Performing the history of public policy in the light of ANTi-History

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This study is based on constructs of the ANTi-History approach. It aims to (re)assemble the multiple historical versions that performed in time and space in the artistic organization of Salão de Abril, an art exhibition in the municipality of Fortaleza, Brazil. Salão de Abril is currently one of the main local public policies for arts, with more than 70 years of existence. The historical methodology was based on the collection of documents and the compilation of the research archive. In the analysis of historiographical writing, the study identified four historical passages showing associations of different actors in a network. The political character of the exhibition's organization was emphasized when presenting alternatives for the versions of a past that reverberate, today, in the relations with the spaces of the city and in the public policies mechanisms.

Keywords: ANTi-History; arts organization; Salão de Abril; public policy.

Performando a história de uma política pública à luz da *ANTi-History*

Tendo como base construtos da abordagem da *ANTi-History*, o objetivo do estudo foi (re)montar as múltiplas versões históricas que performaram no tempo e no espaço o organizar artístico do Salão de Abril. O Salão de Abril é atualmente uma das principais políticas públicas direcionadas ao meio artístico da cidade de Fortaleza, contando com mais de 70 anos de existência. A metodologia de caráter histórico teve como fonte o levantamento de documentos e a compilação do arquivo da pesquisa. Na análise da escrita historiográfica foram identificadas 4 passagens históricas que evidenciaram as associações de diferentes atores em rede. Ressaltou-se o caráter político do organizar do Salão de Abril, ao apresentar alternativas das versões de um passado que reverbera, hoje, nas relações com os espaços da cidade e nos mecanismos de políticas públicas.

Palavras-chave: *ANTi-History*; organização artística; salão de abril; política pública.

Interpretando la historia de una política pública a la luz de la antihistoria

A partir de constructos del enfoque antihistoria, el objetivo del estudio fue (re)ensamblar las múltiples versiones históricas que actuaron en el tiempo y el espacio en la organización artística del Salón de Abril. El Salón de Abril es en la actualidad una de las principales políticas públicas orientadas al entorno artístico de la ciudad de Fortaleza, con más de 70 años de existencia. La metodología histórica se basó en la recolección de documentos y la compilación del archivo de investigación. En el análisis de la escritura historiográfica se identificaron 4 pasajes históricos que evidenciaron las asociaciones de diferentes actores de la red. Se enfatizó el carácter político de la organización del Salón de Abril, al presentar alternativas de las versiones de un pasado que reverbera, hoy, en las relaciones con los espacios de la ciudad y en los mecanismos de políticas públicas.

Palabras clave: antihistoria; organización artística; salón de abril; políticas públicas.

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1. INTRODUCTION

In the last decades, several researchers have addressed the approximation between history and organizational studies (OS), since the movement known as the historic turn in administration (Clark & Rowlinson, 2004; Kieser, 1994; Vizeu, 2010). This approximation, in turn, opened a dialogue between the fields, outlining research beyond the universal and presentist nature, broader and more attentive to the historical-temporal and spatial dimension (Barros, Alcadipani & Bertero, 2018; Booth & Rowlinson, 2006).

In this context, questions about how to make history in Management and OS have emerged (Booth & Rowlinson, 2006), articulating alternative approaches such as ANTi-History, based on discussions of critical historiography, sociology of knowledge, and cultural theory (Durepos & Mills, 2012). In particular, the links with the Actor-Network Theory (*ANT*) approach are evident, from which the ANTi-History nomenclature originated, which has as its premise (re)assembling a knowledge of the past, tracing the relationships between actors in networks (Bettin & Mills, 2018).

Bearing in mind that the narratives are performed at a given moment and in a specific way, it is the relationships and associations between the actors in the network that build different historical versions (Bettin & Mills, 2018). Durepos and Mills (2017) argued that history is (re)assembled through associations performed in practice. In these interactions, or what the authors called oscillation points, traces of the past can become stories, which in turn, can participate and integrate into the knowledge of the past, revealing multiple versions (Bettin & Mills, 2018).

According to a search carried out in the main databases – among these the portals of Capes, Spell, and Scopus -, there was a shortage in this literature of theoretical-empirical studies, above all, which articulated ANTi-History to the problems of public administration. Internationally, studies were carried out on multinational airlines (Deal, Mills, Mills & Durepos, 2019; Durepos, 2009; Hartt, Mills, Mills & Corrigan, 2014; Kivijärvi, Mills & Mills, 2019), intellectual personalities, and feminism (Bettin & Mills, 2018; Durepos, Mills & Weatherbee, 2012; Hartt et al., 2017), academic associations (Myrick, Mills & Mills, 2013) and accounting and budget (Corrigan, 2019). When observing the national sphere, the scarcity of studies that used the ANTi-History approach is even greater, both in theoretical and theoretical-empirical terms. However, we identified research that turned to the public sector, as the study by Quelha-de-Sá and Costa (2019), who held a historical discussion about the constitution of the Memorial of Resistance of the Government of São Paulo, in addition to the theoretical-empirical study by Ipiranga, Chaym and Sousa (2016), that problematized the concept of socio-past in the context of research and development laboratories of a public institution.

