

**MAKING CULTURAL WARRIORS:
AFROREGGAE'S SOCIAL TECHNOLOGY OF THE
ARTS**

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DECLARATION

I confirm that this thesis, Making Cultural Warriors:
AfroReggae's Social Technology of the Arts is all my own work.

ABSTRACT

This thesis is based on a practice-as-research project with young people by artists from Brazilian arts and social project, AfroReggae and myself. The project *Cultural Warriors*, took place in three English cities, London, Manchester and Gateshead and one Brazilian, Rio de Janeiro, between January 2010 and May 2012. *Cultural Warriors* was part of a larger international knowledge exchange programme, *From the favela to the world*, which interrogated international practice that use the arts to enact change within communities. AfroReggae utilized embodied arts practices to offer artistic development and reflection to UK artists and art organisations. Theoretical considerations of embodiment, place, affect and engaged performance frame this research. The research seeks to locate the potential of affective artistic engagement as a mode of individual and community transformation.

My research examined the following:

The capacity for international cultural exchanges to achieve transformational impact, and extend the learning, personal development and experience of UK young people with a range of learning abilities

The extent AfroReggae methodologies could be used to extend the learning, practice, ambition and reach of UK arts organisations.

How the achievements of the project could be documented to widely disseminate its learning.

The thesis is composed of three elements:

Cultural Warriors An international practice based research programme for UK artists and arts organisations in partnership with artist from AfroReggae.

Artist, Activist or Warrior? A multi-media e-document arising from *Cultural Warriors*. The document uses a range of multimedia to give a sensory background to *Cultural Warriors* and a context on the practice.

A written thesis locating *Cultural Warriors* in a theoretical of performed identity, power and the affect contained in arts activity.

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Introduction

This research is the result of a partnership between Brazilian arts and social project, Grupo Cultural AfroReggae (AfroRegggae) and People's Palace Projects (PPP), a research centre in the Department of Drama at Queen Mary, University of London. It was funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council Collaborative Doctoral Awards (CDA) scheme.¹ Based in Rio de Janeiro, AfroReggae's operation has been summed up by Heritage and Ramos in the following way:

AfroReggae lead over 70 arts projects in communities across Rio de Janeiro in partnership with local and state government, produce their own national cable television programmes, broadcast digital radio, advise businesses looking to develop social programmes from their office in the main financial district area of São Paulo, generate significant income from their own commercial artistic activity and sell hard-edged sponsorship deals to national and multi-national brands. Their annual turnover is in excess of £10million. They currently have nine professional bands that play a range of music from samba to reggae to *baião*.² They also have a circus group whose members have graduated to the Cirque du Soleil and a range of professional dance and theatre groups. The main band - which also bears the name AfroReggae³ - has played the Carnegie Hall, opened the Rolling Stones concert on Copacabana Beach, given a series of critically acclaimed

¹ AHRC Collaborative Doctoral Awards are intended to encourage and develop collaboration and partnerships between Higher Education Institution (HEI) departments and non-HEI organisations and businesses. The studentships also encourage and establish links that can have long-term benefits for both collaborating partners, providing access to resources and materials, knowledge and expertise that may not otherwise have been available and also provide social, cultural and economic benefits to wider society. *The Arts and Humanities Research Council*, <www.ahrc.ac.uk> [accessed 14th February 2012].

² A romantic form of Popular Brazilian Music with its roots in the North East (from where many of the parents and grandparents of AfroReggae's young artists will have migrated).

³ The main *banda* AfroReggae subsequently changed their name to AR21 in 2013.

performances on the main stage of the Barbican Centre in London and toured to India, China, France and Germany.⁴

PPP explores how artistic practice is used to intervene in society and has partnered with AfroReggae on projects in Brazil since 2003. In seeking to disseminate AfroReggae's practice internationally, PPP has also acted as producers and partners of AfroReggae in the UK.⁵ The CDA, offered by AfroReggae and People's Palace Projects (QMUL) specified the following research areas for the inquiry:

This Collaborative Doctoral Award project will support a doctoral research thesis that looks at how it is possible to transfer AfroReggae's methodologies and practices of socially engaged arts to a UK context. AfroReggae and People's Palace Projects are building a series of knowledge transfer activities in the UK, but the research undertaken by this doctoral student will focus on an investigation into a new initiative known as '*Cultural Warriors*' [2010-2012].

The research will:

Compare this project's aim to achieve a transformational impact on young people's lives with other cultural leadership initiatives in the UK

Analyse the methodologies used by AfroReggae and test their capacity to extend the learning, practice, ambition and reach of UK arts organisations

Interrogate a body of practice that seeks to use the arts to develop the participants' capacity to bring about change within their communities

⁴ Paul Heritage and Silvia Ramos, 'Talking About a Revolution: Arts, Health and Wellbeing on Avenida Brasil', in *Oxford Textbooks in Public Health: Arts and Health*, ed. by S. Clift and P. Camic (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

⁵ People's Palace Projects collaborated with AfroReggae in 2003 on *Changing the Scene*, a project for young people in the juvenile prison system of Rio de Janeiro, and on a production of Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra* in 2004. (See Paul Heritage, '*Parallel Power: Shakespeare, Gunfire and Silence*', *Contemporary Theatre Review*, 15.4 (2004), 392-405.) Richard Ings, *From the Favela to Our Manor: Translating Afroreggae: The Impact and Implications of an International Intervention in Arts Work with Young People at Risk* (London: Queen Mary, university of London, 2008), pp. 4-5.

Examine the capacity of international cultural exchanges to extend the learning, personal development and networks of experience for young people with a range of learning abilities

Explore appropriate ways to document the achievements of the project and offer the learning more widely.⁶

Practice as Research

This inquiry has taken a practice-as-research approach to the study of the '*Cultural Warriors*' project.⁷ There are two reasons for electing to use a practical research paradigm to examine AfroReggae's practice. Firstly from the direct experience I have, as practitioner and researcher, of AfroReggae's practice. The second is from observation and experience of how AfroReggae's artists articulate AfroReggae's practice.

My own artistic relationship with AfroReggae began in 2005 when I attended an outdoor performance of AfroReggae in a *favela* in Rio de Janeiro.⁸ Over the following three years, as a Workshop Consultant for PPP on the education programme that accompanied AfroReggae's performances at the Barbican between 2006-2008, I was able to collaborate with a number of their artists. For the duration of Cultural Warriors I spent between 10-days and 3 weeks a year with

⁶ From CDA application. Queen Mary, University of London, People's Palace Projects. (*Queen Mary, University of London Website*, 2010) <<http://www.qmul.ac.uk/media/news/items/hss/30005.html>> [accessed 5th December 2014].

⁷ Practice as research is thought of as 'research through performance practice, to determine how that practice may be developing new insights into or knowledge about the forms, genres, uses, etc. of performance' Baz Kershaw, 'Performance, Memory, Heritage, History, Spectacle — the Iron Ship.', in *American Society for Theatre Research* (New York, 2000).

⁸ As a term *favela* is difficult to translate into English, Heritage states 'favela could be translated [as] shantytown, ghetto or slum but I prefer to keep the Brazilian word because such settlements are so culturally specific that each country seems to invent a word that is particular to its own situation and not easily translatable.' Paul Heritage, *Intense Dreams: Reflections on Brazilian Culture and Performance* (London: People's Palace Projects, 2009), p. 12. This research uses Heritage's reading of *favela*; however, it will explore how other definitions of *favela* as shantytown, ghetto or slum elucidate alternative readings of the *favela* that have wider implications on these communities.

the company between 2009 and 2012. Through conversation with different artists from the company, I observed that they all used personal narrative - their own life-story - to describe their journey to AfroReggae. What interested me about this approach was, with the exception of small changes in the personal details, the information about the mission, method and purpose of the organisation was remarkably similar. This drew me to an understanding that AfroReggae endows its artists and participants with a perception of the organisation as one that they can own, internalise and then articulate congruently.

It is a clarity and sense of ownership of AfroReggae that allows its artists to adopt a narrative tone of fellowship when explaining the organisation. This tone is exemplified by artists reporting when they 'joined' AfroReggae as a key element in the introduction to their workshops, which includes stating how many years they have been members of the organisation. This shared knowledge of AfroReggae as articulated by their artists demonstrates that elements of AfroReggae's practice may be embodied: where knowledge is accrued through doing, through a bodily praxis of moving, reflecting, and moving again.⁹

A model of knowledge acquisition through the body, where a sense of knowing eventually becomes embodied, is directly applicable to an analysis of AfroReggae and their practice. This model foregrounds learning acquired through 'doing' in a position that troubles the mind, body separation of understanding into levels of learning. Such a reading demotes bodily experiences to a level of sensation that is

⁹ Anthropologist, Tim Ingold argues that the process of embodiment is essential for humans to develop as an 'organism in its environment'. Tim Ingold, 'From Complementarity to Obviation: On Dissolving the Boundaries between Biological Anthropology, Archeology and Psychology', *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 123.1 (1998), 21-52 (p. 28).

not elevated to the level of knowledge until it is given meaning through the reflection of the intellect. This research offers a view of embodiment that resolves this dichotomy and allows a reading of the body as Sarah Pink states, 'not simply as a source of experience and activity that would be rationalised and/or controlled by the mind, but itself as a source of knowledge and subsequently of agency'.¹⁰

AfroReggae workshops create forums where participants are given both artistic resources and the capacity to embody those resources. Participants are not merely asked to observe others drum, they are given the drumsticks and invited to drum and alongside their fellow drummers. If bodily praxis is a component of AfroReggae's practice it was imperative to employ a bodily praxis methodology to explore this practice. AfroReggae's practice is held as part of their artist's identity (alongside other narratives emerging from the *favela*), in a manner that is uncommon in UK arts organisations.¹¹ This research suggests, AfroReggae artists are from the *favela* but they also very much from AfroReggae and an interrogation of this duality required a practical methodology.

The second reason for this approach is an elaboration of this embodied notion of AfroReggae and their practice, arose from how senior members of AfroReggae describe their practice. José Junior, Executive Coordinator and Founder of AfroReggae states, 'AfroReggae hasn't got a ready-made methodology. We adapt it to each place we're working in. We will see what the real situation is and start

¹⁰ Sarah Pink, *Doing Sensory Ethnography* (London: Sage Publications, 2009), p. 24.

¹¹ My experience of delivering projects for a number of UK arts organisations is more an approach that may characterize the working practices of the organisation, but this is not internalised into the identity of the practitioners.

from there.’¹² The quote from José Junior is referring to whether the organisation has a replicable template for their practice - a recipe for AfroReggae - but it also indicates a public organisational view of a practice that is adaptive and not codified. A practice offered as an approach, informed by AfroReggae’s politics that validate the potential of *favela* young people, but not to be a methodology.

These initial observations of AfroReggae’s practice, and my own knowledge of the site and the organisation of the production of their knowledge, indicated that a literature review, methodologies of written analysis and even ethnographic observation alone would not reveal new insights into AfroReggae’s practice. This research seeks to reveal new knowledge and, new ways of knowing AfroReggae’s practice, requiring therefore, a practice-as-research approach. My practice-as-research approach is informed by other methodologies that have examined AfroReggae’s work, including literature from; ethnomusicology, anthropology, sociology and psychology. This literature has employed reflective writing, observational practice and semi-structured interviews to interrogate Afroreggae actions. This existng research framework has provided a knowledge base that enables this practice-as-research to have an agility designed to mirror the agility of AfroReggae’s own practice.

Practice-as-research is a pathway to alternative ways of knowing that are present in AfroReggae’s practice. As McAvinchey states

[Practice-as-research is] about learning through doing and reflecting; it is about following the trail of hints and clues that

¹² Ings, *From the Favela to Our Manor: Translating Afroreggae: The Impact and Implications of an International Intervention in Arts Work with Young People at Risk*, p. 23. Quoting José Junior, Executive Coordinator and founder of AfroReggae

emerge within the research context; it is about giving credence to the new understandings and knowledge that develops; it is about finding ways through writing, teaching and further practice to disseminate this. It is reflecting on material to distil understandings; it is moving from the as-yet-unknown to the known, implicit and tacit.¹³

Prior and during the time of this inquiry, (2010-2012) AfroReggae's practice, like the country of Brazil, (to paraphrase Heritage) 'came into existence without a manual [...] it will disarm any thesis, [and] take apart any interpretation', it is unwritten.¹⁴ AfroReggae's practice is infused into their artists through active participation, it is the accumulation attitudes, values and beliefs, assimilated by definition through practice. However, the research project *Cultural Warriors* created practical opportunities for AfroReggae to reflect on the social implications of their practice in dialogue with UK artists and arts organisations. The success of AfroReggae's practice in supporting young people at risk of drugs and gang violence in Brazil created an eagerness in UK for arts organisations to partner with AfroReggae and share their own methodologies to explore the possibilities for AfroReggae practice in communities in the UK.

My role as Workshop Consultant for *From the favela to the World*, was to design a practical format to position the delivery of the AfroReggae arts workshops that accompanied the main AfroReggae performances. The task drew on over two

¹³ Caoimhe McAviney, 'Possible Fictions: The Testimony of Applied Performance with Women in Prisons in England and Brazil' (unpublished Doctoral thesis, Queen Mary, University of London, 2006).

¹⁴ Heritage, *Intense Dreams: Reflections on Brazilian Culture and Performance*, p. 19. Citing T.T. Catalaõ, 'Pontos De Costura Na Cultura Dos Pontos Diversos', in *Cultura Viva Povo Brasileiro* (São Paulo, 2006), pp. 28-35.

decades of experience I had gained as an applied theatre practitioner.¹⁵ In this time, I have delivered arts projects that range from; supporting young people to respond to sectarian issues in Northern Ireland, to projects with young offenders, students and older people. What unites my practice with these groups is the application of art as a mode of discovery, reflection and change. The challenge for delivering the workshops in *From the favela to the World* was to offer a framing of AfroReggae's practice that enabled UK artists and organisations to gain the maximum learning from their contact with the organisation. The CDA studentship allowed me to create *Cultural Warriors* as a research project that developed my interpretive role on *From the favela to the world* into an analysis and interrogation of AfroReggae's practice in *favela* communities. It additionally allowed exploration of how AfroReggae's practice intervened in a social context of the UK seeking answers to the challenges of inner city weapon and gang violence.¹⁶

The project offered AfroReggae's emerging drumming artists, Rafael Coelho Da Cruz, Luciano and Clovis de Santos, international travel outside the *favela* and the developmental opportunities of working with Co-artistic Director Roberto Pachecho on projects with UK young people. *Cultural Warriors* gave these artists the chance to expand their practice experience by working with UK participants with disabilities. Participants with disabilities do not represent a large proportion of AfroReggae's participatory base in Brazil, for *Cultural Warriors*, the UK partners the Lawnmowers Independent Theatre company were a group composed entirely of participants with disabilities. The *Cultural Warriors* project allowed UK partners,

¹⁵ The complexity of applied theatre as a discipline and its suitability as a lens to examine AfroReggae's practices is examined later in this chapter.

¹⁶ Convictions of UK under-18s for carrying knives and other weapons doubled in a decade, from 1,909 in 1997 to 4,181 in 2006. Ben Leapman, 'Violent Youth Crime up a Third', *The Telegraph online*, 20th January 2008.

the Lawnmowers to form 'Beat This' a group recruited to work specifically with AfroReggae. For AfroReggae it allowed their artists to take the knowledge gained working with 'Beat This' back to Rio de Janeiro.

The format of the practice-as-research for Cultural Warriors was predominantly workshop based, with the workshops structured in a fashion that allowed time for the acquisition of new skills, unstructured conversation and reflection. This structure followed a workshop approach that was piloted during the 'From the *favela* to the world' workshop programme. The format created a platform for AfroReggae to offer arts skills whilst simultaneously establishing space for reflection. The 'doing' of drumming or dance blended with translated English/Portuguese conversations between participants and facilitators. The workshops space allowed participation, reflection and discovery to be held within the frame of arts. My dual roles in this practice was as a practitioner; designing and facilitating this process, and as a researcher, framing and making sense of the evaluation and learning taking place. This environment that was the major facet of the 'investigatory arts space', a space that also included some of the social moments that took place during *Cultural Warriors*, was the site where I argue the beauty inherent in participation existed. The activity occurred, predominantly in rehearsal spaces across cities in the UK and in the main cultural space of AfroReggae in Rio de Janeiro. The structure of those encounters was on one level emblematic of many an intervention in socially engaged practice, a space where participants work collaboratively with artists and facilitators. However, this literal description of the activity conceals the richness and complexity, the potential for beauty, and reflection that emerged throughout this enquiry. The situation of this work was paradoxically, both conventional and unusual. It was conventional in that

it was work in rooms with people who had entered these spaces to engage in artistic activity.

Yet it was unusual because in crossing the threshold, in agreeing to engage in that activities the participants, artists and facilitators were consenting to explore a space to learn, play, reflect and investigate. The locations for the discoveries explored in this research may appear mundane but therein lay the potential to examine why and how the apparently basic processes of drumming, dancing, singing, talking and making visual images engendered what I will describe throughout this work as beautiful, affective, life-changing intervention.

This ‘investigatory arts space’ was central to the design of *Cultural Warriors*, the discoveries and revelations made in, or, because of, this workshop space elucidated knowledge that could only be accessed through this methodology. Observation of these workshops could not access the understanding revealed through participation. The *Cultural Warriors* workshops were in dialogue with a less visible architecture of relationships, conversations, and decisions allied the potential for success.¹⁷ The visible and implicit decisions on the design of the *Cultural Warriors* project informed the methodological arrangement of this thesis. The three thesis components of practice project, digital practice record and written thesis are organised to enable access to the nuance, and subtlety of AfroReggae’ work.

¹⁷ The essential but non-workshop decisions included choices like: who introduced tasks in sessions and how, when to have breaks, what additional provocation enhanced opportunities for learning, how to host the AfroReggae artist, who and how were sessions documented.

Research Methodology

This inquiry draws on literature and methodologies from a range of disciplines to build a broad theoretical framework to and examine AfroReggae. This approach expands the range of knowledges utilized to consider AfroReggae's practice and locate myself as a practitioner-researcher within the inquiry. My position in the research as, practitioner-researcher is a methodological approach taken from the practice of sensory ethnography. Sarah Pink has the following definition of the sensory, in her positioning of sensory ethnography. Her methodological approach is,

[D]oing ethnography that takes as its starting point the multisensoriality of experience, perception, knowing and practice. By a 'sensory ethnography' I [Pink] mean a process of doing ethnography that accounts for how this multisensoriality is integral both to the lives of people who participate in [...] research *and* how we ethnographers practise our craft.¹⁸

The adoption of a sensory ethnographic methodology on *Cultural Warriors* allowed the research to employ qualitative ethnographic practices such as, participant observation and interviewing and evaluate that knowledge in concert with the reflexive and experiential knowing that arose from my participation in the research. Pink states that sensory ethnography, '[D]oes not privilege any one type of data or research method. Rather, it is open to multiple ways of knowing and to the exploration of and reflection on new routes to knowledge'.¹⁹ Sensory ethnography's focus on new knowledge as opposed to the collection of data,

¹⁸ Pink, *Doing Sensory Ethnography*, p. 1. Original use of brackets and quotation marks.

¹⁹ Pink, *Doing Sensory Ethnography*, p. 8.

(viewing the learning that arose from this research merely as ‘data’ is at odds with this research.

The research methodology of *Cultural Warriors* is a development of an ‘iterative-inductive research’ practice defined by here by Pink (paraphrasing O’Reilly) as.

[I]terative-inductive [is] research (that evolves in design through the study), drawing on a family of methods, involving direct and sustained contact with human agents within the context of their daily lives (and cultures), watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions and producing a richly written account that respects the irreducibility of human experience, that acknowledges the role of theory as well as the researchers’ own role.²⁰

The addition of a sensory ethnographic lens to this iterative-inductive model, allowed my contribution on the *Cultural Warriors* research, to be participative and not just observational. The additional knowledge derived from engaging with the participants (human agents) of *Cultural Warriors*, and not just observing their participation, allowed the acquisition of alternative readings of the impacts of that participation that were modulated by my own experiences of the participants and of the situation.

Research Context

Pink’s sensory ethnographic methodology accounts for the experience of the senses but in this inquiry requires a framing of the spaces and places of that experience.²¹ This research employs geographer, Doreen Massey’s entropic theories of space as part of that framing process. Massey’s *For Space* describes

²⁰ Pink, *Doing Sensory Ethnography*, p. 9. From Karen O’ Reilly, *Ethnographic Methods* (Abingdon, Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2005), p. 5.

²¹ Pink, *Doing Sensory Ethnography*.

space in terms of its story, narrative and trajectory, as a site where these elements are thrown together in a constant and sometimes contradictory interrelation of trajectories.²² The research thinks through how this understanding of space relates to the *favela*, by locating space in the phenomenological conception of place advocated by philosopher, Edward Casey²³. Casey's conception of place as live and event driven becomes a useful lens to regard the disparate sociological and historical literature on the creation of the *favela*, which is so influential to the genesis of AfroReggae.

The Backlands, Victorian sociologist and journalist Euclides da Cunha's seminal account of the war of Canudos, the catalyst for the creation of the world's first *favela*, is contextualised by modern readings of the conflict from historians, Adriana Johnson, Robert Levine and Lori Madden.²⁴ These contemporary analyses of Canudos highlight a subaltern interpretation of the Canudos war and perceptions of the *favela*, as defined by historian, Ranajit Guha.²⁵ Guha's writings on the subaltern gaze of south India by European colonial powers are directly applicable to the legacy of marginality applied to modern *favelas*. This research charts the impacts of exclusion and stigma on the modern *favela* through the writings of sociologists, Janice Perlman and Elizabeth Leeds and urban theorists,

²² Doreen Massey, *For Space* (London: Sage, 2005).

²³ Edward S Casey, 'How to Get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time.', in *Senses of Place*, ed. by S. Feld and K. Basso (Santa Fe: Santa Fe School of American Research, 1996).

²⁴ See Euclides da Cunha, *Backlands: The Canudos Campaign*. trans. by Elizabeth Lowe (New York: Penguin Group US, 2010). Adriana Michele Campos Johnson, 'Subalternizing Canudos', *Modern Language Notes*, 120.2 (2005), 355-82. Robert M Levine, 'Mud-Hut Jerusalem' Canudos Revisited', *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, 68.3 (1988). Lori Madden, 'The Canudos War in History', *Luso-Brazilian Review*, 30.2 (1993).

²⁵ Ranajit Guha, *Subaltern Studies : Writings on South Asian History and Society. Vol.2*, New ed. Oxford University Press, 1994).

Mike Davis and Robert Neuwirth.²⁶ Collectively these writers characterize the schema of prejudice and exclusion that surrounds and subjugates *favela* communities.

This inquiry uses Leeds, and activist, Luke Dowdney's accounts of the impact of armed drug factions in the *favela*, to situate the Brazilian government's 'war' on drugs in the social context of AfroReggae.²⁷ The rise of the drug factions and their violent control of *favela* is located as a contributory factor in the emergence of AfroReggae. AfroReggae are examined through reference to research by sociologists, Silvia Ramos and Carlos Rufin, whose work on the rise of AfroReggae as new mediators in Brazilian *favela* communities.²⁸ This emergence of new social agents from within the *favela* is supported by anthropologist George Yúdice's examination of AfroReggae's urban music practice.²⁹

AfroReggae's projects in Brazil and the UK are considered in relation to the writing of ethnomusicologists, Frederick Moehn and Paul Sneed, who explore AfroReggae

²⁶ See Janice Perlman, *Favela: Four Decades Living on the Edge in Rio De Janeiro*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). Elizabeth Leeds, 'Cocaine and the Parallel Politics in the Brazilian Urban Periphery: Constraints on Local-Level Democratization', *Latin American Research Review*, 31.3 (1996), 47-83. Mike Davis, *Planet of Slums* (London, England: Verso 2006). Robert Neuwirth, *Shadow Cities: A Billion Squatters, a New Urban World* (London: Routledge, 2006).

²⁷ Luke Dowdney, *Children of the Drugs Trade, a Case Study of Children in Organized Armed Violence in Rio De Janeiro* (Rio de Janeiro: 7 Letras, 2003).

²⁸ Silvia Ramos, 'Brazilian Responses to Violence and New Forms of Mediation: The Case of the Grupo Cultural Afroreggae and the Experience of the Project "Youth and the Police"', *Rio de Janeiro: Centre for Studies on Public Security and Citizenship, Research Bulletin*, 12 (2006). Carlos Rufin and Enio Pinto, 'Afroreggae: The Future', *Academia. Revista Latinoamericana de Administración*, 43 (2009).

²⁹ George Yúdice, 'Afro Reggae: Parlaying Culture into Social Justice', *Social Text*, 19.4 (2001).

and the their use of Brazilian funk as a tool for change.³⁰ AfroReggae's UK projects are located in a range of work by performance researchers, Paul Heritage and Louise Owen.³¹ Heritage, as artistic director of People's Palace Projects has worked and written extensively on AfroReggae in Brazil and the UK; Owen, and writer, Richard Ings have detailed AfroReggae's performance visits to the UK from 2006-08.³²

The external perception of the *favela* by Brazil's elites is understood through philosophers, Michel de Certeau's conception of strategic and tactical power and Pierre Bourdieu's habitus.³³ De Certeau's argument on the use of tactics in the absence of strategic power and Bourdieu's theory of habitus frame how AfroReggae's arts practice impacts of *favela* residents. The implications of AfroReggae's choice of art as a mode of engagement is examined through the use of applied theatre researcher, James Thompson's investigation of participation, beauty and affect.³⁴ The understanding of AfroReggae's practice as beautiful draws on the works of philosopher, John Armstrong and educationalist, Joe

³⁰ Frederick Moehn, 'Music, Citizenship and Violence in Postdictatorship Brazil', *Latin American Music Review*, 28.2 (2007). Paul Sneed, '*Machine Gun Voices: Bandits, Favelas and Utopia in Brazilian Funk*' (unpublished Doctoral Thesis thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2003).

³¹ Heritage, *Intense Dreams: Reflections on Brazilian Culture and Performance*.

³² Louise Owen, 'In Tune with the Beat of Where They Are: The Afroreggae Uk Partnership in 2007', (London, 2007). Ings, *From the Favela to Our Manor: Translating Afroreggae: The Impact and Implications of an International Intervention in Arts Work with Young People at Risk*.

³³ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1984). Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of Judgement of Taste*, (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1984).

³⁴ James Thompson, *Performance Affects: Applied Theatre and the End of Effect* (UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

Winston.³⁵ This work locates the potential for cognitive and emotional engagement with beauty. This potential for beauty is linked to Thompsons affective argument for participatory arts and is contrasted by, theorists, Jill Bennett's work of the affect of trauma art and Elaine Scarry's research on pain.³⁶

The practical implications off applying AfroReggae practice in a UK context is framed through an examination of the UK context for socially engaged arts practice. Cultural studies researcher, Eleonora Belfiore and art historian, Claire Bishop, outline the UK political and social environment for arts practitioners.³⁷ Applied Theatre researchers Judith Ackroyd, Helen Nicholson are used to compare and contrast the contexts for the delivery of applied theatre and performance in the UK and Brazil.³⁸ Ackroyd challenges applied theatre's exclusionary discourse and Nicholson questions the power relations created within applied practice that can privilege the arts facilitator over their participants.

This research chooses to locate the knowledge inherent in AfroReggae's embodied art practice as engaged performance. A term defined by practitioner and researcher, Jan Cohen-Cruz who uses this definition to encompass an arts

³⁵ John Armstrong, *The Secret Power of Beauty: Why Happiness Is in the Eye of the Beholder* (London: Penguin, 2004). Joe Winston, 'Beauty, Goodness and Education: The Arts Beyond Utility', *Journal of Moral Education*, 35.3 (2006), 285-300.

³⁶ Jill Bennett, *Empathic Vision: Affect, Trauma, and Contemporary Art* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2005). Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain : The Making and Unmaking of the World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985).

³⁷ *Humanities in the Twenty-First Century Beyond Utility and the Markets*, ed. by Eleonora Belfiore and Anna Upchurch (Basingstoke, England: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013). Claire Bishop, *Artificial Hells: Participatory Art and the Politics of Spectatorship* (London: Verso, 2012).

³⁸ Judith Ackroyd, 'Applied Theatre: An Exclusionary Discourse?', *Applied Theatre Researcher*, 8 (2007). Helen Nicholson, *Applied Drama: The Gift of Theatre* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

practice sector that foregrounds the interpersonal aspect of art making with communities that resonates strongly with AfroReggae methodology. Cohen-Cruz asserts that 'engaged performance includes, but is larger than, applied theatre'.³⁹ The above body of research allows this inquiry to postulate on the needs of UK artists working with communities and what they can learn from AfroReggae. It also allows consideration of what AfroReggae artists can learn from the UK engaged performance sector.

The practice-as-research *Cultural Warriors* drew on the rich embodied knowledge of its practice project, acquired through drumming, dance, and cross-arts workshops, supported by conversations, debates and seminars that were framed within a sensory ethnographic methodology. This methodology substantiates understanding acquired by doing and considers this knowing alongside other forms of conventional research. The praxis formulation of this research project brings practical inquiry into dialogue with other forms of research literature to create pathways that validate the contribution of the *Cultural Warriors* participants and partners. These voices are represented within the multimedia component of this research to extend its sensory ethnographic methodology into other mediums. This visual and aural access to aspects of the participant's and researcher's experiences on *Cultural Warriors*, diminishes the requirement to translate that experience from a visual and sound medium into a written account.

Ethically this presented the research with the challenge of not contaminating these practice encounters in the curation of the ebook. This research is based on the

³⁹ Jan Cohen-Cruz, *Engaging Performance: Theatre as Call and Response* (England: Routledge, 2010), p. 5.

collective experiences of over eighty young people and fifteen practitioners across four cities in two countries. It was a core principle of this research to not only ensure that we had sought formal permission to portray the trajectories travelled by these participants, but also present their thoughts feelings, and discoveries in a manner that pays due respect to their contribution. For my own part, this research was a journey of extremes in which has transformed me and my thinking as a practitioner researcher as much as any of the *Cultural Warriors*.

Why Cultural Warriors?

The choice of *Cultural Warriors* as the name for the research project was a direct reference to the operant nature of AfroReggae's modality. *Cultural Warriors* came from an often-repeated declaration by AfroReggae that culture is their 'weapon' to challenge their circumstances referenced in the name of one of the few english books about the organisation.⁴⁰ *Culture is our Weapon* by journalist Patrick Neate and social activist Damian Platt, details the early stages of AfroReggae and their work in the *favelas* of Rio de Janeiro. Neate and Platt documented the impact of AfroReggae's work on the young residents of the *favela* through first person accounts by AfroReggae artists and staff. Neate and Platt's focus is on what AfroReggae practice achieves and less on how that practice functions. This doctoral research inquiry extends AfroReggae's statement of culture as a tool for change by focussing on the artists who declare their cultural weaponry: the *Cultural Warriors*

⁴⁰ Patrick Neate and Damian Platt, *Culture Is Our Weapon: Afroreggae in the Favelas of Rio*, Lab Short Books (London: Latin American Bureau, 2006).

Cultural Warriors Partnership

The UK partners on *Cultural Warriors* (were arts organisations and one emerging arts company, Playing On.⁴¹) The host organisations were the Southbank Centre, London; the Theatre Royal Stratford East; Playing On Theatre, London; Contact, Manchester; the Sage, Gateshead and the Lawnmowers Independent Theatre Company, Gateshead. The partners represented a range of sizes as institutions, a broad range of artistic interventions, and had a diversity of arts programming ranging from: young people's theatre at Theatre Royal Stratford East, Playing On, London and Contact, Manchester; to drumming with young people and adults with learning disabilities, at the Lawnmowers and the Sage, Gateshead. The Lawnmowers were particularly interested in the potential of AfroReggae's practice to encourage new facilitators from within their existing cohort of participants with disabilities. Partnership with the Lawnmowers offered AfroReggae artists the opportunity to work specifically with a cohort of participants with disabilities on exploring how their practice would intervene with this specialised cohort.

Each UK partner organisation had a range of existing arts offerings to support emerging artists or engage creatively with young people. All of these organisations had a core belief in the strength of arts to affect individual and social transformation in communities. Contact, Manchester and the Theatre Royal, Stratford East already had experience of working with AfroReggae. Both organisations had been participants in workshop cycle during the 'From the *favela* to the world' Barbican performances in 2006 and 2007. For *Cultural Warriors* these

⁴¹ Playing On had arisen as a theatre company out of a long-term vocational arts project 'Playing Up 1;', delivered by the National Youth Theatre of Great Britain and become a resident company at the Roundhouse, London.

organisations supported participating artists with diverse learning abilities and from a range of social backgrounds.

CULTURAL WARRIORS UK PARTNER ORGANISATIONS 2010-12

UK Partners	Artforms	Residencies	Background	Partner Outcomes
<p>Contact, Manchester</p>	<p>Theatre, Spoken-word, Opera, Dance, Film</p>	<p>UK: January 2010 April 2011 Brazil: Rio Delegation March-April 2012 Contact recruited 2 cohorts of Future Fires sent 4 young artists on the delegation to Rio de Janeiro in 2012.</p>	<p>Inspired by a previous collaboration with AfroReggae and People's Palace on the 'From the <i>favela</i> to the world' in 2006, Contact created Future Fires, a tailored programme of training, mentoring and support which supports young emerging artist and practitioners to plan, recruit and deliver their own community arts outreach projects in Greater Manchester</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ To use the Cultural Warriors project to augment the practice of their Future Fires participants through an international practice focus from AfroReggae. ○ Generate opportunities for participant to collaborate with peers around the country ○ Contact extended an offer to all Contact staff to attend a morning drumming workshop with AfroReggae whilst in the afternoon the senior management team talked with AfroReggae lead practitioner and Co-ordinator of Special Projects, Betho Pacheco, about AfroReggae's organisational policy and corporate strategy. ○ Contact used Cultural Warriors as another way to capacity build the artistic ecology of Greater Manchester through partnership working with PPP and AfroReggae
<p>Lawnmowers Independent Theatre Company, Gateshead</p>	<p>Music, Drumming</p>	<p>UK: January 2010 April 2011 Brazil: Rio Delegation March-April 2012 The Lawnmowers created a new group for Cultural Warriors, Beat This. The group sent 3 artists on the delegation to Rio de Janeiro in 2012</p>	<p>The Lawnmowers is a cross-arts project delivered for and by people with arrange of disabilities. Their aim is to lay solid foundations for people with learning disabilities to participate fully in society, often using arts activities to enable participants to shape their own environment and control their own futures. They aimed to use Cultural Warriors to nurture an alternative creative outlet for learning disabled participants who find verbal communication challenging.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ To provide participants with Learning disabilities participants with opportunities for growth in self-confidence, esteem and practice. ○ The development of transferable drumming skills ○ To use the outcomes from the partnership as part of their education of the wider community to accept people with learning disabilities as capable individuals with lots to contribute to society.

<p>Playing ON Theatre Company, London.</p>	<p>Theatre</p>	<p>UK: January 2010 April 2011 Brazil: Rio Delegation March-April 2012 Sent 2 artists on the delegation to Rio de Janeiro in 2012</p>	<p>Playing ON were founded in 2010, as a professional theatre enterprise that transforms the lives of disenfranchised people through theatre. The company had chosen to come together via participatory projects at the Roundhouse, National Youth Theatre and Cardboard Citizens.</p> <p>(Playing ON are a non resident associate company at Roundhouse, London.)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ To learn from the experiences and methodology of AfroReggae and to offer a perspective on London community engagement through theatre and theatre based facilitation techniques. ○ To acquire any skills or contacts that could facilitate the establishment of Playing ON as a funded theatre company (in 2010 the company was in the initial phases of coming together as a group rather than being linked to the training organisations that had supported their development. They were a collection of artists with limited experience and 2 mentors, who like AfroReggae in their beginnings, who make a difference in their communities.
<p>Southbank Centre, London</p>	<p>Theatre Music Spoken Word</p>	<p>UK: January 2010 Southbank chose not to continue on Cultural Warriors</p>	<p>From January to December 2010, young people from Southbank Centre participated as Cultural Warriors partners in London. The Southbank brought together a mixture of senior participants and young practitioner/staff to explore bringing a different perspective to the programming and projects of the venue. This was particularly timely for the Southbank Centre who hosted a major Brazil Festival from June to September 2010. The group and the venue learned a great deal from their work on Cultural Warriors and as a result decided to remain connected to Cultural Warriors but not provide an ongoing group.</p>	

The Sage, Gateshead	Music Drumming	UK: January 2010 April 2011 Brazil: Sent 1 artist on the delegation to Rio Delegation March-April 2012	The Sage Gateshead is an international home for music and musical discovery, bringing about a widespread and long-term enrichment of the musical life of the North East of England. For their partnership on Cultural Warriors, the Sage invited participants and practitioners from several of their community music and training projects to form a new group.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ To explore how Cultural Warriors could enable the Sage to collaboratively explore how it offers leadership opportunities to the young people who participate in its activities. ○ The establishment and leadership of The Sage Gateshead's Youth Council, with the aim of auditing The Sage programme and making recommendations to management about empowering and supporting young people more effectively
State of the Nation, The Theatre Royal Stratford East	Theatre	UK: January 2010 April 2011 Brazil: Sent 2 artist on the delegation to Rio Delegation March-April 2012 (1 artist could not join the delegation)	State of the Nation Crew (SOTN) a company of young people, aged 17-24 years, committed to working closely with the community to make theatre that reflects their experiences. The participants research, devise, perform and tour their project material with support from Theatre Royal Stratford East. The theatre had been working with PPP and AfroReggae since 2006.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ To be inspired by AfroReggae's work and take ownership of it in our context ○ To use the AfroReggae experience as a starting point and ask ourselves 'How can we connect with our community and bring people together through a creative experience?' ○ The details inside the project at a local level provided us with both challenges and opportunities

Project Aims

The aim of the research was to use a 3-year phased engagement with AfroReggae artists to explore the transformational impact of AfroReggae's practice on a group of emerging arts practitioners and leaders from the UK. The learning derived from this practice-as-research was shared through a network of UK and Brazilian artists developed by the project. Each of the artist participants was a UK-based young person under 30, who was working, or beginning to work, as an arts facilitator. The participant artists all had strong relationships with an existing host UK arts organisation, as participants or leaders, and most of the participants had connections to a specific community of interest or place.

There were varied pathways for the participating artists to arrive at this project. Some had come to the arts after experience as participants of arts interventions for young offenders, and others had studied applied theatre at HE or FE colleges. Some had made the transition from session participant in their host organisation, to session leader. *Cultural Warriors* offered these artists developmental opportunities based on exposure to AfroReggae artists who were similar in age to them. These opportunities were hosted in the participant's own arts organisations across the UK and in the AfroReggae artist's cultural centres in *favelas* in Brazil. The project invited the UK artists to self-evaluate the learning from interactions with AfroReggae's practice and share their knowledge developed in the UK back to AfroReggae.

The *Cultural Warriors* participants also had their own arts practice, which encompassed a range of performance art forms. They included: Spoken Word, Dance, Opera and Theatre-in-Education with participant cohorts that had experience

of homelessness, school students, young people in the youth justice system, adults with learning disabilities, and individuals from a range of ethnic, social and geographic communities. The aspiration was that contact with AfroReggae would encourage the young UK artists to reflect on how they deliver practice through insight from working with AfroReggae. The UK artist's projects were delivered in the UK with the support of their host UK arts organisations.

