

Secondary students' insurgency scenes and figurations:¹

Aesthetic and political potency of their dispositional arrangements

Cenas de insurgência e figurações secundaristas:

Potencialidades estéticas e políticas de seus arranjos disposicionais

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Introduction

In recent decades, insurgency movements have erupted worldwide; in Africa, against dictatorships in Tunisia, Egypt and Yemen; in Europe, specifically in Spain and Greece, where occupations and strikes for better working conditions took place; in Chile, for the gratuity of education; in the United States, against corruption in the financial sector and economic and social inequality. These movements were inspired by the Prague Spring, which occurred in 1968 during the Cold War, but with characteristics of the 21st century movements, known as the newest social movements (DAY, 2004; DELLA PORTA, 2015).

One of the strongest movements in Latin America was probably the Penguins' Revolt in Chile. It was the largest wave of protests to date, since the end of the Chilean military dictatorship, led by secondary students, who massively mobilized across the country in 2006, four years before the Arab

¹ This article results from research supported by CAPES, CNPq and FAPEMIG.

Spring. The Penguins – as they came to be known because of the characteristic uniform of Chilean public and private schools – occupied schools, organized assemblies, went on demonstrations, taking for themselves the political discourse that had been dormant in the country for years. They demanded free education and transport and other reforms in the educational system inherited from the military regime (ZIBAS, 2008).

In Brazil, the waves of protest were marked by the 2013's June Journeys, initially organized by the the *Free Fare Movement*, triggered by the fight for quality public transport (and the right to the city) and against the increase in the bus and subway fares proposed by governments, which opened space for an ambivalent multiplicity of protests in a hundred municipalities in the country (ALONSO and MISCHÉ, 2017; MENDONÇA, 2015), achieving the repeal of the fare increase.

Another insurgency that marked the Brazilian scenario was the movement that became known as *Primavera Secundarista* (Students Spring). At the end of 2015, with strong inspiration in the resistance movements taking place in the world, in the Penguins' Revolt (Chile) and in the Brazilian movement itself known as *Jornadas de Junho* (June Journeys), secondary students from the state of São Paulo began an uprising that bears many of the characteristics of the newest social movements: horizontality, non-partisanship, inspiration in the new anarchism, occupation of public space – which become spaces for exchange, resistance and experimentation – creative use of digital social networks, and an engagement linked to subjectivity and self-transformation.

More than 200 schools in São Paulo were occupied in protest against the school reorganization project proposed by the government to be implemented in the following year; such measure would affect over 150 schools, with shifts and cycles closing. From the announcement of the school reorganization, a succession of insurgent events occurred, driving the students to break with the constituted government power and to organize a movement by themselves. Students took to the streets on several occasions to protest the state government's measure. This wave of protests had, among its episodes, the closure of streets in São Paulo, fueled by the students' creative performances, who simulated classrooms on the main roads and held posters produced by themselves, in the heat of the moment (CAMPOS et al., 2016).

These aesthetic and communicative processes that involve the resistance of secondary students in São Paulo², are the object of analysis of this study. Understood as creative, insurgent, founding experiments, this movement cannot be studied with the support of discourses and theories based on neoliberal ideologies. We must think of a new context and lexicon to reflect on the actions, communicative processes, and existence of these movements, considering their aesthetic potential.

Our proposal is to analyze the students' performances and creative productions created to happen in the streets, with bodies occupying the public space. For this analysis, we resort to the configuration of dispositional arrangements (BRAGA, 2018), from Foucault's concept of *dispositif*³ ([1976] 2017; [1977] 1994; [1977] 2003), as the aesthetic potential of resistance movements. Thus, we take the concept of scene construction proposed by Rancière (2018) in association with Foucault's contributions as a theoretical-methodological framework for thinking the aesthetic experiences. To associate these concepts, we also resort to Deleuze (1996; 2016), who develops Foucault's concept of *dispositif*, and Butler (2018), who analyzes the aesthetics of bodies that take to the streets in protest, articulating and reconfiguring their vulnerabilities.

Reconstruction of the scenes and their dispositional arrangements

To reflect on the insurgency scenes of the secondary school movement, we start from the assumption that a controversial scene, as understood by Rancière (2009, 2018), comprises two movements: a figuration of the actors who "appear" and make themselves seen and heard; and a montage operated by the one reporting the singularities that render the scene unique, but simultaneously connected to various events and broader processes. We understand that the reconstruction of the scene involves more than the mere description of the event. The process is permeated by scenes within scenes, by the intertwined discursive webs, by the perspectives of the documents, artistic productions and narratives used for this fabulative montage, by the movement's main actors narratives – the secondary students – and by the researcher's own perspective. That is, it is a network of discursive and communicational beams that intertwine.

² It is important to remember that the secondary movement took place in several Brazilian states, especially between 2015 and 2016. But the protests and occupations in São Paulo were the first to happen in this scenario of the newest social movements and triggered the other occupations in Brazil.

³ We adopted here the French term "*dispositif*" in order to preserve its foucauldian meaning and to avoid the confusion that other English translations could generate, which emphasize only a technical or a given aspect of the *dispositif*, such as "device".

