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Cultivating Citizenship through Cultural Terrains

A Study of the NEOJIBA Project's Complementary Registers of Emancipation in Bahia, Brazil

Submitted to
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1. Introduction

In the city of Salvador, in Bahia, Brazil, there exists a social project called NEOJIBA, standing for 'Núcleos Estaduais de Orquestras Juvenis e Infantis da Bahia' (State Nuclei for Youth and Children Orchestras of Bahia). It is a project that primarily strives to promote social integration and development among children and youth that face social vulnerability and other afflictions that are characteristic of contemporary urban formations in the Global South. Despite its focus on assisting the more vulnerable, the project remains open to everyone within a certain age limit.

While its goals are similar to those of many other social projects, which are numerous throughout Salvador as well as other urban centers characterized by socio-spatial segregation, its methods for achieving these goals are quite unique, especially when considering the Bahian cultural landscape. Indeed, NEOJIBA, in addition to utilizing a critical approach to pedagogy in its operational repertoire, works through the collective practice of orchestral music – an aesthetic form extremely scarce in that region of Brazil.

The uniqueness of NEOJIBA's approach, however, goes beyond just embracing a relatively unfamiliar artistic form. It is particularly notable in how it aligns the various facets of its operation – spanning from providing social services to implementing pedagogical methodologies involving community-related activities – towards promoting the aforementioned social integration and development. It is this latter aspect that forms the core subject of this thesis.

In this master's thesis, my aim is to investigate the agency of the NEOJIBA project within the metropolitan region of Salvador, Bahia, particularly delving into the project's impact on urbanization processes within the different communities in which its pedagogical nuclei are embedded. To achieve this, I will venture into an exploration of both the project's operational structure and ethos, as well as the personal trajectories of select members, spanning from their initial involvement in the project to the present day. Indeed, this dual exploration will allow me to observe the tangible effects of NEOJIBA's structure and ethos on its members over time.

The path of NEOJIBA members, therefore, will play a significant part in this thesis. These stories, marked by multiple inflection points, will actually set the pace of this thesis' overarching narrative, offering gaps here and there to analytically approach the social

project's urbanistic agency. As will become evident, each member's journey is indeed punctuated by various moments of transformation. Moreover, these transformations tend to follow a certain pattern: initially, at the point of joining, each individual arrives with their own personal motivations, which naturally vary from case to case. However, in most instances, at this initial stage, NEOJIBA is primarily seen as a platform for achieving specific goals, ranging from accessing social services and opportunities to pursuing professional growth, musical development, and more. During this phase of the members' narratives, therefore, their perception of the project is essentially that of an urban hub of opportunities, and their relationship with it revolves around the extraction of resources.

As time passes, however, members undergo experiences that necessitate a deeper engagement with the project's social and community-oriented principles. In fact, testimonies have demonstrated that the longer members are integrated into the project and the more responsibilities they assume, the more deeply they become involved in its activities and principles. As a result, they develop both a sense of duty and a sense of belonging that transforms their perception of the project's role, both in their own lives and within the communities it is embedded in. Therefore, upon reaching this stage – for those who have been part of the project long enough – members' testimonies reveal a transformed relationship with the project. They speak of 'wearing the shirt' and of embodying and actively practicing the project's principles within and beyond its premises.

In other terms, this implies that the experiences NEOJIBA offers its members inform the way they interact with their surroundings, not only within the project itself but in all the spaces they navigate in their daily lives. As a result, analyzing the individual trajectories of NEOJIBA members allows me to examine the various factors and experiences influencing each member's evolving relationships, not only with the project but also with the diverse environments they interact with. Accordingly, one of my core objectives is to determine how these transformations involve an increased participation of these urban dwellers in the development of different urban spaces, including their own communities, which is what I previously referred to as the project's impact on urbanization processes.

Aside the inquiry phrased above, the explorations previously outlined will provide insights into addressing another pair of core questions that have emerged in this research: firstly, how does the NEOJIBA project understand its articulated objectives – namely, promoting social development and integration among children and youth facing social vulnerability in Bahia,

Brazil? Secondly, by what means and instruments does it endeavor to attain these objectives? Nonetheless, as this thesis unfolds and the complexity of issues at hand is uncovered, these questions will ramify into others.

To aid in deciphering the aforementioned inquiries, I will employ a diverse set of analytical frameworks ranging from a body of urban studies literature that frames the relationship between urbanization processes and citizenship, passing by an analysis of the intertwinement between culture and territory, and all the way to conceptualizations of urban apparatuses – particularly educational institutions – functioning as platforms of re-socialization that requalify citizenship.

Through these lenses, my aim is to grasp the complexities of the agency of projects and experiences relatable to NEOJIBA in Bahia. Importantly, this endeavor seeks to challenge the rather common initial impression that these projects primarily promote social integration and development through material emancipation. Conversely, my case study demonstrates that while material emancipation is indeed the first avenue through which NEOJIBA activates varying degrees of social integration and development in the lives of its more vulnerable members, there exists a second, complementary register through which the social project facilitates emancipation. This occurs by fostering a 'civic consciousness', enabling individuals to be active participants in their community's development.

Having introduced the themes and research questions of this thesis, I will now progress towards outlining the trajectory and agenda of this study. The inaugural chapter will involve an in-depth literature review divided into four major topics: 'urbanization and citizenship', 'representation and the production of space', 'education and territory', and 'camps and urbanization'. Following that, I will delve into the initial steps taken in selecting NEOJIBA as the focal research subject. In doing so, I will explore both my personal connection to the project – emphasizing the challenges and opportunities arising from my familial ties – and the thematic alignments that influenced its choice as a research site. Subsequently, I will reflect upon my preparatory phase for fieldwork, encompassing initial strategies and planned routines. Then, I will delve into the complexities faced on-site and elucidate my approach in overcoming them.

Naturally, this progression will lead to a discussion of the ethnographic methods that informed my fieldwork. Within this discussion, I will accentuate the significance of positionality and reflexivity in surmounting diverse challenges. Subsequently, I will elucidate

the overarching research posture adopted, delving into the exploration of the sociological tradition that supports the primary epistemic attitude of this research. This framework will then be substantiated, illustrating its alignment with the scholarly traditions that share an affinity with decoloniality and emancipation.

Finally, I will immerse myself in the heart of the case study. Chapter 4 will inaugurate this exploration by scrutinizing NEOJIBA's structure and operational mechanisms, followed by a comprehensive exploration of individual trajectories of its members in chapter 5. Throughout these examinations, a preliminary level of analysis will naturally intertwine. The true analytical essence of the thesis, however, will manifest predominantly in chapter 5, wherein the connections between members' experiences within the project and their broader lives and agency in the world will bring more complexity and precision to the research questions.

2. Literature review

2.1. Urbanization and citizenship

2.1.1. Rethinking urbanization processes

A seemingly paradoxical condition characterizes contemporary global urbanization processes. On the one hand, "cities have historically been the locus of citizenship's expansion" (Holston 2009, 246). On the other hand, particularly in the Global South, these processes often give rise to social and spatial segregation as well as marginality as urban phenomena, which complicates citizenship both as a juridical figure and as a designation of community integration in terms of historical agency – of participating in this community's self-construction – and belonging (Pandey 2006, 4735).

For a long time, this second, segregating aspect of contemporary urbanization processes has predominantly informed urban studies literature, and the urban socio-spatial formations and modes of urban dwelling that derived from such processes have often been essentialized and localized in 'the metonymic slum' (Roy 2011, 224), configuring apocalyptic discourses on marginality, subalternity, informality, among other concepts that typically relate to these socio-spaces. Within this perspective, different expressions of the 'metonymic slum' were inevitably reduced to enclaves of suffering, and the citizenship of 'subalterns' was only conceived in its most marginalized, incapacitated form – devoid of any meaningful participation in the making of the city.

Conversely, in this thesis, I align with urban studies scholars who strive to move beyond this reductionist interpretation of urbanization processes and their resulting socio-spatial outcomes. Indeed, it is a tradition that understands the urban periphery not as a topographical location only (Roy 2011; Caldeira 2017). Instead, it views the periphery as also a set of relationships and modes of production that escape the logics of a governing centrality, while maintaining a relation of interdependence with it (Roy 2011). Accordingly, the scholars I reference here understand that the making of cities, especially in the Global South, is greatly marked by processes of 'peripheral urbanization', wherein marginal, unofficial, informal logics operate in conjunction with the official and formal logics of centrality (Caldeira 2017). Moreover, and most importantly for this thesis, what makes this urbanization process eminently peripheral is the prominent role played by periphery dwellers – "who not only inhabit the urban margins, but also negotiate the conditions and terms of marginality through

their everyday lived practices" and coping strategies (Thieme, Lancione, and Rosa 2017, 129) – in the production of such spaces.

Participating in the production of space thus constitutes, to marginalized citizens, a way of contesting the multiple forms of exclusion to which they are subjected (Pandey 2006; Caldeira 2017), something which would be impossible to account for if one was to stick to a reductionist-apocalyptic reading of informal settlements and peripheries. Consequently, departing from this perspective becomes a significant political effort, one that holds the potential for reimagining the city from its margins and thereby escaping the segregative patterns of urbanization mentioned earlier.

This contestation through everyday lived practices, while always generally concerned with "the right to have a daily life in the city worthy of a citizen's dignity" (Holston 2009, 246), can relate to the two meanings of citizenship stated at the beginning of this section. It can constitute a reclamation of citizenship both as a juridical figure and as a designation of integration within a community in terms of historical agency. In this thesis, however, I am more interested in everyday negotiations that relate to the latter understanding of citizenship. As will become clearer further down, it is this understanding that will compose my analytical framework for assessing the political activation and emancipatory potential of specific urban apparatuses that recognize the impact of urban dwellers' participation in urbanization processes and therefore work on the re-socialization of marginalized dwellers so that they lead the construction of alternative and urban futures that don't reproduce the same logics that initially marginalized them.

Before delving into the aforementioned analytical framework, however, I want to briefly introduce the model of urban governance that predominantly characterizes Brazilian cities and informs their socio-spatial configurations and urban dwelling, thus representing their 'centrality'. This brief assessment will serve as a bridge to one of the main theoretical references of this thesis, Milton Santos, who develops his ideas about urbanization and citizenship based on an antithetical 'economic model' of urban governance.

2.1.2. The un-cities of the Global South

In urban studies of the Global South, urban segregating phenomena are often associated with the 'competitive city' model of governance. It refers to a city's efforts to attract investment,

talent, and businesses to enhance its global economic standing and achieve higher levels of economic growth and development. Nonetheless, much is discussed about the social and spatial implications of urban competitiveness. As some scholars have highlighted, this model concentrates its urbanistic efforts to further connect the most economically dynamic nodes of the city, thus focusing on mega-projects and infrastructure developments to attract global capital, leading to the neglect of other areas of the city that become increasingly marginalized in many respects, including access to public goods and services (Robinson 2002; Roy 2009).

The multiplication of informal settlements worldwide is something that has led urban scholars to try to define the outlines of such a fragmenting urbanistic model. Not only do they strive to assess what produces this setting, but also how it is governed and maintained. This has led scholar Surajit Chakravarty to coin the term 'un-cities', to depict the product of an urbanistic model in which urban planning "has become isolated from the lived experiences of residents" (Chakravarty 2019, 87), a mimetic, artificial exercise of importing and applying standardized models from abroad – if not from the 'North', then from an essentialized Global South –, without serious concern for horizontal issues raised by local communities, looking instead to the vertical needs of global economy, and where the social is a secondary preoccupation, more often subordinated to economical/industrial demands.

This economy-oriented culture is thus translated into an urbanism that focuses its infrastructure constructions – megaprojects of financial and commercial districts, trade centers, roads, bridges and airports – on a consumerism-oriented society that above all strives to render economic exchanges more dynamic and vast (Chakravarty 2019, 85-91). This neoliberal atmosphere and megaprojects produce, argues the author, urban fragmentation and the marginalization of masses of people. As a consequence of megaprojects that lack continued serious design attention given by the State, blank spaces in between those projects, often filled with informality and marginality, are created (Chakravarty 2019, 85). Thus, original parts of the 'organic' city – places that were adequate for socialization and community life – are overshadowed by the huge, 'artificial', standardized infrastructure projects, and are subsequently gentrified, losing their community-oriented dynamics, in favor of a consumerism-oriented one (Chakravarty 2019, 85-87).

Ultimately, as a consequence of this model of urban governance, the un-city as described by Chakravarty could almost be seen as a place increasingly becoming non-lieu, to use a concept coined by anthropologist Marc Augé – a place where individuals are depersonalized,

anonymized, isolated politically and socially, unable to engage with the environment in a way other than in a consumerist fashion. While, as mentioned before, such depiction does not saturate the actual lived experiences of urban dwellers, as it does not account for the processes that constitute 'peripheral urbanization', the exposition of the model above still provides an idea of how the notion and praxis of citizenship is impacted by normative urban frameworks – in this case, the competitive or economic model. In the next section, I will continue discussing matters related to agency in contemporary cities marked by segregation, this time through the notion of 'right to the city'.

2.1.3. The right to the city and the space of the citizen

Unrest over social and spatial injustices has long been present in urban scholar debates. The most popular cry of unrest and claim for social change in the field is probably Lefebvre's popularization of the slogan 'the right to the city' with his homonymous book. However, questions about whose right, what rights, and what city have always been open to various interpretations by urban scholars (Marcuse 2009). In what follows, my intention is not to thoroughly discuss those interpretations and readings of Lefebvre's right to the city, but rather to leverage this interpretive openness – which has facilitated its application in numerous discussions – to further explore the concept of citizenship, especially in relation to the processes of de-politicization and de-socialization among marginalized communities mentioned in the previous sections.

Lefebvre's book serves both as a critique against the alienating and oppressive nature of urbanization under capitalism – aspects of which were described in the previous section – and as a call for a different urban future, where urban spaces are reclaimed from the forces of capital and reappropriated (in the sense of use rather than ownership) by all urban dwellers. Consequently, 'the right to the city' is not solely about the right to access the physical spaces that constitute a city; it's about the right to participate in the production of urban space (Harvey 2003), conceived not as a neutral, apolitical entity, but as a platform made of social interactions and power dynamics.

Increasing participation in the production of the urban, however, goes beyond having a more participatory and decentralized urban governance, with communities participating in the decision-making processes affecting their own lives. Indeed, this participation involves and is potentialized by encounters, community life, and forms of socialization that contribute to

claiming a certain spatial and discursive presence, which help contest the alienating forces of modern urban life (McCann 2002).

Milton Santos, a prominent Brazilian geographer and urbanist, delves into similar reflections in some of his works, wherein he focuses on defining the necessary components of real participation in the production of urban spaces. For that, he works around the notion of citizenship, approached for instance in his book 'The Space of the Citizen' (Santos 2007[1987]). Written during the period of redemocratization following the military dictatorship in Brazil, Santos argues – echoing Lefebvre's sentiments in the right to the city – that citizenship should not be confined to gains made solely in the realm of representative democracy or limited to expanding participation in formal political processes. In fact, the experience of redemocratization in Brazil revealed that such measures were insufficient to retrieve a value of citizenship to all urban dwellers. Instead, he advocates that real democracy would only prevail when the 'economic model' becomes subordinated to a 'civic model' in determining the political (Santos 2007[1987], 15-17), that is, in determining the production of urban space – which, to him, required conquests not in the institutional or formal field, but in the field of 'consciousness'[1].

In the aforementioned book, before explaining the civic model, Santos delves into the basis for the alienation and marginalization of urban dwellers. Adding to Chakravarty's criticisms towards 'un-cities' mentioned earlier, Milton Santos considers that one of the main aspects of the economic model of urban governance that contributes to the atrophy of citizenship is the culture it produces – that is, the influence it exerts in the field of consciousness – via its naturalization of scientificist and economicist discourses on social phenomena (Santos 2007[1987], 23). Consequently, to Santos, contributing to this alienated citizenship are several propagandistic apparatuses, of which education takes part. Importantly, he claims that education has become a central tool in creating competitive individuals, fit for what he calls the 'corporate city' (Santos 2007[1987], 62), equivalent to the competitive city model.

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[1] The way I employ this concept in my thesis mirrors its widespread usage in Brazil during the time of redemocratization, a reference that Milton Santos also draws upon. Ultimately, this usage traces back to the Freirean notion of 'conscientização' – the political effort required to liberate Brazilian citizens from the grasp of cultural neocolonization, a colonization of the mind, which persisted even after the formal process of redemocratization. Freire understood that people perceive the world through their 'consciousness', which in turn shapes how they interact with it. Thus, by intervening at the level of consciousness, we can potentially transform their ways of engaging with the world. Consequently, whenever I refer to consciousness, I am speaking about the relation between ways of seeing, being, and doing in the world.

As the citizen is reduced to a competitor and a consumer under the economic model, the socio-spatial configuration of cities becomes increasingly determined by socioeconomic factors, resulting in socio-spatial inequalities that lead to the proliferation of 'spaces without citizens', equivalent to the peripheries discussed in the first section. About that, Santos adds:

> "Economic activity and social inheritance unevenly distribute people in space, causing established notions such as 'urban network' or 'system of cities' to be invalid for the majority of people. This is because their effective access to goods and services distributed according to urban hierarchy depends on their socioeconomic and geographical loci." (Santos 2007[1987], 11).[2]

Living in the periphery thus entails a double condemnation to poverty: firstly, the poverty engendered by the economic model, which divides the labor market and social classes, and secondly, the poverty stemming from the territorial model. The latter determines who should be more or less poor solely based on their place of residence. Because, alienated from public services and goods, they become dependent on the (usually informalized) market form of those services and goods, drastically reducing the number of those potentially having access to them, making them even poorer as they must pay for what, under normal democratic conditions, should be provided to them by the government free of charge (Santos 2007[1987], 140-144).

In the remainder of his book, Milton Santos elaborates on the processes of spatial, social, and human alienation resulting from this competitive culture. He predominantly employs a Marxist lexicon, utilizing examples from Brazilian society to illustrate the structural reasons that lead to the emergence of spaces devoid of the value of citizenship. This leads him to concurrently discuss his ideas on how to recover spaces with such value, and how this process must be rooted in territoriality and culture. In the next section I will delve into this second, concurrent exploration.

2.1.4. To make is to know, and to know is to live the territory

As developed above, there is a specific territorial model that, in Santos' view, contributes to the atrophy of citizenship. As such, Santos wants politics to be increasingly concerned with the territory, so that

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[2] As stated at the end of this document, all citations originally in Portuguese have been translated to English with the aid of GPT-3.5.

> "all individuals have an undeniable right to essential social benefits necessary for a decent life, which should not be subject to market transactions but become an urgent responsibility of society as a whole and, in this case, of the State." (Santos 2007[1987], 141).

To accomplish this, he prescribes that politics should be compartmentalized in different scales of action, based on territorial levels, so that issues can be addressed starting from their local identification (Santos 2007[1987], 146-147).

Intrinsic to this territorial aspect is a cultural dimension, which to Santos is essential in order to recover spaces with value of citizenship. Indeed, culture, as an individual and group's form of communication with the surrounding universe, is both "an inheritance and a relearning of the profound relationships between humans and their environment, achieved through the process of living in it" (Santos 2007[1987], 81). If it is a consumerist culture, encouraged via different propagandistic apparatuses, that is informing a fragmented city model and an alienated citizenship, it is also in this domain of struggle that we should engage to achieve the civic model. Accordingly, Santos argues that it is the realization of this entanglement between culture and territory, of their dialectical relation, that enables individuals to move away from processes of alienation, as they become aware of what contributes to the production of space, as well as the role they play in its making (Santos 2007[1987], 81-83).

Fulfilling the right to the city is thus to improve the relation between individual and place (Santos 2007[1987], 86). However, only the individual who is able to maintain this relationship is a citizen. Indeed, citizenship is a status that is not acquired permanently. Again, it is not only a juridical state of being, but also political and eminently social. For it to be an effective source of rights, maintained for generations, it must be inscribed beyond legislation, and permeate multiple institutional apparatuses that safeguard its prerogatives (Santos 2007[1987], 81). In other words, it has to be rooted in culture, so that everyone can learn what citizenship is and act accordingly in the different spaces they navigate. Only then, once it is ingrained in people's social and political repertoires, can it be accomplished in practice and materialize its formal prerogatives.

In light of these discussions, it becomes evident that the construction of citizenship is an ongoing and dynamic process that requires the continual expansion of the spheres within which the potential for cultivating an engaged citizenship, intimately tied to one's geographical context, popular culture, and lived spaces, can flourish. In the scope of my research, NEOJIBA emerges as an actor that strives to expand this domain of struggle.

