"Moral projects in social movements: ethnographic explorations in Brazil"

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------------ Paper in progress -----------

1. Introduction

This article puts forward an interpretation of social movements based on an assumption that they foster and are driven by concrete moral projects. Hence, recognition of the moralities and the emotions associated represents a favourable concept for understanding the scope of action and social participation in collective movements. Thus far, this represents a factor broadly overlooked, where not entirely unexplored, by the literature on this field. In a recent publication of key contemporary anthropology texts on social movements, we find that while attention is paid to the politics of identity and local politics, the processes associated with local moralities are not subject to specific consideration (Nash, 2005; Stephen, 2005; Kirsh, 2005).

This article results from a broader project launched in 2007 with the objective of accompanying the actions and level of mobilisation of citizens across a set of Brazilian Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs). They represented a new generation, emerging since the 1990s, and with the potential to reconfigure the panorama of collective action through narratives and the opening up of life chances in violent periurban surroundings (Ramos, 2006; Yudice, 2000, 2006). These movements deploy restorative moral pedagogies that enable them to reach out to various corners both of Brazil and the planet. However, taking into consideration the importance of establishing the essential bonds of trust and confidence for the observation and participation in the activities of NGOs, I opted to focus on one specific case: the AfroReggae cultural group.[1]

I selected this NGO for study not only because it represented one of the most media high profile, better financed and among the most proactive that I have come into contact with but also because it takes some kind of political role and a discourse that does not strictly fit in with the agenda of the other known social movements. Furthermore, this NGO also presents cultural and artistic proposals that differ to the others associated with the hip hop movement or, more recently, funk carioca, even while maintaining important points of contact. On my arrival for a five month stay in Rio de Janeiro, AfroReggae was undergoing an impressive period of expansion. The events and projects were mushrooming and there was a general feeling among members that they were participating in a movement likely to achieve even greater success. When I returned to Rio in 2008, for another four month period of fieldwork, I was able to witness the drive and commitment of the movement, in particular in attendance at the annual

Orilaxé Award ceremony, held at the Municipal Theatre to celebrate the group's 15th anniversary.[2]

The purpose of this article is to carry out an analysis of the narratives and experiences of interactive communication, also conveyed through the body, within contexts of social and cultural movements and from the perspective of an anthropology of moralities (Howell, 1997; Read, 1955; Zigon, 2008). Correspondingly, I seek to explore two ideas, through recourse to the selection of ethnographic materials from an individual AfroReggae project that I followed and to which I was a physical witness, Juventude & Polícia (Youth & Police). The first idea involves a defence of how the immense strength and power of the narratives present in various moments and in the most diverse products of the movement – books, films, live concerts, CDs and more specifically in moments of local project engagement (dealt with in this text) – construct a moral that simultaneously approaches two aspects: on the one hand, generating a series of shared morals and, on the other, these narratives reflect in the public arena, based upon each person at the moment that each speaks and sets forth their history. This inter-subjective moral implies some level of inter-identity change that may only be proportioned to participants by the very act of participation in the movement.

The narratives are defined as the life stories that people tell each other (or tell themselves) so as to maintain and create meaning and order in each life or in each community (Zigon, 2008: 146). We shall see that, at this level, the moral task essentially involves establishing *fables*. Within this project, the fables tell of the prejudices and the discrimination based upon short biographical histories. The fables are therefore short narratives that use interactive communication, in public, to talk about those issues that the individuals involved deem marvellous. In this case, the subjective processes that suggest personal moral changes and invoke the other to align themselves in that same process. These narratives bear an enormous emotional charge. When used in the format of small fables, the narrators are simultaneously actors in the real world as they observe and analyse it so as draw upon and institute morals: the path that should be followed and the moral beings that they should transform into. These narrative moments encapsulate collective participation. Furthermore, these are the moments for the collective sharing of small fables that help foster the legitimacy of participation. As such, this leads to action in the ways that repeated communication across various moments and in multiple contexts as the social movements, after all, imply motivation for the other and attributing co-responsibility to the other in the act of participation.

The second idea that I defend is that on a more performative level and through short dramas, the moral continues to be interactively communicated but no longer with recourse to fables. The word loses its predominance in favour of the expression of the body and the metaphors associated with other representations framing the daily life of favela dwellers, the police and their interactions and encounters. The intentions and experiences, inspired by artistic liberty, reveal that, beyond the shared meanings (as in the case of the fables), there is an inter-subjective level of representation that drives various moments of the processes – what we may designate as a moral affectiveness that opens up space for moral tolerance between the groups present, more specifically the police and the youths participating in the project. It is in these moments that we encounter a shared moral based on *allegories*, in terms of the indirect means of representing something or an idea about the appearance of another while not immediately revealing its moral. It may be stated that at the moment of corporal and dramatic experiences, in which participants are called upon to represent the daily life of and between participants, they present the others that, in sum, are themselves. Hence, the moral work of experiences involves

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[2] These are the awards that the AfroReggae movement itself attributes to figures recognised in the most diversified and broad area of the Brazilian social movements and, on occasion, those of other Latin American societies. What is surprising here is the inversion of the symbolic hierarchies activated by the awards, allied to the size and significance that NGOs have attained in recent years. Such processes place the movement as the promoter of other movements and no long as mere receptor.

different ingredients to the short biographical stories. To close, I set out a provisional summary of the moral grammar of the project under analysis.

2. Moral projects, narratives and experiences

These two ideas stem from the definition of morality put forward by Zigon (2008: 17). This author definitively rejected the idea of the moral as a set of codes or principles and rules that are followed or transgressed and that had previously prevailed in anthropology. Morality is instead approached by this and other authors as a means of incorporating the dispositions, the cultural stipulations and moral, local and personal choices, intimately bound up with emotions and feelings. Hence, the interest lies in studying the local moral worlds; the subtle details and particular practices that make up people's moral lives (Howell, 1997), the moralities on the minuciae of everyday life, and the spaces of moral interactions (Edel and Edel – Anthropology and Ethics (2000[1959]).