For Rancière (2018), the scenes are singularities that, from the articulation of documents, images and facts, reveal connections and intervals that put into play a historicity that is not reduced to the causal relationship between events, but reveal the fractures through which another way of perceiving and reading the world and experiences becomes possible. For the students, these scenes of fracture and dissension happen not only in each occupation, geographically distant from each other, but in the students' reunions in the protests, which generally follow the same reframing and show the same fissures.

Rancière, however, emphasizes that the arrangements seeking (in the police dispositif of causality) to neutralize the resistances in the images can be shattered by the emergence of figuration. Unlike the representation based on deterministic causality, figuration "is a system of relations between similarity and dissimilarity through which subjects render flaws, places and moments legible through which they bring into play several kinds of intolerability" (RANCIÈRE, 2012, p.93). It is possible to say, then, that the dissension scene promotes the figuration of someone, based on their "conditions of preserving the other in their dignity" (DIDI-HUBERMAN, 2016a, p.440).

Figuration, the act of making visible a set of fractures and articulations capable of respecting otherness, is based on the action of rendering sensitive, of rendering evident "the symptom (interruption in knowledge) and knowledge (interruption in chaos), highlighting in the images the place from which it suffers, the place from which a 'secret sign' is expressed, an unsettled, a symptom" (DIDI-HUBERMAN, 2012, p.214). Rancière also compares figuration to a type of fracture and interval through which one can discuss and question "what was indexed under the record of the only possible real, presenting to this ordinary and already consensual real a de-hierarchization and another possibility of appearing" (2019, p.55). Thus, both Rancière and Didi-Huberman attribute an important role to images, whether photographic or literary, able to evidence an interval within "a supposedly homogeneous temporal continuum" (RANCIÈRE, 2018, p.35), allowing moments of *rêverie* (fabulative reverie):

Moments that explode, dynamite the continuous time, the winners' time: allowing the opening of another time, a common time, born in the gaps operated in the first: not a time of dream that would cast into oblivion the time suffered or project a paradise in the making, but a time that presents itself as another, gives a different weight to such instant, connects it to this another articulating other moments (RANCIÈRE, 2018, p.36).

The secondary students turn the very images into performativity for dissenting political action. They articulate images, texts, posters, online posts, in varied *gambiarras* (Brazilian slang for

something improvised, makeshift) that can, simultaneously, establish arrangements and actions that grounds the scenes of dissensus and the arrangements that originate *dispositifs*. This is where we invest on an intersection between Foucault's and Rancière's reflections.

Scene of dissent and *dispositif*: a possible approach

In general, Rancière explains that the scene of dissent has the "power to engender another temporality, different from that which links and enforces what was foreseen" (2018, p.36). It is in the scene that the singular and unpredictable moments in which fable pierces the routine of existences and overflows their consensual definitions and designations become sensitive and legible, producing desidentification and insurgency. The scene of dissent, he argues, is the choice and fictional ordering of a singularity from which one can "make appear what did not appear, or to make appear differently what appeared under a certain mode of visibility and intelligibility." (2018, p.14)

The scene of dissent thus promotes other possibilities of arrangements and articulations between temporalities and spatialities to alter the dynamics of emergence of subjects and events, reorganizing the field of the visible and removing it from a hierarchical order. According to Rancière (2019, p.48), the important in the idea of the scene is that it builds a visibility and an emergence in an attempt to frame, assemble and distribute the figures, constantly questioning the shape assumed by these arrangements, tensioned between the cut and the construction or weaving of a "common." The situation made present by the scene reveals a thought construction that appears as a type of instantaneous cut in sharing the sensitive. It is as if we said: in a given context, this is what is visible and, as a consequence, what is thinkable.

Somehow, constructing the dissenting scene relies on assembling a *dispositif* that "regulates the status of the represented bodies and the type of attention they deserve" (RANCIÈRE, 2012, p.96). This is an approximation marked by correlating a subjectivity that manifests itself from the gaze of a "real" person. It is also a vocalization that evidences the gap opened by the brightness of the "any moment", of the "excessive moment" in organizing the historical narrative that erases and silences precarious lives, that is,

[...] the moment of tremble located on the exact border between nothing and everything, the moment of encounter between those who live in the time of shared sensitive events and those who live outside of time where nothing more is shared and nothing else can happen. (RANCIÈRE, 2017, p.153)

Although Rancière avoids allying his approach to that undertaken by Foucault, Calderón (2018) and Panagia (2018) argue that he understands images as *dispositifs* (in the Foucauldian sense), as “machines” that produce arrangements and relate events, discourses, ways of life. According to them, Rancière would be looking for a way to nullify a consensual and hierarchical way of thinking and producing intelligibility from the political work of images. In this respect, the image would be a *dispositif* when referring to “a complex game of relations between the visible and the invisible; the visible and the word; the said and the unsaid” (RANCIÈRE, 2008, p.86).

Attempting to respond to this *dispositif*, Rancière (2019, p.35) reiterates that his reflection on the scene of dissent seeks to define it as the result of operations, relationships and changes about the sensitive, so that its work starts even before there is something concrete to be seen. “The scene captures concepts in operation, in its relation with the new objects they seek to appropriate, the old objects they try to reconsider and the patterns they build or transform for this purpose” (RANCIÈRE, 2013, p.11). This is a *dispositif* conception distinct from that which associates it with control and subjection, since here a *dispositif* is a powerful operation of articulation and invention of a becoming.