Before getting to a more propositional discourse on how to foment such active citizenship linked to territory – an aspect that, incidentally, Santos also delves into, spotlighting education as well, although I plan to incorporate insights from other authors in this regard –, I will dedicate one section of this literature review to exploring the concept of space as a social construct. This notion has already made appearances throughout the text, and it leads to the proposition that representations, or systems of knowledge, shape territories as much as they are shaped by them.

2.2. Representation and the production of space

2.2.1. "The map is not the territory", but it informs and is informed by the territory

In this section of the literature review, I will strive to seize in more analytical terms the symbolic dimension of territory, which makes it so entangled to culture and representation, as Santos remarked. My hope is that this will serve to strengthen his argument that the locality of knowledge is crucial to shape a territory that is based on local needs and modes of living, instead of a territory based on extra-local demands, which end up spatially and socially alienating vast portions of the urban dwellers for the sake of a so-called centrality. Indeed, as Ananya Roy has argued, peripheries – which does not necessarily translate into a topographical form, or being marginalized geographically, nor does it mean being excluded from urbanization processes happening at the urban center, but rather signifying those in-between spaces where complex urbanizing processes emerge and yet are largely ignored – maintain a dialectic relation with centers in that they compose their constitutive outside, something on which centrality depends to exist as such (Roy 2011).

There is a critical tradition in urbanism and geography that approaches this entanglement between culture and territory, or representation and reality, via Foucault's *pouvoir-savoir* (or power-knowledge) nexus. Notably, this foucauldian scheme portrays a two-way dynamic: it is power that produces knowledge for there is no knowledge constitution that does not presuppose and reflect power relations, but there is no power without the correlative constitution of a system of knowledge that sustains and supports it (Foucault 1975). Inspired by this scheme, the critical schools mentioned above have posed a similar dialectic relation, this time between representation and reality (Crampton and Krygier 2005; Haendeler, Ioannou, and Athique 2019). In brief, they advocate that there is a relation of

co-constitutiveness between systems of understanding and lived environments, highlighting that representations participate in the shaping of space as much as space participates in actualizing representations. In that sense, representations – of society, of the urban, of the public, and of people and things that compose the urban – inform our engagement with territory, and thus have power over the organization of urban space.

2.2.2. Space, place, and identity

This brings me to the idea of space, which since Lefebvre and more generally the 'spatial turn' in the social sciences ceases to purely signify the material environment, or an inert dimension in which things happen, and becomes a fully entitled actant in the social world with dimensions other than the material. This means that it is not only a platform for social relations, but it is a component of social relations. Accordingly, for this thesis, I will draw from the Lefebvrian literature (Massey 1994; Goonewardena et al. 2008) that sees it as an intermediate communicative platform, embedding everyday practices in their socio-political, economical, historical, and cultural structures. Moreover, as was mentioned in the previous section, I will deal with the representations and discourses embedded in spatial thought and practice, and on the spatiality of representations and discourses.

This literature, besides relating to Santos' focus on the entanglement between culture and territory, also leads us to further reflect on a concept that the Brazilian geographer only briefly touched upon. I refer to the notion of 'place', which is present in his political program for the making of *de facto* citizens. In his formulation, the means to achieving and maintaining a lasting right to the city is to improve and intensify the relation between individual and place. Place and territory are therefore distinguished by a certain relational quality involving people's modes of living and engaging with their lived environments. The switch, to Santos, is the realization of the symbolic dimension of territory, that is, the presence of culture as a component in the making of what then becomes place. Therefore, to him, place is like a living territory, imbued in shifting layers of meaning.

This understanding of place coincides with the main tenets of the spatial turn in the social sciences, as it illustrates how territories are not only defined quantitatively, nor are they impermeable units, fixed forever in scale. Instead, it sustains that the physical dimensions of territories are just another component in complex systems of negotiation made of beliefs, practices, relations, objects and people, which ultimately participate in the making of place.

Accordingly, the understanding of territories employed here posits that these places are not isolated and clearly defined, they are instead permeable and volatile, shifting in scale and meaning according to how negotiations are resolved in the complex network of social relations that contribute to their making (Massey 1994, 117-123).

Finally, while not only human actants participate in those complex networks of relations, it is only them who negotiate meaning. Therefore, to Massey, this process of negotiation around placemaking, which takes into account experiences, memories, and social relationships, is also a process of identity formation (Massey 1994, 146-160). As such, going back to Santos, the making of culture is complementary to the making of identity, and both are related to the lived environment.

This shaping of identity and culture via negotiations that are intricately connected to space and territory is what, in the marxist tradition, constitute the mechanisms of social reproduction. Social reproduction refers to the socialization processes through which societies reproduce and maintain a certain model of themselves over time, including activities related to caring for families, raising children, and sustaining the labor force. While Massey focuses on how urban spaces are structured in ways that perpetuate and reinforce traditional gender roles (Massey 1994, 185-190), contributing to shaping what is the place of the 'woman', Santos talks about the shaping of the competitive citizen, and of the spaces and socializing tools that atrophy true citizenship.

In what follows, I will delve into the more propositional stage of this analytical development, continuing Milton Santos' political agenda through the vein of pedagogy. Indeed, I will approach education as one such tool of social reproduction, and will use a case study from the 60s in São Paulo as a basis for the development of a pedagogico-political project based on territory, or more precisely, place.

2.3. Education and territory

2.3.1. Youth, education, and emancipation

In western thought, ever since Ancient Greece there has been this understanding that the human being can only fulfill their purpose, achieving *eudaimonia*, if embedded in a *polis*, that is, a human community. Constituting this *polis* had to do with a combination of proper legal-institutional framework that would allow a human community to thrive, and an

adequate education system, based on praxis and with serious concern for the youth. Participating in this *polis*, however, has – to various degrees according to place and time – always been a privilege.

This subsection of the literature review shall briefly delve into a Freirean approach to pedagogy, committed to empowering youth – especially those who "[...] suffer from a lack of opportunities and often do not find instruments to reverse situations of disadvantage" (Araujo, Pinheiro, and Arantes 2021, 575) – through an education based on praxis, focused on providing them with skills they need to solve their local communities' challenges, thereby integrating them into the *polis*.

To start with a negative definition, the Freirean approach to pedagogy is against the 'banking model' in education where students are seen as passive recipients of knowledge to be 'deposited' by teachers. This structure of education, Freire argues, not only alienates students from their immediate reality, and thus from a practical application of the contents learnt, but also reinforces education as an oppressive tool of colonization, as the recipients of knowledge do not participate in its making. In this sense, decolonization was to Freire also – or perhaps above all – a matter of cultural independence, beyond political and economic emancipation (Araujo, Pinheiro, and Arantes 2021, 576-577).

By contrast, he proposes a critical pedagogy where knowledge is conceived as a result of the human creative process, which must always be situated in space and time. Accordingly, Freire's model of education is dialogical, establishing a link between theory and practice, culture and territory, via a problem-posing strategy where students must collaboratively face and resolve contextualized real-world situations, which encourages them to explore and learn by doing. This corresponds to a radical constructivist approach to epistemology, in which "knowledge is constructed through the creative actions of human beings toward the objective and subjective world where they live" (Araujo, Pinheiro, and Arantes 2021, 578).

This active methodology, it is argued, fosters youth to co-construct the (epistemic and concrete) worlds which surround them. That is to say that since education becomes an intellectual endeavor intimately linked with solving local, real-world problems, it promotes a youth that takes part in the making of their own communities (Araujo, Pinheiro, and Arantes 2021, 579-580).

While not entirely equivalent to the Freirean experiences exemplified in the book chapter I reference in this section – partly due to the context being a music school rather than a regular

educational institution –, I will draw parallels between the approach developed above and the efforts promoted by NEOJIBA's pedagogical coordinators in its various pedagogical nuclei. In fact, not only do the instructors and coordinators of this musical social project promote values similar to those advocated in the previously mentioned Freirean experiences, but they also attest to a transformation in the youth. Initially, these young individuals join the project for individual, personal benefits – normally access to essential social services and goods that the socio-spatial organization of the city had denied them. However, over time, they begin to show increasing concern for the collective and their sense of belonging towards NEOJIBA increasingly linked to being actively engaged in their community.

In the upcoming section, I will delve into a pedagogical experience that bears a closer resemblance to NEOJIBA's approach and serves as an inspiration for the organization. Hopefully, the exploration of this political-pedagogical project will later help in understanding NEOJIBA's view of their own agency in the lives of its participants, untangling their spaces' and activities' role in promoting citizenship and improving the right to the city.

2.3.2. Vocational gymnasiums as political project

The Vocational Gymnasiums were an experimental educational project developed between 1961 and 1970 in the state of São Paulo, Brazil. They were established through a law that restructured the state's industrial public education system, aiming to overcome an allegedly inadequate humanistic education, meet the demand for technical professionals in industries, and promote economic development (Chiozzini 2014, 26). The initial proposal by the Secretary of Education at that time, Luciano de Carvalho was mostly inspired by the European model of vocational schools, which focused on practical curriculum and meeting the demands of the job market. However, over time, and especially from the incorporation of educator Maria Nilde Mascellani to the gymnasiums' coordinating body – formally established as the Vocational Education Service (SEV) – the curriculum underwent significant changes (Chiozzini 2014, 26).

Indeed, the Vocational Gymnasiums (GVs) drew inspiration from the experimental classes in Socorro (a locality in the state of São Paulo), where Professor Maria Nilde had previously worked as an educator and pedagogical advisor under the influence of ideas from the Progressive Education tradition. Often referred to by the generic term 'New School', this type

of education was based on various theoretical frameworks, with distinct proposals regarding the type of education offered to promote different forms of societal integration, political participation, and citizenship. In essence, these schools sought to place the child at the center of educational processes and were committed to the emancipation of the working classes, emphasizing the role of the school in safeguarding democracy – which, as mentioned before via Santos' literature, can be understood as the expansion (and maintenance) of a substantial right to the city to all citizens – by promoting active participation in social and political life, as well as valuing autonomy and personal freedom (Tamberlini 2018, 4-5).

To achieve these goals, these renewed schools had adaptive characteristics in their objectives, theoretical and methodological foundations, as well as curriculum structure, grounded in the interaction with the community in which they were embedded. Therefore, while Mascellani's early pedagogical experiments in Socorro had to be mainly inspired by European experiences, during the years of implementation of the Vocational Gymnasiums in the state of São Paulo the educator was able to increasingly adapt the model to the Brazilian reality (Tamberlini 2018, 5-6).

2.3.3. The human being of the world and in the world

Over the years of implementation of the GVs, the SEV (coordinating body of the gymnasiums) gradually systematized their pedagogical and curricular principles, culminating in a document elaborated at the Vocational Education Symposium, in 1968 (Chiozzini 2014, 33). Summarizing both the Vocational's vision of education and of the 'purpose' of the human being in its relation to the world (to be achieved through education), it is stated in the document that:

> "The direction of educational techniques and the educational process as a whole is based on the conception that humans are beings of the world and in the world, responsible for their transformation. [...] Building on this understanding, education is seen as an ever-growing process of communication and transformative action. In the same vein, pedagogical work emerges as a set of responses to the needs for the development of individuals and groups in a society at a specific time and place." (SIMPÓSIO SOBRE ENSINO VOCACIONAL 1968, 491 [in Chiozzini 2014, 37]; software translation).

Accordingly, the core principles of the Vocational are about placing the individual at the center of the educational process – making them take the lead in the elaboration of

disciplinary problems, so that they are not manipulated by education, but rather become actively involved in shaping its process (Chiozzini 2014, 45) –, and about establishing a communication between this pedagogical process and the world. Here, we might as well remember Santos' ideas on how to overcome alienation and achieve effective citizenship, via raising awareness of the culture-territory relation in all processes of thinking the world.

The document then moves towards expliciting that educating young individuals committed to transforming society does not depend on disciplinary content, but on content derived from a certain socio-cultural reality and the presentation of problems situated within that reality. Additionally, it emphasizes the dynamism of social reality, posing the need for a permanent flexibility of content (Chiozzini 2014, 42-43). Indeed, the only thing that should be immutable regarding the pedagogical or disciplinary contents at the Vocational Gymnasiums is their conformity with the school's core objective of forming active citizens, increasingly aware of the placeness of social phenomena.

This is where we get to what is of special interest to this thesis: the fact that the GVs recognize as foundational in accomplishing their socio-political objectives a pedagogical approach and a curricular planning based on territoriality, or placeness. Indeed, the situatedness and adaptiveness of the curriculum and overall architecture of the gymnasiums was given such importance as a method that the selection of locations for the establishment of different school units over time purposely sought diversity and specificity of regional characteristics, so as to experiment with different socio-economical, cultural, and political elements of each territorial context. Thus, community surveys – involving an assessment of the predominant cultural and socioeconomic characteristics of the locality, as well as the aspirations and expectations of parents regarding the desired school for their children – preceded the establishment of school units. Additionally, more of these surveys were conducted periodically to inform curriculum planning and allow for its continuous re-evaluation on the basis of community receptivity and conformity to shifting contexts, facilitating dialogue and promoting school-community integration (Tamberlini 2018, 5-6).

A final element worth mentioning in their effort to promote school-community integration was the organization, during weekends, of many cultural activities aiming for the closest possible alignment between school life and social life. Thus, the schools participated in community festivals and events in collaboration with local entities, promoting theater groups,

choirs, art galleries, and dance groups, both within the school premises and in local collective spaces (Tamberlini 2018, 8).

It was in a very similar sense that Milton Santos talked about schools – as well as other public and private apparatuses providing goods and services for the public good and contributing to citizenship – as constituting 'fixos'[3]. I will not delve into the details of this complex Miltosantosian notion. I shall just add that he defines those 'fixos' as urban structures providing resources and a socialization type that enable individuals to exert citizenship, thus potentially promoting social and territorial equity if oriented towards providing to everyone essential social benefits necessary for a decent life (Santos 2007[1987], 141-143). Further in this thesis I argue that – in a fashion similar to the GVs – the NEOJIBA project also performs this function. In the case of this latter, the collective practice of art, as well as a specific learning environment oriented towards community and collaboration, are thus believed to be essential social benefits necessary for a decent life, which the purpose of the human being in its relation to the world (*cf. supra*) should contemplate.

2.4. Camps and urbanization

This last section of the literature review shall be dedicated to a few concepts from a body of literature in urban studies that focuses on the urbanity of camps. Although this body of literature has emerged in the context of analysis of, for the most part, refugee and concentration camps – especially since Giorgio Agamben claimed not the city, but the camp to be the biopolitical paradigm of the West (Agamben 1998, 181), and since Michel Agier inaugurated the investigation of refugee camps through the prism of urban studies with his reflections on the city-camp relation as a particular socio-spatial form (Agier 2002) – its application has extended over time to analyses of other forms of settlement, enclaves, territorial units, and urban phenomena, arguing for equivalent or similar urbanizing forces to those present in refugee camps (Hailey 2008; Abourahme 2020).

Agier's core argument for the urbanity of camps is the presence of devices (such as humanitarian organizations) which participate in processes of production and reproduction of spatial symbols, via people's meaningful relation to territory in their everyday living (Agier

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[3] Translated literally, it would mean something like 'fixities' or 'a fixed thing'. However, I shall continue using the concept in its original Portuguese formulation, as I couldn't find an official translation to this specific concept.

2002, 329). This relation, as already explored further above through Santos' culture-territory entanglement, is part of a process in the making of place and identity. Thus to Agier, the camp is urban in as much as it is able to produce new identities, determining the scope of action of its dwellers and conditioning their interactions with their surroundings and the transformative capacities of the urban (Agier 2002, 322). However, he argues that camps – as well as other 'crippled' (Agier 2002, 322) socio-spatial forms of construction of the urban – are kept as mere sketches of cities, since the urban networks that they manage to configure (via NGOs or governmental programs) still don't allow them to fully become spaces of urban sociability nor political spaces (Agier 2002, 336-337).

Humanitarian camps, for instance, can indeed provide essential services and goods, clearly enhancing the living conditions of its dwellers who would otherwise likely lack access to such resources in the city. Moreover, they can indeed foster the formation of vast socioeconomic networks around those services and goods, extending way beyond the camp's physical borders. However, their socialization structures don't focus on cultivating a certain quality of citizenship or fostering civic consciousness. At least not in the sense or to the extent that has been discussed above. In later sections of this thesis, I contend that without these efforts, a 'fixo' remains indeed crippled, proposing NEOJIBA and similar political pedagogical experiences as counterpoints, aiming to move beyond mere 'sketches' and effectively activate urban sociability and politics through a critical approach on the production of culture and knowledge.

Additionally, concepts and tools from other authors in this tradition will help me categorize NEOJIBA's shifting standing as an urbanizing agent in the city of Salvador according to participants' perception of it at different moments in time. For instance, Bram Jansen's framework enables me to conceptualize NEOJIBA as an urban hub of opportunities, an 'option' (Jansen 2016, 160-162) helping people access different (social, economic, cultural, medical…) resources, both alleviating symptoms of marginal urban dwelling and facilitating personal pursuits, professional or other. Accordingly, in a first moment of interaction between urban dwellers and the social project, NEOJIBA, akin to humanitarian camps, represents mostly a means to achieve essential social benefits necessary for a decent life. However, as previously argued, at this stage of the relationship between the member and the project, there is still no complete activation of the values of citizenship it strives to achieve.

In a second moment of interaction between participants and the project, however, when its socializing forces start to take effect, I will finally be able to start talking about the activation of the abovementioned values, overcoming Agier's crippled socio-spatial forms. Therefore, at this stage of the explored narratives, Agier's kit will reinforce the idea of NEOJIBA's nuclei not only as urban hubs of opportunities, but also as socialization spaces constituting specific moral and political communities that activate a certain mode of engagement with adjacent territories and communities, as well as society in general, and which further enacts citizenship as conceptualized earlier.

Both these moments of interaction will be conceptualized in terms of configuring NEOJIBA as a hub promoting Milton Santos' civic model in two strongly entangled instances of activation: first, an enabling of resources (material, social, cultural, financial, medical), and second, an enabling of a 'civic consciousness' informing the use of those resources.

Lastly, drawing from Malkit Shoshan's work (Shoshan 2016) in the field of city-camp studies, I will introduce the concept of 'leakage' to describe how NEOJIBA's ethos and modes of engagement extend beyond program participants, as evidenced by both members and non-members of the project. In this context, NEOJIBA's nuclei will be framed as 'closed-but-not-closed' spaces, acknowledging their permeability and influence on broader urban developments (Agier 2002; Shoshan 2016). This notion of 'leakage' will therefore enhance the depiction of how the aforementioned 'civic consciousness' contributes to processes of urban change.

3. Fieldwork

3.1. The field

3.1.1. Autobiographical notes

My involvement with the NEOJIBA project began around 16 years ago, in 2007, when my uncle Ricardo Castro, in collaboration with the Secretary of Culture of the State of Bahia, founded the project. At that time, I resided in Buenos Aires, and my interactions with the project were limited to attending a few concerts each year during my visits to Salvador. My uncle would often share anecdotes about the project's development, the team, the challenges they faced in implementing it, and the results they achieved. Being a child at the time, I viewed it as just another one of my uncle's ventures that kept him occupied, and I probably didn't think about it much. I had yet to develop an interest in the other dimensions of the project, which form the focus of this thesis. But I already had an overview of two aspects of the project: the frontstage, consisting of performances and their public reception, representing the tangible outcomes of the project's work; and the backstage, encompassing conflicts, negotiations, management, and the politics of the project, which my uncle would occasionally reveal.

In 2010, my family relocated to Salvador, and my connection with the project began to deepen. My mother joined the project and primarily worked with the management committee while also providing family therapy to the project's members and their families. Consequently, the lives of many NEOJIBA members became a constant presence in my family's routine. Their stories and experiences would, to a certain extent, leak from my mother to the rest of us, manifested in various ways. Sometimes, it would take the form of explicit discussions during dinner, where we would delve into topics related to the experiences that those families faced due to their lived environment. Other times, it would be more subtle, as we observed the impact of their stories on my mother's state of mind.

Moreover, my grandparents resided near the theater that served as headquarters to the NEOJIBA project at that time, the Teatro Castro Alves (TCA). After school, my sister and I would spend time at their place, waiting for my mother to finish her work before going home. This proximity allowed us to spend a significant amount of time around the theater and interact with some of the project's members, some of whom became our friends. My sister even integrated the project for a while and began learning the violoncello. This was when my

understanding of the project started to become more detailed, as I got to know the persons behind the musicians, observing their daily activities within the project up close.