This article proposes the articulation of the ANTi-History oscillation points construct (Durepos & Mills, 2017) to scrutinize historical processes in the context of an artistic sector organization: the April Exhibition (*Salão de Abril*), one of the main public policies aimed at the artistic environment of the city of Fortaleza (Estrigas, 1994; Silva, 2013). In addition to an event, the April Exhibition was

considered an organization, by emphasizing the act of organizing as a diffuse, procedural and open phenomenon (Cooper, 1976), permeating creative and cultural aspects of the city, by transcending the time and space to which it was proposed. For Grey (2010), the study of organizations is not focused only on corporations and institutions; involves different facets of human life and the experiences of people living together, discussing, criticizing, wishing, creating, resisting, in short, organizing. For the author, all forms of collective activities, such as family and politics, as well as work, constitute an organization, in some way (2010).

The relevance of this research is justified insofar as how the understanding of the stories of this arts organization were performed may reveal dominant historical actors and narratives concerning those who were silenced (Clark & Rowlinson, 2004; Decker, 2013; Durepos & Mills, 2012). It is assumed that this is a potentially restorative reflection as support for the formulation of public policies for the relevant artistic sector in Fortaleza.

Considering the period between the foundation of the April Exhibition in 1943 and the year 2018, we ask the following question: how did the multiple historical versions occur during the processes of organizing the April Exhibition? The objective of the study was to (re)assemble the multiple historical versions that performed in time and space the artistic and political organizing April Exhibition.

2. ANTI-HISTORY: PRINCIPLES AND OSCILLATION POINTS

In discussing past and history, Bettin and Mills (2018) differentiate the terms when explaining that "past is defined as what has happened before the present moment and history is understood as the narrative(s), the knowledge(s) that is (are) constructed about the past the past" (p. 70). Based on ANTi-History, knowledge of the past can be (re)assembled based on the traits, politics, and convergences of actors in the network (Durepos & Mills, 2012). In this way, history is constructed through the relationships between heterogeneous actors, exploring the relational activities that produce knowledge of the past (Durepos et al., 2012).

Three fundamental principles guide ANTi-History: multiplicity, symmetry, and relationalism (Bettin & Mills, 2018). The multiplicity is based on the idea that different interpretations of facts from the past can lead to multiple stories. Thus, history is configured as a resource that can be used according to interests (Rowlinson et al., 2014). To access this past performed by history, it is necessary to follow the actors and map the organization of their practices (Bettin & Mills, 2018; Durepos et al., 2012).

The conceptions from ANTi-History that encompass parts of the ANT approach are centered on the ideas that the social is constituted by networked actors, that oscillate between one and the other and that must be analyzed symmetrically (Durepos, 2009). The principle of symmetry implies understanding that the social is formed by a heterogeneous network of hybrid actors, human and nonhuman, in which there is no imposed non-genuine asymmetry (Bloor, 2009; Latour, 2012; Law, 1992). The purpose of the ANTi-History approach is to go beyond ANT by treating history itself as an effect of network interaction (Durepos, 2009; Durepos & Mills, 2012). Thus, analyzing symmetrically implies not "to find the 'most truthful' representation of the past, but to explore how different historical narratives interact with each other, both when they agree and when they disagree" (Bettin & Mills, 2018, p. 71).

When drawing the narratives, the actors involved must be followed equally, without a priori vision. History is (re)assembled through dense and non-arbitrary interactions and relationships (Bettin &

Mills, 2018; Durepos & Mills, 2012). This is the idea that contemplates the principle of relationalism, in which the connections between the actors are evident and the need to trace the relationships between the different representations of history, understanding them as a set of heterogeneous interactions (Durepos et al., 2012; Hartt et al., 2017).

For the ANTi-History approach, history is formed by "the idea that history is made up of a series of relationships that bound actors (traces of the past) as networks (plausible histories) and networks as actors (histories that conceal their conditions of creation and participate in subsequent history production" (Durepos & Mills 2017, p. 6). Based on this last principle, Durepos and Mills (2017) develop the concept of oscillation points that represents the movements of the narratives, in which political action is present and history takes on new facets, being shaped or transformed. Thus, it is necessary to understand what happens at these points, in which the multiple versions are articulated and manifested. At each point there is an oscillation and relation movement, continuously alternating and performing the story. The authors indicate 5 points of oscillations: (1) past – history, (2) actor – network, (3) humans – nonhumans, (4) researcher – traces of the past, (5) historical inscription – reading formation (Durepos & Mills, 2017).

In the first point, *past – history*, they suggest that there are differences between what is past and what is history, given that history is the performance of the past. The past and history are ontologically dissonant since there is no way to reproduce the past. Instead, we reproduce stories, which are versions of the past (Kivijärvi et al., 2019). If, on the one hand, one must be aware of how the past becomes history, on the other hand, one must observe how history reveals and performs multiple versions of the past. Thus, the importance of understanding how one dimension becomes the other is highlighted, alternating in a pendulum movement (Durepos & Mills, 2017).

The second point advocates that, in aligning interests, the actors act as a single actor. According to Durepos and Mills (2017), to understand history and how it is inscribed, it is necessary to trace the relationships that keep the network of actors intact, identifying and connecting the associations that support history as an effect of this network. This is how ANTi-History highlights the need to trace relationships between *actors – network*, observing when they stop being actors and start to act as a network, and vice versa (Durepos et al., 2012).