Although he built a philosophy of the *dispositif*, Foucault never structured the concept clearly in his works. Thus, many of the definitions developed by his followers about the term end up restricting it to the *dispositif* of power or the technical *dispositif*, often mishandled as synonymous with media vehicles. By reading many of his texts, one understands that the *dispositif* is connected to discourse, power, relations and resistance. When talking about analyzing the *dispositifs* that permeate the commoners, Foucault ([1977], 2003) highlights that:

There is always, of course, something in the social body, in classes, in groups, in individuals themselves that escapes, somewhat, power relations; something that is not more or less docile or recalcitrant primary matter, but which is centrifugal movement, inverse energy, escape (FOUCAULT, [1977] 2003, p. 244).

Foucault seems to alert to the *dispositif*'s ability to permeate relations, that there is a system of relations in the *dispositifs*, including those that escape power relations, such as resistances and their creations and fables.

From the reading of Foucault's interview with the *Ornicar* magazine in 1977, shortly after publishing *The History of Sexuality 1 – The will to knowledge*, when he clarifies some points about the *dispositif*, and also from the reading Deleuze (1996, 2016) and Braga (2018) make of the Foucauldian *dispositif*, it was possible to structure the concept to better understand its contribution to reconstructing scenes as aesthetic communicational processes.

In the above-mentioned interview, Foucault ([1977], 1994) clarifies that the device has a strategic role in coping with an urgency. The elements of the device are a heterogeneous set of propositions (discourses, institutions, laws, decisions, utterances, etc.), both what is said and what is not. “The *dispositif* is, properly, the system of relations that can be established between these elements. It is always inside a game of powers, tensions among different kinds of knowledge, discourses and forces” (FOUCAULT, [1977] 1994, p. 299-300).

What is clear in Foucault’s answers is that the *dispositif* is part of elaborations and attempts at arrangements that are organized between the subjects and their components and that respond to an urgency strategically.

For Braga (2018), based on this interview by Foucault and other texts, the arrangement can be thought as the center of the *dispositif*. He underlines that this proposal can be employed to observe research objects that are based on reality with emphasis on the communicational dimension of things. Braga also advocates that it is possible work with the concepts of macro and microdispositifs, besides the concepts of arrangements and interactive *dispositifs*. “There is a great diversity of microdispositifs, which refer, in varied compositions, to those macro-assemblages of a communicational nature” (BRAGA, 2018, p. 89).

Under the issue of assemblages, Deleuze (1996, 2016), for whom “*dispositifs* of power would be a component of assemblages” (1996, p. 19), outlines a perspective on Foucault’s philosophy of *dispositifs*, which understands *dispositifs* as multiplicities, “in which certain becoming processes operate” (2016, p. 363).

[The *dispositif*] is a skein, a multilinear set. It is composed of lines of a different nature. [...] follow directions, outline always unbalanced processes and sometimes approach, sometimes distance themselves from each other (DELEUZE, 2016, p. 359).

Thus, we envision the reconstruction of the scenes also as a possibility of untangling the threads composing the *dispositifs* of the secondary students’ insurgency and that promote these aesthetic potentialities that lead to the lines of subjectivation and, in turn, can formulate new *dispositifs*. Based on Braga’s (2018) recent studies on Foucault’s *dispositif*, we understand that *dispositifs* can also be societal arrangements focused on communicational emergencies. In the street protests of the secondary students’ insurgency, we will see the presence many microdevices that form communicational macro-assemblages. Thus, it is the arrangement that elaborates the *dispositif* and not the other way around.

We must, then, make emerge, alongside this angle—from the more or less stabilized rules—, an emphasis on the processes of elaboration of its logics, in the attempts to obtain the arrangement made, in the social experimentation from which results the objective currently served in the “finished *dispositif*” (BRAGA, 2018, p. 88).

To reconstruct the protests’ scenes, using images, narratives and creative productions, we must abandon the idea of the *dispositif* already given and weave the arrangements that go back to the scene. These arrangements appear as performances and creative productions, which constitute the political subject emancipated from the insurgencies.

Bodies on the streets: vulnerability and resistance

As observed, although the newest social movements have as a peculiar characteristic the intense use of digital social networks, the insurgency often occurs on the streets, with bodies occupying the public space and becoming a collective political body that performs their actions from an appearance scene in which singular bodies gain reciprocal significance. As Butler states:

For politics to take place, the body must appear. I appear to others and them to me, which means that some space between us allows each to appear. [...] This happens most clearly when we think about bodies that act together. No one body establishes the space of appearance, but this action, this performative exercise happens only between bodies, in a space that constitutes the gap between my own body and another’s. In this way, my body does not act alone, when it acts politically. Indeed, the action emerges from the “between” (BUTLER, 2018, p. 150).

The techniques related to occupying the streets, aesthetics, symbols and performances, but also to the vulnerability of the subjects involved, are issues that draw our attention in this study. Some contemporary social movements have the claim of the collective right to the city in their core, that is, the taking of public space from various discussions related to how urban infrastructure is designed to keep some groups under control, avoid dissent and even prevent minorities from moving freely around the city. “It is evident that the urban functions as an important space for political action and revolt. The current characteristics of each place are important, and the physical and social reengineering and territorial organization of these places are weapons in political struggles” (HARVEY, 2014, p. 213).