As time went on, I moved abroad to pursue my studies, but my relationship with the project continued to evolve. In 2014, shortly after arriving in Switzerland, I got involved once again with NEOJIBA. My uncle's network in Switzerland and Europe, developed throughout his musical career, became a platform for supporting and assisting NEOJIBA remotely. This network consisted mostly of fellow musicians and partner associations dedicated to promoting exchange opportunities between Bahia and Switzerland, facilitating musical and technical training for the youth involved in NEOJIBA.

I accompanied these associations, notably ASANBA (Association Suisse des Amis du NEOJIBA), in some of their activities, which involved fundraising for scholarships and instruments for the project in Bahia, besides supporting NEOJIBA during their international tours. Subsequently, in 2016, my uncle established the 'Fondation NEOJIBA', which shared similar goals with ASANBA but had a broader scope and capacity due to the legal distinctions between an association and a foundation – and would eventually absorb the latter. He invited me and another person to form the founding committee, and since then, I have voluntarily collaborated with the NEOJIBA project in strengthening its expanding international network of support and exchange programs.

Finally, in 2022, I made the decision to focus my Master's thesis on this project. Considering my privileged access and comprehensive involvement with NEOJIBA from its inception until the present day, I realized I was in a unique position to study it. However, my biographical proximity with it was not the defining factor. I also realized I could link NEOJIBA's agency in Salvador to one of my primary thematic interests in urban studies: informal settlements and modes of production. Indeed, during my Master's degree, I directed my attention toward the peripheries of urban territories – in the sense developed in the literature review of this thesis – where alternative ways of life and governance that are outside of formal prescriptions and master plans often emerge due to social and spatial isolation.

What has always especially intrigued me is that informal settlements seem to have a double status in regard to the state's attention. They are simultaneously neglected, lacking essential infrastructure and social support, and subject to efforts by the state to control and regulate their development. However, I have come to understand this seemingly paradoxical duality as constitutive of a deliberate model of urban governance where center and periphery must

coexist as interdependent for the model to thrive (Roy 2011). In this urbanization logic, marginality is kept at a safe distance, in a limbo of existence, present enough so as to subsidize centrality, but absent enough so that we don't see its ugly side. As a consequence of this 'turning a blind eye', the 'management' of informality often reflects a lack of comprehensive understanding of the communities' lived experiences and concerns, and resorts to simplistic, top-down solutions, perpetuating structures of domination and violence, reinforcing existing inequalities (Davila 2014; Dovey 2019; Ghertner 2019).

Motivated by these observations, I have dedicated my academic pursuits to better understanding this dual status and the gaps in public policies regarding informality, particularly in the Global South where these challenges are more pronounced and informal practices are more prevalent. Moreover, my attention has been particularly drawn towards efforts to subvert segregating models of urban governance, including public and private initiatives aimed at promoting an increased right to the city for marginalized urban dwellers via processes of epistemic, cultural, and material emancipation. These efforts usually offer a different approach to the 'management' of informality, prioritizing a thorough understanding of the community's socio-cultural context, fostering, for instance, a bottom-up process of spotting and resolving issues, and thus favoring a representation of the urban based on localized lived experiences.

That being said, my thesis investigates a public policy aimed at promoting the social integration and development of young informal settlement dwellers through the collective practice of music and a critical approach to pedagogy. My goal below is to assess the form and scope of their effort in promoting the aforementioned subversion in the unequal socio-spatial configuration of the city of Salvador. Choosing NEOJIBA as my research field, therefore, offered thematic relevance, site attractiveness, and privileged accessibility.

3.1.2. The fieldwork

I arrived in Salvador on the 17th of January 2023, during the peak of summer and towards the end of the southern academic break. The atmosphere was boiling-like, as it usually is that time of the year, when everything seems to converge towards the first capital city of Brazil: heat, events, people. All of this was further fueled by a growing anticipation for what is often considered the 'biggest carnival in the world', which officially takes place around mid-February but actually spans from January to March with pre and post-festivities. In fact,

during the period between New Year and carnival, being in Bahia, and especially in Salvador, feels like having your existence suspended in time and space – in limbo –, a place of indetermination where everything is potentiality and tensions reach their peak. Maybe this is why people there say that "the year only starts after carnaval". That's indeed how it feels.

That's the setting in which I arrived. Coming from an intense semester and the height of the Basler winter, I couldn't be more 'déphasé', out of touch with the reality that now surrounded me. The first superficial sign of this out-of-placeness was my dry and pale skin, which translated the overall frigidness that took over my being. And so I determined: my task in the first days was to acclimate myself with this place, get some warmth and humidity. I spent a lot of time with my family and old friends – who are usually all there at this time of the year –, and I went to the sea everyday.

Finally, on the 23rd of January, I went for the first time to the NEOJIBA headquarters at the Parque do Queimado, marking the beginning of my fieldwork. It coincided with the first day of activities at NEOJIBA in 2023, exclusively reserved for staff and instructors. It was a special week dedicated to their Pedagogical Seminar, an annual event held during this period to establish the project's pedagogical goals, methodology, and as they called it, their 'spirit'. The seminar also served as a training camp for new monitors and instructors, preparing them for the challenges of teaching in unconventional environments, with multilayered methodologies.

That week was intense and exceptional, significantly shaping the trajectory of my fieldwork. It was during this time that I first connected with many individuals whom I would later interview. I gained a deeper understanding of the program's internal dynamics, its evolution, and the reasons behind its adaptations to different communities' settings, based on the challenges faced in each of the project's nuclei working with children and youth from socially vulnerable backgrounds. Being immersed in this intensive camp, participating in debates, classes, workshops, and even joining group activities, made it the most fruitful week in terms of fieldnotes. Also, it helped refine my interview questions and overall research framework.

The following week marked the enrollment period for the project, and activities for regular NEOJIBA members had not yet resumed. However, the staff was already working at full capacity. I utilized this time to work on my fieldnotes, reevaluate my plans for the remaining fieldwork period (which was relatively short), as well as identify and locate individuals I wanted to interview. I also used this time to request relevant documents and reports to

complement the stories I was investigating. Additionally, I had the opportunity to speak with Ana Julia Bittencourt, NEOJIBA's pedagogical manager and one of the project's founding members, who also happens to be a friend. This talk, with someone who has had probably one of the most holistic journeys in NEOJIBA, experiencing many of its realms in all points of its history, served as a perfect warm-up and testing ground for my developing interview 'grid'.

The subsequent weeks followed a similar pattern, with interviews conducted with various members and employees of the project, visits to different pedagogical nuclei apart from the Headquarters, and documenting of field observations. In that sense, I followed a typical anthropological fieldwork journey, focusing on site immersion, (at times participant) observation, and interviews where possible and needed.

In total, I visited three different pedagogical nuclei located in different areas of Salvador and its metropolitan region. The first site was Parque do Queimado, the Headquarters situated in the Liberdade neighborhood, which also served as my base. Regardless of who I would encounter or the activities taking place, I visited the Headquarters daily. There were mainly three reasons for this: first, I had an easy ride there everyday, as that's where my mother works; second, that's where the project's vans and taxis leave from, normally twice a day (morning and afternoon), to take members to other pedagogical nuclei; third, that's where I could find the largest variety of members, from choir and orchestra musicians, to the social development, management, and pedagogy staff. The second site I visited was the CESA - Simões Filho nucleus, located in Simões Filho, a municipality within Salvador's metropolitan region (RMS or Grande Salvador). The third site was the Bairro da Paz nucleus, situated in the neighborhood of the same name in Salvador. All three sites, and especially the latter two, are located in zones that are relatively marginal in the city.

Later on, both in the chapter dedicated to NEOJIBA as an institution and in the chapter dedicated to people's stories with NEOJIBA, each of those sites will be further detailed, as the personal trajectories told will often refer to spatial elements. Importantly, a more holistic meaning will be attainable to those stories as socio-spatial links are established.

Throughout my fieldwork duration, I conducted a total of 12 interviews, with nine of them being recorded. The interviewees included the program head, a representative from the department of social development, the pedagogical manager, two members of the choir who were also monitors, six members of the orchestra (four of whom were also monitors), and one

mother of an orchestra member whom I spontaneously encountered while she was waiting at the Headquarters' garden to pick up her daughter, and who kindly agreed to an interview. Other than that, I held many more informal conversations with all categories of members, in classrooms, offices, gardens, lunch tables, etc., for which I did not follow a certain interview logic, nor did I record in some way, but which were documented in my field notebook as complement to previous notes, or as new leads.

In addition to the interviews, I attended multiple debates that were organized with the purpose of collectively negotiating and deliberating upon the internal affairs of the project, ranging from tolerance of late arrivals and snack arrangements to the scholarship system and repertoire. Moreover, I was allowed to take part in workshops, which covered topics such as inclusive methodologies and pedagogy for people with disability, the use of technology in teaching and learning, and entrepreneurship in the musical market. Besides those debates and workshops, there were a few notable talks that I had the opportunity to attend: one by NEOJIBA's directors, where things were said about the project's future plans, especially regarding its profiling as a public policy; one by the State of Bahia's newly elected Secretary of Justice and Human Rights, Felipe Freitas, further elaborating on how NEOJIBA's activities are embedded in the evolving plans for public policy of the State; and one by five of the project's members who participated in an international fellowship program for musical pedagogies in contexts of social vulnerability called 'Firebirds', organized by the 'Academy for Impact through Music' (AIM), talking about how their pedagogical know-how obtained in years of practice at NEOJIBA relates to what is being done in other parts of the globe.

Last but not least, I gained access to classes during the first week of regular activities at the various NEOJIBA nuclei I visited, providing some time to observe, take notes, and experience first-hand the project's methodology, which I had heard about during the Pedagogical Seminar week. I was quite surprised to find that, in every case, as soon as I stepped into each classroom, I was seamlessly embraced by the group dynamics, even though I had no prior knowledge of musical theory or their respective instruments. I would later understand that this was linked to the pedagogical methodologies they cultivated in that environment, which became something like second nature to them even outside of NEOJIBA's premises, as some would eventually tell me. Naturally, I was the only one surprised by this effortless integration, as most students appeared completely unaffected by my presence in the classroom. The only exception was a particular morning spent with a classroom predominantly composed of young children who had recently joined the project.

Some would gaze at me as if I were an alien (which, in that context, as the only older and white person in the room, I certainly was).

3.1.3. Challenges and adaptations

As much as the above might lead to an understanding that the fieldwork was essentially easy, especially in terms of access, it was not always the case. As it should be – in any anthropological fieldwork at least – a lot of unexpected developments happened that required me to adapt and review my planned agenda. Below I talk about the most significant moments of forced adaptation.

The first thing that must be said is that the 'limbo' of chaotic indetermination in which Salvador finds itself in that moment of the year, already mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, greatly affected my fieldwork in ways I couldn't have anticipated (or maybe I should have known better, having lived in that place for many years). One way in which my fieldwork was affected by this is that there were some days where I had planned to visit other pedagogical nuclei to meet some key people I wanted to interview, but activities were abruptly suspended due to disruptions in public transportation, which implied many employees not being able to get to work. This happened during the first week of regular activities at NEOJIBA for all the members (not only the staff) – so the third week into fieldwork – and I had planned to visit four pedagogical nuclei between that week and the next, which were the last two weeks before carnaval. I remember being a bit desperate at that moment because I had, from the get-go, very limited time to do fieldwork, and accordingly I had strictly planned the exact days I would go to this or that place, and the interviews I would conduct on each of those days. Each day really counted.

But that's not all. Soon after, I found that I had one, not two weeks left of fieldwork, due to carnaval starting earlier. It is not that carnaval was officially starting earlier than it should, but the non-official carnaval had already started, and it intensified in the week prior to the official one, which affected the whole city, forcing many institutions to actually interrupt their activities before the actual dates of carnaval. That happened to most of NEOJIBA's pedagogical nuclei, except for the headquarters at Parque do Queimado.

Thus, I found myself with an even more restricted time frame, which forced me to adapt my plans. First, I tried to still fit all four visits I had intended for two weeks in that one last week,

but with no success. It was an intense week for everyone, as one can expect of the first week of activities of any school-like institution, where there is still a lot of organization to be done and new people to integrate. Hence, I couldn't reach some people in time to organize my visits. Therefore, as the two first opportunities appeared, I opted to extend and intensify my visits to those sites (the CESA and Bairro da Paz nuclei) to try to make the most out of it. Additionally, I exchanged with someone from another nucleus and tried to schedule a visit the following week, even though regular activities were interrupted, as some of the staff would still be there to finalize preparations for the semester. This did not work in the end, but happily the other visits were fruitful enough to compensate.

One last adaptation after this upset of having one less week of fieldwork (at least the kind of fieldwork I had envisioned) and of not being able to visit one of the pedagogical nuclei that I was really hoping to get to know, the Amaralina nucleus, was to request an interview with a person from NEOJIBA's department of social development that worked closely with the Amaralina nucleus. This is how I scheduled a meeting with Silvana Santos, who has been in NEOJIBA for 6 years now as a social worker with a postgraduate degree in organizational psychology, providing social assistance to children, youth, adolescents, and families in situations of social vulnerability. Even though she wasn't able to share the same kind of experience I would have had by visiting the nucleus by myself and attending a few classes, she had ample knowledge of the stories and needs of the nucleus' members and their families, as well as of the activities that usually took place there. In brief, she had a good overview of both the nucleus' routine, and of its members' life stories and trajectories.

Moving to another sphere, regarding my contact with people, what was said previously about my familiarity with the project, its local context, and most of its members – which granted me privileged accessibility to it as a research field, particularly due to my uncle's position in the project – has clearly represented an advantage of choosing NEOJIBA as my field. For example, already in my fieldwork preparation, I had been invited to attend the pedagogical seminar, management committee meetings, and regular teaching activities. Additionally, I had obtained preliminary agreements for interviews with key members of the project.

However, this privileged proximity also posed great challenges. While being the nephew of the general director has facilitated access to certain research subjects and collaborators, it has also created certain barriers. In more than one instance, my conversations with the project's members were halted at a critical moment due to the fear of information being leaked to the

management committee or the director. That happened especially when I asked about things related to conflict or dissatisfaction. And as much as I tried to address this trust issue beforehand with the people I interviewed – and those moments of clarification would only improve as time went by and each interview equipped me better for the next one – you can only do so much when it comes to gaining trust, especially in this setting.

In the conversations that preceded the interviews, I would try clarify the nature and purpose of my research, emphasizing the following points: firstly, the practical reasons for selecting NEOJIBA as my research field; secondly, a brief explanation of the scope of my Master's thesis, and an estimation of what the final product might look like; thirdly, reassuring the interviewees that the information shared, if too sensitive or compromising, could be anonymized if desired; and finally, inviting them to voice any other concerns they might have regarding my research, methodologies, and dissemination of the written outcome.

Nonetheless, there were other methodological preparations and concerns that helped me address these and other challenges. Moving forward, I will delve further into the methods I employed in my fieldwork. This shall not only add to the repertoire used for dealing with the issues cited above, but more broadly characterize the research approach employed in this thesis. Hence, the next subchapter starts with general ethnographic considerations, touching on topics such as participatory observation, interviewing, and emic and inductive approaches. Then, it focuses on a more detailed reflection about working with testimonies, before moving on to the crisis of representation and decolonial scholarship. To conclude, a last section will be dedicated to the larger analytical-methodological framework that embed the previous reflections and try to situate the present thesis in the scholar traditions of emancipation and decoloniality.

3.2. The methods

3.2.1. Ethnographic approach

As previously mentioned, my research project aims to examine the urban agency of a socio-pedagogical project in Salvador that seeks to subvert a certain fragmenting model of urban governance – and its hegemonic, centralized representations of the urban – through a critical pedagogical approach that promotes, first, an intimate connection between culture and territory, theory and practice, favoring community engagement; and second, a

democratization of knowledge production – thus of representations of the urban –, as individuals are invited to take an active part in its process.

In order to gain a comprehensive understanding of how NEOJIBA's approach is positively impacting representations of the urban, including that of the project's participants, and to assess thereafter how those participants perceive themselves as agents within that newly conceived *polis*, I opted for an essentially ethnographic research approach – privileged in observing sociocultural dynamics such as the impact of shifting representations in socio-spatial worlds.

Ethnographic research is a qualitative method employed in social sciences that aims to gain a deep understanding of a particular social group or culture through prolonged engagement and observation within a given setting (usually theirs). Rooted in anthropology, ethnography allows researchers to immerse themselves in the social context of their study, making it possible to gain insights and nuances that a more superficial study wouldn't attain. One key distinction in ethnographic research that enables the aforementioned immersion is the adoption of an 'emic' perspective (sometimes referred to as 'thick description' [Geertz 1973]), which involves examining phenomena from within the social group observed, that is, assessing events as they are interpreted and ressignified by the participants of a particular group. This approach contrasts with an 'etic' perspective, which emphasizes the external observer's interpretations and theoretical frameworks (Kottak 2006, 47).

Additionally, ethnographic research can be mainly deductive, where researchers begin with pre-existing theories and hypotheses that guide their observations and analysis, or mainly inductive, where theories and explanations emerge from the data itself, allowing for new insights and interpretations to emerge (Glaser and Strauss 1967). Since my research focuses on life trajectories and representations of particular lived experiences, my approach is majoritarily inductive, moving from the particular to the general, also as a way of faithfully portraying an emic understanding of situations, without subordinating them to theoretical presuppositions. Note, however, that I use the terms 'mainly' and 'majoritarily' to acknowledge that despite the necessary emphasis on either inductivity or deductivity in research, the research process itself is inherently cyclical and dialectical, implying a continuous fluid movement from one to the other, given the iterative nature of the relationship between theoretical considerations and the discovery of new data.

As has already transpired in a previous subchapter on fieldwork, one of the central methods I employed in my research was participatory observation. It is a fundamental aspect of ethnographic research, involving the engagement and immersion of the researcher in the social group or culture under study. By participating in the activities, rituals, and daily routines of the participants, the researcher gains firsthand experience and deepens their understanding of the social dynamics, norms, and values of the group (Hammersley and Atkinson 2019). Particularly during the pedagogical seminar week and my time spent in various classrooms, participatory observation played a vital role in acquiring this kind of tacit knowledge. By partly immersing myself in their group dynamics, closely observing and simulating their 'choreographies' and 'rituals', and by being invited to engage in specific pedagogical activities, I gained insights that I couldn't have otherwise (Jorgensen 1989).

Additionally, semi-directed interviews complemented the participatory observation method by providing an avenue for individual voices and perspectives to be heard. Semi-directed interviews are another essential tool in ethnographic research, providing a structured yet flexible approach to gather in-depth insights and perspectives from individuals within the research setting. These interviews usually involve a set of loosely predefined questions or themes that guide the conversation, while allowing room for participants to express their own thoughts, experiences, and interpretations. This enables researchers to explore unplanned avenues and find new topics of interest that more closely relate to the reality of the person they are talking to (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009). Through these interviews, I engaged with project participants and other people directly and indirectly affected by it, allowing them to share their personal narratives, experiences, and interpretations of the phenomena taking place within and around NEOJIBA. Through this method, I was able to document and analyze instances where individuals experienced shifts in their subjective understandings of their lives and the environments they inhabited throughout their involvement in the project, shedding light on their evolving perspectives on urban dwelling, citizenship, social and political agency, as well as their aspirations for the future.

The next section will delve further on the minutiae of working with testimonies, emphasizing critical aspects to be mindful of when collecting and analyzing them, given how politically sensitive it is to represent the perspectives and experiences of others.

3.2.2. Testimonies and the crisis of representation

I will now outline several considerations that I kept in mind during my collection of testimonies, particularly given that to many of my interlocutors I constituted an 'other' – a privileged white middle-class male with limited knowledge of the experiences of informal settlement dwellers. Apart from skepticism regarding my ability to understand their perspectives, there may have been discomfort and mistrust on a few occasions, especially when addressing themes intertwined with historically tense and violent class and race relations. Another difficult theme was asking about the conflicts they had witnessed and the complaints they had about the project, due to the fact that some perceived me as a potential 'spy', leaking information that could compromise their standing in the project to the management committee.

To navigate both these issues, it was of utmost importance to adopt a general stance of humility, acknowledging my ignorance of their lived experiences and emphasizing the purpose of listening and amplifying their voices in my research. Additionally, I tried to the best of my ability to respect silences and secrets, recognizing their significance within the testimony, indicating which topics and words engendered discomfort or mistrust. Indeed, it is often illuminating to perceive silences as part of testimony (Felman and Laub 1992, 62) – a parallel, more subtle register, for instance indicating that a certain topic saturates the differences between the interviewer and the interviewee to the extent of mistrust.

In other instances, decrypting certain topics was a question of uncovering a 'password' that was beyond verbal communication and revealed to my interlocutor and I a shared understanding on something – and thus that despite our differences in lived experiences, I could eventually access that language concealed behind layers of protection and mistrust in a way that wouldn't corrupt it's meaning. By doing so, trust could be rebuilt and new registers of communication unveiled (Felman and Laub 1992, 63-64).

