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ANTHROPOLOGY & ETHICS

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Beyond Our *Quilombos*: Ethical Issues in Sports Volunteerism

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Abstract
Background. In summer 2019, we implemented a short program to teach the Afro-Brazilian martial art capoeira at our local Boys and Girls Club. Our university supports engaged scholarship in which faculty and students combine research with community service efforts. This dovetailed nicely with our identity as capoeiristas, since capoeiristas are often evangelical in their desire to spread their art. This often takes the form of teaching capoeira to youth of color in underserved communities because of capoeira's history as a tool of resistance from colonial-era Brazil. However, when capoeiristas use children as "guinea pigs" in their efforts to do good without critically considering the unintentional consequences of their actions, they may do more harm than good.
Problem and aim. Our primary research question had to do with the degree to which children internalize the liberatory goals of capoeira, especially when it is taught in the same setting which has imposed Foucaultian discipline on them. This paper, however, is a reflection on our own experiences.
Methods. The lead author administered an open-ended questionnaire to the research team and conducted an inductive textual analysis of these narratives.
Results. Our reflections revealed more about the benefits volunteers accrue from these projects than about the children who participated in the program. We have little evidence of the children reaping any capoeira-specific benefits from our intervention.
Conclusions. Reflecting on our experiences allowed us to make several recommendations for others interested in implementing a similar martial-arts outreach program, particularly in terms of ethics.
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Sitting down with one of the few women who has reached the level of *mestre* (master) in capoeira Angola – one of three main styles of this Afro-Brazilian martial art – Lauren asked how she felt about the many foreigners who visit Brazil to train capoeira. This teacher appreciated their presence and understood their goals as part of a phenomenon Lauren would later term apprenticeship pilgrimage [Griffith 2016]; however, the one thing she said she *did not* like was when foreigners treated the kids like guinea pigs.

Many non-Brazilian capoeiristas participate in volunteer work of some sort when they go to Brazil, either as a way to give back to a society that nurtured an art they cherish, as a way to fill time when they are not training, or out of a misguided savior quest. It is the latter to which the *mestre* objected, particularly when these do-gooders disrupt the lives of children, many of whom are already dealing with various forms of precarity (poverty, hunger, inadequate housing, etc.). The children to whom she was referring had found a refuge in her capoeira group, in part because the leaders' feminist orientation inclined them to make the academy an egalitarian space. The kids had keys to the academy and took responsibility for coming and preparing the space before class. Foreign guests were welcome to train alongside members of the local group, including the children, but the autonomy and agency of these children had to be respected.

This *mestre* was right to question the impact foreign volunteers would have on her community. The literature on voluntourism has consistently raised the question of who is really benefitting from these kinds of arrangements, with neoliberal states abdicating the responsibility to care for their citizens and well-meaning tourists/volunteers stepping in to fill the gaps while simultaneously bolstering their resumes [Sullivan, Berry 2017]. For example, anthropologist Margaret Willson [2007] described non-Brazilian volunteers at the nonprofit Bahia Street who, feeling entitled to 'help' those they viewed as less fortunate, often became a distraction from the staff members' carefully planned lessons. Similar criticisms have been levied against faculty who undertake service-learning projects with their students, whether those happen abroad or closer to home [Copeland *et al.* 2016]. Organized leisure pursuits have so much to offer in terms of physical fitness, discipline, and joy that it is shortsighted to withhold volunteering because there is a risk of the volunteers themselves disproportionately benefitting from such engagements. At the same time, however, there are ethical considerations that volunteers must consider before undertaking such projects regardless of where they take place.

Capoeiristas – practitioners of capoeira – tend to be particularly evangelical in their desire to create classes for poor youth of color because they consider it a culturally relevant art of liberation. According to oral tradition, enslaved Africans in Brazil were discouraged from fighting both because the plantation owners feared a slave revolt *and* because they did not want their 'property' to be damaged. Therefore, the enslaved Africans added music and disguised their martial training as dance. Some of these enslaved Africans were fortunate enough to escape to *quilombos* (maroon communities comprised of escaped slaves) that defended themselves with capoeira. This story is held dear by many practitioners, just as it is vociferously critiqued by some scholars [Delamont *et al.* 2017], but regardless of whether you believe it or not, it provides a foundation for capoeiristas' claims that playing capoeira is a form of resistance. This is one of the reasons why capoeira is often used in social programs both in Brazil and abroad.