To understand some aspects related to the communicative and aesthetic processes of street movements, we analyzed the images of the secondary students’ protests in the beginning of the movement, before the school occupations, in October 2015. These images interest us for two main reasons: first because they help us to understand what Rancière (2000) calls the aesthetics of

politics, indicating that politics is, above all, a dispute over defining the material organization of the sensitive (what can be said, seen and heard). Such dispute is based on the communicative interaction of the subjects and highlights the actions and tactics that generate interventions in the order of the sensitive that divides the common world between regimes of visibility and invisibility, creating points of resistance when inaugurating dissenting and controversial scenes in which individuals constitute themselves as political subjects that occupy the city, the urban space.

Second, we are also interested in observing how the declarative and insurgent street scene presents an excess of bodies in circulation in the urban space; an excess of possibilities for unanticipated use of these spaces and an excess of words that, in the materiality of the posters, eludes the traditional media channels that usually (when they do) reductively appropriate social sayings, generating micro-assemblages that are characterized as the insurgency's dispositional arrangements.

By leaving the protected environment of digital social networks and gaining the streets, bodies become vulnerable, without disabling or weakening them. Vulnerability is repeatedly associated with victimization or inability to take action (BUTLER, 2018). It is important to pay attention to how discourses of vulnerability and protection label individuals and groups as vulnerable and whether this leads to discrimination, stereotyping and unwanted paternalistic interventions.

In the first half of October 2015, secondary students took to the streets almost every day to protest the school reorganization process. Secondary students Rafaela Boani and Sophia Tagliaferri⁴, two of the movement's main activists, recounted, at the time, on this process of going to the streets:






When we decided to take the streets, I said: "Let's take the streets then!" We combined clothes color. "What are we going to take?" Whistle, horn, balloon. I didn't know what to take, because, how to take the streets? It was like searching on Google: How to make a rally? (Rafaela Boani, E. E. Diadema).



There was a rally that I think was on October 6th. It was a rally scheduled for eight o'clock in the morning with some students of the Caetano de Campos against the school reorganization. It was a rally that brought together a thousand two hundred secondary students, not many people, but it was the first centralized act by schools against the school reorganization (Sophia Tagliaferri, Etec São Paulo).

⁴ Statements extracted from the documentary: *LUTE como uma menina! (FIGHT like a girl!)* Directed and produced by: Flávio Colombini and Beatriz Alonso. São Paulo, 2016. Documentary, 77 min. Available from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8OCUMGHm2oA&t=1157s&list=PLx6HesqJ7yTITG-MQ8YBFce84NV9OQjwm&index=4>. Access on: 12/17/2019

The images produced in this period – a vast number of images – had a wide repercussion on digital social networks, by sharing on the movement’s webpages. Table 1 shows, frame by frame, the protest held on October 6, quoted by Sophia. It was the first rally of the secondary students’ movement.

TABLE 1
Images of the October 6 demonstration, 2015, held by the secondary students on Paulista Avenue.

Frame	Caption
	<p>Beginning of the demonstration on Paulista Avenue.</p>
	<p>Students chant a rallying cry: “Mister Governor, I want to learn, but closing schools is what you want in the long term.”</p>
	<p>Students stand in front of Masp.</p>
	<p>Some students use whistles as a protest tactic.</p>
	<p>Students from various schools attend the demonstration.</p>

	<p>Students continue the demonstration peacefully along Paulista Avenue.</p>
	<p>The military police arrive and begin to detain some students.</p>
	<p>The police try, using violence, to disperse the students.</p>
	<p>Even with the police attacks, the secondary students continue the protest.</p>

SOURCE: produced by the author, with images recorded on video by students and supporters⁵

The images (Table 1) show both the secondary students' movement power, with its performances and resistance tactics, as well as the subjects' vulnerability, in this case clearly associated with the arrival of the military police. Still, the tactics stand out: when facing the police, united, with cell phones recording the entire sequence of actions, the students transform vulnerability into resistance and the movement strengthens.

[...] these bodies form networks of resistance together, remembering that bodies who are active agents of resistance are also fundamentally in need of support. In resistance, vulnerability is not precisely converted into agency – it remains the condition of resistance, a condition of the life from which it emerges, the condition that, rendered as precarity, has to be, and is, opposed. This is different

⁵ Video recorded with a cell phone by secondary students of the E. E. Fernão Dias, Othilia Balades and Caio Castor. Source: *LUTE como uma menina! (FIGHT like a girl!)* Directed and produced by: Flávio Colombini and Beatriz Alonso. São Paulo, 2016. Documentary, 77 min. Available from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8OCUMGHm2oA&t=1157s&list=PLx6HesqJ7yTiTG-MQ8YBFce84NV9OQjwm&index=4>. Access on: 12/17/2019

from weakness or victimization, since, for the precarious, resistance requires exposing the abandoned or unsupported dimensions of life support, but also mobilizing that vulnerability as a deliberate and active form of political resistance, an exposure of the body to power in the plural action of resistance (BUTLER, 2018, p. 200-201).

Interesting to note that the vulnerability associated with secondary students, as Butler explains, does not cease to exist, which does not mean that they are weak or powerless. Conversely, the vulnerability acts as a process of transformation. They are vulnerable because they are exposed, but this exposure also mobilizes resistance. Butler (2018) also points out that these street mobilizations use tactics of claims that include language, action, gesture, movement, refusal to move, formation of a collective body that causes obstruction to the authorities, as we see in the protest's images.

