980s. Brazil's 1988 constitution, itself a product of input from varied societal groups, affirmed the role of civil society in shaping and implementing public policy and legally institutionalized new mechanisms of direct citizen participation. Brazil's participatory governance system expanded and strengthened after Workers' Party (PT) captured the presidency in 2003. Policy councils at the municipal, state and national level offer citizens different levels of deliberative or decision-making power in various policy areas. Brazil also includes a system of national public policy conferences, in which citizen input is aggregated at the local, state, and national level to construct a set of national policy recommendations around a particular policy issue or area.

An extensive body of scholarship has examined the comparative designs, participation patterns, and direct and indirect impacts of varied modes of participatory governance in Brazil (Pogrebinschi and Samuels 2014; Wampler 2012; Lavalle, Acharya,

167

and Houtzager 2005; Avritzer 2012). As part of our broader project to analyze *how* state-society relations shift, this chapter aims to shed light on the process by which such forms of citizen participation are constructed—to "look at what actors actually did to build institutions, their practices and not just the context that conditioned them" (Abers and Keck 2013, xxi). Rebecca Abers and Margaret Keck observe:

> Institutions are not just on or off; they undergo processes of becoming, which they do not necessarily survive. New institutions have to be organized. Even if legislation endows them with formal authority, that authority has to be made real in practice, through action (2013, xxiii).

In the case Abers and Keck explore, the "process of becoming" involved turning formal legislative authority into what they call "practical authority"— the "power-in-practice" that individuals and organizations must develop to influence the behaviors of others. In the PdC case, the participatory institutions did not originate from any legislative blueprint. Rather, the "process of becoming" involved creating from scratch the organizational bodies and procedures to structure citizen participation in the policymaking process. Moreover, this institutional construction was just one component of the broader process of forging new relations between the state and the marginalized through the PdC.

Just as state agents and ponteiros engaged in collaborative improvisation at the individual level to overcome administrative hurdles, the PdC's participatory system was built through creative engagement that spanned the state-society divide. These improvisational processes were multilayered. Firstly, through their exchanges, ponteiros and MinC officials improvised the policy itself—altering and inventing rules and regulations. Secondly, they improvised a set of participatory institutions and processes, establishing and modifying the framework by which they jointly shaped policy within

and beyond the PdC. Finally, in improvising a new mode of relating, ponteiros and state agents are also shaping the things being related. Existing structures define the state and Pontos, but there is also invention and creativity in the way that people played with, and within, those structures to interact more effectively, negotiating the state-society boundary in a way that redefined both sides. As George Steinmetz notes, "States are never 'formed' once and for all…. Policies that affect the very structure of the state are part of the ongoing process of state formation" (Steinmetz 1999, 9). Negotiations among ponteiros and state agents to build new organizational forms, regulatory structures, and patterns of engagement contributed to the process of, in one PdC officials' words, "opening up the state and molding it to the necessities of its people" (Turino 2009, 134).

Before examining these improvisational processes, it is useful to consider the aspects of the PdC's founding principles, design, and experiences in implementation that facilitated them.

The PdC: Fertile Ground for Improvising Participation

"It's crazy—we are a social movement founded, funded and legally sanctified by the state!"

--description of Pontos network by ponteiro

The participatory policymaking system that developed within the PdC was not part of the program's original blueprint, but rather was constructed over the course of a decade. However, aspects of the program's founding principles and design, as well as early experiences in its implementation, created auspicious conditions for improvising procedures and organizational bodies to that enabled ponteiros' participation in shaping policy.

PdC Principles and Design

As previously discussed, from the outset the PdC was organized around the idea that societal actors should take the lead in shaping cultural policy. Societal actors are presumed to know things that the state does not about culture-making, claiming a form of authority in the cultural realm to which the state submits. This ideal gets operationalized within the program in two ways. Firstly, rather than implementing its own cultural projects, the MinC extends funding to *already existing* community-generated initiatives in marginalized communities through the PdC. Secondly, the selection criteria for choosing among such existing initiatives does not specify what kind of activities they should undertake—"culture" does not get defined in the application materials. Societal groups are thus involved in shaping the policy from the outset insofar as they are the ones who define the policy's end, determining the content of the culture that is being made.

Consistent with this ideal of a societal-led program, Pontos were designed to function as a network. PdC founders envisioned an interactive web of cultural groups that could share their artistic products and engage in collaborative creative products. Defying a "core to periphery" model of cultural diffusion, in which cultural practices of dominant classes are imposed upon the masses, or even a "periphery to core" model, in which dominant classes appropriate artistic forms from the marginalized, the PdC was designed to promote "periphery to periphery" modes of exchange. Such exchange among Pontos also helps generate a sense of shared identity— when interacting as Pontos within the PdC, previously unconnected cultural groups that would not necessarily see themselves as related can begin to conceive of themselves as part of something larger. The Pontos label and public status facilitates contact and a shared identity, publicizing information

about cultural groups that were before perhaps only known within their immediate

neighborhoods and categorizing them as versions of the same thing.

The program also includes various specific mechanisms for cultivating

connections among Pontos. Pontos funding includes specific allocations for a "media

kit"—software and electronic equipment that are intended to allow Pontos to publicize

their work and connect with each other. The extent to which ponteiros have been able to

take advantage of this system varies greatly, as a result of differences both in levels of

technical expertise needed to operate the media kits and the infrastructure to run it (for

example, internet or electricity service, which Pontos funding does not cover). In

practice, the PdC's organization of in-person gatherings of ponteiros proved crucial for

developing and strengthening the Pontos network. TEIAs in particular serve as a practical

meeting point for exchanging ideas and information. They are also critical spaces for

weaving together the network by cultivating emotional connections among ponteiros.

Participants report the exhilaration and inspiration that comes from watching other

culture-makers display their craft in performances and exhibits, and by engaging in

spontaneous moments of cultural exchange. By showcasing Pontos' capacities, TEIAs

also reinforce the PdC's concept of the state-society inversion of need and authority. As

described in Chapter 3, PdC state coordinators will often join in song or jump into the

dance circle, but they most often engage as spectators. TEIAs are spaces where circus

clowns seem highly competent and government accountants seem maladapted.

Though supported and facilitated by the state, Pontos networks relatively quickly

developed capacities, interests and identities separate from the state, as reflected in the

reference to the network as a "social movement" in this section's opening quote. As the

MinC Secretary of Cultural Citizenship, Marcia Rollemberg, commented in 2014, "When this segment of society starts to form itself into a network, that dimension flows independently of the government, independently of the state, and this is one of the biggest results of this [PdC] policy." As described below, Pontos networks became the basis for ponteiros' political organization as a collective.

Bureaucratic Hurdles That Bind

The major bureaucratic hurdles that arose within the PdC, as discussed in the preceding chapter, also ended up serving as critical ingredients in the establishment of its participatory infrastructure. Bureaucratic challenges became a prime driver of interactions between ponteiros and state agents, as well as among networked Pontos. As noted in Chapter 5, navigating the PdC's documentation requirements required almost constant contact with state administrators—exchanges that, ponteiros and state agents report, allowed ponteiros to acquire new knowledge about state procedures and structures. Ponteiros also reached out to others within the network for help in resolving their paperwork problems; networks strengthened as they served as conduits for information about how to navigate administrative hurdles. The PdC's bureaucratic complications also extended the engagement between the state and Pontos, as well as among Pontos, by prolonging the period in which they were still actively involved in the program.

Ultimately bureaucratic problems within the PdC compelled ponteiros to collectively organize to shape the program. State agents largely recognized administrative struggles as stemming from deficiencies within the program rather than within Pontos. Recognizing the need for reforms within the PdC and the necessity of ponteiros' role in

shaping them, state agents thus facilitated and collaborated in the PdC participatory

institutions' "process of becoming".

Origins of the PdC Participatory System

The process of constructing the PdC participatory infrastructure began as an

impromptu meeting in the city of Rio de Janeiro to resolve a problem—a serious, in fact

even life-threatening problem within the program. In 2006, the MinC, in partnership with

the Ministry of Labor, or Minstério do Trabalho (MinT), initiated a new component of

the PdC called Agente Viva (AV). AV was essentially a scholarship program for

community youth to serve as apprentices, or "Agentes," within Pontos, providing Pontos

extra funding to offer stipends for young people to assist with their cultural activities.

MinC representatives in the state of Rio de Janeiro particularly excelled in promoting the

new initiative among Pontos, many of which are located in Rio's favelas. These Pontos in

turn excelled at recruiting local youth to participate, conducting extensive outreach to

attract applicants and publicly honoring those chosen. Most selected youth had never

before been recognized on the basis of their merit or seen the promise of any sort of

regular income.

In Brasília, complications quickly arose in the MinC-MinT collaboration, as the

agencies confronted hurdles in jointly administering a novel program, ultimately causing

delays in releasing funds to Pontos. Meanwhile, in some of Rio's most violent favela

communities, youth selected as Agentes turned the promise of cash, backed up by their

"celebrity" status as chosen honorees, into new purchases, including incurring debts with

members of drug trafficking gangs that dominate these neighborhoods. When the funds

failed to arrive on time, Agentes faced threats by dangerous actors demanding repayment,

and Pontos faced community accusations that they had embezzled the money. Ponteiros, connected to each other through the network, realized their common problem and called Rio's MinC office. The next day Minister Gil and Secretary Turino were on a plane to Rio to meet with a large group of ponteiros and Agentes, both to publicly affirm that the funds had never left Brasília and to discuss how to resolve the situation.

This meeting constituted the first moment of joint policy improvisation between MinC officials and ponteiros, as they talked back and forth to work out a piecemeal solution that would provide selected Agentes with some immediate cash while the MinC straightened things out in Brasília (though ultimately the AV program was phased out, as the complicated relationship between the MinC and MinT proved untenable). The meeting also marked the initiation of the improvisational process to establish modes of dialogue between the MinC and ponteiros that sharply diverged from patterns of interaction between state agents and marginalized populations within Brazil's "authoritarian culture" (Dagnino 1998, 48). The conversation took place in the MinC's regional headquarters in Rio in the Pálacio de Capanema, or "Capanema Palace"—a space reportedly only frequented by government officials and Rio's elites until Gil assumed the Ministry. But on the day of the meeting, the "Palace" was filled with residents of Rio's favelas, including teenagers in sagging jeans and straight brim caps, who explained in direct language what had occurred in their communities while the Minister and Secretary listened attentively.

The Palácio meeting also launched the process of improvising an institutional infrastructure for participatory policymaking within the PdC that expanded and consolidated over the next decade. As Firmino, a community leader from Rio's largest

favela who attended the meeting, explained, the AV disaster and its subsequent resolution prompted ponteiros to recognize the need to fully "appropriate" the PdC as their own—actively shaping it to align with the realities in which Pontos operate. The MinC under Gil welcomed this kind of closer engagement, as it corresponded to the program's ideal of a genuine partnership with societal culture makers, and of the PdC—like culture itself— as an ongoing process of construction. More pragmatically, incumbent MinC officials also recognized that, given their limited tenure, the PdC's longevity would partly depend on the collective organizational capacity of ponteiros, who later would advocate for the PdC's continuation in the face of shifting political winds.

Establishing PdC Forums

At the TEIA held in São Paulo in 2006, soon after the AV disaster, a group of Rio's ponteiros who had attended the Palácio discussion organized a meeting for ponteiros to discuss policy issues with MinC officials, in addition to the scheduled artistic presentations and workshops, referring to the gathering as a "Forum". Playing on common references to the "enchantment," or shared reverence, participants felt for the PdC, ponteiros also mounted a "web of disenchantment" in a central spot within the TEIA. On a large web woven out of string, ponteiros attached pieces of paper on which they recorded problems with the program. Most complaints had to do with the accounting requirements described in the previous chapter—a burden state coordinators suffered from as well, as they became overwhelmed with paperwork to process and ponteiros' need for administrative assistance. These commentaries effectively outlined the agenda for the Forum. Within the broader agenda of shaping the PdC policy to better accommodate Pontos' realities, the specific goal of simplifying financial accounting

175

procedures became the central theme in ponteiros' engagements with the MinC over the next decade.

As gatherings such as those held in São Paulo and Rio became more regular occurrences, the term "Forum" eventually came to be used to refer not to one-time meetings but rather to ponteiros organized in networks that played an ongoing role in shaping policy—to a newfound political entity that could collectively engage with the MinC and other political bodies as a whole greater than the sum of its individual parts. At a national level, ponteiros divided the Forum into working groups (grupos de trabalho, or GTs) based both on different artistic practices (such as music, theater, dance) or identity groups (such as indigenous, LGBT). GTs both collaborate in advancing the broad agenda of the Forum and establish their own agendas around objectives specific to their particular art form or group. Twenty-seven GTs were created at the São Paulo TEIA. At the subnational level, all states also have a Forum composed of ponteiros from within the state.

At São Paulo, ponteiros also decided to create a National Commission of Pontos de Cultura (CNPdC), a sort of executive committee tasked with coordinating the operations of the larger Pontos Forum and maintaining more formal, ongoing dialogue with the MinC as representatives of Pontos as a whole. CNPdC Members are selected both by geography, with each state network of Pontos selecting one representative, as well as on the basis of thematic or identity groups, as each GT within the Forum also selects a representative, totaling approximately 53 CNPdC members. State networks and GTs retain autonomy to establish their own selection processes. Members of the CNPdC also elect a leadership board, including a president and deputy. Though an independent

body comprised only of ponteiros, the MinC provides the funding to support the CNPdC, including paying for transportation and lodging for CNPdC meetings.

The basic PdC participatory infrastructure outlined above evolved over time. Driven forward by spontaneous exchanges and creative ideas, such as the initial meeting over the AV in Rio or the mounting of the "web of disenchantment" in São Paulo, the system has also been built by drawing on pre-existing structures and procedures, many pulled from Brazil's larger ecology of participatory institutions and, more generally, from established repertoires of democratic practice (such as electing representatives through voting). The PdC vision articulated by its founders and perpetuated in the program's discourse of an egalitarian mode of state-society engagement, in which the state's role is to support societal culture-making, served as a collective reference. While this process has led to a well-established organizational infrastructure after nearly a decade, it is worth noting that there is significant variation in levels of participation within different states and among different individuals.