The third point reports that actors can be human or nonhuman (Myrick et al., 2013). Based on ANT and the idea that there are no humans dissociated from non-humans, Durepos and Mills (2017) question the reason for studying them differently, emphasizing the importance of a historical approach that takes into account the performance of both. The possibility of mobilizing these actors in heterogeneous configurations is also reflected, also articulating hybrid actors (Latour, 2012; Law, 1992). History would be performed beyond the associations between human and nonhuman actors; would also bring the association between *humans - nonhumans - hybrids*, configuring heterogeneous networks (Durepos & Mills, 2017).

The fourth oscillation point, *researcher – traces of the past*, reflects the decisions made by the researcher when (re)assembling the stories and privileges of certain materials when chosen. These decisions suggest the various encounters with the documents and how these features are placed as history (Schwartz & Cook, 2002). According to Durepos and Mills (2017), the fourth point is the place of oscillation between the researcher and his/her features [from the past] to see how each one is changed due to the encounter, as well as the implication for the historical inscriptions.

Finally, the point *historical inscription – reading formation* induces reflection on different interpretations, considering that it is possible to "breathe life into texts, allowing for certain interpretations to emerge, popularize and travel across time" (Durepos & Mills, 2017, p. 63). In this way, the texts will generate different interpretations; therefore, stories cannot be understood as independent, since each reader is formed by experiences and contexts that lead them to a reading itinerary about a historical inscription (Schwartz & Cook, 2002).

3. ARTS ORGANIZATIONS: CULTURE AND PUBLIC POLICIES

As explained, in this study, we understand the idea of organization outside the walls (Strati, 1995), whether they are corporate or institutional, as a diffuse, procedural and open phenomenon (Cooper, 1976), made up of groups of people who act collectively (Durepos & Mills, 2012; Grey, 2010). Some studies that addressed arts organizations permeated the creative sectors and the production of cultural goods (Reis, 2007; Rentschler & Potter, 1996), while others used the term associated with cultural organizations (Hoffmann, Silva & Dellagnelo, 2009) or as a synonym (D'Astous, Colbert & Fournier, 2007; Flach & Antonello, 2011). For Flach and Antonello (2011), these organizations are in the artistic and cultural sphere, with the essential characteristic of not mass-producing. As for D'astous et al. (2007), they associate the term cultural production and the contexts of the public sector, exemplifying these organizations through museums, theaters, and orchestras.

In this context, it is interesting to note that the culture of a city also stands out as an essential source for the construction of the cultural identity of the people who inhabit the urban spaces and the collectives they constitute (Ipiranga, 2010). Vieira, Knopp and Costa (2011) still highlighted that, practically, this articulation occurs and is evidenced by the implementation of policies, programs, and projects permeated by selection and public management mechanisms. Public funding calls, for example, expand and diversify cultural initiatives insofar as they determine incentives for the most diverse arts organizations. However, these calls alone are often not enough to maintain these networks in a sustainable fashion (Gadelha & Barbalho, 2017).

Hoffmann et al. (2009) when observing that the lack of resources influences the way arts organizations behave, highlighted the importance of discussions about public policies, the role of the State, and the participation of the private sector in these networks. Often, these networks of relationships take different configurations over time, and it is in this sense that discussions about such governance are directed towards advances in the country's cultural and artistic production.

When discussing the importance of public support, Medeiros (2012) highlights the need for continuity of public policies that support the cultural-artistic environment in general. According to Subirats, Knoepfel, Larrue and Varone (2008, p. 33, our translation), public policies represent "the response of the political-administrative system to a situation of social reality considered politically unacceptable". The desired results of this response depend on a complex interaction between the different groups of actors involved, their decisions, and negotiated interests (Hoffmann et al., 2009; Subirats et al., 2008).

In this context, Medeiros (2012) points out that, since the April Exhibition is one of the main policies to encourage the arts in the city of Fortaleza, it is necessary to review its configuration. Therefore, the question is: how to review this configuration and/or adopt a new one? How were the

historical narratives of past times related to the organization of the April Exhibition created, performed, maintained, and transformed since 1943? Reflections on the history of this arts organization, which permeate political and cultural aspects, may reverberate in the public policies of the sectors involved.

4. METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES

As one of the main spaces for public promotion of the arts in the city of Fortaleza, the April Exhibition currently has more than 70 years of existence, having been rated as "the main event of Plastic Arts in Ceará and one of the most prestigious and popular in the country" by the mayor Roberto Cláudio (Prefeitura de Fortaleza, 2018, p. 4, our translation).

Created in 1943, the April Exhibition is not only considered a space in which artists can present their creations, but also a historic landmark of resistance for the cultural and artistic milieu of the city of Fortaleza. Thus, revealing how their stories were told and performed can express dominant actors and narratives concerning those who were silenced (Clark & Rowlinson, 2004; Decker, 2013; Durepos & Mills, 2012). For this research, we assume that such stories can articulate a potentially restorative reflection and support for the formulation of public policies for this artistic sector in Fortaleza.