As much as the above may sound like there was a focus on finding 'the right questions' in order to be successful in gathering valuable information and unlocking new registers, my intention was not quite that. Agreeing with Kathryn Anderson and Dana C. Jack in their book chapter "Learning to Listen" (Anderson and Jack 2015), instead of narrow-mindedly focusing on 'extracting' specific information, I paid more attention to the interaction between me and my interlocutor – the process of the interview itself – as eminently revelatory of valuable information. It is an approach that both requires and allows the interview to be a more

exploratory experience, the interviewer following the verbal and non-verbal cues of the interviewee rather than the other way around. If, say, the interviewee demonstrated greater enthusiasm while discussing a specific topic, I would respond by seeking further clarification once they had finished sharing their story. I would ask open-ended questions that encouraged them to express their thoughts and feelings in their own words, such as "How did you feel about this or that?" or "Why do you think this was the case?" This approach aimed to maintain the interviewee's engagement and allow them to elaborate on the topic in a way that resonated with their own experiences and perspectives. This has furthermore helped preserve the emic-ness of the conversation, and prevented the interview from being intrusive, which was especially important in the moments of silence and mistrust mentioned above. Thus, focusing on the interactional process of the interview has not exactly provided me with 'extra' valuable data – acknowledging also a laughter, a silence, a gasp in reaction to a certain word or topic, sometimes indicating what's at stake in the relations involved, as well as where power lies in those relations –, it has simply enabled me to succeed in my interviews, identifying discomfort, respecting silence, overcoming mistrust, and seizing passwords.

What I have sketched above has furthermore been crucial in my thesis in addressing a major issue in post- and decolonial scholarship dealing with axes of otherness in fieldwork: the crisis of representation, or whether/how one is able to faithfully portray 'others'. This is how some scholars – notably feminist social scientists in Western academia (Nagar and Geiger 2007, 267) – have come to stress the importance of reflexivity, of thinking of the situatedness of their points of view and their ways of doing fieldwork, and about how their positionality affects relations and developments in their fields. A productive way of approaching these issues of representation and knowledge production can be found in an article by Nagar and Geiger, where they stress that working with an understanding of positionality needs not imply countless paragraphs of autobiographical considerations, nor does it mean avoiding difference and merely looking for commonalities, but rather being able to put different – and at times antagonistic – theoretical and political frameworks in negotiation, keeping in mind the political struggles of your research subjects and where you and your research framework stand within it (Nagar and Geiger 2007, 271-277). Accordingly, the researcher must be able to 'speak with' research collaborators (rather than research subjects) across the many social divides that configure their relationship, by seeking, as Ong has said:

"a deliberate cultivation of a mobile consciousness, [engaged in a dialectical process of] disowning places that come with overly determined claims and reowning them according to different (radical democratic) interests" (Ong 1995, 368 [in Nagar and Geiger 2007, 271]).

That way, the researcher is able to enact a truly collaborative process of knowledge production, more likely to build (situated) solidarities (Nagar and Geiger 2007, 273) and develop common political commitments. In my research, this dialectical process occurred both: in the theoretico-analytico-methodological framing of this thesis, which aligns and converses with the political struggles communicated to me in the interviews; and in my semi-structured interviews, which resembled conversations rather than rigid question-and-answer sessions. The interactive nature of these interviews allowed me to convey a few important points to my interlocutors: first, they could question me, inquire about the purpose of my research, and understand why certain questions were being asked. Second, I emphasized that while I had arrived with preconceived ideas, theories, and my own personal experiences with the project, their perspectives were the actual core of my research, as I was there to learn from their experiences within NEOJIBA, and how it influenced their daily lives. Furthermore, I made it clear, whenever questioned, that my research was not driven by activism or aligned with specific political interests that might overlap with those of my interlocutors. However, I emphasized my commitment to portraying their stories, and eventually political struggles, in the manner they wished them to be represented. Additionally, I informed them that the findings of my research would be made available to a diverse audience, including NEOJIBA's management committee. While this last bit of information elevated my research as a platform for communication, it also restricted the extent to which individuals were willing to share certain events and opinions.

In the following section, I shall add to this 'speaking with' research collaborators from a more analytical-methodological standpoint.

3.2.3. Pragmatic sociology, emancipation, and decoloniality

The two ethnographic approaches I mentioned previously, the inductive and the emic approaches, have furthermore contributed to establishing the main methodological compromises of this project: a decolonial approach to knowledge production and – correlative to it – an engagement towards the epistemic-analytical, cultural, political, and thereby social emancipation of marginalized people. Below I explain how.

In order to deliver both a perspective from within the social groups observed, and to build up knowledge from the particular to the general, I decided to be guided by the interactionist current in sociology, which instead of reducing social interactions to automatic mechanisms, giving too much weight to social structures, it frames them within complex systems where power is constantly negotiated, and where, although structural inequalities subsist, there exists a possibility for emancipation – which is another way of saying that it is able to account for structural change as emerging also from 'the margins' of society. Within this sociological current, the school that mostly meets the demands of my research is the 'pragmatic sociology of critique', which emerged from the concern that sociology as a whole, and especially critical sociology, had the tendency of not taking into account the critical capacities of social actors themselves. Hence, they decided to focus on the description of particular situations, especially as they are told by those who experience them (Boltanski 2009, 46-47, 49). Privileging descriptivity, here, is not about abolishing normativity or abandoning critique, but rather letting it emerge from the pure description of situations where actors engage in their activities, negotiations, and especially disputes, mobilizing their own reflexivity and criticism (Boltanski 2009, 46-48). Indeed, to Luc Boltanski and Laurent Thévenot, largely considered founders of the pragmatic school in sociology, social actors justify their actions and legitimize their views in the most ordinary day-to-day situations, and that can stand out in a more descriptive approach (Boltanski 2009, 49).

This body of literature has therefore been crucial as a methodological stance, not only in that it provided a toolkit for discursive analysis – which, as said before, is central to this study – but also in that it allowed me to do research *with* the community observed, rather than *on* it (which sends us back to what Nagar and Geiger say about collaboration in research). To a certain extent, this is about letting the researched be part of the process of knowledge production, giving them voice, so that they also have power over the narrative that is built about them and their lived realities. In that manner, epistemic hierarchies are flattened, as there is no 'expert', no one in a privileged position to critically analyze realities observed (Boltanski 2009, 46).

As simple as this might seem, this posture has a subversive and emancipatory potential, especially if we are concerned about the perceptions and definitions of marginalized actors. Indeed, considering the power that knowledge and representation have on reality – a relation largely explored by Foucault (Foucault 1975, 52, 194) for instance, and which was further developed in the second chapter of this thesis –, adopting such a methodological stance gives

way to the possibility of social and spatial emancipation, in as much as listening to different voices and bringing alternative epistemologies to urban debates has the power to challenge hegemonic ways of making the city.

If that sociological approach alone might already characterize this project as emancipatory and decolonial, I carried a few additional references with me during fieldwork that not only resonate with the aforementioned discussions but also contribute to these ongoing debates. Miguel Zavala, in his article titled "What do we mean by decolonizing research strategies? Lessons from decolonizing, Indigenous research projects in New Zealand and Latin America", provides a comprehensive overview of the state of decolonial scholarship at the time and offers recommendations for its future focus and development. To him, an effective decolonial approach should not just focus on methods – such as those aimed at establishing fairer epistemic relations while doing fieldwork, developed in the previous section – but mainly on "spaces that make decolonizing research possible" (Zavala 2013, 55), normally situated outside institutional settings. While his a priori suspicion of basically all institutional settings – governmental and nongovernmental – seems exaggerated to me, what I definitely agree with is both the importance given to the placeness of knowledge production and his stance that research must emerge from within communities observed, so that it addresses the problems and needs that communities identify by themselves (Zavala 2013, 57). He names this 'grassroots research', as it advocates for a bottom-up approach to knowledge production.

Last but not least, I found Boaventura de Souza Santos' 'rearguard theory' to be a perfect fit for the scenario presented until now, as its form of epistemological criticism sustains the construction of a system of understanding based on the lived experiences of those most vulnerable and marginalized. He does that by the application of research methods that privilege embodied experiences, subjective narratives, and plural and conflictual situations. Indeed, it resonates with the approaches mentioned above, requiring inductivity and a fair amount of descriptivity, so as to let predominate the voices of those who actually live, with their bodies, the realities observed. Thus, his approach contributes to the production of "knowledge that flies at low altitude because it is stuck to the body" (B. de S. Santos 2015, 31), and it is 'from the rear' because it stems from those made invisible, the voiceless, inverting the typical epistemic hierarchy wherein the expert is the only critical subject able to produce critical knowledge.

Santos' decolonial strategy is eminently analytical, as evidenced in his work 'The End of the Cognitive Empire' (B. de S. Santos 2018), a book summarizing his lifelong methodological and epistemological commitments toward achieving 'global cognitive justice'. In alignment with numerous other decolonial scholars, Santos goes beyond viewing decoloniality solely as a political endeavor for national emancipation or independence. Instead, he emphasizes the persistence of coloniality in various forms, even after political decolonization has been achieved in many regions. Consequently, Santos directs attention to how coloniality endures in modes of thinking and knowledge production, and the resulting implications for our actions and the construction of our socio-spatial realities. In conclusion, Santos advocates for alternative ways of knowing and thinking that not only address analytical challenges but also have tangible effects on lived experiences in the real world.

3.3. A bridge to the case study

Having decoded my fieldwork and outlined the analytico-methodological toolkit employed, I shall now delve into the comprehensive analysis of my case study. Accordingly, in the upcoming chapter, I will commence by providing an overview of the structure and institutional history of the NEOJIBA project, focusing on characteristics and spaces that are relevant to this thesis. Following, I will share insights gained from the Pedagogical Seminar, interviews, observations, and documents that shed light on the project's ethos and guiding principles. Next, I will assess how this ethos is manifested in practice, looking into the array of activities proposed by the project. This examination will aid me in assessing the project's integration within the city of Salvador, and more specifically how the pedagogical nuclei that I focus on are embedded in the communities that host them. Lastly, to close the chapter, I will talk about the services provided by the Social Development department of the project.

Thus, the next chapter, besides giving institutional context, starts framing NEOJIBA – via an exploration of its structure, values, and activities – as an experience that relates to those Miltosantosian 'fixos' discussed earlier in the literature review, the socio-spatial apparatuses providing goods and services contributing to an improved right to the city and the socialization of an engaged citizen.

4. NEOJIBA as 'fixo'[4]

4.1. The contours of the project

4.1.1. Foundation

The 'Núcleos Estaduais de Orquestras Juvenis e Infantis da Bahia', or NEOJIBA, is a public policy in the State of Bahia, Brazil, that combines culture, education, and social development. Established in 2007 by musician and educator Ricardo Castro in collaboration with the Secretary of Culture of the State of Bahia, NEOJIBA aims to promote social integration among children and youth in situations of social vulnerability through collective music practice and a pedagogical approach centered around collaboration.

Since its inception, the NEOJIBA program and its methodologies have drawn inspiration from the socio-pedagogical model of human development through music, pioneered by José Antônio Abreu in Venezuela in 1975 and known worldwide as El Sistema (Neojiba, *n.d.*). Initially, NEOJIBA could thus be seen as a trial of implementing the El Sistema model in Bahia. However, over time, while most of the pillars of El Sistema remained applicable to the context in Bahia, NEOJIBA evolved to adapt to its unique environment and developed its own distinct characteristics. Those pillars and adaptation process will be discussed further down, in a dedicated subchapter.

4.1.2. Organizational structure

The project is currently administered by the Institute for Social Development through Music (IDSM), a Social Organization – term that in Brazil designates a private legal entity, non-profit, that has a partnership with the state to carry out activities of public interest – tasked with creating opportunities for young people in Bahia and facilitating human development and social transformation through the medium of music. The IDSM operates under a contract with the Ministry of Justice, Human Rights, and Social Development, and its management structure comprises a governing body, which consists of a Board of Directors selected through a General Assembly. This collegial decision-making body is accountable for establishing the overall strategic direction and planning the initiatives to be implemented by

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[4] Information in this chapter is based on fieldwork observations, interviews, and NEOJIBA's activity reports and website.

an Executive Board. The performance and compliance of the organization are assessed by an Audit Board.

As for the organogram of the NEOJIBA project, it consists of a General Directory overseeing four subordinate directories: Institutional Development, Administrative-Financial, Educational, and Artistic. Each directory is led by a respective head who participates in a Management Committee, which serves as the highest governing body of the project. Within each directory, there are additional management bodies responsible for the development of specific departments. For example, the pedagogical management falls under the Educational Directory. Furthermore, within each management cell, there are coordinators overseeing sub-departments and nuclei, coordinating activities within their respective areas, and supervising a team of monitors, other employees, and regular participants.

4.2. Physical structure

4.2.1. Dimensions

Since 2007, more than 12'000 children, adolescents, and young adults throughout Bahia have been impacted by the NEOJIBA program. Currently, it serves 2'324 direct participants in its nuclei or centers and supports 4'500 indirect beneficiaries through initiatives that promote musical activities in partnership with other organizations. Those participants are distributed in a total of 13 nuclei, namely: the NEOJIBA Central Nucleus (NCN) located in Salvador, Liberdade neighborhood; 3 NEOJIBA Territorial Nuclei (NTN) in Feira de Santana, Teixeira de Freitas, and Vitória da Conquista, which are other municipalities in Bahia; and 9 Nuclei of Musical Practice (NPM) situated in different neighborhoods of the capital city, Salvador, and three other municipalities: Simões Filho, Jequié, and Lauro de Freitas. Below, I write about the three nuclei that I visited.

4.2.2. The NEOJIBA Central Nucleus

The NEOJIBA Central Nucleus (NCN) serves as the central hub and headquarters for the program, overseeing and managing all its nuclei throughout Bahia. The NCN is responsible for coordinating the artistic, pedagogical, and social development activities of NEOJIBA, as well as its institutional development. It houses the general, educational, and artistic

directories of NEOJIBA, along with the marketing and communication team and a physical and digital archive.

Within the Central Nucleus, the main musical formations of the project are organized, developed, and trained. These are the 2 de Julho Orchestra, Castro Alves Orchestra, Experimental Pedagogical Orchestra, Children's String Orchestra, Youth Choir, Children Choir, and Community Choir. This development involves rehearsals, the training of teachers in both the fields of music and pedagogy, and the formation of monitors in more technical areas such as instrument making and repair.

Moreover, it is within the NCN that musical performances, special events and projects are produced, involving collaborations with a diverse network of partners in the capital and throughout the state. The Pedagogical Seminar week, already mentioned previously, for instance, is one such special event dedicated to the training of the project's whole team of monitors and instructors.

Before moving on to the other two nuclei of the project that I visited, it is important to take a moment to discuss the significance of the site where the NCN is located, considering its rich historical background and shifting roles for the surrounding communities. Hence, I will explore the evolution of the site and its structures, leading up to its transformation into the headquarters of NEOJIBA. Of particular interest is the notable investment involved in this endeavor and the symbolic weight of reactivating such a space – which used to serve local communities but had been shut down for decades – and for what purpose.

The NCN is located in the Liberdade neighborhood, in Salvador, in a place known as 'Parque do Queimado'. The Parque do Queimado has a fascinating history as the site of the country's first water treatment and distribution center. Over four centuries ago, Jesuit priests discovered a vital water source there, which served the neighborhoods of Soledade and Lapinha in Salvador during the 17th and 18th centuries. Then, in 1859 the place was turned into Brazil's first urban water treatment and distribution plant, when the complex of buildings that still stand there was first built. It was a significant engineering achievement at the time, and its inauguration counted with the presence of Emperor Dom Pedro II and Empress Teresa Cristina.

Recognizing the historical and cultural importance of the site, the National Institute of Historic and Artistic Heritage (IPHAN) inscribed, in 1997, the water source and the Parque do Queimado in the National Historic Book, providing federal protection to the area.

Subsequently, in 2014, the Bahia Water and Sanitation Company (Embasa) transferred the site to the Institute of Social Development through Music (IDSM), responsible for managing NEOJIBA.

The renovation project spanned three years and received a substantial investment of R$ 12.3 million from the Government of the State of Bahia and the Brazilian Development Bank (BNDES), supported by the Federal Cultural Incentive Law. During the refurbishment, the site was visited by engineers from Nagata Acoustics, a renowned Japanese firm known for its expertise in acoustic design. Having worked on prestigious concert halls such as the Philharmonie de Paris, Nagata Acoustics contributed to the project by designing the acoustics of the Sala NEOJIBA and the rehearsal rooms of the NCN.

The architectural redesign of Parque do Queimado was a collaboration between the Swiss firm Butikofer de Oliveira Vernay Architectes and local architect Sergio Ekerman. Their transformation of the historic building earned them the 14th Architects and Urbanists of the Year Award in the Private Sector category, presented by the National Federation of Architects and Urbanists (FNA).

Finally, on the 9th of July 2019, the Parque do Queimado reopened its doors to the community as the official headquarters of NEOJIBA – previously situated in the Teatro Castro Alves, Salvador's main concert hall. With a renewed function, it now stands as one of the country's best-equipped spaces for music practice and education, offering opportunities in the field to the local youth, besides constituting an access hub to other social services and goods via the project's social development department.

4.2.3. The CESA-Simões Filho nucleus

The CESA-Simões Filho nucleus is one of the 9 NPM (Nuclei of Musical Practice) at NEOJIBA, and of those, it is one among the 3 that are located in a neighboring municipality, part of Salvador's Metropolitan Region. Before talking more specifically about it, I will give a general overview of the NPM as a distinct structure within the project.

Compared to the NCN, the Nuclei of Musical Practice are spaces that are more specifically focused on musical training, although they also offer other kinds of events and activities that foster social interaction. More concretely, these nuclei offer classes in orchestral practice, instrumental training, choral singing, and music theory. They also organize activities to foster

the development of young leaders and facilitate exchanges with other NEOJIBA nuclei, partner institutions, local artists, and social projects, always striving to involve in their activities the communities in which they are embedded. Additionally, for each nucleus there is a specialized team from the Social Development department that provides holistic social support for the participants and their families.

The 9 Nuclei of Musical Practice within NEOJIBA each have their distinct musical formations. The bands, orchestras, and/or chamber groups freely organize their activities and performances, which are usually held in public and community spaces, aiming to integrate with the local community and promote music and its accessibility.

While the NEOJIBA Central Nucleus is responsible for establishing the institutional framework of the Nuclei of Musical Practice and providing pedagogical, social, and logistical support in their respective territories, each nucleus operates under its own management system. They collaborate with governmental organizations, such as municipal administrations and public schools, as well as non-governmental entities, including associations, institutes, companies, and private schools, fostering partnerships and mutual cooperation.

The CESA Nucleus is one of those which collaborate with different partners for its functioning. Established in 2011 through a partnership with the Sister Dulce Social Works (OSID), the NPM operates within the Santo Antônio Educational Center (which is what 'CESA' stands for), managed by the OSID. Additionally, the CESA-Simões Filho Nucleus receives sponsorship from Grupo Penha, a private company, to support its activities. Currently, the nucleus serves 186 children and adolescents, aged 9 to 18 years old, with the majority of them attending the public school also located at CESA.

For beginners, the nucleus offers activities of musical initiation and experience. Those at an intermediate level of learning have access to theoretical classes and engage in collective orchestral practice, involving string instruments, percussion, and choral singing.

4.2.4. The Bairro da Paz nucleus

The last nucleus I visited was the Bairro da Paz nucleus. Founded in 2013, it is also an NPM, and it is born of a partnership with the non-governmental social institution Santa Casa da Bahia, which serves the Bahian population in the areas of health, education and research, culture, and social care.

The nucleus serves children and adolescents aged 8 to 18 within the Avançar Program – Center for Training and Social Promotion, under the administration of the Santa Casa da Bahia. It provides musical education through orchestral and choral practice. Similarly to the other Nuclei of Musical Practice (NPM), it also establishes and coordinates autonomous orchestral and choral groups, as well as bands and other musical formations, while engaging in community mobilization efforts to promote the dissemination of musical cultures and access to music.

4.3. Adaptive ethos

4.3.1. Prolegomena to a deeper dive

In this subchapter, I will finally approach the pillars and ethos of NEOJIBA. We'll see how the socio-pedagogical project, while feeding on various distinct experiences, managed to shape its own 'spirit', as its members like calling it. As will become apparent, this is mostly due to the fact that they usually seek to learn and communicate with experiences that take very seriously the embeddedness of epistemic processes to territory and lived experiences, constituting a common ground in terms of methodological approach. Accordingly, something fundamental in NEOJIBA's essence, or spirit, is the constant re-situating of foreign concepts, ideas, and experiences to local socio-spatial realities, thereby becoming its own thing.

