

## Organizational Practices in the Constitution of the Right to Culture and to the City Understanding the Struggle for the Rights of a Cultural Organization in Goiás City, Brazil

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### ABSTRACT

The objective of this paper is to discuss how the organizational practices in the field of culture constitute the development, promotion and access to rights to culture and to the city in Goiás city, Goiás, Brazil. We bring the theories of the field of Studies Based on Practices (SBP) closer to the Law in order to understand the non-institutionalized legal phenomena of the organizational processes. From a multi-sited ethnography carried out in the Historic Center of the city of Goiás, Goiás, a place classified as a World Heritage Site by Unesco between August 2014 and December 2015, we highlight the processes by which organizational practices, as producers of spaces in cities, constitute Rights when recognizing or neglecting the occupation of the urban space by certain social groups. We emphasize how the analysis of organizational processes can contribute to a debate on Rights from a perspective of legal pluralism from the daily life of cities and highlighting the relevance of understanding the occupations of urban spaces as a way of reconfiguring relations between the State and civil society.

**Keywords:** Practices of organization. Rights. Cities. Multi-sited Ethnography. Goiás.

### PRÁTICAS DE ORGANIZAÇÃO NA CONSTITUIÇÃO DO DIREITO À CULTURA E À CIDADE: COMPREENENDO AS LUTAS POR DIREITOS DE UMA ORGANIZAÇÃO CULTURAL NA CIDADE DE GOIÁS, BRASIL

### RESUMO

O objetivo deste artigo é discutir como as práticas organizacionais no campo da cultura constituem o desenvolvimento, promoção e acesso aos direitos à cultura e à cidade na cidade de Goiás, Brasil. Aproximamos o campo de Estudos Baseados em Práticas (SBP) com o Direito para compreender os fenômenos jurídicos não institucionalizados pelo Estado dos processos organizacionais. A partir de uma etnografia multissituada realizada no Centro Histórico da cidade de Goiás, Goiás, localidade tombada pela Unesco como Patrimônio da Humanidade, entre agosto de 2014 e dezembro de 2015, destacamos os processos pelos quais as práticas organizacionais, enquanto produtoras de espaços nas cidades, constituem Direitos ao reconhecer ou negligenciar a ocupação do espaço urbano por determinados grupos sociais. Enfatizamos como as análises dos processos organizacionais podem contribuir para um debate sobre Direitos sob uma perspectiva do pluralismo jurídico a partir do cotidiano das cidades, destacando a relevância de se compreender as ocupações dos espaços urbanos como forma de reconfigurar as relações entre Estado e sociedade civil.

**Palavras-chave:** Práticas de organização. Direitos. Cidades. Etnografia multissituada. Goiás.

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Even though the field of Studies Based on Practices (SBP) within the area of Administration had been constituted and strengthened aiming at discussing how the organizations occur in different social contexts, such studies still lack theoretical deepening regarding their capacity of social, critical analysis (COURPASSON, 2017; CZARNIAWSKA, 2013). This is because both the theoretical and the methodological advances (BISPO, 2015; FELDMAN; ORLIKOWSKI, 2011) enabled through the SBP have allowed the organizational analyses to present the challenge of theoretical articulations with other fields of knowledge considering different social struggles in which organizations are produced.

The SBP have not quite approached the field of the Law and such convergence could enhance the range of social complexity in the organizational analyses scope. Although the Public Administration has already advanced regarding the constitution of this dialogue, as well as in the field of Fundamental rights and people with disabilities (SILVA; RUE, 2015), Habitation (LIMA, 2014), independence of the three powers of the republic (PINHEIRO; VIEIRA; MOTTA, 2011) or Property right (SIKOR; HE; LESTRELIN, 2017), this is a route yet to be built (GOMES *et al.*, 2015). However, these areas have focused on debates about laws and legislation not emphasizing how Rights are constructed by different organizational processes. Herrera Flores (2009), for example, is among the theorists of the Law who enabled the constitution of such dialogue considering that one is not able to seize the Law only as synonym of legality, but should perceive it as social struggles, such as in other fronts of the Law.