Based on the main proposed of the paper, we carried out a historical research, based on the principles of ANTi-History (Bettin & Mills, 2018). Our first contact with the April Exhibition took place in 2017, in the organization called "Kidnapped" April Exhibition (Bezerra, Sousa, Silva & Ipiranga, 2019). During our research on the organization of this 2017 Exhibition, some materials took us to the history of the April Exhibition, among them the books and works of the historian and artist Estrigas, the Firmeza Museum (*Minimuseu Firmeza*) and its historical archive, in addition to the stories that stand out from the accounts of the actors organizing this Exhibition. Given these possibilities of building history, we seek to go beyond history *a priori* (Durepos & Mills, 2012; Hartt et al., 2017) to understand how these reports were constituted from 1943, the year of the foundation of the April Exhibition, until 2018, the starting date of this research.

Initially, documents were mapped and compiled into different files, aiming at building the collection of this research (Barros, 2016). We started the search for books by Estrigas, an artist known for his studies on the history of the April Exhibition. We then collected online materials from different websites, enhancing historical research (Barros, 2016) – for example, we carried out a survey of 60 catalogs that depicted the organization of different editions of the April Exhibition, including descriptions of spaces and networks of participating artists. Also, we leveraged a doctoral thesis, two master's dissertations, and several articles published in journals about the April Exhibition from different areas of knowledge.

Considering that files, as a place and a set of documents, or the absence of them, can demonstrate relations of domination and power, creating or silencing narratives (Decker, 2013; Schwartz & Cook, 2002), we try to follow different search routes during the construction of this collection, visiting different spaces, public and private, such as archives, libraries, and museums. A previous selection of these places and archives took place through previous research on the April Exhibition conducted by Silva (2013). Moreover, throughout the interaction with the field, we wrote a diary in which we described these places and the daily research processes, in addition to the reflections and observations

of the first author of this research. When faced with the vast number of materials and documents, we emphasize that some were chosen over others. Other researchers could follow paths and assemble a different collection. Thus, we will not be able to ignore our role during the research, which permeates the oscillation points of the researcher and traces of the past of ANTi-History (Durepos & Mills, 2017).

After completing the survey, as well as reflections on the construction of the collection of this research, we proceeded to the source material's organization and analysis phase, which took place in two stages. First, carried out together with the survey, we identified, selected, and assembled the source material. In a second step, we followed the analysis procedure, employing superficial, selective, and attentive reading, as suggested by Barros et al. (2018). The selective and attentive readings were supported by the use of the Maxqda (2018) analysis software. Thus, and based on the objective of this research, we follow the actors and map their networks in the (re)assembling of events, in different historical stages, coding them through the software. From this, we describe through historiographical writing the multiple historical versions of the arts organization of public policy April Exhibition (Durepos & Mills, 2012).

5. PERFORMING THE STORIES OF THE APRIL EXHIBITION

Considering the period of 1943-2018 and based on the first oscillation point that suggests the importance of understanding, in a pendulum motion, as the past becomes history (Kivijärvi et al., 2019), we will describe below the 4 historical passages revealed during the analysis that influenced the (re)assemblies of the networks of actors and their multiple versions of the April Exhibition: the State Students Union (UEE) Exhibition, the Exhibition of the Cearense Society of Plastic Arts (SCAP), the (Municipal) Exhibition of the City Hall and the Kidnapped April's Exhibition.

In the last item of this analysis, we will discuss how this knowledge of the past was (re)assembled, exhibiting that the networks of actors identified in the different historical passages interpolated, oscillating and performing the passages in a non-sequential and non-chronological way, indicating distinct and simultaneous times and spaces that act in organizing the April Exhibition till this day (Durepos & Mills, 2012; Myrick et al., 2013).

5.1 The History of Organizing the UEE Exhibition

The April Exhibition appeared in 1943 under the leadership of UEE, which is considered the mother cell of the arts organization (Art Exhibition, 1943; Estrigas, 1994). The university entity had its board formed by academics from different higher schools, in addition to making several appearances in newspaper articles organizing events, parties, marches, and demonstrations of a political nature (Leite, 1949).

Associated with the student entity, behind the idea of proposing the Exhibition, are some human actors who emerged in the course of historical inscriptions, among them 3 academics who, together, formed what Estrigas (1983) called the Holy Trinity: Aluízio Medeiros, UEE art secretary; Antônio Girão Barroso, director of UEE and creator of the name April Exhibition; and Raimundo Ivan de Oliveira, president of UEE. The narratives, by highlighting this network of heterogeneous actors that characterized the entity UEE, made it possible to build inferences about the beginning of the process of organizing the Exhibition, exhibiting that the historical plots built more than one version of the past (Bettin & Mills, 2018; Durepos & Mills, 2017):

> For misuse of information, Raimundo Ivan de Oliveira has been consigned the position of president, when in reality, the elected and occupant of it was the agronomy academic Gilson Leite Gondim. Raimundo Ivan was its speaker. Here is the rectification of this small deviation, putting the historical truth back in place (Prefeitura de Fortaleza, 1996, p. 5, our translation).

This historical version indicating another actor as president of UEE acted in the production of subsequent stories (Durepos & Mills, 2017) to resurface in the catalogs of the years 1997 and 2000. Still, in the 2002 catalog, the name of Raimundo Ivan de Oliveira is taken up again, and Gilson Leite once again becomes an absent actor in organizing the April Exhibition. The alternations of these actors concerning the UEE presidency had been mentioned and/or silenced in the different traces of the past and for several years between the historical passages analyzed, denoting (re)assemblies of the actors in the network in a non-chronological way.

