

## Political autonomy as a communicative experience of bricolage and resistance practices in gambiarra<sup>1</sup>

## Autonomia política como experiência comunicativa de bricolagem e práticas de resistência na gambiarra

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**Abstract:** *This paper aims to reflect about a specific way of bricolage, the gambiarra, and its connections with: a) aesthetic-political processes of constitution of the self-realization and autonomy of the subjects, and b) a poetics of the knowledge that uses bricolage to expand languages, bodies and objects beyond pre-fixed scripts that limit perspectives and block questioning and resistance. Firstly, we outline the relationship between the construction of autonomy and bricolage by looking at the ways in which gambiarra defines specific knowledge and lifestyles in Cuba. Then we analyze how the bricolage created in the manifestations of the Brazilian secondary schools in 2015 led to a variation of existing discourses and allowed to reinvent their enunciation, by releasing words, images and signs from their common uses.*

**Keywords:** *bricolage; gambiarra; autonomy; resistance; literacy.*

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**Resumo:** *Este trabalho pretende refletir acerca de um modo específico de bricolagem, a gambiarra, em seus entrelaçamentos com: a) processos estético-políticos de constituição da autorrealização e autonomia dos sujeitos; b) uma poética do conhecimento que se serve da bricolagem para libertar linguagens, corpos e objetos de roteiros e scripts valorativos que engessam o olhar e impedem questionamentos e resistências. Aborda-se primeiramente a relação entre a construção da autonomia e a bricolagem através do modo como a gambiarra define modos de fazer e viver em Cuba. Em seguida, se analisa como, nas manifestações dos secundaristas em 2015, a bricolagem permitiu variar as formas dos enunciados existentes e reinventar suas coordenadas de enunciação, libertando palavras, imagens, signos de suas funcionalidades habituais.*

**Palavras-chave:** *bricolagem; gambiarra; autonomia; resistência; literaridade.*

## Introduction

There are many forms of knowledge; Some are well structured, cartesian, built on fields of technoscience, filled with certainty and proof, structured in the exhaustive experimentation and, naturally, have their value recognized. However, we know that to that we add (hybridize, derive, counterpose) other knowledges originated in the urgency of daily life structured before numberless challenges we face in our day to day life. This knowledge, less systematized, slightly without structure and very intuitive, is more out of control and, at the same time, creative and daring because it defies these configured knowledge, open space for invention, creation, appropriation, re-creation and subversions of materials, objects and symbols of our more immediate surrounding. These solutions - inventions filled with talent and a bold, subversive sophistication - populate our ways of realizing, producing and making the daily routine happen.

These two forms of knowledge were intensely discussed in books of different important thinkers of the 20th century, as the anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss, which put in opposition the well-articulated, methodic and systematic knowledge - engineering, for example - and a more intuitive knowledge, privileging improvisation and the collage of different materials. There arises the image of the *bricoleur*, word originated from *bricolage*, a set of activities (domestic repair, painting, handicraft, decoration, gardening, etc.) developed for your own use, without using specialized labor.

Jacques Derrida (2013), dealing with the issue of language and its radical appropriation of Lévi-Strauss text, sees in that form of knowledge built by the bricoleur an important form of singularity in the construction of discourses and the appropriation of language in the way it absorbs, rearticulates and re-signifies meanings.

Beyond the field of language and approaching our daily experience, what these authors point out, somehow, is the libertarian character of the bricoleur, that, with his creative, intuitive and affectionate knowledge, accumulated in the most direct experience with reality, inserts

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himself into the world and rearticulates powers instituted by specialized knowledge. He subverts, appropriates and makes any operation, mundane as it may be, a space for invasion.