Schuch (2009) highlights the very own process of development of rights as a relevant dynamics of discussion since, as states Geertz (2009), this approach of studies emphasizes local knowledge, sense of justice and judicial sensibility present in different localities beyond both the institutional and the institutionalized scopes. This discussion reflects on the field of the SBP within organizational studies for emphasizing how different social groups organize collectively, which is object of research on the SBP and their possible articulations with other social categories (CUNLLIFFE; ALCADIPANI, 2016). By articulating these discussions with the field of Law in Brazil (WOLKMER, 2006; SCHUCH, 2009), the theoretical advance, which is also our proposal with this study, is to highlight the organizational practices in the development, access and promotion of rights beyond the institutional legal spaces or the legal institutional scopes of society, emphasizing the “social processes involving disputes and procedures adopted to assert rights and interests”, according to Cardoso de Oliveira (2012, p. 457).

In order to understand how everyday organizational practices (CERTEAU, 2008) constitute struggles for rights in cities, we adopted the multi-sited ethnography as methodological strategy (MARCUS, 1999). Characterized by a debate on how everyday developments and negotiations produce effects of global dimensions experienced by social subjects day by day (GAGNON, 2017), multi-sited ethnography seeks to trace lines and connections in the field survey allowing to understand mediations between spaces and social contexts by highlighting how macrosocial dynamics is articulated with the domain of local practices (MARCUS, 1995).

The multi-sited ethnography approach (MARCUS, 1999) was carried out in Goiás city, whose “historic center” was heritage listed in 2001 by the of the United Nations for Education, Science and Culture Organization (Unesco) as “Patrimony of Humanity” (DELGADO, 2005) resulting in a process of reconfiguration for social struggles in the city,

especially in such a space considered as the major location for collective and cultural manifestations of vilaboenses<sup>6</sup>. The study was carried out between the months of August 2014 and December 2015 by observing participants in cultural activities and organizations of the city, as well as by conducting life story interviews with 22 subjects who develop their organizational activities in the field of culture involving the locality, in addition to document search in order to follow chains, trajectories and network of everyday practices in the ethnographic field surveyed.

Along this process, we identified a cultural event which occurred in Goiás city on May 2015, called Afoxé,<sup>7</sup> whose dynamics is the focus of this paper, leading us to discuss the extension of the action of cultural organizations in the city regarding the promotion of rights. Aiming at a wider nature of proposing an ethnographic study in Goiás city, we highlight that this paper will present a contour of this fieldwork as a way to understand the theoretical proposal included here. In order to present the results of this study, this paper has four sections in addition to this introduction. Firstly, we discuss the theoretical reference to the SBP considering the propositions by Certeau (2008) regarding the field of Law through Legal Anthropology. Next on, we describe how the fieldwork was carried out based on methodological proposals to conduct a multi-sited ethnography as well as the decision on the event and the organization researched. In the fifth section of the text, we debate the results of the field survey. Finally, we present the contributions of these debates to the area of Administration affirming that practices of organization are producers of Rights in daily life discussing how the organizational modes of the organizational processes directly or indirectly define who are the subjects of Rights in our society.

## STUDIES BASED ON PRACTICES OF ORGANIZATIONAL STUDIES

The consolidation of the SBP in the area of Administration (GOLSHORKI *et al.*, 2010; SCHATZKI, 2006) has provided this field of studies with relevant debates in terms of defining the concepts of practices and their respective distinctions of theoretical approaches as well as emphasized the need of an advance of the critical analysis which the concept of practice may enable within the scope of organizational analyses. Regarding this last debate, many authors have sought an approach with theories from other disciplinary fields, such as Anthropology (OLIVEIRA; CAVEDON, 2017), Psychology (RECKWITZ, 2012), Philosophy (SANTOS; ALCADIPANI, 2015), and Social Sciences (GHERARDI, 2012), in order to achieve a theoretical advance in the concept of practices.

By adopting practice as the central concept of the organizational analysis, we highlight that the social life is produced as a process; therefore, these perspectives require the understanding on the everyday actions of social subjects (FELDMAN; ORLIKOWSKI, 2011). Feldman and Orlikowski (2011) emphasize the need to discuss the concept of practices in different theoretical approaches in the field of Administration and their effects on the sense of organizational dynamics. Bispo (2015) also highlights the relevance

<sup>6</sup> Denomination attributed to those born in Goiás City, Goiás.

<sup>7</sup> It is a practice of Candomblé, religion of African origin, characterized by the city walk in devotion to Orixá Oxum. Candomblé terreiro is the space of Yoruba religious practice. Youruba is an African ethnic group what was brought to Brazil during the period of enslavement of the black population in the country in the 16th century (SANTOS; CORREIA; OLIVEIRA, 2016).

of discussing how the different ways to understand the concept of practice influence researchers; however, the author also stressed the relevance of such debates in methodological terms.