Not all ponteiros are equally eager to engage in these participatory bodies. Among the approximately 200 Pontos in the state of Rio de Janeiro, for example, representatives from about 40 Pontos attended the monthly meetings of the state's Forum during 2014. One state monitor noted that many Pontos he visited were unaware of the meetings, raising questions about the comprehensiveness of the network's communication system and also the representativeness of PdC participatory bodies. Other ponteiros had attended and deemed it a waste of time—specifically, time taken away from making culture. One musician stopped attending because of what she found to be excessive discussion over details, commenting that in Brazil even the question of how to notate chord symbols in

musical charts is a subject of intense debate. Within different states, Forums also varied in their level of integration and activity, in part reflecting the broader political context of the state. For example, the Alagoas Forum is far less politically active than Rio's, though a few ponteiros from Alagoas are very involved at the national scale. While in Rio ponteiros organize their own monthly meetings at different Pontos, the Alagoas Forum has only convened at events coordinated by the state cultural secretariat (SEC). As previously noted, the northeast is notable for the persistence of an authoritarian style politics (Vasconcelos 2005); the openness with which SEC personnel have engaged ponteiros is atypical of state and local government as a whole. The account in the previous chapter of the outgoing PdC state coordinator's interventions to prompt ponteiros' political engagement—reminding them of their right to continue frequenting SEC spaces and encouraging them to approach the incoming administration to demand continuation of the program—is indicative of the effort needed to overcome this repressive political climate.

For an in-depth, up-close look at these improvisational processes at the national level, we now zoom in from this broader perspective, leaving this summary of the advent of the PdC's participatory infrastructure to instead focus on a snapshot of a discreet moment of state-society interactions within the PdC referred to in the paper's introduction: the joint writing of new accounting procedures for Pontos within the Living Culture Law.

LCV Regulations: Improvising Policy, Participatory Processes and Relationships

In 2014, Brazil's national legislature passed the Lei Cultura Viva, (LCV), or Living Culture Law, indefinitely authorizing the PdC and converting it, in the words of

ponteiros and state officials who advocated for the law, from a "government program" into a "state policy."[20] The broad language of the LCV left the MinC responsible for writing the regulations of the PdC, including, most controversially, new accounting procedures for Pontos. From the outset, MinC representatives affirmed, and ponteiros insisted, that the rule-making process would be a genuinely collaborative project shared between ponteiros and government officials. This process, undertaken between July 2014 when the LCV was signed into law and April 2015 when the new regulations were actually released, offers an ideal example of improvisational action within the PdC, involving repeated and intense interactions between state and societal actors, relying on both established structures and impromptu inventiveness to construct something that loosely corresponds to a shared content goal.

The 2014 meeting at the Teatro Mapati referred to in the paper's introduction represents a dramatic climax in the rule-making process, and a good departure point for analyzing these improvisational dynamics. The meeting took place during "Living Culture Week," a week of activities in early December organized by the MinC and CNPdC to commemorate the ten-year anniversary of the PdC. It was held the day after a Public Hearing about the LCV in the Chamber of Deputies, attended by ponteiros, MinC officials, and representatives from Brazil's Federal Auditing Office (Tribunal de Contas da União), or TCU. Approximately 40 individuals gathered in the Teatro, including members of the CNPdC and various representatives from the MinC. CNPdC leadership moderated the encounter.

---

[20] The passage of the LCV is an interesting story in its own right, and accounts differ as to whether its final approval in the legislature was a result of the mobilization of ponteiros throughout the country or the trading of favors among political insiders. A sufficiently detailed account of the struggles around the LCV, however, falls beyond the scope of this chapter's focus on the improvisational process of building a participatory infrastructure within the PdC to resolve bureaucratic obstacles.

As the final MinC-ponteiro meeting of the year, and more significantly the final

encounter under that MinC administration, as the recently re-elected Dilma had chosen a

new Minster of Culture, the meeting was supposed to have been the moment for

finalizing the draft of the LCV regulations that would go into effect in 2015. The draft

under consideration was the 16th version, the cumulative result of a series of consultations

held among groups of ponteiros at the state level, in which participants constructed

proposed language for consideration, and between a smaller group of ponteiros and MinC

officials in Brasília, in which these proposals were evaluated and incorporated into the

larger text. But far from a moment of consensual approval, the Teatro Mapati encounter

turned into another instance of policy improvisation—to propose, discuss, and further

define content for the regulation, and specifically the "Terms of Cultural Commitment"

or TCC.

Improvising Policy

"Pontos should not mold to state. The state should mold to us. We need to 'de-bureaucratize' (desburocratizar) the state."

--comment at a national Forum meeting from a member of GT Hip Hop

One of the primary objectives of crafting rules within the LCV law was to

eliminate the excessively arduous accounting requirements to which Pontos were subject

under the *convênio* system. Over the course of the drafting process, the TCC was

established as a potential alternative system for Pontos to report on the fruits of their

labor. As one ponteiro, a photographer named Davy and veteran participant in the PdC,

reinforced at the meeting, the TCC is a novel policy instrument unique to the LCV:

> The law invents a new instrument, the Terms of Cultural Commitment….Now if
> you ask a state manager, he knows what "term" is, he knows what "commitment"
> is, and he knows what "cultural" is. But put the three words together, and now

what is TCC? No one knows. And it's not written in any dictionary. Or, you see, it's something that we are inventing.

At various points in the Teatro Mapati meeting, and at the Public Hearing the day before, state agents and ponteiros affirmed the broad content goal of the TCC—the loosely shared vision guiding the interactive improvisational process. As a CNPdC member stated, the convênio generated problems for the Brazilian state as well as Pontos, thus their shared task was to "really create a mechanism that is consistent with changes that the spirit of the law proposes"—summed up, in the words of a TCU, as a move to "simplify and facilitate" the Ponto experience, and consequently that of state bureaucrats. Ponteiros also agreed on the need retain the "spirit" of state accounting requirements; as the TCU official summarized, "If I am receiving public funds, I need to be able to say what I have done with those resources."

Despite this consensus around the "spirit" of the content under construction, the more specifics still sparked hot debate. In particular, ponteiros and MinC officials diverged on the extent to which the TCC in the draft under consideration still retained elements of the old accounting system. Davy continued his commentary above:

> Now, if we are inventing something new, we could imagine that perhaps it should be based on some established parameters, so that we're not just starting from zero. Now why would we build from a parameter that we already know doesn't work within the reality that the Ponto de Cultura operates? And this is what the MinC is doing, the technicians and state managers, in this version [of the proposed regulation] that we [ponteiros] don't agree with. It is the fact that [this version] is founded, is based, on the convênio—that it follows the same logic.

Davy went on to name instruments that could serve as the foundational "parameters" for the TCC, such as scholarships, or prizes, that diverged from the convênio's logic. A MinC financial manager retorted that the TCC already approximated these models, as ponteiros would report on cultural activities undertaken and only in the case of suspected

181

"irregularities"—an extremely rare occurrence in his tenure within the MinC—submit detailed ledgers, with receipts attached, of expenses incurred. Over the course of the full-day meeting, that dragged long into the evening, ponteiros and state agents manipulated, proposed, defined, and debated the details of the TCC, reading clips from the current regulation draft, offering new textual language, drawing on models from other policy arenas or programs but also suggesting original ideas that, at least allegedly, had not been tried before. In the end, the final policy product of the day's improvisation was the 17th draft of the regulation, a slightly modified version of the drafted TCC with some details still to be discussed at the additional meeting they decided to schedule a month later.

Before moving on to discuss other improvisational processes at play, three things are worth noting about this exchange. The first is the fluency with which ponteiros discussed the technical details of state accounting procedures, as well as the familiarity with which state bureaucrats invoked on-the-ground experiences of ponteiros navigating these procedures. The Teatro Mapati meeting emerged out of a long history of interactions between MinC officials and ponteiros, in which both sides had learned from each other. Like musicians who have played together for years, and thus developed common chord patterns or melodic riffs, those at the meeting had established a shared vocabulary and set of references on which to build. The second is the tension between MinC officials and ponteiros in the exchange. Improvisation is not always a harmonious process—there can be sour notes, and sometimes the players are out of tune. The third is the degree to which meeting attendees recognized the larger potential significance of the TCC the context of a broader effort by the Brazilian state to establish better mechanisms for partnering with civil society groups in the implementation of policy. The new

accounting procedures would become part of an established repertoire, a structure that others could then build on; in inventing the TCC, ponteiros and MinC officials self-consciously saw themselves as composing a song that others might then riff on in later policy improvisations.

Improvising the Participatory Process

"Just imagine if everyone had to participate in everything all of the time…An excess of meetings—that is the enemy of democracy."

> --response from Secretary of Culture of the state of Bahia when a ponteiro suggested that civil society members should be present at all of his meetings

Beyond constructing LCV regulations at the Teatro Mapati meeting, ponteiros and MinC officials also continued to improvise *how* PdC regulations would be established. As with the TCC content, ponteiros and MinC officials largely agreed on a loosely defined vision for the participatory process; state agents and cultural actors affirmed that each side possessed useful knowledge for reshaping the regulations and claimed legitimate authority for evaluating them. But how specifically would proposals be drafted and assessed, who would be involved, following what rules? These questions had been negotiated through repeated moments of interactive improvisation over the preceding months, and negotiations continued during the Teatro Mapati encounter.

The format for debating the TCC was spontaneously generated on the spot. The meeting had started with participants discussing the draft regulation in an unstructured conversation, but as the exchange became heated, with voices rising to a level of cacophony, the CNPdC president intervened to suggest a formal debate, asking participants to applaud if they agreed. Others proposed debate rules, and the group finally determined that the MinC and the CNPdC would each choose two speakers who would

have five minutes apiece to make their cases, with the opportunity to respond to each other before turning the conversation back to the "Floor." Various ponteiros raised their hands to offer themselves as debaters, and the CNPdC president interpreted levels of clapping and shouted support to select among candidates. Throughout debate, those on the Floor interjected by posing "points of order"—in some cases to legitimately request clarifications regarding what was being discussed, and in other cases merely to add their own perspectives. Thus through a recombination of techniques common to democratic deliberation, as well as some inventive ideas, those present organized the procedures for participation.

The fact that there even was such a debate at the Teatro Mapati that day was also the result of improvisation. The meeting including MinC officials was in fact unplanned, negotiated the night before among ponteiros and only communicated to the MinC that very morning. In the original schedule for the Living Culture week, the CNPdC would hold its own meeting in the Teatro to cover various agenda items, many related to its internal structure. At the same hour, MinC officials had scheduled a meeting at their headquarters to review final details of the regulations with a subset of CNPdC members—referred to as the GT Cultura Viva. But in discussions begun over beers after previous day's Public Hearing, and continued on cell phones via Whatsapp late into the night, ponteiros decided that this arrangement violated the ideal of full participation and the CNPdC's primacy as representative of Brazil's Pontos; GT Cultura Viva members should not miss a CNPdC meeting, and other CNPdC members should have a final say on the regulations. Asserting their authority vis-à-vis the MinC, CNPdC leaders thus called

all ponteiros—including GT Cultura Viva members—to the Teatro, and MinC officials could follow.

This decision to relocate to Pontos "territory" and combine the GT Cultura Viva meeting with the CNPdC gathering stemmed in part from the questionable legitimacy of the GT Cultura Viva—a group also created through improvisation at a national TEIA held in May 2014, six moths earlier. As the year-end deadline for finalizing the LCV regulations approached, MinC officials saw the need for a smaller task force to hammer out the final draft. At the TEIA they proposed creating a GT Cultura Viva to expedite the regulation writing process. However, the Forum was still debating the process for creating new GTs or dismantling inactive old ones. MinC officials thus invented rules, adding a meeting to the TEIA agenda that was publicized via word of mouth (as were many events—due to poor organization, the printed agenda was only circulated on the final day of the TEIA) where members of the GT Cultura Viva were selected by voting among those present. Though the GT Cultura Viva met on various occasions with MinC officials to help craft LCV regulations, many ponteiros continued to question the group's legitimacy. The late night ponteiro coup around the overlapping GT and CNPdC meetings demonstrates some of the conflict involved in establishing the participatory process, and more broadly in constructing of a new model of interaction between ponteiros and the Brazilian state.

Improvising the State-Society Relationship

"We have here an opportunity to use our creativity, our inventiveness, to make this relationship [between ponteiros and the state] work effectively."

   --comment by Federal Auditing Office official at public hearing on Cultura Viva Law

Finally, in the context of the interactions at the Teatro Mapati, ponteiros and MinC officials continued to improvise a new pattern of relationship between the state and a particular segment of Brazilian society. State officials and ponteiros alike recognized the PdC as an experiment in a new model of state-society interaction, a "repertoire of state-society interactions" rehearsed in the area of cultural policy but with implications beyond. At various points during the Teatro Mapati meeting and the Public Hearing the day before participants reaffirmed the PdC's vision, as articulated by the program's founders, of a genuinely egalitarian mode of state engagement with society—and the excluded in particular—based on recognition of their unique cultural capacities. Speaking at the Public Hearing, the TCU official emphasized the efforts on the part of the state to facilitate this mode of engagement.

> The Federal Auditing office has taken great steps to try to improve its understanding of the reality of societal groups, to reach out to society, and to better comprehend the cultural sector, so that we can have better dialogue…We see that the bureaucracy must not derail the relationship between the state and a sector that needs to have its singularity recognized and understood.

In practice, implementing this vision was difficult. Beyond creativity and inventiveness, it also required a great deal of patience. Though generally collaborative, as people "enchanted" with the PdC hung together to try to make program and the relationship work, the process was not without conflict. Moments of state-society interaction around culture-making rather than rule-making, as described in Chapter 3, helped sooth tensions and keep people inspired and committed.

The character of this relationship matters for the identity of both sides. How the state interacts with this particular segment of the Brazilian population is a means of shaping *what* the state is. Under the PT, the state tried to define itself against a model of

political hierarchy and bureaucratic distance, establishing a break from the prevailing model of "government by and for the few" (Montero 2006, 51) in which the poor in particular lacked access and influence. In discussing the PdC in broader context at a presentation in 2014, the MinC Secretary of Culture and Citizenship described a moment of the "state rethinking its role," noting a "crisis in the way that the state relates to civil society" that extended far beyond the PdC. The state's ability to effectively partner with ponteiros became an important indication of whether this shift was in fact occurring.