There is political potential in the gesture of bricolage: the choice of materials, the encounter of semantics, syntax, textures and forms puts in relation heterogeneous elements capable of generating estrangement and suspension (suspicion) of familiarity. The bricoleur has knowledge and dominion of codes of perception, recognition and value of virtualities contained in different materials, signs and objects using them for an inventive and singular elaboration of new codes and objects. We can define their creative gesture through the reflection made by Agamben in *Means without an end* (2000, p. 56): “there is a gesture when we become subjects of an action, when we make them ours. It is the subjectivation of the gesture that makes the difference: the actor doesn’t act, it is authorized in gesture - he is not the author of gesture, but he becomes author through gesture”.

The agency of the bricoleur has two dimensions that we would like to reinforce in this study: (i) the construction of the political autonomy; (ii) the production of smaller forms of resistance (DELEUZE e GUATTARI, 2014) sustained by experimentation and by the invention of dissent statements and scenes of enunciation (RANCIÈRE, 2000a).

To rework codes, boards of meaning and schemes of appreciation and valorization, it implies manipulating signs, indagating language, searching for their own language, configuring a statement and, with it, another form of enunciation, assuming responsibility for it. This understanding of the gesture of bricolage considers as central the question of autonomy and capacities of self-realization of subjects in adverse conditions and through embarrassments of power and domination. In the first part of the article, we talk about the relationship between the construction of autonomy and bricolage through the way gambiarra defines forms of doing and living in Cuba.

The second part of our argument brings emphasis to the dynamic of resistance linked to bricolage. Performing an action that implies the

creation of something singular through a mix of references is to destitute objects, words, bodies of a consensual, naturalizing designation that seeks to attribute each thing a utility, a reason and a value. Bricolage varies forms of existing statements and reinvents its coordinates of enunciation. In this sense, it frees objects, words, images, signs of their traditional functionalities, giving them the opportunity to be something else and/or a part of something that did not exist before. This movement enables that the classificatory relationship “one thing, one name” give place to the excess of names and, with that, provokes a short circuit in the relationships of power and order. In this part of the text, we work with the concept of literality, present in the studies of Jacques Rancière, linking it with a brief reflection about enunciative forms used in the movement of high schoolers in São Paulo in 2015, that happened after the government announced an educational reform.

The approximation between experiences and transforming potencies of *gambiarra* in Cuba and in São Paulo tend to reveal how, in the Latin American context, the improvisation and risk taken in contexts of social, political and economic precariousness constitute the “space established between order and disorder, between contention and looseness facing the weight of norm” (MONTEIRO, 2018, p. 197). The difficult economic and political transition in Cuba and the deepening of the predatory neoliberal model in Brazil accentuate the fact that the adjectives “vulnerable” and “precarious” serve to stigmatize and regulate (with the syntax of risk and self-government/self-control) groups and people. However, if re-signified, these terms seem to attend our wider efforts of politizing state injury, suffering and violences that reduce and control transforming desires and agencies. As Monteiro reinforces (2018, p. 221-222):

Politics, in a moment like this, says about the capacity of keep producing through adversity, making something with what is most precarious, and, therefore, most precious, grabbing what is at hand. If on one hand, it is not important to reduce the future to a simple *gambiarra*, on the

other, the power of precariousness is the engine of any gesture that point towards the new.

Under this aspect, the vulnerable, precarious political subject cannot be defined as a victim, dependent, inept. Precariousness is not a concept essentially associated to suffering and destitution, neither it uniquely defines a propension of being susceptible to damage. There is potentialities and ambiguities in this notion that must be considered. Lazzarato (2006, p. 218), for example, says that the precarious subject remains in the indefiniteness, in the frontier between worker and unemployed, artist and bricoleur, configuring a form of life in which “relationships are not coded, because they are, in a contradictory and simultaneous way, a source of political subjectification, economic exploration and an occasion to be exploited”. According to him, the precarious has a subject not entirely coded by neoliberalism and, because of that, not institutionalized and standardized, having the chance to build multiple struggles with their identities to become. Discoded, the precarious in Cuba and in Brazil, adult and young, are “schizo-revolutionary” (PELBART, 2002), building themselves and their experimentations through insurgent gambiaras.