In this paper, we adopted a theoretical approach to understand the practices considering that our debates encompass how they constitute in different social contexts, specifically in the constitution of Rights. We evaluate that the debates proposed by Michel de Certeau (COURPASSON, 2017) support these discussions, since they are the bases to the SBP, as well as the discussions on Anthropology of Law, which will be disputed along the next section of this paper.

Certeau (2008) points out the political conception of acting. For the author, social struggles organize the social space and the different ways to socially set the deviation operated by a practice. In order to discuss the concept of practices, Certeau (2008) also proposes to discuss how the tiny popular procedures play with the network of disciplines, with power relations and institutions in a way that the conformity with them is avoided and alterations are enabled. Therefore, the practices are “ways to do” which may either reintroduce plural mobilities of interests and pleasures in the social space, since no space is installed in the certainty of neutrality or delimit the capacity of action by others in this process (CERTEAU, 2008).

A space is “produced through the operations that guide, detail, temporalize and lead to function the mobile elements of a multipurpose unity of conflict programs or contractual proximities” (CERTEAU, 2008, p. 202). Whenever these relations are constituted through asymmetrical forces which stabilize the operations, these “ways to do”, or practices, produce what Certeau (2008) calls “places”. The characteristic of the places is “an order of distribution which shapes instant positions and stability” (CERTEAU, 2008, p. 201); therefore, the effect is the production of distinctive places. In order to be distinctive, a place must exert its force over another to capitalize the temporality in a space of mobility stabilizing the asymmetrical dynamics of power relations (CERTEAU, 2008).

This asymmetry of power relations of place is efficient for its technical capacity of practices, which Certeau (2008) calls strategies. Strategical practices circumscribe the places in order to enable the management of power relations which may isolate subjects (producing specific subjectivities in the places) or even knowledge (for the production of knowledge regarding the places), such as in business administration (CERTEAU, 2008).

“Tactics” is the term used by Certeau (2008) to refer to the practices of resistance to places. They are the practices which the strategy is not able to tame or domesticate due to their subversive character (BUCHANAN, 1999). The tactics operate through the absence of a distinctive place since they act on the field of the other and the respective controlled place (CERTEAU, 2008). They constitute the spaces by acting in order to appropriate the places to enable mobility, displacement, movement without the capitalization of temporality.

The concept of appropriation, according to Neubauer (1999), is an important contribution of Michel de Certeau to social analyses. Neubauer (1999) stresses that the appropriation makes the strategy understandable restoring our historical understanding

on its nature. From this point of view, the strategies of social discipline are not denied, but their importance and effects are related to the form of appropriation of the discipline by the subjects (NEUBAUER, 1999).

The objective of this paper is to deepen such debates by arguing that the practices producing the organizations support social struggles which also constitute rights. This is because, according to Certeau (2008), the spaces, including organizational ones, are not established in the certainty of neutrality. We raise the question of reflecting on how these practices of organizations, especially those appropriating established places, may change the established institutional dynamics, such as the rights.

If, as stated by Cardoso de Oliveira (2010), Herrera Flores (2009) and Schuch (2009), we should think of the Law as social struggles, how this interpretation can help us understand, in the scope of Administration, that the practices constituting the organizations and produced based on this political dimension of the society may also be thought to produce and promote rights? In order to move forward in this discussion, the next section of this paper presents a debate on the field of the Law from an anthropological approach.

## AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE OF THE LAW

According to Cardoso de Oliveira (2010, p. 456), “the emergence of conflicts in any relation is always a matter of time”. The author also understands that these conflicts just as the demands of rights in disputes would be analyzed through the Anthropology of the Law by emphasizing its symbolical dimension as well. Therefore, to discuss the Law is not only to observe a legal and institutionalized dimension of legality, but also to understand the political dimension of human actions (HERRERA FLORES, 2009). This understanding is linked to the debates proposed by Certeau (2008) when stating that social struggles organize the society, with an analysis focusing on the “ways to do” – in this context, the practices. Through the practices it is also possible to understand the social conflicts which produce, demand and promote rights (SCHUCH, 2009; KANT DE LIMA, 2014).