On the societal side, through their interactions with government agents and institutions, Pontos tried to become something greater than the sum of its parts that was both connected to but distinct from the state. Part of the exchange between ponteiros and MinC officials in the context of the writing LCV regulations was about defining Pontos' unity, affirming their validity as a collective that could operate as a coherent entity in relation to the state. This sometimes required asserting their power vis-à-vis the state based on the "inversion of need" in the cultural realm—the state relied on *them* to make culture. At one point, a ponteiro rose to criticize an aspect of the TCC he found too rigid, insisting, "We are not MinC workers, we are culture- makers and the MinC is facilitating our work. That has to be the starting point." Yet ponteiros also recognized the complexity of the relationship. In a side conversation during a coffee break, a ponteiro commented, "How many people would actually be at this meeting if the MinC were not paying our lodging and transportation?" Navigating this tension between autonomy from and dependence on the MinC was part of working out this new "repertoire" of interaction.

The possibilities of the state-society relationship being negotiating in the context of the PdC in general, and the process of writing LCV regulations more specifically, were

both open-ended and constrained—both societal cultural groups and the state came with readymade structures that shaped their interactions with each other. But as the opening quote of this section emphasizes, both sides also brought creativity and inventiveness to the exchange that allowed them to play with these structures and together improvise something new.

Conclusion

This chapter has described how state agents and ponteiros jointly constructed a set of bodies and procedures that allowed ponteiros a primary role in reforming the PdC— and in particular, in rewriting accounting rules to make them more appropriate for documenting culture-making activities and more compatible with the complex realities in which Pontos operate. In documenting this new addition to Brazil's rich infrastructure of participatory institutions, the chapter employed the concept of collaborative improvisation to demonstrate *how* the PdC participatory system was created—the "process of becoming" (Abers and Keck 2013, xxiii). Certain elements of the PdC from the outset created propitious conditions to propel such a process: the program embraced an ideal of state-society interdependence and Pontos were organized as a network; bureaucratic challenges both extended interactions among ponteiros and state agents and compelled ponteiros to organize to influence PdC policy. But the organizational structures, rules and procedures that constitute the current participatory infrastructure within the PdC were only built over the course of a decade through interactions among ponteiros and state agents, guided by a loosely-shared vision of the content being built. Through their ongoing improvisations, ponteiros and government officials both shaped PdC policy and constructed a system for shaping policy. This institution building process

was part of the larger PdC project to reconstruct state-society relations around the vision, in Minister Gil's word's, of "a Brazil that is for everyone."

7. Conclusion

The previous chapters have presented evidence of a process of constructing new modes of engagement between the state and marginalized communities in Brazil in the context of the Ponto de Cultura program between 2004 and 2015. Based on extensive ethnographic investigation and interviews with diverse actors, this dissertation has argued that a process of "moving margins" advanced in the PdC context. Rather than merely incorporating the excluded into a predefined system, moving margins constitutes a mode of inclusion that alters the system—marginalized individuals are able "to participate in the very definition of that system, to define what we want to be members of" (Dagnino 1998, 51). This collective construction progressed through collaborative, creative interactions across the state-society divide. People on both sides, and particularly those with one foot in each world, worked hard to build bridges, create relationships, and construct new patterns of exchange that ultimately expanded the capacity of marginalized populations to access and influence the state, and of the Brazilian state to reach and respond to periphery communities.

A critical element of this process was overcoming problems of illegibility on both sides. As well documented, large swaths of the citizenry in places like Brazil lie not only beyond the state's reach, but also beyond its vision (Sadiq 2005), unreported or misrepresented by the documentary tools of modern statecraft on which governments depend to understand their populations (Scott 1998). Clearly the primary reason the excluded have been neglected and repressed by the Brazilian state is a question of power and inequality; the lack of public services and repressive use of state force in marginalized communities both reflects and reinforces the understanding that poor people

do not have "the right to have rights" (Dagnino 1998, 48). But a significant and interrelated aspect of why state resources and services are inaccessible to marginalized groups also stems from legibility problems (Fischer 2008, Ch 4)—those who are not "seen" are not served. Thus even in the case that there is interest and intent on the part of a government agency to extend state resources to underserved populations, the agency must confront the practical challenge of knowing who is in these communities and what they are doing. In the context of policy implementation, the challenge is generating legibility while also leaving spaces for the kinds of informal practice and local knowledge that poor people in particular often rely on to get things done (Scott 1998). One of the great advancements of the PdC is its recognition that marginalized populations know and produce things of value—they are culture-makers. Thus one of the great difficulties in a program that aims to leverage that culture-making talent vis-à-vis the state—that recognizes an "inversion of need" in the culture-making realm—is to "see" such activities in a way that allows the state to support them without impeding the creative process.

In order to construct such systems of legibility, people on both sides of the state-society divide needed to perceive of themselves and their interactions in very different terms from those that characterize Brazil's system of "social authoritarianism" (Dagnino 1998, 48). The PdC's recognition of marginalized populations as valued "culture-makers" is thus both an assertion of the program and an aspiration in its day-to-day functioning. The policy both constitutes and requires a cultural shift in the sense of challenging dominant conceptualizations of what it means to be low-income, darker-skinned, rural, indigenous, and so on in Brazil. Such meanings are conveyed, constructed and contested

through actual things people do and say in contact with others—through "semiotic practices," in political scientist Lisa Wedeen's words (2002)—including in mundane interactions between citizens and state agents over administrative details. Culture as semiotic practice can also be culture as bureaucratic practice; meanings about who is recognizable, who has authority, and who belongs both shape and are shaped by the way people interact with each other around crossing t's and dotting i's on bureaucratic forms (Soss 1999; Auyero 2012).

And this is where culture in its more colloquial sense of "arts and culture," or culture-making as referred to here, comes into play in the PdC story—the fact that the kind of informal practices and local knowledge that poor people possess and produce can be dramatically manifested in public, emotionally stirring events plays a critical role in recasting marginalized individuals as valuable and knowledgeable. Making art is a particularly explicit and visible mode of creating and conveying meaning. And culture-making is a realm of activity in which excluded groups are often readily recognized for their capacities and resources, and where their agency, creativity and humanity is on display. Within the PdC, moments of artistic exchange and exhibition reinforced for state agents the state-society "inversion of need" and helped ponteiros recognize themselves and each other as relative authorities when relating to the state in the arena of cultural policy.

In the context of these cultural shifts, engagement with bureaucracy took on a new role—paperwork became not a barrier to state access but rather a mechanism to compel interactions between marginalized individuals and state agents. Citizen interactions with bureaucrats served not merely to reinforce the boundary between state and society, but

rather as opportunities to negotiate the rules and practices that define those boundaries. The details of documentation presented a medium for extended processes of collaborative improvisation across the state-society divide that ultimately led to changed perspectives, practices and institutions on both sides. Challenges around administration also served as a mechanism for bringing together ponteiros to establish organizational forms and processes for collectively engaging with the state. Without implying that more onerous paperwork is the solution for developing more egalitarian relationships in Brazil, this study has suggested that the kind of intense state-society collaboration observed might not have formed were it not for the ongoing contact that bureaucratic obstacles necessitated.

Each of the chapters of this dissertation has presented a different part of this story. Chapter 2 described the context of marginalization in Brazil and the way that culture-making practices can facilitate exchange across boundaries of social stratification. Chapter 3 examined the key state and societal actors involved in the PdC and their interactions around culture-making, also analyzing how distinct political dynamics and social and cultural contexts in the three subnational cases generated different sets of ponteiros. Chapter 4 presented the PdC outreach and application process as an initial step in rendering the culture-making of the marginalized legible to the state and as a first instance in state-society collaborative improvisation around documentation. Chapter 5 analyzed the challenges Pontos faced around the PdC's most arduous bureaucratic procedures—financial accounting requirements—and the distinct patterns of state-society engagement that developed in three different state cases in response to these administrative obstacles. Finally, Chapter 6 explored the ways that paperwork woes

prompted ponteiros to organize to collectively influence the state and ultimately modify state documentation procedures, showing how collaborative improvisation created new participatory processes and organizational structures, as well as new regulations.

Ultimately, margins are moved by real people doing concrete things in contact with each other, responding to the constraints and opportunities of distinct political, cultural, social and geographic contexts. The actual people who are doing these things matter immensely. Put differently, if you transport the Alagoas team to Santa Catarina, you inevitably get different results. But this is also not the story of a divine bureaucrat who saves the day. This dissertation has identified patterns of state-society interactions that are not unique to a particular set of individuals or a single context. We now turn to consider how some of the theoretical propositions derived from the PdC case might "travel" beyond it.

Studying the State in the Margins

This dissertation fills a gap in political science scholarship that has focused on *why* states form new modes of engagement with marginalized populations, but has paid far less attention to *how* new state-society relations are forged in practice. While numerous works have examined the strategies and conditions that allow excluded groups to effectively make demands upon the state (ex. Yashar 2005; Ondetti 2010), or the kinds of incentives and ambitions that compel states to alter their approach toward excluded groups (ex. Lapp 2004; De La Torre 2007), we know far less about how the process of constructing new patterns of interaction plays out. In describing the mechanisms of this change process, this dissertation has aimed to demonstrate that the practical steps involved in actually building new modes of state engagement with marginalized

194

populations are at least as interesting as the reasons for doing so. Moreover, pursuing this analysis by examining the nitty gritty details of peoples' on-the-ground actions advances a particular approach to studying the state.

Like much of the "state-centric" literature of the 1980s, this dissertation recognizes states as important actors and not merely arenas for societal forces that generate outputs that are essentially the net effect of competing societal interests (Evans, Rueschemeyer, and Skocpol 1985). But this project also builds on critiques of this literature, contributing to scholarship that asserts that states cannot be presumed as coherent entities and that raises as a subject of study the ongoing work involved in constructing states as such. In particular, it advances two key theoretical points from such literature. Firstly, in examining the state, it focuses our attention toward sites of societal interaction or interface—toward the boundary itself, rather than toward the inner workings of the state, exploring how the state becomes constituted as a "thing" through its contact with that which is not the state. Secondly, it affirms that these boundaries can be identified and studied by examining actual practices. As Mitchell states, "[The state] should be examined not as an actual structure, but as the powerful, metaphysical effect of practices that make such structures appear to exist" (Mitchell 1991b, 94). What do state institutions and agents do in their interactions with non-state entities and actors, and how do such practices come to define this thing we call the state?

Such practices vary by geographic location and subnational population, as states in Latin America, among other regions, have an uneven presence throughout the national territory (Yashar 2005; O'Donnell 1993). This study has demonstrated the theoretical richness of examining state practices in the "margins"—spaces both beyond the state's

reach, where state power and presence are lacking or inconsistent, and beyond its "vision," where state-generated documentation procedures offer particularly incomplete or distorted images of populations and their activities. Such spaces are defined by geography, but also by the presumed "natural marginality" (Das and Poole 2004, 17) of those residing in these areas and by the economic, political and other factors that produce their ongoing marginalization. As anthropologists Veena Das and Deborah Poole assert, "Margins are not simply peripheral spaces" (2004, 19). In a country like Brazil, where the vast majority of citizens fit into some marginalized category based on race, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, or other characteristics, the margins are practically speaking at the very center of the polity and the primary spaces of interface between state and population. Thus studying the state in the margins does not reveal "exotic practices" (Das and Poole 2004, 4) but rather defining elements.

This study has focused on practices in flux, as state and societal actors jointly construct a new policy and more broadly new ways of relating. This research has also revealed practices that serve not to define but rather to blur the state-society boundary, establishing interactive spaces of collective construction. Under PT administrations, Brazil presented ample opportunities for studying constructive processes that span the state-society divide. Citizens increasingly "entered the state" to participate in the "coproduction" of public goods (Wampler 2012; Avritzer 2009), and public servants pursued roles and interests generally associated with activists (Rich 2012), generating "new repertoires of state-society interaction" (Abers, Serafim, and Tatagiba 2014). Beyond Brazil, Erin Chung has examined the "relational processes" through which immigrant groups engage in "strategic interactions" with state policies and actors to

shape Japanese immigration policy, demonstrating how migrants negotiate the terms of their own incorporation (Chung, 2010). Such "relational processes" generate not only new policies and programs, but also potentially new state capacities and organizational forms, as policies are part of the "ongoing process of state-formation" (Steinmetz 1999, 9). In their "practice-based approach to institutional change," Abers and Keck identify "engagement and experimentation" among state and non-state actors as essential components of the "processes of becoming" through which new institutions are built and imbued with real power (2013). The collaborative "process of becoming" in the PdC case generated, on the one hand, new artistic forms but also new state regulations and organizational bodies.

This dissertation diverges from the above works in its emphasis on the ways that actors experience these interactions and on the meanings generated in the context of such exchanges. Borrowing insights from anthropology, this study analyzes these interactions as moments of cultural construction, where meanings about the state, societal groups, and so on are created or reinforced. Arahdana Sharma and Akhil Gupta assert:

> *How* official and non-official groups of people interact among themselves and with each other might illustrate the concrete ways in which the distinction between state and non-state arenas and social hierarchies are mobilized in everyday state practices, what kinds of social capital and power are associated with this work, and how this official status intersects with and feeds upon existing, contextually specific social hierarchies (2009, 20).

In this depiction, such encounters are presumed to reinforce social boundaries and power inequalities. In contrast, the PdC case demonstrates how social hierarchies can be *demobilized* through a particular set of state practices, and how official status, rather than feeding upon such hierarchies, can be used to undermine them. State-society interactions

often reinforce oppressive cultural systems, but they can also play a powerful role in creating cultural change.