### **Autonomy and bricolage**

Autonomy, principle that defends the sovereignty of individuals and groups against the impositions and violences threatened upon them, is not related to individualism or to self-sufficiency that erases the particularities of social relationships that constitute subjects’ trajectories and limit their choices and preferences. It also cannot be thought separately from cultural and social aspects. Instead, its construction is intersubjective and demands that we think about: a) power relations; elements linked to value, practices and forms of subjectivation; c) communicative competences originated in interactive networks that people establish with one another; d) experiences (BIROLI, 2012, 2013). The dimension of experience that is interesting to us is closer to where we are, once we believe all subjects develop their autonomy in adverse conditions

marked by numberless embarrassments and limitations of power. However, what is going to differentiate them in terms of accomplishment of autonomy is the way they find/create exits for their struggles, and, often, producing it under the form of *gambiarra*.

The autonomous subject must be capable of producing meaning while gathering fragments of their experiences. They must also be able to see themselves as author of their own story and their identities, making decisions that are not restricted to the more socially available alternative, but evidencing a complex unfolding of social patterns and relations in which they are positioned. Autonomy involves, thus, a delicate game between identification of embarrassments of action and the definition of possibilities of action through the valorization of experiences not entirely identified by domination patterns (BIROLI, 2013). But it is also a result of an ethical process, in which our realizations are reached always in interdependence, and, because of that, always in conditions of vulnerability (exposition to the other). Reaching autonomy implies assuming responsibility derived from our connections, needs and bonds, something that requires a gaze and a care for situations, encounters, affections and practices of hearing that involves the contact with alterity (BUTLER, 2016).

In other words, autonomy refers both to the conditions in which choices are made and self-determination of subjects, revealing how they handle, in their concrete experience, with power asymmetries and barriers imposed to their emancipation. A demanding view of autonomy, disregarding vulnerabilities and precarities that cross lives differently, can erase the autonomic potential of their varied projects when neglecting opportunities and the capacity of self-realization are not the same for everyone. Even if subjects have access to the same network of goods and infrastructure, they have different lives, capacities, the possible *gambiarra*s, as well as the deprivations and repressions (COLE, 2016), which will alter their conception of injustice and the limits and possibilities of resistance.

Thus, primarily, the question would be “to know which resources, material and symbolic, are available in which the individuals are constituted as subject of their lives (BIROLI, 2016, p. 44). And, secondarily, ask about how subjects relate, mount and articulate these resources in a way to build plausible alternatives to obstacles and problems presented to them.

In this sense, autonomous identity projects are products of bricolage that combine singularities and common conditions, personal investment and contributions coming from relations, revealing a frontier between structural determinations and different forms of experience, of positionings and social locations that produce cracks in the forms of reproduction of oppression and precariousness.

### **Possibilities and embarrassments to the antagonistic action in Cuba**

The international media discourse tends to frame the Cuban Revolution as a homogeneous image of a social process that has changed a lot throughout six decades. The 60's and 70's brought structural transformations that radicalized the political project in the country. In the 80's, the decision of a socialist future under the economic protection of URSS was consolidated. It seemed that socialism became a viable option to the world. However, the dissolution of the European communist bloc, in 1989, brought a huge challenge for Cubans. The cut of soviet supplies for the Caribbean nation, the scarce development of the internal economy and financial sanctions imposed by the United States and other capitalist countries made Cuba enter a profound economic crisis in the 90's.

Although this phenomenon had been widely studied through an economic perspective, other authors point that the 90's of hardship took them to question the foundation of legitimacy of the Cuban political system and contributed for the renaissance of civil society (BOBES, 2013). The great challenge became not only defending themselves from

external attacks, but also surviving the daily life in favor of a national political project. This capacity of resistance translated into small mundane practices that, throughout the years, became a lifestyle marked by the particular presence of *gambiarra*, bricolage, innovation.