Morality thus extends beyond notions of the homogenising morality of cultural relativism or the study of moral philosophy as purposes in themselves in favour of detecting such themes in daily life and in local manifestations. However, to this end, Zigon draws attention to certain epistemological questions: the question of knowing why to consider a particular aspect a moral aspect should remain very much to the forefront of the researcher's mind and s/he should know whether the concepts used to analyse local moralities would actually be recognised by the locals themselves.

In order to highlight this perspective, the author proposes that we approach such research questions in a different fashion. For example, why should we consider the family relationship moral when exclusively made up of mother and child? Although such are not questions that traditionally arise within the scope and theory of western moral philosophy, they may prove central to non-western moral philosophies (Zigon, 2008: 11). The response to this question demands the verification of moral relativism but, more importantly, helps discern those themes appropriate to the anthropological study of moralities.

Zigon defends that anthropologists should be particularly attentive to moments expressing "moral breakdowns" (Zigon 2007). In this way, we may clearly distinguish between three levels: firstly, morality as a type of habitus or a disposition non-reflected in social life (the incorporated way of daily interacting with the world), a level of moral discourse (in which diverse influences stand out) and thirdly, the local ethic as a type of step in the direction of reflectiveness distancing moral habitus and moral discourse. The ethics, or moral reflectiveness, is introduced onto the scene by some dilemma, moral crisis or problematic issue (Foucault, 1984: 388). This is the level that I engage in so as to analyse the moral work of some of the participants in this movement.

Nevertheless, in this case, the concept that seems most appropriate for development is that of the moral project. The concept was originally put forward by Jennifer Cole (2003) so as to verify how the moral visions of people structure and guide the narratives and memories of past events. Hence, this perspective maintains that the moral worlds themselves form their own respective narratives.

In accordance with the moral project concept, Cole seeks to designate the importance of the struggle for what is considered "good" in self-learning and advancement under particular socio-political circumstances. Moral projects are understood as the "local decisions that make up a good person, a fair community along with the way these conceptions of community reciprocally involve personal notions as to what it means to have a good life and the efforts required to obtain such a lifestyle. People engage in projects so as to turn themselves into certain types of moral persons" (cit in Zigon, 2008: 149-150). Cole conceives the relationship between individual persons, their moral communities and the labour necessary for these relationships between individual persons, their moral community and the work required for

these people to attain self-fulfilment and the community to gain the moral beings that they seek to be. This work is extremely well captured within the notion of moral project (*idem,* 149-150). We must not forget that the AfroReggae movement is implemented as a "social project", a terminology shared with other movements, but also with a binding and driving morality. This is precisely the moral outline that emerges from the histories of people and that deserves attention. This is no conceptual moral abstraction of the movement as more commonly emerges out of analysis of these phenomena.

As stated, the concept of the moral project seems most appropriate for understanding what take place at the narrative level of a movement such as AfroReggae given how such implies a moral task, a process shared and incorporated by the individuals narrating their short and incisive personal moral fables. However, in the cases of more allegorical interactive and communicative experiences, one of the key ideas involves the notion of inter-subjectivity set out by Jackson (1998: 4). Inter-subjectivity does not mean that persons are led towards a perfect mutual understanding but rather a process of actually being able to be together. Up to a certain point, there is a level of shared inter-subjective experience to the Youth & Police project whereby it is not expected that the same actions lead to the sharing of the exact same meanings. At this phase, we may state that moralities are being worked at the level of mutual tolerance.

Unni Wikan (1992), for example, maintains that it is necessary for the researcher to reach out beyond an understanding of that which is only said. Hence, the research community is to scrutinise what exists beyond the words and their meanings and focus attention on intentions and similar experiences between those speaking and those listening. Zigon also agrees with the philosopher Donald Davidson in his backing of the importance of a charitable interpretation of words. Frequently, words, within acts of communication, are not the shared understandings that are at stake but rather the mutual agreements (Davidson, 1984). The meaning may not be shared but there is an empathic agreement between those speaking and those listening. Hence, returning to the case study here, the AfroReggae movement, it is the agreement to participate in the project – indeed, also expressed in the personal narratives that recall personal histories, as we shall see – that which encourages whoever participates in an experience summarised only in the frequency of the many moments and merely there and living together even when the entire socio-political-economic contexts highlights the impossibility of this happening in contexts other than the project.

3. The "cultural invasion" (moral?) of the police battalion and schools of Belo Horizonte

In 2007, I gained the chance to engage in extended ethnographic observation of what was termed the AfroReggae "pilot-project": Juventude & Polícia (Youth & Poilice). This experience would serve to complement and substantially enrich the multi-located methodological approach (Marcus, 1995) most recurrent in this type of social movement, which are not fixed and are itinerant and may take place in different locations, sometimes simultaneously, with different impacts.[3] Somewhat "wildly" and across multiple meanings, more than through the well known "snowball" technique that, despite everything, while all encompassing, follows a fairly predictable path, I set about my fieldwork throughout months. I made contacts, intermingled at AfroReggae centres and in the most varied actions and projects, I carried out interviews with leaders and coordinators, instructors, former or recently recruited members of the group, young hustlers (usuários) from the *favelas,* dissidents, "godfathers", political and cultural partners (even while the dividing line between them may be tenuous),

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[3] There are variations to the proposal by Marcus, which, in the essential, capture the meaning. Recently, I heard a social science sociologist term her ethnography as "hobo ethnography (etnografia vagabunda)" (Bruni, 2008).

critics and other "ongueiros" from the Rio universe. However, such a methodology is not free of risk.