The aesthetics of the secondary students' dispositional arrangements

The communication tactics that permeate the secondary students' movement, especially in street protests, are closely linked to the body itself and its performances, and also to the posters that circulate among them, usually handcrafted, by *gambiarra* and *bricolage* process, which becomes an aesthetic political power. In this topic, we want to look more closely at the young people's performances in these street rallies, which includes these communication tactics. More specifically, we consider essential to reflect on how handcrafting posters and constructing barricades in the protests have a characteristic of *gambiarra* that adds to Foucault's definition of *dispositif*.

Sedlmayer (2017) defines *gambiarra* in dialogue with Italian philosopher Giorgio Agamben's thought, to indicate the presence of an operation that voids the old use of things by creating a new use. This re-invention and attribution of new uses and specific functionalities to objects can happen from several procedures that contemplates the uniqueness of each situated experience (HERNANDEZ et al., 2018). Originality is certainly a distinctive feature of the *gambiarra* as an expression of vitality, of existential manifestation, of a multiplicity of meanings that are constructed in the act of making, of reading and decoding a situation of conflict, of urgency, in which imagination is strongly requested (SEDLMAYER, 2017). The creative act that represents the *gambiarra* usually brings an intrinsic relationship not only with a state of urgency or limited options, but with the ephemeral sense of this type of solutions and its impact on constructing autonomous assemblages. There are varied arrangements in the process of building the *gambiarra*, and all of them, to some

extent, use tactics and bricolages that remove words and objects from their position in the sensitive consensual framework defined by a hierarchical network of meanings (RANCIÈRE, 2012).

We believe in a possible approximation between inventing *gambiarra*s and producing arrangements that, in Foucault's perspective, constitute *dispositifs*. Thus, we consider that "the *gambiarra*, in the effort to integrate fragments, even if disparate, so that forms and functions are fulfilled, performs innovative imitations" (SEDLMAYER, 2017, p. 65). Concurrently, the *dispositif* also articulates a network of assemblages and disparate forces to answer a problem: "I understand *dispositif* as a type of construct that, at a given historical moment, had as its main function to respond to an urgency. The *dispositif* has, therefore, a strategic dominant function" (Foucault, [1977] 1994, p. 221). According to Braga's reading (2018, p.89), the urgencies derive from problems requiring resolution that results from articulations, arrangements and alliances made "even if by leaps and bounds, to address the questions posed by a given adversity." We argue that the production of posters and the construction of barricades configure biopowerful microdispositifs that, in their varied compositions, are part of insurgency communicative macroassemblages.

In the adolescents' protests, the poster is certainly an extremely powerful minority art, capable of putting into practice the dissenting excess and the literality (which can be defined as a mode of circulation of the written word belonging to the democratic sharing of the sensitive). Made in the heat of the moment, written by the students themselves, the poster (wielded and carried close to the moving bodies) reveals how the secondary students produced a writing strayed from social networks (which, however much freedom they promote, are undermined by flows controlling the capital) and traditional media. The very gesture of making the poster and carrying it with oneself is political, since the politics of writing consists of a form of aesthetic experience based on liberating the word from its usual flows of production and circulation and on the equality that is established when anyone can master it, without needing to follow a script or specific enunciation formulas. It is a sensory and expressive equality instead of just legal or economic equality (ALTHEMAN and MARQUES, 2019).

There is a political potential in the act of making posters, which is inserted in the act of bricolage, an inventive and singular elaboration, which uses codes and objects appropriated from everyday life. In bricolage, the issue of the subjects' autonomy and self-realization capacities in conditions of constraints, power, domination or resistance is central (HERNÁNDEZ et al., 2018).

Deleuze and Guattari (2017) understand this type of expression as a minor art, not meaning that it is insignificant, but rather that it comes from collective assemblages of enunciation.

A minor literature is not that of a minor language, but rather that which a minority constructs within a major language. [...] There is no subject, *there are only collective assemblages of enunciation* – and literature expresses these acts insofar as they are not imposed from without and insofar as they exist only as diabolical powers to come or revolutionary forces to be constructed. [...] The three characteristics of minor literature are the deterritorialization of language, the connection of the individual to a political immediacy, the collective assemblage of enunciation (DELEUZE and GUATTARI, 2017, e-book n. p.).

For the authors, the production of posters in resistance movements would integrate a lesser form of resistance, no less potent. We also understand that these aesthetic manifestations are collective utterances, even if seemingly emitted by a singularity (DELEUZE and GUATTARI, 2017), upheld by the experimentation and invention of utterances and enunciative scenes of dissensus (RANCIÈRE, 2000).

Let us look at some images (FIG. 1 and FIG. 2) that show students producing posters, bringing them closer to the *gambiarra* experience, using the material they have at their fingertips.