Thus, through a specific political scenario, the constant appeal to survival resources led Cubans to recognize themselves in the popular imaginary as creative, ingenious and invincible beings. It is also possible that these are intrinsic characteristics of the Cuban society that, facing a scenario of adversities, naturally emerged as a response mechanism. Below, we propose a brief analysis of some examples that illustrate how *gambiarra* was instituted as a daily tactics for Cubans to solve the most basic problems and how that relates with their exercise of building autonomy.

Most of the registers there is about “Cuban inventions” refer to basic needs: food, transportation, energy, protection against high temperatures, etc. The lack of fuel in the country created constant cuts of energy that lasted almost the entire day. The narratives around the Cuban “blackouts” gained importance in the construction of memory about that time, symbolically acting in an extraordinary capacity of resistance and assimilation of economic hardship. A Cuban blogger explains how they used to build artisanal energy centrals with car batteries: “the essential artifacts of connection for those centrals were the refrigerator and the TV set. The first, for obvious reasons; the second was necessary for watching Brazilian telenovelas, which were almost exclusively the only source of fun at that time” (ÁLVAREZ, 2015, our translation).

Another lead character of that story is known popularly as *chismosa* (gossip), metaphoric name that describes a lamp built with a glass jar, kerosene, threads of fabric and old aluminum tubes for toothpaste. The *chismosa*, always vigilant during long periods of darkness, became the most common source of light in Cuban nights in the 90’s.<sup>6</sup>

6 All the images used in this study come from the same source: *Te presento 20 imágenes...* (2015).

Image 1 - Improvised lamp known as *chismosa* (gossip).

It is interesting to observe here the relevance acquired from the process of transformation, the means to reach an end, the materiality reformed by human intelligence subverting a pre-established common order, a new relationship emerging between the parts and the whole. There is a gesture of implicit subversion in the conception that “*gambiarra*, in an effort to integrate fragments, even if disparate, so that form and functions are fulfilled, performs innovative simulacra” (SEDL-MAYER, 2017, p. 65).

The notion of interaction of individuals with the world that surround us marks a political dimension of *gambiarra*. Sedlmayer (2017) retrieves the studies of Italian philosopher Giorgio Agamben to indicate the presence of a recuperation that deactivates the old use of things through the creation of a new use. This restriction of common use can happen through different procedures that mark singularity of each experience, always permeated through discovery - in this case, for the attribution of new specific functionalities to objects available in the world where the subjects are developed.

A variety of innovations was also developed around fans due to the intense heat of the island. The new class of appliances was created with helixes made of vinyl records and put on Russian fans (Image 2) or engines of Russian washing machine adapted to old metal fans (Image 3).

These and other examples have been incorporated in the discourse of contemporary artists that are thematic to recent history of the country, as it is the case of the project “Technologic disobedience”, developed by Ernesto Oroza (2016b).

Image 2 - Artisanal fans based in a Russian model.



Image 3 - Fan with Russian washing machine engine Aurika 70.



That way, the productive alliance of Cuba with soviet countries left an inheritance of Russian technology in the island that, due to its durability, was constantly reused for other purposes. The engines of the popular washing machines Aurika 70 found new uses in the structure of equipment for small businesses, such as sanders for shoe doctors, key-copying machine, lawn mower and every type of electric instrument (OROZA, 2016a). In this sense, an aesthetic proper of soviet countries

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became mundane in the island beyond the politic rupture with URSS, as memory, maybe, of a past with economic dependence that, somehow, shaped the face of crisis.

Reusing engines from washing machines makes an intent of generalizing functions of one part of the whole through the evaluation of possibilities and choice for similarity. In this reflexive exercise, the engine is dislocated from the appliance as a whole and is considered only for its primary characteristic. If Cubans learned to live with only the essential in life (something that may be unthinkable for citizens born in a capitalist system), that is due, to a great extent, to a type of learning that is necessary to differentiate the essential from the disposable.