Regarding the date selected for the exhibition on April 19, there is an associated actor who is also not present in the predominant historical reports of the catalogs, evidencing parallel narratives at different times (Clark & Rowlinson, 2004; Decker, 2013). The newspapers we collected from the 1940s feature the April Exhibition as part of the president's birthday celebrations at the time, Getúlio Vargas. As we followed this winding trajectory of the Exhibition and taking the journalistic reports of 1943, its organization's historical inscriptions emphasize the adjective "festively" when referring to Getúlio Vargas' birthday in 1943. We emphasize here the oscillation of a version of the past that comes from the association between human actors and a nonhuman actor, with the newspapers of the time, reflecting contradictory mobilizations of these actors in heterogeneous configurations. These contradictory mobilizations among actors in networks were inferred based on some excerpts from reports that minimized the festive emphasis when narrating that the UEE students organized the Exhibition as a way of presenting the society of Ceará, its artists, and the city's cultural artistic movement, not to mention the fact that it happened on April 19 as a justification, Getúlio Vargas' birthday (Estrigas, 1983; Prefeitura de Fortaleza, 1970). We highlight contradictory interactive processes that brought the past into pendulum movements, characterized by overlapping symmetric narratives of historical versions about the organization of the UEE Salon, that had only one year of existence (Bloor, 2009; Latour, 2012; Law, 1992). The second April Exhibition would only be performed in 1946, by SCAP, two years after the organization of the UEE.

5.2 The History of Organizing the SCAP Exhibition

The second historic passage of the April Exhibition takes place between two gaps of latency. The first lasted two years until it was resumed in 1946 under the auspices of SCAP (Durepos & Mills, 2017; Estrigas, 1983). Organized mostly by artists, SCAP, between the years 1946 to 1958, aligned and merged with the April Exhibition (Silva, 2013). It is through the performance and leadership of this organization that the actors realigned themselves in organizing the Exhibition, motivated "to raise the artistic cultural level of the city of Fortaleza" (Estrigas, 1994, p. 22, our translation). This dynamic of actors realigning their interests in the network highlights the second point of oscillation (Durepos & Mills, 2017).

Strengthening this symmetrical organicity, in addition to SCAP, another entity was mentioned as a sponsor actor of the April Exhibition: the Literature and Art Club (CLAN) (Bloor, 2009; Estrigas, 1983; Leite, 1949; Será sábado, 1946), exhibiting multiple alignments of different network interests. Two SCAP presidents were linked to the CLAN: Antônio Girão Barroso, in 1947, and Arthur Benevides, in 1954 (Prefeitura de Fortaleza, 1970).

The writer Antônio Girão Barroso was an actor who transferred his interests from the first historic passage of the Exhibition to the second, exhibiting the organicity of this reassembly of the networks of actors. Unlike the first passage, he emerged in that network in more than one position, performing a convergence of diverse interests. In 1946, for example, he was at the head of the CLAN as president, speaking at the opening ceremony of the event. In 1947, he served as president of the CLAN and SCAP at the same time, articulating one of the first associations between the April Exhibition and the municipal government (Prefeitura de Fortaleza, 1970; Será sábado, 1946) - historical remnants indicative of the future transformation of the Exhibition into a public policy to support the arts in the city. According to Estrigas (1994), that year, the press emphasized the support of the state government by promising the medal to the first place in the event, this being the moment when the public power acted for the first time on the network as a public actor to promote the organization of the April Exhibition.

After that, the public power actor is again converted into the network in 1953. In that year, we also identified the entry of the actor in the field by matching the periods of the SCAP Exhibition with the anniversary of Fortaleza. However, such networked associations of public and private actors remained for only two years. According to Estrigas (1994), after the end of the term of that period's mayor, Paulo Cabral de Araújo (1951-1955), the networking of the actor Fortaleza City Hall also ceased. We realized that the city, a hybrid actor, is configured in the image of a human actor, exhibiting the hybrid *human – nonhuman oscillation*, reflecting a controversial political game that acts in organizing the April Exhibition (Myrick et al., 2013). Analyzing this historical account, we infer that such versions emphasized the tendency to make the April Exhibition a public policy, emphasizing in this debate that the results of such processes depend on a complex symmetrical interaction between the different groups of actors involved (Bloor, 2009; Hoffmann et al., 2009; Subirats et al., 2008).

The year 1958 was the last of SCAP's existence, coinciding with the last year of the organization of the Exhibition, which entered its second hiatus. Even though it ceased to exist in 1958, memories of SCAP's performance persisted in reports from later historical passages, as in the catalogs of the 1970s, 1983, 1996, and 2004. This mnemonic persistence confronts the first and second oscillation points, about how the past becomes history, revealing multiple versions, in which some actors stop acting, while others start to act as a network, and vice versa (Durepos & Mills, 2012, 2017).

5.3 The History of Organizing the (Municipal) Exhibition City Hall

As previously reported, the actor City Hall emerged in the SCAP Exhibition. After that, it is only transferred to the heart of arts organization from 1964, the year in which the organization of the Exhibition is resumed after a hiatus of six years. With the end of SCAP, "the dispersed artists lost contact, more constant, previously made through the entity (SCAP)" (Estrigas, 1994, p. 85, our translation), weakening the actors' actions and their convergence of network interests. These reports characterized the second point of oscillation, since, from 1958, the actors dispersed in terms of acting in a network (Durepos & Mills, 2017).