In the summer of 2019, Josh – an assistant professor in our school of education –approached the local Boys and Girls Club (BGC) with the idea of providing a short, 9-week course on capoeira for their students. The Boys and Girls Club of America was established in 1906 to provide youth with an alternative to roaming the streets (see www.bgca.org). Each chapter responds to the needs of the community in which it is located, but typically offers opportunities for socialization, recreation, and education. Josh and Idera – a PhD student in engineering – both play the contemporânea style of capoeira and were eager to expand the number of opportunities to play capoeira since our small city lacks many opportunities for doing so. Lauren is an assistant professor of anthropology, scholar of capoeira, and practitioner of the numerically less popular Angola style. Assisting with this summer program were Ni (a teacher and graduate student in the college of education), Stephanie (an undergraduate in kinesiology), and Mia (an undergraduate in anthropology), all of whom were far newer to the practice of capoeira. In addition to serving the community, something that is encouraged by our university and actually required for Josh's tenure and promotion, we saw this as an opportunity to collect data on how children from an economically depressed area would respond to the capoeira lessons (e.g. whether they seemed to internalize its message of resistance, how it changed their comportment, etc.). Thus, the idea of reaching beyond our metaphorical *quilombos* or refuges has a double meaning.

The capoeira community and academia are both *quilombos* of a sort in the sense that they can be used as a way of isolating from the rest of the world if one chooses to use them in that way. As we move beyond our *quilombos*, we faced a variety of practical and ethical challenges. In some ways, we are writing from a unique positionality, athlete-scholars who are analyzing their own experiences with sports volunteerism. At the same time, however, the majority of the lessons we learned can apply to volunteers regardless of their occupations. Analyzing our own reflections on the experience led us to draw several conclusions about the ethics of applied scholarship and sports volunteerism, which we share here.

Introduction

Capoeira is an Afro-Brazilian martial art that combines sparring with acrobatics and dance to the accompaniment of live instrumentation and call-and-response singing. Despite its playful nature, it is rooted in a history of conflict and oppression. As alluded to above,

the dominant narratives about African Diaspora arts that are circulated by scholars and practitioners alike are often complicated by political agendas [Dettmann 2013]. What matters for our purposes is the dominant narrative that portrays capoeira as an art of resistance.

Finding a foothold in the U.S. in the 1970s through folkloric dance shows and theatrical performances, the demand for capoeira instruction began to grow. This has brought financial opportunities for Brazilian capoeira *mestres* who have the opportunity to emigrate. González Varela [2019] aptly characterizes the way that Brazilian *mestres* travel the world spreading knowledge of their art as a form of cultural missionary work. Learning capoeira entails not just mastering the movements and the music but becoming acculturated into the ideology of capoeira and sharing it with others who have not yet joined our metaphorical *quilombos*.

Margaret Willson [2001: 25] describes the mentality of a capoeirista as "[a] quality of deception, a certain way of being, an alertness to one's environment," that one inhabits at all times. Capoeiristas are encouraged to take the lessons they learn inside the *roda* (this Portuguese term refers to both the performance space *and* the game of capoeira) and apply them in the 'real world' [Rosa 2012]. We, like many others, believe capoeira may have special resonance for children of color in economically precarious situations because it provides a model of resisting oppression while seeming to work within the structures that have been imposed by more powerful entities. Burt and Butler [2011: 49], for example, argue that capoeira "may serve as a pragmatic martial art/clinical model that promotes cultural sensitivity for marginalized youth, collective action in performance, self-efficacy in individual youth, and positive perceptions of personal capabilities." Teaching capoeira to at-risk children is quite common in Brazil, perhaps most famously done in the Projeto Axé [Wilson 2010] though Lauren has encountered a number of *mestres* in Brazil who either run their own outreach program in local *favelas* (shantytowns) or volunteer their time teaching capoeira through other organizations.

In our program, we desired to instill in the students an understanding of capoeira's history and its connection to the African Diaspora. We felt that this was particularly important because this is where many of our city's families of color (both Black and Latinx) live and the community itself has been stigmatized because of its poverty. In Brazil and elsewhere, capoeira has been a tool of psychological survival for individuals in these demographic groups. We assumed this orientation would be shared with the BGC staff. Not knowing we already had this preexisting commitment in our teaching, one of the staff members even approached us during our initial presentation to the kids and asked us to highlight that capoeira was created by slaves. Apparently, they had just done some sort of a unit on Black history, though we were never able to find out what exactly that unit entailed. However, our conversations with the children throughout the summer showed only minimal engagement with this information.