The issue of reformulating uses, the gambiarra, also occupied the main character in the field of Cuban cuisine. The pork chop made with seasoned grapefruit skin is almost a symbol of the time (ÁLVAREZ, 2015), as well as other solutions to the lack of food and equipment for cooking. The provisional becomes permanent once this inventiveness transforms, through communicative exchanges spread throughout time, in collective learning, reconfiguring the meaning of gambiarra.

The creative gesture which represents gambiarra generally brings an intrinsic relationship not only to a state of need or limitation of options, but with the ephemeral sense of this type of solution and its impact in the construction of autonomous agencies. The agency and its protagonism of subject's lack autonomy when their preferences and choices are determined by situational, contextual, political, cultural or relationship components, that escape their control. It is important, in these cases, to always consider the contexts and asymmetries of resources and opportunities that cross subject choices. To define autonomy, we do not consider only the distinction between voluntary choices and coercive choices, as if among them there wasn't an array of issues intertwined. Choices are not made in an isolated manner, exempt from external interventions, but they constitute a trajectory linked to the constant definition and re-definition of who we are.

Image 4 - Pressure cooker keeping pressure with spoons.



Image 5 - Iron used as a stove for a coffee maker.



Choices are made in situations of restriction, coaction and embarrassment, but that doesn't mean people stop acting and taking decisions in their own terms or they don't produce resistance facing dominant codes (SCOTT, 1990). However, not always the consideration of frontiers between free decision and embarrassments reflect the complexity of elements in place when we talk about the interfaces between autonomy

and oppression. There are varied arrangements in the process of construction of autonomy (BIROLI, 2012) and all of them, to some extent, work with tactics and bricolages that take out words and objects of the position they are inserted in the consensual sensitive board defined by a dominant network of significations, making difficult to locate their position on the system of political coordinates where they usually are localized (RANCIÈRE, 2012).

Currently, many tourists visiting Cuba are surprised with the amount of vintage American cars (from 1940's and 1950's) riding the streets as a result of adaptations in their mechanic system. The construction of "buses" with parts of trucks and artisanal boats used for illegal immigration of Cubans to Florida (EUA) are also examples of singular means of transportation developed in extreme conditions.

Image 6 - Bus made with parts of a truck.



Image 7 - Artisanal boat used by Cubans in the sea migration to the United States.



The originality is certainly a distinctive trace of *gambiarra* as expression of vitality, of existential manifestation (SEDLMAYER, 2017). It carries multiple senses built in the act of doing, reading and decoding a situation of conflict present that can reach even the limits of extraordinary, of incredible. Therefore, *gambiarra* also acts as an organizational element of a specific memory and an experience, sewing singular moments that transmit the limits between reality and imagination.

In the terrain of technology, there were also innovative solutions as television antennas made out of aluminum trays (Image 8) and the replacement, in many cases, of a type of material or artifact for other similar one (Image 9). The attempts of cheating technologic limitations are still very frequent in Cuba. External cultural influences have reconfigured the way of thinking of the population and generating a crescent curiosity for technologic apparatus and their deviant functionalities.

In this case, *gambiarra* does not directly relate with a vocation for recycling or with the exotism and spectacularization that may be incorporated as interpretations of similar practices. However, the Cuban experience ends up romanticizing the socialist economic experience and fits in an interpretation of contestation in the capitalist consumption style, although it was only a collateral result.

[In the gambiarra], the logic of consumption meets the affirmation of a place on the edge, supported by the quantification, consumerism, because there you do not change a faucet, you don't buy a new umbrella, you don't get a new boot, and you don't throw away a lid that cannot close a pan anymore (SEDLMAYER, 2017, p. 61).

Image 8 - TV antenna made with aluminum trays.



Image 9 - Remote control with battery adaptation.



The gambiarra attitude of Cubans can be read in many ways. It was a supportive attitude of a people in defense of their political ideals, but maybe, after some time, it became something to conform, creating a process of accommodation that transforms the doing in suffering. In any way, the image of gambiarra in Cuba has the merit of expressing what can be spontaneous in a people that works majorly guided by state

directives. The gambiarra, in this case, embodies the image of deficiency in constant tension with autonomic processes of resistance.