The final phase of *Cultural Warriors* took a delegation of UK artists selected from all the participants on the project, to Rio de Janeiro in March and early April 2012, to deliver arts workshops for AfroReggae's artists and participants and to experience arts practice delivered by other *favela*-based arts organisations. Each delegation participant then disseminated the learning from their work in Brazil at individual presentations in each of the UK arts organisations in the presence of senior AfroReggae artists, at a half-day seminar for practitioners, academics and professionals working with young people held at Queen Mary, University of London on 19th May 2012.

Research Format

Cultural Warriors An international practice based research project for UK arts organisations and emerging artists delivered in partnership with emerging artist from AfroReggae.

Artist, Activist or Warrior? A multi-media e-document arising from *Cultural Warriors*. The document uses a range of media, film, audio and still image to give a sensory background to *Cultural Warriors* and a context on the practice

A written thesis that locates the *Cultural Warriors* practice research in a theoretical framework and examines concepts of performed identity, power and the affective sensation contained in participation on arts activity.

Cultural Warriors.

Cultural Warriors was a series of arts based workshop residencies, seminars, debates and performances, implemented in the UK during 10-14 day visits to the UK and Brazil, from January 2010 to May 2012.⁴² I designed the content of the projects in collaboration with Roberto Pachecho, Co-Artistic Director, AfroReggae and with Luciano Santos, Clovis Santos de Silva and Rafael Coelho Da Cruz, percussion artists from AfroReggae. The project format was designed to offer two forms of access to AfroReggae methodologies for UK arts organisations and the artists they supported. The first was a series of yearly residency visits to the UK by AfroReggae artists. During this residency each UK arts partner received specific arts workshops from AfroReggae and myself. These workshops were designed to allow each UK organisation to derive learning opportunities that were specific to their organisation. The second opportunity was held at the resolution of each AfroReggae yearly visit, and brought all the young artists together at one of the UK host organisations, to collectively reflect, share practice and receive feedback as a group (the *Cultural Warriors*) from the AfroReggae artists and myself. In the period between AfroReggae visits, I liaised with the UK groups and facilitated shared insight from their learning, with AfroReggae.

⁴² '*Cultural Warriors*' was funded by the Paul Hamlyn Foundation an independent grant-making organisation focussing on the arts, education and social justice. *Paul Hamlyn Foundation*, <<http://www.phf.org.uk>> [accessed 17th December 2014].

Artist, Activist or Warrior?

Artist, Activist or Warrior is multi-media e-book of text, images, videos and audio material derived from the *Cultural Warriors* project. It provides commentary on the project through the addition of media content to allow voices from AfroReggae, the UK participants and arts organisations to be present in the inquiry. This document locates the research in the social context of the UK and Brazil for the duration of the research and offers a media-based perspective on the theoretical framing of AfroReggae presented in the written component. The *Cultural Warriors* project was a series of live practice-as-research activities delivered between January 2010 and May 2012. *Artist, Activist or Warrior*, the digital component of this inquiry, is not designed as an alternative rendering of the *Cultural Warriors* project, it is not a translation of that practice research into another modality.

Cultural Warriors as a research project, was a series of interventions, which by their nature as live sessions were ephemeral. Their ephemerality does not inhibit their value as research and as Phelan comments,

In a very literal sense, of course, performance is ephemeral. It does last a short time, disappear once it is over and then our critical work starts as a response 'to the loss'.⁴³

The ephemerality of the *Cultural Warriors* project was part of the research methodology; it allowed the potential for the project's participants to continue Phelan's

⁴³ Peggy Phelan, *Mourning Sex: Performing Public Memories* (London: Routledge, 1997), p. 3.

critical work after the resolution of the project itself. *Artist, Activist or Warrior*, does not attempt to capture that ephemerality, it offers insight into some of the knowledge acquired on the project by the researcher and participants and is a repository of recordings of events from that project. Those events are located as being illustrative of the knowledge discovered and discussed in the research and as the forum for the promotion of the participants away from a role as passive objects of study and in various degrees into collaborators on the research. The extent to which any of the participants could contribute as collaborators has been modulated by my own role as practitioner/researcher on the inquiry and curator of the material in the digital component.

Written Thesis Document

Piccini, a researcher on Practice as Research in Performance project PARIP,⁴⁴ highlights one of the challenges in the perception of practice as research in relation to any claims that might be made about its contribution as new knowledge,

Traditional research is an original contribution of knowledge, and originality is demonstrable within the research through the academic apparatus of bibliography, abstract, literature review, citations, etc. All of this is made manifest in traditional research but not necessarily made manifest in performance or other forms of practice.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ PARIP, Practice as Research in Performance — was a five-year project directed by Professor Baz Kershaw and the Department of Drama: Theatre, Film, Television at the University of Bristol. PARIP's objectives were to investigate creative-academic issues raised by practice as research, where performance is defined, in keeping with AHRB and RAE documentation, as performance media: theatre, dance, film, video and television. *Practice as Research in Performance - Introduction*, 2001) <<http://www.bristol.ac.uk/parip/introduction.htm>> [accessed 11th December 2014]

⁴⁵ Angela Piccini, *An Historiographic Perspective on Practice as Research* <http://www.bristol.ac.uk/parip/t_ap.htm> [accessed 13th December 2014].

The written thesis seeks to address this challenge by considering AfroReggae's practice within the historical context of the *favela* and by looking at the genesis of AfroReggae within a framework that draws on theory from a range of disciplines. Taking an interdisciplinary overview on AfroReggae, the thesis draws on spatial theory from geography and philosophical considerations of place and configuration of power to situate disparate narratives into a perspective of the *favela*. The writing selects two acts of Brazilian violence, the so-called war of the Canudos (a massacre of poor rural Brazilians by the fledgling Brazilian republican army in 1896-97, which led to the creation of the country's first *favela*) and the massacre of 21 residents by military police in the *favela* Vigário Geral in 1993, which led to the creation of what became AfroReggae.

These events assemble a constellation theory that interrogates the identity of the *favela* and how AfroReggae's artistic practice modulates that identity in a context of exclusion. The research considers interventions that speak to the young residents of the *favelas* of Rio de Janeiro and engages them in dialogue with young people in inner city communities in London, Manchester and Gateshead. These elements are included in the written document as additional context to the practice-as-research. Collectively these three elements form the thesis that is being submitted: The *Cultural Warriors* practice-as-research; the *Artist, Activist or Warrior* e-document and an written thesis. Together these three distinct but inter-related pieces interrogate how AfroReggae created an embodied practice that engages with the histories and narratives of the *favela* to describe positive, new trajectories for young people. The

research examines the implications of these new trajectories on AfroReggae's participants: their identities and their lives.

Chapter Structure within the written thesis:

Introduction

The Introduction gives the background context to this research locating the rationale for practice as research and introducing the format of the *Cultural Warriors* project as practice-as-research to investigate AfroReggae's own practice. Offering an overview of the *Cultural Warriors* project structure, the Introduction locates this inquiry within Cohen-Cruz's concept of 'engaged performance' to enable a positioning of the challenges of analysing AfroReggae practice solely through the disciplinary lens of applied theatre

Chapter One AfroReggae: Identity in Transit.

Chapter One explores Doreen Massey's concepts of the narrative, history and trajectory of space as the 'sphere of possibility'⁴⁶ and Edward Casey's phenomenological impact of human interaction within the meshwork of space in the delineation of place. The chapter details the historical legacy of Brazilian colonialism, republican independence and military dictatorship to reveal the emergence and history of *favela* communities. This legacy locates the social history of *favela* communities within the contemporary life history of Brazil. Chapter One interrogates the significance of the *favela* and the sociability of violence.

Chapter Two. A Tactic of Beauty: Affecting the Disaffected.

Chapter Two draws on the history of AfroReggae addressed in Chapter One to explore how the organisation functions within an exclusionary structure of power as

⁴⁶ Massey, *For Space*, p. 9.

conceived by Michel de Certeau.⁴⁷ It analyses how and why AfroReggae use a tactical frame for their artistic engagement and locates that engagement within conceptions of beauty as a frame for artistic participation. The chapter draws out the impact of the affect of artistic engagement and juxtaposes this impact against the transmissions of affect from trauma and trauma art and the power affect from pain. It concludes with a reflection of the dual operation of the affect of beauty in the emotional and cognitive processes to frame how AfroReggae's choice to enact change in sites of conflict through artistic engagement is transformatory, political and not merely ameliorative. This affective artistic engagement and *favelised* identity of the organisation is reflective of a powerful process which AfroReggae and others in Brazil refer to as a Social Technology of the Arts.

Chapter Three. Rewriting the Script: The Social Technology of the Arts outside Brazil. Chapter Three compares and contrast the socially engaged performance contexts of Brazil and the UK to consider reasons why AfroReggae's practice, which evolved in the specific place of the *favela* is successful in seemingly unfamiliar context of UK inner cities. This chapter offers a thesis that AfroReggae enable a transition of their practice to contexts outside Brazil to extend the aspirations of their *favela* participants. It argues that AfroReggae practice is not out of place in a UK context as the performative dynamic of the AfroReggae identity extends Massey's spatial narratives and trajectories out of the *favela* and into the UK contexts where AfroReggae are delivering practice.

Conclusion.

⁴⁷ Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*.

The conclusion examines the implication of engaged art from the respective practices of the UK and Brazil. It postulates that AfroReggae's Social Technology of the Arts uses the performed identity of the artist to overcome the perceived challenges of power and entitlement in engaged practice and offers considerations of a performed identity as a reflection on the practice of UK artists. It questions whether epistemological discourses about the nature of UK engaged practice simply disempower practitioners and communities by diverting energy and focus from the delivery into fruitless introspection. Does UK engaged arts practice contain the embodied practice evidenced in AfroReggae's Social Technology of the Art, does it need to? And if it isn't a methodological transition of practice from the Brazil to the UK, what is the knowing that is shared? What can an embodied performance of practice, rooted in aspects of a community identity like the *favela*, offer resource-challenged UK engaged artists?

Research Scope

This research acknowledges the conflicting narratives surrounding the term applied theatre, impact on the thinking of UK artists and practitioners. The research does not reject applied theatre as a term and will compare and contrast how conceptions of applied theatre (arts) practice in the UK and Brazil affect the reach and ambition of that practice and practitioners. The research explores the emergence of AfroReggae and its practice in the complex *favela* context and asks what is the nature of that practice aesthetically, politically and socially? This inquiry explores AfroReggae's rationale for utilizing arts as a modality of change in the *favela*, exploring if such an application reduces arts intervention to instrumental action. It investigates how

participation in artistic practice creates platforms for transformation and where and how those platforms are considered.

As an extended practice enquiry into the nature AfroReggae's practice, this research moves beyond the documentation of the impact of their methodology on British arts and cultural institutions, funding frameworks, practitioners and audiences. Richard Ings has already written about AfroReggae's first visit to the UK and their performances at the Barbican in 2006.⁴⁸ Owen has written about the second AfroReggae UK visit to the Barbican in 2007 and their associated workshop project. My own practice contributed material to both of those reports.⁴⁹ This research builds on the discoveries made by Ings and Owen's work, to examine the potential of knowledge exchange from AfroReggae's practice but also encompass the knowledge AfroReggae gained from working in the UK. This practice inquiry follows performance practice research such as Suzy Wilson doctoral research *Performing Medicine*, which examined the use of artistic practice in the training of medical professionals.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Ings, *From the Favela to Our Manor: Translating Afroreggae: The Impact and Implications of an International Intervention in Arts Work with Young People at Risk*.

⁴⁹ Owen, 'In Tune with the Beat of Where They Are: The Afroreggae Uk Partnership in 2007'.

⁵⁰ Suzy Wilson, '*Performing Medicine*' (unpublished PhD thesis, Queen Mary, University of London, 2011).

Chapter 1. AfroReggae: Identity in transit.

With how many Brazils does one make a country called Brazil?
Under the same sky every city is a village, a person, a dream, a
nation. ...
My heart has no frontiers nor clock, nor flag, just the rhythm of a
greater song
We come from the drum of the Indian
We come from Portugal; from the black drumming...
We come from samba, from forró
We came from the future to learn about our past
We come from rap and from the favela...from the center and
from the periphery...

Under the same Sky
Oswaldo Pimentel
& Lula Queiroga⁵¹

The idea of “two Brazils” has been a refrain in interpretations of Brazilian society since Euclides da Cunha proposed a distinction between the urbanized coastal regions and the archaic interior in his classic book ‘The Backlands’ (Os Sertões.) Today the expression is used to refer more generally to the different national spaces inhabited by the privileged few and the disadvantaged many. Sometimes people speak of “many Brazils”.

Frederick Moehn⁵²

Rather than being one definite sort of thing - for example, physical, spiritual, cultural, social - a given place takes on the qualities in its own constitution and description and expressing them in its occurrence as an event: places not only are, they happen. (And it is because they happen that they lend themselves so well to narration, whether as history or as story.)

Edward S. Casey⁵³

⁵¹ Oswaldo Lenine Macedo Pimentel and Lula Queiroga, 'Sob O Mesmo Ceu - under the Same Sky', in *Lenine In cité* (Brazil: Sony/BMG, 2005). translated by Frederick Moehn

⁵² Moehn, 'Music, Citizenship and Violence in Postdictatorship Brazil', (p. 182).

⁵³ Casey, 'How to Get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time.' (p. 27).

Favela: the label of exclusion

To what degree can the AfroReggae practice, which evolved in the improvised environment of the *favela*, be effective when applied within the formal structures of the UK? What can the contexts of Brazilian *favela* and English inner city teach and learn about socially engaged arts practice? To engage with these concepts this chapter will explore representations of the *favela*. It will discuss the narratives and trajectories that are applied to characterise most *favelas* in Rio de Janeiro and across Brazil. This chapter will not infer that the commonality of defining factors attributed to the *favela* allows *favelas* to be understood as homogenous. On the contrary, no two *favelas* are the same and there are a multiplicity of other contributory factors that differentiate one individual *favela* from another that will not be discussed here.

For the Brazilian middle-class elites that are not residents in *favela* communities, the dominance and legacy of exclusionary narratives connected to the term *favela* seems to create a social amnesia over the realities of life in these communities. A historical examination of the roots of the *favela* and the legacy of exclusion in the *favela* past will seek to reveal routes to understanding the motivations, alignment and struggles of the *favela* in the present. As points of entry to the exclusionary discourse of the *favela*, this chapter will focus on two events, the War of the Canudos in 1897 and the Vigário Geral massacre in 1993. These two massacres are iconic for AfroReggae within their history of the *favela* but not unique to the *favela* narrative. They are illustrative of how some narratives of these communities were created. These massacres serve as facts and fable that highlight how the contemporary identities of the *favela*, and in turn AfroReggae, are rooted in the exclusion, repression and marginality of the past.

This chapter will explore the historical and social factors that situate the *favela*, the home community of AfroReggae, as place. It will position the *favela* within what subaltern studies theorist, Ranajit Guha calls a 'life history' of Brazil and speculate on the influence that this life history still exerts on contemporary Brazilian society and specifically on the residents of the *favela*.⁵⁴ The chapter uses the term life history as opposed to 'history' because it encompasses a wider frame than the historical consideration of events. 'The term "life history" acknowledges not only that personal, temporal, and contextual influences facilitate understanding of lives and phenomena being explored'.⁵⁵

It is the *favela* residents who comprise both the participants and practitioners of AfroReggae. This chapter will examine the complex interrelationship between assumptions, historical narrative and myths of the *favela* to assess their collective impact on the performance of the AfroReggae identity. Drawing on phenomenological conceptions of the *favela* as a live, 'performed' space, to speculate on the continuing influence of historical *favela* narratives. It will juxtapose AfroReggae's performance of identity with other 'social performance' moments operating in the *favela* and use a spatial analysis of a *favelised* Afroreggae identity to map the DNA of the organisation. The chapter will continue to draw on the concepts of narratives and trajectories to analyse the implications of transporting AfroReggae's practice out of the *favela*, the place for which it was created. To locate the significance of AfroReggae's practice within the *favela* and contrast this with the use of their methodology outside the *favela*,

⁵⁴ Guha, *Subaltern Studies : Writings on South Asian History and Society. Vol.2.*

⁵⁵ Ardra J Cole and Gary J. Knowles, *Lives in Context: The Art of Life History Research* (Lanham, New York, Toronto, Oxford: Altamira Press, 2001), p. 10.

Rio de Janeiro and Brazil, it is essential to start with an analysis of the genesis of the *favela* as place and how this situates AfroReggae.

How can the complex and contradictory narratives of the space of the *favela* be understood? Doreen Massey (2005) in her conceptions of space in geography has three propositions that are useful here when beginning to consider the narrative space of the *favela*. Firstly, she contends that the composition of space is an amalgamation of relationships: 'the product of interrelations; as constituted through interactions, from the immensity of the global to the intimately tiny'.⁵⁶ Secondly, Massey asserts that space is 'the sphere of the possibility of the existence of multiplicity in the sense of contemporaneous plurality; as the sphere where distinct trajectories coexist'.⁵⁷ These two propositions assert that finally any propositions to understand space must take into account that multiple and, in the case of the *favela*, potentially conflicting trajectories may coexist simultaneously. Massey's final proposition, the simultaneity of conflicting trajectories, is useful in revealing the mutable environment that characterises the *favela*: 'space is always under construction...perhaps we could imagine space as a simultaneity of stories so far'.⁵⁸ This sense of the immediate or iterative nature of space is also contained in Massey's use of the term 'trajectory.' For Massey the meaning of trajectory is phenomenological: 'simply to emphasise the process of change in a phenomenon... [or] simply the history, change, and movement of 'things themselves' or her sense of 'story so far'.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Massey, *For Space*, p. 1.

⁵⁷ Massey, *For Space*, p. 1.

⁵⁸ Massey, *For Space*, p. 1.

⁵⁹ Massey, *For Space*, p. 5. original use of quotation marks

The Origins of a community

To begin to understand how and where this 'story' of the *favela* starts it is necessary to look back into the history of the formation of Brazil. Brazil's 'life history' plays the defining role in a foundational discourse and ongoing narrative of marginality. The definition of the *favela* as a territory has its roots in a complex and contested narrative with a legacy of exclusion that has been woven into the fabric of Brazilian society since the Sixteenth Century and its colonization by the Portuguese and other European powers. The Portuguese 'discovery' of Brazil in 1500, set the country on a trajectory that still influences how Brazil is perceived externally and how the country identifies itself.⁶⁰ Part of Brazil's legacy of colonialism is a system of social stratification and exclusion, suffused in the complex discourses of racial superiority and class identity. The *favela* takes its place on Brazil's continuum of exclusion; a continuum beginning with the Portuguese empire's subjugation of indigenous Indian and African slaves; extending into the present day with the experiences of *favela* inhabitants and their relationships with the city.

The interplay of history, attitudes, and external projections of narrative on the *favela* reveal a constellation of signifiers that situate the *favela* trajectory into a designated stratum of Brazilian society. As will be seen in Chapter 3, this specification can be read as defining a habitus of the community, although habitus is not defined as a structure, it uses the interplay of structural systems to sustain it. This argument locates

⁶⁰ At the time the first Europeans encountered Brazil it was inhabited by hundreds of indigenous tribes. There is evidence of human habitation ten thousand years before its sighting by Portuguese explorers in 1500. Robert M Levine, *The Brazil Reader* (London: Duke University Press, 1999), p. 11.

the *favela* into a stratum, which is historically fractured along fault lines of ethnicity, freedom, wealth, class and geography, creating not one Brazil, but many.

This narrative is fundamentally significant to the identity of AfroReggae, as the foundational basis of their practice, AfroReggae would not exist in their current formulation were it not for the manifold trajectories of the *favela*. The *favela*, conceived within this fractured, multiple Brazil, occupies a paradoxical position of being *in* the city but not considered *of* the city: within but without. This perceived divide between the *favela* and the official city or '*asfalto*' has been a breach that has come to characterise the marginal, improvised existence experienced by many *favela* residents.⁶¹ To understand this Brazilian conception of marginality this chapter will examine Rio de Janeiro, the home of Brazil's first and oldest *favela*.

A Narrative of Exclusion

Exclusion and marginality have been woven into the fabric of this city since its establishment as part of the 'Portuguese Americas,' with the settlement of Brazil by European colonists and their captive African slave population, triggering a significant, irreversible impact on Brazilian conceptions of identity. Gilberto Freyre in '*The Masters and the Slaves - a study in the development of Brazilian society*' (1986) details the experience of Portuguese conquerors:

With European intrusion, the social and economic life among the aborigines of America was disorganised and the balance in

⁶¹ Asfalto - literally meaning tarmac is the colloquial term for the planned organised city. Taken in counterpoint to the improvised 'mud' of the morro or hill as many but not of these communities are on the steep hills above the city often seen as land that was too dangerous or unstable for commercial landlords to risk building on.

the relations of man to his physical environment was upset. There began then the familiar degradation of a backward race in contact with an advanced one⁶²

For Freyre, what differentiated the Portuguese colonist from their Spanish and British counterparts were the methods they employed to effect this erosion of Brazilian indigenous culture. The Portuguese relationship to the indigenous Indian population in Brazil differed to that experienced by the Spanish in the rest of the Americas. The Inca, Mayan and Aztec societies that confronted the Spanish, possessed cultures, values and a level of semi-civilisation that, to the Spanish, 'appeared to be dangerous to Christianity and unfavourable to the easy exploitation of the great mineral wealth to be found there'.⁶³ This English desire to garrison a culture through the imposition of a 'colonising faith' was exacerbated further by what Freyre calls an English 'desire to keep themselves immaculate from sexual and social contact with peoples who were repugnant to them by reason of the difference in colour and costume'.⁶⁴

The relatively low number of Portuguese colonists⁶⁵ in such a vast country meant that they sought alternative methods to crusades of faith to facilitate the exploitation of their new territory.⁶⁶ The colonial *bandeira* (slave hunting) expeditions captured and

⁶² Gilberto Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves: A Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization*. trans. by Samuel Putnam (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1986), p. 66.

⁶³ Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves: A Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization*, p. 81.

⁶⁴ Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves: A Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization*, p. 81.

⁶⁵ Levine, *The Brazil Reader*, p. 13. According to Levine there were less than 1,500 European residents in Brazil in 1760-70's which represented 1 European per 1,036 registered inhabitants

⁶⁶ Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves: A Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization*, p. xxxvi. states that some accounts of the Metropolitan population as less than one million at the time of Brazilian colonisation.

enslaved as many as 60,000 indigenous Indians, however, the Indian's lack of resistance to European disease and unwillingness to submit easily to servitude meant that they were not considered a long-term solution for the agrarian colonial economy. As larger areas of the interior were discovered and sugar production became the basis of the economy, the Portuguese looked to their colonies in Africa for a more 'docile' (Freyre's description) indigenous slave workforce, for the solution. The expansion of Brazilian sugar plantations coupled with the discovery of gold and diamond reserves triggered a massive increase in the demand for slave labour to power the new colonial economy.

A Fusion of Cultures

Freyre's account identifies three historical factors that conspired to create the diverse racial or ethnic mix of modern Brazil: the aforementioned explosion in the African slave population; the low number of Portuguese colonists, especially females; and the Portuguese empire's more relaxed views on racial purity. 'Together these circumstances made a mixing of colonial European, indigenous Brazilian and African racial groups inevitable'.⁶⁷ The resultant racial *mélange* led to a prevailing view, challenged by Freyre, that racially mixed populations were physically and culturally inferior to unmixed ones (or at least to unmixed white ones) and that the racial mingling that had so characterised the history of Brazil was therefore the cause of its problems.⁶⁸ Portuguese colonial power, underpinned by its slave economy and racial

⁶⁷ Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves: A Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization*, p. 85. Quotes Roberts Sothey's comments on the fortunate in regard to the relations of the European with the coloured races, but Sothey stresses that this situation arose from necessity rather than any 'deliberate social or political orientation-history of Brazil.

⁶⁸ David H.P. Maybury-Lewis in Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves: A Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization*, p. xxxiv.

dilution of the existing Brazilian population, dominated all levels of Brazilian life and created a social template for modern Brazil: a legacy of class division and, via miscegenation, a deep-seated racial or ethnic unease, in which skin colour and degree of inter-ethnic mixing defined social standing and mobility.

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the commentator Euclides Da Cunha in his 1902 work *'Os Sertões'* - (The Backlands), was one of the first to explore the discourse between different Brazils. *'The Backlands'* captures Da Cunha's heavily biased, personal account of the so called *'Guerra de Canudos'* - War of the Canudos - a military massacre committed in 1897 by former slave conscripts under orders from Brazil's fledgling federal republic. Lori Madden in her research into the conflict highlights the challenges of discovering any definitive account of what happened in the final battle. *'What really happened at Canudos will always remain to a large degree a mystery, for the voice of the Canudos participants was silenced by defeat, and any reconstruction of events would suffer distortion through interpretation'*.⁶⁹

This chapter offers an exploration into the parallel genealogies of the *favela* and AfroReggae, mindful of the possible distortions in any such account. Madden illustrates how *'official'* discourses surrounding the Canudos phenomenon are dominated by outside projections of meaning on the Canudos, along with their labels. *'They have simultaneously marginalised the target population and their own discourse'*.⁷⁰ Later in this chapter I will argue how Madden's observation on the

⁶⁹ Madden, *'The Canudos War in History'*, (p. 5).

⁷⁰ Madden, *'The Canudos War in History'*, (p. 5).

discourses surrounding Canudos can be levelled at contemporary Brazilian observers speaking from relatively similar positions in society, about the *favela*.

The circumstances of a distorted accounting of this bloody conflict have left an enduring imprint on the consciousness of Brazil. *The Backlands - Os Sertões*, though flawed, went on to acquire a near mythical status as a dissertation on conflict in Brazil, not just of Canudos but between the primitive and intellectual, the rural and urban, and the wealthy and the poor at the dawn of the first Brazilian Republic. Robert Levine observes, 'Called the hallmark of Brazil's intellectual coming of age, it [*The Backlands - Os Sertões*] has become a sacred text - leaving its interpretation of Canudos, in turn, virtually untouchable'.⁷¹

Levine calls Da Cunha's 'dualist view of Brazilian society, as irrevocably divided between the archaic primitivism of the backlands [and its residents] and the progressive culture of the [refined] coastal cities'.⁷² Levine echoing the binary perception of Brazilian society, offered by Da Cunha, here manifest in the rural/urban separation but for Da Cunha exaggerated by his own miscegenerational belief that the inhabitants of the backlands were not only primitive but also racially his inferiors. This is a perception of racial stereotyping by the elites to their subalterns that I believe to be still present in modern Brazil.

⁷¹ Levine, 'Mud-Hut Jerusalem' Canudos Revisited', (p. 526).

⁷² Levine, 'Mud-Hut Jerusalem' Canudos Revisited', (p. 527).

What is certain is that ‘soldiers’⁷³ of the Brazilian Federal army were sent to Canudos, a scrub-land in Bahia, north-eastern Brazil, to fight the fourth sortie in the *Guerra de Canudos* of 1899.⁷⁴ This republican sanctioned ‘war’ to depose Antonio Vicente Mendes Maciel, a religious leader who had become known variously by many pseudonyms. Maciel became infamous to the new republic as Antonio ‘*Conselheiro*’: the counsellor.⁷⁵ The forces of the republic had already failed on three occasions to defeat *Conselheiro*, a millenarian lay missionary preacher who had established *Belo Monte*, a thriving agrarian commune in the backlands of the Canudos. *Conselheiro* had been dubbed a revolutionary ‘monarchist’ by the new and unstable Brazilian republic and accused of conspiring to overthrow the regime. Da Cunha, a middle-class former soldier and engineer turned radical, was dispatched to the Canudos as a war correspondent for the newspaper, *O Estado de São Paulo*.

Levine and other commentators on Canudos agree that the events responsible for inciting the violence were less likely to be the actions of *Conselheiro* and more the circumstances surrounding the emergence of a Brazil as a new independent self-governing country. ‘The decision to neutralise and finally destroy Canudos resulted from a convergence of factors all linked to state, regional, and national overreaction in the wake of the instability of the new republic’.⁷⁶

⁷³ The Republic drafted Brazilian soldiers for the fourth battle in the ‘war’, prior to this the combatants were local troops acting under sanction from the local Bahian officials. the numbers of Brazilian army soldiers sent for the last battle varies across accounts, from 6,000-11,000 troops, cannons and cavalry.

⁷⁴ Johnson, ‘Subalternizing Canudos’, (p. 365).

⁷⁵ By the mid-1870’s, Antonio was known as ‘*Conselheiro*’ which signified that he was considered not merely a *beato*, or impoverished lay priest but a wise counselor: a nineteenth-century title which few religious men in the backlands attained. Levine, ‘Mud-Hut Jerusalem’ Canudos Revisited’, (p. 531).

⁷⁶ Levine, ‘Mud-Hut Jerusalem’ Canudos Revisited’, (p. 528).

Manumission to Indenture

One specific factor that led the republic to order the destruction of Canudos was the abolition of slavery in 1888, after international pressure from the British Empire and port blockades by the Royal Navy. The abolition triggered economic uncertainty and a national labour shortage across the country and especially in the sugar and coffee plantations in Brazil's northeastern provinces. Slavery may have been abolished but the attitudes of a class it underpinned endured. For Canudos commentator Adriana Johnson the shift from a pre-to post-slave economy has a significance as far reaching on Brazil as its original Portuguese colonial conquest.

[A] shift in the configuration of power from one based upon a slave economy centred on the sugar producing northeast to a new capitalist-industrial bourgeois society based in the coffee producing southeast, they did not break up the power of the great land owners or diminish the political and social marginalization of vast portions of Brazilian society. Instead, the domination of the landowning class deepened through what Martin Lienhard has called the "second conquest" of Latin America.⁷⁷

It became increasingly clear to the *coronéis* or colonels, regional political officials, and the *fazendeiros* or landowners, who were collectively the power-base of the regime, that they no longer required a Brazilian Emperor to protect their interests. In 1889, this grouping used their influence within the military to trigger a coup that deposed Emperor Pedro II and Brazil became a republic.

⁷⁷ Johnson, 'Subalternizing Canudos', (p. 356). Quoting Martin Lienhard, *La Voz Y Su Huella: Escritura Y Conflicto Étnico-Social En América Latina 1492 - 1988* (Lima: Ed. Horizonte, 1992), in /z-wcorg/ (<http://worldcat.org>) [accessed 07/011/14].

Pre-abolition, the land owning classes or, as Johnson has defined them, the second conquerors of Latin America, had derived great wealth from the slave economy. The change in status of Brazil from colony to federal republic was not going to impinge on the sense of status quo of the land owning class. Some *fazendeiros* offered a compromise to their former-slave workforce of paltry wages to work the land giving the newly freed slaves little option but to exchange manumission for indenture, often working the same plantation fields they had toiled in bondage. As Hudson observes, little else was done to improve the circumstances of the hundreds of thousands of former slaves who found themselves without a place in the new Brazilian society. 'No freedmen's bureaus or schools were established to improve the lives of the former slaves; they were left at the bottom of the socioeconomic scale, where their descendants remain today'.⁷⁸

The new republican regime sought out any potential threats to its stolen legitimacy and in Antonio 'Conselheiro' and his followers, the republic found a focus. Conselheiro had spent years as a nomadic preacher in the Bahian backlands, living frugally and devoting his time to the refurbishment of churches in the rural outland. Conselheiro and 300 followers finally settled in the Canudos, establishing a millenarian commune that he christened *Monte Belo*. Conselheiro's simple theology of the pre-eminence of God in heaven and the predominance of sin on earth, combined with a promise of redemption through penance drew thousands of followers to the compound. *Monte Belo*, which eschewed both money and alcohol, thrived as indigenous peoples, freed

⁷⁸ R A Hudson, *Brazil: A Country Study* (Washington DC: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1998) <<http://books.google.co.uk/books>> [accessed 12th February 2013], p. 68.

slaves, disgruntled workers and landless farmers were drawn to its uncomplicated spiritual certainties.⁷⁹

However, Conselheiro's open criticism of a wayward Catholic Church and his apparent support for the divine right of monarchy; coupled with the growth of the *Monte Belo* compound identified him as a threat: to the local *coronéis* elites, the Catholic Church and a traitor to the republic. After three abortive defeats at the hands of Canudos' adherents-turned-militia, (labelled *jagunços* or 'outlaws' in official accounts of the conflict) the republic sent thousands of soldiers and a cannon unit, accompanied by Da Cunha, to lay siege and eventually destroy *Monte Belo* or as they called it, Canudos.⁸⁰ The eventual 'victory' was a massacre, where up to 15,000 mainly male Canudos residents were slaughtered, though documentary accounts differ over the number of casualties and forms of execution. Da Cunha states that beheading was the form of killing: 'the moment a *jaunço* ['outlaw' follower of Conselheiro] was taken prisoner, if he was able to carry a gun they did not waste time in debate. They cut off his head or ripped out his guts'.⁸¹

Other commentators report that soldiers slit the throats or simply shot the male residents.⁸² Many of the female inhabitants were raped and trafficked into prostitution

⁷⁹ In the main residents were 'Caboclos', north easterners of mixed African Amerindian and European racial origin, although the residents of Canudos [*Monte Belo*] represented a much broader socio-ethnic spectrum than conventionally believed. Levine, 'Mud-Hut Jerusalem' Canudos Revisited', (p. 527).

⁸⁰ The exact number of troops dispatched is as much debated alongside the actual number of residents of Monte Belo.

⁸¹ Cunha, *Backlands: The Canudos Campaign*, p. 431.

⁸² Along with Robert Levine and Lori Madden, Adriana Johnson in her work 'Subalternizing Canudos' (2005) is as interested in the diversity and motivation for the differing accounts of the battle as the battle itself.

in the Bahian State capital, Salvador. Antonio Conselheiro died of dysentery during the siege of the compound. The Canudos community was razed to the ground, after the battle, the republican army disinterred Conselheiro's body displaying his severed head on a pole in Salvador. Despite the lack of clarity around the actual events of the conflict itself, the reaction by the republic and the severity of its response to Conselheiro seared the war of Canudos into the collective memory of Brazil.

Da Cunha records his disgust at what he witnessed of the battle and significantly situates his experiences in the frame of a conflict between power and marginality, presenting this 'war' no longer as a moral battle to protect the Republic but as a very real political and social challenge to the hegemony. Hudson observes 'The campaign's symbolic value as a defence of the republic faded as the reality became known, [Canudos] remained a powerful warning to marginal folk throughout Brazil that they would not be permitted to challenge the hierarchical order of society.'⁸³

Named favela as resistance

It is the narrative trajectory from slavery to the *favela* of the 'marginal folk,' referred to above by Da Cunha that is the focus of this chapter. I will examine the social significance of the creation of the *favela* and the impact of the tropes of marginality, exclusion and subalternhood on the construction of AfroReggae, as they exist today. In exchange for their service, the new Republic promised free land grants in Rio de Janeiro, to the returning Canudos war veterans. The final act of Republican ignominy

⁸³ Hudson, *Brazil: A Country Study*, pp. 58-59.

was the breaking of this promise, the land grants were unforthcoming and the former slave conscripts set up a squatter camp on a hill on the outskirts of Rio de Janeiro. The site of this fledgling settlement was land that historian Carlos Rufin observes was, 'too steep to allow the construction of formal houses, [it] offered a space free from developers' interests'.⁸⁴ Over time, as the soldiers built more robust wooden shacks to replace their temporary shelters, this improvised hillside community became known as 'Morro da Providência' (Providence Hill). Sociologist Janice Perlman relates the conflicted narrative that arose around the identity of the site. 'Some say that the Canudos veterans named the hillside after Monte *Favela*; [after the site of defeated Antonio Conselheiro's *Monte Belo* compound] others believe that there were bushes there, reminiscent of the *favela* bushes in Canudos. - in either case they called their settlement "*favela*".⁸⁵

What is the impact of the consolidation of power by the post Canudos elite Brazilian class in the life history of Brazil? What is the significance of this troubled version of history on contemporary perceptions of the *favela*? One legacy of the Canudos 'war' reveals that exclusionary perceptions of lower class Brazilian (of indigenous or African ethnicity) have remained part of an identity of Brazil's elites for over three hundred years. The material conditions imposed in the time of the first republic continue to be applied by many in power as part of a process of subjugating large sections of the Brazilian society.

⁸⁴ Rufin and Pinto, 'Afroreggae: The Future', (p. 158).

⁸⁵ Perlman, *Favela: Four Decades Living on the Edge in Rio De Janeiro.*, p. 25.

Even if successive democratic governments, such as the Worker's Party administrations of Presidents Lula 2003-11 and subsequently Dilma, (succeeded Lula in 2011 and re-elected 2014,) have sought to alleviate these material conditions, their actions are set against a historical narrative of exclusion of the lower classes that harkens back the society of da Cunha and the Canudos that these twenty-first century governments must challenge. It is an enduring narrative context, reified today by da Cunha's questionable historical commentary, a commentary suffused by the racist ideology of positivism, which remains part of a contemporary narrative for those living in the *favela*.⁸⁶

The application of a constellation of power such as those described in accounts of the Canudos massacre, can be framed by concepts philosopher Michel De Certeau defines in his theories of the practice of everyday life, as a 'grid of discipline.'⁸⁷ This 'grid' is a substrate of beliefs, attitudes and the self-motivated manipulation of institutions by those with power as evidenced in this Chapter by the nineteenth century Brazilian republic during the war of Canudos. De Certeau asserts that this grid 'is everywhere becoming clearer and more extensive in contemporary society.'⁸⁸ This De Certeauian 'grid' can be exemplified in modern Brazil, in the continued negative demarcation of Rio's *favela* communities, which inherit a narrative of elite class domination that perpetuates a post-colonial legacy of marginality, a lack of state

⁸⁶ The positivistic argument advocated August Comte on the natural superiority of the white races over the black races.

⁸⁷ Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, p. xiv.

⁸⁸ Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, p. xviii.

support and for Brazilians of African and indigenous ethnicity, the social implications of a positivist miscegenational past.

Power over the favela

This Brazilian performance of a *favela* 'grid of discipline' is reinforced in the local usage of the term *favela*. When translated the alternatives for *favela* are 'shanty town' or 'slum.' The latter term journalist and commentator on cities, Robert Neuwirth, defines as

[L]aden with emotional values: Slum is a loaded term and its horizon of emotion and judgement comes from outside. A slum is the apotheosis of everything that people who do not live in a slum fear. [It] establishes –a morality that people outside the slum share and implies that those inside it don't.⁸⁹

The emotional value judgment Neuwirth attributes to the term 'slum' is implied by the elites of Rio de Janeiro in their application of the term *favela*. Perlman in over forty years of research into social mobility in *favela* communities cites the stigma attached to living in the *favela* as the single biggest barrier to social integration.⁹⁰ A stigma sufficiently powerful that it conflates other charged social signifiers: ethnicity, gender or educational attainment into one negative 'subnormal agglomeration,' *favela*.⁹¹ It is important to highlight that within Neuwirth's definition, the ascription of slum/*favela* is

⁸⁹ Neuwirth, *Shadow Cities: A Billion Squatters, a New Urban World*, p. 17.

⁹⁰ Perlman, *Favela: Four Decades Living on the Edge in Rio De Janeiro*.