I rapidly understood some of the dilemmas confronted by this type of wandering ethnography and focused upon the plural voices of those participating or observing the movement from various vantage points and taking on the most diverse statutes both within and beyond. Various dilemmas have also emerged in other analytical and methodological proposals such as, for example, in what has become known as "global ethnographies" (Burawoy; Blum; George; Gille; Thayer; Gowan; Haney; Klawiter; Lopez; Riain, 2000). Despite the immense depth of the project, one of greatest dangers is the epistemological impact that may force the multi-local and trans-local options in themselves. This derives due to the trend to understand plural actors as a generality and dominated by moralities that are not controlled or that are only very partially triggered. This builds up awareness as to how the global political and economic dimension, its amplitude and impact on local moralities may tend to combine to "crush" the actor, sometimes through recourse to concepts that mean very little to them. Agency and resistance, for example, are concepts frequently of greater concern to the academics studying than those subject to study (Asad, Butler, Mahmood & Brown, 2009). However, this may also be an attempt to recognise actors as displaying singularly excessive individuality, rendering them perfect illustrations of movements.

One of the privileged points of analysis for moral projects precisely involves this recognition of the multiple forms of agency and the manifestation of individualities within the collective but putting forward an analytical approach capable of, in fact, becoming the main generator of movement: a moral project shared locally and within determined dialogical and expressive contexts. Within this scope, actors become not only co-producers of the movement but also its expression within the cultural sense.

Given this framework, we return to the project itself. While initially designed to be undertaken with the Rio de Janeiro Polícia Militar (Military Police), negotiation obstacles over actual implementation of the Youth & Police project, led to the search for other alternatives. Hence, attention turned to the Minas Gerais Military Police following intervention by the secretary of security who had, in the meanwhile, become one of the main AfroReggae sponsors both in Minas and across all of Brazil. It began to be claimed that AfroReggae had carried out a cultural invasion of police battalions. Correspondingly, this was recurrently highlighted by movement participants. Luís Flávio Sapori, the secretary of security of Minas Gerais' State, began to spread the word as to the experience among the various corporations that were politically invited to take part. Announced in 2007, the step towards "project institutionalisation" by the Minas Gerais police was implemented in 2008. This resulted in political deadlock and the resignation of the secretary of security. So as not to lose years of experience and project progress with this switch over in political leadership, as was made clear to all on the day of publicly sharing the various witness accounts of those involved, a political project took place with the objective of calling on the police force itself to fully integrate into the project.

This process well illustrates the means of the NGOs and the social and cultural movements in Brazil, their participation in the broader political and organisational system and the power and transversality that may be attained in relation to de facto defined public policies. In this case, an NGO project gets transformed into an institutional project. Hence, that deemed by many as the most inflexible of Brazilian democratic institutions, the police (and in particular its militarised branch), might, at a particular point in time, become an example of engagement in the most moral democratic project: subject to the creative moral changes proposed by movements external to it. However, on the other hand, the process also demonstrates the extreme fragility of project sustainability and continuity, its possible swift loss of support given the great dependence on persons and resources located within a specific moment of political life, what are termed the "godfathers", or within a certain context of expansion or contraction of national and international financing within the framework of a neoliberal world order.

4. Youth is police, police is AfroReggae

In May 2007, I monitored the Youth & Police phase that involved the transportation of a group of over twenty AfroReggae instructors from Rio to Belo Horizonte (BH) (in Minas Gerais). The objective was to enhance police capacities and support them through the insertion of cultural workshop monitors in two schools considered among the most violent on the outskirts of Belo Horizonte. In summary, the core idea of Youth and Police was to facilitate sustained and extended contact and exchanges of experiences to create instances of socialisation between groups as distinct as youths from Rio slums, young artists considered as middle class, the police and students from violent and peripheral schools. To this end, the pretext of culture, music and other forms of artistic expression was put forward and that became not only a means of expression but also a shared moral narrative. In summary, this project would repeat the political grammar of many other AfroReggae initiatives: restoring, in practice and metaphorically, the "broken city" (Ventura, 1994), reclaiming the central cultural role of the Brazilian city periphery in addition to the place of favelados (favela dwellers) within the social framework, as private moral beings, subject to a particular local and moral culture, that of "narco-culture" (Júnior, 2006: 259).

When the project mentors refer to favelados, they highlight how narco-culture totally permeates the favelas of Rio de Janeiro and, on a larger scale, all major national metropolises as well as all of Latin America. In the book by the NGO's leader, the usage attributed to the concept is rendered explicit. This defends the position that narco-culture transcends restricted notions of legality and illegality, justice and injustice and which has, over the course of three decades, become the one true culture in urban Brazil – hence driving a reconfiguration based upon moral community projects involving youths from these communities so as to also reach out to these narco-favelados. The concept of narco-culture, and its depiction for discussion of the AfroReggae work, summarises, with all its ambiguities and creativities, the moral project of the movement.

This was the fourth consecutive year of the project and, while threatened due to the political changes in the governmental panorama, it continued to celebrate its longevity. At various points during the project capacity building phase, there was reference to the battle that had to be fought in order to keep it alive. The project underwent evolution from a more experimental and artistic expression format into a more structured project that sought to change, through the regular holding of cultural workshops held in specific schools, the relationship between youths from the peripheries and the police in the broadest possible sense. This was the second year in which the police were involved in the Youth and Police project and the officers involved dedicated 50% of their professional working time to the workshops regularly staged for students attending these schools. The remaining police time was spent with other colleagues on operational duties or, in other cases, on administrative duties. Such institutionalisation would mean that the 29 police officers allocated to the cultural workshops themed around percussion, theatre, basketball and graffiti were finally able to stabilise the time spent on such activities. Commonly, I was told that the main project obstacles were that the AfroReggae instructors remained distant and only carried out one or two capacity building campaigns per year and that during the academic year, the police were pressured by regular duties and had to give up on providing the student workshops.

Nevertheless, in media terms, the project has won over enormous public visibility in recent years. One of the high points was the participation of a group of military police percussionists in the Faustão program, entitled 'Fantástico', one of the most popular programs on the TV Globo channel and indeed among the most watched in Brazil. Seeing the police taking the stage with drums, rolling over and removing their uniforms and revealing an AfroReggae t-shirt created a certain stir due to the "breaking of a paradigm" (as expressed by various of those involved). Such attention bore repercussions both within and beyond the police force and in both Minas Gerais and in Rio and probably also in various other parts of Brazil. Indeed, it triggered huge controversy. I heard this directly from both the police and instructors.