Culture in Politics, and How it Changes

Culture matters in politics. One of the key contributions of this dissertation is to demonstrate *how* culture matters and how we as political scientists can observe and analyze it in political life. Culture has predominantly been understood in the discipline to refer to the relatively fixed set of values, customs, beliefs and attitudes of a particular group of people, most prevalently in the wide body of work on political culture (Almond and Verba 1963; Putnam, Leonardi, and Nanetti 1994; Inglehart and Welzel 2005). This dissertation builds on critiques of the "group traits version of culture" based on its tendency to "ride roughshod over the diversity of views and experiences of contention of the groups or groups under study" (Wedeen 2002, 715). In advancing notions of culture as meaning that gets conveyed and constructed through practices (Wedeen 2002; Sewell 1999), this examination of the PdC demonstrates how we can concretely identify these intergroup conflicts and trace the processes by which meanings change. Brazil has served as a good case for analyzing this process. Just as the material dimensions of marginalization are obvious in a place like Rio de Janeiro, as ramshackle hillside favelas stand out against a skyline of elegant beachfront apartments, the cultural dimensions are also readily observable, as "the notion of social places constitutes a strict code, very visible and ubiquitous, in the streets and in the homes, in the state and in society, which reproduces inequality in social relations at all levels" (Dagnino 1998, 48). Brazil between 2004 and 2015 presented a particularly good case for examining how this "notion of social places" can change, as its "system of social authoritarianism" (Dagnino 1998, 48)

was being challenged on various fronts in the mist of significant political shifts under the Workers' Party. The PdC made struggles over meaning central in this broader effort, recognizing that changing politics requires altering perceptions of who is eligible for consideration as a member of the polity, or even simply worthy of recognition as a human being.

Analysis of the role of meaning in politics has covered topics such as ethnic or religious conflict (Bowen 2008), social movements (Dagnino 1998), state ritual and discourse (Strauss and O'Brien 2007; Wedeen 1999), or the more quotidian practices of the oppressed (Scott 1990; Wedeen 1999). By examining cultural policy, this dissertation reinserts "culture" in its more colloquial sense of "arts and culture" into the conversation while also embracing the theoretical depth of scholarship that has worked hard to move beyond this definition. Without presuming it to be *the* sphere of symbolic expression, the PdC case highlighted art as a realm where actors' efforts to negotiate meaning are often deliberate and explicit. Art's ability to convey messages and evoke emotions made moments of artistic exhibition and exchange within the PdC relatively clear opportunities for examining how meaning is constructed. Moreover, the project builds on observations that, within socially stratified societies, otherwise marginalized groups may be recognized as cultural authorities (McCann 2004; Eschen 2006; Wade 2000) to more specifically analyze the role culture-making can play in challenging social hierarchies. As an arena where different kinds of knowledge and capacity are recognized, and where actors' humanity and creative agency are on display, culture-as-art emerges as a particularly useful set of meaning-making practices in struggles to overcome the cultural politics of exclusion in a place like Brazil.

By focusing on cultural policy, this dissertation also foregrounds the state as a cultural actor. The state that political scientists "brought back in" (Evans, Rueschemeyer, and Skocpol 1985) tends to take as reference the Weberian model of a rational-legal administrative organization claiming control over territory. While also analyzing these characteristics, as discussed below, this project emphasizes how states are both "shot through with circuits of meaning that cut across the state-society frontier" (Steinmetz 1999, 12) and play a powerful—in this case very self-conscious—role in shaping meaning. Specifically, states help construct meanings about the character and constituency of the polity (Midgal 2009, 190) —who is an insider, who is an outsider, and what kinds of features and practices characterize the whole. Most analyses portray states as reinforcing dominant meanings in ways that perpetuate or deepen existing social hierarchies. William Sewell writes:

> The typical cultural strategy of dominant actors and institutions is not so much to establish uniformity as it is to organize difference. They are constantly engaged in efforts not only to normalize or homogenize but also to hierarchize, encapsulate, exclude, criminalize, hegemonize, or marginalize practices and populations that diverge from the sanctioned ideal (Sewell 1999, 56).

In such a formulation, cultural struggles are located on the society side of the equation, as the marginalized contest their subjugation. The notion of state as counterhegemonic cultural actor falls beyond existing models. The PdC case has demonstrated how government actors can also deploy both the symbolic and material resources of the state to reorganize conceptualizations of excluded groups and their practices, and simultaneously of the whole from which they have been excluded. While recasting the relative role of the state in struggles over meanings, the case reinforces the observation

that it is "margins or boundaries where changes in the meaning of state and nation have often been initiated" (Midgal 2009, 191).

In the PdC case, such changes occured not only through culture-making practices in the margins but also through mundane practices of bureaucratic process. Political scientists applying cultural analysis have looked for cultural change in the dramatic manifestations of social movements (Dagnino 1998), or in the performative rituals of regimes (Wedeen 1999). This project has shown that we should look for cultural change not just in the streets, but also in the technocrats' offices and in the moments of shuffling papers.

Reconsidering Bureaucracy

In its analysis of state-society exchanges around government documentation procedures, this dissertation picks up where James Scott's analysis leaves off. All modern states use tools of documentation to convert complex, dynamic reality into static, standardized facts, making and implementing plans according to these abstractions (Scott 1998). But in the cases Scott reviews, policy disaster results when this practice is pursued by an authoritarian state that is uncritically committed to the universal application of technical knowledge and is totally unrestrained by civil society. It is not just the insufficiency of the documentary simplifications themselves, but rather the failure to leave any room for the absolutely essential role of "practical knowledge, informal practices, and improvisation in the face of unpredictability" in the policy's implementation that leads to disaster (1998, 6). So what would a policy implementation process that does leave such space look like? How might those involved negotiate the tensions between the state's ongoing need to "see" citizens' activities and the way

citizens actually get things done? What kinds of actions or attitudes might be required on the part of state agents implementing the program, and how would they need to interact with the societal actors who possess the "practical knowledge" and are seasoned in the "informal practices"?

The answers the PdC case offers to these questions raise broader issues around theories about bureaucrats and bureaucracy. State agents and ponteiros overcame the illegibility dilemma through collaborative improvisation—which, viewed from the state perspective, is a form of intense cooperation with societal groups that relies heavily on the creative agency, personal passion, and extracurricular experiences of the officials involved. This model diverges sharply from many scholarly accounts of who bureaucrats are and how they act, as well as of who bureaucrats *should* be and how they *should* act. In the Weberian model, insularity from public influence and strict adherence to rational, rule-based procedures—recorded in documents—are ideals of public administration and the basis of legitimate authority. "Bureaucratic administration means fundamentally domination through knowledge," Weber asserts, including both technical knowledge and the accumulation of administrative experience—expert functionaries possess a treasure trove of "documentary material peculiar to themselves" (1922, 225). The ideal bureaucrat acts "in a spirit of formalistic impersonality… without hatred or passion, and hence without affection or enthusiasm," guided by law and his own specialized expertise (225).

In practice, of course, bureaucrats diverge from this ideal, both in terms of their characteristics and their modes of action. Volumes have been written about the problem of bureaucratic discretion and the instruments available to elected officials to keep unelected administrators in check (Balla 1998). Of particular concern is how self-

interested agency officials thwart the public interest by colluding with societal groups they are supposed to monitor, as discussed in the extensive literature on regulatory "capture" (Carpenter and Moss 2014). Bureaucrats in direct contact with recipients of public services also exercise broad discretion in the face of ambiguous roles and scarce resources to address expansive needs. Michael Lipsky asserts, "The decisions of street-level bureaucrats, the routines they establish, and the devices they invent to cope with uncertainties and work pressures, effectively *become* the public policies they carry out" (1983, xxii). Brazil is notable for its failure to develop a rational-legal state administration. Rather than efficient organizations of rule-bound experts, public agencies have been spaces for political loyalists to exercise authority and distribute resources based on personal ties and political ambitions (Montero 2006, 28).

In showing how collaborative improvisation both enabled the PdC's success as a policy and, more broadly, expanded the state's ability to reach and respond to marginalized populations, this dissertation contributes to scholarship on bureaucracy that moves beyond the Weberian model and its pathological alternatives. Challenging negative views of developing country governments with her account of effective administration in the Brazilian northeast, Judith Tendler finds bureaucrats who treated their work as a "calling or a mission" (1997, 14). She attributes successful governance in part to the fact that such agents exercised "greater autonomy and discretion than usual" (14). The PdC case reinforces the point that bureaucrats may be high minded idealists driven by goals that transcend both their institutional ambitions and their crude personal interests—public officials may think and act as "activists" in their commitment to values-based causes (Rich 2012; Olsson and Hysing 2012). It also emphasizes how bureaucrats

engage in innovative, entrepreneurial behavior to effectively construct and implement policy, exercising creative agency to advance projects that genuinely serve the public interest and build state capacity (Carpenter 2001). In showing how such creativity is exercised through collaboration with ponteiros, this work has shined light on a sphere of legitimate and constructive interaction between bureaucrats and societal groups that produces learning and increased respect on both sides...as well as art.

Returning to the discussion of meaning and state-society interactions, this research also emphasizes the way citizens' concrete contact with bureaucrats and administrative procedures influences more broadly the way that people think about the state and their power relative to it (Soss 1999). By many accounts, the effect of such contact for poor people in Latin America is to reinforce their sense of subordination and powerlessness (Auyero 2012; Das and Poole 2004). By examining this interaction from both sides of the state-society equation, noting not just how citizens experience bureaucracy but also how bureaucrats experience the citizenry, this research shows the potential for dynamism in such encounters. Bureaucrats' perceptions and understandings are also shaped by this contact, and such notions can change. Collaborative improvisation, beyond helping to overcome logistical problems of state access, both reflected and constituted cultural changes in the relationship between the state and the marginalized.

Raising Questions for Further Research in Brazil and Beyond:

Having discussed the comparative implications of the project, we now to turn consider new areas for potential examination within the case and areas for further research.

Analyzing Artistic Outputs of Cultural Policies

In analyzing the role of culture-making in producing and conveying meaning, this dissertation has focused primarily on the way the PdC's affirmation of the marginalized as culture-makers challenges dominant meanings assigned to the excluded in Brazil. It has described the culture-making activities themselves in broad categories—for example, street theater or classical ballet—to offer a sense of the breadth of practices officially recognized as constituting Brazilian culture within the program, and to show how marginalized individuals' mastery of cultural practices that do not stereotypically "belong" to them (a young black man plays classical flute) further challenge dominant understandings of the excluded. But clearly art conveys meaning in more specific ways as well, in the text of the cultural practice or product. This investigation included some analysis of Pontos' cultural outputs—the musical pieces, theatrical performances, paintings, poems, dance choreographies, and beyond—mostly to verify that Pontos are indeed producing art that is critical of the state to disconfirm the possibility of state co-optation of Pontos' art. Further research might expand this analysis by examining these outputs more systematically and in greater detail, as well as by assessing the audiences they reach. What are Pontos producing? How are they disseminating their cultural outputs, and whom do they reach? What kinds of messages are Pontos' cultural initiatives conveying about the community in which they are located, its role within the polity, and its relationship to the state? More broadly, political analysis of cultural policy might pursue questions about why governments might support particular artistic forms and the specific (political) messages conveyed both explicitly and subtly in these forms. Such analysis might be fruitfully pursued through collaborations between political scientists

and scholars of ethnomusicology, cultural studies, art history, and design, among other disciplines.

Spatial Elements: Not Just What and How, but Where

Future research might also further examine the question of the "place" of marginalized groups in a more literal sense—as a physical locale—building on this study of state-society interactions to analyze in greater detail the political significance of *where* such processes occurred. Culture-making takes place in specific locations, and through their ritualistic and artistic practices people can convey messages about those sites and their claim to them. Part of the PdC effort to redefine the metaphorical "place" of the poor and excluded within Brazilian society has involved welcoming them into the physical spaces of the state. Cultural geography and urban planning offer rich theoretical frameworks for understanding how landscapes and locales factor in unequal power relations, as physical sites imbued with meaning both reflect and help produce systems of exclusion (Shields 1992). In particular, such scholarship presents useful tools for analyzing how transgressions of expectations of place—presences or practices that disrupt dominant understandings of who belongs where doing what—destabilize power hierarchies (Cresswell 1996). In the PdC case, transgressions often involved artistic activities—poor people drumming in a government office, bureaucrats dancing at a site-visit in the slums. Further exploration of the spatial dimensions of the PdC's efforts to forge new state relations with the marginalized could advance our understanding of the relationship between culture-making and processes of place-making, showing how actors deploy cultural resources to claim rights and produce a sense of belonging in spaces at

different scales, ranging from the immediate locale to the nation-state (Rios and Vazquez 2012).

Temporal Elements: What Now? What Endures?

In July 2005, I first met with founders and mangers of the PdC within the MinC and visited some of the original Pontos de Cultura in the federal district of Brasília. I completed fieldwork for this dissertation in March 2015. During the course of this decade long period, the Workers' Party was in power at the national level, advancing a progressive agenda focused on redistribution of resources and recognition of underserved populations. In April 2016, the Brazilian legislature voted to begin an impeachment trial of Workers' Party president Dilma Rousseff. Interestingly, given the questions examined in this dissertation, she was charged on the basis of obstructing financial accounting regulations by using budgetary maneuvers to fund social programs in the face of falling revenues, or what Dilma described as "creative accounting"—a practice used by elected officials in the past without legal consequences (Jacobs 2016). Dilma's removal was in part driven by rising popular frustration over a staggering economy, inadequate and increasingly costly public services, and ongoing corruption scandals within the government as a whole, as massive protests swept the country starting in 2013. However the impeachment was ultimately orchestrated by a group that included some of the most corrupt members of the Brazilian legislature, some of whom were themselves removed from office on charges of bribery, embezzlement and other crimes even while Dilma's trial was ongoing. In August, 2016, Dilma was permanently removed from office.

Culture emerged as a significant topic in these political battles. The MinC became front page news when, upon assuming the interim presidency during the impeachment

trial, vice president Michel Temer announced its dissolution and incorporation into the Ministry of Education under the leadership of a politician noted for his opposition to affirmative action. The move provoked protest by MinC functionaries and a major mobilization of citizens who occupied MinC buildings in more than twenty capital cities throughout Brazil, organizing cultural programming that included performances by renowned artists such as Caetano Veloso and Lenine. Reversing course, Temer decided to reinstate the MinC, at the urging of Senate President Renan Calheiros, even promising an increase in budget as compared to the year before. Occupiers remained nonetheless, resisting the illegitimate imposition of the new all male, all white government. After 70 days, protestors were ultimately forcefully removed.

The PdC played a role in these political shifts, and in some instances the new modes of state-society engagement the program had cultivated became manifest. Many ponteiros participated in the occupations, including helping to organize the cultural activities within. In emails about organizing the occupations, some ponteiros commented on the cooperation of state cultural managers involved in the PdC who continued to work in the buildings. Some state Pontos forums issued statements condemning the impeachment and declaring the illegitimacy of the new government. Marcelo Camelo, Rio's former municipal secretary of culture and a champion of the PdC, was interim President Temer's sixth pick for Secretary of Culture and unwittingly became the newly appointed Minister of Culture after the Ministry was reinstated. His commentary on the occupations reveals something about the kinds of state-society relations forged in the context of cultural policies like the PdC:

> There are occupations, for example, in which new meaning was given to the
> public building, as in the case of Funarte [part of the Palácio Capanema]…the

occupation has given it a function of social inclusion. Even when the occupation ends, we should continue that [cultural] programming there, which is productive (*Folha de São Paulo* 2016).