⁹¹ *Favelas* were labelled 'subnormal agglomerations' in the Rio de Janeiro census until the 1920's Perlman, *Favela: Four Decades Living on the Edge in Rio De Janeiro.*, p. 27.

applied externally: imposed onto the *favela*, from the perceived superiority of the *asfalto*. *Favela* residents, however, experience the impact of this denunciation inside the community. For an individual to be labelled as from a *favela* in Rio de Janeiro, presupposes that he/she is poor, of a lower class, has minimal education, is involved in drug trafficking, itinerant, most likely black or of African heritage and rurally migrant. Ethnomusicologist Frederick Moehn has audited how the sum of the above signifiers can be conceived together in a Brazilian realisation of class:

Class should be understood in relation to various other determinants such as race, with the poorest Brazilians tending to be phenotypically darker; or to violence, which disproportionately affects poorer, darker-complexioned (and also younger) Brazilians. Class status, of course, also bears directly on level of education ... and consequently on the kinds of work available to different sectors. It indexes access to the media and political leadership, and the degree of integration into the consumer and information society. Finally, class is also intertwined with place.⁹²

According to the 2010 census there were 763 *favelas* on the hillsides and borderlands of Rio de Janeiro, housing an approximate population of 1.4 million people, which represents 22% of the 6.3 million inhabitants of the city.⁹³ This statistic appears to provide quantified evidence of the marginalised, exclusive and divided city discourse in Rio. However, any reading of the city should be careful to avoid this binary reduction of Rio de Janeiro to the, tarmac of the formal city, the *asfalto*; and the improvised communities, the *favelas* in their midst.

⁹² Moehn, 'Music, Citizenship and Violence in Postdictatorship Brazil', (p. 187).

⁹³ 2010 Census undertaken by the Instituto Pereira Passos (IPP) www.ipprio.rio.rj.gov.br This census does not account for the thousands of *favela* residents who did not complete the census return for fear of of illegal habitation in the community

The *favela/asfalto* dichotomy denudes the complex patterns of diversity hidden within the city and the *favela*. A performance of the *favela* as the marginal, 'other' to the city, effectively obscures their symbiotic relationship. Perlman's research has challenged notions of the *favela* as marginal, asserting that the *favela* is integral to the city and its residents and is not marginalized, its residents are simply 'excluded' by a 'grid of discipline' that surrounds suburban Rio. Perlman states, '*Favela* residents are not marginal at all but inextricably bound into society, albeit in a manner detrimental to their own interests'.⁹⁴

I would observe that for *favela* residents the question of whether they are subject to marginality or exclusion from society is somewhat ambivalent. Ultimately the implications of a divisive trajectory applied by a dominant section of society and exploited by an organised criminal underclass, challenges their daily existence and identity. The term *favela*, as a product of marginality or exclusion, transmits a set of contested external value judgements on these improvised communities, creating what geographer, James S. Duncan defines as 'a false topographic mimesis of the context it seeks to describe'.⁹⁵ Duncan argues such a topography creates a representation of *favelas* that perpetuates 'a science of domination – confirming boundaries, securing norms and treating questionable social conventions as unquestioned social facts'.⁹⁶ Alternatively this topographic mimesis can be described as a reinforcement of subaltern *favela* trajectories or a 'grid of discipline' for these communities.

⁹⁴ Perlman, *Favela: Four Decades Living on the Edge in Rio De Janeiro.*, p. 150.

⁹⁵ James Duncan and David Ley, 'Introduction: Representing the Place of Culture.', in *Place/Culture/Representation*, ed. by James Duncan and David Ley (USA, Canada: Routledge, 1993) (p. 13).

⁹⁶ Duncan and Ley, 'Introduction: Representing the Place of Culture.' (p. 1).

The Live Favela as Place.

What are the implications of a subaltern trajectory on a reading of the *favela*, as framed in Massey's spatial theory, as a 'sphere of possibility'?⁹⁷ Massey's spatial theory makes three propositions for space: as the sphere of multiplicity; created and reconstructed through interrelations. The implications of these propositions for the *favela* are: That the *favela* marginality is mainly defined externally by local, regional and national elites. Massey argues that this external performance of exclusion, de Certeau's 'grid of discipline', is operated by what she loosely terms 'things.' Massey's 'things', in relation to the *favela*, are defined as any of the many interrelated trajectories in the community. These can be social; as in an external demarcation of the *favela* within the social stratification of the city of Rio. Or physical; as in the constant reconfiguration of streets and houses found in the flux a *favela*, and historical; as in the Canudos, one example of a historical narrative that situates the *favela* in a specific context.⁹⁸

For the *favela* as place, the coherence and legibility of Massey's 'things' is complex.

Massey argues,

Things are built into the very fabric of such places as the physical and social precipitates of particular intersections of a multiplicity of trajectories...the histories they embody do not coalesce into a simple coherence. The contests in the histories

⁹⁷ Massey, *For Space*, p. 9.

⁹⁸ There is no formal organisation of *favela* construction and the physical territory can change in relation to a range of circumstance, ranging from which drug faction controls the area to the real estate value of the land.

they embody erupt at different moments dislocating in different ways.⁹⁹

Massey's conceptualisation of the eruption of 'things' as the 'physical and social precipitates' of trajectories reinforces a dynamic imagining of the *favela* as live. It describes a context with a constant interplay of past history, the physical and the social, all blending with contemporary behaviour, to forge the *favela* as place. Massey's theories, that promote liveness and a relation to a dynamic performance of space, bear some resemblance to the conception of place held by philosopher Edward S. Casey.

Casey's argument for the primacy of place defines place as live, as event driven, it emphasises the role of the body: the human sensory subject, to the situation. For Casey it is only through a phenomenological and sensory interaction with place that it is possible to define its spatiality. Only through an experience of place in the space and time of now that meaning and definition can be ascribed. 'Thus place integrates with body as much as body with place. It is a matter of what Basso calls "interanimation".¹⁰⁰ Casey's understanding of place is as an area of containment, a 'gathering in of things',¹⁰¹ which approximates to the place full of 'things' as 'social precipitates' previously discussed by Massey. 'Minimally places gather things in their midst - where "things" connote various animate and inanimate entities. Places also

⁹⁹ Massey, *For Space*, p. 145.

¹⁰⁰ Casey, 'How to Get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time.' (p. 22). Quoting Keith H. Basso, 'Wisdom Sits in Places: Notes on a Western Apache Landscape', in *Senses of Place*, ed. by S. Feld and K. Basso (Santa Fe: Santa Fe School of American Research, 1996) (p. 55).

¹⁰¹ Casey, 'How to Get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time.' (p. 25).

gather experiences and histories and thoughts.¹⁰² Casey's argument is that we can only make sense of our environment through 'interanimation' with the trajectories, or (Massey's) 'social precipitates' of history which then place, as an area of containment, 'gathers in its midst'.¹⁰³

Casey's major point of divergence from Massey is in the definition of this gathering role that place plays as the 'mode of containment'.¹⁰⁴ Massey argues that the conjunctions or precipitates of 'things,' are the result of the 'thrown togetherness of place', where trajectories or stories randomly collide and co-exist in the incoherent fashion described above.¹⁰⁵ For Massey this 'thrown togetherness' is due to the entropy of an open and ever changing space and as such can account for the improvised context of the *favela*. However, for Casey, the 'interanimation of place on the body and the body on place' is not coincidental.¹⁰⁶ It is due to the intentional nature of the body, the individual, on its pathway through the trajectories of place. For Casey the sensing human selects the route that it travels through space and derives meaning through its sensory interaction with the 'things' or precipitates, gathered in the midst of that space by place.

This concept of the interanimation of person with place foregrounds history's continued impact on the *favela*, and accounts for the influence of historical events like

¹⁰² Massey, *For Space*, p. 24.

¹⁰³ Casey, 'How to Get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time.' (p. 25).

¹⁰⁴ Casey, 'How to Get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time.' (p. 25).

¹⁰⁵ Massey, *For Space*, p. 141.

¹⁰⁶ Casey, 'How to Get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time.' (p. 22).

the Canudos war and Providência's creation, on contemporary society and the people and place of the *favela*. Within Casey's conception of place as the containing force via the process of interanimation, the interrelation of historical trajectories and contemporary narratives is also applicable to the trajectories of individuals in the reshaping of the *favela*. However, we do not articulate this containment of these interrelations, we articulate their significance through place: Canudos as the place of a massacre; Providência as the home of the first *favela*. Though Casey asserts that the appearance of the 'holding' is not a literal amassing, trajectories may seem to be ordered when held in place but are in fact a collection of elements that may be 'radically disparate.'¹⁰⁷ The daily existence of *favela* residents in a context of deprivation and drug violence despite the continual re-performance of an elite 'grid of discipline' on their community's standings is a graphic illustration of the conflict and ambiguity of the trajectories contained within the place of the *favela*.

Casey's theory of place is supported by the anthropologist Sarah Pink and others, who stress the need to focus on the social, political and embodied nature of place and place-making. Pink, citing Anthropologists Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson, argues for 'a focus on social and political processes of place making [as] embodied practices that shape identities and enable resistances'¹⁰⁸ Paradoxically the progenitors for the performance of the AfroReggae identity and the political resistance it embodies are miscegenation, poverty and an institutional exclusion with roots in Portuguese colonialism.

¹⁰⁷ Casey, 'How to Get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time.' (p. 22).

¹⁰⁸ Pink, *Doing Sensory Ethnography*, p. 29.

Ideologies of racism and exclusion seem ill suited ancestors for the empowerment and agency that are derived from the AfroReggae *favelised* identity. However, as evidenced by sociologist and long-time collaborator with AfroReggae, Silvia Ramos, the AfroReggae *favelised* identity and practice philosophy actively challenge the commentary in the historic trajectories that created their practice. 'AfroReggae is changing - symbolically - the ideas and images that were frozen before. Rather than trying to change each and every person directly, an impossibility, it concentrates on creating new ideas, new images, new models.'¹⁰⁹

A City of Violence and the Birth of a Movement

This chapter has so far outlined selected examples that describe a subaltern trajectory for the *favela* and the rest of the city. It is a subaltern trajectory in as much as one can define this *favela* trajectory, not by what Guha calls the 'Properties and attributes of [their] own social being but by a diminution, if not negation, of those of [their] superiors'.¹¹⁰ What follows are alternative narratives that trouble the domination the subaltern trajectory projects over the conceptualisation of the *favela*. These new narratives are generated in the same space of the *favela* (and its so-called subalternity), and yet their trajectories chart a new realisation of *favela* communities, which reconstitutes the narratives the past, transforming them into something positive and dynamic in the present.

¹⁰⁹ Quoting Silvia Ramos, Ings, *From the Favela to Our Manor: Translating Afroreggae: The Impact and Implications of an International Intervention in Arts Work with Young People at Risk*, p. 21.

¹¹⁰ Ranajit Guha, *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India* (Durham, London: Duke University Press, 1999), p. 18.

In the city of Rio de Janeiro of the 1990s, there was something that bridged a perceived divide between the *asfalto* and the *favela*, violence. Paul Heritage, academic and applied arts practitioner with over 20 years experience of working in Rio de Janeiro and Brazil, relates the experience of life in a city apparently riven with division:

The residents of Rio experience their city in what might be described as a hybrid condition, as both witnesses of the social divisions and daily collaborators in their maintenance. Although not everyone may experience the effects in direct brutal ways, it is difficult to conceive of a life lived in Rio without reference to the violence and divisions that have come to characterise the city.¹¹¹

From the late 1980s, increasingly the dominant social performance happening in Rio de Janeiro was the proliferation of the drug traffic. Factional drug gangs sought refuge in the improvised and 'excluded' territories of *favelas* using them as bases to store and sell a variety of narcotics. Anthropologist, former boxer and social activist, Luke Dowdney provides a definition of Brazilian drug gangs in this context, as 'highly organised drug selling gangs that originated in Brazilian prisons in the 1970's as a consequence of the conflict between revolutionary groups and the [military dictatorship] Government'.¹¹² Dowdney explains that because of revolutionary leftist groups using bank robbery as a means for obtaining funds to fight the military dictatorship, the federal government created a new statute, Article 27 of the National Security Law of 1969 (*Lei de Segurança Nacional*).

¹¹¹ Heritage, '*Parallel Power: Shakespeare, Gunfire and Silence*', (p. 392).

¹¹² Dowdney, *Children of the Drugs Trade, a Case Study of Children in Organized Armed Violence in Rio De Janeiro*, p. 29.

Sociologist Elizabeth Leeds explains that this new law redefined ‘the perpetrators of the crime of bank robbery as National Security risks’.¹¹³ As a result, a military court tried anyone suspected of the armed robbery of banks, financial or credit institutions. If convicted, perpetrators of these crimes faced between 10-24 years in a maximum-security prison, or the death penalty.¹¹⁴ The implication of the new law was that political prisoners, who perpetrated crimes to fight the dictatorship, were housed in maximum-security facilities with “common bank robbers” who were not politically motivated. The political prisoners, who were mostly middle-class, educated and leftist, came to prison with an organizational [sic] structure and an ideology of the “collective” that they passed on to the “common bank robbers”.¹¹⁵

These “common bank robbers”, who went on to be termed ‘*O Coletivo*’ or The Collective, acquired collective thinking and an anti-dictatorship ideology from the political prisoners and proved a challenge to the military authorities. In an attempt to dilute the power of this new collective, many of its adherents were transferred into the larger prison population, effectively disseminating the ideas of the collective and creating what was to be known as the *Falange Vermelha* (Red Team) or latterly the *Comando Vermelho* (Red Command).‘This second generation of the collective had

¹¹³ Leeds, 'Cocaine and the Parallel Politics in the Brazilian Urban Periphery: Constraints on Local-Level Democratization', (p. 52).

¹¹⁴ Dowdney, *Children of the Drugs Trade, a Case Study of Children in Organized Armed Violence in Rio De Janeiro*, p. 29.

¹¹⁵ Leeds, 'Cocaine and the Parallel Politics in the Brazilian Urban Periphery: Constraints on Local-Level Democratization', (p. 52). (Leeds original use of quotation marks)

learned to use organisational skills, inside prisons and in the *favelas*, to build lucrative cocaine-dealing networks'.¹¹⁶

Drug violence perpetrated by the factional *Comando* gangs assumed control of the *favelas*, filling the vacuum left by social exclusion and the non-intervention of the state. The drug factions went on to set up drug 'empires', reifying the narratives of 'slum' violence already projected on to *favela* communities. *Favelas* became no-go areas to outsiders, even to other *favela* residents. Inside the communities, the threat of violence was commonplace, a new younger generation of drug 'Lords' exercised a quasi-feudal control over all they surveyed. When the drug violence in the *favela*, which had been largely ignored by the rest of the city, spilled out in to the affluent southern zone of Rio de Janeiro, on the beaches of Copacabana and Ipanema, then the formal city began to take notice.

A Second Massacre: the rise of AfroReggae

Favela residents became casualties in the bitter conflicts between rival narco-trafficking gangs and the military police. One of these acts of violence, the massacre of 21 residents in the *favela* Vigário Geral in August 1993, left an indelible imprint, on not only the families of the victims but on the community and the rest of the city. The massacre galvanized the *favela*; it inspired, amongst other social actions, the direction of a fledgling community project binding their trajectory to that of the *favela*, that project was AfroReggae. Grupo Cultural AfroReggae, to give the company their full title, had been in existence for over 20 years, regularly engaging several thousand

¹¹⁶ Leeds, 'Cocaine and the Parallel Politics in the Brazilian Urban Periphery: Constraints on Local-Level Democratization', (p. 60).

participants, mainly young people, in over a 100 programmes of arts and educational interventions. Their projects evidence an emerging portfolio of practice that is strongly rooted in 6 *favela* communities where they are based. As will be seen in Chapter 3, AfroReggae's practice has seen them labelled as one of the most influential of a 'new breed' of Non Government Organisation's (NGO's) offering mediation in the city of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.¹¹⁷

AfroReggae's main methodologies are the use of cultural and artistic activities that broaden the awareness of young people, inviting them to take agency and become empowered, connected citizens, with options other than unemployment or the narco-traffic.

Act locally, think globally

AfroReggae embeds their practice in *favelas* locally, through the development of young leaders from within these communities who are trained to deliver the majority of AfroReggae's cultural offerings. They also represent engaging, more positive role models for young *favela* residents, or *favelados*, than the drug faction members. Luciano Santos, one of the second generation of AfroReggae drummers and artists explains his experience,

The drug factions were a constant presence in my life when I was a kid. Like all the other kids I used to play "Cops and Robbers", and I naturally always wanted to be a Robber. The favela always holds what is closest to it and back then that was

117 See Ramos, 'Brazilian Responses to Violence and New Forms of Mediation: The Case of the Grupo Cultural Afroreggae and the Experience of the Project "Youth and the Police"'. And Yúdice, 'Afro Reggae: Parlaying Culture into Social Justice'.

the [drug] traffic. Now we [AfroReggae,] are the closest thing in the favela.¹¹⁸

What was the formative narrative of AfroReggae and why is that narrative still significant to the relationships they have with their participants? In the following section I will detail the creation of AfroReggae, revisiting the other social actors whose performances mitigate *favela* life. The original idea for AfroReggae arose in the early 1990s from a group of individuals who promoted 'baile funk music' (dance parties) for the younger inhabitants of Rio's *favelas*. A pursuit that belied a knowledge of the darker activities these parties held, that were beyond the control of this small organisation. Funk was the musical genre that attracted loyal support from within the *favela* communities. Though not the direct subject of this research, it is important to contextualise funk within the musical practices of Rio de Janeiro. Paul Sneed, anthropologist and researcher of Brazilian popular culture, observes that funk 'is presently one of two styles [the other is Brazilian Hip-Hop] to embrace self-consciously the social reality of Rio's poor as its origin and essence'.¹¹⁹ Funk's focus on the social reality of the poor creates a frequently paradoxical lyrical content structure that oscillates between lines that glorify violence and offer allegiance to the drug gangs who often 'sponsor' the *favela* funk parties, or *bailles*, and exhortations to love one another, respect family and the need for the ties of kinship.¹²⁰ Owing to the apparently conflicting nature of these of lyrical themes, funk has managed to become a voice for

¹¹⁸ Luciano Santos, 'Personal Interview Luciano Santos Afroreggae', ed. by Sylvan Baker, 2010). Santos was a participating artist in all of *Cultural Warriors* from 2010-12.

¹¹⁹ Sneed, 'Machine Gun Voices: Bandits, Favelas and Utopia in Brazilian Funk', p. 5.

¹²⁰ The drug factions bank roll the parties that attract large numbers of young people and create an immediate market for selling drugs.

those often left unheard, pragmatically holding up a mirror to the competing loyalties and emotions engendered by their realities and aspirations. Sneed notes that funk performs as the voice of an alternative cultural movement; using music to challenge the 'grid of discipline'¹²¹ being propagated by the mainstream mass media:

In Brazilian society, where the Globo network [Brazil's major mass media corporation] and its ilk bombard the spaces of mass culture with a constant flow of classist, racist and sexist texts and images, it is indeed rare to find a counter-hegemonic or alternative cultural movement that has the impact of funk.¹²²

This generically troubled but authentic performance of what Johnson terms a genuine act of 'subaltern insurgency' is lent additional counter-cultural legitimacy by the position taken against it by the state.¹²³ Performing, or listening to, one particular subgenre of funk called 'Prohibited' or *Probidão*, which is firmly located at the glorification-of-the-drug-trafficker end of the music's binary, has been made illegal. Despite funk's positioning as one voice for a counter culture, it should not be assumed that funk artists have collectively adopted a political or social stance, more that at the level of content theirs is an artistic choice to create and perform material that is celebratory of *favela* life in both its positive and challenging aspects. 'Funk is a weapon in a postmodern war, it is at once heroic and delinquent, a cry of protest and

¹²¹ Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, p. xiv.

¹²² Sneed, 'Machine Gun Voices: Bandits, Favelas and Utopia in Brazilian Funk', p. 5.

¹²³ Adriana Johnson (2005) in her essay on the Canudos is critical of reading Euclides Da Cunha's 'Backlands' as a piece of subaltern insurgency. This is mainly because though it is critical of the actions of the elite republic in their treatment of the poor, Da Cunha still considers the inhabitant of Canudos and victims of the massacre, racially his inferior.

resistance, an apology of crime, a vulgar and sexualized commodity and a call to love, fight and live'.¹²⁴

Sneed highlights the ambiguous quality of this cultural resistance in his choice of title for his thesis, '*Machine gun voices: Bandits, Favelas and Utopia in Brazilian Funk.*'

The 'Machine gun voices' in Sneed's title are those of the funk MC's who imitate the sound of weapon-fire in their songs, simultaneously foregrounding the consequences that make the discharging of AK-47's and AR-15's commonplace in the *favela*.¹²⁵

Voices that perhaps send out a clarion call to the Rio elites who pass judgement on the suitability of this music and its *baile funk* parties, which carry with them a perceived and actual threat of violence. Sneed observes:

As a media image, gunfire becomes an emblem of the "violence" and "barbarity" of the poor and the misery of their lives in favelas. By turning the gunfire into a voice of protest and solidarity, funk artists perform a densely suggestive semiotic inversion that subverts this dehumanizing association and opens possibilities for new meanings. Gunfire can be a lament of the conditions of life in favelas and their abandonment by mainstream society, it can be a roar glorifying the power of the favela and its drug lords, or it can be an ominous war cry warning those of the status quo that there is a storm rising.¹²⁶

The fans of funk, labelled *funkeiros*, are predominantly young and from the *favela*, regularly assembling at these *baile funk* events in numbers of up to 1000 to dance, drink, get high, flirt and have fun. Such a volume of *funkeiros* together enjoying these parties creates an instant environment for the illicit sale of drugs and the main

¹²⁴ Sneed, 'Machine Gun Voices:Bandits, Favelas and Utopia in Brazilian Funk', p. xi.

¹²⁵ Combat and semi automatic rifles selected as weapons of choice by the drug gangs

¹²⁶ Sneed, 'Machine Gun Voices:Bandits, Favelas and Utopia in Brazilian Funk', p. 13.

sponsors of '*baile funk*' are the various drug factions that exercise a fearful power over *favela*.

The *baile* is a platform for the presentation of the discourse of the hegemony of the traffickers, a discourse that unifies the community in racial, class and geographical terms as it naturalizes and universalizes the rule of the drug traffickers. Not only are these dances free, a present from the *boca-de-fumo*, but they are stages for the power of the gangsters.¹²⁷ Sneed's 'hegemony of the traffickers' could be seen as an alternative articulation of a De Certeauian grid of discipline. In staging *baile funk* parties the drug factions are seen to be offering 'free' entertainment to their *favela* communities, in the full knowledge that the real 'cost' to the community is the drugs sold at such forums.¹²⁸

The Site of Violence

The discourses surrounding activity at *baile funk* are interpreted in ways that bear a direct relationship to the socio-economic position of the viewer, in a similar narrative to the reporting of the Canudos over a century earlier. This is illustrated in the perception of *baile funk* disseminated through O Globo and other mass-media, who

¹²⁷ Sneed, 'Machine Gun Voices: Bandits, Favelas and Utopia in Brazilian Funk', p. 91.

¹²⁸ Leeds, Zaluar and Sneed are questioning of the manifestation of the power of the drug factions on the favela. Though there is no doubt that all inhabitants of the favela are implicitly implicated in the drug traffic simply by its presence in their communities. The manner in which this relationship is negotiated is observed by Leeds (1996) to have changed over time as the drug leaders direct connection to the favela they control diminishes. Sneed (2003) is eager to point out that defining this relationship and its power dynamics a 'narcodictatorship,' as it is sometimes articulated, elevates the level of control available to the drug gangs beyond the scope of intimidation and violence. The highly armed drug gangs influence the favela, through a blend of this intimidation and different behaviour that may appear to support the community; some maintenance of public order, occasional 'endowments' of goods, services and sports facilities. It is less likely that these acts are altruistic on behalf of the factions and more likely the 'carrot' to the stick that is the drug faction machine-gun.

predominantly cater for the middle class inhabitants of Rio with limited experience of funk or *bailes*. The Anthropologist George Yúdice, in an account as fraught with ambiguity as Madden's earlier examination of the Canudos, details a reading of the media reports of a fight between rival *favela funkeiros* on Arpoador, a beach in the affluent Ipanema neighbourhood of Rio. Yúdice reproduces an account by a middle-class bather and witness to the fighting, noting the use of language that indicates the racial background of the perpetrators.

It was an *arrastão* or looting rampage conducted by 'uma negrada dos subúrbios da Zona Norte' (hordes of dark kids from the slums in the northern suburbs). [in Yúdice's words] This event was reported hysterically by television news shows and newspapers throughout Brazil, as if it were a replay of the LA riots. The television shots ... were clearly meant to provoke fear.¹²⁹

Neate and Platt speaking of the same 1992 *arrastão*, indicate that the main protagonists were young residents from the rival and adjacent favelas, *Vigário Geral* and *Parada de Lucas*, who allowed their rivalry to burst out of the favela and on to the rich beaches of the *Zona Sul* or southern zone.¹³⁰ The nuanced depiction of this *arrastão* and others like it, generated a panic and moral outrage amongst Rio's elite middle classes, many who only experienced *baile funk* through the images presented in the mass-media. These reports of violence at beach *baile funk*, significantly outside *favelas*, drew attention to not only where the *funkeiros* came from in the city, but also their ethnicity and who they were. As mentioned previously the ethnicity of many

¹²⁹ George Yúdice, *The Expediency of Culture: Uses of Culture in the Global Era* (Duke University Press, 2003), p. 118.

¹³⁰ Neate and Platt, *Culture Is Our Weapon: Afroreggae in the Favelas of Rio*, p. 16.

inhabitants of *favela* communities is black or '*mulato*'.¹³¹ This reporting again reveals the ethnic discourse in Brazil that extends back to the events such as the uprising of the Canudos and beyond.

The city of Rio municipal authorities, seemingly fearing a backlash from the vocal *asfalto* elites eventually declared all *baile funk* parties, and the *Probidão* funk performed at them, as illegal.¹³² 'This [change in legislation to outlaw the *baile and proibidão*] can be regarded as one in a long line of knee jerk reactions on the part of Rio's authorities, addressing the symptoms of a problem rather than its cause.'¹³³ Neate and Platt draw attention to the impact that the Rio municipality's prohibition had on the *favela* community. The City authorities were seemingly less concerned with similar violent activity within *favelas* but quickly applied a 'grid of discipline' to events once the violence spread to the *asfalto*.

Neate and Platt assert that the state's failure to tackle the wider issues of drug sale and trafficking which occur around the *baile funk* and their attempt to criminalise the whole activity by making the *baile* illegal sent an implicit message to all *funkeiros* involved. The message was clear: as a resident of a *favela* community you will not receive an equitable level of public security as an elite *asfalto* residents of other districts or suburbs in Rio. As will be discussed in Chapter 2, this spatial action by the

¹³¹ A term Brazilians attribute to any of the mixes of racial heritage that includes a black or afro-Caribbean as one of the parents, when used in Brazil the term itself carries little or no racist implications

¹³² The city authorities may also have been concerned about the effect the *arrastões* could have on the tourist trade located in the zona sul or southern zone of Rio

¹³³ Neate and Platt, *Culture Is Our Weapon: Afroreggae in the Favelas of Rio*, p. 16.

state further evidences how a 'grid of discipline' is aligned against the territory of the favela community exerting additional pressure on its residents, who are already subject to the repressive trajectories outlined earlier in this chapter. The criminalisation of *baile funk* effectively robbed José Junior, entrepreneur and eventual founder of AfroReggae of an income. Junior sought to rebrand his non-drug related *baile funk*-style events as 'Reggae' nights in an initially unsuccessful attempt to retain a share of the street party market. After a number of failures, he eventually succeed in staging a reggae music event, 'Rasta Raggae Dancing' which in his own words eventually grew to be, 'the biggest reggae party Rio had ever seen'.¹³⁴

The sound of reggae, a musical genre mellower than funk, has an identity that can trace its roots via the Caribbean, back to Africa. The reggae sound embodies an awareness of Black Culture and a confidence, which actively encouraged Junior and his of associates to establish '*Afroreggae Notícias*' [AfroReggae News] in 1992. *Notícias* was then a 4-page newsletter that shared this awareness of Black Consciousness to the *favela* community of *Vigário Geral*. AfroReggae News included the representation of black icons, like Bob Marley, Ghandi, Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, individuals who performed a sense of the black identity far removed from that found in the *favela*. The representation of black role models, who were proud, confident and eloquent about their identity and their struggles, was a departure from the cultural content on offer in *favela* communities. The existing role models inside

¹³⁴ Quoting Jose Junior, Neate and Platt, *Culture Is Our Weapon: Afroreggae in the Favelas of Rio*, p. 17.

favela communities were drug gang members, defined by Ramos as living 'the 'glamorous' lifestyle provided by the power and visible presence of firearms'.¹³⁵

Ramos evokes a romantic *favela* perception of a drug trafficker flaunting his capitalist consumer goods, expensive trainers and sports wear, obtained with money from selling drugs and surrounded by a cachet that comes from power-through-fear. This image as embodied by the character of "Little Zé" in *Cidade de Deus- City of God*, has been, and remains, very seductive to young male *favela* residents.¹³⁶ This internationally acclaimed film transmitted a version of a *favela* to the world, bringing the perception of the *favela* into the consciousness of a global audience of millions.¹³⁷ For AfroReggae's recent project work outside Brazil, between 2006 and 2012, the international proliferation of certain mediatized images of the *favela* can be seen as useful, as Ramos comments:

[AfroReggae] seek to create powerful images of young people of the favela who, against all expectations, became filmmakers, stage actors or musicians. In other words...the media, success and fame are understood as ingredients of political militancy. They use insistently the media and seek for partnerships with the great

¹³⁵ Silvia Ramos, 'The "Pedagogy of the Drums": Music and Art as Mediators between Youngsters from Favelas and Policemen in Brazil', in *Conference on Music and Cultural Rights - Trends & Prospects* (University of Pittsburgh, 2005) (2).

¹³⁶ *Cidade De Deus - City of God*, dir. by Fernando Meirelles, (Miramax, 2002).

¹³⁷ According to the Internet Movie Database *Cidade de Deus* was nominated for 4 U.S. Academy awards and won 57 other film awards. *Internet Movie Database*, <<http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0317248/>> [accessed 14th October 2013].

communication corporations, appearing not only as artists, but also as leaders talking in the name of the young people from the favelas.¹³⁸

New voices, New trajectories

In a manner reminiscent of Brazilian Funk's 'Machine Gun Voices' referred to earlier by Sneed, AfroReggae trouble the negative hegemony view of the *favela* by consciously subverting and encouraging a diverse viewing of the lives and sociabilities of those in *favela* communities.¹³⁹ Afroreggae bring attention to the plight of those caught up in poverty, exclusion and drug violence, by increasing their visibility through their 'performance' of *favela* lifestyle, which encourages the agencies in government to reassess the issues and their responsibilities to the *favelados* as citizens. AfroReggae are able to take the narrative of the 'grids of disciplines' applied by history to the *favela*, the state and even the situation of the drug traffick, to create counter narratives voiced by competent and confident *favela* residents who possess a sense of agency absent in the externalised discourse of their situations.

The re-imagining of multiple Brazils into constructions generates increased opportunities for the *favela*. Psychologist Sandra Jovechelovich (2012) in her research observed this transformational component of Afroreggae's practice into what she defines as the 'Underground Sociabilities' operating in the *favela*.

The modus operandi of AfroReggae and CUFA [another Rio *favela* based NGO] is to "make the invisible visible" and

¹³⁸ Ramos, 'The "Pedagogy of the Drums": Music and Art as Mediators between Youngsters from Favelas and Policemen in Brazil', (423).

¹³⁹ Sneed, 'Machine Gun Voices:Bandits, Favelas and Utopia in Brazilian Funk'.

establish a line of conversation with the state, the police and society as a whole. These groups bridge urban divides by presenting themselves to mainstream society in a way that showcases the richness of favela culture, its humanity and manifold cultural productions, the different types of peoples and experiences that take place in *favela* life, challenging dominant representations about the *favelado* that are typical of life in the 'asfalto' [...] These groups push the state, institutions and ordinary people into looking at excluded and "invisible" parts of town [Rio] in a different way. They present themselves in a new light and show that there is more to *favela* life than violence and the drug trade. By doing so they also renew the self-esteem of young people in their communities and offer a way out to sociabilities that remain marginalised and underground.¹⁴⁰

First Incarnation

This rewriting of the narrative trajectory of the *favela* by the residents themselves was revolutionary and in order to further understand its significance I will look in detail at the emergence of AfroReggae as a force. *AfroReggae Noticias/ News* was the 'first incarnation which began to coalesce AfroReggae's distinctive *favelised* identity, drawing on the confidence and celebratory power of black consciousness not led by a desire to identify victimhood and blame an unfair social system that was seen to be stacked against those from *favela* communities. In embracing the signifiers of reggae in everything including their name, the identity adopted by AfroReggae of the early 1990's sought out positive strong black protagonists and began to include discourse from the civil rights and Black Power movements of the United States of America.¹⁴¹ It is a political discourse in which identity and blackness is not a negative and reveals a

¹⁴⁰ Sandra Jovchelovitch and Jacqueline Priego-Hernandez, *Underground Sociabilities: Identity, Culture and Resistance in Rio De Janeiro's Favelas* (London School of Economics and Political Science, London, 2012), p. 10.

¹⁴¹ Power for black people; used as a slogan of varying implication by, or in support of, African American civil rights workers and organizations. The Oxford English dictionary. www.oed.com accessed 3rd August 2012. Web

history and heritage to be celebrated. In the early phases of AfroReggae, and examined in detail in Chapter 1, the organisation began to explicitly challenge the post-colonial trajectory of miscegenation in the space of the *favela* challenging the 'grid of discipline' from within. The AfroReggae artists of the early 21st Century now embody a confidence and pride in their ethnicity, community and heritage that is typified by the choice of statue on the roof of their cultural centre in Vigário Geral. The Cultural Centre Waly Salomão is topped with a large silver closed fist sculpture seemingly making the black power salute made famous by black athletes John Carlos and Tommy Smith at the Mexico Olympic games.¹⁴² In a manner that signifies the anthropophagic nature of Brazilian cultural history, to adapt and develop by 'eating'/absorbing elements from outside. AfroReggae seek to take signifiers from the world beyond the *favela* and represent them within a frame more recognisable to the community.¹⁴³ The silver fist atop of the cultural centre in Vigário Geral can equally be read in the *favela*, to represent the 'Figa' a symbol from AfroBrazilian and Candomblé traditions that signifies good-luck or a sympathy with the struggle of black people across the Americas.

In the 20 years since the first *AfroReggae Notícias* appeared AfroReggae have developed a methodology that is enabling them to challenge and manipulate the oppressive discourses surrounding their community. Jovechelovitch makes the following comment on this emerging practice.

¹⁴² Gary Younge, 'The Man Who Raised a Black Power Salute at the 1968 Olympic Games', *The Guardian* 2012.

¹⁴³ Ings, *From the Favela to Our Manor: Translating Afroreggae: The Impact and Implications of an International Intervention in Arts Work with Young People at Risk*, p. 15.

AfroReggae work inside their communities of origin but their outlook is outside; they are unashamedly interested in establishing a channel of communication with the city, the country and indeed the world. They use the idea of mixture and combination of differences productively bringing together actors, activities and institutions that would rarely operate together otherwise.¹⁴⁴

At the beginning of their journey this confidence in their actions was not the case, AfroReggae founder José Junior, talks about that beginning: 'AfroReggae was created by a group of people who have failed at everything in their life, but people who had a sense of utopia. When you unite failure and utopia you create a magnetic field.'¹⁴⁵

Reincarnation

The 1993 events that led up to the reincarnation of AfroReggae and the creation of that 'magnetic field' Junior evokes, were extreme and required a high degree of internal adjustment from the individuals who would become the AfroReggae. The story of the events of the massacre is recounted here by Richard Ings in 'From the *Favela* to our Manor,' a report of AfroReggae's first Barbican residency in 2006:

A disguised convoy of military police drove one August evening in 1993 and shot 21 innocent residents dead – in the bar, where people stood drinking; in a house where a whole family were at prayer; whoever they could find in a fury of revenge for the murder of a corrupt police captain and his three colleagues by

¹⁴⁴ Jovchelovitch and Priego-Hernandez, *Underground Sociabilities: Identity, Culture and Resistance in Rio De Janeiro's Favelas*, p. 9.

¹⁴⁵ José Junior, 'Afroreggae Seminar: The Edge of the Future: Renegotiating Power', in *AfroReggae Explosion Southbank Centre*, (2010).

the local drug baron the previous day. The massacre sent shock waves through the city and the whole country.¹⁴⁶

In the immediate wake of the massacre, the distraught residents of Vigário Geral laid the open coffins of the victims across the nearby Avenida Brasil, the main road into the city, in an act that seized the attention and outrage of not only Brazil but the rest of the world. At the time, the massacre was featured on European news media and the investigation of the military police murders drew the attention of human rights organisations around the world such as Amnesty International.¹⁴⁷ Neate and Platt (2006) assert that the choices made by AfroReggae immediately after the Vigário Geral massacre were instrumental in the development of the organisation as it is now. They assert the massacre 'was the tragedy that gave birth to the movement.'¹⁴⁸ At the time of the massacre the individuals and *fevalados* who would go on to become the central figures within the AfroReggae story could have no idea of the future significance of their decisions. AfroReggae band vocalist Anderson Sá describes that moment:

We didn't know that AfroReggae was going to be what it is today – when it started, some of us couldn't even afford the bus fare. We had no experience of social work; all we had was goodwill and many barriers in front of us.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁶ Ings, *From the Favela to Our Manor: Translating Afroreggae: The Impact and Implications of an International Intervention in Arts Work with Young People at Risk*, p. 15.

¹⁴⁷ AMR 19/015/2003 Amnesty International, 'Amnesty International, Brazil: Rio De Janeiro 2003: Candelária and Vigário Geral 10 Years on, 28 August 2003,' 2003).

¹⁴⁸ Neate and Platt, *Culture Is Our Weapon: Afroreggae in the Favelas of Rio*, p. 18.

¹⁴⁹ Quoting Anderson Sá vocalist Banda AfroReggae Ings, *From the Favela to Our Manor: Translating Afroreggae: The Impact and Implications of an International Intervention in Arts Work with Young People at Risk*, p. 16.

It is perhaps surprising that in a community that lives cheek-by-jowl with extreme acts of violence, that the intuitive response of the founders of AfroReggae was to use art and goodwill to respond to the vulnerability of their community after the massacre of this scale, rather than seek violent reprisals for the crimes. This next section will explore the implications of this choice for both AfroReggae and the community. Ings argues, creating a social project may not have been the reaction of many *favela* residents confronted with an act of violence of the magnitude of the Vigário Geral massacre. Ings comments, 'The most obvious reaction to the massacre [for Anderson] would have been finally to throw in his lot with the Comando Vermelho (Red Command), the drug faction that dominated Vigário Geral then, and join the endless dialectic of revenge. Instead, he elected to reject violence altogether.'¹⁵⁰

The decisions made by Sá and the rest of AfroReggae at this point begin to reveal what would eventually become a central tenet in the performance of the *favelised* identity of AfroReggae. Returning to the theories of Massey and Casey, the choices made by the organisation at this time evidence how the violent trajectories of a *favela* massacre and the fledgling 'magnetic field' of social project can coexist in the same place, 'gathered in' or 'thrown together' in the space of the live *favela*.