However, it must also be emphasised that all the commotion did not prove able to weaken the project. Students involved in the project were themselves invited to take leading roles and bear witness to their experiences of their contact with police officers, who in some cases were simultaneously local patrol officers and cultural monitors in various other schools and at public events. Thus, the communicational dynamic of the project proved to be central right from the outset.

The capacity building model was based on two weeks when both instructors and monitors were totally available to work with the police and youths. These monitors, in the main from Rio, were accommodated in a Belo Horizonte (BH) apartment-hotel that had been their base throughout various years and prepared to facilitate the immense social interaction taking place between a huge group of young people, in the majority male. The first week was entirely spent in a Military Police Battalion where the commander had volunteered to host the project as would happen in each respective phase. After the arrival day and a participant getting-to-know each other session, the second day saw the official opening session take place. In a large and modern auditorium, the most prominent figures behind the project gathered with each called upon to relate their personal histories as well as the background to each of the institutions involved with Afroreggae: an aspect that we shall return to.

Throughout the first week, the mornings were given over to training eminently education and even semi-academic in nature. Various speeches were given in the same battalion auditorium, covering themes as diverse as pedagogy, psychology, drug consumption and others. Projects deemed innovative within the field of policing were also presented. Various battalion police officers, but particularly police and young AfroReggae and other project participants had to attend these seminars.

The battalion afternoons were spent in a rather distinct ambience, in artistic workshops where Rio based instructors and BH police officers allocated to the project and who were the monitors in schools, recounted and trained their musical, theatrical, dance, sporting and design knowledge and skills. Whoever was present in the battalion headquarters would hear the strong beat of percussion drums in unison, the most distinctive sensorial sound and the brand image of the project. Various citizens of the city would stop to see the design of graffiti on the exterior battalion walls. The theatre workshops took place within a more intimate environment, reconfiguring the morning's auditorium sessions with the basketball played on a pitch nearby but actually external to the battalion headquarters.

The second week involved the daily transport, from early in the morning and practically through to nightfall of a large number of instructors from the hotel to the schools out on the periphery in two purpose rented vans. Heading through the protective walls and the two gated checkpoints that were set up in efforts to isolate the students and the school from the violent surroundings, the monitors would then re-launch the capacity building process. However, these now involved an added group to the two existing participant groups: the students registered for the workshops. In this week, the mornings were dedicated to joint work between the police and students, on this occasion supervised by AfroReggae instructors. The key idea, although not always implemented with the same level of effectiveness and efficiency, was to render the police autonomous while ensuring that the latter felt the support of the AfroReggae monitors. The monitors would provide suggestions as to how to improve both from a technical and a pedagogic point of view.

The afternoons were organised around various events put on by the youth group: films associated to the NGOs, presentations of youth testimony accounts, preferably from former traffickers and occasionally from AfroReggae police in reflection of the moral dimension of the project. One of days included a showing of the film "Falcão. Os meninos do tráfico (Falcon: the boys of trafficking)" that preceded the presentation of a narrative of the life by Serginho, the surviving protagonist to which the film alludes. On other days, there was extended percussion training, presentations and the showing of the film "Nenhum Motivo Explica a Guerra (No

Motive Explains War)" in NGOs in different BH favelas with which project producers had organised a range of cooperative initiatives.

Halfway through the second week, there was a moment deemed among the most dynamic and creative of the project: the "aulão (extended class)". This additional class involved the monitors and police officers who together experimented, as we shall return to below, with project workshop exercises. All workshops shared a core objective: to prepare and stage by the end of the week, project closing day, some type of performance representing the work carried out under the auspices of each workshop. The guest notables would be the "godfathers", material promoters, politicians and symbolic leaders of the Minas Gerais Youth & Police project.

It may be stated that the key theme of the Youth & Police moral project involves the exchange of communicated experiences and interactions that transfigure the concepts associated with prejudice and discrimination. This is provided in greater ethnographic detail based upon analysis of two precise moments: the presentation of short moral narratives to a huge public audience packed into the battalion auditorium and the experiences of short drama plays within a project school pavilion.

4. 1. Moral Narratives at the official project opening

On May 8th 2007, in the Minas Gerais 16th Military Police battalion, the auditorium was packed out with over a 200 strong audience including battalion officers, monitors, instructors, project sponsors, teaching directors and some school students. They all witnessed and some actively participated in a grand narrative that primarily featured the presentation of personal testimonial accounts, sometimes in laudatory tones, as well as the search for the all-important consensus: demonstrating emotionally and morally supporting a project base upon a proposal for personal and collective change and the redefinition of concepts recognised as clearly inter-subjective. The prevailing concept was precisely prejudice.

Various project participants discoursed on the Youth & Police project experiences. Nevertheless, this day highlighted a certain centrality as to the maintenance of extensive and wide reaching public dialogue between the police force (hierarchically differentiated) and the young AfroReggae members (both monitors and guests). The idea was exactly public dialogue and not debate so that all voices would converge so as to enable the creation of a shared moral project.

I decided to select three of the various narratives that took place over the course of the four hour plus event: an entire morning's work. I opted to explore and analyse the voices of key project participants, one police officer and two AfroReggae youth monitors. I chose them because their speeches were those that brought to the fore those ethical moments (of reflective morality) of the movement. That is, they exactly represented the objective of working the internal reflection that chooses the means of dialogue through extremely small but very significant fables.

In this section, I return to the ideas that I have been discussing with Maria Claudia Coelho and already detailed within an academic context. One issue is how the recourse to moral fables seems to suggest one of the most opportune keys to understanding moral, and even political, grammars present in this type of social movements (Durão & Coelho, 2010).