Camelo concluded the interview by affirming he would not use judicial means to try to remove the protestors. He was ultimately removed from his post.

Margins can move in both directions. The dramatic shift away from a national government agenda oriented around the project of "constructing a new hegemony in Brazil…of constructing a Brazil that is for everyone," in the words of former Minister Gil, raises questions about the breadth, significance, and lasting effect of the changes documented in this study. How enduring will the new patterns of state-society relations established in the PdC context prove, particularly if many of the state representatives with whom marginalized artists forged these relations are now out of a job? How will the new representations of Brazilian culture that the PdC sanctified with its official recognition hold up if the state not only hands changes—once again, embodying a white, wealthy, male version of nation—but also shifts its narrative? The current political climate also raises questions about how isolated the PdC is as an experiment, detached from a broader political and cultural reality in which Brazil's system of "social authoritarianism," not to mention modes of political authoritarianism, seems alive and well. To what extent has the program generated impacts beyond those immediately involved?

As of December 2016, the PdC was still operating as a government program. As noted in Chapter 6, in 2014, after extensive mobilization by ponteiros throughout the country and advocacy by MinC officials, the national legislature passed the "Living Culture Law," institutionalizing the PdC and turning it, in the words of participants, into a "state policy rather than a government program." However the law's applicability

depends on the allocation of funding to the program, a fact far from guaranteed under the new government.

Conclusion: How to Move Margins

"Era uma vez," or "Once upon a time," begins an article that former MinC Secretary of Cultural Citizenship, Célio Turino, wrote in 2013 (Turino 2013). Reflecting on the PdC's founding at a moment when the program's budget was shrinking and the Ministry seemed to be moving in a different direction, his description is something like a Camelot story—a moment of idealism and hope that ultimately falters. While conveying the "enchantment" of the PdC program, this dissertation has also tried to cut through some of the romanticism and idealization of it in order to offer a critical perspective, documenting both its advancements and its problems and focusing specifically on its least glamorous and most problematic aspects—its bureaucratic implementation. Yet the decision to even study the PdC stems from a normative agenda—the desire to understand how margins move comes from a strong desire that they do. I am in fact also enchanted with the notion of a Brazil that is indeed "for everyone."

The significance of the PdC lies not only in the changes that occurred over the past decade but also in its usefulness as a model of what is possible. This analysis has focused on how that model works, exploring the processes by which the PdC deployed both the symbolic and material power of the state to challenge Brazil's "authoritarian culture" and redefine the place of the marginalized within the polity. The PdC experiment shows that cultural policy can be a powerful tool for advancing processes of social inclusion that also alter the whole— cultivating the creative agency and cultural authority of subaltern groups, expanding the boundaries of what constitutes national culture, and

facilitating state-society collaborations to overcome logistical barriers that prevent state access. In describing this process in detail, this dissertation has demonstrated *how* states might forge new relations with marginalized populations. However *whether* states do so—whether they use their symbolic and material resources to move or reinforce margins—largely depends on who controls the state.

Appendix A: Methodology

Personal motivation

I began following the Ponto de Cultura program in early 2005, when, as a graduate student at Columbia University, I heard the newly appointed Minister of Culture Gilberto Gil speak in person about his vision for the program. I had spent a year in 2001 and 2002 living in Rio de Janeiro, informally studying Brazilian music and teaching music to children in the favela of Borel, and the experience had sparked in me an intense interest in the role the arts can play in challenging systems of marginalization in places like Brazil. Upon hearing Minister Gil's speech, I can attest to experiencing the same "enchantment" that PdC participants describe, driving me to further investigate the program. In July 2005 I spent a week in Brasilia meeting with Ministry of Culture officials and visiting Pontos within the Federal District, and in December 2010 I spent another week in Rio meeting with staff of the state Secretariat of Culture and visiting Pontos within the state of Rio. In 2011, I entered a doctoral program in political science and decided to make the PdC the focus of my dissertation. With funding from the Johns Hopkins Program on Latin American Studies, I spent four weeks in August 2012 conducting pre-dissertation research in the states of Rio and Bahia, conducting interviews and engaging in participant observation in order to establish the study's initial theoretical propositions and methodological design. From March 2014 to March 2015 I engaged in a year of continuous fieldwork, with support from the Social Science Research Council and the Inter-American Foundation.

Being "enchanted" with your dissertation topic can be both a benefit and a liability. Many political scientists who study efforts to overcome inequality and

oppression, such as scholars of social movements or social welfare policies, are in fact strongly invested in their subject of study and bring deep ethical and political convictions to their work. Even beyond mere intellectual curiosity, this personal commitment can drive scholarship in productive ways; remaining "enchanted" with the PdC has helped me stay excited about the analysis even through the dissertating slog. Throughout the project, I have also remained aware of the ways this normative lens could slant my work. In interpretive research, the goal is not to obtain pure "objectivity" or some omniscient detached vantage point on the part of the researcher, as there is the understanding that this ideal is both realistically unattainable—all social science researchers brings personal convictions and experiences—and unnecessary for producing good scholarship (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2013). Instead the goal is to critically reflect on the way that personal perceptions and convictions might shape the research. I remained reflective both out of a commitment to methodological rigor and based on the conviction that it is in fact more useful to "the cause" to present as clear-sighted and critical an analysis as possible. Viewing the PdC through rose-colored glasses does not help those involved.

Limitations

The main limitation in the project stems from its focus on successful cases. This was in part a deliberate choice based on the research question. Theoretically, I was interested in the question of *how* new state-society relations are formed when in fact this is the case, rather than the question of *why* or even necessarily *when* new relations are formed. I am not making a causal argument, and therefore "selecting on the dependent variable" does not present the problems it does in other cases (Geddes 1990). However exploring "failed" cases—instances in which the program served to reinforce rather than

shift margins, and either did not impact, or negatively influenced state-society interactions—is useful for understanding what "success" looks like.

One unexpected challenge I confronted related to attempts to identify ponteiros with truly negative experiences within the program. Difficulty in contacting these Pontos stemmed in part from poor record keeping, as available lists of Pontos tended not to include those that had become inactive. But it also derived from the fact that Pontos that failed to overcome the program's bureaucratic hurdles face far graver consequences than I had initially understood. Because Pontos receive public funding as a sort of advance for their work, those unable to provide sufficient financial accounting documentation upon completing their activities end up owing significant money to the Brazilian state. These Pontos understandably evade contact from anyone associated with the PdC, and government representatives will generally not share lists of Pontos that include these cases because of the political sensitivity of the situation. To fill in this story of failure, I thus had to rely primarily on secondhand sources. For example, I interviewed state-contracted monitors who had been part of a program to try to provide technical assistance and training to struggling Pontos.

The focus on successful cases also stemmed from practical considerations in conducting interviews with ponteiros. I relied on information from the state cultural secretariats or from other ponteiros within the state to contact interviewees. While I contacted some interviewees as "cold calls" from lists of Pontos, I primarily either used snowballing to identify new interviewees or interviewed ponteiros I met at TEIAs and other meetings. Consequently, interviewees are not a representative sample of PdC participants, and are likely people who are relatively more involved in the program and

potentially more connected to the state. This selection bias means that this study cannot claim to describe state-society relations within the PdC as a whole, but rather answers a more specific question: in the cases where cultural groups did form new relations with the state, how did it work?

Subnational case selection

The introduction offers a detailed description of the three subnational cases, and the reasons for choosing them. As noted in the introduction, part of this case selection logic was based on the desire to explore the PdC's evolution in different regions. However I had originally planned to examine Bahia, rather than Alagoas, as the case in the northeast. An early experience attending Bahia's statewide TEIA that brought together the more than 200 Pontos scattered throughout the expansive state impressed upon me the magnitude and complexity of this case, which I felt I could not do justice to in the time allotted. I also learned early in my research that, within the PdC, Alagoas is often touted as a kind of "ideal type" of the ways the PdC was designed to function, with Pontos truly located in the margins actively engaging in artistic exchanges with each other as well as establishing very close relations with the state cultural managers. As noted in the introduction, Alagoas's unique cultural, socioeconomic, and political context make it a good site for examining questions of state-society interactions that might challenge marginalization. I therefore decided two months into my year of fieldwork to swap the Bahia case for the smaller northeastern state of Alagoas.

During the year in Brazil, I spent approximately nine months in Rio de Janeiro and six weeks in each of the other states. Rio has the most active Pontos Forum and was where the PdC's participatory infrastructure first developed, so I focused on this case to

research this aspect of evolving state-society relations. Staying for a longer period in Rio also allowed me to conduct ongoing participant observation at one Ponto, offering insights into some of the more complex dynamics of the state's overall presence in the community and the relationship between ponteiros and other community residents. Finally, the extended stay in Rio was a pragmatic decision—spending more time in one place allowed me to find childcare for my infant son.

Interviews

I relied on semi-structured, in-depth interviews to reconstruct historical accounts of the PdC's implementation over time, to solicit actors' interpretations of distinct events or occurrences, and to more broadly gather their reflections on their experiences with the PdC and the program's evolution and effects. I began the project with a list of broadly defined themes of interest (ex. for ponteiros, how they learned about the program, experiences with PdC accounting procedures) and over time I modified my questions to zero in on themes that emerged around the kinds of state-society interactions developing within the program, gathering finer details around the issues that became the focus of my dissertation. I did not set a target number of interviews at the outset, but rather was seeking to interview people until reaching a "saturation point" on particular topics, or the point at which interviewees were repeating information or perspectives that I had already heard multiple times. I also directly sought out divergent perspectives and opinions, however. Because I was interested in examining state-society interactions from both sides of this relationship, I sought to interview roughly the equivalent number of state and societal actors. There are far more PdC participants than government agents involved with the program, so I ended up interviewing about twice as many societal as state actors.

All interviews were recorded in full except the interview with the Director of the MinC Financial Accounting Sector, who requested that I not record his interview (though agreed that the interview would be on the record). In conducting interviews, I used the Livescribe Pen, which records while taking notes and can be used to play back specific sections of interviews identified in the notes. I did not fully transcribe all interviews, but rather relied on detailed notes and partial transcriptions of sections of interviews. I also used the Livescribe system to record sections of public meetings around the PdC, in addition to taking detailed fieldnotes. (See Appendix B for a full list of interviews).

Interviews by State

Alagoas	24
Rio de Janeiro	40
Santa Catarina	35
Federal District/Other	12
Total	111

Interviews by Affiliation

Pontos	69
Government	37
Other	5

Interviews with State Actors

In total, I conducted 37 interviews with state actors involved with the PdC. My goal was to interview all individuals directly involved with the PdC at the national level and at the state levels in Alagoas, Rio de Janeiro, and Santa Catarina. I was able to approximate this goal, only omitting some interviewees due to practical considerations (for example, the person was out of town or unavailable on the dates I visited Brasília).

The one exception was lower-level personnel within the MinC's accounting sector, as explained below. I identified people to interview based on their positions as listed on government websites or based on information from other state agents, and I requested emails by reaching out directly by email or phone. As I learned about both innovative approaches to the program and political controversies occurring at the local level, I also ended up interviewing personnel within three municipal governments.

MinC Interviews

During two trips to Brasília I interviewed cultural managers and administrative personnel within the MinC sector on Citizenship and Cultural Diversity (Secretaria da Cidadania e da Diversidade Cultural), within which the PdC is located. I requested interviews with personnel within the Financial Accounting sector, including accountants and lawyers who manage PdC documents, but the Director denied this request and only allowed me to interview him, as he wanted to make sure that all answers I received were official given the sensitivity of the problem with Pontos' paperwork. I also interviewed MinC regional representatives for the states of Santa Catarina and Rio de Janeiro, who were located in the capital cities. The regional representative responsible for the state of Alagoas was located in a different state, so for practical reasons I was unable to interview that individual.

State and Municipal Interviews

In Alagoas, which has the smallest state cultural secretariat, I interviewed all staff members involved with the PdC, including the Secretary of the agency. In Rio de Janeiro and Santa Catarina, I interviewed all program staff who are directly involved with the

PdC, including program coordinators and government contractors, but I did not interview the top state cultural secretariat officials.

I interviewed personnel within municipal governments in the cities of Arapiraca, Alagoas, and Rio de Janeiro that had implemented the PdC to gain insights into the ways that the program worked at the local level. In Santa Catarina, I interviewed personnel within the Blumenau municipal government, which had chosen not to implement the PdC, to understand how the program was being perceived and interpreted in a very different political and cultural context as compared to the other two cases.

Interviews with "Articulators"

In the state of Rio de Janeiro, I also interviewed "articulators," or individuals who were contracted by the state and municipal cultural secretariats to serve as intermediaries and facilitate contact with both Pontos and prospective PdC applicants in marginalized communities. This included coordinators and program staff of an NGO contracted to conduct monitoring visits to Pontos; a researcher who was contracted to carry out a qualitative study of all Pontos in the state; and individuals hired to conduct outreach activities in periphery areas.

Interviews with Societal Actors

I conducted 69 interviews with societal actors. The vast majority were leaders of Pontos de Cultura, most of whom were artists, some of whom were coordinators who played a key role in supporting the artistic endeavors of others. I also interviewed artists involved in Pontos who were not in a leadership role. Beyond ponteiros, I solicited input about the program from academics and cultural leaders who were not involved in the program. I did not interview residents of marginalized communities beyond ponteiros,

meaning that analysis of Pontos' integration within communities is based on my direct observations or on accounts from ponteiros themselves.

In identifying ponteiros to interview, I relied on contact lists provided by state cultural secretariats, on contacts developed through Pontos networks in each state, and on contacts I made at TEIAs and other gatherings. Decisions about whom to interview were in part driven by theoretical considerations. I sought variation in the kinds of marginalized communities in which ponteiros worked, in the government entity they had most contact with (MinC, state, or municipal government), and in ponteiros' perspectives on the program. Interview selection was also driven by practical considerations. While in some cases I traveled to Pontos to conduct interviews, centralized gatherings of ponteiros such as TEIAs or meetings provided opportunities to conduct multiple interviews in a day. As noted above, this meant that interviews were potentially concentrated among more active ponteiros in the program.