Assessing the above will require me to finally get to a more thorough exploration of the contents I co-developed in my fieldwork, and thus, from here onwards, I will start referring more systematically to my field notes and interviews. Regarding the latter, instead of giving a preliminary introduction of all the people I talked to, detailing their profiles, and using their trajectories as threads to serve the arguments of this thesis, I will rather use the argumentative logic as a thread, with different personalities 'popping-up' here and there to give life, meaning, and an individuated voice to emerging themes, keeping with the emic approach advocated earlier.

4.3.2. Drinking sources and adaptations towards NEOJIBA's own spirit

As previously said, the roots of NEOJIBA are firmly linked to El Sistema, with its early development involving a significant connection to the renowned Venezuelan

socio-pedagogical project. This is something I always knew about, as people would often refer to it when speaking about NEOJIBA, especially in its early stages. However, I was able to uncover further details in documents and interviews that support this claim. Indeed, when discussing with Ana Júlia Bittencourt, the pedagogical manager I interviewed, she told me about her experience in Venezuela back in 2007, when the project's initial monitors, including her, traveled there to immerse in El Sistema's methodology and principles, in an effort to get inspiration and insights. This journey to "drink from the source", as she put it, provided the foundation upon which NEOJIBA would build its own unique path.

I learnt a great deal about this path at the Pedagogical Seminar week, where different nuclei coordinators, section leaders, and veteran members overall talked about the project's institutional history and the adaptation of what they called its 'spirit' to better fit the participants' needs, the socio-spatial context of the population affected by the program, as well as align with international developments and debates about education, especially in the music domain. Therefore, besides Ana Júlia's interview, what also contributed to retracing this journey were my explorations during the Pedagogical Seminar, notably in my visits to different classrooms, where coordinators and monitors would eventually tell anecdotes about past experiences, such as a classroom situation that had brought to light a specificity that needed to be addressed in a new manner, and that the textbooks and pillars had to be flexed to reach an appropriate solution.

I could mention here two examples that belong to different spheres: the first one concerns the material precarity, especially in terms of musical education structures, which places such as Salvador and the different communities hosting pedagogical nuclei face. One monitor, whose name I could not seize, shared his experience of having to adapt the typical textbook strategies employed in musical education aimed at increasing the concentration of children at the beginning of lessons, due to a series of acoustic, logistical, and organizational issues existing at the nucleus where he taught. A second example concerned the psychosocial context of various members of NEOJIBA. This issue was brought to me by various people, but was more extensively formulated by Dandê Azevedo, a 25-year-old singer and psychology student who integrates NEOJIBA's choir since 2016. During our talk, he recalled an incident where a child with Autism Spectrum Disorder (ASD) had a crisis and became violent, and how it was challenging to deal with the situation because his family did not accept or acknowledge his diagnosis, imputing different reasons to his behavior, and they handled it with violence. He then added that this kind of situation was very recurrent, and that

children were often afraid of any kind of response, to the extent of asking monitors not to contact their families, and refusing to be referred to health professionals by fear of their families finding out. Dandê, together with other colleagues, realizing that their work involves dealing with psychological challenges every day, especially with children who have been separated from their parents due to legal issues, constituted a workgroup tasked with preparing monitors to handle similar situations in the future. This experience, he said, was incredibly revelatory to him, as he realized that "despite its intellectual function, education is an eminently emotional activity, especially for us who have to deal with vulnerable children every day", requiring the educator to be, oftentimes, a friendly shoulder. I will have the opportunity to return to this theme a little later, when discussing the motivations of different NEOJIBA members to attend the project, initially not always linked to receiving musical education.

Continuing this narrative of adaptive approach to education, and the need to flex methods and pillars, José Henrique de Campos, Educational Director of the project, reinforced this idea during his speech at the introduction to the Pedagogical Seminar, saying that "doing what we do, we have to be aware of the human factor", which is always complex and demands a flexibility of rules that needs to be greater the more you deal with vulnerability. It cannot be about the mechanical application of pre-established models, disregarding the individuality and context of the child.

Thus, over the years, even though NEOJIBA has "drank from many sources", not only from Venezuela, but from around the globe thanks to its vast network of collaborators, the team claims that most of what now constitutes their 'way of doing' in the classroom emerged from what they lived in the classrooms and from the association with the communities where their activities take place, privileging embodied knowledge over expert *a priori* knowledge. Supporting this idea, also at the introduction of the Pedagogical Seminar, Ana Júlia emphasized during her speech that a great deal of NEOJIBA's spirit was anchored on the belief that knowledge production should be based on praxis and it should be grassroots.

I also noticed at the seminar the constant mention of the word 'autonomy', from the very first day, and naturally suspected it to be something that strongly characterizes NEOJIBA's approach. Indeed, they later developed the concept, arguing it to be both a 'way' and a 'goal', and a core value to be practiced by everyone in the project. As a 'way', practicing 'autonomy', meant for instance that in the classroom, the learning process should be

bottom-up, that is, the identification of problems and the definition of targets to be reached, and subsequent elaboration of solutions towards those goals, should all come from the students. Moreover, the posterior evaluation and critique of the result obtained should also involve those who actively participated in the creative process. In this setting, instructors and monitors have a supporting role, instead of a central role, intervening only when necessary, to guide reflections not with ready answers, but with appropriate questions. This is how autonomy as practice or 'a way' is encouraged at all levels of organization, decision-making, and creative processes within the program. As a 'goal', autonomy has to do with the effects of practicing such a value, and of taking it to spheres beyond the project. In this sense, autonomy corresponds to achieving emancipation, that is, re-socializing marginalized individuals towards an effective citizenship, able to play an active part in their communities.

Consequently, it was this mantra of 'autonomy', complemented by that of 'auto-critique', that led me to explore the Freirean idea of emancipation through critical pedagogy, in its conception of knowledge as a creative process. Similarly, it led me to the analogue approach practiced at the Vocational Gymnasiums. However, this last experience was more explicitly indicated to me as an influence to NEOJIBA's spirit, as on the second day of the Pedagogical Seminar we watched the documentary film 'Vocacional: uma aventura humana' (Venturi, 2011).

As discussed in the literature review of this thesis, the Vocational Gymnasiums were based on pedagogical models inherited from Europe – a mix of 'vocational' and 'progressive education' traditions – which included a more practical, 'hands-on' curriculum in order to better equip students to the 'reality' of the job market and the professional world in general. In the 60s, this model was brought to the public schooling network of São Paulo but was infused with the revolutionary ideas of educator Maria Nilde Mascellani. In their reformed version, the Vocational Gymnasiums (GVs) had the objective to promote an integration between schools and the territory, with the aim of shaping creative human beings and critical citizens capable of recognizing and transforming the territory where they lived. For this purpose, the GVs were established based on surveys of the cultural and socioeconomic characteristics of the locality. As most of the GVs students came from diverse socio-cultural and economic backgrounds, another goal of the model was to create a space for socialization among different classes, races, and beliefs. Therefore, in their pedagogy based on collaborative problem-solving and engagement with local communities, differents were pushed to negotiate and coexist in community, until reaching common solutions.

Lastly, it also transpired in the documentary film that one of the core beliefs of the Vocational pedagogical model was precisely what Dandê would later tell me: that education, beyond its intellectual function, is an eminently emotional activity. At NEOJIBA, I saw this belief manifested in many classrooms that I visited. Moreover, among those members that I interviewed who already exercised some kind of tutorship or a leadership role, not one missed to mention the importance of the emotional sphere in what they did. As it will become more apparent later when I talk more specifically about the participants' trajectories, an important moment for each member of NEOJIBA in their personal journeys is when they realize how complex their role as educators is, in part due to this emotional dimension.

Before delving into more examples that both show NEOJIBA's diversity of 'drinking sources' and align the project's methodologies with those of the GVs – especially its territorial concern –, I will talk about a document that plays a central role in this adaptive path, updated each year to represent NEOJIBA's spirit, and containing a description of the project's pillars, which, although based on El Sistema's principles, have been reshaped to fit local experiences and realities. Thus, we will have again a parallel with the Vocational case, in that the model's principles were discussed at a Symposium and subsequently compiled in statutes meant to guide the school's governance (refer back to the second chapter). Importantly, this body of core principles will orient NEOJIBA's ethos and constitute its spirit, while giving the necessary space for adaptivity to emerge as general rule.

4.3.3. NEOJIBA's 'Political Pedagogical Project'

Recapitulating, NEOJIBA's primary objective is to foster the development and social integration of children, adolescents, and young adults in situations of social vulnerability through collective musical education and practice. Moreover, their broader societal vision strives to make artistic practice universally accessible, acknowledging its potential for human development. Artistic practice could therefore be paralleled here as one of those Miltosantosian public goods that are essential for a decent life and enrich the community.

To achieve this mission, NEOJIBA has established the Political Pedagogical Project (PPP), a dynamic framework continually evolving through ongoing revisions based on practical in-class experiences and periodical 'social maps', which are surveys that help understand the context and needs of the project's participants. This approach ensures the continuous refinement of principles and values, drawing not only from internal perspectives but also

from current debates in the field of musical education and pedagogy that go beyond national boundaries. Moreover, the PPP outlines NEOJIBA's targets and goals for the upcoming management term, providing accountability for their activities and justifying the allocation of public resources.

At the theoretical basis of this framework that aims to facilitate the achievement of NEOJIBA's missions, are the 5 Fundamental Principles of El Sistema. Those are: social development and musical excellence; musical activity in groups; frequent encounters; non-selective access; and network connectivity.

The first fundamental principle proposes an equitable dialectical relationship between social development and musical excellence, where one reinforces the other and contributes to its achievement. Indeed, it advocates that, by striving for collective musical excellence, participants have to exercise collaboration, discipline, effort, and concentration for the systematic pursuit of their goals, which would have a retroactive effect in their daily lives, expanding those experiences to other social contexts and lived environments. Thus, this would lead them to experience social integration, enriching their lives and relationships beyond the musical realm. In my interviews with members of the program, all of them supported those claims, emphasizing especially the roles of collaboration and discipline in promoting personal growth and positive changes in their social context. I will return to this later on.

The second fundamental principle emphasizes the importance of musical and pedagogical activities, both for orchestral/instrumental and choral formations, to be held in groups. Since the project aims to foster social development and integration, beyond achieving musical excellence, it must be able to integrate social and community experiences with musical practice and education. To accomplish this, they use both a Freirean approach to knowledge production, where everything epistemic-related becomes a collaborative creative process, as explained above, and a maxim according to which one learns by teaching, thereby encouraging members of orchestral and choral formations to be constantly sharing experiences. Thereby, every member, from those less to those more experienced, contributes and exchanges their knowledge respectfully, helping others overcome challenges and learning from one another. Through this cooperative approach, both individual and communal success is achieved, strengthening the bonds within the group and promoting social cohesion. In my discussion with Ana Julia this point was strongly emphasized, as she was one of those few

members of the project who were already trained in classical music, but in the traditional way, as it is practiced in most classical music institutions worldwide, where the pedagogical approach is very different. Therefore, she told me how she was used to a completely different learning environment and approach to knowledge production, more similar to the 'banking model' that Freire talks about, where knowledge is aseptically 'deposited' on the student to be absorbed. Moreover, she remarked that in traditional schools, group activities – to varying degrees according to instrument – are the exception, not the rule, the most time being spent in individual sessions with a professor.

In order to succeed in the principles above, the frequency of practice is essential. Therefore, we have the third principle, which establishes that groups should ideally meet at least three times a week, with each session lasting two to three hours. The more time dedicated to collective musical excellence, the greater the results achieved, musically and socially, thereby increasing the potential impacts of the political pedagogical approach in the participants' lives beyond the project. Moreover, the project believes that the more regular the meetings, the more it helps dilute the individual effort required to overcome group challenges, for instance reducing the stress of preparing high-level musical repertoire, which creates a more enjoyable and stimulating collectivity.

Fourthly, there is the principle of non-selective access to the project, ensuring it remains free and open to all, without any selection process. Thus, individuals are not required to undergo aptitude or musical proficiency tests when enrolling in beginner orchestral and choral formations – there are, however, selection processes for more advanced musical formations, as well as for leadership and mentorship roles. Additionally, the program provides free instruction, instruments, educational materials, transport, and any other necessary support to ensure that musical practice and education are accessible to everyone. Furthermore, while continuation in the program is contingent on factors such as performance, attendance, and discipline, NEOJIBA's social development department (DS) offers varied support platforms to help participants facing difficulties to meet the project's demands and rules. My interviews further revealed that expulsion or withdrawal are extremely rare occurrences, and that the DS usually exhausts all possible solutions to try and keep individuals within the project, as the project's goal is to promote the development and integration of the Bahian youth, which an expulsion would go against.

The fifth and last fundamental principle is network connectivity. It advocates that external motivations play a vital role in fostering excellence and aspiring to higher achievements, and thus encourages participants to move within and beyond the program, applying for exchanges or transfers to different nuclei or musical formations. Concretely, this principle promotes opportunities for participants to engage in various activities – such as rehearsals, performances, seminars, masterclasses, and training – across different nuclei within the project, in different community spaces through inter-institutional collaborations, and also in international exchange and fellowship programs.

4.3.4. Mottos

Reinforcing and complementing the principles above, there are two sayings that NEOJIBA's team turned into their official mottos, as they condense their pedagogical and societal beliefs: "by teaching we learn" inspired by the Latin proverb "docendo discimus" commonly attributed to Seneca the Young; and "the audience's place is on stage". The first motto portrays one of the essential qualities of the pedagogical model practiced at NEOJIBA, consisting of that collaborative process of knowledge production mentioned earlier, wherein, from the earliest possible stages, members are encouraged to learn from each other. It is also with this motto in mind that the monitoring system is structured and implemented.

As for the second motto, it conveys the idea mentioned earlier that artistic practice should and can be universally accessible. On the one hand, this goes against the idea of creating two categories of individuals in the human community: the creative artist on one side, and the passive spectator on the other, which would somehow mirror the state of affairs of privileged, or even exclusive agency of some individuals in the *polis*. Instead, it advocates for a community in which everyone participates in the creative process, artistic or otherwise. Additionally, it sustains that, under suitable external conditions (which NEOJIBA strives to create) – such as an environment where one can concentrate, get guidance, and find regularity, besides of course the material conditions to practice music – anyone is capable of singing or playing an instrument. Therefore, it summarizes their belief that the democratization of access to artistic practice brings benefits to the community beyond the artistic realm.

There is another, unofficial motto that is worth mentioning as I heard its formulation many different times, from many different people. Not far from the motto "the audience's place is

on stage", NEOJIBA's members, even the younger ones, also advocate that: "we are not working for those who are already in the project, but for those who still haven't joined". As I understood it, this was said to reinforce the idea that NEOJIBA's purpose is eminently *poli(s)*tical, in the sense that it concerns not exactly the betterment of individuals who integrate the project, but rather, through their development, that of the community, recognizing the re-socializing power of their activities. Thus, it states a compromise towards the reconnection of marginalized people to parts of the city and dimensions of citizenship from which they have been alienated.

4.4. Activities

4.4.1. Manifested ethos

What I witnessed during the Pedagogical Seminar week, combined with what I later read in the project's official documents and pedagogical materials, such as the PPP, made it quite clear that the theoretical foundations to musical practice and teaching at NEOJIBA were quite extensive, comprising a vast array of references on music pedagogy that support the program's core emphasis: the relationship between excellence in collective musical practice and social development. This was further corroborated by both the series of classes I attended, from which I would always leave with notes on methodological and pedagogical elements that were new to me, and the testimonies that established a relation between these theoretical elements, practice, and impacts beyond the project's premises.

In this subchapter, where the aim is to see the ethos discussed above manifested in the program's activities, I'll skip the more musicological pedagogical elements applied in the classrooms and concentrate on the array of activities that the program offers and how they are divided. Indeed, while collective musical practice and teaching are the main tools used by NEOJIBA to instill values like cooperation, respect, solidarity, and discipline, and to foster socialization among its members, these objectives are not only sought through music. Therefore, after briefly touching upon the project's activities of musical practice and education – addressing orchestral practice, choral practice, and musical initiation –, I will move on to cover activities related to other kinds of training that the program has to offer, including pedagogical and technical training. The latter, for instance, will serve to illustrate the kind of opportunities that NEOJIBA promotes, including diverse pathways into the

musical market of Salvador, a theme that will be further explored in the next chapter. Next, I will delve on NEOJIBA's community involvement through events and collaborations, before concluding with a last section on the services provided by the Social Development department of the program.

4.4.2. Musical practice and education

Musical training and practice at NEOJIBA is generally divided between instrumental practice on one side and choral practice on the other. Regarding instrumental practice, the focus lies primarily on orchestral ensembles of various types, as well as smaller chamber music formations. The program believes that having different music formations is beneficial in that depending on size and heterogeneity of instruments and functions within the group, dynamics change, requiring different capacities from each member. For instance, smaller group practice strengthens personal initiative and responsibility. Larger orchestral participation, on the other hand, is thought to foster discipline in relation to hierarchies, a sense of integration, and mutual support. In orchestras, activities are divided into section rehearsals, family rehearsals (strings, woodwinds, brass, and percussion), and full orchestra rehearsals, with frequency varying depending on the repertoire's preparatory stage and performance dates. A very similar organization is applied to choral singing, configuring teamwork at different scales to incentivize and gauge different capacities. Following a structure akin to instrumentalists in the orchestra, choral rehearsals are divided into sections (sopranos, altos, tenors, and basses), progressively joining together for full choral rehearsals.

Musical initiation is offered to introduce participants to music appreciation and practice during their early stages. Moreover, it functions as a platform allowing children to experiment and decide whether to pursue playing an instrument or singing. The primary target audience for these activities is children aged six to eight years. Lessons are conducted in groups with up to 15 participants, meeting for 2 to 3 hours weekly, depending on the nucleus' possibilities. Beyond learning music, participants also cultivate proper behavior in classrooms and rehearsal environments, and start to familiarize with the philosophy of "docendo discimus", where they learn from and teach their peers and family members about each new piece of knowledge they developed.

4.4.3. Pedagogical and technical trainings

Both instrumental and choral activities are supported by a monitoring system, wherein monitors, who receive more significant scholarships according to the extensity and variety of their functions within the project, supervise group exercises and interactions, take on organizational and administrative tasks, and practice leadership in a broad sense. These monitors – who also integrate the main musical formations of the project, such as the Castro Alves Orchestra and the NEOJIBA Youth Choir – receive special pedagogical and musicological training both within the project, in pedagogical seminars, workshops, and lessons with guest lecturers, and outside the project, in exchange programs and fellowships.

Among the pedagogical initiatives offered within NEOJIBA, there is the Capacity Building Program with Supervised Monitoring (PROMS), which provides training to members of the main musical formations aged up to 25 (or 27, depending on the musical formation) years, focusing on pedagogical workshops supervised by the NEOJIBA team. Moreover, there is the Musicians as Multiplicators Project (Promulti), which fosters solidarity and entrepreneurship among young musicians by planning and executing collective artistic practices in selected institutions. Then, we also have the Capacity Building Program in Collective Musical Practice and Teaching (PROCEC), which involves 40 young musicians per term in projects related to collective musical practice, providing in-person training, remote guidance, and scholarships. Finally, NEOJIBA also hosts the annual Pedagogical Seminars for its team, featuring specific workshops, courses, and expert lectures on essential contemporary topics in education, especially in the music sphere.

The other type of training programs provided by NEOJIBA focuses on technical skills related to the musical and socio-educational activities developed in the project, encompassing areas such as instrument crafting and repair (lutherie), stage and event production, and physical and digital archiving. This specialized training equips selected scholarship recipients, who undergo a rigorous selection process, with the skills needed to integrate into the music market workforce, both within and beyond Salvador. While some of their training takes place within the premises of the social project, many participants have the opportunity to learn abroad. This occurs through exchanges or, in the case of event and stage production, during international tours where they accompany the main orchestra in some of the world's most prestigious concert halls and have the opportunity to work with local teams, learning from the very best in the field.

4.4.4. Community engagement and socio-spatial integration

As mentioned earlier, NEOJIBA places significant emphasis on fostering collaboration and active community engagement across its various nuclei. This approach is rooted in the belief that encouraging such interaction is vital for the integration of the project's activities in each community's socio-spatial context, as well as for the holistic development of project participants as it encourages citizenship. Therefore, in this section, I will illustrate the diverse array of events and collaborations that NEOJIBA promotes, drawing from the data I collected during my visits to the NEOJIBA Central Nucleus, the CESA-Simões Filho Nucleus, and the Bairro da Paz Nucleus, including insights gathered in the interviews conducted with the nuclei's members.