We begin with the speech by Colonel Rogério, the project coordinator in Belo Horizonte and Minas Gerais Military Police project supervisor. He was one of the first to speak, immediately after the battalion commander. He was followed directly by the voice of one of the most popular of young AfroReegae members, Dinho, one of the lead singers in the main band carrying his name and a resident in Vigário Geral. Thirdly, we focus attention on those who

spoke both on their own behalf and a group of project special guests: ex-criminals or ex-traffickers from favelas, generally young and male. They are neither technical monitors nor the most direct project beneficiaries but rather a type of moral participant. I state this because they are invariably presented as leading moral examples of excellence. The voice here is provided by Norton, also a resident of Vigário Geral.[4]

The narrative presentation of these three voices, even while not given in sequential order, does not disguise reality. Hence, the participants are invited to speak about themselves and their respective roles in the project, following on from each other and in an expositive manner. Throughout the four following hours, the spotlight fell upon each as they took up the microphone, providing short narratives and generally packed with a strong emotive charge. Only at the end of some debate, the moral dimension was worked through with a wide reaching dialogue of voices that emerged not only sequentially but also perfectly synchronised.

4.1.1. Colonel Rogério – police project coordinator

"Prior to beginning with an explanation as to our objectives [in the project Youth & Police], I would like to tell you about an experience that I had in the Security Forum.[5] I saw a general commander from Paraná [colonel], a person with a physical build… very fat, big, who gave our people a very wrong image. (You'll understand soon just why I am telling you this). This commander, when I saw him, and everybody saw him, the comments came: "People, a commander of that type, fat, what are his troops like? (I am talking about that prejudicial vision that people have. When people see such things, they just don't know). And by my side, I had two ladies who were saying: "Really, what an ugly commander, so fat". I was lucky to have the commander of Espírito Santo by my side and he knew the general commander of Paraná and said: "Look, this commander (…) he went off to rescue a person who'd had an accident and this individual had swallowed glass. Just as he was doing mouth-to-mouth resuscitation, the glass got into his mouth. He then experienced a hormonal malfunction and his body took on that shape. A super intelligent person, competent and the others all had a very different idea.

Why am I am talking about this? Because when I was called upon by Youth & Police, I had a prejudiced idea about something that I also did not know about. This question about the colonel had quite an impact because the whole world had a bad image about that person, but nobody had any idea. We are here today in this process and this summarised a life experience that I had seen. When it was the time of "Fantástico", over there in

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[4] The relative peripheralisation of the narratives of students within this dialogic context may seem strange. This is due to the fact that at the moment of public sharing of student moral projects, and to a certain extent the teaching directors, being above all the listeners of proposals and pedagogies as to how to include the moralities of more senior project participants. They are more beneficiaries than the moral project representatives even though the border between such roles is lessened on many other occasions.

[5] The First Annual Meeting of the Brazilian Public Security Forum took place a few days before, between 25 and 27 April, and the place chosen for launching these meetings, due to the success of its projects, was Belo Horizonte. This was one of the first of many meetings where there was peremptory affirmation of the ambition to enact a thorough reform of public security and the police at the national level, without ever forgetting earlier and ongoing political and local experiences. The meeting brought together state police forces, NGOs, academics and local project managers from across the country. The meetings henceforth became regular and have now been held in various Brazilian states and stamping on the sector a sense of collective change. I had the opportunity to witness this event and was truly and deeply impressed by what promised to be a movement flag posting and promoting institutional and social change in an area as problematic as safety and security in democratic Brazil. Colonel Sílvia Ramos, spokesperson and one of the Youth & Police coordinators, participated in a workshop on policing, citizen safety and interfaces with the community.

Faustão, and I came here on the invitation of Colonel Luciene[6], I thought: "I'm going to get burned. I'm going to talk about those people [police officers] who are dancing to the drums". But no, at that time, I had already learned about that biased vision of the force. Today, you are going to see a film [Polícia Mineira] and you'll get a new perspective on what this project is about. People need to get on and change conceptions.

Not all the police need to be taking part in cultural activities within these workshops; but everyone [police and other participants] has to understand and comprehend the change of vision about youths and in the policing when beginning to relate with each other. And the other police may grasp this with maturity, with such experiences, with this learning process – and this is what we are all doing today. I trust in this transformation. I believe."

4.1.2. Dinho – vocalist in the main band

"I want to tell you about something that happened at the beginning of the project. We had a meeting back in Rio with Professor Sílvia Ramos.[7] I said I'd go to the meeting but I wouldn't be participating in the project. "Come along, they'll be a debate". I first met Sílvia Ramos on that day. There, the whole world gave their opinion, if they wanted to participate in the project or not. There were some 15 people in the meeting. Then, when it was my turn, I spoke: "Professor, with all respect, I do not want to work with the police. In our community, there's many negatives with the police; a lot of suffering that the people have at the hands of the police, types of treatment... Myself, I don't want to and I'm not going to". Junior insisted a lot. After the meeting, I went to Junior's house and I told him that I did not want to go to Belo Horizonte. First, my stepfather was a civil police and I did not like him (and secondly he was also a "flamenguista" [one of the most popular football team of Rio] [laughter]) and I was forced to get along with him. "You've got to go, my friend. You are one of the faces that will help this project a lot and it'll help your head a lot as well," [said Junior].

And I did go into the battalion! Well, with 15 minutes of class, 15 minutes of engagement with the police and I was able to change a lot inside my head. When I returned to Rio de Janeiro, I dealt with my own stepfather (the guy lived in the same house as I did) in a way that I had not been able to do so before, as a friend, as a citizen. Well, this project is very sincere, particularly for me; it changed my head a lot (...). Today, I see the project t-shirt in Vigário Geral and they say: "But are they proper policemen, the Minas police?" They are, police who believe in an ideal, who are changing all of this vision that the national police have and I think that it is this way, through culture and art that we can change a lot of heads, such as mine.