Like Anderson, the majority of AfroReggae's founder members were from Vigário Geral, many had lost friends or relatives in the massacre. It is less surprising that post-massacre these people would want to be involved in some activity that aspired to intervene in the cycle of community violence. The formative trajectories of *favela*

¹⁵⁰ Ings, *From the Favela to Our Manor: Translating Afroreggae: The Impact and Implications of an International Intervention in Arts Work with Young People at Risk*, p. 16.

communities, and the day-to-day exposure to violence that is a by-product of this environment, can perhaps be seen to contribute to the resolution that emerged. At this point, AfroReggae were a group of *favela* residents, without real power, or skills, coming together to attempt to make a difference.

In the aftermath of the massacre, the emerging activities of AfroReggae would go virtually unnoticed, obscured by the global attention generated by the massacre and the dysfunctional State investigation into the police officers implicated in the crimes. Thompson observes that these kinds of activity, in this case by the State of Rio, the world media and the drug faction following the Vigário killings, are symptomatic of the wider context in which socially engaged interventions like AfroReggae's, exist. Thompson seeks to draw attention to these actions, which he defines as 'wider social performances,'¹⁵¹ as potentially, dictating the reach of what can be considered the 'narrower' social performances of groups like AfroReggae. Thompson argues,

using performance to refer to both artistic processes and to a variety of other social phenomena, [...] inevitably draws attention to how these versions of performance overlap, interact and sometimes compete. Performances with communities are happening within wider social performances, and the limits of the former can only be understood within a close analysis of the framework of the latter.¹⁵²

Over time the activities of AfroReggae would gain momentum and become a viable alternative to the often unremarked on, casual violence of the *favela*. This agnosia to the violence in the *favela* community is highlighted in the initial voice-over at the

¹⁵¹ Thompson, *Performance Affects: Applied Theatre and the End of Effect*, p. 8.

¹⁵² Thompson, *Performance Affects: Applied Theatre and the End of Effect*, p. 8.

beginning of '*Favela Rising*' an U.S. documentary made about AfroReggae.¹⁵³ In the film it is Anderson Sá again who is talking, describing 'My first childhood memory', struggling to see a drug faction murder through the obscuring fingers of his mother, a crime committed by the drug faction Red Command or *Comando Vermelho* - who controlled *Vigário Geral* at that time.¹⁵⁴ The first words of the film that can be read as a testimony of life in the community, position the lived experience for a young boy growing up in a *favela*. JB, AfroReggae Coordinator and former senior Red Command drug gang member, gives another example of the gathering power of the place of the *favela* and its impact on personal narratives. He describes the *O Traffico*, or drug factional life he led prior to joining AfroReggae, 'You can't [completely] get away from the world that you lived in, the perverse things that you saw and did... All this has sunk into your unconscious and you can't escape it'.¹⁵⁵

Together these testimonies illustrate how, for many *favelados*, extreme violence is a commonplace aspect of *favela* life and constant exposure to it diminishes its emotional charge. It becomes a tangible 'social precipitate' of the trajectory of the *favela* that has to be mediated just to survive. This fact of repeated exposure to the affective charge of violence, or the threat of violence, which has become part of the fabric of everyday *favela* life, reveals the scale of the dilemma faced by the founders of AfroReggae and the residents and affiliates of Vigário Geral. This situation raises a number of questions: How realistically does an individual survive within the *favela*

¹⁵³ *Favela Rising*, dir. by Jeff Zimbalist and Matt Mochary, (V. O. Y. Pictures, 2007).

¹⁵⁴ *Favela Rising*, dir. by Zimbalist and Mochary.

¹⁵⁵ Neate and Platt, *Culture Is Our Weapon: Afroreggae in the Favelas of Rio*, p. 42. Quoting 'JB' Co-Ordinator, AfroReggae.

community without joining the drug factions? And what is the composition of the identity of such survivors? This is not to assert that most residents succumb to the drug factions, but what is it that allows them to resist? Liv Sovik takes a perspective on the formative tensions in the production of a Brazilian identity:

According to Stuart Hall, and certainly the Brazilian case is evidence for this view, tensions are constitutive of identity, which bring together our sensuous subjectivity with our subject positions, our social location. To form identity, such tensions require a suture between what the media and other public discourses call on subjects to be and what they identify with. On this point Hall writes: I use 'identity' to refer to the meeting point, the point of suture, between on the one hand the discourses and practices which attempt to "interpellate", speak to us or hail us into place as the social subjects of particular discourses, and on the other hand, the processes which produce subjectivities, which construct us as subjects which can be 'spoken'. Identities are thus points of temporary attachment to the subject positions which discursive practices construct for us.¹⁵⁶

In relation to the idea of a 'live' *favela*, Sovik and Hall unite the polysemic, intentional body that Casey argues is required for interanimation. Sovik's refers to 'social location' positioned to by Hall, in the 'suture' of what the media and other public discourses call on subjects to be and what these subjects then identify with. These identifying elements have been discussed so far in this chapter as, the many external and internal trajectories present in the place of the favela. Sovik states that identity is temporarily formed at the meeting point of these trajectories and constructed through 'discursive practices'.

¹⁵⁶ Liv Sovik, 'Affect, Social Differences and Brazilian Identity Discourse', in *Latin American Studies Association* (Washington DC, 2001) (1). Quoting Stuart Hall, 'Introduction: Who Needs 'Identity'', in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, ed. by Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay (London: Sage, 1996) (p. 5).

AfroReggae's methodology intervenes in the melange of trajectories, in and about the place of the *favela* and attempts to re-position AfroReggae participants as agents. This process of re-location produces new subjectivities that allows participants to shape a new discourse on the *favela*. The fledgling AfroReggae in their first incarnation as event promoters and pamphlet writers, acted from within the containment of the place of the *favela*. Examining their activities at the beginning of 1990's it is difficult to discern the boundary where the trajectory of the *favela* ended and the performed identity of the emerging NGO began.

Exiting The 'Land of The Dead': The New Favelado

Post Vigário massacre, AfroReggae began the process of assimilating the knowledge they had acquired through black consciousness, funk and reggae music and applying it to the needs of the *fevalados* of *Vigário Geral*, though immediately after the massacre they would *not* have defined such a process of agency in these terms. They had no cognizance of future impact of their work. Anderson Sá:

In the early days, we could be rehearsing in the very entrance to the favela when shooting might begin at the [favela] drug selling point. Eventually, we got to the point when the dealers would not respond to the police fire, knowing we were there, and the police would not enter the community, knowing we were there.¹⁵⁷

From 1993, AfroReggae began to create a platform to offer young people an alternative to the 'glamour' of drug trafficking through aspiring to the performance of

¹⁵⁷ Ings, *From the Favela to Our Manor: Translating Afroreggae: The Impact and Implications of an International Intervention in Arts Work with Young People at Risk*, p. 15. Quoting Anderson Sá.

the following mission, 'To promote social inclusion and social justice using art, Afro-Brazilian culture and education to bridge differences and create the foundations with which to build sustainability and exercise citizenship'.¹⁵⁸

AfroReggae drew on their embodied knowledge of the trajectories of the *favela*, knowing acquired by virtue of being in a space that is constituted as place through 'a gathering' in of narratives and histories. As individuals, they need not have direct cognizance of events such as Canudos war, or the 1993 Vigário massacre their legacy is held by the place of the *favela*. As Casey states, 'places gather experiences and histories, even languages and thoughts'.¹⁵⁹ AfroReggae used all of these interrelations, and an emerging awareness of U.S. Black Consciousness, moving as Sovik comments, 'like a collective Orpheus, who visits the Land of the Dead to bring back his Eurydice, joining the two [*favela*] domains, of joy and of suffering, by the affirmation of affect, art and music'.¹⁶⁰

AfroReggae began to mold a methodology based on the celebration of the positives of a *favelised* identity and pride in a cultural heritage that stretches back to Brazil's history of colonial slavery. This practice of a dynamic performed-*favela* identity is now part of what AfroReggae refer to as their Social Technology or the mode in which they articulate their practice. For this Social Technology to be a mobile and effective form of mediation it is required to describe a trajectory of inclusivity and empowerment, which resonates for all participants to whom it is offered. This means AfroReggae's

¹⁵⁸ Ings, *From the Favela to Our Manor: Translating Afroreggae: The Impact and Implications of an International Intervention in Arts Work with Young People at Risk*, p. 15.

¹⁵⁹ Casey, 'How to Get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time.' (p. 24).

¹⁶⁰ Sovik, 'Affect, Social Differences and Brazilian Identity Discourse', (2).

Social Technology and their use of a '*favelised*' identity (the identity emanating from the trajectories 'gathered' in the place of the *favela*), speaks with the voice of the *favela* even when the artists using the Social Technology are not in place in that community.

The collective experiences found in *Funk, AfroReggae Notícias* and the aftermath of the massacre of Vigário Geral, demonstrated to AfroReggae that an effective process to empower the *favela* community was to profile the enduring creative spirit already present in *favelas*, as an integral element of the *favela* identity. It was their aim in this process, to celebrate *favela* creativity through their reading of *favela* culture. Some elements of this culture such as, drumming, African dance and capoeira - would explicitly and implicitly celebrate Afro-Brazilian traditions, while other activities, such as providing libraries and information technologies in their cultural centres, or *nucleos*, focuses on raising the capacity, opportunities and aspirations of the *favela* communities.

It can be argued that in developing their effective engagement with young people, AfroReggae drew inspiration from one of the social actors with most responsibility for challenges in their communities: the drug traffic itself. AfroReggae have noted and often directly experienced the seductive elements of the narco-traffic.¹⁶¹ Many *favela* residents have an association with one of the factions controlling their communities, through a friend or relative and even those with no direct connection have a blurred

¹⁶¹ Neate and Platt, *Culture Is Our Weapon: Afroreggae in the Favelas of Rio*. The book contains many accounts of current AfroReggae members and their experience of the drug trade in favelas, the quotes from Luciano, JB and Anderson in this chapter all relate to their individual encounter with drug trafficking

complicity to the traffic as their day-to-day activities bring them into contact with gang members: for example, selling food or drink to gang members. The legitimate and illegal economies of the *favela* are symbiotically linked; with the fortunes of the latter directly effecting the former.

AfroReggae's continued sensitivity to the social performances of the drug factions allows them to subvert the sociability hidden in the attraction to drug trafficking and gang culture to promote their own mission. In terms of the authenticity of their 'Social Technology, it is significant that many of the founders and artists working in AfroReggae still live or have links, within *favelas*. This experience and insight allows AfroReggae to function inside these communities with a sense of authoritativeness acquired through the embodied experience of their social conditions. An added benefit of this 'authenticity' is that when AfroReggae are operating in social arenas outside the *favela* communities, (including in the UK), they are able to make this *favelised*-community-awareness mutable, adjusting their sociability according to the conditions they encounter and respond to an unstable fast changing world. This ability to modulate their sociability is explored later in this chapter.

AfroReggae bring the 'gathering power' of the place of the *favela* to non-Brazilian participants with limited, or no experience, of *favela* settings and the identity of the community. A version of this *favelised* identity is intentionally transported into contact with their new participants, to compare and contrast with their own, through the bodies of AfroReggae artists, consciously 'thrown together', in the multiplicity of narratives of the new participants' place. Casey defines this passage of sociability in two connected ways within his conception of place. Casey differentiates between modes of transition

using the notions of 'transition' and 'transportation'. Casey defines transition as, 'I move in order to pursue my own purposes, purposes that can be attained only in the new place to which I move'.¹⁶² In this understanding, Casey locates transportation is being 'passively carried by an animal or machine whose purposes are independent to my own'.¹⁶³ This reading highlights AfroReggae's intentionality in the bringing together of trajectories for the potential of change. AfroReggae actively seek to braid the trajectories of the *favela* and other sites outside their community to simultaneously enable transformations outside the *favela* and a capacity for *favela* residents to perceive AfroReggae's 'transition' outside the community and reconsider the value of their own identities. What has happened with AfroReggae and the other groups of NGO's that arose at the similar time in the 1990's is that they placed a new character into the complex *favela* discourse.

New Agents, New Mediators

The new iteration of the *favelado* performed by AfroReggae in the 1990's, was not one that had been seen by the *asfalto* elites before. Previously young, black *favela* males were seen, when they were seen at all, as either 'bandits' who were dismissed as villains; or 'good boys' who were subservient and ashamed of their *favela* community, any aspiration they held was towards the better life in the *asfalto*. Through the development of their concept of 'Social Technology', AfroReggae brought young *favelados* to the *asfalto* (and out of Brazil), who look like the bad guys of the existing exclusionary discourse, but have the confidence and knowledge of a new form of

¹⁶² Casey, 'How to Get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time.' (p. 49).

¹⁶³ Casey, 'How to Get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time.' (p. 49).

good guy. As is noted by AfroReggae Joint Artistic Director Johayne Hildefonso in Chapter 2, these 'new' *favelados* are proud of who they are and where they are from: their aspirations are connected to the *favela* and its development. There is a process of re-description that is ongoing: to be in transit means to be on a journey where there is no sense of a destination.

Direction of Travel

AfroReggae's first apparent transition was out of the *favela* to the *asfalto*. Since crossing this threshold they now run projects that partner with the Brazilian State, the police and projects that have an international reach. AfroReggae's direction of travel for this process is still back to the *favela*. A prime motivation for this threshold crossing and international project work is the aspiration expressed in their dual motives of 'bringing the *favela* to the world and the world to the *favela*'. But what has been outlined in this chapter as a *favelised* identity, characterised by Neate, Platt and Ramos as a *favela* state of mind, could contain a fear for *favela* residents, the fear of the *asfalto*. The transit of actions and behaviours (*baille funk* and *arrastoes* for example), from the *favela* to the city has been detailed in this chapter as a signifier of risk. If this is true, is a transit from the *favela* to the *asfalto* a genuine transit?

Any boundary crossing into the *asfalto*, triggers trajectories that remind a *favelado* where he/she is actually from, and provides an awareness of the identities that locates *favelados* as 'out of place' in the city. *Favelados* exiting the familiarity of the *favela* community and entering the *asfalto* may be struck by concerns about the abuse they might encounter from middle-class elites or the police. Their experiences of being a 'professionalised' subaltern as cleaner or domestic servant and, for those participants

who joined AfroReggae from reprisal by the drug gangs potentially inhibit transit into the city. *Favelados* have habitually been exposed to discriminatory *asfalto* narratives gathered in the construction of the place *favela*, these exclusionary narratives are incumbent within many iterations of the 'grids of discipline' surrounding the *favela*

It is a performance frame analogous to psychiatrist Frantz Fanon's argument about the realisation of blackness. Fanon's theory is that a black person only really becomes a *black* person in the exposure and company of white people.¹⁶⁴ That the exposure of black people to whites brings into stark contrast the differences in ethnicity and the insecurities that append to those differences. This chapter argues that AfroReggae carry the *favelised* identity with them as proof against the negative inscriptions of *asfalto* narratives and, in so doing, their transition is not to the *asfalto*, it is through it. For example, AfroReggae's Brazilian projects with the police are conceived to improve the social conditions of *favelados* inside the *favela*.¹⁶⁵ The rationale being if AfroReggae can improve relations between the *favela* and the police, it is positive for the police but it is the *favela* that will benefit most. The citizenship José Junior demands for the *favela* is an entitlement to the same freedoms that accrue to those in the *asfalto*, which is not inferring that *favelados* should become the those residing in the *asfalto*. Even if there are hidden curriculum outcomes of changing the *asfalto* view of the *favela*, the direction of travel for this action is still towards the *favela*. A change in how the *asfalto* 'grid of discipline' is constituted in its definition of the *favela* improves the life histories and esteem of the *favela*.

¹⁶⁴ Frantz Fanon, *Black Skins, White Masks*. trans. by Charles Lam Markmann (London: Picador, 1970).

¹⁶⁵ See Ramos, 'Brazilian Responses to Violence and New Forms of Mediation: The Case of the Grupo Cultural Afroreggae and the Experience of the Project "Youth and the Police"'.

A Transition of Technologies

Through Casey's process of transition, AfroReggae's Social Technology employs the technique of 'gathering in' new sociabilities for *favela* residents. This gathering process is a foundational component of their methodology and directly transferrable to the application of their practice in their international projects in UK, Europe, the United States and Asia. AfroReggae founder, José Junior, interestingly seems to trouble this level of artifice in a conception of AfroReggae's practice as a Social Technology. Junior comments 'AfroReggae hasn't got a ready-made methodology. We adapt it to each place we're working in. We will see what the real situation is and start from there'.¹⁶⁶

What is contained in Junior's comments about methodology is a confluence of narratives, that of the place of the *favela* and that of the new site of the intervention. It is at this point of intersection between the place of the *favela* and the place of the community where they are working, where AfroReggae artists decide which of their embodied 'polyglotia' of sociabilities to employ. Contrary to Junior's assertion this process of adaptive sociability evidences a major component of AfroReggae's Social Technology: the arrival at a new site with no apparent practice allowing AfroReggae's artists to respond authentically to the needs of the participants in the new intervention. The appearance of no methodology is actually the semblance of a very clear approach in their intervention.

¹⁶⁶ Ings, *From the Favela to Our Manor: Translating Afroreggae: The Impact and Implications of an International Intervention in Arts Work with Young People at Risk*, p. 23.

UK Projects: The Portable Favela

AfroReggae's Social Technology, based as it is on the personal trajectories and narratives of the artists' *favela* identities, expounds a complex discourse about ethnicity, marginality and exclusion. It is this shared legibility of narratives, which may allow AfroReggae to be successful in the UK. To draw again on De Certeau, personal trajectory and use of narrative are 'tactics' that allow those who are ascribed by power into subaltern positions to be insurgent within the various grids of discipline of that power. AfroReggae's practice and the related performance of the *favela* that it embodies, creates a space that invites their participants (in any location) to consider different trajectories, to become the author of their own personal narratives, to change their 'stories so far.'¹⁶⁷ This potential invitation is not a direct verbal instruction but rather an 'eventual convocation', conceived by philosopher, Alain Badiou as, 'The event which compels us to decide a new way of being'.¹⁶⁸

Conclusions

Place is the generatrix for the collection, as well as the recollection, of all that transpires in the lives of sentient beings, and for the trajectories of inanimate things. Its power consists in gathering these lives and things, each with its own space and time into one arena of common engagement.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁷ Massey, *For Space*, p. 9.

¹⁶⁸ Alain Badiou, *Ethics*. trans. by Peter Hallward (London New York: Verso, 2001), p. 41.

¹⁶⁹ Casey, 'How to Get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time.' (p. 26).

This chapter has explored the complex circumstances that gave rise to the social context of Brazil: the rise of the *favela* and in turn the drug traffic and AfroReggae. It has shown how concepts of space and place as live phenomena can assist in understanding the creation and on going development of a performed identity of the *favela* through the methodology of AfroReggae and the implications of this performance when it is transited, in Casey's terms to places outside the *favela* communities where it was created. But AfroReggae artists, through the application of the Social Technology of the Arts, bring the place of the *favela* to settings where they could be perceived as being 'out of place.'

AfroReggae has demonstrated the degree to which they are able to transport their sense of place and identity with them to any location in a practice that differs from any transit opportunities achieved by practitioners in the UK. Many UK practitioners are skilled at taking their methodologies into international contexts to make interventions, but few of these artists systematically weave a sense of their community identity into their work. In Chapter 2 I will examine how one of the dilemmas of UK socially engaged practice is the abnegation of identity in a manner that foreground the participants over the practitioner.¹⁷⁰

Through the experiences gained delivering projects, AfroReggae began to articulate what is now, over 20 years later, a robust methodology. A practice, which, is based, paradoxically, on beginning with no practice and acting only in response to the site

¹⁷⁰ See Nicholson, *Applied Drama: The Gift of Theatre*. and Sheila Preston, 'Managed Hearts? Emotional Labour and the Applied Theatre Facilitator in Urban Settings', *Research in Drama Education: The Journal of Applied Theatre and Performance*, 18.3 (2013), 230-45. on the challenges and presence of UK socially engaged arts facilitators.

where they intervene. This systematised 'non-practice', which they term a Social Technology of the Arts, aspires to re-describe the narratives of the *favela*. Despite the operations of social forces both in and outside the community, that create multiple 'grids or discipline' for this improvised place.

Theirs is a mission to enable community residents to re-imagine the *favela* by subverting existing *favela* narratives through processes of boundary crossing, transit and transportation. These processes create a flow of knowledge, discourse and experience that often leaves the community but is always aligned to return and renew the *favela* with what it has learned on its travels. To further this aim AfroReggae have reached outwards from the *favela* to form alliances with international agencies such as the Ford Foundation and seek partnerships with State structures such as the military police; and large multinational corporations. Meanwhile, their cultural centre in Vigário Geral has an ATM bank teller machine provided and repaired by Santander Bank.

Transit is a significant element of AfroReggae's Social Technology: the transit of the *favelado* to a point of equitable citizenship with their elite *asfalto* neighbours; the migration to and from the *favela*, to gain experiences and invite those *favelados* who remain to consider themselves differently when reflecting on the journey of their peers. What is the significance of bringing the identity of the *favela* to UK young people enmeshed within their own respective 'grids of discipline?' What do their trajectories impart to AfroReggae? In Chapter 2 I will examine how AfroReggae locate their Social Technology of the Arts amongst the grids of discipline surrounding the *favela* and move on in Chapter 3 to explore the implications of the transition of, what is defined here as their insurgent methodology, to the contexts of the UK.

Chapter 2. A Tactic of Beauty: Affecting the Disaffected?

A tactic insinuates itself into another's place, fragmentarily, without taking it over in its entirety.

Michel de Certeau¹⁷¹

Beauty becomes my emblematic concept for performance affects. It is my term for that moment of pleasurable, world-stopping sensation created through observing and, more particularly, participating in artistic activity.

James Thompson¹⁷²

We could be here now, painting the most beautiful art, but that wouldn't be of any use if we weren't consciously thinking and talking about our lives.

Francisco Sérgio Da Silva (Chico), AfroReggae¹⁷³

¹⁷¹ Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, p. xix.

¹⁷² Thompson, *Performance Affects: Applied Theatre and the End of Effect*, p. 140.

¹⁷³ Francisco Sérgio Da Silva in Ings, *From the Favela to Our Manor: Translating Afroreggae: The Impact and Implications of an International Intervention in Arts Work with Young People at Risk*, p. 140.

Strategy versus Tactics

De Certeau identifies two opposing modes of applications of power in a context of strategies and tactics. Strategies he defines as,

[T]he calculation (or manipulation) of power relationships that becomes possible as soon as a subject with will and power (a business, an army, a city, a scientific institution) can be isolated. It postulates a place that can be delimited as its own and serve as base from which relations with an exteriority composed of targets or threats (enemies)... can be managed.¹⁷⁴

For the *favela*, de Certeau's subjects with 'will and power' include the drug factions, or institutions of the state, enacting the social performances discussed by Thompson. De Certeau asserts that to act in a strategic manner, the subject must first 'distinguish its "own" place, the place of its own power and will, from an 'environment'.¹⁷⁵ This delineation of place, allows those that wield strategic power to become the arbiters of space. They decide which locations sit within their realm of power and which are 'environment[s]'¹⁷⁶ and fall outside that realm as territory of the 'Other', or in a military understanding of strategy, as belonging to the enemy. De Certeau uses the example of military engagement and rhetoric to illustrate his conception of strategic power. This topographic component of strategic power also confers an ability to plan in order to maintain the integrity of the chosen place of power and offers a measure of scrutiny over enemy territory.

¹⁷⁴ Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, pp. 35-36.

¹⁷⁵ Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, p. 36.

¹⁷⁶ Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, p. 36.

If the 'enemy' can be identified and perceived, then their developments can be monitored. It is interesting that AfroReggae and *favela* residents describe the context of their community using similar polemological language to de Certeau. One of the few books written in English to describe AfroReggae's activities '*Culture is our Weapon*,¹⁷⁷ by Neate and Platt takes its name from the often repeated AfroReggae clarion call that culture is their 'weapon' to fight the conditions in which they find themselves.¹⁷⁸ It is interesting that AfroReggae choose to appropriate the strategic polemological language of warfare for their tactical action in community.

A related strategic reading can be made of the social performance of power surrounding the drug factions in the *favela*. Drug factions' position, or garrison, gang members inside their *favelas*, or promote local gang members to the rank of 'drug lords' of these communities. However, the chain of command to the faction's leaders describes a path that leads outside the *favela*. As detailed in Chapter 1, the drug faction structure or 'The Collective' was established inside the prison system under Brazilian military dictatorship and many faction leaders control operations whilst still incarcerated. This new generation of faction leaders no longer subscribe to the the *Coletivo* mentality' identified by Leeds.¹⁷⁹ Sociologist, Robert Gay (1994) echoes Leeds in his analysis of the evolution of a new generation of younger drug traffickers.

¹⁷⁷ Neate and Platt, *Culture Is Our Weapon: Afroreggae in the Favelas of Rio*.

¹⁷⁸ AfroReggae's definition of culture is a *mélange* of arts practice, Afro-Brazilian consciousness and pride in the creativity that arises from the *favela*. This is demonstrated by AfroReggae in a confidence that relates to them being labeled by Turino (2013); Sovik (2011) and Ramos (2006) as part of the new social movement of mediators for the *favela*.

¹⁷⁹ Leeds, 'Cocaine and the Parallel Politics in the Brazilian Urban Periphery: Constraints on Local-Level Democratization', (p. 54).

[W]ho are younger, less disciplined, less accountable, and far more violent, both in their dealings with the police and with members of their own communities ... [Residents] know that once the sun goes down the streets are patrolled by *traficantes* [traffickers] who flaunt their authority, who make no effort to hide their sophisticated and high-powered weaponry, and who are increasingly from other favelas¹⁸⁰

Since the 1970's, as the influence and territory of the drug factions increased, the factions gave less credence to the specific names of the *favelas* they inhabit, choosing to view them more as the constellation of *favelas* that they control, 'occupy' or have 'invaded,' demonstrating use of both, militaristic rhetoric and de Certeau's strategy in their delineation of *favela* space.

Heritage describes the strategic actions of the State Rio de Janeiro in what the State seeks to define as a 'war' with the drug factions and organised crime¹⁸¹. He refers in the account that follows, to Providência, Brazil's first *favela*, (detailed in Chapter 1), and the creation of the term *favela*. I argue that his account is an articulation of a de Certeauian "environment"¹⁸² that Heritage states as, located 'outside the formal urban fabric.'¹⁸³ This situation of the *favela* as environment is significant because what belongs to the 'urban fabric' is delineated by the strategic power of the Rio de Janeiro State; the drug factions and others, as their place of power. A power dynamic is

¹⁸⁰ Robert Gay, *Popular Organization and Democracy in Rio De Janeiro: A Tale of Two Favelas* Temple University Press, 1994), p. 172.

¹⁸¹ Heritage in his definition of the organized crime affecting the favela is also referring to the *milícias* - armed militias composed of corrupt current and former police officers.

¹⁸² Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, p. 35.

¹⁸³ Paul Heritage and Gary Stewart, *Encounters Beyond Text: Art Transforming Lives*, ed. by Paul Heritage and Gary Stewart (London: People's Palace Projects, 2011), p. 7.

defended and sustained by a complex social and political meshwork I have characterized as a 'grid of discipline'.

By 1910, Providência was renowned as being the most violent place in Rio de Janeiro and over the next hundred years more than a thousand favelas would grow across the city, creating territories outside the formal urban fabric that became ripe for exploitation by organised crime. By 2010, the Brazilian state was once again clinched into a war with a part of its own population that regarded itself as outside of the law. The division of the city into formal and informal territories was become increasingly untenable. The State of Rio de Janeiro began to 'invade' the city itself, and a process of so-called 'pacification' by a specially trained police force began, backed up by an acceleration of related social projects. By November 2010, Providência had become one of a handful of favelas to have been 'pacified', making it possible for some to contemplate making art while others gathered to prepare for war.¹⁸⁴

Heritage draws attention to the increasingly fragile status of the strategic division between 'formal and informal territories' in 2010 and how this situation forced the State of Rio de Janeiro 'into a war with part of its own population'¹⁸⁵. A de Certeauian reading of the actions of the Rio State authorities allows a framing of these decisions as a series of strategic social performances that exploit an identification of the *favela* as consciously outside the formal urban fabric of strategic power.

A similar assertion of strategic performances is an optic that can even be applied to the drug factions that are resident in the *favela* and whose 'territory' may be synonymous with the geography of the community. For the factions it is the threat of violence and the manner in which they designate *favelas* not as places but as

¹⁸⁴ Heritage and Stewart, *Encounters Beyond Text: Art Transforming Lives*, p. 7.

¹⁸⁵ Heritage and Stewart, *Encounters Beyond Text: Art Transforming Lives*, p. 7.

captured, or occupied territories, which elevates their actions to a strategic level. This strategic decision making further removes the modern drug factions from the '*coletivo* mentality' identified by Leeds as a sense loyalty to the *favelas* in which they are based.¹⁸⁶ These strategic actions by the State and drug factions, describe 'grids of discipline': accretions of power that are applied to the territory of the *favela* and its residents from the clearly delimited 'exteriority' of the *asfalto*.¹⁸⁷

However, the drug factions can live and operate within the context of a territory, they define as 'theirs'. A consideration of this process of territorial ownership or reduction of the *favela* to a property that can be possessed; taken in conjunction with the erosion of the factional *Coletivo* mentality, repositions the contemporary drug factions as groups that are located 'in' but strategically, are no longer 'of' the *favela*. Faction drug lords 'rule' empires and strategically exert their dominion over these 'empires.' What then are the options for those living in the *favela* that cannot act strategically? Later in this Chapter, I will explore what tactical actions, or interventions not contingent of the possession of power, AfroReggae make available to the community to allow these disempowered individuals the agency to resist the constraints of strategic power.

The Roots of a Social Technology

The term Social Technology (to which AfroReggae appended 'of the Arts') has its roots in an initiative created by the Brazilian Ministry of Culture, during the tenure of the Brazilian artist, activist and then Minister of Culture Gilberto Gil. As Heritage

¹⁸⁶ Leeds, 'Cocaine and the Parallel Politics in the Brazilian Urban Periphery: Constraints on Local-Level Democratization', (p. 54).

¹⁸⁷ Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, p. 36.

details, the origin of Social Technology was a part of Brazil's Ministry of Culture's Cultural Points programme. A context is provided by Heritage,

The ministry created a competition to reward the many achievements of the first year of the Cultural Point programme, with a category for what it called *tecnologia social* [social technology] – recognizing the expertise that has been created in projects that propose creative, participatory solutions to the needs of a local population. Prior to this programme, such initiatives had been developed despite the indifference of the State, rather than because they were valued, supported or encouraged. 'Social technology' is based on stimulating forms of cultural leadership that are autonomous, shared, and transformative. Instead of rejecting art's instrumentalist function - de rigueur in contemporary British defences of the arts - the Brazilian Ministry of Culture has invoked the technological capabilities of artists engaged in transformative social action. A ministerial promotional document defining the Living Culture programme cites the Greek Mathematician Archimedes' belief that with a lever long enough he could move the world.¹⁸⁸

AfroReggae began to apply the term Social Technology to explain their practice and encompass the components of participation, transformation and agency stated above. I argue that in adopting the label 'technology' for their practice AfroReggae sought to position their actions for an audience external to the *favela*. The adoption of a terminology that arose from a governmental source can even be interpreted as AfroReggae using their guile as 'poets of their own affairs' to cloak their tactical practices in the trappings of strategic action, acquiring the practice another level of gravitas and traction with external organisations such as the Prefeitura of Rio¹⁸⁹,

¹⁸⁸ Heritage, *Intense Dreams: Reflections on Brazilian Culture and Performance*, p. 24.

¹⁸⁹ The Prefeitura is the municipal authority for the State of Rio de Janeiro.

UNESCO¹⁹⁰ and the Ford Foundation¹⁹¹. Whatever the motivations for re-describing their practice as a technology AfroReggae again demonstrated awareness that to be successful their action needed to be attractive and legible both inside and outside the *favela*.

AfroReggae's tactical interventions need to be receptive to the gaze of young *favela* residents, inside the community and yet articulate their impacts outside the community in modes that cement not just its efficacy, but also its significance in a wider context of social transformation. This scenario of AfroReggae interventions that are tactical and not strategic remains the case when AfroReggae apply their Social Technology in an international context, outside Brazil.

Social and Artistic Performances And Performers

Chapter 2 explored how AfroReggae drew upon the narratives and trajectories of the place of the *favela* to develop their Social Technology of the Arts. This Chapter explores how AfroReggae deliver their practice to achieve their transformative outcomes. To consider this practice I will situate their methodology within the frame of 'strategies' and 'tactics' as expressed by the writing of de Certeau.¹⁹² This framing will situate the *favela* identity detailed in Chapter 1, in the constellation of other social performances deploying power in, and around, the *favela*. This Chapter is using Thompson's definition of 'social performance', where the performative can be applied

¹⁹⁰ United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

¹⁹¹ The Ford Foundation is a non-profit NGO, which aims to support global societal empowerment.

¹⁹² Certeau, The Practice of Everyday Life.

not just to artistic processes but also to the other social phenomena acting on the *favela* community.¹⁹³

For the context of the *favela*, the other social performers include: the armed drug factions, institutions of the Brazilian state and federal government. To appreciate the practical challenges and potential limitations of AfroReggae's interventions, it is important to read the relationship of these social performers in conjunction with how they deploy power in the *favela*. As it is the development of AfroReggae's Social Technology of the Arts, in response to the constellations of power surrounding the *favela* that is relevant to how their practice functions in the *favela* community and when it is transplanted to a British context.

Resistance of the 'Weak'

Chapter 1 quoted Ramos' assertion that AfroReggae's actions operate at an individual level to affect change in communities, representing tactically what de Certeau calls 'actions possible for the weak'.¹⁹⁴ This concept of 'weakness' in the operational locale of AfroReggae and their tactical negotiations in the *favela* has to be contextualised. AfroReggae successfully operate across several *favelas* in Rio de Janeiro, enthusiastically employing a polemological rhetoric to articulate their actions that seems at odds to a conception of 'weakness'. However, as has been seen, AfroReggae's tactical actions fall within a complex sociability of fragmentary engagement by power of the Rio State and patronage, or tyranny, administered by the

¹⁹³ Thompson, *Performance Affects: Applied Theatre and the End of Effect*, p. 8.

¹⁹⁴ Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, p. 36.

drug factions. As Ramos, states it is an unequal power relationship that locates them in a position that can be defined as weak. This weakness as defined by de Certeau, is the lack of opportunity to apply strategic power or 'strength', that necessitates a need to resort to the insurgent action and is one of the challenges to AfroReggae's interventions. At the time of writing this thesis, AfroReggae's freedom to operate in some *favelas* and the personal security of J6se Junior their CEO and founder are being threatened by the drug factions¹⁹⁵. A conception of 'weakness' therefore, when applied to AfroReggae, can be regarded as an inability for the organisation, even with all their successes as an alternative to drug gang engagement, to act on a strategic level.¹⁹⁶ For those 'weak' who are unable to act strategically an alternative option is to apply tactical actions, a pathway de Certeau advocates for those that are unable to delimit place to have a 'proper locus'.¹⁹⁷ De Certeau continues, '[t]he space of the tactic is the space of the 'other'. Thus it must play on, and with, terrain imposed on it and organized by the law of a foreign power.'¹⁹⁸ This adoption of a tactical configuration perfectly articulates an understanding of AfroReggae, an organisation

¹⁹⁵ Karla Monteiro, 'Criador Do Afroreggae Diz Que a Luta Agora 6 Para Que O Bem Vença O Mal', *Trip* 2013. *The Afro Reggae Ngo'under Fire in Rio*, (Rio Times online: The Rio Times/Brazil New Agency, Inc, 2013) <<http://riotimesonline.com/brazil-news/rio-politics/afroreggae-ngo-under-fire-in-rio/#>> [accessed 23rd December 2014].

¹⁹⁶ At the time of writing, AfroReggae lead some 100 arts projects in communities across Rio de Janeiro in partnership with local and state government, produce their own national cable television programmes, broadcast digital radio, advise businesses looking to develop social programmes from their office in the main financial district area of S6o Paulo. They generate significant income from their own commercial artistic activity and sell hard-edged sponsorship deals to national and multi-national brands. Their annual turnover is in excess of £10million. Heritage and Ramos, 'Talking About a Revolution: Arts, Health and Wellbeing on Avenida Brasil'.

¹⁹⁷ Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, p. 37.

¹⁹⁸ Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, p. 37. original use of quotation marks

embedded in the community- the *favela* - resisting the challenges of strategic power with tactical action, 'within the boundaries in which they exist'.¹⁹⁹

AfroReggae's methodology of interaction with their participants, seeks to trouble and transform the conditions under which the participants operate. For AfroReggae, the concept of boundaries of existence is open and contestable. A reflection on the limits of AfroReggae's boundary of existence requires an acceptance that this so-called boundary has to encompass their partnerships with multinational corporate companies and their performances at Carnegie Hall in the USA and the Barbican Centre, in the UK. These performances and projects in territories far removed from the place of the *favela* and yet can be considered within the totality of AfroReggae's practice. AfroReggae's international actions can be seen to represent another facet of their methodology that demonstrates to their participants an aspiration and reach that extend far out of the *favela* community.

De Certeau's defines the tactical action employed by those situated in this position of 'other' as

Calculated action determined by the absence of a proper locus. Provides it with the condition necessary for autonomy [...] Thus it operates in isolated actions, blow by blow. It takes advantage of "opportunities" and depends on them, being without any base where it could stockpile its winnings.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁹ Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, p. 37.

²⁰⁰ Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, p. 37.

For de Certeau, the inability of those applying tactical actions to define the place of their engagement endows their actions with autonomy and capacity to be responsive to the 'opportunities' afforded by those with strategic power. However, de Certeau believes tactical action is unable to capitalize on those opportunities, to 'stockpile its winnings'.²⁰¹ AfroReggae is unable to control the substrate of external definitions of the place of the *favela*. This lack of control translates into an inability to determine the parameters of their environment. This situation is exemplified by the complex tactical negotiations AfroReggae are required to navigate to function effectively in the *favela* community. The negotiations are tactical because AfroReggae lack the power to define their environment, however, they still possess the ability to exploit the opportunities created by those with power, with whom they must work. The construction of AfroReggae's main cultural centre, Waly Salomão, in Vigário can be seen as a quintessence of these negotiations.²⁰² The creation of this multi-storey building would have been virtually impossible to achieve without, at least, the tacit 'approval' of the drug faction that controlled Vigário at the time.

The Waly Salomão centre's location and aspect could have challenged the faction's strategic ability to observe and hence defend their territory from outside 'invasion' by the police or rival factions. Such oversight of an area that I have previously argued the factions designate as an 'environment' is one of the key elements of de Certeau's conception of strategic action as,

²⁰¹ Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, p. 37.

²⁰² The Cultural Centre, is named after Waly Salomão, a celebrated poet and hero of the 1960's Brazilian artistic resistance of Tropicalia- For more information on Tropicalia See Caetona Veloso and Barbara Einzig, *Tropical Truth : A Story of Music and Revolution in Brazil* (London: Bloomsbury, 2003).

[A] mastery of places through sight [...] makes possible a panoptic practice proceeding from a place whence the eye can transform foreign forces into objects that can be observed and measured, and thus “include” them within its scope of vision.²⁰³

Therefore, throughout the centre’s construction process there must have been regular dialogue between AfroReggae and the controlling drug faction, not to inhibit their panoptic practice of *favela* boundary defence.²⁰⁴ A related historical negotiation for AfroReggae is the ‘security’ dialogue, where the organisation had to ‘guarantee’ the safe passage of *non-favela* visitors, into and through the *favela* community. AfroReggae inform the drug faction of the identity and vouch for the intent of individuals seeking entry into the *favela*.²⁰⁵

These examples demonstrate a range of limits to AfroReggae’s tactical actions in the *favela*, and how as an organisation they situate these actions to ‘play on and with terrain imposed on [them] and organized by the law of a foreign power,’ in this case the ruling drug faction.²⁰⁶ The construction of an architecturally designed, multi-storey cultural centre, in the midst of the improvised dwellings of a *favela*, is a material example of ‘stockpiled resources’ in the community. The Waly Salomão Centre as a

²⁰³ Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, p. 36.