But it is important to highlight that life isn't only a "resource" to be managed through the lenses of State, institutions, statistics of mortality, as described by Foucault (1980) coining the term biopower. Life must be apprehended from within, in the flesh of daily experience of subjects. Foucault, in its writings of the end of the 70's and the beginning of the 80's, interrogates the biopower in search of what, in life, resists to him the creation in forms of subjectivation that escape biopower. The ethical relationship with oneself and others is, according to him, the source of emancipation and transformative creation, implied in all power relations: However, he only tangencies this discussion around a potency of life, without having enough time to advance the insights that integrate volumes of utterations and writings.

It is in this point that the study of Hardt and Negri (2000) deserves our attention, because they base their study in the reflection of Foucault to bring a new meaning to the concepts of biopower and biopolitics: against the reproduction and government of ways of life and pre-approved consciences, they detect the biopotency of relationships of cooperation and hospitality, the creative agencies and the political and aesthetic bonds. With an argumentation very tuned to the propositions of Deleuze and Guattari (2014), Hardt and Negri say that life and the living being are the nodal points for new political fights. In this sense, beyond institutional frameworks, narratives and communicative exchange are engendered that must become object of investigation of works that have as focus unveiling flows of power that, under the pretext of empowering, emancipating and ensuring "sovereignty" to marginalized subjects end up exposing and deepening violences, moral sufferings and identity damages.

According to these authors, it is imperative to ask ourselves in what ways, within the machine of production of subjectivities, new forms of inventing valorizations and self-valorizations of forms of living can arise. What politics does to life and lives, to them, is not only a matter of

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discourse and technologies, strategies and practices. It is also a matter of a concrete way as individuals and groups are treated, under which principles and in what name of what moral, frequently implying inequalities and lack of recognition.

Gambiarra, while biopotency, is related to the permanent experimentation, with new forms of cooperation, new wishes, new beliefs and other collective subjectivities (PELBART, 2002). In the following section, we will make a brief reflection about agencies and insurgent bricolages that put in question the Foucaultian biopolitical monitoring.

### **Literality and bricolage of codes in urban manifestations and insurgences**

Gambiarra, when it interpellates us through its unsettling weirdness, takes shape in the appropriation of characteristics of discourses/objects previously existent in the creation of new symbolic productions. A creation is revealed, according to Sedlmayer (2017), double to the extent in it is emerged something re-signified, while exposing an identity of the bricoleur through the choices he makes.

Under that perspective, the notion of bricolage is closer to a poetic of knowledge (RANCIÈRE, 2000a), therefore, a re-organization and (re)creation of perceptions accepted in society, reorganized all forms of knowing and learning. In his book, *The night of the proletariat*, Rancière investigates letters and documents written by French workers in the 19th century that used to create, read, and work their own language at the time they would have to sleep. According to him, a worker reaches, through reading and writing, the capacity of connecting oneself to a community sensible partial, random and that does not necessarily link to its social status, but it allows little inventions in the act of making stories, objects and statements circulate, multiplying the possible rationalities in the gesture of giving a singular shape to the capacity of doing and saying it belongs to everyone. The poetics of knowledge consists, then, in an operation in the language and with the language that takes off

objects, narratives and bodies of a status that the social or cultural history attributed to them, allowing the emergency of an excess of names, words and uses.

The development of intellectuality of the worker and the activities of reading and writing performed during the night reveal a short-circuit in the circulation hierarchized of knowledge and statements. The gesture of writing means to have access to a communicative dynamic in which words become orphans, available to all, without being guided by the voice of a master that pretendedly knows how they should be related to things and who should have the right or not to make an appropriate use of them. Writing frees people from a relationship given between symbols and bodies, enabling the statement to everyone (RANCIÈRE, 2000b, 2006, 2009).