4.1.3. Norton – former inmate

"My name is Norton Luísa da Rosa. I am 49 years old. I spent 32 years on the side of crime. At the time, I was falange vermelha (red phalange), then I became a comando vermelho (red commander). I was a bank and armoured van robber. In my time, when I

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[6] Colonel Luciene was the member of 24th battalion who welcomed the project in the first year of its existence, 2003. Having been promoted years later to become one of the most senior ranking Military Police officers, he always continues to be invited to public events and remembered as one of the key project "godmothers" right in the heart of the institution. That she is a woman is recalled in various narratives, the greater difficulties that she must have gone through along with the courage to make her own personal mark on the state police force.

[7] Sílvia Ramos is representative of the Safety and Citizenship Study, as well as one of the main Youth & Police project coordinators. She is known as the professor as beyond her dedication, she undertakes studies and evaluations on this and other projects. But she is also a local activist in this and other projects. In the auditorium, she was responsible for the speeches and established a certain synchronisation to the dialogue.

was an adolescent (now like my children as well), I did not have and many others that were also part of my circle did not have liberty, we did not have opportunity, an opportunity such as this one that the young have now. The Rio police... – I have various marks on my body, not only bullet wounds but also beatings – is a very aggressive police. And the image that I have of all police, whatever the state they come from, would be the same thing.

24 February 2006, I won my parole freedom. Arriving home – I have a 7 year old daughter as well as 7 grandchildren – I managed to earn money illegally, I could keep my family with this dirty money but I could not get the ethical and moral values, have dignity, could not have moral in front of my children. I had their respect out of fear, out of terror as I was heavily addicted to cocaine. I generally went around with two pistols and was pretty much aggressive. I changed a lot. When I won my freedom. The gates, for anyone who has lost freedom in a country like Colonel Rogério and others have talked about, is a prejudiced country that does not give out any opportunities. This means it's difficult, the doorways continue very much closed, inclusive even to family members. And the door that always remains open is that of crime. This keeps on knocking, knocking, knocking, knocking, closing and closing, knowing that you're only out on parole, that you're an ex-con, knowing that you spent five years deprived of liberty, knowing that you have processes – led rebellions – well, with all of this my world at the age of 49 was over. It's just that I had a daughter aged 7, and a wife who had been through various humiliations as she followed me through the prisons. I thought I still might have another opportunity in life. I searched, searched, searched, searched. In December 2006, I met José Junior de Oliveira. And here I am today. In 4 months of life, many things have happened that did not happen in the 49 years before.

Today, I can beat on my chest and look my 7 year old daughter in the eye and say that I am good [gets emotional and cries]. I never, never in my life imagined I would be in a military police headquarters. I never imagined I would be proud of military police officers. I never in my life saw military police as a mirror of myself. And now for the first time (my second time in Minas) that I see you as a mirror of myself. I see these military police, the work that they do, the sensitivity, the power of a change of heart and mind, along with AR, Sílvia Ramos, very, very important. I can only say thank you" [receives an ovation].

4.1.4. Narrative analysis

Moral fables, here as in other moments, are all aggregative project narratives. The three fables unfold based upon the exploration of feelings or arguments of resistance through to a certain moment, when perceiving or participating in a project that brings with it a self-inclusive moral change. They all conclude as to the illumination of the path ahead, with the conclusion that participation leads to feelings of shared identity and responsibility.

According to Zigon, the concept of responsibility bears little connection with response at the individual level but instead rather denotes the ability to respond to others and to the interactive context (Zigon, 2008: 137). This understanding of feeling of responsibility helps us avoid fixing our attention to the facts of the personal fables – and whether true or false, real or fictional – and instead looking at the moral format contained and the moral feelings able to generate an audience: the way they implement their moral works. This thereby establishes a type of moral protocol open to interacting through moral discourses.

However, considering each narrative in more detail we find that the colonel explores a fable of prejudice in the police force and in Brazilian society and the power of personal change that emerges out of freedom from prejudice. These fables draw attention to the moral themes that thus far had not been dealt with in this way, at least by the participant groups: the police

and youths from the favela, refocusing the perspective of institutional reform both inwards and inwards-outwards.

When a moral subject is under consideration, implicitly or explicitly, the means of communication in the interaction also changes in terms of grammar, rhetoric, vocabulary and tactics. Within this framework, attention is also drawn to the way the fable is expressed: the narrative text and the ethics of the subtext. Hence, in accordance with Zigon, there are some internal ethics to the narratives when dealing with particular moral subjects, in this case with prejudice (2008: 137). The most revealing phrases are when the speaker states: "You'll understand soon just why I am telling you this" and "I am talking about that prejudicial vision that people have" – instructing the audience as to how to follow the fable.

Dinho continues with the theme of prejudice but more explicitly refers to a citizenship fable. The notion of citizen here emerges, along with other AfroReggae moral narratives as a synonym of peaceful coexistence, the aforementioned tolerance, and not as connected to the vocabulary that we tend to see associated to the concept: as an idea of justice, of rights and of legality.

There is also a narrative choice that needs emphasising within the scope of the fable. A voice additional to Dinho invokes this, morally and in an appeal to project participation. He uses direct discourse at certain points to highlight this appeal ("come on, there's going to be debate"; "it'll really sort your head"). This form is used to highlight the power of moral arguments both as regards participation and to overcome resistance to participation. However, it is the voice of reason that prevails, something that he ends up not being able to withstand emotionally (after 15 minutes of interaction with the police he had been won over to the project). This relates to what Zigon called a change of focus that introduces a moral dynamic to the situation. This ensures that the constitutive parties to a broader narrative may be read as stories within a history (Zigon, 2008: 147). This introduction of phrases and expressions and other interlocutors in the communication process enables other listeners to understand that he is going to change focus and is probably about to emphasise the moral instance to the narrative.