²⁰⁴ It is interesting to note that for AfroReggae this dialogue process may have been easier as senior members of AfroReggae may have grown up in the *favela* with senior drug gang members. However, this situation could become more difficult with a shift in the territorial control of the *favela* to a rival drug faction, in which case, those past factional allegiances become a challenge to developing a relationship with the new controlling faction who hitherto had been labeled as enemies to the community.

²⁰⁵ The requirement for AfroReggae to provide safe passage for visitors to the *favela* has diminished somewhat since 2010 and the beginning of this thesis, however the emotional commitment to AfroReggae as a group that can vouch save strangers to the community remains.

²⁰⁶ Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, p. 36.

building can be read as an indication of how tactical power can be consolidated in a context controlled by strategic power, physically exemplifying the aims of AfroReggae's mission.

AfroReggae are additionally in a position to invest in the bodies of their community, in the young people who are its residents. At the centre of AfroReggae's Social Technology is an attention to individual narrative as a mode of intervention into the trajectories of their participants; the engagement with AfroReggae's practices which helps their participants to re-describe their own identity. In the words of AfroReggae's, joint Artistic Directors Roberto Pacheco (Beto) and Johayne Hildefonso, (Jô)

[Jô:] The mission of AfroReggae is not just to take young people away from an idle, unhealthy life in the favela that puts him or her at risk of involvement in the drug trade.

[Beto:] It is for them to become better citizens, take a critical attitude: to be a revolutionary in society, in the city. We know that it is not enough to 'take them out' of where they are. The world that those young people meet outside their favela is full of lions and we are responsible for helping them to survive out there. We have to continue provoking them as they provoke us.²⁰⁷

The provocations outlined by Pacheco and Hildefonso, can be framed as an account of the formation of new trajectories for AfroReggae participants. It is through an affective encounter with arts practice that young *favela* residents take their first steps on a liminal journey of attaining a tactical perspective on their context. Jovchelovitch

²⁰⁷ Heritage and Ramos, 'Talking About a Revolution: Arts, Health and Wellbeing on Avenida Brasil'.

evidences the change in 'critical awareness' of the favela youth to their community.²⁰⁸ AfroReggae are facilitating young *favela* residents to shift their perceptions of their own communities, from an acceptance of their position in the *favela* (and by proxy their allocated social position in the wider Brazilian society) to ambivalence to their community and an awareness of the misrecognition in the habitus of that community. The potential for perceptual change is not only being instilled into the *favela* youth currently engaging with AfroReggae but can be seen as part of their 20-year legacy, with artists and the former participants with whom they have engaged.

This combination of processes refutes de Certeau's assertion that tactical actors are unable to 'stockpile their winnings'.²⁰⁹ AfroReggae's 'stockpiled' resource are in some cases material, the buildings they create for activity and people, *favela* residents with the drive and 'weapons' to resist the challenges offered by the strategic power surrounding their community. The interventions offered by AfroReggae's Social Technology of the Arts potentially enabling them to elevate themselves to de Certeau's status of 'poets of their own affairs' individuals who are able to combat the world of 'lions' AfroReggae Co-Artistic Director, Roberto Pacheco perceives await them outside the *favela*.²¹⁰ For de Certeau this elevation to a position of 'poet' is indicative of the motivations and outlook of *favela* residents empowered to wield the weapons of culture and willing to rewrite the narratives of their identity.

²⁰⁸ Jovchelovitch and Priego-Hernandez, *Underground Sociabilities: Identity, Culture and Resistance in Rio De Janeiro's Favelas*, p. 56.

²⁰⁹ Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, p. 37.

²¹⁰ Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, p. 34.

As de Certeau states of this kind of agency,

They [the poets] circulate, come and go, overflow and drift over an imposed terrain, like snowy waves of the sea slipping in among the rocks and defiles of an establishing order [...] it is less a matter of a liquid circulating in the interstices of a solid than of different movements making use of the elements of the terrain.²¹¹

De Certeau's metaphor of freedom of movement, as 'water among rocks' implies that *favela* residents, who demonstrate what I am calling a poetic change in perception of their community, embrace the terrain of the *favela* in a renewed fashion. The tactical approaches that are responsive to the material conditions of their community, these *favela* 'poets' apply, with a renewed political intention. This conception of tactical 'poetry' in which *favela* residents are acting with a 'critical awareness' of the implications of their actions encourages participants to encompass agency, as well as resistance, in their behaviour.²¹²

It is important to note that the transformations contained within the argument of tactical engagement and poetry of one's own affairs may be not instantaneous. The re-description of personal trajectories may occur over time, due to an on-going engagement with AfroReggae, or after reflection on the 'beautiful' affective impact of an artistic engagement, as will be discussed later. AfroReggae's Social Technology is tactical: it operates on a terrain defined by those with strategic power and yet takes,

²¹¹ Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, p. 34.

²¹² Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, p. 34.

and keeps, its 'winnings' when and where it can, to expand de Certeau's boundaries of tactical action through an accumulated stockpiling of those winnings.²¹³

The Threshold for Change

AfroReggae's on-going relationships with their participants create the conditions, which allow participants to embark on a gradual (liminoid to liminal,) transition to poetic tactical action. Performance theorist, Richard Schechner describes the transformational impact of workshop practice on participants or performers in the following manner,

[W]orkshops focus their techniques not on making one person into another but encouraging the performer [participant here] to act in-between identities; in this sense, performing is a paradigm of liminality. And what is liminality but literally the "threshold," the space that both separates and joins spaces: the essence of in-betweeners.

This in-betweenness, thresholdness, also is emphasized by poets as having something to do with performance, with the flow and evanescence of human life (as consciousness of itself.)²¹⁴

Schechner's concept of in-betweenness can be seen as a framework to view the process of transformation that AfroReggae participant's experience via Social Technology. It begins to describe a situation that is on one hand physical; the re-imagination of the material spaces of the *favela* that participants inhabit and the thresholds of those spaces. Whilst on the other, it allows for a reflection on the change

²¹³ Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, p. 37.

²¹⁴ Richard Schechner, *Between Theater & Anthropology* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), pp. 295-96. Original use of quotation marks and brackets

of critical awareness, the adjustment of personal trajectory, required to traverse those thresholds. I will return to the notions of change to internal and physical thresholds later in this chapter.

The Favelised Identity.

Chapter 1 related the emergence of AfroReggae, mapping its formative trajectory and relationship to the *favela* through dynamic concepts of space and place. It positioned AfroReggae and the development of its '*favelised*' identity between two acts of violence, the Nineteenth century so-called 'war' of Canudos in 1897 that led to the creation of Rio's first *favela* Providência and the Twentieth century *favela* massacre of Vigário Geral in 1993. These acts of situate AfroReggae's narrative within a wider and constantly present substrate of *favela* social performances, which are intrinsically linked to social violence and exclusion that permeate the identity of the *favela* community.

I will examine how, AfroReggae's Social Technology of the Arts is a performance of political resistance with art at its core. And explore the impact of artistic engagement through an affective conception of art as 'beauty,' defined by Thompson at the beginning of this chapter, as 'the moment of pleasurable, world-stopping sensation created through observing and, more particularly, participating in artistic activity.'²¹⁵ It is an engagement that, AfroReggae artist Chico asserts would be of no use unless participation is the forum for a discourse about identity and change. I will explore the functions of affect contained within Thompson's conception of art as 'beauty,' and the

²¹⁵ Thompson, *Performance Affects: Applied Theatre and the End of Effect*.

ability of affect to stimulate action. This understanding of the affect of beauty is located within a spectrum of affective sources that includes pain and trauma.

I will argue that, although, both pain and trauma generate strong affects, it is the singular affect, revealed through participation in art/beauty that engenders a state of reflection in those engaged in its activity. To illustrate that engagement in artistic activity triggers responses that defy direct cognition, or definition and why this enables arts participation to generate change. These questions about the impact of AfroReggae's Social Technology of the Arts are central to this chapter, and to the research as a whole. I will explore how AfroReggae's artistic, engagement is an affective foundation for political resistance and where the affect connected to the arts encounter resides. This chapter will offer insight into the over arching question for the Chapter 3 of this thesis which is, what conclusions can be drawn from the transition of AfroReggae's trajectory out the favelas of Rio de Janeiro and into communities in the UK?

Poetry as Resistance

To achieve their aims of empowerment (both inside and outside the *favela*) AfroReggae's Social Technology of the Arts must operate at odds to the prevailing exclusionary social performances of power that were explored in a spatial analysis of the *favela*. AfroReggae artists move through this terrain offering new trajectories for their participants by inviting the young *favelados* to collaborate, with AfroReggae in generating new opportunities for their communities. This ability of AfroReggae to function and offer actions that stimulate change in a territory controlled by another power is significant. Certeau defines such individuals, who are operating in alterity to

their context, as ‘poets of their own affairs.’²¹⁶ Applying the appellation of ‘poets’ to AfroReggae is productive as de Certeau’s poets ‘do not cohere with the constructed, written, and prefabricated space through which they move.’²¹⁷

De Certeau’s observation of poetic motion, that moves through a context, previously delineated by strategic power, as an “environment”, is applicable to AfroReggae’s work within its own Brazilian context and perhaps more so to their projects in the UK.²¹⁸ In Britain, AfroReggae’s Social Technology of the Arts is confronted with the additional challenges of operating in a social context that is unfamiliar, and that generates different trajectories of identity to their home *favelas* of Rio de Janeiro.²¹⁹ I will argue that this ability to operate successfully and generate change within the altered UK context reinforces their position as ‘poets of their own affairs.’

Power, Space and Place

For this chapter, I locate the structures of power surrounding the *favela*, within Massey’s theories of space and Casey’s conception of place first discussed in Chapter 1; and using the frame of de Certeau’s discourse on a ‘grid of discipline,’ also

²¹⁶ Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, p. 34.

²¹⁷ Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, p. 34.

²¹⁸ Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, p. 36.

²¹⁹ In Rio de Janeiro AfroReggae, operate against a backdrop of poverty, violence (both perceived and actual) that is radically different to the UK. See the description by Silvia Ramos, ‘The “Pedagogy of the Drums”: Music and Art as Mediators between Youngsters from Favelas and Policemen in Brazil’, in Conference on Music and Cultural Rights - Trends & Prospects (University of Pittsburgh, 2005). on the ‘unequal distribution of death’ in terms of homicide rates for black males in Rio’s favela. For a discussion of the social and political environment of favela communities see Janice Perlman, *Favela: Four Decades Living on the Edge in Rio De Janeiro* (Oxford New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

discussed in Chapter 1. These 'grids of discipline' are described throughout this inquiry, as a meshwork of histories, attitudes, beliefs, dispositions and social performances that are applied externally on the *favela*. Collectively these 'things' as previously defined by Massey, endeavour to shackle the *favela* into a habitus that reinforces its subordinate location in the Brazilian social milieu.²²⁰ However, I argue that the insurgent Social Technology of AfroReggae intervenes in this apparent immobility offering *favela* residents' opportunities to disrupt the habitus of the *favela* and re-draw the topography of their community.

This methodology disturbs the process of habitus and begins to reveal the impact of AfroReggae's Social Technology of the Arts on the live- world of the residents of the *favela*. I assert that AfroReggae's practices disturb the habitus of the *favela* but do not dismantle any schematic conception of power in the community. Bourdieu asserts that habitus is,

[N]either a result of free will, nor determined by structures, but created by a kind of interplay between the two over time: dispositions that are both shaped by past events and structures, and that shape current practices and structures and also, importantly, that condition our very perceptions of these.²²¹

It is not through poetic movement alone that Social Technology intervenes in the habitus of the *favela*, as can be seen from Bourdieu, habitus is neither a function of the power structures, nor simply an adjustment of individual resident's behaviour. An

²²⁰ Massey, *For Space*, p. 145.

²²¹ Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of Judgement of Taste*, , p. 170.

adjustment possibly I inferred previously through the statement of the conscious, poetic, insinuations of AfroReggae amongst *favela* power structures.

An application of a de Certeauian reading of AfroReggae's Social Technology of the Arts highlights how their practice and its practitioners, move 'poetically' amongst the substrates of the *favela* 'grids of discipline' in opposition to the prevailing dispositions of habitus. Social Technology of the Arts generates its opportunities for impact and transformation, through a combination of poetic movement - the ability to covertly resist the structures of power in the *favela* and affective, 'beautiful', artistic engagement. An affective encounter with beauty that I am asserting is inherent within the artistic engagement of Social Technology of the Arts.

Performing at the Threshold

The encounter, which has arts at its foundation and an affective dynamic, creates opportunities for *favela* youth to reflect on their own relations to the power in their community. While the 'poetic' movement of AfroReggae actions describes alternative *favela* trajectories that potentially reveal what Ings identifies as being what 'empowerment might actually look like in the face of overwhelming odds'. Ings states,

AfroReggae seeks in its work not to direct young people or, even less, to turn them into professional artists but to show them what 'empowerment' might actually look like in the face of overwhelming odds. By their continuing commitment to struggle in their own communities, the members of AfroReggae embody an alternative to despair in a way that an outsider to deprivation could never achieve.²²²

²²² Ings, *From the Favela to Our Manor: Translating Afroreggae: The Impact and Implications of an International Intervention in Arts Work with Young People at Risk*, p. 53.

In turn, an embodiment of new *favela* trajectories offers the community a new iteration of its identity. A hybrid identity that, returning to Schechner, exists at ‘the “threshold,” the space that both separates and joins spaces.’²²³ A territory that contains within its new habitus, resistant, and insurgent practices that can be described by de Certeau as ‘surreptitious and guileful movement [...] the very activity of making do.’²²⁴

AfroReggae’s Social Technology of the Arts described in terms of a habitus exhibits Bourdieu’s ‘free will’ in its poetic interface with the structures of *favela* exclusion. A reading of the *favela* as a habitus is also realised by de Certeau’s ‘grids of discipline’ although, Bourdieu’s conception of habitus details a constellation of power that challenges de Certeau’s structural view of a power schema. In contrast Bourdieu’s concept of habitus asserts that these organs of power cannot be thought of as a systemized structure or ‘grid’, as argued by de Certeau, but are the function of the relationship of institutions, histories, values, attitudes and beliefs that are acquired and amended through socialization.²²⁵ Whether a formal structure or more fluid arrangement of habitus, the orientation for AfroReggae in the practice of Social Technology of the Arts is their relationship to the various conceptions of power that surround the *favela*.

²²³ Schechner, *Between Theater & Anthropology*, p. 295.

²²⁴ Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, p. 35.

²²⁵ In Chapter 1, I have characterized these circumstances using Massey’s conception of ‘things’ that contribute to the social precipitates of space.

However, the site of habitus is not in this interface of practice and fluid, or fixed, power structures; the habitus is created and recreated in the lacuna between the two. For the *favela*, the shaped and shaping 'dispositions' Bourdieu refers to encompass the conflicting narratives, trajectories and histories of this community in a mode that is congruent with Casey's conception of place as the receptacle for the containment of those very narratives, histories and stories. Thus, it can be argued that *favela* habitus is generated by individual interactions within Casey's 'container' of place. Casey, following on from Basso, describes such interactions of person with place as 'interanimation',²²⁶ while Massey describes these connected processes as 'the physical and social precipitates of particular intersections of a multiplicity of trajectories.'²²⁷

Situating the Social Technology Of The Arts

The impacts of AfroReggae's Social Technology of the Arts can be situated within the following connected theoretical framework. Massey conceives the histories, narratives, sociabilities and trajectories of the *favela*, as 'social precipitates' of space; Casey asserts that these precipitates are 'gathered in' and contained within a 'place' (in this case the *favela*). I argue that the 'gathering in' of 'social precipitates' is synonymous with the 'shaping and shaped dispositions' Bourdieu defines as the crucible for the generation of (*favela*) habitus.

²²⁶ Casey, 'How to Get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time.' (p. 22).

²²⁷ Doreen Massey, For Space (London: Sage, 2005), p. 145.

The three theoretical positions of Massey, Casey and Bourdieu are all linked by the interrelation of narratives, histories and trajectories. AfroReggae's Social Technology, artistic engagement, disrupts the habitus of young *favela* residents by re-presenting Massey's 'social precipitates,' (or Bourdieu's, 'dispositions'), back to *favela* youth.. The affective sensation created by this engagement offers the opportunities for reflection on the habitus. The resultant critical awareness inviting participants to adopt the de Certeauian attitude of 'poetry of their own affairs' in their individual relations to the structures of power surrounding the community; to generate Ings' image of what 'empowerment looks like.'

In re-presenting the social precipitates of habitus, back to their participants interventions through the Social Technology of the Arts enable conditions where the *favela* identity, as it is being performed under its current dispositions, to be reinterpreted to become the poetic, *favelised* identity of AfroReggae and a mode of transformation. This is exemplified in the tactical operation of AfroReggae by which their artists present themselves to the *favela*. As Ings comments,

AfroReggae is clear about their tactics. They use the same strategies as the drug-traffickers: talk the same language, wear the same clothes or better (more logos, more up-to-date styles) and have lived the same lives as the young people with whom they work.²²⁸

Ings states that AfroReggae use the 'same strategies' as drug traffickers where I argue AfroReggae offer their Social Technology in a mode that tactically imitates the

²²⁸ Ings, *From the Favela to Our Manor: Translating Afroreggae: The Impact and Implications of an International Intervention in Arts Work with Young People at Risk*, p. 6.

strategic success of the drug traffickers in an effort to be congruent to the life-world of the young people in the *favela*. AfroReggae further elaborate on this congruency of life-world by ensuring the branded clothes their artists wear are often more cosmopolitan and exclusive than those worn by drug traffickers whom they appear to imitate.²²⁹ This nuancing of sociability by AfroReggae artists seems to express that engagement with AfroReggae offers pathway to the legitimate acquisition of material goods that many of their participants crave. However, I am not arguing that every *favelado* has the same acquisitive desire to emulate the drug traffickers but offer this example of how AfroReggae choose to perform an identity to young people of the *favela* to illustrate their recalibration of *favela* sociability. AfroReggae perform an identity that appears to be 'of the *favela*' but modulated through their own poetic, tactical lens. Anthropologist and former Brazilian National Secretary of Public Security, Luiz Eduardo Soares, underlines the relevance of performing identities that resonate with the young people of the *favela*. 'If the aspiration is to attract young people away from illegal traffic, then they must be attuned to the desires and fantasies that are expressed in the cultural languages of youth.'²³⁰

This attunement could be read as superficial as being about globalized fashion or simply material possessions, until it is situated within the life-world of AfroReggae's participants. Many *favelados*, (young male *favela* residents in particular), struggle to discover positive male role models not connected to criminality. These *favela*

²²⁹ One of the many benefits of international travel for AfroReggae artists is access to designs and styles of street-wear that are not available to drug traffickers who are in Brazil, potentially further enhancing the cachet of being AfroReggae.

²³⁰ Luiz Eduardo Soares, 'Social Invisibility: The Drama of Violence in Brazil', in *AfroReggae Explosion* (Purcell Room Southbank Centre

residents have limited opportunities to reflect on the habitus in which they find themselves.²³¹ They face the struggles of a daily existence in a context suffused with the threat of violence, which means that many young *favelados* accept these conditions of their lives with resignation.²³² This offer through artistic engagement, of a reflective platform for *favela* youth to consider their social and material conditions and hence their social status (even through a discourse on how and where to acquire exclusive clothing) can be read as, liminoid, as the beginning of a transformatory change.

Participants may choose to engage with AfroReggae activities for a range of explicit reasons; the art form on offer; to be with friends and peers, without considering how this kind of engagement is a context for self-discovery. As previously stated, the methodology behind the Social Technology of the Arts offers opportunities for subtle refocusing of feelings and actions within the *favela* habitus. As sociologist, Karl Maton observes,

[H]abitus focuses on our ways of acting, feeling, thinking and being. It captures how we carry within us our history, how we bring this history into our present circumstances, and how we then make choices to act in certain ways and not others. This is an on-going and active process - we are engaged in a continuous process of making history, but not under conditions entirely of our own making. Where we are in life at any one

²³¹ Jovchelovitch (2012:85) in 'Underground Sociabilities' reports that the dearth of positive role models and opportunities for young *favela* residents to develop the emotional resources, or psychosocial scaffolding, to endure the challenges of their community has a direct effect on the capacity of *favela* residents to be resilient to these challenges. Jovchelovitch and Priego-Hernandez, *Underground Sociabilities: Identity, Culture and Resistance in Rio De Janeiro's Favelas*, p. 133.

²³² Examination of the data provided by *favela* residents to *Underground Sociabilities: Identity, Culture and Resistance in Rio De Janeiro's Favelas*. Reported a score of 0.773 in terms of statistical significance on a question relating to the degree of perceived control residents feel over their community.

moment is the result of numberless events in the past that have shaped our path.²³³

The implications of the habitus of the *favela* means that consciously, or unconsciously, the life-world of residents carries a legacy which encompasses a violent history, colonialism, slavery, miscegenation and systematic exclusion, framed previously in this writing using De Certeau's 'grid of discipline.' For AfroReggae's Social Technology of the Arts to achieve success in creating 'what empowerment might look like' for the *favela*, it is required to intervene in this complex life-world by dint of a disturbance in the habitus of their participants. To generate this picture of empowerment, AfroReggae reveal the former practices and dispositions of the habitus, the vertices of the grid of discipline, that delineate a current way of being for *favela* young people and in so doing disturb the operation of that habitus.

Revealing the Habitus

This process of revelation should not be regarded as didactic or as an instantaneous Damascene state of change. On the contrary, such transformation can be considered within the lens of a 'liminal', threshold crossing, a creation of a new narrative of awareness, or consciousness raising.²³⁴ As Schechner states 'what is liminality but literally the "threshold," the space that both separates and joins spaces: the essence

²³³ Karl Maton, 'Habitus', in *Pierre Bourdieu: Key Concepts*, ed. by Michael Grenfell (UK: Acumen, 2008) (p. 52).

²³⁴ A process often characterized within the writing of Arnold van Gennep where the process of crossing the threshold was the precursor to the living of a new life 'to cross the threshold is to unite oneself with a new world.' Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*. . trans. by Monika B. Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffee (Chicago: University of Chicago press, 1960), p. 20.

of in-betweenness.²³⁵ Schechner characterizes the 'in-betweenness' of liminality in a manner that has an added interest when considering the actions of AfroReggae. He comments that 'This in-betweenness, thresholdness, also is emphasized by poets as having something to do with performance, with the flow and evanescence of human life [as consciousness of itself.]'²³⁶

A reading of AfroReggae's Social Technology using Schechner's concepts of the liminal in performance highlights the interpersonal and spatial components of their methodology. Social Technology of the Arts is a practice rooted in AfroReggae artists consistently offering an opportunity to participants to 'perform' at the threshold, in-between identities. This opportunity is significant to the *favela* as the community's perception of identity is enmeshed with conceptions of the literal and metaphorical boundaries of the *favela* as place. A *favela* resident's liminal realm is not only physical, the threshold of their community which few non-residents can discern; it is also internal, analogous to the 'Cop in the Head' hypothesis of theatre-maker and activist Augusto Boal within his conception of the Theatre of the Oppressed.²³⁷

Boal defines the Cop in the Head as 'part of a more general concept within the framework of the Theatre of the Oppressed. It concerns those oppressions that have been internalized.'²³⁸ It is therefore equally important how *favela* residents perceive

²³⁵ Schechner, *Between Theater & Anthropology*, p. 295.

²³⁶ Schechner, *Between Theater & Anthropology*, pp. 295-96.

²³⁷ Augusto Boal and Susana Epstein, 'The Cop in the Head: Three Hypotheses', *The Drama Review*, 34.3 (1988), 35-42.

²³⁸ Boal and Epstein, 'The Cop in the Head: Three Hypotheses', (p. 35).

themselves in the 'space that both separates and joins' the mental and physical territories they inhabit.²³⁹ Interestingly Schechner goes on to assert that it is through poetry that allows cognition of this liminal thresholdness. Schechner is referring literally to poetry and poets as opposed to de Certeau who is metaphorical in his use of poets of their own affair. Both conceptions equate a kind of 'poetry' with a consciousness of self and the actions arising from that consciousness.

Schechner does not factor time as a dynamic within his conception of the liminal but I assert that for AfroReggae, as with space and place, time is a literal and metaphorical component of their methodology. Short exposure to AfroReggae's Social Technology can arguably generate, what anthropologist, Victor Turner's terms a more liminoid transit. Liminoid experiences contain with them a ludic potential for transformation but may not be transformatory in, and of, themselves. A liminoid experience may be an opportunity to playfully to test the parameters of the normative structure of the grid of discipline, without challenging it fully.²⁴⁰

This reading corresponds to AfroReggae's repeated offers to reflect on the parameters of the grid/habitus over time. Such offers can lead to a liminal transformation a crossing of the threshold that fully becomes the type of change that philosopher, Brian Sutton-Smith asserts as 'anti-structural,' not acting just as a

²³⁹ Schechner, *Between Theater & Anthropology*, p. 295.

²⁴⁰ Victor Turner, 'Liminal to Liminoid in Play, Flow and Ritual: An Essay in Comparative Symbolology.', *The Rice University Studies*, Volume 60.Number 3 (1974), 53-92. Quoting Turner, 'Liminal to Liminoid in Play, Flow and Ritual: An Essay in Comparative Symbolology.', (p. 60). Sutton Smith states 'The normative structure represents the working equilibrium, the anti-structure represents the latent system of potential alternatives from which novelty will arise when contingencies in the normative system require it.' *ibid* p. 18-19

reflection that leads to a passive examination of the current structures of power but a re-evaluation of their impact.²⁴¹ As Ings observes, place, time and space are essential ingredients of AfroReggae's practice. 'AfroReggae's remarkable success in Rio's favelas lies partly in the fact that it draws strength from its roots in the community, where it is still based, and in the fact that it operates 24/7'.²⁴² Ings' ambitious claim for AfroReggae as a 24-hour organisation, but is more symbolically than actually true; it articulates feelings and attitudes that directly relate to how AfroReggae are perceived in the *favela*. Ings' statement refers to AfroReggae's physical, cultural and emotional proxemics to their community, which creates a perception that the threshold between the *favela* and AfroReggae the organisation, is ambiguous, everpresent and difficult to separate.

AfroReggae are often emplaced in the communities where they work and thus their interventions and conceivably their relationships with their participants, can reach beyond any sense of an episodic, sessional provision. Their workshops themselves may be liminoid and set within a discrete period, but the opportunities afforded by their continual relationship to the community are not. This sessional context and its potentially piecemeal offering, is the experience of many UK arts organisations attempting to affect change in communities in Britain. This intermittent quality of UK project work is borne out by performance scholar, Louise Owen in her assessment of the challenges facing UK arts organisations seeking to engage young people.

²⁴¹ Brian Sutton-Smith, "'Games of Order and Disorder.'" American Anthropological Association', in *Forms of Symbolic Inversion* (Toronto, 1972).

²⁴² Ings, *From the Favela to Our Manor: Translating Afroreggae: The Impact and Implications of an International Intervention in Arts Work with Young People at Risk*, p. 75.

Owen states that the landscape for these organisations is 'a diffuse and fragmentary field of work, made more complex by the short-term nature of projects and funding cycles, and the limited time that overstretched partner institutions might have to devote to cultivating projects.'²⁴³ Although many UK organisations achieve great success, they may be unable to sustain the high level of participant dialogue in their practice as that evidenced by AfroReggae. As Heritage observes of Brazilian social projects, temporality is only one of many challenges faced by organisations, 'In the absence of adequate healthcare, education, family structures, economic activity and security, arts organisations fill the void with an intensity that makes invidious any meaningful comparison with almost all British arts-based initiatives with a social dimension.'²⁴⁴ Heritage reinforces the lack of provision and breadth of challenge faced by AfroReggae in delivering actions aimed at social transformation and perhaps why any intervention provided in this context may generate a feeling of being a 24-7 action.

A Platform for Shared Intention

AfroReggae's application of Social Technology of the Arts as social transformation evidences what sociologist, John Paul Lederach articulates as a 'transformational view' in regard to change in challenging contexts. Lederach's transformational view asserts that dialogue is necessary for both creating and addressing social and public spheres where human institutions, structures and patterns of relationships are

²⁴³ Owen, 'In Tune with the Beat of Where They Are: The Afroreggae Uk Partnership in 2007', (9).

²⁴⁴ Heritage, *Intense Dreams: Reflections on Brazilian Culture and Performance*, p. 9.

constructed.²⁴⁵ AfroReggae's Social Technology of the Arts provides the platform and the process of arts engagement as a dialogue of change. A dialogic process is also advocated in the pedagogy of fellow Brazilian Paulo Freire as co-intentional education.

Teachers and students (leadership and people), co-intent on reality, are both Subjects, not only in the task of unveiling that reality, and thereby coming to know it critically, but in the task of re-creating that knowledge. As they attain this knowledge of reality through common reflection and action, they discover themselves as permanent re-creators. In this way, the presence of the oppressed in the struggle for liberation will be what it should be: not pseudo-participation, but committed involvement.²⁴⁶

It is through this reflective process that *favela* residents (characterised as 'students' to AfroReggae's 'teachers' in Freire's conception above,) gain changed perspectives on the 'the misrecognition' of the habitus that re-performs their subalternity. Bourdieu's concept of the misrecognition of power relations, or 'why individuals are not aware of their own subordination to powerful agents',²⁴⁷ can be seen as the oppressive containment of Massey's 'social precipitates' constituted to sustain the habitus.²⁴⁸ Boal's conception of the 'Cop in the Head' the internalized influence of misrecognition by making its process visible. It is difficult to conceive of change in the marginality or oppression of a context where individuals are socialized to believe marginality is the

²⁴⁵ John Paul Lederach, *The Moral Imagination : The Art and Soul of Building Peace* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

²⁴⁶ Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. trans. by Myra Bergman Ramos, 20th anniversary ed. (London, England: Penguin Books Ltd, 1996), p. 51.

²⁴⁷ Zander Navarro, 'In Search of a Cultural Interpretation of Power: The Contribution of Pierre Bourdieu', *Institute of Development Studies Bulletin*, 37.6 (2006) (p. 14).

²⁴⁸ Massey, *For Space*, p. 145.

normal order of things. Thus, it is important for the acquisition of the critical awareness that a context is not as it could be.

A reading of AfroReggae's methodology as the process for favela residents to adopt the Freirean role of 're-creators' of their own habitus allows the consideration of an ambiguity that is contained within an analysis of the practice. Social Technology of the Arts is often experienced as mercurial, as a practice that appears to have no prescribed methodology other than responsiveness to the conditions encountered. José Junior, one of the founders and Executive Co-ordinator of AfroReggae, often describes their practice since its inception, in the following manner 'AfroReggae hasn't got a ready-made methodology; we adapt it to each place we're working in.'²⁴⁹ Social Technology of the Arts is clearly an approach that is reactive to context and this agility is assuredly a major component of AfroReggae practice. However, a practice of reactivity alone belies the awareness and conscious, poetic alignment inherent in Social Technology of the Arts.

AfroReggae tactically use this awareness, in the contexts where they situate themselves and evidence of the complexity of this Social Technology of the Arts goes beyond Ings previous example of how AfroReggae perform legible identities to the *favela* young people. Social Technology of the Arts subtends from this aforementioned consciousness of the place and habitus of the *favela* with the added component of de Certeauian 'poetry of ones own affairs' to disrupt that habitus. It is this combination of

²⁴⁹ Ings, *From the Favela to Our Manor: Translating Afroreggae: The Impact and Implications of an International Intervention in Arts Work with Young People at Risk*, p. 23.

awareness, 'poetic' movement and arts engagement that I believe identify AfroReggae in the form of a new social movement.

New Mediators New Social Movements

The delivery of actions that provoke a transformational view alone is not what identifies AfroReggae as a social movement; it is also the character of their actors, or re-creators and their relative position in the social milieu of Brazil that accentuates the innovation that is intrinsic in AfroReggae practice and its difference from the social movements they follow. Célio Turino (2013)²⁵⁰ describes the evolution in Brazilian social movements as follows,

'Traditional' [Brazilian] social movements include trade unions, community associations, and student organizations; movements that tend to be structured hierarchically. This model of social organization has suffered serious erosion since the end of the twentieth century and has found great difficulty in responding to the demands of the very sectors it purports to represent. 'New' social movements form another model. Examples can be found in hip-hop, environmentalism, cooperatives and community radio stations, or movements built around personal identity, such as civil rights or gay rights movements. There are also NGO's [AfroReggae and others] focused around an issue, a geographical area or a social group [...] One aims to forge connections and solidarity among peripheral communities; the other is born from the middle-class and seeks allegiance to a cause.²⁵¹

This is not to infer that AfroReggae are not committed to specific causes, but as will be seen later in this chapter, the circumstances of the *favela* context have required

²⁵⁰ Celio Turino, former Secretary of Cultural Citizenship in the Brazilian Ministry of Culture (2004-2010),

²⁵¹ *The Point of Culture: Brazil Turned Upside Down*. trans. by Paul Heritage and Rosie Hunter (London: Calouste Gulbekian Foundation, 2013), p. 74. original use of quotation marks

that AfroReggae adopt alternative ways of working as a social movement to achieve their goals. Sociologist Liv Sovik support Turino's description of Brazilian social movements, supporting Ramos' earlier observation of AfroReggae's practice. Sovik asserts that the AfroReggae of the late 1990's formed part of a new mode of mediation for the *favela* observing that AfroReggae and other *favela* based social movements were,

[P]art of a new form of political action that relies less on social mobilisation and pressure on government, preferring to open avenues to the recognition of the poor in the media and break down barriers of class and racial discrimination.²⁵²

AfroReggae continue consciously to apply a practice that, as Turino states, foregrounds personal identity to focus attention on the limitation of opportunities for mobility and growth in the *favela*. It is this attention to individual narratives that Sovik asserts, acts as a further disturbance of the exclusionary trajectories of the *favela*. Through this conscious arts practice, the young *favela* residents - the focus of these exclusionary trajectories (now recast as the re-creators of them) – are describing new narratives to reimagine their identities, empowered as participants with a fresh awareness of the subjugating influences of their existing trajectories.

Tactics, Poetry and Beauty: A Lever Long Enough to Move the World.

This chapter will now examine how a de Certeauian status of 'poet' might enable us to further understand AfroReggae's arts practice within the *favela* context and in their

²⁵² Liv Sovik, 'From Dispossession to Self-Possession Then What...!', in *Encounters Beyond Text: Art Transforming Lives*, ed. by Paul Heritage and Gary Stewart (London: People's Palace Projects, 2011) (p. 45).

international work.²⁵³ It will illustrate how the component of their arts practice defined as ‘poetic,’ can be read as an act of political resistance. De Certeau’s framing of strategic and tactical power has previously been applied to describe AfroReggae’s actions in the *favela*, as ‘tactical’. In contexts of this nature, where power relations are externally applied, groups and individuals are compelled to adopt actions that are not contingent upon the possession of power for their success, actions defined by de Certeau as tactics.²⁵⁴

De Certeau observes that tactics are, ‘victories of the “weak” over the “strong”’, (where ‘strength’ could be perceived as that of powerful individuals, institutions; or from the threat of violence from an imposed drug gang order.)²⁵⁵ For de Certeau, ‘a tactic is determined by the absence of power just as a strategy is organized by the postulation of power.’²⁵⁶ AfroReggae’s successful interventions, in Brazil and internationally, demonstrate the impact their work has attained albeit, through tactical actions. However, this local, national and international impact, predicated on a guileful insurgence in a community subjected to multiple power influences, does not translate into a situation that allows AfroReggae’s Social Technology to ‘postulate’ de Certeau’s strategic power. During the period covered in this research, AfroReggae have not possessed the means (nor the desire) to postulate strategic power in line with any de Certeauian conception of power. AfroReggae do not have either the capacity to

²⁵³ Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, p. 34.

²⁵⁴ This takes into account the imposition of the power of the drug factions that may be situated in a community but whose power based remains elsewhere.

²⁵⁵ Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, p. 74.

²⁵⁶ Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, p. xix.

delineate places as environments, or the intention of reinforcing the current social milieu.²⁵⁷ In fact their aspirations run contrary to both statements that de Certeau considers when exploring the strategic application of power.

Although AfroReggae may not function strategically they retain the ability to act as a so-called new social movement, empowering those traditionally marginalised, whilst highlighting the implications of that marginality. Activist Srilatha Batliwala defines a social movement as 'Forms of collective action that emerge in response to situations of inequality, oppression and/or unmet social, political, economic or cultural demands. They comprise 'an organised set of constituents pursuing a common political agenda of change over time. Social movements are forms of collective action that emerge in response to situations of inequality, oppression and/or unmet social, political, economic or cultural demands.'²⁵⁸ Batliwala's definition of a social movement is directly applicable to AfroReggae's tactical action in Brazil. AfroReggae's collective action agenda is possibly a hidden curriculum outcome of their work as their practice is more attuned to affecting the individual. This does, however, raise the questions of how many individuals are considered a 'collective'? If AfroReggae's artists and participants constitute a social action does this change their mode of engagement from tactical to strategic action? Before drawing a conclusion it is useful to refer to the hybridity of AfroReggae, Jovchelovitch questions the value of simple characterisations of the organisation. AfroReggae she states, 'is a hybrid organisation characterised by multiple identities: they combine elements of NGOs, social movements, business and

²⁵⁷ AfroReggae's mission to increase the citizenship of *favela* residents can be read as expanding rather than reinforcing the social milieu.

²⁵⁸ Srilatha Batliwala, 'Changing Their World: Concepts and Practice of Women's Movements', (Toronto, Ontario: AWID, 2012) (3).

cultural entrepreneurs; they are agitators, artists, social workers and partners of the Brazilian state' A perception of AfroReggae as a social movement could further evidence their ability to stockpile their tactical winnings.

Arising out of the turmoil of the Vigário massacre, their agenda is to offer a pathway to citizenship for *favela* residents. Their formulation as a social movement, can arguably be seen to induce Brazilian institutions that can postulate strategic power (State and Federal government, large corporate organisations such as Santander Bank and Natura cosmetics²⁵⁹), to reassess their relationship and responsibilities to the *favela*. AfroReggae's Social Technology uses the affective sensation of artistic engagement to create a liminal platform for reflection and transformation for their participants. What then is a Social Technology of the Arts and why do AfroReggae use art tactically, as a means to stimulate agency? How can this practice I have framed, as *favela* 'poetry of their own affairs' be considered within UK socially engaged arts practice?

Liquid Beauty: Locating the Flow of Affect

The guileful, tactical poetry of Social Technology of the Arts is difficult to specify, as it is designed to act as an insurgent response to the complex of power dynamics of the *favela*. One lens to view the Social Technology of the Arts and understand its implications outside of the frame of disruption to the *favela* habitus, is within the conception of engagement with art as 'beauty.' This reading of a methodology that creates change through art, incorporates the 'affective invitation,' as defined by

²⁵⁹ *Natura Brasil* is Brazil's number 1 cosmetics manufacturer and the country's leader in the direct sales sector. Based in Cajamar, São Paulo, the company employs around 7000 staff in seven countries: Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Mexico, Peru, Colombia and France.