Ponteiros in Alagoas

In the state of Alagoas, the state cultural secretariat provided me with a comprehensive list of all Pontos within the state, including active Pontos still under the convênio with the MinC or the state, Pontos that had completed their convênios, and one Ponto that had terminated its involvement with the program, which I was unfortunately unable to reach. I was able to interview representatives from about one third of the Pontos on the list. Some of these interviews occurred within the state cultural secretariat where I spent time conducting participant-observation, as ponteiros came in to get help with paperwork requirements. Others I met at a statewide gathering organized by the state

cultural secretariat to create a catalogue of Pontos in the state. Finally, others I interviewed at visits to four Pontos in the state.

Ponteiros in Rio de Janeiro

Rio de Janeiro has nearly 300 Pontos, thus interviewing a significant portion of all ponteiros was not an option. In Rio, I relied primarily on snowballing to identify new ponteiros to interview. Approximately 40 ponteiros regularly participated in the meetings of the network, or the Forum, and most interviewees I met through these meetings. The selection in Rio thus definitively favored ponteiros who were more actively involved. The focus on Forum participants stemmed in part from my interest in the development of participatory policymaking infrastructure within the program, which I at one point thought might be the primary focus of the study. Rio's highly organized network served as the primary case for examining this process. I also conducted interviews with ponteiros at visits I conducted at 10 different Pontos within the urban municipality and 5 Pontos in the state's rural interior and smaller coastal towns.

Ponteiros in Santa Catarina

I conducted approximately half of the Santa Catarina interviews with ponteiros at the statewide TEIA. Almost all Pontos sent a representative to the TEIA, so in choosing ponteiros to interview, I tried to capture some of the cultural diversity in the state. For example, I actively sought out the ponteiros who coordinated the Ponto oriented around Afro-Brazilian cultural traditions, as well as those who were involved in the cultural activities of the various "ethnic" groups. Beyond the TEIA, I conducted interviews at four Pontos in Florianopolis and two in the interior town of Blumenau. In Santa Catarina, one Pontão focused on digital media has developed an online map of all Pontos in the

state with contact information, so I relied on this catalog to contact ponteiros for interviews and site visits.

Participant-observation

Through participant-observation, I was able to directly witness some of the change processes documented in this study. Participant-observation is critical for analyzing the role of meaning in politics, as the systems of signification that structure social interactions can become increasingly "intelligible" to the researcher as well over time (Wedeen 2002, 720) and can then be assessed through conversations with different actors. Participant observation also facilitated informal discussions, revealing things that might have been omitted in the more-self conscious setting of an interview. Finally, actors' lived experiences—with bureaucracy, with art, with each other—constitute a critical part of the story of how state-society relations shifted within the PdC. Getting to witness and actually take part in some of these experiences, for example dancing to a forro group at a TEIA, or sitting through a seemingly endless meeting about PdC accounting regulations, I gained insights beyond what I would have gleaned merely through others' descriptions. I conducted participant observation in government offices, at Pontos, and in other spaces where ponteiros and state actors came together.

Pontos Visits

I spent time at a total of 25 different Pontos in nine different municipalities in Alagoas, Rio de Janerio, and Santa Catarina during the course of my fieldwork. At Pontos, I observed artistic activities, such as rehearsals, workshops and performances, as well as community discussions and other events. I also conducted interviews at Pontos. Most Pontos I visited only once, spending anywhere between a couple of hours to a full

day. To complement these shorter visits, I spent three months teaching music once a week to young adults at the Ponto Aos Pes da Santa Marta in Rio. Beyond observing activities at Pontos, I also attended a few Pontos presentations and performances outside of marginalized communities, such as a concert in the center of Rio de Janeiro by the Grota String Orchestra from a Niteroi favela.

In deciding which Pontos to visit, I sought variance in the kinds of communities in which they were located, their culture-making activities, and the state entity that had selected them (MinC, state or municipality). For example, I made sure to visit at least one Ponto within the rural interior of each state, as well as Pontos within different periphery communities in the capital city. Or in the state of Alagoas, I selected Pontos that offered some sense of the diversity of Alagoan cultural traditions, from rural folk music to urban street theater. I also identified Pontos to visit based on contacts I made with ponteiros at different events, traveling to a Ponto to pursue a particular interview or follow up on a story from an initial conversation.

Transportation logistics and safety also factored into my decisions regarding which Pontos to visit. In the city of Rio de Janeiro, I almost exclusively visited Pontos in favela communities that had been "pacified" (though many of these communities still experienced high levels of violence during the time of my field research—as state-led pacification program unraveled in the favela of Maré, the army had come in to occupy the community). I was nursing an infant during my fieldwork and tried to stick to American safety standards (ex. insisting on carseats), which multiplied existing logistical challenges. (See Appendix C for a full list of Pontos visited).

Pontos Visited

	Pontos	Municipalities
Alagoas	4	2
Rio de Janeiro	15	5
Santa Catarina	6	2
Total	25	9

TEIAS

In May 2014, I attended the national TEIA, a weeklong gathering uniting

thousands of ponteiros and government officials held in the northeastern city of Natal,

Rio Grande do Norte. As a participant, I attended myriad performances and workshops of

diverse Pontos. I also participated in policy meetings, observing how the policymaking

procedures and governance bodies of the national and statewide Pontos networks were

evolving. For example, I sat in on small group discussions where each working group,

organized by artistic practice (ex. hip hop, street theater), revised their rules for electing

members to the National Ponto de Cultura Commission (CNPdC).

During the course of the project, I also attended multi-day state-level TEIAs in

Bahia, held in the capital city of Salvador, in Rio de Janeiro, held in the coastal town of

Paraty, and in Santa Catarina, held in the capital city of Florianopolis

Other Participant Observation

I attended various meetings including ponteiros and state officials. In the state of

Rio de Janeiro, the Forum was meeting once a month in 2014, rotating locations between

Pontos within the city and in the interior of the state, and I attended several of these

gatherings throughout the course of the year. I also participated in the Forum's working

group (GT) focused on research, attending the GT's smaller meetings and helping to

design and analyze results from the survey they conducted at the national TEIA. In the

state of Alagoas, I participated in the three-day meeting of ponteiros and PdC

coordinators to construct a catalogue of Pontos. In Santa Catarina, I did not have opportunities to attend meetings beyond their statewide TEIA, in part because I was there during the summer months when people tend not to schedule things. Finally, I observed the multi-day meeting of the National Commission of Pontos de Cultura (CNPdC) in Brasília.

I also conducted more extended participant observation witnessing more quotidian exchanges at the state cultural secretariat in Alagoas (SECULT), spending a few days a week in the office over a three-week period and helping them collect and compile descriptions and pictures of Pontos for the directory they were creating. This time allowed me to witness more informal interactions among state agents and ponteiros who came into the office (in some cases with appointments, but also spontaneously) and to gain insights into the day-to-day activities of SECULT staff.

Other moments of participant observation included, for example, accompanying monitors and public officials on site visits to Pontos, participating in outreach "caravans" by public officials and articuladores to assist PdC applicants, sitting in on working groups of ponteiros to draft the new regulations for the Lei Cultura Viva (LCV), and attending the Public Hearing on the LCV.

Appendix B: List of Interviews

#	Description	Date	Location	State
1	public official	4/1/14	Rio de Janeiro	RJ
2	Ponto leader	4/17/14	Rio de Janeiro	RJ
3	public official	4/29/14	By phone	BA
4	academic	5/1/14	Rio de Janeiro	RJ
5	Ponto leader	5/10/14	Salvador	BA
6	Ponto leader	5/10/14	Salvador	BA
7	public official	5/12/14	Rio de Janeiro	AL
8	academic	5/16/14	Maceio	AL
9	Ponto leader	5/18/14	Salvador	BA
10	Ponto leader	5/19/14	Salvador	BA
11	Ponto leader	5/19/14	Salvador	BA
12	Ponto leader	5/20/14	Salvador	BA
13	public official	5/22/14	Natal	RN
14	public official	5/27/14	Rio de Janeiro	RJ
15	public official	5/27/14	Rio de Janeiro	RJ
16	Ponto leader	7/7/14	Lumiar	RJ
17	artist	7/9/14	Lumiar	RJ
18	artist	7/9/14	Lumiar	RJ
19	Ponto leader	7/11/14	Lumiar	RJ
20	artist	7/11/14	Lumiar	RJ
21	artist	7/11/14	Lumiar	RJ
22	Ponto leader	7/12/14	Bom Jardim	RJ
23	Ponto leader	7/12/14	Bom Jardim	RJ
24	artist	7/17/14	Macieo	AL
25	Ponto leader	7/17/14	Maceio	AL
26	public official	7/18/14	Macieo	AL
27	Ponto leader	7/18/14	Macieo	AL
28	Ponto leader	7/20/14	Town near Indio dos Reis	AL
29	Ponto leader	7/22/14	Macieo	AL
30	artist	7/22/14	Macieo	AL
31	Ponto leader	7/22/14	Macieo	AL
32	Ponto leader	7/22/14	Macieo	AL
33	Ponto leader	7/25/14	Macieo	AL
34	Ponto leader	7/25/14	Macieo	AL
35	academic	7/25/14	Macieo	AL

36	Ponto leader	7/25/14	Macieo	AL
37	Ponto leader	7/26/14	Macieo	AL
38	Ponto leader	7/26/14	Macieo	AL
39	Ponto leader	7/26/14	Macieo	AL
40	Ponto leader	7/28/14	Maceio	AL
41	public official	7/28/14	Macieo	AL
42	public official	7/29/14	Macieo	AL
43	public official	7/29/14	Macieo	AL
44	Ponto leader	7/31/14	Macieo	AL
45	public official	8/4/14	Macieo	AL
46	Ponto leader	8/5/14	By phone	AL
47	Ponto leader	9/13/14	Florianopolis	SC
48	Ponto leader	9/15/14	Rio de Janeiro	RJ
49	public official	9/24/14	Rio de Janeiro	RJ
50	Ponto leader	9/24/14	Rio de Janeiro	RJ
51	Ponto leader	9/24/14	Rio de Janeiro	RJ
52	Ponto leader	9/28/14	Rio de Janeiro	RJ
53	contracted state employee	10/1/14	Rio de Janeiro	RJ
54	contracted state employee	10/9/14	Rio de Janeiro	RJ
55	contracted state employee	10/9/14	Rio de Janeiro	RJ
56	contracted state employee	10/13/14	Rio de Janeiro	RJ
57	public official	10/17/14	Rio de Janeiro	RJ
58	former public official	10/20/14	Rio de Janeiro	RJ
59	public official	10/22/14	Rio de Janeiro	RJ
60	public official	10/22/14	Rio de Janeiro	RJ
61	artist	10/29/14	Rio de Janeiro	RJ
62	contracted state employee	10/30/14	Rio de Janeiro	RJ
63	Ponto leader	10/30/14	By phone	RJ
64	public official	11/3/14	Rio de Janeiro	RJ
65	Ponto leader	11/14/14	Rio de Janeiro	RJ
66	other	11/14/14	Rio de Janeiro	RJ
67	contracted state employee	11/19/14	Rio de Janeiro	RJ
68	Ponto leader	11/19/14	Rio de Janeiro	RJ
69	Ponto leader	11/22/14	Rio de Janeiro	RJ
70	public official	11/22/14	Florianopolis	SC
71	Ponto leader	11/22/14	Rio de Janeiro	RJ

72	Ponto leader	11/24/14	Florianopolis	SC
73	Ponto leader	11/24/14	Florianopolis	SC
74	public official	11/25/14	Florianopolis	SC
75	Ponto leader	11/25/14	Florianopolis	SC
76	Ponto leader	11/25/14	Florianopolis	SC
77	Ponto leader	11/25/14	Florianopolis	SC
78	Ponto leader	11/25/14	Florianopolis	SC
79	public official	11/26/14	Florianopolis	SC
80	public official	11/26/14	Florianopolis	SC
81	Ponto leader	11/26/14	Florianopolis	SC
82	academic	11/27/14	Florianopolis	SC
83	contracted state employee	11/27/14	Rio de Janeiro	RJ
84	contracted state employee	11/27/14	Rio de Janeiro	RJ
85	public official	12/4/14	Brasília	BR
86	public official	12/4/14	Brasília	BR
87	public official	12/4/14	Brasília	BR
88	public official	12/4/14	Brasília	BR
89	public official	1/29/15	Florianopolis	SC
90	Ponto leader	1/29/15	Florianopolis	SC
91	Ponto leader	1/29/15	Florianopolis	SC
92	Ponto leader	1/29/15	Florianopolis	SC
93	other	1/30/15	Florianopolis	SC
94	Ponto leader	1/30/15	Florianopolis	SC
95	Ponto leader	1/30/15	Florianopolis	SC
96	Ponto leader	1/30/15	Florianopolis	SC
97	Ponto leader	1/30/15	Florianopolis	SC
98	Ponto leader	1/30/15	Florianopolis	SC
99	Ponto leader	1/30/15	Florianopolis	SC
100	artist	1/31/15	Florianopolis	SC
101	Ponto leader	1/31/15	Florianopolis	SC
102	Ponto leader	1/31/15	Florianopolis	SC
103	other	2/2/15	Florianopolis	SC
104	Ponto leader	2/10/15	Blumenau	SC
105	public official	2/11/15	Blumenau	SC
106	public official	2/11/15	Blumenau	SC
107	Ponto leader	2/11/15	Blumenau	SC
108	other	2/11/15	Blumenau	SC
109	other	2/12/15	Blumenau	SC
110	Ponto leader	5/20/14	Salvador	BA
111	other	2/12/15	Blumenau	SC