FIGURE 1 – Students produce small notes for a makeshift coffin during the demonstration, on the street
SOURCE: frame of the music video *O Trono do Estudar* (The Power of Studying)⁶

⁶ O TRONO DO ESTUDAR. Music video. Directed by: Alessandra Dorgan; Music: Dani Black. 2015 (4m57s). Available from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q4-SE_tJ4OM. Access on: 01/29/2020



FIGURE 2 – Students produce banner for street demonstrations
SOURCE: documentary frame of *Lute como uma menina!* (Fight like a girl!)⁷

Rancière (2006, 2009) states that the importance of writing (and reading) is not necessarily in producing the content of messages and representations, but its association with another sensitive regime: the rapture, the passionate urgency, the feeling of collective affectation that connects the subject to a broader community of acts of thought and creation, of speech and listening that are called and answered. For figurations that shift peoples from a subordinate and re-victimizing position to emerge in the images, flashes and short circuits are needed that disrupt the linearity of a possible story told under the bias of overcoming adversities (meritocratic ideology). It is necessary to deterritorialize discourses that insist on revealing the history of those who survived the vulnerabilities associated with catastrophe and impoverishment, because “in the most precarious bodies there is a desire to dream, of multiple escapes, the invention of gestures created to realize these dreams and words to name them” (DIDI-HUBERMAN, 2016, p.411).

The arrangements and scenes of dissensus captured by the images also show us how self-exposure is a dimension of the process of political subjectivation (Foucault, 2010, 2014). The students appropriate the streets while “appropriating themselves”, becoming subjects of their own practices and building an ethical perspective that seeks to distance themselves from the State’s regulations and norms. Foucault invests on a creative appropriation of the self, in which the subjects are able to direct their behaviors and social positions, escaping the biopolitical forms of production of the individual (LAZZARATO, 2014).

⁷ Source: *LUTE como uma menina!* Directed and produced by: Flávio Colombini and Beatriz Alonso. São Paulo, 2016. Documentary, 77 min. Available from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8OCUMGHm2oA&t=1157s&list=PLx6HesqJ7yTiTG-MQ8YBFce84NV9OQjwm&index=4>. Access on: 12/17/2019

The students are revolutionaries who produce themselves and their experiments amid insurgent *gambiarras*. For Deleuze and Guattari (2017) they are forms of assemblage, ruled by abstraction that can lead to escape lines or plans of immanence.

Agency extends or enter a *field of unlimited immanence* that merges the segments, that releases the desire for all its concretions and abstractions, or at least actively fights against them and to dissolve them. [...] That immanent justice, the continuous line, points or singularities are active and creative, is understood according to the way they assemble and form a machine in turn. This always takes place in collective conditions, although minor, the conditions of “minor” literature and policies, even if each of us had to discover in themselves an intimate minority, an intimate desert (DELEUZE and GUATTARI, 2017, e-book n. p.).

Every form of language should be open to everyone and anyone can partake in the poetic process of building the common world via translation/counter-translation on any topic. This would be democracy for Rancière (2000), that is, the uprooting of the words of a platform that separates those who can and cannot access meanings, promoting an open access for all. The way words circulate serves as a condition of possibility for the subject’s existence in intersecting imagery narratives.



FIGURE 4 – Several posters close to students’ bodies during a street demonstration
SOURCE: frame of the music video *O Trono do Estudar* (The Power of Studying)⁸

⁸ O TRONO DO ESTUDAR. Music video. Directed by: Alessandra Dorgan; Music: Dani Black. 2015 (4m57s). Available from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q4-SE_tJ4OM. Access on: 01/29/2020

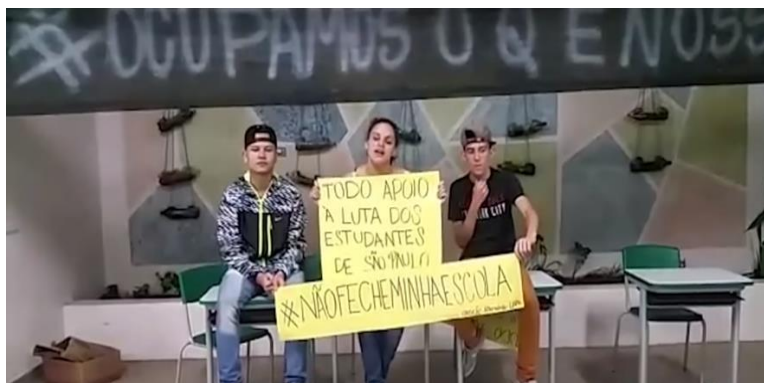


FIGURE 5 - Posters produced in the E. E. Silvio Xavier
SOURCE: documentary frame of *Lute como uma menina!* (Fight like a girl!)⁹



FIGURE 6 – Posters at the demonstration held on Paulista Avenue
SOURCE: Photo by Eduardo Anizelli (FolhaPress) / Folha de S. Paulo¹⁰

The writing of the posters (FIG.4, FIG.5 and FIG. 6) expresses an affective narrative of identity and at the same time a collective and reflexive appropriation of the world. It is through this work, which involves *gambiarra* and *bricolage* in relation to the insurgent bodies, that the poetics of the dissenting scene becomes visible and the students come to have their word considered, after all it appears to the world.