Thompson at the beginning of this chapter, it encapsulates a feeling, or affect that may be transient and occurs through engaging in artistic activity. For Thompson the impact of this event is immense, characterised, by him, as 'world stopping.'²⁶⁰

Thompson defines the affect that resides in the affective invitation, as 'emotional, often automatic, embodied responses that occur in relation to something else – be it object of observation, recall of memory or practical activity.'²⁶¹ The literary theorist Michael Hardt applies a related definition of affect inspired by philosopher Baruch Spinoza's assertion that, affect may not be externally situated and that 'affects can be actions, that is determined by internal causes, or passions, determined by external causes.'²⁶² What unites these perspectives is the notion that establishing a specific location of affect is complex.

Affect can arise as an embodied sensation, in response to an autonomic, emotional or hormonal stimulus, such as anger triggered by hunger; or as a reaction to the observation of an external stimuli, an event, object, or crucially, for AfroReggae's Social Technology, from participation in an arts activity. Art theorist Jill Bennett, in her reflections on the affect related to art inspired by trauma, takes the conception of affect further asserting that the dynamics of 'affect [are] revealed to flow through bodies and spaces, rather than residing within a single subject.'²⁶³ Bennett's

²⁶⁰ Thompson, *Performance Affects: Applied Theatre and the End of Effect*, p. 140.

²⁶¹ Thompson, *Performance Affects: Applied Theatre and the End of Effect*, p. 136.

²⁶² Michael Hardt after Thompson, *Performance Affects: Applied Theatre and the End of Effect*, p. 119. In Baruch Spinoza, *The Collected Works of Spinoza, Volume 1*. trans. by Edwin M. Curley (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985).

²⁶³ Bennett, *Empathic Vision: Affect, Trauma, and Contemporary Art*.

understanding of a liquid quality to the dynamics of affect (traumatic or otherwise), and its ability to be a sensation that emerges from action, activity or recollection is central to an exploration of the Social Technology of the Arts and affect. It is this fluid, world stopping attribute of affect, which allows it to account for outcomes of the 'beautiful' artistic engagement of AfroReggae, which was created in the live place of the *favela*. Some observers might describe the affectively charged social context of the *favelas*; described in Chapter 1 and derived from the confluence of many challenging, sometimes violent sociabilities, as traumatic.

AfroReggae's engagement is often not oriented to the creation of artworks as distinct performance products but more about the act of participation, in and of, itself. Performance products when they are a component of the Social Technology of the Arts act as opportunities to increase the proportion of people exposed to AfroReggae activities. However, the majority of its practice is concerned with the potential for the collective performance of newly realised identities in the shared environment of the *favela*. If the Social Technology of the Arts is not configured to produce artefacts as a main aspiration then the location and transmission of any affective process, inherent in the artistic engagement of this methodology become significant to its success. Bennett examines the transmission of affect in the relationship between observer and artwork inspired by trauma, in an attempt to understand the affective transaction between the viewer and the artwork. Bennett seeks to account for the flow of affect from artwork to observer and the observer's relation to the traumatic source of the art. To begin to scrutinize this transaction between observer, artwork and trauma requires an understanding of what is meant by the term trauma and how trauma creates the conditions for its affective transmission or flow of affect. A definitive understanding of

trauma and its implications for individuals provokes a range of discourse across the disciplines concerned with traumatic processes.

Trauma as a term originates from a medicine, as a definition for a physical wound or injury. It was subsequently appropriated by psychiatry and used to define psychological 'injury' resulting from of a horrific experience. A consequence of this traduction of terminology from the medical to the psychological is an ambiguity of whether psychological trauma is a literal wound to the brain, labelled by Bennett quoting Thompson as 'a cut into the soul as a result of a horrifying experience'²⁶⁴ or a metaphorical 'wound-like' representation of the circumstances of the trauma.²⁶⁵

Psychological injury - trauma - is defined as damage to the memory-making process as a result of exposure to a horrifying event. Cultural historian and commentator on trauma and affect Ruth Leys states that,

[O]wing to the emotions of terror and surprise caused by certain events, the mind is split or dissociated: it is unable to register the wound to the psyche because ordinary mechanisms of awareness and cognition are destroyed. As a result, the victim is unable to recollect and integrate the hurtful experience in normal consciousness; instead, she is haunted or possessed by intrusive traumatic memories. The experience of the trauma, fixed or frozen in time, refuses to be represented as past, but is perpetually re-experienced in a painful, dissociated, present.²⁶⁶

²⁶⁴ Bennett, *Empathic Vision: Affect, Trauma, and Contemporary Art*, p. 13. Quoting Thompson, *Performance Affects: Applied Theatre and the End of Effect*, p. 49.

²⁶⁵ Maggie Schauer, Frank Neuner, and Thomas Elbert, *Narrative Exposure Therapy: A Short-Term Intervention for Traumatic Stress Disorders after War, Terror, or Torture*. (Ohio,USA: Hogrefe & Huber, 2005), p. 5.

²⁶⁶ Ruth Leys, *Trauma: A Genealogy* (U.S.A.: The University of Chicago Press, 2000), p. 2.

The affective magnitude of this event is so intense that it cannot be accounted for within existing memory-making systems resulting in the consciousness becoming flooded with an affect that generates a traumatic imprint, an abnormal version of memory or blankness, where a memory should reside. Bennett comments on the affective duality created during the imprinting process. Imprinting simultaneously generates a huge flood of affect that engulfs the consciousness, creating false memories, whilst stimulating an absence of affect in “psychic numbing”. ‘[T]he experience of trauma paradigmatically encapsulates both direct, unmediated affective experience [the horror] and an absence of affect, insofar as it is resistant to cognitive processing and induces “psychic numbing.”’²⁶⁷

The Affect of Trauma

It is this ‘psychic numbing’ of memory, this blankness, that renders some trauma victims incapable of recollecting the details of their trauma. Is this amnesia a possible indication of the argument that traumatic imprinting or numbing, is ‘caused’ by actual injury to the brain?²⁶⁸ For some trauma victims this imprint can then be involuntarily revisited in a ‘false return’ to the source of the trauma, as opposed to an authentic recollection of events based on a conventional memory. The conceptualisation of psychological trauma (whether as a wound to the brain; or metaphoric mental mis-rendering of events) and the associated incidents of false return are descriptive of an endogenous process. A process embodied inside the victim with a direct relation to

²⁶⁷ Leys, *Trauma: A Genealogy*, p. 2.

²⁶⁸ Thompson p. 49. Quoting Bennett, *Empathic Vision: Affect, Trauma, and Contemporary Art*, p. 5. Leys asserts that this fact is ‘inadequately formulated and weakly supported by scientific evidence.’

the source of trauma. However, when this framing of traumatic imprinting is used to consider the flow of affect from artworks invoked by trauma, it becomes evident that any affective responses by an observer of the art are unable to duplicate the affective magnitude of that which triggered the trauma and inspired the art. (If this affective doubling were possible then the creator of the artwork may well be accused of inciting a secondary trauma in his/her audience.²⁶⁹)

Bennett alludes to the transactive power of trauma art rather than its ability to be fully communicative of the impacts of trauma. Bennett states that art,

[I]s best understood as *transactive* rather than *communicative*. It often touches us, but it does not necessarily communicate the “secret” of personal experience. To understand its transactive nature, we need to examine how affect is produced within and through a work, and how it might be experienced by an audience coming to the work.²⁷⁰

The flow of affect connected to viewing trauma art is contingent on another’s, the traumatic experience of the artist, rather than an embodied reaction to the trauma by an observer. As such, this transaction is already one step in the remove from the artist and unable to communicate Bennett’s “secret,” the implications of the trauma on the individual. However, Bennett’s communicated secret contains a paradox in that a victim can share with others a ‘recollection’ of an experience that the traumatic process has obscured from the victim him or herself. As Bennett concludes ‘if this

²⁶⁹ Dominic LaCapra is one researcher of Trauma Studies who asserts that secondary trauma is a possible result of engagement with trauma and victims of trauma, although he acknowledges that this is a more plausible outcome for those that ‘treat victims or work closely with victims and survivors,’ rather than observers of artworks inspired by trauma. Leys, *Trauma: A Genealogy*, p. 265.

²⁷⁰ Dominick LaCapra, *Writing History, Writing Trauma* (Baltimore, U.S.A.: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), p. 102.

affective transaction does not in and of itself convey the “meaning” of trauma, we must also pursue the question of how it might lead us to a conceptual engagement.²⁷¹ This understanding of a conceptual engagement would allow access to what Bennett calls a, ‘nexus between art and thought as this is evidenced within art practice.’²⁷²

Thompson’s theory of beautiful affect generated through participation in artistic activity may provide Bennett’s nexus. His conception of beautiful affective transmission is introspective yet collaboratively active, rather than merely passive, as is the observer transaction of trauma art. Unlike the affective flow evoked by trauma art; at one level removed from the trauma by virtue of being only an interpretation of the traumatic and not experiential of the trauma. A passive observer may be touched by perceiving trauma art and experience a reaction defined by historian and researcher of trauma studies, Dominic LaCapra as ‘empathic unsettlement’ rather than access the ‘nexus’ of Bennett’s communicated secret. Bennett explains La Capra’s empathic unsettlement as a feeling that is the ‘experience of simultaneously *feeling for* and becoming aware of a distinction between one’s own perceptions and the experience of the other.’²⁷³ Locating empathic unsettlement within the affect of observing trauma art can thus be seen to illustrate the isolating, rather than collaborative, potential of observing trauma art. The affect from trauma art isolates the observer into sole introspection, whilst the affect of artistic engagement in AfroReggae’s Social Technology, defined here as beautiful, connects the participants in a forum to share their introspective discoveries.

²⁷¹ Bennett, *Empathic Vision: Affect, Trauma, and Contemporary Art*, p. 7.

²⁷² Bennett, *Empathic Vision: Affect, Trauma, and Contemporary Art*, p. 7.

²⁷³ Bennett, *Empathic Vision: Affect, Trauma, and Contemporary Art*, p. 7.

Participation

Participation in socially engaged artistic activity triggers affective sensations that allow individuals a personal 'convocation', in the sense of philosopher Alain Badiou's description of an 'event, which compels us to decide a *new* way of being.'²⁷⁴ The flow of affect in collaborative artistic engagement amplifies the potential of convocation, as participants come together to gain support from one another. As participants collectively engage with art they generate the opposite potential to the isolating transaction of empathic unsettlement. The convocation process for each individual participant is endogenous; in a manner, that has some similarities with the embodied quality of traumatic imprinting but deviates from imprinting in that an individual experiencing convocation retains a sense of agency that is absent in traumatic imprinting. Traumatic imprinting operates at an internal level and intensity, which denies a victim any volition in its impact.

Situating this process in AfroReggae's Social Technology of the Arts in a participant's engagement with a drumming workshop, for example; the affective flow present in the convoking event, the workshop, is several orders of magnitude lower than the affect of traumatic imprinting. The flow in the workshop creates opportunities for the participant to collaborate with the AfroReggae artists, who perform a *favela* sociability that is congruent and legible to the life-world of their participants. This congruency of sociability and context, allows the creation of relationships that enhance a positive affective flow. If this process is accepted as a 'convocational event', the dynamics of

²⁷⁴ Badiou, *Ethics*, p. 41.

the 'event' allow participants to create a reflective opportunity to consider their relative position in the grid of discipline and habitus of the *favela*. This reflective opportunity, which I have also framed as a co-intentional practice in a Freirean sense, is contained in the 'world stopping' moment of affective flow in artistic engagement.²⁷⁵

There is a wider discourse surrounding the term beauty (and the politics of its absolute definition.)²⁷⁶ This chapter has appended beauty as the denomination for creative affective process; in a manner analogous to Casey's definition the 'amassing' power of place as cited in Chapter 2.²⁷⁷ This Chapter proposes beauty as a 'mode of containment' for the range of affective sensations triggered by arts activity.²⁷⁸ The focus of this chapter is not on how, or even if, participants define their arts encounters as 'beautiful', it is on the impacts those affective artistic encounters evoke in participants and how that incitement spurs individuals to act to change the conditions in which they find themselves.

In applying a containment usage to the term beauty, offering a reading in which the essence of beauty, it is seen to, reside somewhere between the eye of the 'beholder' (participant) and the arts activity in which they are taking part. This framing highlights the political potential inherent in beauty, or beautiful engagement, as action. This

²⁷⁵ Thompson, *Performance Affects: Applied Theatre and the End of Effect*, p. 140.

²⁷⁶ For a wider analysis of beauty, see Sartwell, C. (2004) *Six names of beauty* (London, Routledge); Scarry, E. (2001) *On beauty and being just* (London, Duckworth Press); Smith, Z. (2005) *On beauty* (London, Hamish Hamilton); Steiner, W. (2001) *The trouble with beauty* (Portsmouth NH, Heinemann); Kirwan, J. (1999) *Beauty* (Manchester, Manchester U.P.).

²⁷⁷ Thompson, *Performance Affects: Applied Theatre and the End of Effect*, p. 140.

²⁷⁸ Casey, 'How to Get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time.' (p. 25).

supports Thompson's argument that 'rather than being a distraction from radical politics, beauty can be positioned as central [to the debate].'²⁷⁹ The centrality being the reflective potential that is associated with invitation to engagement and the related opportunities for agency this reflection offers.

This combination of affective processes, held within a 'vessel' of beauty, generates opportunities for participants to consider their relative position in the habitus as the result of a liminal, or repeatedly liminoid, engagement. This engagement allows participants to create a forum (a space that connects spaces) in which to perform alternative identities, using the ludic opportunity of engagement to experiment with the creation of Sutton-Smith's anti-structure. If I return to the example of a drumming workshop, AfroReggae are implicitly inviting their participants to perform the role of collaborators in the art and with the exception of the workshop leader, there is no other hierarchy in the group. The workshop leader can be said to be offering his/her participants a collective responsibility for the rhythm and opportunities to view themselves and their fellow participants in ways that transcend the ascribed roles of any grid of discipline or habitus. Jovchelovitch, notes in her *Underground Sociabilities* research on the *favela* that resident's engagement with AfroReggae

[A]ffects the way people perceive their ability to influence what happens in the community, with those participating more likely to express a critical assessment of their limited power in relation to the places they live; the perception of lower influence suggests that participation in AfroReggae increases critical awareness and the realism of perception²⁸⁰.

²⁷⁹ Casey, 'How to Get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time.' (p. 25).

²⁸⁰ Sandra Jovchelovitch and Jacqueline Priego-Hernandez, *Underground Sociabilities: Identity, Culture and Resistance in Rio de Janeiro's Favelas* (London School of Economics and Political Science, London, 2012), 56-57.

Collective Convocation

Bourdieu would assert that this shift in the 'realism of perception' as defined by Jovchelovitch, reveals the 'misrecognition' of the *favela* habitus by AfroReggae participants.²⁸¹ The shift in perception of the *favela* from acceptance to ambiguity is positive evidence of a raised consciousness of *favela* life. This shift highlights how artistic engagement with AfroReggae stimulates perceptual change. Jovchelovitch notes prior to the intervention the young *favela* residents reported an acceptance (or resignation) to the inevitability of their position in the social strata. The *Underground Sociabilities* research demonstrates the through engaging with AfroReggae participants realise that the role ascribed to them in the *favela* is not fixed and they can discover an opportunity to reappraise the situation in which they find themselves. Crucially, this offer of an 'event' that is convocational occurs as a product of the affective artistic engagement, the convocation for participants may be an individual and endogenous event that transpires or is triggered by a collective activity.

It is the inherently beautiful participative component of an arts encounter that Thompson advocates in his analysis of engaging arts practice in sites of conflict and present in AfroReggae's Social Technology. If an encounter is politically oriented towards a process of empowerment, as it can be in sites of war, or challenging contexts like a *favela*, the flow of beautiful, affective, sensation generates opportunities for participants' emotional and cognitive engagement with their

²⁸¹ Zander Navarro, "In Search of a Cultural Interpretation of Power: The Contribution of Pierre Bourdieu," Institute of Development Studies Bulletin 37.6 (2006): 14.

conditions. Thompson draws on Armstrong to argue that this dual capacity for engagement is ‘the secret power’ of beauty. The affective flow creates conditions for participants to cognitively reflect and evaluate on the context in which they find themselves, alongside an emotional impulse to re-experience the affect of beauty.

Thompson likens the affective experience of beauty to a ‘moment of pleasurable, world-stopping sensation’ an ephemeral performance.²⁸² Does the ephemerality of this experience of beauty inhibit its transformative power? Not according to performance studies theorist Peggy Phelan, who is undeterred by the brevity of the sensation inferred by Thompson’s moment of beauty, arguing that the tantalising nature of such short encounter opens us up to deeper reflection; she comments that,

In a very literal sense, of course, performance is ephemeral. It does last a short time, disappear once it is over and then our critical work starts as a response ‘to the loss’ and although the performance itself is over the affective impact of that beautiful ‘moment’ persists.²⁸³

Encountered Signs

What then is contained within the affective flow of beauty to enable this persistence of feeling? What allows artistic engagement to be more than just cognition, and how can it drive Phelan’s ‘critical work’ once a performative moment has passed? Thompson’s ‘beautiful’ affective arts encounters argument and Bennett’s affective flows from trauma art both seek to understand this process of a persistence of sensation by

²⁸² Thompson, *Performance Affects: Applied Theatre and the End of Effect*, p. 140.

²⁸³ Thompson, *Performance Affects: Applied Theatre and the End of Effect*, p. 136. Quoting Phelan, *Mourning Sex: Performing Public Memories*, p. 3.

drawing on the philosopher Gilles Deleuze's concept of the 'encountered sign'. Bennett and Thompson are drawn to Deleuze to account for the affect of art because Deleuze states that an encountered sign is, 'the sign that is felt, rather than recognized or perceived through cognition.'²⁸⁴ Deleuze opens up the field of the discussion of affect through the inclusion of the enhanced status feeling over perception, or cognition, suggesting that emotion with its relation to affect, rather than thought is the dynamic component for change. His concept of the 'sign' offers a deeper understanding of the significance of affect in socially engaged arts and why arts practice in this context can be seen as radically political. For Deleuze,

[A]ffect or emotion is a more effective trigger for profound thought because of the way it grasps us, forcing us to engage involuntarily. More important than thought there is 'what leads to thought' ... impressions that force us to look, encounters which force us to interpret, expressions which force us to think.²⁸⁵

It is a socially engaged artists' embodied understanding of the efficacy of arts as a Deleuzian 'sign' that orients arts application as a political process, a mechanism for change, as it co-opts thought to critical reflection. Deleuze argues this kind of critical reflection is 'more important than thought' because of the catalysing implications of the encounter with the sign.²⁸⁶ Deleuze draws on the writing of Proust to foreground the insight that is transmitted via this affect; Thompson's 'in spite of ourselves' quality that

²⁸⁴ Bennett 2005 Quoting Phelan, *Mourning Sex: Performing Public Memories*, p. 3.

²⁸⁵ Gilles Deleuze, *Proust and Signs*. trans. by Richard Howard (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000).

²⁸⁶ For AfroReggae this orientation in practice is not instrumentalisation, there is no separation of artwork and the impacts arising from the artwork in their Social Technology, which is often the conception leveled against UK socially engaged practice.

is present to a degree in an exposure to trauma art and contained within the beautiful encounter in AfroReggae's Social Technology of the Arts.²⁸⁷

Participation - The Secret of Beauty?

What are the transactive relationships in an affective encounter? Bennett locates these relationships in an affective encounter as between the art (or artist) and the audience. AfroReggae's Social Technology of the Arts travels beyond this binary to encompass fully the participant as an active co-contributor to the encounter. The realignment of these relations elevates engagement from passive to active and shifts the affective exchange out of the scope of empathic unsettlement or traumatic comprehension.

The process of active engagement endows the participant with the agency to respond to the artistic encounter through pathways unavailable to those who simply observe. This power of engagement does not infer that empathic reactions are not desired, or that any comprehension of trauma is simple. It is that the flow of affect arising through art, offers scope for other transactions, than being a conduit for sympathetic or empathic understanding. The observation of artworks inspired by the traumatic cannot communicate Bennett's 'secret' of that trauma, however Thompson, alludes to an alternative 'secret': the 'secret power of beauty' that is connected to participation in artistic activity.²⁸⁸

²⁸⁷ Deleuze, *Proust and Signs*, p. 161. Quoting Bennett, *Empathic Vision: Affect, Trauma, and Contemporary Art*, p. 7.

²⁸⁸ Thompson, *Performance Affects: Applied Theatre and the End of Effect*, p. 141.

Armstrong infers that an element of beauty's power is our inability to make full cognitive sense of its meaning. Armstrong is not saying that we are unable to understand what is beautiful; rather that beauty, particularly the affective beauty attained through engagement in the arts, is able to convey a range of meaning that belie absolute cognition and therein lies beauty's 'secret'. Beauty may hold a message; but the conception of beauty under consideration here, is far more than just a messenger.

It is this sentiment that is contained within the author, Umberto Eco's statement on the limited benefit of trying to simply understand the meaning of beauty. Eco states that in beauty, 'both intellect and reason give up the supremacy they respectively exercise in the cognitive and moral fields, and come into free play with the imaginative faculty.'²⁸⁹ Eco registers the ludic potential of this framing of beauty, where an individual's powers of reason surrenders the necessity to understand the how, and why, of beauty and instead combines resources to reflect on the playful potential that lies within beauty.

Winston draws on a related discourse when advocating for the educative possibilities of beauty; as will be seen in the comments by director, Rustom Bharucha about what he terms 'perverse beauty' and an affect of pain. Winston choses not to focus extensive thought on the conventional moral trope of beauty and its connection to purity, truth, fairness and symmetry; asserting instead, that freedom from a need to understand how beautiful art was executed and what beauty may be, liberates the

²⁸⁹ Deleuze, *Proust and Signs*, pp. 95-96.

consciousness.²⁹⁰ Winston's argument references John Berger's novel '*A painter of our time*' (2011). The novel uses the sport of football as his ephemeral metaphor for the release of the consciousness to beauty. 'The beauty of soccer, [Berger reflects], is that this is a collective rather than individual effort and hence becomes a model for the kind of free, productive, creative relations.'²⁹¹ Berger foregrounds the beautiful co-intentional powers of collaborative engagement with football in a manner I assert to be analogous to the *favela* participants engaging with AfroReggae.

The 'secret' of what lies in beautiful engagement is its affective ability to encourage reflection, whilst simultaneously liberating cognition and consciousness from analysis and releasing these rationalizing functions to the dominion of imagination. Artistic engagement encourages a collective discussion of the endogenous processes of convocation – the sharing of the revelations triggered in introspective reflection. If this idea is applied to an artistic practice aligned as political engagement, participants are encouraged to reveal their introspections on their situation. The result of this sharing can be used to embark on a trajectory of transformation.

Thompson highlights this collaborative element of beauty in relation to applied theatre and its significance for participants,

Applied theatre is less about beholders and more about participants co-creating work, from their own desires, delights or inspiration. In certain circumstances this might be from a sense of pain or anger, but [...] an alternative has been suggested that

²⁹⁰ Umberto Eco, *On Beauty: A History of a Western Idea* (MacLehose, 2010), p. 264.

²⁹¹ Winston, 'Beauty, Goodness and Education: The Arts Beyond Utility', (p. 75). Quoting John Berger, *A Painter of Our Time* (Random House LLC, 2011).

starts from an invitation to create something that is understood by the makers to be beautiful – something a group might hope to share with others, be they audience members or other participants. This is a process that can allow people to displace the worst aspects of their lives in a moment of joy but can also encourage a critical disposition to an unequal or unjust world.²⁹²

This statement about the displacing power of theatre, is equally applicable other kinds of socially engaged arts, where there is no remote observer in the role of audience endeavouring to make sense of their perception or reactions to the affective encounter.²⁹³ Instead, there are groups of active bodies collaboratively, modulating an affective environment through their co intentional participation, and engagement with art. The Social Technology of the Arts can additionally be understood politically through Bennett's exploration of the dynamics of affective investment.

The investment in AfroReggae is made by participants through their engagement, through their explicit agreement to pick up a drum, and stand in the circle. As stated previously, AfroReggae use this investment as a platform to offer their participants the potential for new subjectivities by framing the participants' response in entering the drumming circle as *batidana*. Yúdice identifies this '*batidana*' as 'a portmanteau of neologism that suggests that *ciudadania*, (citizenship) dwells in the *batida* (*beat*) and *batucada* (music and rhythm of Afro- Brazilian dance).'²⁹⁴

²⁹² Thompson, *Performance Affects: Applied Theatre and the End of Effect*, p. 159.

²⁹³ Unless an audience is invited to view, what those participating in the artistic activity have created.

²⁹⁴ Yúdice, *The Expediency of Culture: Uses of Culture in the Global Era*, p. 127.

The Community of the Beat

If the decision to participate in AfroReggae activity is considered as affective investment, then Deleuze's 'encountered sign' lies in the circle of the *batidana*, the community of the beat that unifies the group and stimulates the flow of affect in the encounter. This conception of investment and representation is echoed by Yúdice when he observes, 'AfroReggae aims to channel the [affective] pleasure of pop music and dance, [...] into an alternative and more inclusive notion of citizenship.'²⁹⁵ As new citizens of the *batidana*, citizens of the beat, AfroReggae participants can capitalise their affective investment to consider the possibility of new identities outside of those of subaltern, or narco trafficker. Bennett's analysis of similar affective investment within the politics of contemporary art and trauma, states

[T]he politics of such work lies in its understanding of affective investments. In this process, we are not looking at already formed subjects and the relations between them... but at the way in which politics and morality operate via the coding of affective intensities and the production of identity grounded in affect.²⁹⁶

AfroReggae aim to offer the potential for positive transformation and artistic engagement generates that potential. The understanding for AfroReggae, that this engagement can elicit different subjectivities, narratives and trajectories, is a political and ethical rationale that is central to their mission and a core component of their Social Technology of the Arts. To paraphrase Jan Cohen-Cruz, AfroReggae offer the 'call' of the *batidana* to their participants, who elect to make the 'response' of seizing

²⁹⁵ Yúdice, *The Expediency of Culture: Uses of Culture in the Global Era*, p. 127.

²⁹⁶ Bennett, *Empathic Vision: Affect, Trauma, and Contemporary Art*, pp. 17-18.

the drum.²⁹⁷ Cohen-Cruz states, 'The overall process of art [that engages communities] must be reciprocal and must benefit the people whose lives inform the project.'²⁹⁸ AfroReggae's 'call' and the 'response' from their participants is no one-off event, it is the beginning of an iteration of calls and responses that are embraced (contained, even,) in Armstrong's 'secret power' of beauty and central to critical theorist, Elaine Scarry's argument that beauty triggers an urge to recreate beauty.²⁹⁹ Participants engage in an affective arts activity, encounter the 'sign' inherent in that engagement and seek to return to the activity to re-experience the secret power of beauty.

In my reading of AfroReggae's Social Technology of the Arts I adopt Thompson's 'slight reworking' of Scarry's assessment for the recreation of beauty into a drive to revisit the collaborative engagement that offers affective sensation (such as being in a workshop, or drumming, or performing with others on stage).³⁰⁰ These actions generate affective sensations and are connected with AfroReggae's beautiful call, the actions create the opportunity for participants to seek Thompson's 'something better' when 'beauty is made to compare.'³⁰¹ A comparison that in this case, is between the misrecognised 'reality' of the *favela* habitus and the possibilities of new narratives that are revealed and explored within the liminoid engagement with the arts.

²⁹⁷ Cohen-Cruz, *Engaging Performance: Theatre as Call and Response*.

²⁹⁸ Cohen-Cruz, *Engaging Performance: Theatre as Call and Response*, p. 2.

²⁹⁹ Elaine Scarry, *On Beauty and Being Just* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999), p. 3.

³⁰⁰ Thompson, *Performance Affects: Applied Theatre and the End of Effect*, p. 145.

³⁰¹ Thompson, *Performance Affects: Applied Theatre and the End of Effect*, p. 152.

This potential of participant investment arising as a consequence of a call to artistic engagement, elaborates de Certeau's understanding of the limits of tactical action. De Certeau argues that those acting tactically are 'without any base' therefore unable to 'stockpile [their] winnings.'³⁰² However, an acceptance of the concept of affective investment refutes this case. AfroReggae's participants make an affective investment in themselves, it is stockpiled by them. The investment becomes embodied as a part of the liminoid transaction they make with AfroReggae and therefore, a foundation for Bourdieu's convocational experience and an opportunity for a liminal, lasting change.

The Affect of Pain

This chapter has so far examined connections between affect triggered through the observation of trauma and affect connected to an engaged perception of art as beauty. Scarry states that pain, though different to beauty in the specificity of its affective transaction, can also trigger engagement, stating that though pain 'has no physical voice, but when it at last finds a voice, it begins to tell a story.'³⁰³ This compulsion to painful recitation is characterised by Thompson as part of an 'aesthetics of injury' that has come to dominate applied theatre and many different forms of radical performance'.³⁰⁴ Thompson is commenting on how a focus on victim's affective discourses of pain and suffering can obscure other affective articulations present – such as the affect relating to beauty.

³⁰² Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, p. 37.

³⁰³ Scarry, *The Body in Pain : The Making and Unmaking of the World*, p. 3.

³⁰⁴ Thompson, *Performance Affects: Applied Theatre and the End of Effect*, p. 146.

If the relationship between beauty and pain, the affect of pain, or suffering can be framed as a possible component of a 'perverse beauty' as articulated by Rustom Bharucha.³⁰⁵ Bharucha's conception of perverse beauty offers an understanding of a different kind of beauty that again, is not wholly concerned with its relation 'to truth, goodness, fairness, harmony, and symmetry.'³⁰⁶ Perverse beauty can encompass painful affects in the 'violent manifestations of beauty,' which can be created in contexts of conflict.³⁰⁷ An example of this perverse beauty within a *favela* context is the drug gangs discharging their weapons, in violent pleasure, at *baile funk* parties mentioned in chapter 1. The absence of a congruent affective response to the gun fire (fear, flight, panic,) by *favela* resident's overly used to the presence of fire-arms in their community, points to a normalization of this violent *favela* sociability and the visual agnosia it generates in the community as residents no longer react to the proximity of automatic weapons in the *favela*.

Such a performance of 'perverse beauty' that could even be read as potentially traumatic in its denouement, gives tongues to narco traffickers 'machine-gun voices' detailed by Sneed on page 69 of Chapter 1.³⁰⁸ Scarry's writing on the affect of pain highlights pain's ability to stimulate action but also locates the limits of its affective

³⁰⁵ Sally Mackey and Amanda Stuart Fisher, 'Introduction to Rustom Bharucha's Keynote Lecture: Problematizing Applied Theatre: A Search for Alternative Paradigms', *Research in Drama Education: The Journal of Applied Theatre and Performance*, 16.3 (2011), 365-84.

³⁰⁶ Mackey and Fisher, 'Introduction to Rustom Bharucha's Keynote Lecture: Problematizing Applied Theatre: A Search for Alternative Paradigms', (p. 379).

³⁰⁷ Mackey and Fisher, 'Introduction to Rustom Bharucha's Keynote Lecture: Problematizing Applied Theatre: A Search for Alternative Paradigms', (p. 379).

³⁰⁸ Sneed, 'Machine Gun Voices: Bandits, Favelas and Utopia in Brazilian Funk', p. 13.

transaction. Pain is arguably the most endogenous of the affects so far discussed, as there is no clear pathway for an individual to transmit their experience of pain to another. Scarry describes this as 'whatever pain achieves, it achieves in part through its unsharability through its resistance to language'³⁰⁹ Pain may gain a voice but no language; it is not the voice of the sufferer of the pain.

The affect generated by this failure of the transmission of pain, is similar to beauty in that it is not based in a cognitive transaction. A parent rushing to the situation of their fallen child is not computing the implications of pain upon the child, they are appropriating the intensity of the screams they hear. However much they may wish, the parent, cannot *feel* their child's pain, they can at best, only approximate its intensity based on self-recollection of their own pain.

The consequence of the inability to share pain means that pain is also unable to convey the same opportunities for agency that are available to affective engagement with beauty, others are not complicit with the sufferer of the pain, even the parent, in my example, trying to comfort their crying child. This lack of connectivity of pain removes the co intentional potential of its affect that is inherent in beauty, we may have all suffered pain but it remains steadfastly our personal experience of pain.

Witnessing another in pain, or as in Scarry's work, hearing accounts of torture or injury although not a full engagement does transmit affect; it will evoke emotion that leads to action, the campaigning for a cessation of the cause of the torture, or the drive to

³⁰⁹ Scarry, *The Body in Pain : The Making and Unmaking of the World*, p. 5.

punish the perpetrators. Although, the affect of pain confers supremacy to reasoning and intellect, a supremacy that Eco argues, beauty relegates. An individual understanding of affect generated from pain is not based on direct experience. It is the result of conjecture, introspection and extrapolation. When one sees, or hears of, another in pain, one is forced inside to introspect on what the other's pain could feel like, or mean politically and morally. The affect from pain has the capacity to convey the 'empathic unsettlement' that Bennett observes of trauma. Pain can evoke 'experience of simultaneously *feeling for* and becoming aware of a distinction between one's own perceptions and the experience of the other.'³¹⁰

Understanding the Elusive Power of Beauty

This chapter draws upon on a conception of beauty that has been framed as difficult to comprehend. The challenge to make 'sense' of beauty engages participants in modes, like emotion, that are alternatives to cognition. Participants from arts projects in challenging contexts (such as the *favela* and in UK, contexts that encompass an exclusionary habitus), individually and collectively experience an affective impact from their participation in engaged arts projects. These participants may not come to a consensus on the kind of beauty they have encountered and may struggle to articulate exactly how it impacted them, either at the time or subsequently. However, their encounter with Armstrong's 'secret power of beauty' invites them to change their perspective on themselves and their situations.

³¹⁰ Bennett, *Empathic Vision: Affect, Trauma, and Contemporary Art*, p. 8. Original use of italics

A consideration of the role that beautiful engagement plays in this process makes it possible to argue that the experience of beauty will as Thompson, (quoting Armstrong,) states, 'gain value through its difference.' Engagement with beauty actually "draws upon dissatisfaction' and 'makes the ugliness of existence all the more harder to bear.'³¹¹ Thompson again foregrounds the application of an engagement that locates beauty as an implicitly political action, one that Thompson observes 'can stimulate the critique of 'ugliness' and a desire to create a better world [...] In asking a group to create something beautiful, you may be asking them to implicitly critique the situation in which they live.'³¹² Scarry extends this conception with her assertion that engagement with the processes, that are contained within this notion of beauty exert a 'pressure towards the distributional.'³¹³

This 'distributional pressure' arises as individuals strive to process the new awareness they receive from the engagement with art and seek to integrate this new awareness into their general perceptions.³¹⁴ Winston cites an encounter with the disabled dancer Bill Shannon as his own instance of the distributional pressure of arts. The encounter forced Winston to reconsider his perception of disability and disabled people in general after experiencing the beauty of Bill Shannon's work. The impact in Winston's example is of one disabled dancer's intervention forcing Winston to re-evaluate his entire opinion of disability.

³¹¹ Thompson, *Performance Affects: Applied Theatre and the End of Effect*, p. 151. Quoting Armstrong, *The Secret Power of Beauty: Why Happiness Is in the Eye of the Beholder*, p. 85.

³¹² Thompson, *Performance Affects: Applied Theatre and the End of Effect*, p. 151.

³¹³ Scarry, *On Beauty and Being Just*, p. 80.

³¹⁴ Scarry, *On Beauty and Being Just*, p. 80.

[O]ne is immediately forced to reconsider one's perspective on the potential abilities rather than the disabilities of disabled bodies...Shannon offers us a new aesthetic and, in doing so, he invites us to change our perception of disability in general.³¹⁵

Related to Winston's experience of the pressure to the distributional, Thompson argues that

Art is understood to have a role in the present, as a protective force with an 'in spite of' quality that enables people to tolerate suffering, not so that they become immune to it, but so that they have the energy to continue to resist.³¹⁶

I assert that the 'critical awareness' acquired through arts engagement evidenced by Jovchelovitch, demonstrates the pressure to be distributional as experienced by Winston and elaborates the protective quality of art beyond Thompson's 'in spite of' to nourish energy for resistance.³¹⁷

It is a sentiment captured by psychologist Lev Vygotski on the power of art and particularly music. Vygotski states,

Art is the organisation of our future behaviour. Musical activity is action that creates impetus for more action, an action that "opens the way for the emergence of powerful hidden forces within us; it acts like an earthquake as it throws open unknown and hidden strata [...] Art [...] forces us to strive beyond our life towards all that lies beyond it"³¹⁸

³¹⁵ Winston, 'Beauty, Goodness and Education: The Arts Beyond Utility'.

³¹⁶ Thompson, *Performance Affects: Applied Theatre and the End of Effect*, p. 2.

³¹⁷ Jovchelovitch and Priego-Hernandez, *Underground Sociabilities: Identity, Culture and Resistance in Rio De Janeiro's Favelas*, p. 56.

³¹⁸ Lev Semenovich Vygotski, *The Psychology of Art* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1971).

An application of Vygotski's appreciation of the art of music and its organisation of future behaviour, to AfroReggae's Social Technology of the Arts highlights the potential for transforming narratives and trajectories while demonstrating Scarry's assertion that engagement with art stimulates a desire to re-engage with art. Thompson's conception of the affect of beauty arises from his work and research in sites of conflict/war, as a reaction to what he defines as the 'aesthetics of injury' discourse associated with these contexts.³¹⁹ My application of his term has different connotations for the contexts of the Brazilian *favela* and to a degree, the UK inner cities explored in later this study. Though these contexts are not in a state of war they still offer their respective residents scenarios where they experience the debilitating impact of pain, trauma, and suffering and thus require resources of resistance.

The Space that Both Separates and Joins

Framing AfroReggae's actions through a combination of de Certeau's 'grid of discipline' and a progressive interpretation of his tactical concepts locates their 'Social Technology' within a wider social performance landscape of Rio de Janeiro. A landscape that will be shown in Chapter 3, has a 'psychosocial cartography', a topography that encompasses the *favela* as place and the social performances of the elites of the *asfalto*, the Rio State, and the drug factions, revealing, as De Certeau states, a place where 'some have power to act strategically - to make interventions to change an environment [and] - others can only resist.'³²⁰

³¹⁹ Thompson, *Performance Affects: Applied Theatre and the End of Effect*, p. 146.

³²⁰ Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*.

De Certeau's strategic distinctions of power and boundary highlight that though influential, AfroReggae interventions mainly remain tactical actions. AfroReggae's practice is unable to stage a full cultural 'invasion' of parts of the city of Rio as the State did in their 'invasion' of Providência in 2010. Any conception of AfroReggae's Social Technology as a strategic action would situate it a direct challenge to the strategic authority of the drug factions in the *favela*, engulfing AfroReggae in a direct conflict with the drug factions that are in no position to win. The Brazilian government and all the resources of the Republic can be argued to be embroiled in such a strategic action, which they seem to delight in calling a 'war' on the drug factions, that is achieving limited success, as is evidenced by the following quote by Heritage.