Appendix C: List of Pontos Visited

Ponto	Location	State	Date
Orquestra de Cordas da Grota	Niteroi	RJ	8/8/12
Reciclagem, Misancém e Música	Rio de Janeiro (Realengo)	RJ	8/10/12
Quilombo do Campinho	Paraty	RJ	8/25/12
TEAR	Rio de Janeiro (Tijuca)	RJ	4/5/15
Ponto de Cultura CIEM	Macae	RJ	6/14/14
Maos da Luz	Lumiar	RJ	7/7/14 and 7/9/14
Sociedade Musical Euterpe	Lumiar	RJ	7/11/14
Ponto Rural	Bom Jardim	RJ	7/12/14
Enseada das Canoas	Maceio	AL	7/17/14 and 7/29/14
Meninos do Sitio	Igaci	AL	7/20/14
Quintal Cultural	Maceio	AL	7/22/14
Quilombo Cultura dos Orixâs	Maceio	AL	7/26/14
Aliança Resgate Ong (ARONG)	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	9/24/14
Fazendo a Diferença em Paquetá	Rio de Janeiro (Paquetá)	RJ	9/25/14
Centro Ludico	Rio de Janeiro (Rocinha)	RJ	9/28/14
Cine Floresta Nossa	Rio (Alto da Boa Vista)	RJ	10/20/14
Museu da Maré	Rio de Janeiro (Maré)	RJ	11/14/14
Centro Cultural da Cartola Mangueira	Rio de Janeiro (Mangueira)	RJ	11/19/14
O Som das Comunidades	Rio de Janeiro (Rio Comprido	RJ	11/22/14
Pontão Ganesha	Florianopolis	SC	11/24/14
Casa da Crianca	Florianopolis	SC	11/25/14
Instituto ArcoIris	Florianopolis	SC	11/26/14
Quilombola Capoeira	Florianopolis	SC	11/26/14
Fotografia Para Todos	Blumenau	SC	2/9/15
Teatro Municipal de Blumenau	Blumenau	SC	2/10/15

Appendix D: Map of Number of Pontos by State

Source: Powerpoint presentation by MinC Secretary, Marcia Rolemberg, at Fundação Casa de Rui Barbosa in Rio de Janeiro May 7, 2014

Appendix E: Map of MinC and State Pontos in Rio by Municipal Planning Area
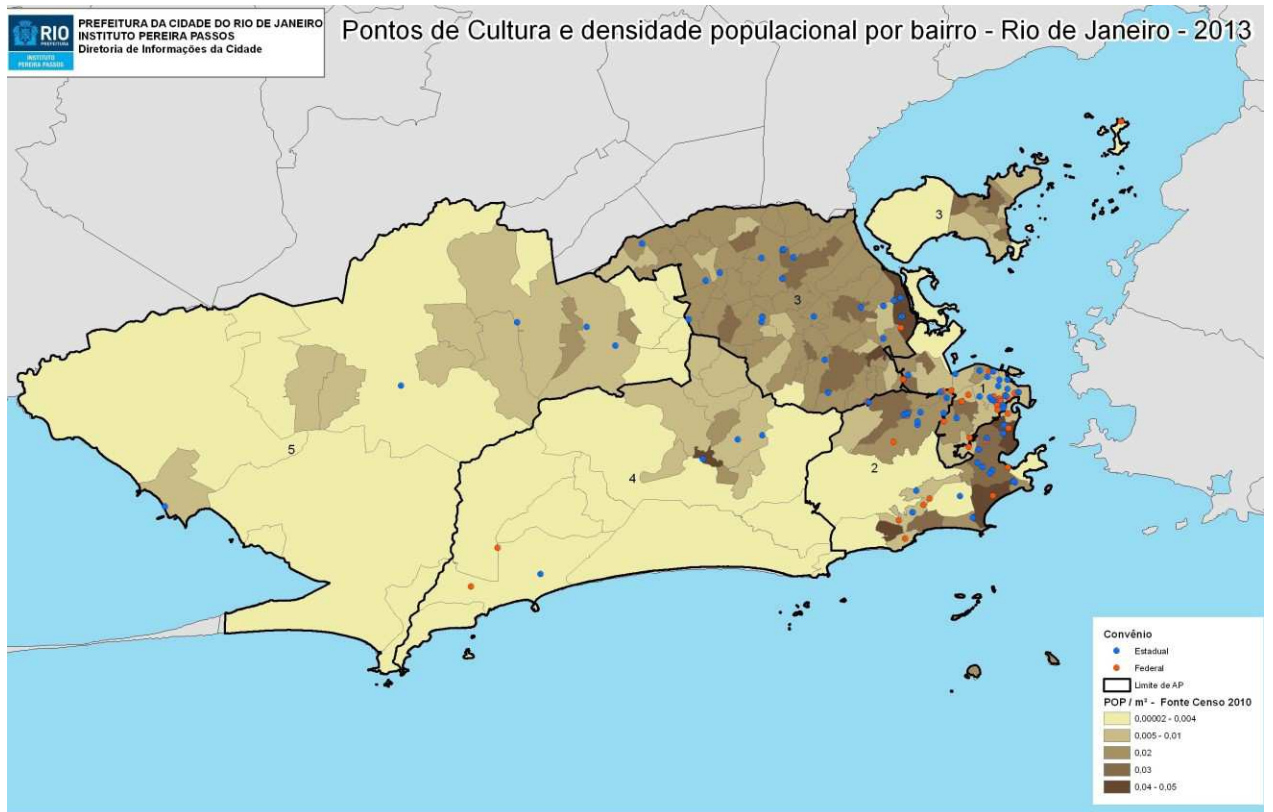
Red dots represent Pontos chosen by the Ministry of Culture, and blue dots represent Pontos chosen by the state cultural secretariat of Rio de Janeiro.

Source: Prepared for Rio de Janeiro Municipal Secretariat of Culture by the Instituto Pereira Passos

Sources Cited

Abers, Rebecca Neaera. 2016. "Biography and Bricolage: Activist Bureaucrats at the Crossroads of Environmental, Anti-Poverty and Land Reform Policy in Brazil." Presentation at Latin American Studies Association Annual Meeting, May 29. New York, NY.

Abers, Rebecca Neaera, and Margaret E. Keck. 2013. *Practical Authority: Agency and Institutional Change in Brazilian Water Politics*. Oxford University Press.

Abers, Rebecca, Lizandra Serafim, and Luciana Tatagiba. 2014. "Changing Repertoires of State-Society Interaction Under Lula." In *Brazil Under the Workers´ Party: Continuity and Change from Lula to Dilma*, 36–61. London: Palgrave.

Alberto, Paulina L. 2011. *Terms of Inclusion: Black Intellectuals in Twentieth-Century Brazil*. Univ of North Carolina Press.

Almond, Gabriel A., and Sidney Verba. 1963. *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*. SAGE.

Alvarez, Sonia E., Evelina Dagnino, and Arturo Escobar. 1998. *Cultures of Politics, Politics of Cultures: Re-Visioning Latin American Social Movements*. Westview Press.

Ansell, Christopher. 2011. *Pragmatist Governance: Re-Imagining Institutions and Democracy*. Oxford University Press.

Arias, Enrique Desmond. 2006. "The Dynamics of Criminal Governance: Networks and Social Order in Rio de Janeiro." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 38 (2): 293–325. doi:10.2307/3875501.

Auyero, Javier. 2012. *Patients of the State: The Politics of Waiting in Argentina*. Duke University Press.

Avritzer, Leonardo. 2009. *Participatory Institutions in Democratic Brazil*. Woodrow Wilson Center Press.

———. 2012. "The Different Designs of Public Participation in Brazil: Deliberation, Power Sharing and Public Ratification." *Critical Policy Studies* 6 (2): 113–27. doi:10.1080/19460171.2012.689732.

Bailey, Stanley R., Mara Loveman, and Jeronimo O. Muniz. 2013. "Measures of 'Race' and the Analysis of Racial Inequality in Brazil." *Social Science Research* 42 (1): 106–19. doi:10.1016/j.ssresearch.2012.06.006.

Balla, Steven J. 1998. "Administrative Procedures and Political Control of the Bureaucracy." *The American Political Science Review* 92 (3): 663–73. doi:10.2307/2585488.

Banaszak, Lee Ann. 2009. *The Women's Movement Inside and Outside the State*. Cambridge University Press.

Barbosa, Jorge Luiz, and Caio Gonçalves Dias, eds. 2013. *Solos Culturais*. Rio de Janeiro: Observatório das Favelas.

Barrionuevo, Alexei. 2007. "A Violent Police Unit, on Film and in Rio's Streets." *The New York Times*, October 14. http://www.nytimes.com/2007/10/14/world/americas/14tropa.html.

Berk, Gerald, and Dennis Galvan. 2009. "How People Experience and Change Institutions: A Field Guide to Creative Syncretism." *Theory and Society* 38 (6): 543. doi:10.1007/s11186-009-9095-3.

Bowen, John R. 2008. *Why the French Don't Like Headscarves: Islam, the State, and Public Space*. Princeton University Press.

Calabre, Lia. 2007. "Políticas culturais no Brasil: balanço e perspectivas." http://www.guiacultural.unicamp.br/sites/default/files/calabre_l_politicas_culturai s_no_brasil_balanco_e_perspectivas.pdf.

Cameron, Maxwell A., Eric Hershberg and Kenneth Sharpe. 2012. *New Institutions for Participatory Democracy in Latin America: Voice and Consequence*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Carpenter, Daniel, and David A. Moss. 2014. *Preventing Regulatory Capture: Special Interest Influence and How to Limit It*. Cambridge University Press.

Carpenter, Daniel P. 2001. *The Forging of Bureaucratic Autonomy: Reputations, Networks, and Policy Innovation in Executive Agencies, 1862-1928*. Princeton University Press.

Chatterjee, Partha. 1993. *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*. Princeton University Press.

Chung, Erin Aeran. 2010. *Immigration and Citizenship in Japan*. Cambridge University Press.

Coimbra, Cecília. 2001. *Operação Rio: O Mito Das Classes Perigosas*. Rio de Janeiro: Oficina do Autor.

Collins, John. 2007. "The Sounds of Tradition: Arbitrariness and Agency in a Brazilian Cultural Heritage Center." *Ethnos* 72 (3): 383–407. doi:10.1080/00141840701576992.

Cresswell, Tim. 1996. *In Place - Out of Place: Geography, Ideology, and Transgression*. U of Minnesota Press.

Crozier, Michel. 2009. *The Bureaucratic Phenomenon*. Transaction Publishers.

Cruz, Mauri. 2015. "Acabaram os convênios, e agora? — questões práticas sobre a lei 13.019/2014." *Observatório da Sociedade Civil*. June 23. https://observatoriosc.wordpress.com/2015/06/23/artigo-acabaram-os-convenios-e-agora-questoes-praticas-sobre-a-lei-13-0192014/.

Dagnino, Evelina. 1998. "Culture, Citizenship, and Democracy: Changing Discourses and Practices of the Latin American Left." In *Cultures of Politics Politics of Cultures: Re-Visioning Latin American Social Movements*, edited by Sonia E. Álvarez, Evelina Dagnino, and Arturo Escobar. Westview Press.

———. 2003. "Citizenship in Latin America: An Introduction." *Latin American Perspectives* 30 (2): 3–17.

DaMatta, Roberto. 1979. "Você Sabe Com Quem Está Falando?" In *Carnavais, Malandros E Heróis*, 139–93. Zahar Editores S.A.

Das, Veena, and Deborah Poole, eds. 2004. *Anthropology in the Margins of the State*. School of American Research Press.

De La Torre, Carlos. 2007. "The Resurgence of Radical Populism in Latin America." *Constellations* 14 (3): 384–97. doi:10.1111/j.1467-8675.2007.00453.x.

Equipe IPEA Redesenho do Programa Cultura Viva. 2013. "Sustentabilidade do Programa Cultura Viva - Subsídios Ao Debate." IPEA. http://www.cultura.gov.br/documents/10901/1131439/1398784085215sustentabilidade-subs%25C3%25ADdios-para-II-RT.pdf/a9a3f140-f35f-4463-b7c2-7720097c7e10.

Eschen, P.M.V. 2006. *Satchmo Blows Up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War*. Harvard University Press.

Evans, Peter B., Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol. 1985. *Bringing the State Back In*. Cambridge University Press.

Fernandes, Sujatha. 2006. *Cuba Represent!: Cuban Arts, State Power, and the Making of New Revolutionary Cultures*. Duke University Press.

Fischer, Brodwyn M. 2008. *A Poverty of Rights: Citizenship and Inequality in Twentieth-Century Rio de Janeiro*. Stanford University Press.

Folha de São Paulo. 2016. "Não haverá reintegração de posse das ocupações, afirma Ministro Da Cultura," May 27. http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/ilustrada/2016/05/1775458-nao-havera-reintegracao-de-posse-das-ocupacoes-afirma-ministro-da-cultura.shtml.

French, Jan Hoffman. 2013. "Rethinking Police Violence in Brazil: Unmasking the Public Secret of Race." *Latin American Politics and Society* 55 (4): 161–81. doi:10.1111/j.1548-2456.2013.00212.x.

Gay, Robert. 1994. *Popular Organization and Democracy in Rio de Janeiro: A Tale of Two Favelas*. Temple University Press.

Geddes, Barbara. 1990. "How the Cases You Choose Affect the Answers You Get: Selection Bias in Comparative Politics." *Political Analysis* 2 (1): 131–50. doi:10.1093/pan/2.1.131.

"Good Cops Are Afraid." 2016. Human Rights Watch. https://www.hrw.org/report/2016/07/07/good-cops-are-afraid/toll-unchecked-police-violence-rio-de-janeiro.

Gupta, Akhil. 2012. *Red Tape: Bureaucracy, Structural Violence, and Poverty in India*. Duke University Press.

Hammer, Dean, and Aaron Wildavsky. 1993. "The Open-Ended, Semistructured Interview: An (Almost) Operational Guide." In *Craftways: On the Organization of Scholarly Work*, edited by Aaron B. Wildavsky. Transaction Publishers.

Hanchard, M.G. 1998. *Orpheus and Power: The Movimento Negro of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, Brazil, 1945-1988*. Political Science: Latina American Studies. Princeton University Press.

Hanson, Stephen E. 2003. "From Culture to Ideology in Comparative Politics." *Comparative Politics* 35 (3): 355–76. doi:10.2307/4150181.

Helmke, Gretchen, and Steven Levitsky. 2004. "Informal Institutions and Comparative Politics: A Research Agenda." *Perspectives on Politics* 2 (4): 725–40. doi:10.1017/S1537592704040472.

Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terence Ranger. 2012. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge University Press.

Holston, James. 2008. *Insurgent Citizenship: Disjunctions of Democracy and Modernity in Brazil*. Princeton University Press.