Here, we realize that the word cannot be controlled, it reaches inopportune places, including the hands/eyes of those who should not handle it. Some posters (FIG. 5) even show the unpredictable intersection of the analog – the poster – with the digital, through the hashtag

⁹ LUTE como uma menina! Directed and produced by: Flávio Colombini and Beatriz Alonso. São Paulo, 2016. Documentary, 77 min. Available from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8OCUMGHm2oA&t=1157s&list=PLx6HesqJ7yTiTG-MQ8YBFce84NV9OQjwm&index=4>. Access on: 12/17/2019

¹⁰ FOLHA DE S. PAULO. *Protestos contra reforma nas escolas paulistas*. Folha de S. Paulo (online), photo gallery, October 6, 2015. Available from: <https://fotografia.folha.uol.com.br/galerias/39074-protestos-contra-reforma-nas-escolas-paulistas#foto-570553>. Access on: 01/19/2020

#*nãofecheminhaescola* (#donotclosemyschool), widely disseminated on digital social networks. The play of the non-hierarchical word shows that the power contained therein can be resumed and shifted by anyone. Words carry a political power to alter the relations between the order of bodies and the order of words: when those who have been rendered inaudible by the socially authorized distribution of roles effectively communicate their demands, the social hierarchy is altered and new means of making, being and saying appear.

The protests in the streets of São Paulo were marked not only by the communicative power of the posters, as we discussed, but also by the dispositional arrangements, materialized in the students' performances when locking the cities' main roads (FIG.7 and FIG.8). During the performances, the school chair became a symbol of secondary students' resistance—students roamed the city carrying their chairs and used them as a dispositif for lockdown and performance. The performative act ensures the appearance, in the fissure, of the scene of dissensus.

This kind of plural performativity does not simply seek to establish the place of those previously discounted and actively precarious within an existing sphere of appearance. Rather, it seeks to produce a rift within the sphere of appearance, exposing the contradiction by which its claim to universality is posited and nullified (BUTLER, 2018, p. 57-58).



FIGURE 7 – Secondary students' protest closes part of Marginal Pinheiros
SOURCE: Photo by Jorge Araujo (FolhaPress) / Folha de S. Paulo¹¹

¹¹ FOLHA DE S. PAULO. *Protestos contra reforma nas escolas paulistas*. Folha de S. Paulo (online), photo gallery, October 6, 2015. Available from: <<https://fotografia.folha.uol.com.br/galerias/39074-protestos-contr-reforma-nas-escolas-paulistas#foto-570553>>. Access on: 01/19/2020



FIGURE 8 – Protest at Av. Rebouças
SOURCE: Photo by Marlene Bergamo (FolhaPress) / Folha de S. Paulo¹²

The last image (FIG. 8), with student Marcela Reis in front, raising her arm in protest, was initially published by the newspaper *Folha de S. Paulo* and went viral, circulating on several digital social networks, becoming a symbol of the street protests promoted by secondary students.

Didi-Huberman (2019) not only comments on the bricolage aspects of the pamphlets designed for fast circulation of the arrangements that allow creating guerrilla tactics, but also the dimension of *dispositif* assumed by the barricades. He even points out that a book can become a powerful barricade against the spread of ideologies aimed at undermining people’s broad political participation. According to this perspective, the artisanal production of guides can help them constitute themselves as “war machines”, as hastily improvised *dispositifs* that act to protect and deconstruct: to stop the advance of the police and forces opposed to the movement, but also to transform it from within, to individualize it.

The secondary students’ insurgency dismantles a predictable script of hierarchical ordering of history, a model that everyone expected to be realized (as a determination, a given thing): they break the “predictability of history, refuting the rule that presided over its development or maintenance” (DIDI-HUBERMAN, 2016b, p.310). At the same time, as we pointed out earlier, the insurgencies appear to us by the articulation of bodies, posters, rally cries and assemblages that are defined by *gambiarra*, *bricolage* and cunning that are born within a situation of absence of power, but not of absence of potency. As Didi-Huberman (2016b, p.311) rightly defines it, uprisings are “potencies of, or within, the absence of power; they are native, emerging potencies, without

¹² FOLHA DE S. PAULO. *Protestos contra reforma nas escolas paulistas*. Folha de S. Paulo (online), photo gallery, October 6, 2015. Available from: <<https://fotografia.folha.uol.com.br/galerias/39074-protestos-contr-reforma-nas-escolas-paulistas#foto-570553>>. Access on: 01/19/2020

guarantee of their own end, therefore, without guarantee of power. Without even, as is often the case, a vision or any idea of power.”

The potency of the secondary students’ movement was defined in the occupations and in the streets, removing from the source of institutionalized power in schools and in the controlled use of urban space an energy that began to be modeled by refusal and interruption. The rallying cries, expressed in the social networks, in the streets and in the occupied schools took on various forms and potential for action and intervention in the collective public spaces.

The uprising begins with an outcry, a call. (...) Murrur, rumor: soon an exclamation, a great cry. But the cry must not be lost in the desert. It is necessary to know how to craft the cry: give it shape, and work for it, in a lengthy and patient way.(...) Once the cry is thus worked, the act of refusing consists of merging new images, new thoughts, new possibilities for action in the public consciousness that receives it in this form. Refusing only makes sense when inventing new ways of living and acting (DIDI-HUBERMAN, 2016b, p.344-345).

The constant work on the cry, on the power of refusal, makes the uprisings assume a malleable form, a consistency similar to waves that are formed, according to Didi-Huberman, from “our desires for emancipation—they arise from deep within and arrive, without apparent logic, to lift the surfaces” (2019, p.117). The cries and manifestos configuring the movement of the waves draw, in the urban and virtual scenario, a scenario of flows whose rhythm is driven “by the flow of voices that cry and by the reflux of restrained silences, of situations that become law and crises that become the exception” (2019, p.124).