"D-Day in the war against the Drug Traffickers" (front page headline O Globo [Brazil] Newspaper)

0759: 2,600 heavily armed police and soldiers invade the Complexo do Alemão, [*favela*] reputed to be the headquarters of the Comando Vermelho, one of Rio's principal drug gangs. The symbolic and overt reference to Normandy landings in World War II by Rio's leading newspaper, opens a weekend that is in all but name a state of emergency for the city. By the end of Sunday, the authorities can celebrate victory with the raising of the national and state flags in the 'conquered' lands.³²¹

This so called 'war' in Rio de Janeiro in November 2010 dominated the Brazilian mass media effectively obscuring another strategic programme of community policing, the pacification police units, that began in 2009. Heritage's commentary of these events below highlights the strategic implication of place on the 33 *favelas* the city of Rio defines as 'significant,'

³²¹ Heritage and Stewart, *Encounters Beyond Text: Art Transforming Lives*, p. 8.

Rio de Janeiro created a new form of community policing that by 2013 had been implemented in 33 strategically significant *favelas*. The Pacification Police Units, known in Brazil as the UPPs, have successfully disarmed the drug gangs within 33 communities and established a permanent, local police presence. The success of this experience can be seen in the reduction of homicide rates (often to zero) and the near-elimination of the daily shoot-outs between drug-traffickers and police or between drug-traffickers of rival gangs.³²²

There is evidence that since 2009 the UPP pacification strategy, supported by state police and the Brazilian National Guard, has reduced *favela* homicide rates. However, it is less clear if the images of battle the pacification process creates could be said to be winning any governmental 'war on drugs.' Researcher Julie Tierney quotes anthropologist Roberto Kant de Lima who is damning on the role of the state de Lima states,

The legal state has been absolutely disastrous, because [it functions] like an actor in the conflict with bandits, using the same weapons and ethics as the bandits, who are considered enemies. It engages in combat with them and, as a result, is transformed into an equal of the bandits.³²³

Although de Lima's comments were made before many of the *favelas* in the Rio southern zone were pacified favela residents currently living in those communities support them.

³²² Heritage and Stewart, *Encounters Beyond Text: Art Transforming Lives*, p. 7.

³²³ Julia Tierney, 'Peace through the Metaphor of War: From Police Pacification to Governance Transformation in Rio De Janeiro' (unpublished Masters thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2012). Quoting Roberto Kant from Enrique Desmond Arias, *Drugs and Democracy in Rio De Janeiro: Trafficking, Social Networks and Public Security* (U.S.A.: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006), pp. 3-4.

Nobody liked the shootings, but we left the judgment of the traffickers for that of the police. There are still heavy weapons; the only difference is that the gun is no longer in the hands of the trafficker but the police. What kind of peace is this? ³²⁴

So even with the full resources of strategic power at its disposal, the State has been seen to achieve a limited success in transforming *favela* communities. AfroReggae does not have access to corresponding levels of resources to those available to the State of Rio; and are unable to confront the drug factions or the deficiencies of the state directly, to act strategically, as the elites in control of the grids surrounding them are able to do. Instead AfroReggae elect to respond with their methodology, that draws attention to their *favela* situation; enable wider partnerships and perhaps encourage the State to act strategically in response to the situation presented to them. It is the *favela* residents of the community who, to quote Hildenfoso

[L]earn that they have a force that comes through playing their drum or their violin that will in turn create a new image of other young people from the *favela* for the rest of the city. That's the revolution. Before there was either the bad guy from the *favela* who was a drug trafficker or the well-behaved, good-looking *favelado* who assimilated the looks and behaviour of the non-*favela* kid. AfroReggae produced a new character who didn't exist before. He wears the *favela* clothes and hair-style but plays drums or makes theatre. She is not afraid and tells the truth about the city. ³²⁵

³²⁴ Múcio Bezerra, "Interview Roberto Kant", *O Globo*, 9th June 2002. From an interview with a community leader in Fallet-Fogueteiro-Coroa *favela* on May 27, 2011

³²⁵ Heritage and Ramos, 'Talking About a Revolution: Arts, Health and Wellbeing on Avenida Brasil' (p. 13).

Significantly Hildenfoso confirms that the transformative force for young people comes from drumming or playing the violin: art is the process for a change in *favela* identity and empowerment.

AfroReggae's secondary aim to artistic engagement, the pursuit of partnerships as a way of offer opportunities to *favela* young people is not without challenges for them as an organisation. Their partners, which include the State of Rio, and international corporations; are arguably representative of the meshwork of attitudes and institutions that generate the grids of discipline that marginalize the *favela*. It is a stance which leads to criticism that AfroReggae are being co-opted by the state or as Ramos - quoting Yúdice - suggests, [AfroReggae are] 'being instrumentalised as "culture in the service of society."³²⁶ An awareness of the challenges of such tactical manoeuvres is not lost on the organization and its artists have drawn attention to risks of such partnerships. AfroReggae artists have said the choice to engage with the state for the advancement of their community is:

[A] dilemma in which all non-government organisations find themselves. On one hand, they help construct a process of civil society and democratisation, which is laudable... On the other hand, however, they run the risk of facilitating the States' retreat from social programmes. Consequently, NGO's should not aim to take over State functions. The ideal is to establish an interface between civil society and the government³²⁷

³²⁶ Ramos, 'Brazilian Responses to Violence and New Forms of Mediation: The Case of the Grupo Cultural Afroreggae and the Experience of the Project "Youth and the Police"', (p. 425). Quoting Yúdice, *The Expediency of Culture: Uses of Culture in the Global Era*.

³²⁷ Yúdice, *The Expediency of Culture: Uses of Culture in the Global Era*, p. 155.

Yúdice refers above, to AfroReggae and other *favela* based NGOS, not wishing to ‘take over State functions’; which can be read as a conscious refusal, at this stage in their development, to act strategically and become embroiled in the consequences of that mode of intervention. Instead AfroReggae apply the tactical action of Social Technology, which in its very nature insurgent.³²⁸ AfroReggae artist’s reaction to the familiar complexity of the *favela* ‘situation’ is to perform alternatives to the strategic narratives externally imposed on the favela as the ‘grids of discipline’ in chapter 2. The use of affective engagement in AfroReggae’s practice troubles existing perceptions of the *favela*. The methodology offers a new self-mediated perception of the *favela* community but it is not a perception that seeking to assimilate aspirations of the *favela* into those of the *asfalto*, rather it expounds a new narrative of a proud *favela* articulating a dialogue for itself as an alternative to being reported on by those outside to the community.

AfroReggae’s use of boundary crossings inflects this reimagining process, through their *favela* practice and ‘transits’ out of the community.³²⁹ Through their commercial activity, the negotiation of sponsorship with the State, the corporate sector and international trusts and foundations AfroReggae augment and resource their *favela* interventions. Although supportive of the need for organisations like AfroReggae to diversify their approach away from the NGO and social project remit, Yúdice observes

³²⁸ Their practice insurgent because it’s performance hides in the plain sight of the strategic powers operating over the *favela* community, and sometimes compels their collusion in tactical activities – the drug factions ‘tolerance’ of AfroReggae projects that aim to reduce recruitment into drug gangs. *Favela* interventions like Conexos Urbanas (Urban Connections) that are state funded that seek to fill the void left by the lack of formal state intervention in the *favela*.

³²⁹ This is transition as conceived by Casey as the conscious desire to move location for specific outcomes.

that the commercial leverage can generate a 'humanitarian' perception of AfroReggae's participants.³³⁰ Potentially locating them in the frame of 'victim' of their context to elicit a response from the middle classes, Yúdice argues that this new kind of coalition creates an identity paradox that he defines as a 'performative injunction'.

The performance of identity and cultural styles [of the *favela*] is partially over determined by these groups' insertion into these networks of articulations. Consequently, rather than view certain social movements' collaboration with the media and markets as simply a form of co-optation, it is also accurate to see this as the strategic management of the use that these groups make of these venues and vice versa.

It might be said that the group is caught in a double bind of representation. On the one hand, it repudiates the culture of poverty, that is, the social pathology associated with urban poverty; on the other hand, it invokes the commonplace of "poor but dignified" people making community. The latter are the images it disseminates on TV shows and to foundations and other institutions.³³¹

It is evident that some external Trusts and Foundations will view AfroReggae's work through a lens that frames their Social Technology as the cultural 'escape' of a subaltern poor. These organisations can apply AfroReggae's images of impoverished *favela* residents drumming to create their own symbolic capital.³³²

³³⁰ 'Humanitarian' as in how 'images of suffering are appropriated to appeal emotionally and morally to global audiences and local audiences' as argued by Yúdice, 'Afro Reggae: Parlaying Culture into Social Justice'.

³³¹ Yúdice, 'Afro Reggae: Parlaying Culture into Social Justice', (p. 60).

³³² See Yúdice, 'Afro Reggae: Parlaying Culture into Social Justice', (p. 53). On the Rockefeller Foundation annual report 1999 and the discourse of 'enrichment and riches'

AfroReggae's artists seem unafraid of such challenges, seemingly eager to accept 'the wager [...] to dance with the devil [of corporate partnership] and not be burned.'³³³

As mentioned previously, and reiterated by Heritage and Ramos,

This essential improvised characteristic of AfroReggae is borrowed from a *favela* concept of community. In the absence of an effective state welfare system of support or personal security, the improvised communities that grew up in the aftermath of the abolition of slavery were impelled to create their own affective communities of care. This perspective remains at the very least a forceful part of the *favela*'s cultural mythology, if not a real part of the social infrastructures by which residents survive... The preservation of certain social spaces and the protection of those who live there are bound up in shared cultural traditions that bond individuals into residents of particular communities before they are citizens of the wider city. Such communities have historically been haunted by the impermanence of their lives through the irregularity of building constructions a lack of civic infrastructure, precarious health care and sanitation, and the weakness of the public security apparatus. In such contexts, the arts have taken on a role that belies their marginalization as entertainment and goes far beyond their commercialisation as product. A belief in the arts as a potential act of resistance to whatever threatens the health and wellbeing of individuals and their communities can be traced across the city in projects, programmes and organisations as diverse) and complex as Brazilian cultural identity itself.³³⁴

AfroReggae's Social Technology achieves success through a *favelised* frame of an affective, arts-based engagement: *favela* residents are invited to a liminal 'threshold to explore issues of personal responsibility, place, identity and agency, for themselves.'³³⁵

³³³ Heritage and Stewart, Encounters Beyond Text: Art Transforming Lives.

³³⁴ Heritage and Ramos, 'Talking About a Revolution: Arts, Health and Wellbeing on Avenida Brasil' (p. 14).

³³⁵ Thresholds as the betwixt and between states described in the work of Turner, 1969

By highlighting the historical role that arts has played in the health and wellbeing of marginalized communities Heritage and Ramos echo the 'in spite of' affective quality of art defined by Thompson earlier in this chapter. AfroReggae's practice tactically operates 'under the radar' of strategic power. It is an art, which defies simple cognitive recognition; during the delivery of the Cultural Warriors programme, practitioners and participants can be seen witnessing and attempting to make a cognitive sense of the affect they have encountered. During workshops, informal conversations or social activities participants tried to make sense of the affect present in the activity. They were instinctively aware of its presence but articulations of this presence always eluded them (and perhaps this researcher).

This Chapter has explored how the *favelised* identity of AfroReggae's Social Technology of the Arts is conceived as a political intervention that tactically operates amongst the complex social performances and trajectories of the *favela*. This methodology not only manages to poetically move through a context where it has no power but also challenges *favela* residents and those Brazilians who externally judge these communities, to see a 'different' *favela*. The narrative journeys of AfroReggae not only transform *favelados*, but through the affective empowerment of artistic engagement, they trouble the gaze of the *asfalto* from the world on to the *favela*. On the world stage their practice continues to intervene on a terrain that has been proscribed by the power dynamics of others; their lever is still not large enough to move the world. Or is it? Can a perceived lack of an ability to wield strategic power be detrimental to AfroReggae's aspirations and practice, or does it liberate them?

Chapter 3. Rewriting the Script: The Social Technology of the Arts outside Brazil

One of the most important lessons [...] is that the generative potential of bottom-up movements such as AfroReggae [...] derives from the culture, identity and wisdom of communities they are part of and represent [...] social technologies are not tools produced by technocrats or specialists alone, but a new set of skills and resources forged in the crossings and collaborations that new social movements engender in the democratic sphere [...] what they are and do travels far beyond Rio. They are inspiring others... in Europe and in countries as remote as China and India; their unique characteristic however is to be very close to home.

Sandra Jovchelovitch³³⁶

AfroReggae can re-write the script of the drug trafficker, the policeman, the boy on the street corner and his mother. They insist that the *favela* is a place that is productive of its own multiple meanings and alert the city (and beyond) that they are now writing the *favela* story. And that they are multiple and will introduce you to others from their community who will also write that story. And the story won't have the ending we expect because it won't even have a conclusion. It will be a continuous flow. We must learn to look at the teller not the tale.

Paul Heritage³³⁷

Art that has been seen as a mode of social transformation has been present in Brazil for many years, well before AfroReggae. It is part of the heritage of the black and indigenous people. All these people had no arms, no weapons, but they did have the shout for liberty against their oppressors, which is their cultural art-forms. It seems that Brazil has something in its DNA that is about art being used in this way

José Junior, AfroReggae³³⁸

³³⁶ Sandra Jovchelovitch and Jacqueline Priego-Hernandez, *Underground Sociabilities: Identity, Culture, and Resistance in Rio De Janeiro's Favelas* (Brasilia: UNESCO, 2013), p. 212.

³³⁷ Paul Heritage, 'Personal Email 'Thesis Questions'', ed. by Sylvan Baker, (2014).

³³⁸ Junior, 'Afroreggae Seminar: The Edge of the Future: Renegotiating Power'.

Poetry in motion

Chapter 3 explored how AfroReggae combine the place-making dynamics of their *favelised* identity with the affective outcomes of artistic engagement, to evolve a tactical methodology defined as a Social Technology of the Arts. This contextualization allows an understanding of the evolution and application of AfroReggae's practice, which will now be expanded to gain an appreciation of the transit of AfroReggae's Social Technology outside Brazil. This section develops Thompson's idea for the 'in spite of' quality for art, as a protective quality, that I assert, is contained within AfroReggae's Social Technology. It will examine how this quality maps onto concepts of resilience or the 'capacity for successful adaptation in adversity to discuss if, and how, a tactical methodology of the 'poetry' of one's own affairs could be transferred to socially engaged artists in the UK.³³⁹

I have discussed how AfroReggae's practice or Social Technology of the Arts is a tactical intervention that evolved as a function of the space and place of the *favela*. The delineation of the *favela* space and the interplay of narratives and meshwork of power dynamics elucidate an AfroReggae practice that is tactical in a de Certeauian sense but builds on de Certeau's conception of the tactical through is poetic revelation of liminal 'threshold.' It is at this threshold where Schechner states there is a literal and metaphoric space for the crossing and re-crossing of the boundaries of the *favela*. Referencing the work of Sueli Rolni, Jovchelovitch applies the concept of 'psychosocial cartography' to

³³⁹ Stuart T. Hauser, Joseph P. Allen, and Eve Golden, *Out of the Woods : Tales of Resilient Teens* (Cambridge, Mass. ; London: Harvard University Press, 2006)

characterize this liminal intersection as the location for the redescription of the identity of the *favela*.³⁴⁰ Jovchelovitch applies psychosocial cartography to the thresholds of the *favela* because the cartography is 'not a representation of a static whole - it is a drawing that accompanies and creates itself at the same time as the transformation movements of the landscape'³⁴¹. Psychosocial cartography is useful frame to think through the evolution of identity, psychology and geography present in the Social Technology in the *favela*. AfroReggae's tactical interventions imbricate space, time, identity and emotion to redefine the social and material context of these communities.

From the favela to the World

How can AfroReggae's tactic of Social Technology operate within a UK context? What can UK socially engaged arts organisations; artists and participants learn from a practice that redraws the psychosocial cartography of a community? The UK context for socially engaged practice is very different from the *favelas* of Rio de Janeiro. The UK social context contains its own unique meshwork of social performances and relationships to strategic 'grids' of power. How could AfroReggae's '*favela* poets,' who are well versed in

³⁴⁰ Yúdice, 'Afro Reggae: Parlaying Culture into Social Justice'. The notion of psychosocial cartographies is derived from the work of Brazilian social psychologist Sueli Rolnik. Inspired mainly by the work of Deleuze and Guattari (2004), it combines a psychological and geographical perspective to express how lived worlds can be encompassed in territories that are both spatial and psychosocial, that contain languages and behavioural patterns that define a certain landscape requiring understanding and unpacking. It is used to describe a space or territory in its subjective and objective totality.

³⁴¹ Sueli Rolnik, *Cartografia Sentimental, Transformações Contemporâneas Do Desejo* (São Paulo: Editora Estação Liberdade, 1989), p. 1.

Brazilian tactical sleight of hand, make their Social Technology relevant in Britain?

It may appear that a continental shift from Brazil to the UK would reveal substantial challenges to the application of AfroReggae Social Technology, as the societal structures and contexts of UK community intervention are very different to Brazil. The history of state political actions in the UK is not foregrounded by a legacy of political instability as found in Brazilian society. Whilst UK government changes periodically, the democratic mode of that government remains the same; whilst in Brazil the concept of parliamentary democracy only reemerged as a viable system in the 1980's. There is a legacy of social stratification and exclusion in UK society but it has no direct equivalent for the narrative of marginalization of the Brazilian *favela* community. The UK 'grids of discipline' do not manifest as explicitly in relation to the population as they do in Brazil, though it should be noted that the formal complexity of the UK social order might generate not only different grids of power but also multiply their number.

The social milieu of the UK may be situated around an unwritten constitution, but its systems of governance are nonetheless highly formalized. UK residents are subject to exclusion on the basis of ethnicity, education, gender and income but again the implications of this marginality do not translate into a psychosocial cartography as it occurs in Brazil. The UK state, through legislation, responds in some ways to the challenges of those located at the fringes of society and sought to respond to the situation of exclusion by

creating statutes designed to protect citizens from discrimination.³⁴² The patterns of violence and rates of homicide surrounding the drug factions and the gender and ethnic nature of those killed are not duplicated in the UK.

However, in terms of Bourdieu's concept of 'symbolic violence' the respective experiences of the two contexts may be similar. Bourdieu defines symbolic violence as 'the violence, which is exercised upon a social agent with his or her complicity'.³⁴³ A complicity that is analogous to Boal's theory of the 'Cop in the Head' discussed earlier in Chapter 2. Bourdieu goes on to contextualize the abnormality of the transaction of symbolic domination within the habitus; to highlight that even though there is complicity on behalf of the subject the exclusionary power is still being applied externally to the context.

Any symbolic domination presupposes on the part of those who are subjected to it a form of complicity which is neither a passive submission to an external constraint nor a free adherence to values. [...] The specificity of symbolic violence resides precisely in the fact that it requires of the person who undergoes it an attitude, which defies the ordinary alternative between freedom and constraint.³⁴⁴

³⁴² The UK Equalities Act 2010 protects UK citizens from discrimination, harassment and victimisation on the grounds of age, disability, gender reassignment, race, religion or faith, sex or sexual orientation. *Www.Gov.Uk*, <www.gov.uk/equality-act-2010-guidance> [accessed 26th August 2014].

³⁴³ Pierre Bourdieu and Loïc j. D. Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992).

³⁴⁴ Pierre Bourdieu, *Ce Que Parler Veut Dire : L'économie Des Échanges Linguistiques* (Paris: Fayard, 1982), p. 36.

The processes of misrecognition may be common to both contexts, but not the implication of place. Narratives of place are influential in the UK context but not so deterministic of identity as the narratives of the *favela*, in the UK the conflation of place, class and experience of poverty are not equal to 'the entrenched stigma associated with *favela* residence.'³⁴⁵ The scale of Britain's drug and weapon homicides on young people and young black males in particular, is several orders of magnitude below Brazil and this is not only due to the relative difference in the territorial size and population of the two countries.

However, for all the obvious differences in context between Brazil and the UK, it is possible to make productive comparisons of their respective socially engaged arts activities. UK arts-based practice has a long legacy as a means of engaging communities and as a contributory element towards seeking social change or cohesion. Although there is a long legacy of socially engaged or community arts practice in the UK, one of the main challenges facing this practice has been the ethical alignment of interventions in, with, marginalized communities. Applied art practice has been questioned if the aesthetics used in its delivery aligns with the challenges of the participant cohort, or fulfils an agenda created by commissioners and artist who are outside the participant context. Performance studies academic, Judith Ackroyd cites this dilemma of applied practice (theatre) in her concerns about the conditions under which the

³⁴⁵ Janice Perlman, 'The Metamorphosis of Marginality: Four Generations in the Favelas of Rio De Janeiro', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 606. Chronicle of a Myth Foretold: The Washington Consensus in Latin America (2006) (p. 175).

practice takes place and whether the aims of the delivery satisfy the needs of the participants? 'Whose needs are served by a drama applied to calming inmates or young people in care? The inmates and young people? The authorities? Both? Is it efficacious [...] because there is no space for dissent?'³⁴⁶

This decision whether or not the 'needs' being sought are appropriate for the cohort experiencing them is highly contentious and an ingredient in the dynamics of the relationships between commissioners, practitioners and the participants of the intervention. Participants can appear to have the greatest need and the least say while practitioners risk making interventions into contexts with an inexact appreciation of the habitus of those contexts. Commissioners, who arguably, comprise a part of the habitus but as in the above quote, have alternative 'needs' for the efficacy of the work. Ackroyd also troubles the terminology of applied art practices, most notably applied theatre, and the parameters under which it is used. Ackroyd's concern is that, 'applied theatre has created its own discourse to articulate itself and now masquerades as something neutral and democratic. Yet it emerges as a restricted, even an exclusive, theatre form.'³⁴⁷

The risk in the appellation of applied theatre is the term is so pervasive that the exclusive tenets of its self-delineation challenge its avowal as a forum for

³⁴⁶ Judith Ackroyd, 'Applied Theatre: Problems and Possibilities.', *Applied Theatre Journal*, 1. (2000).

³⁴⁷ Ackroyd, 'Applied Theatre: An Exclusionary Discourse?', (p. 3).

democracy.³⁴⁸ This challenge is, in some ways, analogous to ‘the aesthetics of injury’ discourse Thompson highlights in applied theatre practice in sites of war and conflict.³⁴⁹ These contexts can generate narratives that are accepted by practitioners and a wider society that are not congruent with the needs of the participants. The question for applied practices with marginalized communities is, who is defining the need and is the intervention congruent with the participants, or even required by them. Applied theatre practitioner and academic, Helen Nicholson in *Applied Drama: the gift of theatre (2005)* highlights the challenge of ensuring that any benefit of applied practice is not endowed upon the community from the outside.³⁵⁰ Nicholson’s own definition of intention in relation to applied theatre is relevant to any applied arts practice. She highlights the notion of ‘intention’ and states that applied theatre must be ‘specifically intended to benefit individuals, communities and societies’.³⁵¹ This chapter does not seek to challenge Nicholson’s definition for applied theatre, it seeks to examine the external pressures and source of this intentionality in a UK context. As for AfroReggae the direction of intention and its relation to participants seems more clearly delineated. The question is less clear for the UK, who defines the success of the intervention and the efficacy of benefit: the practitioners, participants or commissioners?

³⁴⁸ See Ackroyd 2000 for the further discussion on the ethical positioning of applied theatre interventions.

³⁴⁹ Thompson, *Performance Affects: Applied Theatre and the End of Effect*, p. 146.

³⁵⁰ Nicholson, *Applied Drama: The Gift of Theatre*, p. 160.

³⁵¹ Nicholson, *Applied Drama: The Gift of Theatre*, p. 13.

The Intention of applied practice

This distinction begins to reveal differences in how practice is considered in the UK and Brazil. Earlier in Chapter 2 I explored how AfroReggae's Social Technology operates and though the organisation has a mission to be an alternative for *favela* youth to engagement with drug factions. The intention of that alternative engagement is very much decided by AfroReggae's participants, the participants become the mediators of their own identity. There is a similar intention for the generation of benefit, contained within Nicholson's conception of applied theatre: but in applied theatre the motivation for this need is not assured to arise from the participants and thus can manifest as 'gift' externally endowed on the participants or community.

Nicholson draws on Derrida to explore the ethics and conditionality of such a 'gift', even if its intention is beneficial.³⁵² Nicholson observes that 'For Derrida, the gift is always ethical, but the paradox is that it is inevitably destroyed when it becomes embroiled in cycles of reciprocity'.³⁵³ Part of the challenge for applied practices in the UK and equally the 'traditional' social movements that Turino argues, preceded AfroReggae in Brazil are these complex relationships of hierarchy and endowment. For these traditional movements there is a hierarchy of endowment and reciprocity connected to their offer. Projects are often delivered by practitioners from outside the community of intervention, or by practitioners from different social strata to the participants, which

³⁵² Nicholson, *Applied Drama: The Gift of Theatre*, p. 162. Quoting Jacques Derrida and Peggy Kamuf, *Given Time: 1. Counterfeit Money* University of Chicago Press, 1992).

³⁵³ Nicholson, *Applied Drama: The Gift of Theatre*, p. 162.

consciously, or unconsciously triggers a narrative that may not benefit the participants.

Such narratives can, at best, obscure the opportunities for reflection and change and at worst devalue any social capital already present in the community of the participants. Consider the situation in the *favela* context of an outsider intervention that devalued the complex sociabilities of the community because its practitioners come from a social class that was unable to see the value in those sociabilities. This potential for an unbalanced relationship can create inferences that the knowledge or expertise to create an effective intervention is only held externally. And the direction of travel for that knowledge is into the community from the outside. It describes the parameters for an instrumental mode of engagement that is at odds with the co-intentional aspiration of AfroReggae's Social Technology of the Arts, negatively portraying artists in the mantle of 'expert' or 'teacher', to return to Freire; and participants as passive objects ripe only for instruction.

The tools to challenge a habitus?

Rather than challenging the operation of an exclusionary habitus for the participants this conception, arguably, reinforces it. The impact of this kind of transaction is the potential for a diminution of any affective impact of the art, in an inverse relationship to the aesthetic quality of the art. The more the art intervention is situated as a commodified; 'applied' practice using Nicholson's definition, (i.e. required to be beneficial for the participants/communities it

seeks to engage), the less likely that this art will create opportunities for any affective impact on those same participants/communities.

AfroReggae's Social Technology, though situated within a frame of community benefit, foregrounds the status and experiences of its participants and is located within a set of aesthetic practices delivered by skilled artists with a connection to the site of intervention, the *favela*. This combination of contextual authenticity and artistic skill inhibits the separation of the practice purely into a commodified, instrumental vehicle of artistic capital. It is a situation that enhances AfroReggae's participants' opportunities to experience their practice as 'beautiful'. AfroReggae are clear that for them art is a tool, a 'cultural weapon' that they wield to enact change. In wielding this weapon AfroReggae successfully highlight the operant capability of their practice; art is the lever big enough to move the world.

AfroReggae's Social Technology, combined with their relationship to their community maintain the productive link between the practical and aesthetic components of art interventions in a methodology that is of benefit to UK arts organisations and artists working with communities. This is not to say that in 2006, when AfroReggae began working in the UK, that there were no British socially engaged arts organisations with practice that was high quality or rooted in its community of intervention. Rather that in AfroReggae there was a combination of qualities that could offer an alternative contribution to UK socially engaged practice. It was this opportunity for a knowledge transfer that originated in a different context but could still resonate with UK communities,

which motivated Heritage to explore bringing AfroReggae to work with marginalized young people in the UK.

Heritage observes that what 'AfroReggae could do in terms of identity [for young people] was "off the page," because theirs [AfroReggae's *favelized* Social Technology] is much more the art of their own culture, it is rooted in their own communities, borrowing the energies of youth culture from that moment³⁵⁴,

What Heritage witnessed in the methodology of AfroReggae was the presence of articulate, confident, young artists, as described by Hildefonso earlier, proud of their community and their culture. Heritage surmised that AfroReggae's Social Technology could affect UK participants, particularly young British males at risk of recruitment in inner city gang violence. He believed their methodology could be supportive to art and other organisations already working in this context. The opportunity for AfroReggae in delivering projects in Britain was to share a paradigm that supported marginalized participants without demoting them to the subaltern role of passive objects of AfroReggae Social Technology.

Strategy in the UK

As in Brazil, UK arts organisations, even those with a national remit, are not in the position to create major strategic initiatives. Arts organisations are often required to be tactically responsive to strategic programmes initiated by central

³⁵⁴ Paul Heritage, 'Personal Interview Evaluating the Impact of 'from the Favela to to the World'', ed. by Sylvan Baker, 2013).

or local government; or government supported quasi-autonomous non-governmental organisations such as the Arts Council of England. In-between these programmes, arts organisations and artists apply for funding from commissioners outside the arts sector, who may be more interested in the instrumental outcomes generated by arts interventions than the interventions themselves. Visual arts critic, Claire Bishop argues that the cultural policy of the New Labour government (1997-2010) set the strategic agenda for the majority of socially engaged arts projects in the UK at the time of the first visit to the Barbican Centre in 2006.

The question that it [the New Labour government] asked on entering office in 1997 was: what can the arts do for society? The answers included increasing employability, minimizing crime, fostering aspiration [...] The production and reception of the arts was therefore reshaped within a political logic in which audience figures and marketing statistics became essential to securing public funding. The key phrase deployed by New Labour was 'social exclusion'³⁵⁵

The Labour Prime Minister, Tony Blair defined social exclusion as'

[A]bout income but it is about more. It is about prospects, networks and life-chances. It's a very modern problem, and one that is more harmful to the individual, more damaging to self-esteem, more corrosive for society as a whole, more likely to be passed from generation to generation than material poverty'.³⁵⁶

³⁵⁵ Bishop, *Artificial Hells: Participatory Art and the Politics of Spectatorship*, p. 9.

³⁵⁶ Tony Blair 1997 in John Welshman, *Underclass: A History of the Excluded, 1880-2000* (Hambledon: Continuum, 2006).

The sociologist, Lisa McKenzie in her research on UK inner city marginality highlights the delineating power of the term social exclusion holds.

This definition laid out in 1997 clearly shows that New Labour's emphasis regarding poverty and disadvantage was on the structural causes of deprivation, but they also acknowledged the role of behavioural factors, and stressed the way that exclusion can be passed on through generations. It seems a much narrower understanding of exclusion than the early French [social exclusion] model, which included exclusion from politics and citizenship, and the lack of personal and group power within neighbourhoods. The hallmark of New Labour's policy approach initially was 'connection', the aim of which is to establish worthy circles of social regeneration through worthy circles of policy connection. The purpose of forming these honourable connections between various welfare fields was that they would manifest strong 'opportunity effects' with special focus upon the kinds of opportunities necessary to enter and compete in the modern labour market.³⁵⁷

The research of Anne Power and the Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion (CASE) at The London School of Economics helped shape the New Labour government's notions of poverty.³⁵⁸ For Power, social exclusion was spatial, it manifested in 'The tendency to push vulnerable and difficult individuals into the least popular places, furthest away from our common aspirations [...] inner city areas and some large outlying housing estates have become a receptacle for

³⁵⁷ Lisa Louise McKenzie, *'Finding Value on a Council Estate: Complex Lives, Motherhood, and Exclusion'* (unpublished Doctoral Thesis thesis, University of Nottingham, 2010).

³⁵⁸ The ESRC Research Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion (CASE) was established in October 1997 with funding from the Economic and Social Research Council. It is located within the Suntory and Toyota International Centres for Economics and Related Disciplines (STICERD) at the London School of Economics and Political Science. 'Social Exclusion and the Future of Cities', *CASEpaper*, 35 (2000).

problems'.³⁵⁹ Social exclusion became the strategic definition for groups experiencing marginality and in terms of de Certeau, this definition is not outlining a territory or environment but a 'grid of discipline' that New Labour argued was a barrier to citizens obtaining the fullest entitlement from society.

The Power of Social Exclusion

The ascriptive power of the term 'social exclusion' is problematic. It is possible to argue that in identifying deficiencies in the cultural capital open to individuals experiencing exclusion, the exposure of need in the definition, exacerbates the very groups it seeks to support. Contained within the conception of social exclusion is a hidden discourse that those experiencing it; the poor are in some way, responsible for their situation.³⁶⁰ This neoliberal reading of poverty with an inference that blames the 'poor' for being poor and the view that it is an alteration in the behaviour of the poor and their choices that could alleviate their poverty can be read as another occurrence of symbolic violence enacted on marginal UK communities.

Sociologist Peter Townsend defined poverty as a relationship of individuals to the resources that allowed them to participate fully in the life of society. Townsend stated

³⁵⁹ Power and Wilson, 'Social Exclusion and the Future of Cities', (p. 1).

³⁶⁰ Poverty is only a single component of social exclusion, and is being used here as a condensation of these other factors.

Individuals, families and groups could be said to be in poverty when they lack the resources to obtain the types of diet, participate in the activities and have the living conditions and amenities which are customary, or at least widely encouraged and approved, in the societies to which they belong. Their resources are so seriously below those commanded by the average individual or family that they are in effect, excluded from ordinary living patterns, customs and activities.³⁶¹

Townsend's re-description of poverty diverged from previous readings, which were predicated on a relation to income. The identification of social exclusion as potential cause rather than a result of poverty and citizenship triggered a range of government initiatives, including applied arts projects, that were enmeshed in the troubled relationship of externally perceived benefit. I argue that UK arts practitioners are unavoidably influenced by the strategic decisions of UK governmental funding bodies, as these bodies dictate the funding and resource landscape on which the majority of UK socially engaged arts ecology exists. Art historian and critic Grant Kester observes this challenge in reviewing the impact of the social inclusion agenda on UK theatres,

There is a pressure through the public funding system for theatres in the UK to create at least the allusion of engaging a broader demographic of the population. [...] One outcome has been the supporting of art that adheres to cultivating 'Social Inclusion'. This has placed the emphasis on artistic engagement as education, or pedagogic, in a way that attests to inclusion within society as an integrated whole.³⁶²

³⁶¹ Peter Townsend, *Poverty in the United Kingdom : A Survey of Household Resources and Standards of Living* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979), p. 32.

³⁶² Grant Kester, 'Dialogical Aesthetics: A Critical Framework for Littoral Art', *Variant Supplement.9* (2000) [accessed 14/09/2014] (2).

UK artists may be less at risk of the ‘dance with the devil’ kind of co-option by strategic partners experienced by AfroReggae and described by Yúdice earlier in this chapter, but are still beholden to the motives that this strategic power base holds. Kester describes the continuum of reactions to a governmental agenda wielding strategic power.

Within socially engaged approaches to arts practices there are widely differing dispositions, from what can be seen to be broadly in line with the Government’s agenda - uni-directional activity of cultivating what are effectively better ‘citizens’/consumers where ‘collaboration’ is largely symbolic — to attempts at an equality of engagement, where arts is seen as “a medium for discussion with social reality” as artist Jay Koh puts it.³⁶³

AfroReggae’s Social Technology and the discursive space it creates through affective engagement, is firmly located at the latter end of Kester’s binary. This locates the practice in an ambiguous position in a UK context. Social Technology of the Arts is resonant with some elements of the trope of social exclusion (it invites participants to reflect on the circumstances and behaviours that contribute to their exclusion,) while at the same time existing outside the blame culture bound to a UK social exclusion dialogue. The methodology challenges the habitus of exclusion surrounding participants; it disrupts the grids of discipline in a manner that McKenzie argues, the social exclusion dialogue perpetuates.

³⁶³ Kester, 'Dialogical Aesthetics: A Critical Framework for Littoral Art', (2). Jay Koh a visual and multimedia artist, who uses what he has defined as 'Critical Art Practice' to explore the dialogical in cross cultural public art activities. Kester defines this practice that has liminal connotations, as 'Littoral Art "*Littoral* - adj. of or on the shore. - n. a region lying along the shore." From its description, it can be taken to express a point of complimentary meeting, an in-between space.

Social Technology of the Arts avoids locating participants in the narrative position of 'need'. Its tactical configuration and de Certeauian sense of 'poetic' movement, side step this and other narratives that disadvantage the participants and their potential to engage with the process. It was experience of AfroReggae's practice in Brazil and its ability to intervene on, whilst standing outside of a range of complex narratives that prompted People's Palace Projects to produce the first visit of AfroReggae to the UK in 2006. Heritage comments,

[T]he absence of the State and appropriate public policies [in Brazil], has been compensated by community action, NGOs and social movements in the areas of health, education and security. Almost all of these have used culture as a strategy of empowerment and as an important stimulus of self-esteem in groups that have limited opportunities and few means of asserting their rights. In the face of such severe social crises, civic society in Brazil has looked to culture as an important instrument for social cohesion.³⁶⁴

From Vigário Geral, Rio to the Barbican, London

Paul Heritage, Artistic Director of People's Palace Projects, first encountered AfroReggae in Brazil in 1998 and in his own words

My path was the same as everybody else's who sat in the Barbican.³⁶⁵ My instinctive reaction to that

³⁶⁴ Heritage, *Intense Dreams: Reflections on Brazilian Culture and Performance*, p. 23.

³⁶⁵ The Barbican is the London arts venue who hosted the first UK performances of the professional wing of AfroReggae, Banda AfroReggae. The main band 'has played the Carnegie Hall, opened the Rolling Stones concert on Copacabana Beach, given a series of critically acclaimed performances on the main stage of the Barbican Centre in London and

incredible energy of them on stage, I didn't have any doubt that if an organisation can be producing that sort of impact in young people's lives through the arts; given what I knew in a generic sense of where those young people came from. Even though I was seeing them on stage, I knew the kind of communities they came from, and then that it was an amazing transition [from favela to asfalto to Barbican stage] this was a group that could make transitions³⁶⁶

The 'transitions' referred to by Heritage are the thresholds from the *favela* to the *asfalto* of urban Rio de Janeiro, then onwards to the imposing main stage of the largest arts centre in Europe, the Barbican. However, they could also be the transitions of place described by Casey in chapter 2. Casey argues, 'in transition, I move in order to pursue my own purposes, purposes that can be attained only in the new place to which I move'.³⁶⁷

Heritage wanted to invite AfroReggae to practice in the UK because of their ability to affect Casey's transitions. AfroReggae made these transitions with the dual purposes of bringing the Social Technology of the Arts to UK practitioners and organisations, whilst extending the spatial trajectories of the Brazilian *favela* to the UK. This latter aspiration is captured in 'From the *favela* to the World' the project title of the first theatre performances and practice workshops of AfroReggae in the UK. Heritage was interested in the transformational

toured to India, China, France and Germany.' Heritage and Ramos, 'Talking About a Revolution: Arts, Health and Wellbeing on Avenida Brasil' (p. np).

³⁶⁶ Heritage, 'Personal Interview Evaluating the Impact of 'from the Favela to to the World'.

³⁶⁷ Casey, 'How to Get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time.' (p. 49).

power of Social Technology with its gendered hybrid identity, and potential for UK young people,

I was attracted to the idea that the masculinity with which AfroReggae play, it is something absent from a lot of the youth initiatives that are on offer in the UK on a regular basis. Because from the beginning, you are seeing the fact they are using the gesture, the look of the drug traffickers. It's a strangely positive engagement with the '*Narco-cultura*' [drug traffic] from the point of view of those external things.³⁶⁸

AfroReggae's performances and workshops at the Barbican in 2006 arose amongst a conflicted UK social context, with concerns about youth gangs and weapon crime and a continued preoccupation with the benefits socially engaged arts practice could offer in integrating a fracture society.³⁶⁹ This social performance of gang related activity in the UK was another motivation for Heritage and People's Palace Projects to bring to Britain a practice forged in an environment threatened by actual, perceived and 'symbolic violence'. The invitation for AfroReggae was to perform a series of concerts on the Barbican main-stage and a performance at the Contact theatre in Manchester, but Heritage understood that a performance by the main musical group Banda AfroReggae would not capture the essence of the organisation; it would show a demonstration of their energy but transmit nothing of their Social Technology.