Geertz (2009) states that the Law is the local knowledge for it is constituted the same way that the social life which it develops organizes itself. In this context, the anthropological approach of the legal phenomena has highlighted how different populations cope with conflicts and disputes not only from a institutionalized dimension, but also based on the dynamics of the legal pluralism (SCHUCH, 2009). According to Cardoso de Oliveira (2010, p. 457):

The Anthropology of the Law is interested in all of the forms acknowledged by the actors as appropriated to equate conflicts, in many circumstances, as well as through social processes involving disputes and through procedures adopted in order to assert rights and interests.

The Law emerges from everyday social practices and sense of justice has always a local meaning (GEERTZ, 2009). The State and the legislating institutions claim and institutionalize the rights, but they are not the focus of their own construction (WOLKMER, 2006). That is the reason why the rights exist inside, outside and opposite to dogmatic laws considering the power relations in which they are imbricated – as discussed by



Wolkmer (2006), for example, from different legal perspectives. To perceive the Law as constituted by social practices is to demonstrate the legal pluralism nature not as a field of possibility, but as the primary condition of struggle to fight social ills, recognition of sociocultural diversity and as strategy against the hegemonic statement of socially emerging rights (WOLKMER, 2006).

Therefore, the legal pluralism acknowledges the Law from an anthropological perspective as produced through our social practices as well as “their own product, transcending state bodies, emerging from many centers of normative production and acquiring a multiple, heterogeneous nature” (WOLKMER, 2001, p. 46). The legal pluralism emphasizes the coexistence of different rules governing social life, even those non-institutionalized, due to the multicultural nature of society (WOLKMER, 2001) and the acknowledgment of the production of rights in the active social life (SCHUCH, 2009).

Colaço and Damázio (2010) state that the legal pluralism in the field of Legal Anthropology enables the development of criticism on both the formalistic and the positivist view of the Law, which conceive the idea of the legal linked to the state. This allows to recognize that the State is constituted from social struggles and the standardization established by it can be understood as legal; however, not as representative, especially of marginalized social groups which are not socially recognized as members of the society and represented by the State. In effect, both the Legal Anthropology and the Legal Pluralism overcome the understanding of the Law as dominance, resolution of conflicts or culture (SCHUCH, 2009) in order to conceive it as social practices belonging to the everyday life.

These debates approach the EPB by highlighting that such social practices constituting the Law, from the legal pluralism perspective, constitute organizations as well. This is because the practices, as central concept of the organizational analysis, also emphasizes that the everyday life produces the society and its effects, such as the emergence of rights. According to Certeau (2008), by producing and re-appropriating organized social spaces – implying power relations – the practices enable to break with the idea of understanding social phenomena only from the institutional and institutionalized bias demonstrating resistance mechanisms, which, in this paper, we regard as socially emerging rights, as highlighted by Wolkmer (2006).

It is such theoretical articulation as well as the field of studies which, for example, Feldman and Orlikowski (2011) stress by stating the interdisciplinarity of the SBP field regarding the political dimensions of its analyses, that is, its capacity to understand the power relations supporting the everyday life of organizational processes and effectively producing and reproducing the dynamics of the society, such as the Law.

This articulation between the SBP and the Law through the concept of social practices contributes to the area of Administration primarily for regarding the Law as practices and secondly, through a theoretical displacement, consider legal phenomena as a relevant element in the organizational processes. Effectively, it is possible to discuss and understand the Law from a plural perspective as well as a participator in the political dimension of organizations (OLIVEIRA; CAVEDON, 2017) by carrying out ethnographic studies as research method, for example, to understand the everyday life of social subjects.

## A ETHNOGRAPHY MULTI-SITED ETHNOGRAPHY

Ethnography is a research method already integrated into the area of Administration, especially regarding the SBP (OLIVEIRA; CAVEDON, 2017); however, in the field of the Law it remains rarely employed (KANT DE LIMA, 2014; CARDOSO DE OLIVEIRA, 2012). By proposing to bring the field of Administration closer to the Law it is necessary to point out that the use of ethnography enables a methodological deepening regarding the use of ethnographic practice for the SBP as well as methodological advance for the field of the Law (KANT DE LIMA; BAPTISTA, 2014; SCHUCH, 2009).