One of the most evident manifestations in the poetic of knowledge, according to Rancière, is literality, described by him as a form of circulation of writing based in an excess of words, a principle of disorder, a potentiality common of individual and collective experience, the power of demos to alter the distribution of words (political sharing of sensitive). The issue of politics of literality in Rancière is not linked to speech or writing, but to accessibility and availability of writing (action of writing) to everyone. The excess of words defies a system that conditions the expression and the reception of texts and images.

This excess of words, to which I call literality, interrupts the relationship between an order of speech and its social function. In other words, literality refers, at the same time, to an excess of words available in relation to the thing that was named: the excess related to the requirements for the production of life; and, finally, to the excess of words facing modes of communication that work to legitimate the adequate order itself (RANCIÈRE, 2000a, p. 115).

However, literality isn't just the excess that configures a potency that allows a recombination of signs capable of destabilizing evidences of dominant discursive registers: it is the exercise of the work with language, bricolage with signs and statements, enabling other arrangements and

other forms of learning the visible and its signification. The speakers in condition of equality (without having their status on the line), use experimentally the writing to create “a certain common space, a form of circulation of language and thinking that does not have nor a legitimate emitter nor a specific receptor, nor a regulated mode of transmission (RANCIÈRE, 2000b, p. 12).

An example of bricolage that subverts consensual meanings of circulation of words is the elaboration of handwritten posters made by high schoolers in a protest against the announcement of a educational rearrangement made by the São Paulo government in September 2015, threatening to close 94 schools and affect other 56 in all state. When taking to themselves the gesture of inventing and making circulate their own stories, they put into practice the same gesture of the workers who got her letters analyzed by Rancière; a form of circulation of the written word which belongs to the democratic sharing of sensitive.

In the protest of young high schoolers, especially those from 2015<sup>7</sup>, the poster certainly is an extremely potent minority art. It is possible to establish an interesting relationship between literality and the concept of a “smaller literature” coined by Deleuze and Guattari (2014). A smaller literature is defined by them as an “incorrect” syntaxis” (DELEUZE and GUATTARI, 2014, p. 40), de-territorialized: a syntaxis to scream and also to “give the scream a syntaxis”. Maybe a syntaxis that, at the same time, connects and disconnects words in its habitual use, which operates showing what can be said and what can't. A syntaxis that reveals the collective value of enunciation that forges the means of putting into practice a solidary and insurgent sensitivity.

7 On September 23rd, 2015, the main newspapers talked about the program of educational reform that would transfer, in the following year, over one million students so that schools could be divided by cycles. As consequence of this measure, over 150 schools would be affected, with the end of shifts and cycles (MONTEIRO, 2015).

Image 10 - News published in the website Jornalistas Livres (TATEMOTO, 2015).



Photo by: Mídia Ninja.

Made then and there, composed by different materials, handwritten, the poster (carried along with moving bodies) reveals the mode the high schoolers produced a written experience separated from the social network (which, as free as they appear, are filled by capital-controlling flows) and the traditional media. The gesture itself of making the poster and carrying it along is political, once politics of writing consists of a form of aesthetic experience based in the liberation of word from its habitual flows of production and circulation and in the equality installed when anyone can be their owner without the need of following a new script or specific formulas of enunciation. It is about a sensory and expressive equality instead of only a legal or economic equality.

The written and creative register of demands of protesters in posters can be evaluated, according to Rancière (1995), as an act associated to the insurgent body to the spoken word, liberating the statement from the legitimate modes of speaking and listening. The words written in posters can be appropriated by anyone, configured into a new scene of speech, put in display, in addition to characterizing the simultaneous indetermination of the original reference of the statement and the identity

of the author. The smaller writing shuffles any ordered relationship of doing, seeing and saying.

Posters and performances of high schoolers show how creativity, language and materiality of expression (language, poiesis, production) compose, to Rancière (2009), the central triad for emancipation and autonomy of subjects. According to him, each one has to find out for themselves, in their own language and syntaxis, the relationships and accesses to a common world. It is through the work with language (as well as with literature), bricolage and gambiarra with codes (the size of the letter and the insurgent bodies), that we perceive a poetic of creation of dissent scenes in which subjects and objects that before were not figured become visible and have their words considered valid.