In 1964, with the performance of artists such as Zenon Barreto – one of the last SCAP presidents –, João Maria Siqueira, Estrigas, and Jean-Pierre Chabloz (Prefeitura de Fortaleza, 1970), network interests are realigned, aiming to resume organizing the April Exhibition. In this historical passage, the reorganization was strengthened with the return to the actor's network – municipal public management, minimizing its private character and characterizing a heterogeneous formation, but with an actor's expectation – public network. These reports have performed the history of the Exhibition through these multiple non-arbitrary interactions, public and private (Bettin & Mills, 2018; Durepos & Mills, 2012; Hoffmann et al., 2009; Subirats et al., 2008).

According to Estrigas (1994), the 1964 Salon catalog is described as "the most elaborate of all, so far" (p. 87, our translation). Since 1964, Fortaleza City Hall is an actor who remains at the heart of organizing the April Exhibition till this day (Prefeitura de Fortaleza, 2018), evidencing an alignment between the private and public dimensions in public policy management of the April Exhibition (Hoffmann et al., 2009; Subirats et al., 2008). Even the term "municipal", in some editions, becomes part of the documents related to the organization, evoking the associations of the City Hall's interests in the network of the Exhibition (Prefeitura de Fortaleza, 1970). In this regard, Fortaleza's anniversary was mobilized in the documentary reports, as we highlight:

> Art. 1º – The April Exhibition is a visual arts Exhibition, promoted annually by the municipality's Education and Culture Secretariat through its Culture Department, to encourage, disseminate, and rewarding artistic creative capacity, its opening should take place on April 13, in honor of the Day of the Municipality, and end on the last day of the same month (Prefeitura de Fortaleza, 1977, p. 2).

The April Exhibition officially joins the activities of the municipal government, being led by hybrid human and nonhuman actors linked to the different municipal bodies, as well as to different artistic associations (Hoffmann et al., 2009; Subirats et al., 2008). Considering the fifth oscillation point, it was possible to perceive the challenges of artists' associations in translating and aligning their controversial interests in the context of this new network, with a strong public connotation. Although Hoffmann et al. (2009) and Subirats et al. (2008) have stressed that the results of these processes depend on a complex interaction between the various groups of actors involved, traces of these challenges related to negotiations between the public policy interests of the April Exhibition and associated artists have not been resolved, these being transferred to the next historical passage. Estrigas (1994), for example, comments that "part of the artists, who were appearing at each Exhibition, each Exhibition also disappeared without leaving a mark of their passages in the artistic scene of Ceará" (p. 126, our translation).

As a result of this asymmetric process, in 1980, during the 30th April Exhibition, an unprecedented event breaks out in history through the protest of a group of artists with the creation of the 1st Rejected Exhibition (*I Salão dos Rejeitados*). Such event was repeated in 1985, in the 35th edition, with the Refused Exhibition (*Salão dos Recusados*). These events parallel to the official public policy organization of the April Exhibition were inspired by the *Salon des Refusés* of 1863, created by a group of young French painters who were treated with disdain by the world of Parisian high art at the time. These

movements parallel to the official organization of the Municipal Exhibition motivated some actors to create and organize themselves in new parallel networks, performing possible turns.

As of 1987, a new municipal body, the Fortaleza Cultural Foundation (Funcet), emerges in the historical reports as responsible for the organization of the Exhibition, having as president Cláudio Pereira, who had been in charge of organizing the salon the previous year and led the foundation for twelve years, until 1998 (Salão de Abril, 1987, 1999). According to Estrigas (1994), the public policy of the April Exhibition 1987 managed to converge the interests of the artistic milieu. Funcet remained the organ of the Exhibition until 2007. In 2008, the Secretary of Culture of Fortaleza (Secultfor) emerged, which till this day acts as a body of the city hall responsible not only for organizing the April Exhibition but also for the implementation of cultural policies in the city of Fortaleza (Salão de Abril, 2018).

From the years 2007 and for another five years, the name of a woman stood out at the heart of the public network of actors of the Exhibition: Maíra Ortins, who exercised the role of the general curator (Salão de Abril, 2007). It is in this historical period led by Maíra that different spaces, in addition to those considered to be expository, become articulated in organizing, transforming the Exhibition's narrative by placing the city's spaces as actors in this artistic process. In 2008, spaces in Fortaleza such as bus terminals were inserted as places of an art exhibition. In 2009, parts of the city center were included. In 2011, artistic practices reached the prison Instituto Penal Professor Olavo Oliveira (Prefeitura de Fortaleza, 2016; Salão de Abril, 2008). The results of this spatial expansion of the Exhibition, appropriating and, above all, including city spaces, were confirmed in the catalog excerpts of the Salão de Abril (2009, p. 7, our translation): "It generated good results, in what concerns the reach of this contemporary production for an excluded public and not accustomed to the visual artistic milieu". These movements formed new urban artistic practices that are updated today and that will be reported in the next historical passage.