For this purpose, I will provide three specific examples of initiatives from the NEOJIBA Central Nucleus (NCN), as well as one example from each of the other two nuclei, to offer insights into the range of activities developed to foster community involvement. It's crucial to note that these showcased instances, while illustrative, do not represent the full spectrum of community-oriented endeavors undertaken by NEOJIBA.

In relation to the initiatives led by the NCN, I can start by delving into a collaborative effort that was shared with me by Ana Júlia Bittencourt, the project's pedagogical manager. It concerns a collaboration between NEOJIBA and the FUNDAC, the state's Foundation for Children and Adolescents, which operates a socio-educational center catering to young individuals deprived of liberty. As she told me, in the early stages of NEOJIBA, their primary musical ensemble performed at one of FUNDAC's units in Simões Filho, and it was an undisputed success. However, due to challenges faced in coordinating schedules and adhering to rigorous safety protocols, this collaboration went dormant until last year, in 2022, when it was revived. In this more recent engagement, Ana Júlia led the activities, and contrary to the prior instance, this time it was the FUNDAC who was invited to visit the NCN. This allowed them not only to spectate musical performances but also to partake in musico-pedagogical experiences. Lastly, Ana Júlia suggested that, moving forward, the plan is to sustain and expand the program, enhancing the mutual exchange. Among the proposed enhancements is the support in maintaining or repairing any instruments owned by the youth under FUNDAC's care. Ana Júlia even highlighted the potential for a more formal partnership with specific objectives, while maintaining a focus on the safety and privacy of all participants.

A second example of initiative mentioned by Ana Júlia that opens-up the NCN to other publics is the weekly 'Sarau da Arca', which consists of an open-stage for any kind of artistic performance held at the NCN's 'Arca de NEO' (for NEO-JIBA), a wordplay with the biblical Noah's Ark (in portuguese 'Arca de Noé'). Since its opening, the stage has become a new cultural space in Salvador, open to all members of the program, the local community, and the city as a whole. In addition to Ana Júlia, Eliel Reuel dos Santos Sena also highlighted the significance of this event. Eliel, who is 19 years old and a monitor at NEOJIBA, discussed how events like the 'Sarau da Arca' and others play a crucial role in attracting a diverse audience to the nucleus, as they offer a more varied repertoire and are open for participation by anyone, making it also a platform for divulging one's art and networking.

A final notable instance of such initiatives at the NCN, also informed by Ana Júlia, would be the 'Promulti' project, previously mentioned, which involved participants going to different locations across the city to engage with an audience not necessarily composed of musicians but individuals willing to be co-creators of artistic activities. In these interactions, collaborative artistic endeavors were forged, resulting in a diverse range of creative ideas and artistic outcomes.

Turning our focus to the CESA-Simões Filho Nucleus, a noteworthy facet of community involvement I would like to raise attention to has to do with the very setup and context of the nucleus. As mentioned earlier, this nucleus operates within the premises of the Santo Antônio Educational Center (which is what 'CESA' stands for), overseen by the Sister Dulce Social Works (OSID). Within this educational complex – which accommodates not only NEOJIBA but also a public school and other institutions affiliated with the OSID – besides operating one of its NPM nuclei, NEOJIBA also collaborates closely with the local public school. For instance, NEOJIBA provides musical initiation classes to students attending the public school. This collaborative synergy has created an integrated ecosystem within CESA, where each institution benefits from various partnerships. Accordingly, many of the NEOJIBA members attending this nucleus are also students at the local school, with their involvement often initiated through musical introduction classes or by participating in open events in local public spaces.

Finally, transitioning to the Bairro da Paz Nucleus, an example of initiative fostering community engagement and promoting socio-spatial integration and awareness among NEOJIBA participants and local community is found in their recurring 'Music Fairs'

initiative. This was mentioned to me both by Eliel Santana, already introduced previously, and by Saíde Gustavo, a 15-year-old member of the Bairro da Paz nucleus. Eliel, for example, highlighted that these music fairs, festivals, and other performances are collaboratively organized with local schools and other institutions. He explained that these interactions have become so significant and successful that he would often arrive at the nucleus ready to teach, only to find his students absent from the classrooms, gathered instead in the local square where performances were ongoing. He recounted,

> "I arrived to teach, and apparently, the festival hadn't ended yet (even if it was past the planned time). So, I had no choice but to stay there in the square, watching the festival, waiting for the students to return to school so I could begin the class. Of course I was enjoying it too. But as you can see, there truly is this very significant interaction."

Saíde, on the other hand, provided me with more intricate insights into the events held at the nucleus. These occasions encompassed not just open concerts, but also exhibitions and workshops conducted in collaboration with local schools. The primary objective was to share and produce knowledge with the community, particularly among children. A significant emphasis was placed on the cultural and historical dimensions of various music genres. Saíde recounted a specific year when the Music Fair's theme revolved around 'samba' and its significance in Brazilian history:

> "We created a model, printed images, texts – we made it like a museum, explaining everything about samba, and each member had to participate in some way, presenting a little something. We also held a street workshop, a samba circle with percussion. And this had a significant impact within Bairro da Paz, in the community. Because many people, surprisingly, didn't know much about samba. So every year we have this music fair with a different theme, and we prepare a lot for it, you know?"

When I inquired further into the contents of this particular fair, Saíde told me the story of Tia Ciata, a samba artist and 'mãe-de-Santo' of the Candomblé, a widely practiced local syncretic religion which was censored for over a century. He recounted how she established an underground samba center in the early 20th century, providing a safe haven for people to come together to dance and make music without the fear of arrest. This and other narratives, he explained, were employed to contextualize a crucial part of the country's cultural heritage – often unknown to many due to a certain erasure phenomenon –, that is, the participation of marginalized populations and cultures in its making. Saíde recounted how numerous individuals got emotional as they recognized their own typically marginalized ethnic or cultural elements in Brazil's most celebrated musical genre.

Further illustrating this point, he shared an anecdote about a street child who visited their exhibition and questioned:

> ""What does samba have to do with this project? You're not even playing, you're just telling stories. You don't play samba." After he went through all the rooms and discovered how Brazilian literature was intertwined with samba, the books written during that era, the key elements of samba, the composers, its origins, how it reached Bahia, the instruments involved, why those specific instruments, the sound of each one, and so on, he began to grasp the connection with what we do much better."

4.4.5. Social development

As mentioned earlier, one of my interviewees was Silvana Santos, a member of NEOJIBA's Social Development (DS) department. With a background in social work and a postgraduate degree in organizational psychology, Silvana has been part of the DS team for six years. Her prior experience spans more than two decades of working in the same field, including roles in various private companies and government programs within the education sector. Despite her extensive experience with children, young adults, and families, Silvana emphasized throughout our conversation that each context brings forth new demands and challenges.

During our interview, Silvana provided insights into the operations of NEOJIBA's DS and shared her personal experiences from working there. She delved into the primary issues they address and the typical trajectories of the program's participants. Thus, in the present section, I present Silvana's detailed explanation of the DS approach and activities, supplemented by activity reports she provided to me.

The project's Social Development department, comprised of professionals in social work and psychology, has the mission of providing individualized and group support to participants and their families. Indeed, as Silvana emphasized more than once, members are not seen as isolated individuals, but as part of a broader context, including their families and the communities they live in. As such, the DS' activities consist of the organization of thematic talks and workshops, and individual, group, and family consultations, followed by interventions and referrals involving volunteers and public and private sector partners to provide social, educational, and healthcare assistance. For instance, in the healthcare sphere, the project has partnerships with institutions that offer services such as dental care, ophthalmology, and psychological care, the last one representing by far the most demanded

care, as per Silvana's testimony and the DS' reports. In fact, she talked extensively about the significant psychological demands of working with NEOJIBA members, many of whom come from difficult backgrounds and have emotional issues strongly influenced by their socioeconomic condition.

In their approach, multiple intervention strategies like interviews, home visits, and telephone communication are employed to ensure continued and comprehensive assistance. Additionally, the sector utilizes an annual 'social map' to assess the different ethnic, religious, and socio-economic situations of participants' families, which also helps identifying vulnerabilities. Indeed, this comprehensive approach – which involves dialogue, active listening, interpretation, and analysis to understand diverse psycho-social realities – provides a basis from which to organize their activities, which vary according to the profile of the communities served by each specific nucleus, taking their specific needs into account.

Moreover, the sector maintains close monitoring of all participants who are still undergoing compulsory schooling, emphasizing the significance of education in their intellectual, social, and personal growth. The main objective of this monitoring is to reflect on the students' performance and enable the integration of the educational activities conducted by NEOJIBA with those offered by the school. The monitoring process takes place twice a year. At the beginning of each year, the project requests proof of school enrollment from the students. In the second semester, they review the students' report cards and conduct qualitative assessments. This monitoring and evaluation process serves as a means to intervene with the families of the students, aiming to prevent potential academic setbacks and emphasize the importance of academic performance in their lives, especially in relation to future projects and aspirations.

Additionally, the Social Development department of NEOJIBA offers crucial social and professional guidance to participants and families who are close to being disconnected from the program due to its age limit. Importantly, the approach taken is contextual and avoids any one-size-fits-all solutions, taking into account the unique circumstances of each young adult and their family. Through interviews and organized activities, the department seeks to foster reflections on various aspects of life planning, such as identifying individual potentials, promoting self-discovery, uncovering interests and passions, and ultimately developing a personalized strategy to achieve their goals. An important part of those activities that aim at preparing members for their futures outside of the program is indeed the discussion of

different aspects of citizenship. Accordingly, every quarter, the DS plans a number of citizenship actions in each nucleus of the program, covering for instance cultural and religious representativity, family relations, education, work, technology use and abuse, and the state's social welfare system and services to which they have a right to access. At this point, Silvana reminded me that NEOJIBA really is not a music school, and that its goal as a project is not to prepare young musicians for a career in music, even though many of them successfully pursue this path.

Finally, although the department's work is guided by NEOJIBA's quarterly goals, which are centered on developing and implementing actions and activities to support the members' growth and development, the team also has to meet the objectives set by the government. For instance, one of the primary goals is the inclusion of families in the government's unified registry, which many families residing in informal settlements have difficulty integrating and yet provides access to various social benefits.

4.5. How is it a 'fixo'? A transition towards personal narratives

In this chapter, my efforts have been directed toward establishing a connection between NEOJIBA's experiences and the framework of Miltosantosian 'fixos', understood as urban apparatuses providing goods and services for the public welfare, including socializing tools contributing to citizens with increased 'consciousness' (Santos 2007[1987], 83-84), that is, increasingly aware of the culture-territory relation and of their potential to participate in the making of their surroundings. Indeed, it was especially in that socio-cultural and epistemico-political regard that Santos claimed that these urban apparatuses possess the capacity to promote social and territorial equity, thereby contributing to the realization of a just city, as they are able to promote (when properly oriented) a kind of citizenship that is engaged towards the community.

Accordingly, I am striving to convey that the NEOJIBA project, akin to the efforts of the Vocational Gymnasiums in their time, can also be perceived as serving a similar purpose. As has been illustrated above, NEOJIBA has created a space that, besides granting unconditional and free access to the collective practice of art in a specific learning environment oriented towards community and collaboration, offers also many social benefits. Notably, its services, facilitated through the DS, training programs, partnerships, exchanges, among other

initiatives, provide both a wide array of social goods and services that are essential for a decent life in the city and experiences that act on the quality of citizenship as perceived by the project's participants.

In the forthcoming chapter, my attention will turn towards a more comprehensive analysis of how the aforementioned apparatus 'acts on the quality of citizenship', contributing to an increased 'consciousness', and explore the political implications of this increased awareness, notably on individuals' ability to actively engage and influence their lived environments. To do that, I will assess the tangible impacts of this apparatus on the lives of NEOJIBA's members, by tracing their evolution from the point of joining the socio-pedagogical program to the present day. This analysis will explore their evolving motivations, relationship with the project, future aspirations, and more. In doing so, I hope to reach the core debates of my research questions, which have emerged from my interlocutors' reflections on the connections between their experiences within the project and their broader lives and agency in the world.

5. The path of the NEOJIBA member

5.1. Unlocking dimensions

Given that I've been trying to conceptualize NEOJIBA as a space that promotes a specific kind of socialization – one that would unlock a certain quality of citizenship – through its pedagogical approach, activities, and services provided, it is expected that its members' relation to the project, their perceptions of it, and of their lives beyond it, go through changes. It is also expected that these changes support the framework I've been establishing so far. This chapter assesses precisely that.

First, I want to talk about different members' moments of joining the program, exploring the varied motivations that lead Salvador's young urban dwellers to join the project. Additionally, I will comment along the way, occasionally establishing links with the literature review, at first especially with the literature on camps and urbanization, which will aid me in conceptualizing NEOJIBA as a hub of opportunities attracting varied profiles, a place where people may access different kinds of resources: financial, medical, material, social, cultural.

Moving forward, I will touch upon the most significant experiences they had in the project as reported by them, unveiling what these experiences meant to them, what they awakened in them in terms of interests, beliefs, aspirations. In brief, I will analyze how these experiences shaped them. This will slowly lead me to a reflection on how their being in the project, participating in its activities, implied a certain process of internalization of its values and beliefs. In other words, I will already be talking about how the members of NEOJIBA internalize the project's ethos.

As will become apparent, the longer they remain in the project and the more they have the chance to experience its varied dimensions, the more they will appropriate its values. They increasingly 'wear the shirt'. In fact, it reaches a point where there is a shift from a relationship of only 'benefiting' from the goods and services provided, to one of being a part of this apparatus, this platform that gives access to many resources, thus inaugurating a process of 'giving back', sharing knowledge, contributing to the community. In this second moment, therefore, NEOJIBA will fully manifest as 'fixo', a place where people may not only access social goods and services, but also a positive socialization contributing to individuals with increased 'civic consciousness', engaged with the community, aware of their

transformative potential. It is at this stage that NEOJIBA unlocks its political dimension, attaining its full potential and ultimate goal of social development and integration.

This will bring me to discuss NEOJIBA's social purpose, its mission. At this point, I will talk again about its core political-pedagogical beliefs, this time through the participants' voices, as they expressed it. Towards the end, I will reflect on how these aspects all resonate with the mission of de-alienation preached by Milton Santos and Paulo Freire – to give confidence to alienated individuals to participate in creativity, that is, to take part in the making of their own worlds. To those authors, this is achieved by cultivating a certain kind of consciousness, by rendering them aware of the dialogue between culture and territory, representation and reality, knowledge and power.

I must precise, before getting into all the above, that, in treating these different topics, I shall not speak about every single interviewee's testimony about it, since many insights repeat one another. In those cases where experiences and opinions coincide, I will only approach one or two examples, and in the latter case only if it makes sense and enriches the analysis. However, this will not prevent me from integrating each and every interviewee's voice into this research.

Moreover, in the final section of this chapter, to finalize the discussion on NEOJIBA's socio-political purpose, I will utilize, beyond my interviews, my annotations from a conducting class I attended during the Pedagogical Seminar week, which struck me deeply as it communicated intimately with the main themes of this thesis. As such, I will in due time cite the words of Marcos Rangel, Conducting and Musical Advisor at the project, about this process of de-alienation, and education's role in that process.

5.2. Wearing the shirt

5.2.1. The moment of joining the project

Perhaps it's fitting to begin with the story of Ana Júlia Bittencourt, given that she was my initial interviewee and is one of the project's founding members. In line with my approach in all other interviews, my opening questions centered on her name, age, occupations both within and outside the project, and any additional reflections she wished to share about herself. Subsequently, I guided the conversation towards her recollections of when she

initially became involved in the project, her life circumstances during that period, and the factors that motivated her decision to join NEOJIBA.

Ana Júlia is the daughter of a music professor and started practicing the flute from a very early age, placing her among those members of the NEOJIBA project to whom music has been an integral part of their lives. When discussing her decision to become a part of the program, she reflected on her experiences during her penultimate year pursuing a Music degree at the Federal University of Bahia in 2006. During this time, she confronted an existential crisis, questioning the worth of dedicating her time to classical symphonic music as opposed to popular music, more locally valued, and which promised her greater chances in the local music job market. Therefore, concerned about her prospects of securing a job in Salvador, she contemplated pursuing an alternative degree.

Nonetheless, a professor encouraged her to complete her current degree, as she was already nearing its end, while she explored other options. This advice turned out to be sound, as the opportunity to join NEOJIBA emerged towards the end of 2007, when the project was found and just as she was on the verge of finishing her degree. She was 21 then. This timely development presented her with the chance to participate in an orchestra and professionally engage with classical symphonic music – a pursuit she initially desired but which had been lacking in opportunities in Salvador up until that point. Although Ana Júlia initially regarded NEOJIBA as primarily a means to continue her involvement in orchestral music, focusing on its musical aspect, she gradually became engaged in its socio-pedagogical dimensions. After all, she's been in the project to this day, and now acts as its pedagogical manager at the NCN. This, however, is a topic to be discussed later on.

Another narrative that shares a similar motivation for joining the project is that of Raphael de Souza Elias. Raphael hails from the city of Campos dos Goytacazes in the state of Rio de Janeiro. He was introduced to music at the age of 10 when he joined a socio-pedagogical project in his hometown, also inspired by El Sistema. From the moment he became a part of that project, he realized that creating and sharing music was his lifelong passion. However, as he approached the age of leaving school and pursuing a career, the project encountered severe budget cuts, greatly limiting its scope of operation. This situation made him realize that he wouldn't be able to continue his desired musical journey there – to continue improving his musical skills and evolving as a professional. Moreover, moving to Rio de Janeiro's capital wasn't feasible either due to his family's financial situation. He recounted:

> "I had already finished high school, that is, I was about to enter college, and then, initially, since I didn't have an option in music, I started studying psychology [...] But in my heart, I knew, 'you're a musician, man… you can use psychology as a second option, indeed, and it adds a lot to your work as a musician and as a person, but what you want to do is music.'"

During this period of uncertainty, he reached out to Marcos Rangel, a friend who hailed from the same city and project as him and was already involved with NEOJIBA. Raphael inquired about the project's status, how things were progressing, and about the possibility of joining.

> "So I thought about auditioning for NEOJIBA and studying music at the university in Bahia. And everything worked out because I took the entry exam for NEOJIBA and was accepted. The week after, the entrance exam for the UFBA (Federal University of Bahia) also opened, and I also took it and was accepted."

Summing up his reasons for joining the project, he added:

> "Basically, that's how I arrived in Salvador. I was seeking alternatives to do what I wanted, and I thought that here would be a place that would provide me with the things I love to do: playing with excellence, being able to share – I adore teaching, imparting knowledge to others, which is also essential to me – so it was the place where I found a union of the things I enjoy most and the opportunities I was seeking."

This is how he became a part of the project in 2017, at the age of 19, and has remained committed to it ever since. Presently, he is a member of the program's main orchestral ensemble as a trumpeter and acts as monitor in various nuclei of the project, but especially at the NCN. Despite completing his university studies last year, he has for now decided to stay in Bahia and continue his journey with NEOJIBA.

Before delving into other narratives that offer diverse motivations for joining the project, I'd like to reflect on these initial two stories, which share certain commonalities in terms of their motivations. These two cases highlight a recurring theme: the difficulty to integrate the job market for classical symphonic music, in two different Brazilian contexts, and how in that scenery, for both Ana Júlia and Raphael, NEOJIBA symbolized an avenue to pursue the professional careers they had initially intended. In Ana Júlia's case, even though the pedagogical facet – which is omnipresent at NEOJIBA – wasn't initially part of her envisioned professional journey, it eventually became an integral aspect. For Raphael, on the other hand, the project offered a comprehensive package that aligned perfectly with his vocational and life ambitions, encompassing both orchestral participation and educational activities.

Accordingly, the cases above start to bring us back to the analytical framework of camps in urban studies, wherein camps often constitute a platform for accessing different sorts of resources, from more to less essential services and goods, that urban dwellers couldn't access elsewhere in the city. To Ana Júlia and Raphael, therefore, NEOJIBA constituted an option (Jansen 2015) at the moment of joining the project, more specifically a professional option, in a scenery of lacking opportunities. Similarly, the cases below will showcase the different options that NEOJIBA has signified at this stage in the trajectory of different members.

Offering a different motivation to join NEOJIBA, I also spoke with Sérgio, a 15-year-old resident of Simões Filho, a municipality that is part of Salvador's metropolitan region. He is enrolled at the CESA-Simões Filho nucleus and concurrently attends the public school situated within the CESA complex. He entered the project in 2021, when he was 13 years old. Recollecting about why he decided to join NEOJIBA, he indicated that it was actually his mother – who was employed at the CESA school at the time – who had discovered an available spot and encouraged him to apply:

> "One day I was lying in bed, in the afternoon, not really doing anything, didn't have much to do, and then my mom called me and said, 'Hey Sergio, there's a spot available at NEOJIBA, do you want me to sign you up?' So, I said sure."