Inglehart, Ronald, and Christian Welzel. 2005. *Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy: The Human Development Sequence*. Cambridge University Press.

Jacobs, Andrew. 2016. "Brazil Impeachment Debate Hinges on a Thorny Legal Question." *The New York Times*, April 19. http://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/20/world/americas/dilma-rousseff-impeachment-brazil.html.

Johnson, Paul Christopher. 2002. *Secrets, Gossip, and Gods: The Transformation of Brazilian Candomblé*. Oxford University Press.

"Jongo No Sudeste." 2007. Brasília, DF: IPHAN. http://portal.iphan.gov.br/uploads/publicacao/PatImDos_jongo_m.pdf.

Kedourie, Elie. 1994. *Democracy and Arab Political Culture*. Routledge.

Lapp, N. 2004. *Landing Votes: Representation and Land Reform in Latin America*. Springer.

Lavalle, Adrián Gurza, Arnab Acharya, and Peter P. Houtzager. 2005. "Beyond Comparative Anecdotalism: Lessons on Civil Society and Participation from São Paulo, Brazil." *World Development* 33 (6): 951–64. doi:10.1016/j.worlddev.2004.09.022.

Leeds, E. 1996. "Cocaine and Parallel Polities in the Brazilian Urban Periphery: Constraints on Local-Level Democratization." *Latin American Research Review* 31 (3): 47.

Leopoldo. 2013. "Em 2013, bolsa família terá quase r$ 4 bilhões a mais que no ano passado - política." *Estadão*, March 18. http://politica.estadao.com.br/noticias/geral,em-2013-bolsa-familia-tera-quase-r-4-bilhoes-a-mais-que-no-ano-passado,1010189.

Levine, Michael E., and Jennifer L. Forrence. 1990. "Regulatory Capture, Public Interest, and the Public Agenda: Toward a Synthesis." *Journal of Law, Economics, & Organization* 6: 167–98.

Levitsky, Steven, and Kenneth M. Roberts. 2013. *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left*. JHU Press.

Lewis, Oscar. 1966. *La Vida: A Puerto Rican Family in the Culture of Poverty, San Juan and New Yor*k. Knopf.

Lipsky, Michael. 1983. *Street-Level Bureaucracy: The Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Service*. Russell Sage Foundation.

Lopez, Felix, and Leonardo Barone. 2013. "As entidades sem fins lucrativos e as políticas públicas federais: tipologia e análise de convênios d organizações (2003-2011)." Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada.

Marteleto, Leticia J. 2012. "Educational Inequality by Race in Brazil, 1982-2007: Structural Changes and Shifts in Racial Classification." *Demography* 49 (1): 337–58.

Matos, Cláudia. 1982. *Acertei no milhar: malandragem e samba no tempo de Getúlio*. Paz e Terra.

McCann, B. 2004. *Hello, Hello Brazil: Popular Music in the Making of Modern Brazil*. Duke University Press.

Melo, Marcus André, Carlos Pereira, and Carlos Mauricio Figueiredo. 2009. "Political and Institutional Checks on Corruption: Explaining the Performance of Brazilian Audit Institutions." *Comparative Political Studies*, March. doi:10.1177/0010414009331732.

Midgal, Joel. 2009. "Researching the State." In *Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture, and Structure*, edited by Mark Irving Lichbach and Alan S. Zuckerman. Cambridge University Press.

"Ministério Da Cultura - Discurso do Ministro Gilberto Gil na entrega do prêmio Cultura Viva." 2006. June 6. http://www.cultura.gov.br/discursos/-/asset_publisher/DmSRak0YtQfY/content/discurso-do-ministro-gilberto-gil-na-entrega-do-premio-cultura-viva-68336/10883.

Mitchell, Timothy. 1991. "The Limits of the State: Beyond Statist Approaches and Their Critics." *The American Political Science Review* 85 (1): 77. doi:10.2307/1962879.

Montero, Alfred P. 2006. *Brazilian Politics: Reforming a Democratic State in a Changing World*. Wiley.

———. 2014. *Brazil: Reversal of Fortune*. John Wiley & Sons.

Montuori, Alfonso. 2003. "The Complexity of Improvisation and the Improvisation of Complexity: Social Science, Art and Creativity." *Human Relations* 56 (2): 237–55. doi:10.1177/0018726703056002893.

Moreira Cardoso, Andrey, Ricardo Ventura Santos, and Carlos E. A. Coimbra Jr. 2005. "Mortalidade infantil segundo raça/cor no brasil: o que dizem os sistemas nacionais de informação?" *Cad. Saúde Pública* 21 (5): 1602–8.

Mosley, Layna. 2013. *Interview Research in Political Science*. Cornell University Press.

Neves de H. Barbosa, Lívia. 1995. "The Brazilian Jeitinho: An Exercise in National Identity." In *The Brazilian Puzzle: Culture on the Borderlands of the Western World*, edited by David J. Hess, 35–48. Columbia University Press.

North, Douglass C. 1990. *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance*. Cambridge University Press.

O Globo. 2016. "Governo cancela e bloqueia 1,1 milhão de benefícios do bolsa família," November 7. http://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/governo-cancela-bloqueia-11-milhao-de-beneficios-do-bolsa-familia-20425190.

O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1993. "On the State, Democratization and Some Conceptual Problems: A Latin American View with Glances at Some Postcommunist Countries." *World Development* 21 (8): 1355–69.

Olsson, Jan, and Erik Hysing. 2012. "Theorizing Inside Activism: Understanding Policymaking and Policy Change from Below." *Planning Theory & Practice* 13 (2): 257–73. doi:10.1080/14649357.2012.677123.

Ondetti, Gabriel. 2010. *Land, Protest, and Politics: The Landless Movement and the Struggle for Agrarian Reform in Brazil*. Penn State Press.

Perlman, Janice E. 1980. *The Myth of Marginality: Urban Poverty and Politics in Rio de Janeiro*. University of California Press.

Pettinicchio, David. 2012. "Institutional Activism: Reconsidering the Insider/Outsider Dichotomy." *Sociology Compass* 6 (6): 499–510. doi:10.1111/j.1751-9020.2012.00465.x.

Phillips, Tom. 2011. "Brazil Census Shows African-Brazilians in the Majority for the First Time." *The Guardian*, November 17, sec. World news. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/nov/17/brazil-census-african-brazilians-majority.

Pierson, Paul. 1993. "When Effect Becomes Cause: Policy Feedback and Political Change." Edited by Gosta Esping-Andersen, Peter Hall, Douglass C. North, and Theda Skocpol. *World Politics* 45 (4): 595–628. doi:10.2307/2950710.

Piven, Frances Fox, and Richard Cloward. 1979. *Poor People's Movements: Why They Succeed, How They Fail*. Vintage Books.

Pogrebinschi, Thamy, and David Samuels. 2014. "The Impact of Participatory Democracy: Evidence from Brazil's National Public Policy Conferences." *Comparative Politics* 46 (3): 313–32. doi:10.5129/001041514810943045.

Putnam, Robert D. 2000. *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. Simon & Schuster.

Putnam, Robert D., Robert Leonardi, and Raffaella Y. Nanetti. 1994. *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton University Press.

Ragin, Charles C. 2000. *Fuzzy-Set Social Science*. University of Chicago Press.

Rebello Lima, Deborah. 2013. "As teias de uma rede: uma análise do programa cultura viva." FGV.

Rich, Jessica. 2012. "State-Driven Activism: Interest Mobilization in Brazil's AIDS Policy Sector." University of California, Berkeley.

———. 2013. "Grassroots Bureaucracy: Intergovernmental Relations and Popular Mobilization in Brazil's AIDS Policy Sector." *Latin American Politics and Society* 55 (2): 1–25. doi:10.1111/j.1548-2456.2013.00191.x.

Rossi, Federico M. 2015. "The Second Wave of Incorporation in Latin America: A Conceptualization of the Quest for Inclusion Applied to Argentina." *Latin American Politics and Society* 57 (1): 1–28. doi:10.1111/%28ISSN%291548-2456/issues.

Sadiq, Kamal. 2005. "Lost in Translation: The Problems of State-Generated Data in Developing Countries." In *Perestroika!: The Raucous Rebellion in Political Science*, edited by Kristen R. Monroe. Yale University Press.

Schatz, Edward. 2009. *Political Ethnography: What Immersion Contributes to the Study of Power*. University of Chicago Press.

Schwartz-Shea, Peregrine, and Dvora Yanow. 2013. *Interpretive Research Design: Concepts and Processes*. Routledge.

Scott, James C. 1990. *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. Yale University Press.

———. 1998. *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. Yale University Press.

Selee, Andrew, and Enrique Peruzzotti. 2009. *Participatory Innovation and Representative Democracy in Latin America*. Johns Hopkins University Press.

Seligson, Mitchell A. 2007. "The Rise of Populism and the Left in Latin America." *Journal of Democracy* 18 (3).

Sewell, William H. 1999. "The Concept(s) of Culture." In *Beyond the Cultural Turn: New Directions in the Study of Society and Culture*, edited by Victoria E. Bonnell and Lynn Hunt. University of California Press.

Sharma, Aradhana, and Akhil Gupta. 2009. *The Anthropology of the State: A Reader*. John Wiley & Sons.

Shaw, L. 1999. *The Social History of the Brazilian Samba*. Ashgate Studies in Ethnomusicology. Ashgate.

Shields, Rob. 1992. *Places on the Margin: Alternative Geographies of Modernity*. Psychology Press.

Singh, J.P. 2010. *International Cultural Policies and Power*. International Political Economy. Palgrave Macmillan. http://books.google.com/books?id=HDFdPgAACAAJ.

"Sinopse do censo demográfico 2010." 2010. IBGE. http://www.censo2010.ibge.gov.br/sinopse/index.php?dados=8.

Sneed, Paul. 2008. "Favela Utopias: The Bailes Funk in Rio's Crisis of Social Exclusion and Violence." *Latin American Research Review* 43 (2): 57–79. doi:10.1353/lar.0.0031.

Snyder, Richard. 2001. "Scaling Down: The Subnational Comparative Method." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 36 (1): 93–110. doi:10.1007/BF02687586.

Soares, Fábio Veras, Rafael Pérez Ribas, and Rafael Guerreiro Osório. 2010. "Evaluating the Impact of Brazil's Bolsa Família." *Latin American Research Review* 45 (2): 173–90.

Soss, Joe. 1999. "Lessons of Welfare: Policy Design, Political Learning, and Political Action." *The American Political Science Review* 93 (2): 363–80. doi:10.2307/2585401.

Steinmetz, George. 1999. *State/Culture: State-Formation After the Cultural Turn*. Cornell University Press.

Strauss, Julia C., and Donal Cruise O'Brien. 2007. *Staging Politics: Power and Performance in Asia and Africa*. I.B.Tauris.

Tendler, Judith. 1997. *Good Government in the Tropics*. Johns Hopkins University Press.

Tinhorão, José Ramos. 2001. *Cultura popular: temas e questões*. Editora 34.

Torre, Carlos de la. 2010. *Populist Seduction in Latin America*. Ohio University Press.

Turino, Célio. 2009. *Ponto de Cultura: O Brasil de baixo para cima*. São Paulo: Anita Garibaldi,.

———. 2013. "Era Uma Vez O Programa Cultura Viva." *Revista Fórum*.

Vargas, Alexis, and Baiena Feijolo Souto. 2014. "Pesquisa sobre organizações da sociedade civil e suas parcerias com o governo federal." Fundação Getúlio Vargas.

Vasconcelos, Ruth. 2005. *O poder e a cultura de violência em Alagoas*. UFAL.

Ventura, Zuenir. 1994. *Cidade partida*. Companhia das Letras.

Vianna, Hermano. 2006. "Central da periferia." April 8. http://gabrieltorres.xpg.uol.com.br/puc/central_periferia_hvianna.pdf.

Wacquant, Loïc. 2008. "The Militarization of Urban Marginality: Lessons from the Brazilian Metropolis." *International Political Sociology* 2 (1): 56–74. doi:10.1111/j.1749-5687.2008.00037.x.

Wade, P. 2000. *Music, Race, & Nation: Música Tropical in Colombia*. Chicago Studies in Ethnomusicology. University of Chicago Press.

Waiselfsz, Julio Jacobo. 2015. "Mapa da Violencia: Homicídios por armas de fogo no Brasil." FLACSO Brasil.

Wampler, Brian. 2012. "Entering the State: Civil Society Activism and Participatory Governance in Brazil." *Political Studies* 60 (2): 341. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9248.2011.00912.x.

Weber, Max. 1922. *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*. University of California Press.

Wedeen, L. 2002. "Conceptualizing Culture: Possibilities for Political Science." *The American Political Science Review* 96 (4): 713.

Wedeen, Lisa. 1999. *Ambiguities of Domination: Politics, Rhetoric, and Symbols in Contemporary Syria*. University of Chicago Press.

———. 2002. "Conceptualizing Culture: Possibilities for Political Science." *The American Political Science Review* 96 (4): 713–28. doi:10.2307/3117506.

Williams, Daryle. 2001. *Culture Wars in Brazil: The First Vargas Regime, 1930-1945*. Duke University Press.

World Bank. 2017. "Poverty & Equity Data, Brazil." Accessed February 23. http://povertydata.worldbank.org/poverty/country/BRA.

Yanow, Dvora, and Peregrine Schwartz-Shea. 2006. *Interpretation and Method: Empirical Research Methods and the Interpretive Turn*. M.E. Sharpe.

Yashar, Deborah J. 2005. *Contesting Citizenship in Latin America: The Rise of Indigenous Movements and the Postliberal Challenge*. Cambridge University Press.

Biography

Anne Durston Gillman was raised in Gold River, California. She began piano lessons at the age of four, got into jazz at the age of fourteen, and became infatuated with Brazilian music at the age of twenty. She studied Social Studies at Harvard College, after which she spent a year on a Michael C. Rockefeller Memorial Fellowship teaching music to children in the favela of Borel in Rio de Janeiro. She completed a Master of International Affairs degree at Columbia University in 2005, with funding from a Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) Fellowship in Brazilian Portuguese. Before beginning her doctoral degree, she worked for a peace and social justice organization in New York City, conducted research on youth democratic participation in Ecuador as a Fulbright Student, and served as an advisor to a member of the US House of Representatives. She initiated her PhD in political science at Johns Hopkins University in 2011.