5.4 The History of Organizing the Kidnapped Exhibition

Based on the fourth oscillation point, the reports proposed for this fourth and last passage were selected based on the decision of the author-researchers of this article and reflect the researcher's relationship with the traces of the past and how these traces are performing history (Durepos & Mills, 2017). This decision was based on the interpretation that the past of the network associations that included the city actor in the processes of organizing public policy of the April Exhibition triggered different historical versions in the present (and future?) that act (acted) in the organization of city spaces. The historical versions of this passage relate to the organization of the 68th Kidnapped April Exhibition and were based on sources, as newspaper articles, social media, and field diaries, constructed through a specific ethnographic study, carried out by the first author of this article (Bezerra et al., 2019).

As an effect of the challenges highlighted in previous historical passages of the complex negotiations between public actors and associated artists, in 2017, a new actor emerged ahead of organizing the Exhibition: the Visual Arts Forum of Fortaleza, led mostly by artists and professionals from the sector. The City Hall of Fortaleza, through Secultfor, did not comment on the 68th April Exhibition, confirming the non-symmetrical distance between the different networks of public actors and the private network (Bloor, 2009; Subirats et al., 2008). Through this silent distance and under the complaint of the absence of effective public policies for the artistic and cultural area of the city, the

artists were strengthened in confrontation with the public power by associating in a network under the auspices of the forum, acting symbolically in the kidnapping of the April Exhibition (Costa, 2017).

In this context, we characterize the kidnapping movement of organizing the 68th April Exhibition (2017) as a renewed return to the resistance practices that already occurred in 1980 during the 30th April Exhibition, with the so-called Rejected Exhibition. Such event was repeated in 1985, in the 35th edition, with the Refused Exhibition. Besides, the kidnapping was also an effect that reverberated from a rupture perpetrated by a public actor in the processes of organizing the April Exhibition, opening gaps for the performance of a collective actor, the forum, symmetrically converging the historical, political and artistic interests of the sector (Bezerra et al., 2019; Medeiros, 2012; Sousa, 2018; Subirats et al., 2008). Having the word, the Visual Arts Forum:

> The 68th. Edition of the April Exhibition is an initiative of the Visual Arts Forum of Fortaleza, which together decided on its format. It is an initiative to tackle the absence of public policies in the area of culture and more specifically the visual arts (Fórum de Artes Visuais, 2017, p. 1, our translation).

In addition to the actors associated with the forum, the mainstream press and social media emerge as mobilizing actors for the kidnapping of the April Exhibition, with editorial titles, emphasizing: "68th. Kidnapped April Exhibition starts today, without support from the city hall" (28/09/2017); "April Exhibition spreads through the city" (02/10/2017); "Kidnaped April Exhibition: a bit of oxygen" (03/10/2017); "Artists kidnap the April Exhibition, hold Exhibitions and criticize the lack of City Hall resources" (06/10/2017). It is observed that there was a hybrid association that united different actors, between artists, press, and social media, which mobilized and articulated a wide organizing network of the Kidnapped Exhibition as an act of rupture and resistance to the public policy of the April Exhibition. The following inscriptions attest to this movement of resistance and the formation of a new network of actors: "those interested in participating in the fundraising meeting send an inbox message" or "there is a group on Messenger from the team involved since the beginning, where they have followed the Exhibition process" (Field journal, Sept. 2017).

Under the auspices of the Visual Arts Forum, the organization of the Kidnapped Exhibition is highlighted, configuring the relational movement of the third oscillation point, with the immediate effect of expanding organizing in the city, already outlined in previous passages, but with the evident rupture and resistance to the performance of public actors (Barbalho, 2008; Myrick, Mills & Mills, 2013).

Particularly, in this last passage, unlike the term "municipal", which was excluded from the narratives and documents, as evidenced in the analysis of the catalogs of that passage, the expressions "kidnapping", "to kidnap" and "kidnapped", along with "let's kidnap the city?", were the choruses of the 68th April Exhibition, calling on artists to occupy and intervene in the city through art (Field journal, Oct. 2017). The organizing of the Kidnapped Exhibition explored not only art galleries as exhibiting spaces, but 15 different urban spaces, including populations living in peripheral neighborhoods, on the brinks of the city of Fortaleza. Such political practices of appropriation and inclusion of urban spaces through art characterized the arts organization of the Kidnapped April Exhibition by the performance of this new network of actors performed by the associated artists.

As already discussed, since the organization of the SCAP Exhibition between the years 1946 and 1958, the first inscriptions appeared on the complex negotiations between the associated artists and the public organizers of the April Exhibition. Therefore, there is a pendular movement, not chronological, among these multiple versions that denote the existence of a past organizer of resistance and ruptures between public and private networks that have performed, symmetrically, the history of this public policy (Bloor, 2009; Durepos, 2009; Subirats et al., 2008).

In 2018, the City Hall of Fortaleza rescued the organizing of the 69th edition of the April Exhibition. The 69th edition organization's catalog states that it has returned to the auspices of the municipality through Secultfor. The catalog also briefly breaks the silence about organizing the kidnapping by mentioning that the 2017 Exhibition "had its performance performed by independent artists and without the support of the Public Power", called "by artists as Kidnapped Exhibition" (Prefeitura de Fortaleza, 2018, p. 2, our translation).

5.5 Discussion

Considering that the knowledge of the past can be (re) assembled by the convergent policies (or not) of the actors in the network, we described in the previous item the 4 historical passages identified that configured the arts organization of the April Exhibition in a pendulous and parallel way, but not chronological.