Based on the discussions by Certeau (2008), Clifford (1997) states that the ethnographic research is produced from the social practices of the researcher in the context of the field. In both physical and intellectual terms, its functioning consists of the difficulties of translating the learning process of “what to say” and “what to do” in the ethnographic field (CLIFFORD, 1997). The reports of field diaries are carried out from the participants’ observations (DEWALT; DEWALT, 2011) as well as interviews conducted with subjects along the research. It is important to point out that despite the emphasis on the practices of intensive sharing in the field of study, according to Clifford (1997), it is necessary to resume the ethnographic procedure. This is because the objects of ethnographic study are constituted from connections of different social spaces and establishing their setting borders makes ethnography a complex, procedural task. To conduct participants’ observations means to “follow” and “learn” the dynamics of this movement in the fieldwork.

Marcus (1999) brings an important contribution to these studies by proposing a multi-sited ethnography as a research practice to enable both the reconnection to the everyday life of subjects and the macrosocial dynamics based on the mobility of people, ideas, practices, objects or even identities from their effects of location in different social spaces (MARCUS, 1999). In this context, ethnography consists of conducting participants’ observations and solid descriptions not about a specific location, but connection networks of the object of study (HORST, 2009).

From these assumptions of the multi-sited ethnography, we carried out a survey in Goiás City – location decided for having been heritage listed in 2001 by the United Nations for Education, Science and Culture Organization (Unesco) as “Patrimony of Humanity” (DELGADO, 2005) evincing its social disputes, especially regarding the organizations acting in the field of culture in the historic center of the city – main sector to its organizations.

The participants’ observations were conducted at the historic center of Goiás city from Thursday to Saturday, 6pm to 12am, from Tuesday to Wednesday, 2pm to 7pm, and on Sundays and Mondays along the afternoon at “Coreto” Square. The decision on the mentioned hours considered the most intensive dynamics of space utilization. In turn, the locations were chosen for constituting most part of the organizations located at the historic center, where the major collective cultural manifestations of vilaboenses take place. The participants’ observations consisted of their participation in cultural activities carried out in the city, use of bars and restaurants as consumers and regulars at Coreto Square, which was more common to the residents of the city.

We produced 205 field diaries and 22 interviews (FONTANA; FREY, 1994) with subjects who managed cultural organizations of vilaboenses analyzed interpretatively along with document researches (HODDER, 1994) involving material provided by the organizations, such as websites and publicity material for events. By reporting these activities in field diaries (CLIFFORD, 1997), we observed narratives on the relevance of the action of a vilaboense cultural organization for enlarging the access to Rights to culture and the city in Goiás.

We also observed that one of the cultural events at the historic center was not carried out in the sphere commonly used by the organizations: a meeting called Afoxé, produced by the cultural organization identified during the field survey to promote de policies of access to culture and the city and is located at the outskirts of the city. Thus, we decided to highlight this event from the ethnographic fieldwork to our analyses for its nature of displacement of the organizational practices normativeness in the city. The main results of the survey were categorized in two sections of this paper emphasizing the struggles for the right to culture and the right to the city from the organizational practices.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

We present two types of relations between practices and rights resulting from the occupation process of the city: the right to culture (regarding the possibility of access to cultural manifestations implicit in the power relations of the city) and the right to the city (as the process of appropriation of the social space).

### The practices of organization of the Ilê: from the Afoxé to the Candomblé terreiro, from the Right to Culture to the Right to the city

One of the main locations in Goiás City to observe the power relations involving the organizational practices of different organizations is the use of Coreto Square at its historic center. Since the city has just over 24.000 residents (IBGE, 2015), it is at the central square that the production of everyday practices occur by different social subjects who constitute the organizations and, effectively, the city itself.

The official route of the historic center was used for the major cultural events of Goiás having the Coreto Square as the central reference of access, such as the Procissão do Fogaréu, the main vilaboense cultural event, carried out at Good Friday, when the vilaboense population doubles reaching 50.000 people because of the presence of tourists (FIELD DIARY, Setember 29, 2014). In this context, both the access and the mobility of the events at the square indicated how, when and who has the “right” to move around the space. This is because, according to Certeau (2008), the struggles which organize the space pave the way and delimit fields of action, including the organizations (GHERARDI, 2012).