To this day, he continues to emphasize that beyond his involvement with NEOJIBA, there aren't many other activities he engages in, apart from attending church. Reflecting on the broader context of youth in the two communities where his divorced parents reside, he added:

> "I didn't really have much to do in the afternoons, you know, and there are many young people who unfortunately don't have much to do and end up getting into the wrong things, you know."

As a result, his entire day is spent at CESA, as both his school and NEOJIBA are there. He recounted how on certain occasions he and his friends would remain there until the security guards closed the gates. On the day of my visit to the CESA nucleus, for instance, I observed his presence from 8 in the morning, when I arrived, until 5 in the afternoon, when I departed. I don't know when he left.

Before proceeding to the next story, I would like to include a comment made by Silvana Santos, the agent from the Social Development department of NEOJIBA with whom I had a conversation. Her insight aligns with the experiences discussed above, touching upon both the issue of criminality and the phenomenon of members spending their entire day in the project's nuclei:

"I don't know about you, but maybe you're not familiar with some neighborhoods here in Salvador where NEOJIBA is present and what opportunities these boys and their families would have if it weren't for a program like this. They are almost, really, pushed towards a life of criminality because that's what surrounds them… you see other young people in the same age group, often their friends – because they tell me – who didn't have the same opportunity and are often involved in criminal activities, or they are no longer alive because they didn't have any kind of opportunity… In the nuclei, the kids who are there I think they realize this, so much that you practically have to tell the kids, 'Hey, we're closing the space here! You can't stay here anymore!' ... In Nordeste de Amaralina for instance, I used to leave because the community center has a closing time. It was 5 PM, the security guard would go to the rooms and ask the boys to leave. I would leave and the boys wouldn't. They would still be there at the entrance afterward. 'Hey, aren't you going home?', I would ask."

Throughout our conversation, she emphasized how numerous children and adolescents view NEOJIBA's nuclei as a refuge from violent family environments and challenging realities, and would therefore resist, on a daily basis, going back home. This portrayal, therefore, configures NEOJIBA not merely as an entity that fills the void frequently occupied by criminal activity and violence, but also as a sanctuary, a safe space for youths who have to endure rough situations in their households and/or communities. It is a haven where they find security, care, attention, affection, opportunities for social interaction, and meals – a core motivation for a significant portion of the members, as attested by some testimonies.

The above resonates with the case of Ana Beatriz Souza, 21, who joined NEOJIBA in 2018 and has just started acting as a monitor in the CESA-Simões Filho nucleus. She has also just integrated the Orquestra Castro Alves, one of the main ensembles within the project. Besides NEOJIBA, she studies Accounting at the university, but has recently temporarily halted her studies due to the new functions she acquired at NEOJIBA. Originating from the Nordeste de Amaralina neighborhood, Ana Beatriz reflected on her situation over five years ago, when she encountered a lack of engagement in her community. She noted, "there is nothing to do there, and since it's a marginalized community, youth often get drawn into marginal activities." Motivated by her sister's involvement in the 'Estrelas Musicais' project, which similarly employs music for social development, Ana decided to join too. Shortly thereafter, both sisters transitioned to NEOJIBA. Ana underlined that this circumstance is a primary catalyst for families desiring to enroll their children in the project within her community. She highlighted, "it occupies the time of the youth […] with something that enriches their lives in many senses, at the same time that it protects them from risky activities."

The stories of professional opportunity and of access to a safe space for personal development, as illustrated in the four cases above, coupled with the access to social, educational, economical, medical, and other resources, lead many families in Salvador and throughout Bahia to aspire for their children's involvement in NEOJIBA. They provide a glimpse of how NEOJIBA has garnered widespread popularity in diverse communities throughout the state. About this popularity, Ana Beatriz further remarked:

> "Actually, if people see you with the NEOJIBA shirt in public transportation, anywhere in Salvador, they recognize it and sometimes they come talk to you. You can see that they are interested. Of course, they are not only impacted by the opportunities the project represents, but also by what we accomplish, both in terms of performances that they attend and find beautiful, and the personal developments of the youth they know who integrate the project."

This is just a glimpse of the attractiveness to local communities of the comprehensive social services and goods that the youth who integrate the project gain access to, some of which were already introduced in the previous chapter, but are here reinforced with personal narratives. As such, those resources, which include a scholarship system wherein stipends amplify according to the amount and degree of responsibility of functions accumulated, such as monitorship, young leadership, coordination, and administration, and to the musical ensemble you integrate – and which in some cases may constitute a household's primary source of income – contribute to configuring NEOJIBA as an important local urban hub concentrating both opportunities and resources upon which the Bahian youth can capitalize. For some, it provides a propulsive platform towards professions with limited presence and recognition in the local job market. For others, it stands as an avenue for accessing basic necessities, or as a refuge from challenging living conditions.

To conclude this section, I'd like to present two more stories that further illustrate how joining NEOJIBA is often motivated by a certain social network phenomenon, greatly impacted by the popularity that the project has been cultivating in various communities in Bahia, especially where its nuclei are present. This was the case for both Saíde Gustavo, from the Bairro da Paz nucleus, and Rosilanda Sena, from the Central Nucleus. Saíde, who is 15 years old, became part of NEOJIBA in 2017, initially joining the community choir in his neighborhood, Bairro da Paz. After a couple of years in the choir, he successfully passed the entrance exam for playing the clarinet, the instrument he had always wanted to master. He shared that his inspiration to join stemmed from his sister's involvement with the project since 2013, playing the Oboé. Saíde not only found her playing beautiful but also witnessed

her personal growth, which motivated him to join as well. Apart from NEOJIBA, Saíde is actively engaged in his school, where he participates in projects that focus on rediscovering Amerindian and African cultural heritages, aiming to revisit Brazilian history through these lenses. Recently, he was awarded a scholarship linked to these projects, leading him to Portugal to further develop these endeavors in collaboration with youth from many countries having experienced Portuguese colonization. Prior to joining NEOJIBA, he confessed to spending his days doing nothing, "causing trouble for my family and playing football in the streets."

Rosilanda, 27, is part of NEOJIBA's Youth Choir, currently in her final year within the project due to its age limit. She joined the project in 2013, at 17 years old, because she grew closer to a school friend who had been involved with NEOJIBA since its foundation. The positive feedback she heard about the program, as well as the development she witnessed in her friend, awakened her interest. Additionally, her brother's decision to join the project added to her motivation to apply. In 2012, she applied to play the flute but failed the entry test for one of the orchestras. However, the following year, she found her place in the community choir and since then she has been involved with the project's choirs. Beyond her involvement with NEOJIBA, Rosilanda is in her final year of studying Pedagogy at the university.

5.2.2. Transformative experiences: new values, skills, and future prospects

The moment of joining an institution holds a significant and distinct meaning for each new member. Moreover, becoming a part of something involves a transition marked by a ceremony, encompassing rituals, symbols, and other elements that denote the shift in an individual's status from a non-member to a member. Receiving a uniform is one such ritualistic element, a pivotal aspect commonly found in various institutions such as schools and the military.

Within NEOJIBA, it is not any different. Upon joining the project, each member receives and wears the organization's shirt, bearing its logo. And as testified further above by Ana Beatriz, the shirt actually becomes the most immediate sign of one's affiliation with the project, the one that people now easily identify in public spaces and transportation. In this sense, NEOJIBA's shirt serves as a distinct symbol of integration into the project.

However, as we delve deeper into this section of the chapter, the concept of 'wearing the shirt' will evolve in significance. Indeed, as members navigate through the project, undergoing experiences that shape their identity and immerse them in its ethos, this phrase will gather greater meaning and importance, increasingly relating to the identity-bestowing concept Michel Agier elaborates on. It will reach a point where 'wearing the shirt' denotes being engaged towards the socio-political goals of the project, and not just being a part of and benefiting from it.

Therefore, while in the initial phase of each member's stories's timeline told above we could only relate to Jansen's analytical framework to describe their initial (rather egoistical in terms of motivations) relationship with the project, we may now start drawing from Agier's conceptual framework to understand how this relationship between members and the project evolved based on the experiences they encountered within it. Accordingly, I now delve into discourses that configure NEOJIBA as 'camp', in Agier's terms, in as much as it is able transform and produce new identities, determining the scope of action of its dwellers and conditioning their relationship with what surrounds them, including with the project.

Before moving on, to better situate the reader within the 'political economy' (Gaydon et al. 2020, 246) of this thesis, I care to note that the emancipatory potential of NEOJIBA as narrated up to this point is still equivalent to that of the average humanitarian camp. It represents an access point for various goods and services, yes, but according to Agier still falls short on promoting true citizenship, because still lacking a political activation (*cf. supra* lit. review section 2.4). However, as we progress below in the timelines of each story, we will increasingly move towards the activation of this political dimension.

During my interview with Ana Júlia Bittencourt, NEOJIBA's pedagogical manager, we also delved into the usual experiences that project members undergo upon joining. With 16 years of involvement and now managing the pedagogical department, Ana possesses an encompassing perspective as well as an ongoing awareness of how some experiences promoted by the project provoke transformations within participants. Unsurprisingly, in our conversation, she focused greatly on classroom experiences, which according to her, comprise a blend of socialization instances, ranging from the demand of proper greetings, a respectful way of addressing people, personal hygiene, and other norms, to conformity with a collaborative approach to teaching, where they are expected a greater degree of autonomy to what they are used. "They are exposed to a whole new educational model, where they are

demanded much more in terms of personal initiative and collaborative dynamics[…] besides of course the ever present concern for community engagement required in the outcomes of each project they design", she shared. Talking about her own experience, Ana Júlia said that it was actually this 'new classroom' that represented the most significant experience for her:

> "When the first pedagogical units opened, I was already a monitor and we had to start everything from scratch. Now we have put something together and we have methods and a frame, but at the beginning it was very experimental. There was no PPP, no seminar. It was really tough, but it was also the most rewarding experience to be a part of this process, of the trials and errors, etc. That's what really shaped the educator and leader I am today. And that's what opened my eyes to pedagogy, whereas at the beginning, when I joined, I had mostly the project's musical aspect in mind."

In the cases of both Ana Beatriz and Sérgio, of the CESA-Simões Filho nucleus, it was also the classroom dynamic which transformed their perception. Ana Beatriz shared:

> "With this whole 'by teaching we learn' philosophy I realized that we can do a lot with very little. Every little thing that you learn, you are already encouraged to 'pass it on' to your colleague who might not know it. I take this for my life outside the project too[…] Especially now that I am a 'multiplier' [another way of referring to monitors], I am more aware of [this educational model's] impact beyond music: discipline, responsibility, posture, and other benefits that the collective practice of music, together with teaching, bring."

Sérgio, testifying something very similar to the above, added that "those are the things that I am actually taking with me for life. That's what opened my horizons, you know?".

Continuing on this aspect of the project, I had the privilege of conversing with Rita, the mother of Maria de Fátima, a member of NEOJIBA. Rita had come to pick up her daughter and was waiting for her to finish the rehearsal outside in the garden of Parque do Queimado. I took the opportunity to approach her for an informal chat to gather her thoughts on the project and its impact on her daughter. She stressed that the project's role extended far beyond training musicians for excellence; more importantly, it was shaping responsible, disciplined, and nonconformist citizens who were "against the status quo". In her words, "they get a new perspective… it's like they realize they can react to the difficulties and injustices that they face in their lives".

Delving deeper particularly into the topic of discipline, Raphael de Souza Elias, who was introduced earlier, elaborated in detail on how this value became deeply ingrained in his daily life:

"The teaching of music, especially in programs inspired by El Sistema, is based on several pillars. One of these pillars, for example, is 'frequent meetings', and whether we want it or not, this creates discipline – the need to go there every day, the need to study every day. This started instilling discipline in me. In fact, when I was still a kid in the other project, there was a point when I was so disciplined with music that I started neglecting other things. My mother even once forbade me from going to my music class. She said, 'Look, music is important, something you enjoy doing, but regular school is important too.' So, I had to find a balance, which led me to develop more responsibility as well. Music became an added responsibility that I created for myself. I wanted to study music and had to manage it in a way that wouldn't harm my regular schooling. I had to do both things well. So I learned to manage my time by myself for the first time in my life. Because as a child, we don't have much of that, right? We do what our parents tell us to do. My mother said that in a short time of me studying music, she noticed that I had developed this habit unconsciously – 'oh, now it's time to do this, now it's time to do that', etc."

Transitioning to testimonies that delve more specifically into how the project's experiences have influenced members' professional growth or prompted shifts in their professional trajectories, sparking interests in new directions – as exemplified by Ana Júlia's case, who discovered her pedagogical vocation through the project – I will begin with my interview with Dandê Azevedo, a 25-year-old who joined NEOJIBA's choir in 2016. For him, the impetus to join the program stemmed primarily from his passion for music and singing. At the time of his enrollment, he was already part of the military school's choir, but he emphasized that it was at NEOJIBA, where he had to undergo an audition process and where he was given a stage to perform, that he truly recognized his talent and potential in this field. However, this strictly musical motivation to be in the project would evolve over time, as Dandê found in the project, especially after becoming a monitor, a platform to combine his activities as educator with another of his passions, Psychology, which he studies at the university. Reflecting on how the project's experiences have contributed to his personal and professional growth, he shared:

"NEOJIBA itself provides experiences in the form of new situations that pop-up constantly. The issue of people with disabilities, for instance, started to receive more attention last year… After I faced a few situations in the classroom that I had to solve without proper preparation, I realized, 'there are more people who need this kind of attention.' So, I remember initiating with two other colleagues, both acting in psychology and musicotherapy, a study group to analyze the cases we have here. We began to establish a frame within NEOJIBA regarding these studies on how to handle such situations.[...] We are encouraged here to have this kind of initiative."

Concluding on his new-found motivation to remain in the project, based on this opportunity to link both his passions through pedagogy, which to him provides great added value for the professional realms he aims to explore, Dandê added:

> "Being in this social project makes me deal with various experiences and demands that, even though they may not be listed on a CV, even though there's no certificate or signed document proving that I've been through these experiences, they shape me into a different professional and person."

Going back to Rosilanda Sena's interview, another topic she delved into and gave great importance to was how her experiences at NEOJIBA contributed to redirecting her professional pursuits. Indeed, upon joining the project, in 2014, Rosilanda started studying Law at the university. In 2015 she would start as a monitor, and in 2017 she would gain still more responsibilities as she became the Youth Choir section leader. That year, she decided to transition from Law to Pedagogy at university. She recounts:

> "I already had a liking for teaching, I've always been the person who helped classmates and such. But I love law too. Actually, if I had to do anything else, it would still be law. But the longer I was part of this, the more I had doubts if law was really what I wanted. Here I understood that singing brought me great joy, and that pedagogy was my passion and vocation."

Furthermore, she used to believe that she didn't enjoy teaching children, but her involvement in NEOJIBA led her to discover that teaching kids was, in fact, her preferred area within pedagogy. Consequently, the project's experiences provided her with the chance to discover her true vocation and enabled her to enhance her skills within that realm. "It's fantastic because the classroom experiences I gain here significantly support my academic studies, and conversely, the knowledge I acquire from my degree I have the chance to apply here," she expressed.

In the case of Eliel Reuel dos Santos Sena, NEOJIBA made him realize that he could actually pursue a career in music. He shared:

> "[...] I didn't consider music as a future prospect. I only wanted to play in an orchestra, but nothing more than that. And perhaps here, I was able to see all the opportunities that I could have. So, the main importance was to show me that I could have a future with music, and to change my mindset, make me want to become a complete musician. To live from it, to commit to it, and to dedicate my life to it. Because it stopped being just a myth, an impossible dream accessible only to others, to Europe…"

He also highlighted the various other opportunities that NEOJIBA introduced to him, opportunities he hadn't contemplated before discovering them through the project:

> "NEOJIBA gave me the opportunity to work as a monitor to realize that I also have a 'teacher' side and that I want to develop it. In fact, this made me enter the music education program at the university this year. The same goes for conducting; I had the opportunity to learn conducting, and now I know that I also want to develop this skill."

He emphasized that this phenomenon "happens to everyone here", as the project provides experiences that ignite their interest in different aspects and serves as a catalyst for their pursuits.

Another topic Eliel touched upon was the contact with diversity, which to him is very present in NEOJIBA – more than in other spaces that he is used to, where, despite being less diverse, "coexisting was a bit more complicated." He emphasized that this diversity of age groups, race, religion, income, made him become aware of other worldviews and broadened his perspectives. Regarding how those differences coexist in the project, he shared: "here in NEOJIBA, it usually works out, because what we're all seeking is in common, and everything is done as a group, in collaboration, whether it's about playing well or anything else," thus attributing this success to the ethos of the project, particularly its pedagogical model.

Returning to my conversation with Raphael de Souza Elias, I can delve deeper into similar insights he shared regarding his interactions with diversity and the array of opportunities that emerged from his experiences within the project, along with the transformative impact these experiences have had on his life. On the first topic, he shared the challenge it represents to him as an educator to manage such differences in the classroom, highlighting the contrast between students with better backgrounds and education who exhibit curiosity and ambition, and those from more precarious circumstances who may lack ambition and even attend solely for meals. About the second profile of students, which represent a significant portion of NEOJIBA members, he added that

> "you have to be aware, as an educator, that it's not their fault, and you have to create a learning environment where they can also fit in and develop that spirit of ambition. This has to be done so that these two profiles can coexist without differences like 'oh, this one is very intelligent and organized, and this one has no ambition, more difficulty, etc.' No. Both have to be given the conditions to progress together."

Commenting further on the influence of interacting with differences and addressing the distinct needs they represent, he elaborated:

> "Here, differences coexist. Every human being has their needs, virtues, qualities, and specificities. And that's great because we can help each other. Sometimes you look at a colleague who is facing a certain difficulty, and even if you don't share the same reality or know exactly what they are going through, when you try to assist them, you start to understand their needs. In doing so, you begin to absorb a bit of that person's essence, and your perspective begins to shift."

On the topic of opportunities that the project opened to him, besides this exceptional classroom context which he considers to have shaped his pedagogical approach greatly, he mainly highlighted his experience of being awarded the 'Firebirds' scholarship, the international fellowship program for musical pedagogies in contexts of social vulnerability briefly mentioned in chapter 3. The Firebirds program collaborates with partner projects around the world, providing a specific number of spots for each program, so that young musicians and educators can undergo a pedagogical training. "It's like a postgraduate program in the field of music education," shared Raphael. In 2022, they offered 5 spots for NEOJIBA participants. Delving into how this program impacted his professional self, he commented:

> "Man, it was an absolutely amazing experience that opened up such a wide array of things that I didn't even know what to do with all of it. I had to deconstruct a lot of things that I had learned since I was young, from the project back in Rio, because there we taught without any pedagogical preparation; I did it in my own childish way. So, yeah, it was a significant deconstruction to be able to reconstruct my 'teacher' self."

Closing this section, there is one last testimony from Saíde Gustavo, which sheds light on how the project not only propelled him toward autonomy, discipline, responsibility, and professional prospects, but also toward civic engagement, community involvement, and leadership roles. As I see it, this will serve as an appropriate transition into the next section, where I will delve into how the experiences recounted above have turned individuals into active citizens who, even in their personal aspirations, have kept a permanent concern for the community. Thus, referring back to Michel Agier's analytical vocabulary on the urbanity of camps, we will steadily approach a stage of the narratives' timelines where members' testimonies indicate an effective political activation happening within and through NEOJIBA, overcoming the 'crippled' forms of social and political activation taking place in the socio-spatial forms studied by the French anthropologist, for which he concluded they constituted mere 'sketches of cities'.

During our conversation, Saíde often stressed that he used to be a troublesome child, spending the majority of his days on the streets, causing concern for his parents. But in the project he changed:

> "I wasn't really one to be taking care of anything or anyone. But after some time in the program, having received assistance from the DS, my teachers, colleagues, I became a different person, who wanted to take care of things too, and not only be taken care of. It was a mix of being grateful and feeling that I owed people back. In a good way, not like a debt, 'oh, I received this and this, so I have to give back this and this', no. I just realized how positive this whole thing was for my life, and wanted to be part of this change in others too. This is the main reason why I applied for the 'Young Leaders' scholarship, it was not for the money."