In the first fable, the focus falls upon the life story of a police officer, as a narrator, as an example of what also actually happened to himself. In the second narrative, we find that the story has already become self-referential even while the background includes a familiar reference. However, in the fable, the story becomes incorporated and totally self-referencing. The narrative by Norton is an example of a fable associated with what may be referred to as a "moral career". Goffman (1974) developed this concept in association with the various moral responses that stigmatized persons provide throughout their life and in different phases of their socialization in which their condition involves a range of negotiations. Their moral careers may thereby be defined as sequences of personal adjustments in conjunction with shared private moral experiences. Within this sense, it is not possible to disguise the visibility of bodies. However, in the case presented here, the logic is exactly the restitution of social and moral visibility through the fable of opportunities, both for persons and for local communities.

The adjustment of a moral project thus takes on greater significance within the message from Norton, indeed, expressed in emotion and in tears, in the silence of the public during the speech and the ovation given at the end. In Norton's fable, the prejudice takes on a new emphasis. The fable of the lack of incorporated opportunity is narrated through the intermediation of images that relate back to the body, to the extreme subjectivity of experiences and vivid sensations. Contrary to the light weightedness of the previous fable, Norton's is a dramatic narrative and expressed within an ambiguity between a voice of suffering and the memory of a power without any moral scruples. Perhaps due to this, it is exactly this that is expected of the special AfroReggae guests: to generate emotion in the audience with their life stories. Norton clearly proved able to achieve this.

Through narratives, it is possible to see the intersection between the subjective processes and their relationship with the feasible socio-historic-cultural structures (Zigon, 2008: 148). The two AfroReggae narrators highlight not only the feeling of what it means to have been born poor in a Rio de Janeiro favela but also the meaning of being moral at the point in time that the project currently stands. Thus, they challenge the local moral orders that demand a moral superiority over the traffickers while not creating an alternative moral order that would condemn trafficking and thus their own personal pasts. The notion of fatality and the inevitability of courses of life is explored and a certain socialisation in crime that, in other points, emerges alongside the concept of narco-culture. However, the moral metaphor of the doorway of crime, that opens and closes, demonstrating how daily life in the favelas is not only expressed in the material conditions of life but is also packed with competing and contrasting narratives and which may, at certain points in time, be mutually self-supporting. According to Zigon, this fable introduced precisely this ethical dimension as a type of step in the direction of reflection that distances itself from moral habitus and moral discourse. Hence, these are excellent moral fables for the movement as they are triggered by those who take up these moral concepts in their discourse in order to achieve resuscitation through them.

4.2. Allegories and moral experiences: theatrical presentations in the "aulão"

The second moment relates to what is termed the "aulão". This extended workshop brings together the two groups involved in capacity building: Afroreggae youth members and the police. All participants are encouraged to experiment, at each point in time, and under the guidance of the lead instructor of each workshop, exercises from each of the other workshops. Each instructor – percussion, basketball, dance and theatre (with the graffiti class taking place simultaneously externally) – proposes some collective exercises to the group. Everybody, with the exception of one basketball instructor agreed to participate in this "banquet of feelings". The concepts associated with both artistic and sporting activities – such as improvisation, creativity, harmony and rhythm – now took prominence, for at least this period of time, over the moral dynamic of the movement.

While during the project weeks, each two monitors were responsible for a group made up of battalion police officers and school police and students (where their role became that of supervisor), the 'aulão' saw a temporary fusion. Correspondingly, the morning saw a type of revision of knowledge and understanding as to the corporal, sensorial and performing experiences of movement participants. This corresponded to a group of around 50 persons. Although this took place in the second working week, in the school's main sports pavilion, this phase did not include students. The idea was to encourage, through practical experience and already beyond the limited scope of speech, as was the case on the day of narrative sharing, the feeling of communion and participation in a moral project within a movement involving emotion and the transformative potential that this generates.

For example, in dance, various simple and synchronised exercises culminated in a great circle with embraces and kisses that while engaged in were also the subject of humour and irony. In the basketball, there were races and competition between two large teams that divided the space in half. In the percussion, teams were also organised and spontaneously generating rhythms and sounds, accompanied by corporal performances. The audience would constantly keep time through clapping hands and encouraging the musicians.

One of the high points was clearly the theatrical exercises, "teatrinhos" (mini-plays), lasting just a few minutes but witnessed close up by everybody and producing great bursts of laughter. Four groups of people quickly put together a small, joint exhibition. In such situations, we see the youths and the police that were instinctively transformed into actors representing themselves. Within the scope of the moral project, all were able to recreate and act out forms of personal and stereotyped identities that would never take place elsewhere. These interactive experiences and communication through what I would refer to as allegories as the moral is not

immediately perceptible, even though present and displayed through the movement of the body more than spoken words.

4.2.1. Exercise 1

The first group is made up of five police officers and a narrator (Luciano, an AfroReggae instructor, and percussionist), all men and standing side by side on the stage.

Narrator: "There was a minor called Tião". (The first steps out of line and bends over rhythmically, suggestive of the movements of capoeira, crossing his arms successively sometimes beneath one of his legs).

Narrator: "One day, he let himself go, danced and fell to the floor". (The second steps out of line and makes movements with his arm in the air, backwards and forwards, until returning to his original place. The fourth drags himself forward and falls to the floor. Meanwhile, the third policeman makes gestures with his arms in the air).

Narrator: "The police picked him up and carried him off to the station". (The fifth steps forward, marching with legs and arms in an exaggerated fashion and grabs hold of the arm of the fourth policeman, who proceeds to get up off from the floor, leading him off and marching in line. – The exaggerated performance of the last participant generates general laughter and an ovation).

Narrator: "Do you know this story?" – and raises his arms.

4.2.2. Exercise 2

This group has three police officers and an AfroReggae instructor and are all women. They are also standing side by side. The narrator is the eldest police officer and the longest standing project participant.

Narrator: "This is the story of a boy called Felisberto. This boy lived in Morro das Pedras and also enjoyed himself in Ventosa. He is very much a lively lad" [a direct allusion to the ambience in the school]. (The narrator circulates and converses with the public. He returns to the line).

Narrator: "All of a sudden, what happens to him? He falls and ahhhh". (All other participants bend over and simultaneously cross their arms beneath their left leg).