Afoxé was one of the events which took place during the field survey allowed us to reflect on how the organizational practices articulate with the social struggles in the production and access to rights. On the second Saturday of the month of May 2015, while we were carrying out one of the stages of the field survey in the city, one of events taking place in Goiás did not follow the traditional course. It was an Afoxé passing



through the parallel tracks to the official route of the historic center and we were able to watch its development. Afoxé is about a street parade based on the traditions of Candomblé. As the Afoxé analyzed was performed in the month of May, which according to cultural traditions in Brazil é dedicated to all mothers, the procession paid tribute to Orixá Oxum,<sup>8</sup> regarded as the mother of fertility in religious traditions of African origin (FIELD DIARY, MAY 9, 2015).

A cultural organization in this paper called Ilê was responsible for the parade and has been active in the city for 25 years, located in the edge of the city. All of its activities, in addition to candomblé, take place at a school attending children from five to twelve years old and functioning through a partnership with the municipal administration as well as donations, especially from international organizations – consisting the main support mechanism to culture promoted by the organization researched and acknowledged by vilaboense residents.

Along the procession, which has been occurring for 16 years, we saw ornaments, speech and singing in Yorubá as well as a tribute to Oxum and talked to members of the organization to understand not only the performance of the activity itself, but also the functioning of the organization and its relationship with the local cultural dynamics. The Afoxé lasted for approximately two hours along which we heard many stories about the traditions of Yorubás in Brazil, the resistance of the enslaved black population through its religious practices and especially the relevance of the cultural organization action in Goiás City. As we followed the Afoxé as a whole, we were also able to complete the activity at the candomblé terreiro, where the organization develops its religious practices, as well as to participate in the rituals developed there.

The organizational practices of Ilê appropriated the social space in order to reshape the social relations in Goiás City, especially by highlighting the cultural production of the outskirts of the city and the black population. This is what Wolkmer (2006) stresses by stating the necessity to understand the Law from the perspective of struggles and resistances which are not traditionally legal or judicial scopes. Therefore, it is important to have events such as Afoxé in Goiás, whose course enabled both followers and residents to know the organizational manners of Ilê, considering their own practices of organization:

We passed in front of Rosário Church, Cora Coralina's House Museum until we left on Vermelho River bridge. We kept on with the parade to the riverbank and reached the square of events in the city. At that moment, we understood that the parade would not pass through Coreto Square. In turn, at the square of events a meeting was occurring at a neo-Pentecostal church. Afoxé, which as we know has been performed since 2000 in Goiás, silenced the drums and the singing in a way that the Christian expressions of the event occurring simultaneously prevailed at that moment. We knew that such event had started after the beginning of the parade in the city and arranged along the course of the Afoxé. It was a form of territorialization of the space. Until we covered the entire route occupied by the Christians, we were instructed to remain in silence (FIELD DIARY, MAY 10, 2015).

<sup>8</sup> Oxum is a Goddess of candomblé that is the religion of the ethnic group Yoruba brought compulsorily to Brazil during the period of enslavement of the black population in the country especially in century XVI (SANTOS; CORREIA; OLIVEIRA, 2016).

Certeau (2008) states that the action of walking through the city is a political act since it highlights the power relations of the social space production. In the case of Afoxé, the practices which constitute the organization for the performance of the event are one of the mechanisms used to accomplish its right to the city since by exercising it, the organization is faced with others whose goal is to enlarge their action by restricting the actions of other agents. The right to the city implies confrontations and disputes for the social space production. According to Wolkmer (2006), we should think of the Law from the perspective of the social struggles incorporating plural cultural manifestations. In this context, the disputes for the right are not conformed only at court, but also through the everyday life of social subjects. That is why the practices of organization in Ilê to develop the Afoxé articulated the promotion of the right to culture related to the right to the city.

The organizational practices reveal these social struggles since these “ways to do” in work-related situations point out what Kant de Lima (2014) discusses based on the works by Geertz (2009) on legal sensibilities. According to Geertz (2009, p. 262), these sensibilities have influence on the “social life, before other forms to think and feel (Toyota is said to have hired a thousand engineers and Ford a thousand lawyers after having faced antipollution laws)”. They are constituted from the acknowledgment of the other as subject of rights. The struggles in this process maximize the disputes on the social space production, for example. That is why the course of the Afoxé is challenged with other manifestations along the process of access to the “right of the city”. Beyond cultural differences, the Ilê acknowledges the other as subject of rights and renounces the confrontation as an expression of resistance when facing the conflict expected.