³⁶⁸ Heritage, 'Personal Interview Evaluating the Impact of 'from the Favela to to the World'.

³⁶⁹ The number of knife homicides rose by 26.9% between 2005/06 and 2006/07. There were 270 knife homicides in 2007/08: the highest total since the Homicide Index was introduced in 1977. 'House of Commons Home Affairs Committee Knife Crime Seventh Report of Sessions 2008-09', (London: House of Commons London, 2009) (3).

Ings contextualizes the need for workshops to accompany the main AfroReggae shows.

[T]he inclusion of a participatory programme of workshops for young people at risk during AfroReggae's visit to the UK in the early spring of 2006 was – and remains – so important. Not because the workshops, which after all ranged over just a few days in each location, could transform the young people who attended them, but because – in the symbolic fashion favoured by AfroReggae – they demonstrated the potential for transformation.³⁷⁰

The Disaffected

Ings believed this 'potential for transformation', inherent in the practice of AfroReggae workshops and exemplified in the performances of Banda AfroReggae, could contribute to the social situation affecting British young people, who were increasingly being portrayed as the cause of social problem afflicting UK communities rather than its victims. Ings account of the 2006 AfroReggae visit reveal the schizophrenic response of the New Labour government, which on one hand advocated intervention in combatting social exclusion and on the other, instituted legislation to challenge marginalized young people dubbed 'disaffected youth' and labelled as part of the problem.

There is also increasing concern over the erosion of sociability – most commonly personified in the media by sullen young men in hoodies. Government responds with ever more draconian impulses towards disciplining 'disaffected youth'. Unruly and disturbed pupils are removed from school and housed together in separate

³⁷⁰ Ings, *From the Favela to Our Manor: Translating Afroreggae: The Impact and Implications of an International Intervention in Arts Work with Young People at Risk*, p. 33.

institutions. Young people who have been a nuisance are awarded ASBOs – anti-social behaviour orders – and shamed in the local press, while those who have offended are forced to wear their shackles when they appear in public (the tag making a tell-tale lump at their ankle). One youth arts worker, speaking at the Insight review meeting at the end of AfroReggae’s visit, identified what might mark our situation out here, amidst our relative privilege, from that in the favela: We don’t live in a favela but we have serious problems. There is chaos in our schools and in our culture - we don’t know where we are within our own culture. We live in a heightened state of materialism, while the favelados [favela residents] are living where there is still a sense of community and an understanding of what human nature is about.³⁷¹

The challenges of labelling youth as disaffected are taken up by sociologist Christian Heathcote-Elliot and Nicholas Walter in their research on social exclusion

At a community level, adolescents who exhibit some of the signs of disaffection are likely to be seen as a problem; are more likely to be excluded from school and be involved with law enforcement agencies. The media also promulgates the stereotype of the obstreperous and angst-ridden teenager. Such stereotypes may serve to reinforce young people’s behaviour as they become further alienated from their community. It is therefore easy to see that without early intervention the young person’s problems can quickly escalate into a downward spiral.³⁷²

Heathcote-Elliot and Walter drawing attention to the potential risk that can arise from this labelling of ‘disaffection’ They also observe ‘Although a great deal has

³⁷¹ Ings, *From the Favela to Our Manor: Translating Afroreggae: The Impact and Implications of an International Intervention in Arts Work with Young People at Risk*, p. 32.

³⁷² Christian Heathcote-Elliot and Nicholas Walters, 'Combating Social Exclusion', *Occasional Paper 9* (2000) (p. 1).

been written about disaffection in relation to young people, there is no universally agreed definition and few attempts have been made to deconstruct the concept.³⁷³ Therefore, a term with an unclear meaning and potentially corrosive implications was a major denominator in policy around young people. The youth arts worker Ings quotes additionally highlights that though materially *favela* communities are less affluent than communities in the UK, *favelas* possess (in the youth arts worker's opinion,) a sense of community cohesion that is lacking in the UK. The observation of being lost within 'our own culture' revealing another areas in which the Social Technology of AfroReggae could offer a contribution.

The UK: A lost culture?

A UK articulation of culture is a problematic concept; in this country, ideas of culture have long been intertwined with notions of class and obscured by subsidiary debates about the relationship of art to culture. For many years the power structures in British society have categorized culture, dividing it into sections that partition art into a function of aesthetic, economic and social value. Writer and researcher François Matarasso in his research 'Use or Ornament?' challenged the approach of successive governments since the 1960's, to ask for a more complex understanding of art and culture.³⁷⁴

³⁷³ Heathcote-Elliott and Walters, 'Combating Social Exclusion', (p. 1).

³⁷⁴ François Matarasso, 'Use or Ornament? The Social Impact of Participation in the Arts', (London: Commedia, 1997).

This has not always been our approach: in Britain's booming Victorian cities, the role of culture was widely appreciated not only as a civilising force, but in places like Bourneville and Port Sunlight as an essential component of a stable, cohesive community. The absence of such perspectives during the 1950s and 1960s – when it was possible to see slum clearance as merely an issue of housing and sanitation – had consequences which are still evident.³⁷⁵

Matarasso's report, and the corresponding Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion research at LSE, were both influential on the inclusive cultural policy of the New Labour government. Matarasso's report asked for, 'a more balanced understanding of the role and worth of the arts in our society – one which simultaneously embraces their aesthetic, cultural, economic and social values, and allows for the different judgements inevitable in a pluralist society.'³⁷⁶ The report was not without criticism and Bishop draws on cultural theorist Paola Merli to argue that the 'fifty benefits of socially engaged practice' it offers are questionable, arguing that 'none of the outcomes will change or even raise consciousness of the structural conditions of people's daily existence, it will only help people to accept them.'³⁷⁷

AfroReggae's practice is confident in applying arts as a tool without reducing it to just an instrument, seems more subversive in this confusing UK context of instrumentalised social exclusion. The clarity of vision in the Social Technology

³⁷⁵ Matarasso, 'Use or Ornament? The Social Impact of Participation in the Arts', (78).

³⁷⁶ Matarasso, 'Use or Ornament? The Social Impact of Participation in the Arts', (3).

³⁷⁷ Bishop, *Artificial Hells: Participatory Art and the Politics of Spectatorship*, p. 14. Quoting Paola Merli, 'Evaluating the Social Impact of Participation in Arts Activities', *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 8.1 (2002).

of the Arts and its lack of concern with instrumentality, located in the UK social context discussed above is perhaps another factor in why AfroReggae's methodology seen by UK artists and arts organisations as inspirational, and by young people who may have fitted the 'disaffected' denomination. None more than the hosts of 'From the Favela to the World' the Barbican Centre. This is evidenced in the following section taken from People's Palace Projects evaluation of the Arts and Humanities Research Council Knowledge Transfer project that part funded 'From The *Favela* to the World'

Malin Forbes, producer of AfroReggae at the Barbican, said 'Certainly it's the most inspiring project I've worked on and I know that Louise [Jeffreys, Barbican Head of Theatre] has similar feelings. We're very interested in all that AfroReggae are trying to do in their work.'³⁷⁸ The following year, Barbican's report for City of London was clear about the influence of AfroReggae's practice on their future plans for social engagement:

At the heart of Barbican's work is the ambition to connect our international arts programme to local communities. Together with the other organisations we have been working with our network of partners particularly in education, to develop a group of creative hubs in schools and youth settings across East London. Inspired by the Brazilian AfroReggae model, these hubs will offer young people the chance to develop their creative skills and express themselves through music and theatre as an alternative to gun crime and street violence.'³⁷⁹

³⁷⁸ Owen, 'In Tune with the Beat of Where They Are: The Afroreggae Uk Partnership in 2007', (4).

³⁷⁹ Barbican report presented on City of London website www.cityoflondon.gov.uk as evidence of the authority's good practice towards their public sector Equality Duty, 2008

The unqualified success of the first AfroReggae visit in 2006 led to the inauguration of the AfroReggae UK Partnership in 2006 and in 2007, a return visit to the Barbican by AfroReggae³⁸⁰. Heritage was keen to keep all lines moving forward (with funders, policy-makers, artists and young people) so big arts productions, systematic work with young people, work with arts organisations and work with policy makers [were all aims of the project].³⁸¹

This second AfroReggae visit was linked to a series of practitioner workshops, residencies in schools and debates for artists, policymakers and opinion formers interested in the sectors that interfaced with AfroReggae's practice. Once again, the clarity, energy and authenticity present in AfroReggae's Social Technology had a profound impact on arts practitioners and participants. Owen reports,

Both during the sessions, and on evaluation form after evaluation form, practitioners talked of happiness and renewal: "refreshed my opinion and enlightened me on more dynamic, playful and organic ways to teach", "AMAZING!!!", "I will take the shared understanding of this training, the joy and warmth, and translate that through my work", "Impossible not to get swept up in the passion, emotion and energy...this is a seed that's going to grow", "it's great to have a forum like this, to remind us why we do the work we do, and not to forget and get lost in the reality of it all", "there are NO! limits – push as hard as you like, work hard, play harder"³⁸²

³⁸⁰ The AfroReggae UK Partnership was initiated by People's Palace Projects, an as a 6-year project, running until 2012.

³⁸¹ Heritage, 'Personal Interview Evaluating the Impact of 'from the Favela to to the World'.

³⁸² Owen, 'In Tune with the Beat of Where They Are: The Afroreggae Uk Partnership in 2007', (5-6).

What can be seen from the responses above, are the energy, passion and emotion that arts practitioners, framed here as participants rather than in their usual role as facilitators, gained from working with AfroReggae. AfroReggae inspired this group of artists who's normal aim to inspire their participants.

Conclusions.

What is the basis of this inspiration? What were the essential components of knowledge that were transferred from the *favelas* of Rio de Janeiro to the concert spaces and workshop rooms of London, Oxford, Manchester and Gateshead? AfroReggae have developed a methodology, the Social Technology of the Arts, which has at its core the *favelised* identity derived from the improvised communities where they began. The place of those *favela* communities is characterised by the agglomeration of histories, narratives, trajectories and beliefs that interact with residents of those communities to create a meshwork of sociabilities. To become successful AfroReggae have embraced the meshwork of *favela* sociabilities and draw on *Antropofagia*, an anthropophagic narrative that characterises the complex history of Brazil, to describe new sociabilities, for themselves and for their communities.³⁸³

³⁸³ Anthropophagic literally means to be cannibal but in the life history of Brazil has been applied to define how the country evolved a nationality by ingesting elements from its indigenous, African and colonial past, digesting what was useful and expelling the remainder. Exemplified in the poem by indigenous artist David Kopenawa Ysnomami

...I am a son of the ancient Yanomamis

I live in the forest where my people have lived since

I was born and I don't tell white men that I discovered it!

It has always been here, before me. I don't say: 'I discovered the sky!'

The bond that AfroReggae continue to have with the *favela* communities, which shaped their practice, affords them a foundation to develop authentic relationships with their participants that are congruent with the life-world of the *favela*. This grounding in the *favela* has enabled the development of methodology, a Social Technology, which enables AfroReggae artists to interface trajectories from the place of the *favela* with the life-worlds of the participants they work with internationally. The conjunction; of the trajectories of the *favela* and the new site of intervention, engenders the circumstances that at a micro level, allow participants to become aware of, and reflect on, the habitus in which they find themselves, to experience the 'encountered sign' advocated by Deleuze.

At the Macro level, social technology promotes a reading of the *favela* and its *favelados*, which resists the exclusionary narratives that have characterised the community.

AfroReggae protagonize the *favelado*, not as victim and not as bandit - but also not just as rapper or drummer or street dancer or graffiti artist. Those who live in the *favela* are the change makers. The heroes. They are

I don't say: 'I discovered the fish,

I discovered the hunting!'

They were always there from the beginning of time. I simply say that I eat them, that's all.
Heritage, Intense Dreams: Reflections on Brazilian Culture and Performance, p. 17.

what Brazil needs if it is going to fulfil its republican ideals, if it is to become Brazil.³⁸⁴

This interface of sociabilities is performed through the participant's affective engagement with AfroReggae's artistic practice. This practice is tactical in that it is not contingent on the possession of power to be both affective and effective. Though not designed to create artists per se Social Technology operates via a combination of focus the individual and their narratives and the collaborative essence of artistic engagement I have appended throughout this research as beautiful.

When AfroReggae deliver the Social Technology of the Arts, out of the *favela* they are not 'out of place', they extend, or in Casey's terms, 'transit' the trajectories of the *favela* with them. In this way AfroReggae become more than a 'grass roots' NGO they become a movement.³⁸⁵

AfroReggae is not an NGO, anymore...It's a movement that has a strong direct and indirect activism. Today it is difficult to say who's and who isn't AfroReggae, there are people who are as AfroReggae as I am and who have never been to Rio. But they raise a flag. It is something (typical) of AfroReggae to create bridges, a double way, where you integrate different classes, genders, ideologies, all very different...So let's break paradigms: what is bad, what is good? Let's think and understand the culture of the Other. Even if you don't like it, it needs to be understood, respected³⁸⁶

³⁸⁴ Heritage, 'Personal Email 'Thesis Questions''.

³⁸⁵ NGO, Non-Governmental Organisation.

³⁸⁶ Jovchelovitch and Priego-Hernandez, *Underground Sociabilities: Identity, Culture, and Resistance in Rio De Janeiro's Favelas*, p. 118. Quoting Jose Junior

AfroReggae: Making Cultural Warriors

The 'From the Favela to the World' partnership with AfroReggae encompassed three other UK projects for AfroReggae and People's Palace Projects: A second series of performances and workshops with the Barbican Centre, the establishment of 'the AfroReggae UK Partnership. A network of UK arts and social organisations inspired by the Social Technology of the Arts and *Cultural Warriors*, the 3-year Paul Hamlyn Foundation funded training and leadership programme. Each initiative sought to transfer the knowledge acquired from AfroReggae and discover ways in which it could be embedded in UK practice and with *Cultural Warriors* the aspiration was to promulgate elements of UK socially engaged 'technology' could make the transition back to Brazil.

Although the difference in geography and context between the UK and Brazil can appear vast, what emerged from a comparison of their respective practices was often quite similar. The locations for artistic interventions that were applied politically to offer transformation were both tactical. Socially engaged artists seeking to stimulate the kind of movement suggested by José Junior are operating on a landscape delineated by strategic powers. For AfroReggae in Brazil, this meant the negotiation with armed drug gangs and a dysfunctional, mostly absent state apparatus. For the UK it means the tactical reframing of artistic interventions to fall into alignment with sporadic and reactive funding strictures to solve deficits in other social performances such as crime or social exclusion. UK socially engaged artists, like many in the humanities were being

tasked with identifying the impact or social value of their work. McAvinchey draws attention to the pressure on, those she defines as, cultural workers,

[R]ather than discuss the political or aesthetic ambitions for their work, cultural workers were expected to confidently articulate a particular promise: that their work would have positive social impact. Furthermore, it was also understood that the promised impact would be accounted for within a financial linguistic framework – providing funders with proof of the social return on their investment in the arts³⁸⁷

Cultural policy researcher Eleonora Belfiore charts the evolution of the discourse of power to commodify arts practice and research identified above by McAvinchey,

The combined forces of globalization and the global economy have exerted pressure on higher education and research institutions, [including practice based arts research], to serve the needs of the emergent knowledge economy. Knowledge economy policy increasingly tends to evaluate the worth of knowledge along economic lines rather than as a social good.³⁸⁸

These are external pressures, from what can be read as the wider social performances to the context of UK socially engaged arts.

The collaboration with AfroReggae rekindled the passion for the work of many artists and participants, in their own Social Technology of the Arts for the UK.

³⁸⁷ *Performance and Community*, ed. by Caoimhe McAvinchey (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), p. 6.

³⁸⁸ *Humanities in the Twenty-First Century Beyond Utility and the Markets*, ed. by Belfiore and Upchurch.

The artists and organisations, experienced a methodology that consciously applies art as tool, a highly affective tool and in so doing ensures that the instrumentality of the artistic application does not become divorced from the intrinsic value of art. AfroReggae demonstrated that to maintain its affective credentials their methodology has to be collaborative and aesthetically strong.

Social technology' is based on stimulating forms of cultural leadership that are autonomous, shared, and transformative. Instead of rejecting art's instrumentalist function - de rigueur in contemporary British defences of the arts - the Brazilian Ministry of Culture has invoked the technological capabilities of artists engaged in transformative social action.³⁸⁹

Heritage is referring to the inauguration of a concept of social technology under the stewardship of a minister of Culture who was also an artist, Gilberto Gil. In the UK the dialogue about the social impact of the arts still oscillates between Matarasso's utilitarian' or 'ornamental' operations of the arts despite the aspiration of UK governmental agencies to promote great art for everyone.³⁹⁰

The Influence of AfroReggae

A component of AfroReggae and their Social Technology of the Arts is its ability to redefine the agenda. AfroReggae's new mediation of the late 1990's avoided the tropes of ethnicity, subalternity and left-wing political activism.

³⁸⁹ Heritage, *Intense Dreams: Reflections on Brazilian Culture and Performance*, p. 24.

³⁹⁰ Matarasso, 'Use or Ornament? The Social Impact of Participation in the Arts'.

Despite the harshness and suffering of *favela* experiences these groups introduce the *favela*, through colour, music and dance, breaking away from what is seen as an 'angry', 'annoyed', 'moaning', style of putting forward an agenda of social change. They draw lessons from the experience of slavery and survival in adversity and use, in particular, music and bodily expression as forms of resistance³⁹¹

AfroReggae's interventions use de Certeauian poetry to eschew dialogue that draws focus and is deleterious to their aims. They do not ignore these dialogues, as José Junior commented above AfroReggae must 'understand the culture of the Other. Even if [they] don't like it, it needs to be understood, respected'³⁹². I would argue that AfroReggae's ability to step outside the dialogue of restrictive narratives, to 'understand the Other' allowed UK practitioners to reflect on their own individual capacity to be De Certeau's 'poets of their own affairs'.

As with AfroReggae, this did not mean external narratives affecting the context for UK artists should be ignored, rather that artists had the opportunity to reassess, if, and how, they might engage with these narratives. The respect inherent in the Social Technology of the arts is a realisation of Freire's co-intentional learning discussed in Chapter 2,

(leadership and people), co-intent on reality, are both Subjects, not only in the task of unveiling that reality, and thereby coming to know it critically, but in the task of

³⁹¹ Jovchelovitch and Priego-Hernandez, *Underground Sociabilities: Identity, Culture, and Resistance in Rio De Janeiro's Favelas*, p. 142.

³⁹² Jovchelovitch and Priego-Hernandez, *Underground Sociabilities: Identity, Culture, and Resistance in Rio De Janeiro's Favelas*, p. 118.

re-creating that knowledge. As they attain this knowledge of reality through common reflection and action, they discover themselves as permanent re-creators³⁹³

The transfer of knowledge from AfroReggae to the practitioners on the workshop programmes that accompanied their Barbican visits, and the participants of the *Cultural Warriors* Programme³⁹⁴ was in the main ideological. The artists that worked with AfroReggae came from a range of performance and art disciplines; they already possessed a range of practice and for the majority of them drumming or circus, which were the main offerings from AfroReggae, did not fall in that practice. The artists were more interest in AfroReggae's application of their practice, how AfroReggae use their *favelised* identity and its culture, as a weapon. This outcome for the UK artists is consistent with AfroReggae's methodological aspirations; the mode of their Social Technology has never been aligned with notion of bland duplication, or franchising their practice. For an organisation with a 20-year legacy that delivers projects globally this may not appear to be an obvious policy as Ings discovered,

Given AfroReggae's stature within and beyond the favelas and its hotlines to the top echelons of both government and the drug factions, it comes as a surprise to learn that Junior and his team have no interest in setting up an AfroReggae franchise in order to strengthen its influence; as Junior wryly puts it, "We are

³⁹³ Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, p. 51.

³⁹⁴ By participants in *Cultural Warriors* I include the UK arts organisations and staff that supported the emerging artists on the programme.

not in the business of setting up branches like McDonalds".³⁹⁵

A Brand and a Movement?

I will return later to what exposure to AfroReggae's philosophies offered UK artist to look here at a deeper analysis, of AfroReggae's refusal to inaugurate Social Technology of the Arts style satellite projects across Rio's 1000 *favelas* and internationally. As discussed in Chapter 3, a foundational component of Social Technology is its approach of no 'ready made methodology'.³⁹⁶ The organisation is happy to interact in the commercial sphere through a production division that partner with global corporations, sell a variant of the AfroReggae identity as the brand or their professional touring and recording of *Banda AfroReggae*. Even this commercial activity, is configured to fund their social projects, offer employment opportunities to *fevalados* or former drug gang members. Their commercial activity and branding of an element of the AfroReggae identity is arguably, another facet of the polyglossia of their sociability. Reginaldo Lima, Coordinator Government Partnerships AfroReggae explains their approach,

That AfroReggae is like talking about a brand, and is very much like watching a brand mobilising is because unashamedly AfroReggae uses branding, logo, t shirt, commercial material to really say its a movement and it

³⁹⁵ Ings, *From the Favela to Our Manor: Translating Afroreggae: The Impact and Implications of an International Intervention in Arts Work with Young People at Risk*, p. 23.

³⁹⁶ Ings, *From the Favela to Our Manor: Translating Afroreggae: The Impact and Implications of an International Intervention in Arts Work with Young People at Risk*, p. 23. Quoting Jose Junior

has this commercial, social tone to it. And it seems to me to mobilise the same kind of power as corporates do.³⁹⁷

In the Purcell room of the Southbank Centre, London in 2010, AfroReggae Coordinator Reginaldo Lima stated that AfroReggae were now able to ‘mobilise the same kind of power as corporates do’. How does the corporate mobility, a strategic action, Lima states, correspond with a tactical reading of AfroReggae Social Technology? I offer two readings of this situation; either AfroReggae have now acquired a foundation and reach that allows them to act strategically whilst continuing to follow their mission for individual *favelados*. Heritage comments on this potential recent development in AfroReggae and their leadership,

José Junior certainly has strategic power and that has been achieved through the organisation of AfroReggae. His power to operate in this way comes from the ways in which AfroReggae has manoeuvred over the last 21 years. I am sure that AfroReggae was tactical for most of the first years, but projects like Juventude e Policia [Youth and the Police³⁹⁸] are clearly strategic and many of those that followed have continued to aim for change at an institutional level of public policy. I love the way that Junior and AfroReggae still celebrate the transformations of individual lives. And of course their strategy depends on these unique moments of success, but they are hyper-aware of the meta-meanings and never lose focus on the broader context. Their strategic

³⁹⁷ Reginaldo Lima, 'Afroreggae Seminar: The Edge of the Future: Renegotiating Powe', in *AfroReggae Explosion Southbank Centre*, 2010).

³⁹⁸ See Ramos, 'Brazilian Responses to Violence and New Forms of Mediation: The Case of the Grupo Cultural Afroreggae and the Experience of the Project "Youth and the Police"'. For an analysis of AfroReggae's projects with the Brazilian State Police of Minas Gerais.

role can be seen as much in what they have chosen not to do as in the actions that they have constructed.³⁹⁹

An alternative reading of the current state of AfroReggae may lie in the last sentence of Heritage's comment, 'Their strategic role can be seen as much in what they have chosen not to do as in the actions that they have constructed'. Is it possible that AfroReggae, so skilled at the guile of the tactical action in the complex meshwork of the *favela*, have simply extended their horizons? Could a range of activities such as: the mobilisation of branded facets of their actions and projects with State institutions that invite them to change their relationship with the *favela*, all be tactical, insurgent actions on the wider landscape? Has the organisation outgrown the label and become a movement, one that has exchanged their poetry on the strategic landscape of the *favela* for new battlegrounds?

First an insurgence that affects Brazil, then other global 'theatres' of conflict? It would not be the first time that this organisation had confounded expectations and rewritten the rules of engagement on what is, and what is not a cultural practice. 'Drawing on these cultural practices, they treat differences, conflict and tensions as sources of transformation. "They are explicitly inspired by Brazilian cultural movements [such as Antrophagia, and Tropicália"⁴⁰⁰], which

³⁹⁹ Heritage, 'Personal Email 'Thesis Questions''.

⁴⁰⁰ 'Tropicália was an all-too-brief focus for cultural and political resistance to the military dictatorship which ran Brazil in the 1960s, before the authorities cracked down even harder, exiling [singers Gilberto] Gil and [Caetano] Veloso and silencing other voices of protest' Ings, *From the Favela to Our Manor: Translating Afroreggae: The Impact and Implications of an International Intervention in Arts Work with Young People at Risk*, p. 9.

subvert logics of colonisation and exclusion by advocating mixture and the blending of extreme difference.⁴⁰¹ Ultimately AfroReggae will keep their own counsel on the rationale for the actions with a knowledge that their actions, whether tactical or strategic, have disturbed the narratives that affect excluded young people in Rio's *favelas* and further afield.

Rewriting the Script

AfroReggae can re-write the script of the drug trafficker, the policeman, the boy on the street corner and his mother. They insist that the *favela* is a place that is productive of its own multiple meanings and alert the city (and beyond) that they are now writing the *favela* story. And that they are multiple and will introduce you to others from their community who will also write that story. And the story won't have the ending we expect because it won't even have a conclusion. It will be a continuous flow. We must learn to look at the teller not the tale.⁴⁰²

Are AfroReggae tactical or strategic, corporate brand or social project, NGO or political movement? These were amongst the provocations AfroReggae left for their participants to ponder and in keeping with their reflective Social Technology of the Arts, few of these questions were asked of the participants through words. They were posed through the practice, as the participants engaged through drumming and joyful reflection, affective artistic practice, the

⁴⁰¹ Jovchelovitch and Priego-Hernandez, *Underground Sociabilities: Identity, Culture, and Resistance in Rio De Janeiro's Favelas*, p. 141. Quoting Silvia Ramos, 'Jovens De Favelas Na Produção Cultural Brasileira Dos Anos 90.', in *Por Que Não? Rupuras E Continuidades Da Contracultura*, ed. by M. I. Mendes de Almeida and S. Cambraia Naves (Rio de Janeiro: 7Letras, 2007).

⁴⁰² Heritage, 'Personal Email 'Thesis Questions''.

batidania the community of the drum beating out new paths and new narratives for all.

Resilience and resistance

As if performing an epilogue that leaves its lasting impact on their participants, AfroReggae artists casually perform the kind of indomitability of spirit that forces the UK artists to ponder the challenges in their own lives and their own practice. Broad grins on the faces of the AfroReggae artists, happy as they drum, gently leading the UK artists and mostly non-drummers through more and more complex percussion phrases. This pleasure in the beauty of their cultural labour is no escape; this is no weak *favelado*, a victim seeking temporary musical respite from the tribulations of a conflicted life, this is affect and everyone in the room can sense it. Thompson describes affect in this comment, 'Affect is the bodily sensation that is sustained and provoked particularly by aesthetic experiences. It is the force that emerges from attention to pleasure, astonishment, joy and beauty'.⁴⁰³

Contrary forces, grief, despair or pain can generate similar affect but repeatedly in AfroReggae workshops this is not the case. Hidden in the drumming and the conversations is another performance, a performance of resilience as what is resilience if not 'the capacity for successful adaptation in adversity'.⁴⁰⁴ Between the rhythms and as important as the beat, the format of

⁴⁰³ Thompson, *Performance Affects: Applied Theatre and the End of Effect*.

⁴⁰⁴ Hauser, Allen, and Golden, *Out of the Woods : Tales of Resilient Teens*, p. viii.

a workshop is familiar to me, the facilitation in Social Technology. AfroReggae artists share narrative fragments of their personal lives and routes to engagement with the *favela* organisation. All the narratives I have heard are true, but not all happened to the teller, which is less important, it is the message and not the messenger that matters.

The narratives are artful, tactical and poetic in a de Certeauian and aesthetic manner, shared by the AfroReggae artists in the workshop, to invite the their participants into conversation and self reflection. It is in those moments of drumming, reflection and conversation, that AfroReggae's version of the secret of beauty is shared. Taken together those comments by Thompson and Chico, reveal the concentrated essence of the Social Technology of the Arts, the encountered sign, the 'world-stopping [affective] sensation' coupled with personal reflection to offer a possible route to transformation. The UK artists drew their own conclusions about Social Technology and are often inspired, the workshops. The shared understand of the workshops was the location of the knowledge transfer from AfroReggae to UK artists and in return. The UK artists reflected on the changes in approach inherent in AfroReggae Social Technology. The AfroReggae artists reflected on the level of support for UK young people and the clarity of pedagogy. One implication of the AfroReggae model is that the majority of artists gain their practice through being participants not through being taught how to teach, working with UK artist allowed them to consider the teaching of leadership and how to structure succession in the organisation.

A triumph for imagination

Ultimately an analysis of AfroReggae created validation for both sets of artists, AfroReggae drew support from an awareness that there are practitioners delivering a social technology that have never been to Vigário Geral. UK artists were refreshed by the muscularity and fluid articulation of Social Technology of the Arts and opportunities for their own style of de Certeauian poetry. Whether tactical or strategic the methodologies of AfroReggae and the UK arts organisations offer credible pathways for the excluded cohorts with whom they practice. And at the core of that practice was a shared confidence in the transformative possibilities that lie in the disturbance of seemingly set life narratives through engagement with affective artistic practices. The imagination of *favela* has called to the world and the world has responded.

In this sense, the work of the imagination is central in producing the visions and alternative representations that move individuals, communities and public spheres into social action for positive change. Through play and art AfroReggae are repositioning favela life in the agenda of Brazilian society and showcasing the work of imagination in developing resilience and resistance in contexts of poverty.⁴⁰⁵

⁴⁰⁵ Jovchelovitch and Priego-Hernandez, *Underground Sociabilities: Identity, Culture, and Resistance in Rio De Janeiro's Favelas*, p. 23.

Chapter 4. Conclusion

Since 2007 a context of global economic austerity, rising weapon crime and the fear of violence has meant that UK demand for the kind of transformatory opportunities offered by the AfroReggae's Social Technology of the Arts has increased.⁴⁰⁶ There is a perceived need for interventions with young people that raise esteem, transfer skills and draw young people back towards inclusion in wider society and arts practice is often tasked with that need. As has been discussed in Chapter 3, the use of engaged arts based practices with young people and particularly young people who are variously described as 'at risk' or facing social exclusion can be problematic, McAvinchey relates the risks of a monolithic categorisation of groups.

[I]ndividuals and groups identified as *being* something highlights only that aspect of themselves [...] Such singularity of approach negates the glorious complexity of human beings and how fluid, accommodating or even contradictory our identities and notions of communities can be.⁴⁰⁷

In Chapter 3 McAvinchey commented that applied or engaged practitioners arts feel pressure to prioritise the impact of their work over its aesthetic quality. This dual strain on UK engaged arts practice to denude its aesthetic content and allow the individual behind the social label to flourish, is an area where the Social Technology of the Arts could be advantageous. AfroReggae's practice,

⁴⁰⁶ The British Crime Survey 2007 reported a fall in violent crime of 40% from a peak in 1995, however, knife and firearms offences rose by 28% and 97% respectively, and 61% of the British population believed crime was rising. *Office for National Statistics, Crime and Justice 2007*, <<http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/taxonomy/index.html?nscl=Crime>> [accessed 22nd December 2014].

⁴⁰⁷ *Performance and Community*, ed. by McAvinchey, p. 6. Original use of italics

which focuses on the individual narratives developed through participation in arts activity appears to circumvent such dilemmas, but how? This research has drawn attention to the performed *favela* identity of AfroReggae, and their artists, and how that identity is attuned to reach out to participants. This process of adjusting sociability to harmonize with a given situation Yúdice claims as the essence of AfroReggae's practice and makes them 'polyglots of sociability'.⁴⁰⁸ There is no pretence or inauthenticity in this attunement process; it arises from a desire by AfroReggae artists to connect with their participants. A connection that can be articulated as part of making a workshop space 'safe' and ripe for self discovery, it is an aspiration of most engaged practitioners working with communities. Cohen-Cruz goes further to define this relationship building as a skill in its own right stating, 'engage performance, then, is an inter-sectoral undertaking, calling for art and some other knowledge'.⁴⁰⁹

What is often different in the AfroReggae version of this process is the identity of the practitioner. AfroReggae practitioners are from the same, or a similar, *favela* communities to their participants, making connection with those local participants easier. However, when AfroReggae artists leave the *favela* their ability to adjust sociability, or as activist Rubem César Fernandes states, 'cultivate the fluid language of values' allows them to relate their mission to individuals outside their social context.⁴¹⁰ A relationship where the artists

⁴⁰⁸ Yúdice, 'Afro Reggae: Parlaying Culture into Social Justice', (p. 56).

⁴⁰⁹ Cohen-Cruz, *Engaging Performance: Theatre as Call and Response*, p. 2.

⁴¹⁰ Rubem César Fernandes, *Public but Private: The Third Sector in Latin America*. (Washington, DC: Civicus & Network Cultures-Asia, 1994), p. 171.

originate in a marginal community and are required to adjust to engage with those outside their social class is the inverse of most UK socially engaged arts contexts. This research is not advocating a position that meaningful interventions in a community can only be made by artists who are members of that, or similar communities. However, the inversion of power relationships revealed through AfroReggae's connection to communities can be used to re-examine UK perceptions of grass roots activity and agency. In the UK, a grass roots organisation does not usually contain the elements or influence attributed to AfroReggae. This may be because in the *favela* AfroReggae have to occupy a larger void left by the non-intervention of the state to offer opportunities to participants. The context for UK engaged practice with participants experiencing marginality is different to Brazil. Artists and arts organisations in the UK are required to function within a complex structure of government agencies and institutions that influence access to groups and the resourcing of activities. It is context that creates more labels that impede the intended beneficiaries of engage arts interventions and limit these beneficiaries developing their own interventions.

Communities such as young people are further subdivided into separate cohorts; young people not in education, employment or training (NEET's), or a young people at-risk-of-exclusion, or offending. This categorisation increases the potential for only perceiving a group (or individual), through its label to further inhibit their agency. Alongside this bureaucracy, the increasing professionalization of UK the engaged arts sector, through courses and qualifications creates additional barriers to an AfroReggae mode of

progression from participant to facilitator. In a UK context, the acquisition of skills through participation in workshops, exemplified by AfroReggae, does not carry the same value as formal qualifications gained on undergraduate or postgraduate Applied Theatre/Drama courses. Barriers into the educational sector, such as the qualifications to be accepted on an undergraduate course, further compromise the trajectory for an individual from a marginal group becoming a practitioner for their peers.⁴¹¹ This inquiry has characterised the strategic structures surrounding the AfroReggae and the Brazilian *favela* using the lens of de Certeau's grids of discipline.⁴¹² A similar analysis of the UK context of engaged practice reveals a strategic structure of institutions and authorities that locate individuals and communities in an increasingly professionalised sector, which through labelling, reduces opportunities for agency by those communities.

The UK context of power is different to Brazil but not dissimilar in its strategic operation. In response, tactical actions are already being applied by UK engaged artists to intervene in this context. However, those interventions are further complicated by discourses on the identity and social status of practitioners and the commodification of engaged practice into a knowledge economy that can be acquired through formal educational pathways. This UK

⁴¹¹ Accredited vocational courses like the National Youth Theatre of Great Britain's 'Playing Up' course, which is designed to offer young people not in education alternative pathways into employment are still required to provide non vocational academic elements of essay and project writing for their participants to gain qualifications. *National Youth Theatre Playing Up*, <<http://www.nyt.org.uk/courses-list/courses-types-and-when/playing-up/>> [accessed 30th December 2014].

⁴¹² Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, p. xiv.

paradigm additionally requires engaged practitioners to foreground the impact of their interventions over their aesthetic value, effectively reducing artistic practice to a tool for social change. AfroReggae's response to these and other challenges is potentially useful and returns to the core of their work. It is the identity of their artists.

AfroReggae artists use their *favela* identity and personal narrative to refute and confound the limiting discourses surrounding their activity. Their artist's act is living proof of the success of their actions, a success that is brought into more prominence by the trajectories of those artists. The artists demonstrate that black individuals from the *favela* can create high quality art and can become highly skilled practitioners. Their presence acts as a kind of 'living proof' that the confining narratives of the *favela* are not truths and knowledge can transit upwards from those placed at the bottom of the social strata, in a way, AfroReggae simply get on with it. The research has sought to identify how AfroReggae achieve its' success and the simplest response is through action. This is not to imply that they are unaware of the restrictive discourses facing them; more that they accept their existence in Massey's space of stories and possibilities that surrounding the *favela* and continue. The object lesson for UK practitioners in this course of action is to reflect on the degree to which engagement with restrictive discourses is useful, or, whether a stronger response is to continue to make art. Ethically it is important to have an awareness of the issues of who delivers actions and why, and for what reasons. These ethical concerns can be encompassed within the decisions to offer an intervention. Nevertheless, it is equally permissible to consider if over

concentration on these issues diverts attention from the achieving the outcome for the action. Does over-reflection on who is facilitating the workshop inhibit the workshop from being delivered?

Engaged art practice operates within a number of frames that are ambiguous: Who endows the practice, what is its value versus its impact, how does it achieve success, is instrumental practice aesthetically compromised, and is the social status of the practitioner significant? What AfroReggae offer to UK practice is an acceptance of these ambiguities, rather than any definitive answers. The inherent knowledge of the Social Technology of the Arts is not skills based. It is focused on pedagogical questions of approach rather than content. It seeks to place the practitioner, or artist, in a collaborative relationship with participants that draws upon the identity and experiences of the practitioner. AfroReggae's approach is consistent with co-intentional theories of Freire and validates the cultural capital inherent in the participants without concealing the skill of the practitioner.⁴¹³

AfroReggae gleaned different insight from UK artists and participants that arose from pedagogical reflections on how they teach, rather than what they teach. The *Cultural Warriors* project enabled AfroReggae to consider alternative methods for teaching and learning that are not so reliant on many years of participation before becoming a leader. They were able to begin to consider how they might specifically train new leaders and what that training

⁴¹³ Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, p. 51.

process entails, to augment the process of promoting experienced participants to the role of group leaders.

This type of consideration is significant for AfroReggae as it marks a departure from their existing model of practice. It also raises a question about the Social Technology of the Arts, is it still a tactical methodology operating on a terrain defined by another power, or can AfroReggae now be considered as a strategic organisation. There is evidence that could confirm this view, the AfroReggae projects with the police and their increasing presence on television and radio media means that their reach has been extending beyond the *favela*. Heritage has stated that the success of AfroReggae, nationally and internationally over the past 21 years has given them the ability to act strategically. Their partnerships with major corporate business and government institutions demands a strategic view. However, a counter argument is that AfroReggae, despite their increased influence are still being tactical, the practice hasn't changed only the environments where it operates. Where once the negotiations were with drug faction leaders in a *favela*, now AfroReggae communicate with corporate executives and even heads of state. In the final analysis a definitive answer may not be important. If AfroReggae are now able to act strategically it is only because of their tactical Social Technology and its focus on the individual. And if AfroReggae are still a tactical organisation they are performing de Certeau's insurgent 'poetry of their own affairs' in a corporate environment delineated by global capital. AfroReggae remain fluid and impossible to categorise, and like Brazil the nation that created them there is

no manual for this creation. AfroReggae will continue to disarm thesis and take apart interpretation.⁴¹⁴

⁴¹⁴ Heritage, *Intense Dreams: Reflections on Brazilian Culture and Performance*, p. 19.

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