Narrator: "He broke a leg... He saw a cockroach, he saw a cockroach: UHHH". (They all return back and throw up their arms simulating surprise).

Narrator: "Kill!" (They all clap their hands in the air and jump up at the same time).

Narrator: "Help". (They all throw themselves to the floor for a few moments – Movements that are accompanied by laughter and clapping from the audience).

Narrator, gets up and begins marching: "And I had a dream that I was marching in the direction of the station to meet the police".

At the end, they take a brief bow in recognition of the audience's applause.

4.2.3. Exercise 3

The third group brings together five men: three police, an instructor and Alan, one of the ex-traffickers who had already been presented as special project guest. Alan is the narrator.

Narrator: "Once, in a favela, a comrade called the police to seize a knife". (As before, all participants bend over while simultaneously crossing their arms under their left leg).

Narrator: "There, he then tried to run and met another police officer that surprised him". (As before, they all step back and raise their arms at the same time).

Narrator: "Then, he decided to give himself up". (They all raise their arms).

Narrator: "The police ordered him to hit the floor". (They all lie down on the floor).

Narrator: "There, the police backed down and he got up and ran away".

Only at the end did the public react, laughing loud and clapping.

4.2.4. Analysis of the dramatic experience

Once again, the predominance of short narratives may be observed, including the stereotyping of interactions between the police and youths in the favelas. However, in this second ethnographic example, there is an inverse movement to the first: the extreme simplicity of the narrative is overcome by the exuberance of the gestural movements. It is in this gestural movement that the moral metaphor is demonstrated: falling to the floor and getting up (present in various scenic moments across all groups), the movement of life and death always present in interactions between police and youth but not told in these allegories.

It may be said that perhaps the movements of the body best express moral ideas and sentiments: the fear of the youths portrayed as being caught by the police and the sequences of these encounters, with fright, with escape, sometimes with re-encounters (in the second exercise). However, as in the other fables, the allegory involves the accidental movement of bodies that, in sum, is one of the aspects that best encapsulates the biographies of youths in the favelas according to the AfroReggae narrative. Once again, the moral work of the project does not involve attributing responsibility or guilt but out of very simple recognition of the daily reality, by relating the extreme simplicity, although elusive, of what represents the accidental in the daily routines of favelas. I would even say the immense presence as moral as it is physical.

A note should be added in relation to the way in which the representations recur to the most amusing aspects of the jokes, expressed through body movements. Some authors insist on the deconstructive, disorganised and disorganising character of jokes in relation to social expectations (Douglas, 1975; Oring, 1992). In an ethnographic study of popular Indian theatre, Susan Seizer maintains that jokes affirm what is being portrayed is that which is wrong. Considering the moral task of jokes, Seizer questions: how do we tell a joke without offending others?

I would ask: how to express the interaction and prejudice between youths and the police revealing the authoritarian side to the police but without actually offending the forces of law and order? These challenges fall within the scope of the moral work of the project *with* the police, and not against the police. In the broadest reaching AfroReggae moral fables, when the original idea of the project is narrated, this is the sentence that provides the moral summary, the crux of what in a few words is a project taking place over years and with enormous internal complexity, for example: "We want to work *with* the police and not *against* the police". However, the singularity of the 'aulão' lies in the fact of provoking in the police themselves this capacity to laugh at themselves through representing themselves in this way, as potential aggressors and even killers of young people in the favelas.

Through this process, in situations of communication, new fields of possibility are set out for that which is and that which is not morally acceptable in the interactions between the police and young persons from favelas.

5.   Final considerations

The narrative analysis and the performance experiences of a moral project such as the Youth & Police initiative raises questions as to the moral and emotional grammars of Brazilian social movements. What meanings do the identity and the inter-subjective politics present take on and what expectations do they create regarding the political agency within the broader spectrum of social movements?

Everything indicates that we are in fact faced by a case opening up fields of possibilities across various levels. The anthropologist Gilberto Velho defends that this field "deals with that which is given as an alternative built from socio-historical processes and with the interpretative potential for the symbolical world of culture". Hence, this refers to the "socio-cultural dimension, the space for the formulation and implementation of [personal] projects" (...) "The *project* at the individual level deals with the performance, the explorations, performance and the options taken, rooted in the evaluations and definitions of reality. These, in turn, according to the terms put forward by Schutz, are the result of complex processes of negotiation and construction that are developed and form the entirety of social life, inextricably bound up with the cultural codes and the *longue durée* historical processes (Velho, 1994: 28).

We may theoretically expand this concept within the scope of the anthropology of moralities and propose, in accordance with Zigon (2008: 18-19), that, up to a certain point, each person maintains his/her morality based upon their experiences. However, these experiences are limited to a *range of possibilities* organised within a socio-historical context that enables different and varied moralities to be recognised and interpreted by others. It is this process of inter-recognition and interpretation that anthropologists of moralities should be aware of. Within the conception of Zigon, referring to a field of possibilities attributes direct prominence to the concept of discourse on creativity, ambiguity and their respective contentious natures. Although susceptible to definition and delimitation to a certain extent, such discourse is far from being deterministic (idem*,* 134)

I finish with some conclusions as to the field of moral opportunities that this movement seems to create: the favela culture is affirmed as something morally positive, even within their most ambiguous expressions, such as narco-culture. Therefore, one moral objective involves drawing attention to the divided and broken city. Participants in the movement communicate their place in the prevailing social order, informing and creating fables of life and allegories descriptive of their daily lives but while avoiding complaint or moral opposition either to the socio-historical and economic order or to the order established by the local criminal power structures. There is no vocabulary of moral condemnation but rather of tolerance and co-responsibility. The moral project primarily strives in the belief of hope for a future of opportunities deemed real, achievable and, as such, distant from either a utopic moral or a dystopic criticism. Within this framework, the moral beings under construction are essentially considered diplomats of the favela, or the project, with each endowed with a moral voice forming part of the overarching collective moral project.

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