The role of Young Leaders at NEOJIBA involves actively participating in daily activities and helping maintain the organization of the nuclei. Their responsibilities include tasks such as taking attendance, gathering music stands, arranging chairs, managing the noise and the running of children. For this, they receive a 200 reais stipend. Speaking about this financial support, Saíde stressed that

> "It is fundamental, because many people here don't have financial means. So besides providing encouragement, it helps these individuals with transportation, sometimes to take a technical course. It enables their projects."

Nevertheless, he mentioned that despite not having been awarded the scholarship yet, he already happily fulfills all these responsibilities – something I could attest to in person when I visited the Bairro da Paz nucleus.

5.2.3. Commitment and belonging

Encountering a novel classroom environment wherein the dynamics demand autonomy, an active participation in the creative processes, a concern for territory and culture, and cooperation among differents; becoming a monitor and facing pedagogical challenges; being introduced to new activities and professions; being presented with opportunities to develop professionally, and the structure to learn and master a musical instrument within an orchestra through cost-free education and access to instruments; and gaining financial support through scholarships – all of these experiences have significantly impacted the trajectories of those engaged with the project. While this impact is always multifaceted, what I want to focus on in this section is that, in all cases assessed above, it seems that, over time, NEOJIBA evolved

from being just a platform for achieving individual goals, to one that propels its members towards an extended domain of struggle, concerning the wider community. And in this latter platform, both a sense of duty and a sense of belonging flourish.

In addition to Saíde's example towards the end of the last section, also a testimony from Raphael de Souza Elias contributes to the point raised above:

> "This program exists to serve us as participants, to serve our students, to serve our community. So, we need to be responsible for it, to have that sense of responsibility that says, 'I am here, receiving free lessons, having a rehearsal space to practice, what can I do to give back for all that I am receiving?' Is it teaching someone? Yes. Is it organizing a free concert in my community square? Absolutely. So, I believe it's about a program that is deeply committed to its surroundings, to its neighborhood, making a difference, promoting citizenship…"

He continued:

> "Over time I learnt that a good musician – a good doctor, a good anthropologist, a good anything you want – becomes even better when they possess an understanding of their surroundings, when they have a careful and broader perspective of the society around them. This generates a potent tool for bringing about change in the world. Traditionally, we tend to focus greatly on our own ambitions and overlook our surroundings. There's nothing wrong with having ambitions, but here we try to transform this way of looking so that you can pursue your path while still keeping sight of what's around you, and striving to make a difference."

Henceforth, Raphael's future prospects are intimately linked with his commitment towards his surroundings. For instance, he shared with me that he envisions pursuing a master's degree in the USA, and potentially a second degree in Europe. Nonetheless, his intention is to return to his home country, not to permanently reside abroad: "I want to come back and contribute to my community, my country[...] whether at NEOJIBA or elsewhere, what matters is that I can do something for my surroundings."

From this point in the path of the NEOJIBA member onwards, we may think back to Shoshan Malkit's contributions to the urban studies literature on camps. Applying her framework here, at this stage of the stories' timeline, I may speak of at least two forms of 'leakages' that are occurring around the NEOJIBA project concerning its interaction with the urban environment. The first manner in which the project's nuclei constitute 'closed-but-not-closed' spaces within the communities where they are embedded, leaking its varied resources, is through the community activities it promotes, open-door events, and the Social Department's interventions with the families of project members. The second form in which this happens is

through what has just been described above by Raphael. Indeed, there is also leakage when the socio-political repertoires that members have learnt through the project's activities are applied beyond its scope, impacting urban developments elsewhere.

Closing for now the topic on the emerging sense of duty within NEOJIBA members, another phenomenon that commonly occurs to them is that the longer they immerse themselves in the project's ethos and experience its educational model focused on community engagement, and the more responsibilities they take on within the nuclei, the stronger their sense of belonging to the project becomes. I remember hearing many members express at some point a significant moment when they "truly wear the shirt", signifying their alignment with the program's purpose of fostering social development and integration, even as they pursue their individual paths.

In my conversation with Rosilanda, there was a moment when she shared her feelings about the period when she was separated from the project for over a year due to the COVID-19 pandemic, following her unsuccessful auditions for the NEOJIBA Youth Choir. What she shared then somehow aligned with the reflection above:

> "I wasn't really away. Because here, even those who are no longer official members continue to be present. Not necessarily physically, given the pandemic, but the choir and the project have become an integral part of me, like a living entity. It's something that I can't distance myself from because I realize I carry NEOJIBA in my actions beyond the project."

5.3. Once at the political dimension

5.3.1. A change at the level of 'consciousness'

The transition described above, from an individualistic mindset to a more collectivist one, sparked by the distinct socialization experiences facilitated by NEOJIBA's spaces and ethos, can also be framed as an enabling of a 'civic consciousness', to bring back a more Miltosantosian and Freirean terminology. Thus, in this section, I intend to delve deeper into this terminology in a way that expands on how it is phrased above in my case study, linking the participants' testimonies to statements I heard during the Pedagogical Seminar and insights from the literature review, particularly the works of Paulo Freire and Milton Santos. This will lead me to discuss how this shift in consciousness is connected to socio-spatial

agency, highlighting the interplay between ways of understanding and making reality, thereby uncovering NEOJIBA's political dimension and full emancipatory potential.

In the subsequent section, this enabling of a civic consciousness will be put side by side with other facets of NEOJIBA – those further discussed in chapter 4 – that also configure it as a space fostering the social integration and development of alienated individuals. As such, the following and final section will serve to systematize the complementarity between the two registers of emancipation fostered by NEOJIBA as an urban hub or 'fixo' – one at the level of consciousness, and the other at the level of access to resources, so more about material and structural emancipation. After that, I will proceed to the conclusion of this thesis.

Looking back at the testimonies, a lot was said about how the community events such as the Music Fair and the 'Sarau na Arca', the Young Leaders program, the pedagogical methods employed in NEOJIBA's classrooms, and the wide array of activities imbuing members with the project's ethos all play a pivotal role in nurturing an understanding of the vital nexus between education, community engagement, and active citizenship. Furthermore, one crucial point that emerged, particularly highlighted in Saíde's account of the Bairro da Paz's Music Fair themed around Samba, is how this engagement is primarily cultivated by establishing a connection between culture and territory, by promoting activities involving creative processes that raise awareness of how our lived environments – encompassing urban form, societal structure, hegemonic discourses, and so on – very much influence and are conversely very much impacted by our beliefs and cultural practices.

The dynamic of co-constitutiveness described above is central to both Milton Santos' and Paulo Freire' analytical frameworks. Freire has once phrased it as follows:

> "Man is a being of praxis, of action and reflection. In these relationships with the world, through his action upon it, man finds himself marked by the outcomes of his own action. By acting, he transforms; by transforming, he creates a reality which, in turn, engulfs him, conditions his manner of acting (Freire 1992, 28)."

To both authors, it is the awareness of this dynamic and of how it plays a role in historicity – in the making of reality and of the narrative that describes that reality, 'sacramenting' a version of past events underlying the present in the institution of history – which conditions emancipation, or, to use a term they prefer, de-alienation. Without this awareness, the person remains alienated, "as if he had been tied down, to steal his action, and imposed barriers on

his vision, to blind him. His eyes are closed to the essence of things." (Santos 1993, 53 [in Silva 2008]).

Thus, the authors understand de-alienation as a necessary challenge in creating the very conditions of citizenship. Without addressing alienation, individuals are hindered in their ability to contribute effectively to the making of their surroundings, because not only can't they grasp it in its essence, but also "[...]alienation generally produces shyness, insecurity, frustration, a fear of taking the risk of the adventure of creating, without which there is no creation." (Freire 1983, 24). Consequently, in an alienated state, people are significantly limited in their engagement with the urban environment and their capacity to positively influence their own realities.

To close this section, I want to mention the insights shared by Marcol Rangel, Conducting and Musical Advisor at NEOJIBA, which were conveyed both in one of his talks during the Pedagogical Seminar's introduction and in one of his conducting classes that I had the opportunity to attend. Amidst many other interesting inputs on the project's ethos and societal impacts, he spoke, very similarly to Freire and Santos, about this phenomenon of 'shyness' and 'insecurity' which according to him predominates among newer members of NEOJIBA, and which he considers a prioritarian pedagogical challenge that monitors have to be ready to tackle. He noted, for instance, in his introductory speech, that "[...]many of those students are not used to expressing themselves, giving an opinion. They are used to being marginalized by our society." Thus, he emphasized the significance of fostering an environment where students feel confident to voice their thoughts, jointly with the aforementioned encouragement of autonomy, so that they are allowed to discover what they are capable of. "For example, you can let them bring a piece of music that they learned by themselves, and let them show it to everyone", he suggested.

Later, during his conducting class, he complemented the comments above with the most significant portion of his testimony:

> "They often don't know that they are able to play a certain repertoire, they really don't believe they can. And despite that, we must still ask 'utopia' of them, we must engage in a veritable crusade for excellence, and we must convince them that they are capable of getting there. For that, there must be an unlocking, an emancipation, an empowerment. For that, we must work on this child's self-esteem. There are many ways of doing that. For instance, embedding what he is doing here in a social and historical context, so that he realizes: 'hey, I am the flutist of the first orchestra of Lauro de Freitas, a city older than 300 years; hey, this person, who came from where

I come, who shares my race and ethnicity, managed to get there, to receive that award, to go on that international tour with the orchestra, to play that hard piece, etc.' We have to be continuously working on the self-esteem of a population that is used to expecting nothing, or mediocrity of themselves, because no one expects nothing from them either. So, let's make them believe, dream, and initiate their own process of emancipation."

This is the work of emancipation at the level of consciousness that is accomplished in NEOJIBA's classrooms, previously touched upon by most project members, yet here more systematically articulated by a veteran staff member of the project. As previously mentioned, I shall now proceed to the last section of this thesis, where I will systematize the tools of emancipation within NEOJIBA into two complementary registers: one related to the above, to consciousness, and the other related to a more material emancipation, stemming from a space providing access to different kinds of resources, services, and goods.

I must only make one last remark before transitioning to the following section. What has just been discussed above allows us to grasp the essential distinction, in my view, between the 'crippled' socio-spatial forms analyzed by Michel Agier and socio-spatial experiences such as NEOJIBA. In the first case, if we consider humanitarian camps, for instance, we can only speak of the provision of essential resources, services, and goods, which of course end up forming an ecosystem of sociabilities and even political forms, and which factually improve the overall situation of its dwellers who, without the camps, wouldn't have been able to access those resources elsewhere in the city. But they don't provide the critical kind of resource that an emancipatory education constitutes. They lack this work at the level of consciousness, without which there is no full manifestation of a 'fixo'. While they possess apparatuses of socialization and can even set the stage for political networks, the socialization of such camps is not concerned about acting on the quality of citizenship of its dwellers, on developing a civic consciousness, and therefore any political dimension that is eventually activated cannot work towards their effective emancipation and improvement of the quality of citizenship. Differently, in the case of experiences such as NEOJIBA, the provision of services and goods is intimately aligned with socialization apparatuses that are oriented towards a specific political activation, focused on a mode of engagement with reality that is informed by the de-alienation process described earlier. The upcoming section delves further into how this alignment is accomplished.

5.3.2. Complementary registers of emancipation

In this thesis I have strived to frame the NEOJIBA project within the Miltosantosian conceptualization of 'fixos' – public and private apparatuses providing goods and services for the public benefit and contributing to citizenship – in the pursuit of a 'civic model' of society, where citizens may enjoy an effective right to the city.

However, while Milton Santos mentions a wide array of spaces and apparatuses that may potentially serve this purpose – schools, parks, theaters, pools, sports fields, etc. –, he does not, to my knowledge and understanding, delve further into a thorough discrimination of the instances of activation of citizenship through which those 'fixos' operate. For instance, he does not clearly distinguish between how a specifically designed public school system might contribute to citizenship or emancipation in terms of the particular goods and services it offers, and how it also operates the promotion of citizenship and community engagement through a certain pedagogical model fostering experiences that act at the level of consciousness as previously explained.

In my view, the culture-territory relation he speaks of is so ingrained in his thought that in 'The Space of the Citizen', the main work of his that I use here, he refrained from distinguishing between what happens at the level of immanent events and what happens in the realm of perception and representation in his examples of 'fixos'. Indeed, he merged all the operations of the apparatuses he talks about into one concept that seamlessly condenses their emancipating agency in the co-constitutiveness between the two realms discussed above. Nonetheless, without such differentiation, his claims about the culture-territory relation – the interplay between lived reality and conceived reality – could therefore not be satisfactorily demonstrated in practice, even if properly developed theoretically.

Accordingly, what I have sought to establish in this thesis – based on what I was able to observe in all the years of contact I've had with NEOJIBA, but especially based on what I discovered during my recent fieldwork – is a narrative that could capture the distinct yet complementary registers through which emancipation and citizenship are activated in a 'fixo'. On the one hand, as was depicted especially in chapter 4, the project's structure offers free access to a series of resources (material, social, cultural, financial, medical), which configures it as an urban hub serving as a nexus for essential experiences, services and goods, offering psycho-social support, medical care, professional guidance, financial assistance, transportation, nutritional support, and the collective practice of an art form. On the other

hand, as was particularly developed in chapter 5, this comprehensive framework plays a pivotal role in cultivating transformative experiences – in the form of social and pedagogical challenges within the project's nuclei and classrooms, and beyond, in the form of stage performances to wide and varied audiences, travel opportunities to different places, learning experiences with different people – within the journey of each individual becoming a part of NEOJIBA, contributing to the awakening of an improved perception of their surroundings and an increased motivation to participate in its making. Nonetheless, all of the above is complementary in fostering citizenship and emancipation among NEOJIBA members, as both the process of de-alienation and the structure that practically enables their political selves go hand in hand.

Indeed, the testimonies and observations presented here substantially sustain that the emancipation that NEOJIBA enables and promotes does not emerge purely from the fact that in its nuclei, individuals are able to have access to goods and services – in some cases equivalent to what, formally, should have been unalienable rights. Nor does it emerge solely from the experiences that the project promotes with the aim of provoking a change in one's relationship with reality, awakening an awareness of how it is constituted, via their political-pedagogical approach. Instead, these two aspects can only fully manifest by mutually reinforcing each other. Indeed, without the facilitation of resources that the project grants in various fronts, there is no way of activating this so-called civic consciousness in the lived reality. As Rosilanda put it herself,

> "[...] this emancipation that happens here isn't only about a change in one's consciousness, it is also about a material emancipation to act on the city, on the community. There are people in the choir where the whole family, cousins, siblings, parents, and aunts and uncles, are all part of the community choir, orchestra, or some other body within the project. And if you consider the scholarships involved in this, often having several family members receiving this financial aid, you know that emancipation comes from there as well. From there comes the money that sometimes helps the household in 100%. Or not. It might be a supplement that assists in that person's life, helping them in their projects. Regardless, this emancipation at the level of consciousness also needs to be enabled materially."

Conversely, without the political-pedagogical approach of the project; without the cultivation of 'multipliers' and engaged citizens; without this shift in consciousness within members through the experiences it promotes; there is neither a way of maintaining the project's nuclei functioning, because the services provided there depend on actors that embody the project's spirit, nor can there be a fully emancipated agency by those members benefiting from the

project only as a hub granting access to goods and services, because their relationship with their surroundings remains that of an alienated person, "tied down [...] and [with] barriers on [their] vision" (*cf. supra* Milton Santos' quotation). Silvana, the DS agent, spoke about this concern:

> "You surely have realized that many of the younger members, who have just recently arrived in the project, still haven't incorporated the project's spirit. Many of them come here only for a meal, or to escape trouble at home. And that's alright, because it's our role to change them. As long as they come here, any reason is valid. What can't happen is that we fail to approach their needs and that they leave us – say, because they need to get more money for their households, or because they want to get more money for themselves through dangerous activities – without getting the most valuable things from this project, which is becoming emancipated, integrated, etc."

Finally, discussing the complementarity (or rather co-dependence) of those registers of emancipation couldn't be more opportune for the closure of this thesis. Indeed, it brings us once more to the theoretical framework that underscores the politico-pedagogical beliefs of NEOJIBA, the Vocational Gymnasiums, the Freirean experiences, and the Miltosantosian urban apparatuses fostering the cultivation of a civic consciousness: that which establishes a relation of co-constitutiveness between systems of understanding and lived environments, untangling the entanglement between territory and culture.

6. Conclusion

In this thesis, I have ventured into an exploration of the relationships between NEOJIBA, a socio-pedagogical project operating through music, and urbanization processes in Bahia, Brazil. Supported by a diverse array of multidisciplinary literature, I have examined how its complementary registers of emancipation – encompassing interdependent material and cultural aspects – have reshaped the ways in which project members navigate and interact with their surroundings. In so doing, I have delved into themes including marginality and alienation, the interplay between lived and conceived realities, the relationship between territory and culture, and the crucial role of socialization mechanisms in nurturing citizenship and emancipation on multiple scales.

Retracing the trajectory of this exploration, following the establishment of my analytical-methodological toolkit, I progressed to examine how NEOJIBA pursued its fundamental goal of nurturing the social integration and development of individuals facing social vulnerability via the collective practice of orchestral music and a critical approach to pedagogy. Importantly, in this pursuit, my aim was to unravel the multifaceted dimensions through which the project strives to achieve these objectives within its members. Firstly then, I delved into the project's operational structure and assessed the comprehensive array of activities and services it offers. Following this, I evaluated the ways in which this operational structure impacts the life trajectories of its members.

By immersing myself in the personal testimonies of NEOJIBA members, which span a diverse range of experiences from their initial involvement with the project to the present day, I have made an effort to uncover the various levels at which the project has catalyzed changes in their lives, and to what extent these shifts were aligned with the project's overarching objectives of social integration, development, and emancipation. As illustrated throughout this thesis, there were indeed different registers through which these transformations occurred, and the extent of their alignment with the aforementioned goals has been, I believe, substantially argued.

In this investigation, what has transpired is that as individuals spend more time immersing themselves in the project's ethos and its political-pedagogical approach – characterized by values of autonomy, collaboration, and a critical stance toward knowledge production – and particularly as they assume new roles and responsibilities, their desire for engagement

amplifies. This deepening of a sense of belonging, moreover, turned out in most cases to be accompanied by a growing intent to align their personal pursuits with the project's goals.

Furthermore, as an outcome of the project's operational framework well established in their Political Pedagogical Project, participants progressively integrate their surroundings into their creative processes. This dynamic signifies that the project itself experiences continual, irreversible evolution in conjunction with its members. It adapts in response to the evolving needs of newer participants, their embedded communities, and the creative expressions of those members who are veterans and accumulate more responsibility roles, as they interact with their environment to solve pedagogical impasses, foster civic activities, and promote further integration between culture and territory.

Upon reaching this point, 'wearing the shirt' – the iconic NEOJIBA shirt, which marks every member's initiation rite, as well as constitutes the main symbol through which the project is recognized in public spaces – ceases to simply signify wearing a piece of cloth. It becomes something else, encompassing other qualities. It becomes a metaphysical shirt representing a set of values and practices, which when worn, means embodying a whole choreography, a social and political repertoire based on what the project provided not only in terms of goods and services, but also of lived experiences. And this shirt, as the testimonies tell, isn't one they can simply remove, even when they depart the project. It is one they keep carrying in each of their individual paths.

What I have strived to demonstrate by aligning the process above with the academic literature used in this thesis is that achieving emancipation – removing individuals from a setting of both limited opportunities and a condition of impaired capacity to act and capitalize on the resources and opportunities they gain access to – implies a process that is multifaceted, and which places the individual at the center of their own emancipatory trajectory. For this, not only a structure providing opportunities, services, and goods is required. It is also required that each of these gears is oriented towards the entire machine's purpose: a re-socialization of those who participate in this structure, informing their modes of engagement with territory upon receiving such opportunities, services, and goods. Without such re-socialization – which here means promoting, via a critical pedagogical approach, an improved awareness of the symbolic dimension of territory, which makes it so entangled to culture and representation – individuals are just as likely to inadvertently use this platform in a way that reinforces the same socio-spatial dynamics and logics that marginalized them in the first place, which could

not possibly configure emancipation. Indeed, what has been advocated here through the voices of the NEOJIBA project members, is that true emancipation comes from activities that situate culture and any process of knowledge production – for it is only an urban agency thusly informed that has the potential to shape territories according to local needs and modes of living, instead of extra-local demands which end up spatially and socially alienating vast portions of urban dwellers for the sake of a so-called centrality.

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Note on the use of AI-based tools

AI-based tool	Type of use	Affected parts of the work
GPT-3.5	Translation of citations and interview fragments from Portuguese to English	Entire paper
GPT-3.5	Proofreading	Entire paper
Grammarly	Orthography, grammar, and sentence form	Entire paper

Declaration of independent authorship

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