The practices adopted by Ilê, in this case, are related to the tactics described by Certeau (2008) to promote a silent confrontation with the constitution of the distinct places as mobile and improvised (CERTEAU, 2008). These practices demonstrate the political dimension of the organization action by producing their social spaces based on operations which configure according to what Certeau (2008) stresses as a blow-by-blow or throw-by-throw movement. Still about the understanding on the occupation and the right to the city, we followed with the Afoxé until it was finished at the *candomblé* terreiro of the organization.

In the outskirts of the city, we had the right to the city: it was possible for us to walk through the space since we were part of it based on our participation in the Ilê. In this context, we decided to understand the dynamics of action of this organization aiming at discussing this distinguished production of the city, which led us to conduct visits to the organization as well as interview its founder and manager. The practices of the organization Ilê, in addition to promoting the right to culture and to the city, have also the effect of re-evaluating the dynamics of Goiás. That is what Certeau (2008) stresses by stating that political games formulate and constitute the schemes of actions of the practices (CERTEAU, 2008) producing relational spaces as an effect of struggles of forces:

After having scheduled a visit to the organization, we reached early in the afternoon according our arrangement. The location was far from the center of the city, next to a monastery and the riverbanks. The reception had many artifacts of both African and Indigenous origin as well as some articles written by different newspapers on the activities developed in the organization encompassing the scopes of

education and cultural interventions. The secretary expressed satisfaction to receive us and told us that she had let João, manager of the organization, know about our arrival to interview with him. After the proper introductions, we followed to the dining room where we would have our conversation. Along the course, all of the colors, artifacts and decoration were related to Africa, including texts written over the walls, which, in addition to Yorubá, were also written in Guaraní. By realizing our appreciation of the environment, João stated that all of the activities carried out in the organization, including the school which they maintained, sought to move away the eurocentrism of Brazilian cultural production characterizing our formation. This does not mean to silence such influences, but to make emerge a discussion on other possibilities of formation since, according to João: “the cultural production in Brazil tends to be white and elitist. Popular arts, as well as Indigenous and African, are not regarded organically with our formation nor in the activities of cultural organizations” (FIELD DIARY, JUNE 19, 2015).

The centrality of this restriction to the right of popular culture, pointed out by João, was reflected on the process of heritage listing and acknowledgement of the historic center of the city, where no patrimony associated with the African/Indigenous cultural production had been heritage listed. One of the scenarios stressed by João to reverse this scenario, in addition to incorporating such cultural practices into our formation, is the action of public policies. He understands that notices, programs and remaining forms of cultural promotion are currently punctual and effected through a process of implementing public policies regarding culture, which would imply the continuity of activities of support to cultural organizations. The absence of a sense of procedure involving cultural policies ends up restricting the right to culture.

João states that one of the main difficulties of participating in the edits is the presence of qualified personnel to write the projects. As the state of Goiás does not count with qualified professionals for the demand of its cultural organizations, especially for cities in the interior of the state, the raising of funds ends up limited regarding the financial support to their activities. Even though, in order to implement the idea of the right to access to cultural production, the organization has a different production (CERTEAU, 2008). Followed by João, we could get to know all of these organizational structures; it was important for us to walk around the organization with him since we did not have the training required to understand the meaning of each construction in the location, always referring to practices of African and Indigenous traditions, especially Yorubás:

The *lote*, term used by residents of the state to refer to “plot of land”, occupied by the organization has several buildings. Those related to religious practices, such as the *terreiro* for the practice of *candomblé* and the “houses” for each *Orixá*, are separated from the locations destined to both cultural and educational activities: an effort for each aspect in their proper place. Near the structure of the school there are some buildings shaped like traditional indigenous houses. In this location, all of the writings are in Guaraní and the children of the school have classes in such space with teachers specialized in indigenous cultures, as well as indigenous individuals themselves (FIELD DIARY, JUNE 19, 2015).

João told us that not rarely the children, just like some of the adults, regarded as “problematic” by the society were advised to participate in the school and the activities of the organization. It is like the access to the cultural production in that organization was the space to host the transgressors of society, after all, its action proposal itself has

this goal since it emphasized the necessity to overcome the barriers to access to culture and the city, especially regarding its popular basis. This is what Certeau (2008) stresses about the arts of doing things which are not legitimated by the society in the eyes of productivist rationality for breaking with the normativeness established producing different spaces and displacing a set of activities which were balanced.