Based on the fourth and fifth points of oscillations that refer to the researcher's decisions regarding the traces of the past when generating different interpretations, we observed that each of these 4 passages reported different configurations of a network of actors, public and private. Based on the second point of oscillation that calls for the alignment of different network interests, we indicate that the actors identified were not isolated; instead, they intermingled and interpolated, oscillating and performing the passages in a non-chronological way, organizing networks of actors at different times, but that aligned (or not), symmetrically, in simultaneous spaces (Durepos & Mills, 2012; Myrick et al., 2013).

The history of organizing the UEE Exhibition has exhibited that the history of the April Exhibition is, from its origin, relational, and political (Prefeitura de Fortaleza, 1970). The narratives related to the Holy Trinity, by highlighting a network of heterogeneous actors, evidenced that the process of organizing the Exhibition was, since its beginnings, based on the principles of symmetry, relationalism and a convergent multiplicity (or not) between the actors, denoting that the historical plot builds more than one version of the past, outlining possible future worlds (Durepos et al., 2012; Hartt et al., 2017; Bettin & Mills, 2018; Durepos & Mills, 2017).

The SCAP-CLAN's memory related to associations with a public actor is mobilized in subsequent networks as an important actor, evidencing the first and second oscillation points when performing the history of the past and reflecting it in the present. Such movements punctuated stories constructed by negotiated and non-negotiated controversies, emphasizing an artistic and political organization, consolidating, asymmetrically, the public character of the April Exhibition (Bloor, 2009; Durepos & Mills, 2012; 2017; Estrigas, 1983; Gadelha & Barbalho, 2017; Myrick et al., 2013; Clark & Rowlinson, 2004; Decker, 2013).

Among the last three historical passages analyzed, the reports of distances and approximations between the actors related to the public policy of the April Exhibition and the associated artists were

emphasized. In this interlude of time, different acts of resistance and ruptures led by the associated artists and their challenges in translating and aligning their controversial interests with those of the public network were evidenced. These asymmetric movements regarding the municipal public organization of the April Exhibition motivated the associated artists to create and organize themselves in different parallel networks, performing possible turns by obscuring the strong public trait of the April Exhibition policy. Such resistance and rupture practices were characterized by the outbreak of the Rejected Exhibition and the Refused Exhibition in the '80s, and, in 2017, the Kidnapped Exhibition.

These different historical deviations that interspersed the asymmetric emphases between the public and/or private networks outlined creative negotiations in the context of the network of associated artists who, paradoxically, acted in the expansion of organizing the actor's network of the April Exhibition by incorporating a new actor: city spaces as places of an art exhibition, including wide margins of the population of the suburbs. However, when organizing the April Exhibition of 2018, we highlight the asymmetrical rescue of the Exhibition's public organization by the city hall with the disavowal of previous organizational performance, related to both political actions of ruptures and resistances perpetrated by the associated artists, as well as the appropriation of city spaces as art exhibition spaces.

These historical reports shed light on issues related to the expected results when formulating and implementing public policy. Policies depend on the creation and negotiation of a complex symmetrical movement of involvement and interaction between the different interests of the actors in the network. In the context of April Exhibition public policy, this performance is still found in the ethics and aesthetics of the future (Bloor, 2009; Hoffmann et al., 2009; Subirats et al., 2008).

6. FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Based on the reports constructed between the historical passages that characterized the history of the April Exhibition, different contexts of an arts organization were performed through the (de) mobilization of different networks of actors, public and private, which converged (or not) in time and space.

The multiple relational practices perpetrated by the associated artists when they diverged from the public actor caused the spread of an asymmetric arts organization that appropriated spaces in the city. At present, paradoxically, this asymmetric organization of the Kidnapped Exhibition, by breaking with public actors, gave voice to the networks of associated artists who, in times past, have spoken out in search of a promotion, participation, and, above all, democratization of artistic public policies, in order to make the city the promised land through art.

This discussion indicates an important contribution of this study to highlight the practices of resistance and ruptures that connote meanings for the renewal of inclusive public policies and the need for (trans)formation of the arts organization of the many April Exhibitions. Recognizing the intricacies of inclusive political appeal by moving away from an artistic practice enclosed in art galleries, occupying wide spaces in the suburbs of the city, it becomes a revealing discussion to encourage the formulation of creative public policies for the sector.

The contribution of this article towards theoretical advances in the context of organizational studies is also emphasized, more specifically, in the articulations of the themes of arts organizations, public policy, and history. We believe that the organization of public policy of the April Exhibition, as we

understand and act today, is the result of historical construction, permeated by deviations, silences, and paradoxes. The revealed historical paths were (trans)formed over time and were manifested through reports, sometimes silenced, articulating different temporalities in simultaneous spaces.

Such discussions problematized the history of the public policy of the April Exhibition as a connecting link between the networks of actors, performing the ability to change the dynamics of existing (pre)public policy formulations. The past does not disappear but is transformed by persisting in its mnemonic evocation, acting in the present time and opening up to the future. Thus, we seek, as the first contribution, to stimulate a broader understanding of public policies in the arts organization based on a historical vision, in which it is possible to glimpse the relational, multiple, and symmetrical nature between times and spaces.

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