The speech expressed in posters establishes an affectionate narrative of identity in which the self is established as lead character from which it will be performed the reflective appropriation of alterity and the world. This is the basic political difference between narrating and being narrated through others: the perspective of narrating, the centrality, even if momentaneous, of who writes their own history dislocate lines of forces constituent of any narrative for the narrating subject, in a condition turned eccentric in relation to dominant narratives within a society. It is because of that that, for young people, narrating their own life, telling their own story - in opposition to narrative normalizations that constitute them as an alterity in a story that is equally not theirs - seem to be an essential condition for the political life drawn in the conversational threads of daily life.

Bodies and faces majorly female appear in Image 10, as well as the words in the poster in the foreground, reveals the emergency of a collective political subject mobilized not for a social identity declared for its deficit, but for the challenge given “to the forms of police and economy power that incessantly kidnap the chances one has to have a visible life.” (BUTLER, 20016, p. 60), without settling with survival.

Because of that, the assembly and the articulations allow the arrival of youth as act of word, a minority act of sovereignty and autonomy working

against the obvious, natural disposition of bodies and forms of enunciation. The assembly, according to Butler (2016), comprises a plurality of bodies mobilized in a form of demonstration of resistance and equality in front of a crescent inequality. She speaks through a plurality of faces and bodies that configures actions and produces a people through “shared self-designation with others” (BUTLER, 2016, p. 59). A people and its formation do not need, according to Butler, an unity, but it has its emergency in a set of debates in which defines what it wants and what agencies it will use. The formation of a people is an experimentation that evidences “the potential joy of the daily recomposing of the world [...] Whenever we surrender ourselves to creation, experimentation and invention with what we have at hand, and not with something we lack” (MONTEIRO, 2018, p. 198-200).

Bodies in articulation, in alliance, take public spaces or rebel in consonance, even if in isolation, and can fight against its fixation in categories, against the reification of political frameworks that retain them in positions without agency and sovereignty. According to her, bodies gathered in assembly perform an act of sovereignty and resistance through its vulnerability, and, with that, the performativity of vulnerable bodies brings with oneself a form of acting, speaking, exposing and demanding that require another configuration of relations that make life possible, potent and valuable.

## Final considerations

The constitution of an emancipated political subject implies the search for autonomy through personal investment - working your own language and expressing yourself with authenticity, ethics and commitment (FOUCAULT, 1994, 1995) -, but also a meeting with others - a meeting that is not calm but filled with tension and violences. There is, in this conception, the idea that the agency of subjects takes shape in concrete contexts of life and experience, articulated by beam of relationships, asymmetries and potentialities that impede the consideration of subject as isolated agents, far from relational and communicative practices

that help them define and defend interests and preferences. Thus, the subjectivation requires articulation and combination between diverse elements that move the agency of subjects. It can be approximated to an exercise of constant bricolage between what happened and what is coming, between hegemony and minority, between current and virtual.

The capacity of moral autonomous agency of subjects is connected with the definition of self through the definition of lifestyle one wants to live and how the subjects seek to make it possible. However, there is numberless limits and obstacles for the relational construction of autonomy, making it difficult the concrete conditions of its effectivation. Autonomy involves the creation and invention of specific modes of being/existing/appearing in front of others despite contingencies and asymmetries producer of inequality and suffering, modes of being and living that are balanced between strategic relationships (most common form of relationship in our daily life, marked by a mixture of reception of the other and violence against the other) and relations of domination (in which the power over the other do not let relationships to be flexible to change). In this case, the political dimension of *gambiarra* is presented as an “despite of”: a resistance outlined through discovery, attempts, inventiveness and experimentation of individuals that constant re-elaborate their possibilities, languages and outcomes. Despite the different asymmetries and inequalities, tactics of *gambiarra* have an impact in the definition of possibilities, ambitions and choices effectively available for the individuals.

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