The gestures and bodily actions that sustain the uprisings give a unique configuration to the insurgencies, since they are sensitive forms that convey, guide, shape their gears, make them work and, at the same time, remain adjustable, dynamic (DIDI-HUBERMAN, 2016b). One of the actions that characterize the management of the intervention power of the uprisings is the barricades. For this author, they assume the shape of a wave and, at the same time, the ingenuity of “a hastily improvised *dispositif* aimed at defending itself, of stopping the advance of the police or the army” (2019, p.131). Barricades, in this respect, can be seen as arrangements that respond to the urgency of the uprisings and end

[...] deconstructing, from within, the entire urban grid. They are, therefore, offensive and not just protective; are a war machine and not just barrier. (...) They are a constant assembly of heteroclitic objects forming *dispositifs* that, in turn, are themselves always subject to change. Thus, a true *uprising organism* is formed.(DIDI-HUBERMAN, 2019, p.131)

In our opinion, the barricades configure dispositional arrangements that give rise to insurgency scenes and *dispositifs* capable of not only questioning the hierarchical legibilities and

sensitivities organizing the consensual reality, but also because they generate spatial and temporal intervals and gaps that allow us to observe and question the imaginary that configures us as a community. It is as if they could, by *gambiarra*s, juxtapose various heterogeneous spatialities and temporalities that may be incompatible. But, for this very reason, changing the systems of meanings that allow us to fabulate and imagine. As they produce thresholds, deviations, ruptures, crises and intervals, the barricades define an alternative way of reading reality, proposing other imaginaries and producing dialectical images that render us sensitive to the lives of others, turning legible the figurations of subjects who desire their dignity recognized.

Our posited analysis was to observe this phenomenon of taking the streets also as an aesthetic phenomenon, in which the creative powers consolidate dispositional arrangements and help to reconstruct the communicative scene of the secondary students' movement. In a constant bricolage exercise, between the dispositif already given and the becoming, the dispositional arrangements are articulated and combined between different elements that move the subjects, in a process of political subjectivation.

It is really a methodological attempt, still in development, to reflect on the aesthetic potential of the current insurgency movements from the perspective of the reconstructions of the scenes and their fabulations in dispositional arrangements. It has been an attempt because it requires intertwining distinct concepts from authors with dissenting positions, such as Rancière, Deleuze and Foucault. However, we understand that, despite some disagreements, they maintain dialogue and theoretical approaches important for understanding political and communicative processes.

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Received on: June 02, 2020.

Approved on: June 18, 2020.

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Abstract

This article reflects on the aesthetic potential of the dispositional arrangements that constitute the insurgency scenes of the Secondary students' movement, that occupied the streets and schools of São Paulo in 2015. Our proposal is to think on the movement's aesthetic fabulation on the street protests, looking at the students' own creations, by performances, posters and interventions. These reflections start from the dialogue between Foucault, Rancière and Deleuze on the formation of the political subject in resistance. The text invests on the potential of the aesthetic experience for the subject's political emancipation, as well as the power of creations involving bricolage and the urgencies of resistance. We point to the construction of the insurgent scene through the dispositional arrangements it provokes, also addressing the vulnerabilities of the subjects involved.

Keywords: Bricolage and aesthetic. Dispositional arrangements. Secondary students' resistance.

Resumo

Este artigo é uma reflexão sobre as potencialidades estéticas dos arranjos disposicionais que constituem as cenas de insurgência do movimento secundarista, que ocupou as ruas e as escolas de São Paulo em 2015. A proposta é pensar sobre a fabulação estética do movimento nos protestos de rua, olhando para as criações dos próprios estudantes, por meio de performances, cartazes e intervenções. Essas reflexões partem do diálogo entre Foucault, Rancière e Deleuze sobre a formação do sujeito político nas resistências. O texto aposta em uma potencialidade da experiência estética para a emancipação política do sujeito, bem como a potência das criações que envolvem a bricolagem e as urgências da resistência. Ele aponta ainda para a construção da cena insurgente por meio dos arranjos disposicionais que ela provoca, atentando também para as vulnerabilidades dos sujeitos envolvidos.

Palavras-chave: Bricolagem e estética. Arranjos disposicionais. Resistência Secundarista.

Resumen

Este artículo es una reflexión sobre el potencial estético de los arreglos disposicionales que constituyen las escenas de insurgencia del movimiento secundario, que ocupó las calles y escuelas de São Paulo en 2015. La propuesta es pensar en la fabulación estética del movimiento en las protestas callejeras, mirando las creaciones de los propios estudiantes, a través de actuaciones, carteles e intervenciones. Estas reflexiones parten del diálogo entre Foucault, Rancière y Deleuze sobre la formación del sujeto político en resistencia. El texto apuesta por el potencial de la experiencia estética para la emancipación política del sujeto, así como por el poder de las creaciones que involucran bricolaje y las urgencias de resistencia. También señala la construcción de la escena de los insurgentes a través de los arreglos de disposición que provoca, también prestando atención a las vulnerabilidades de los sujetos implicados.

Palabras clave: Bricolaje y estética. Arreglos disposicionales. Resistencia de jóvenes Secundaristas.