The everyday practices of the organization Ilê were characterized by the formation of transgression spaces, which is about what Certeau (2008) highlights by stating that the practices enable re-appropriations of organized spaces, such as the city, through the techniques of sociocultural production which politicized the ways to perform the routine. Therefore, no space is constituted in the certainty of neutrality (CERTEAU, 2008) and are exactly these social struggles which compose the dynamics of production and access to the rights and according to Wolkmer (2006), which are not necessarily institutionalized legally.

Referring back to the discussions by Feldman and Orlikowski (2011), Golshorki *et al.* (2010) and Czarniawska (2013) on the necessity to politicize the organizational analyses through the SBP, the effect of the acknowledgment of the practices of organization of Ilê as practices of transgression in Goiás City is the understanding on how the organizational processes also produce rights. In the case studied, these rights concentrated especially on the access to culture and to the city.

## FINAL REMARKS

Aiming at understanding the organizational practices involved in the development and access to rights in Goiás City, this study proposed, from the theoretical point of view, to carry out an approach of the SBP with the field of the Law for providing important analytical elements of discussions on the effects of the organizational processes in the society. We designed a route of analysis based on the propositions by Certeau (2008) and Legal Anthropology, the organizational processes as spaces for disputes of production of rights. This was a critical point of theoretical development for the study since despite the field of SBP already emphasizes the political struggles as components of organizations, the legal effects from a pluralistic point of view are yet to be developed.

The silencing of the debates on the legal pluralism in the SBP as well as in the field of Administration has as a result the reproduction of the understanding of the Law as being laws, legalities or institutionalized material compensations by the power of the State. The Law is regarded based only on a dogmatic perspective as dominance or resolution to conflicts without considering what Wolkmer (2006, p. 113) observe on the “new emancipatory and counter-hegemonic forms of legitimation of the Law” including different organizational processes which produce and place into dispute rights in social relations. This allows us to think how different organizations influence the jurisdictional processes, for example.

In contrast, this limit of understanding the institutionalized Law restricts the interpretation of the political effects of the organizational practices in the society. According to our discussions along the text, in the organizational everyday life the subjects have to cope “with plural experiences of jurisdiction” (WOLKMER, 2006, p. 114), such as the route of the Afoxé, resulting in many forms of conflict resolutions and the ack-

nowledgment of rights in the routine which are not necessarily legalized, regulated or judicialized considering that they influence the organizational dynamics. To think of the relations between the organizational practices and the Law is to think about how the laws and the legal processes are inserted in social relations at the same time the former expresses and constitutes the latter, in addition to resist to them (SCHUCH, 2009).

The theoretical route presented in this paper sought to advance towards what Certeau (2008) highlights by stating that the practitioners play with the space which they do not see or try to silence its existence. Even though the institutional scopes may not SBP certain social groups as subjects of rights, the organizational practices, in their political dimension, can emphasize conflicts and divergence of interests which constitute the organizations and conduct the debate on the articulations among different scopes of organizational reclaiming, such as the field survey carried out in this study involving the right to culture, in this case, resulting in discuss the right to the city as well in the organization process of Ilê.

In methodological terms, our contribution to organizational studies was to discuss the use of multi-sited ethnography as a way to understand the organization and spacialization of organizational practices in social struggles of constitution of the Law in Goiás. We are aware of the limits decided for the field with the purpose of presentation in a paper, but we also consider that this delimitation may be fruitful for highlighting the depth and range of adopting this research method to understand the diffuse social phenomena in the cities as well as articulated with other social processes, as we emphasized in this study.

The field survey also enabled us to reflect on the scope of research in the area of Administration, deconstructing, sometimes, historical pre-concepts structurally formed in our society. To SBP an event of Afoxé carried out by a cultural organization linked to the practices of Candomblé is a form of making emerge the debate on non-hegemonic organizational processes in the area of Administration, silenced and discriminated in our everyday life, according to that we may realize recently by observing the attacks against Candomblé terreiros in the country.

It is important to improve and expand the discussions presented in this paper regarding other organizational processes as an attempt to highlight how the practices of organizations belonging to certain social groups, such as maids, result not only in the judicialization of demands, but also in the institutional proposition of legislations. Another possibility of debates is how the incorporation of new technologies reconfigures work relations as well as the processes of legal negotiation in the organizational routine. Still, it is also possible to discuss how certain organizational processes have their “own laws”. Effectively, we consider that the organizational practices demand new analyses to consider the struggles of social life production both from the symbolical and the material points of view, which also implies an approach with other fields of knowledge, such as the Law, as we proposed along this text.



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