Methods

The members of this research team volunteered to teach biweekly capoeira classes at a local Boys and Girls Club over 9 weeks of the summer in 2019. Two of us are faculty, two are graduate students, and two were undergraduates at the time of the research. Four of us present phenotypically as white; Idera is Nigerian and Ni is Chinese. This community center is located on the east side of Lubbock, Texas, which is economically depressed and disproportionally populated by people of color. The summer camp is open from 9am – 6pm on weekdays. For the rate of $20 per month, each child is given access to meals, recreation opportunities, and occasional fieldtrips. Staff at the BGC were receptive to our proposal and gave us wide berth to teach the classes as we saw fit and conduct qualitative research on the kids' reactions to the program.

The capoeira classes we offered were optional; one day we might have only a small handful of students and the next we might have 30. The majority of children appeared to present as African American, though we did not ask them to disclose their ethnic self-identification. Several appeared to be Latinx and a few were white. Male and female children attended in roughly equal ratios. The late-afternoon timeslot meant that we were often competing with snack time, something few children wanted to miss. Children often wandered in and out during class, which we neither had the means nor desire to control. A typical, 90-minute session consisted of a brief warmup followed by physical instruction. During this portion of the class, we often divided students into groups and the authors, individually or in pairs, would take responsibility for teaching specific movements or sequences to the students in their group. Then we would practice a song together – translating and explaining the lyrics if need be – before having a small, informal *roda*.

Halfway through our time with the children, we introduced a comic book titled *Três Moleques* by Sylvia Bouboutou and Joe Cai [2015]. This roughly translates as three street urchins, though the term *moleque* is also used more generally to refer to kids, implying scrappiness or street smarts more than homelessness. Our goal in using this text was to introduce the history and ethos of capoeira more explicitly than we had done in our physical teaching. The book was visually attractive and included some elements that are important to understanding the history of capoeira (e.g. slavery). However, there were some issues with it too. It was not entirely clear where the story took place. While certain scenes very much looked like they took place in the Pelourinho

(historic district of Salvador, Brazil), there were things that did not make sense if the story actually was set in Brazil. If the book's characters lived in Brazil, meeting a capoeirista would not have been a novelty for them and they would not suddenly begin peppering their everyday conversations with Portuguese as a result of training capoeira because they would already be native speakers of the language. Puzzling as this may be to a researcher of capoeira, it was useful for introducing capoeira to an audience of non-Brazilian children, who seemed to enjoy it.

Throughout the summer, the authors kept field notes and recorded videos of the sessions for research purposes. However, the data analyzed here come from our open-ended responses to a questionnaire Lauren created. It was distributed in the fall semester following our volunteer work, allowing some time and space for team members to reflect on their experiences. The questionnaire was intentionally broad and open ended – focusing on why the volunteers got involved, what they liked and didn't like about the experience, etc.– so that the emergent themes would not be predetermined by the questions themselves. Lauren conducted an inductive, textual analysis of the six narratives, looking for commonalities in the authors' experiences with and perceptions of teaching capoeira to these children. Here we focus on the three most common themes in our narratives before turning to the ethical dilemmas posed by this kind of work.

Results

The single most common theme, which appeared in all of the authors' reflections, was the benefits for the volunteer. By this, we mean the emotional and/or existential rewards we reaped from our participation. Items coded as benefits to the volunteer had to be positive and had to apply primarily to the volunteer as an individual and not to the children/organization we were serving. Some of these comments could be classified broadly as 'warm fuzzies,' meaning a pleasant sense of satisfaction derived from helping others. Idera, for example, wrote: "watching the kids show the moves we had taught them in *jogando* (playing) with each other was the best thing about the project for me." Stephanie recalled an incident in which a girl singled her out, asking if Stephanie would listen to her read aloud. Never having had an experience like that before, Stephanie took it as an affirmation of the rapport she had built with this child, which she found rewarding. Ni described something similar. Lauren's favorite memory was of a young boy, approximately the age of her older son, who was upset because he could not do an *au* (cartwheel). After breaking down the movement and coaching him on it, she was delighted when she walked into the gym the following week and he ran over with a sly grin, cartwheeled in front of her, and then scampered off wordlessly.

Despite a focus on the self in these comments, they should not be interpreted as selfish or self-centered. Rather, there was a pronounced emphasis on the self in relation to others. Stephanie for instance, reported that she gained confidence from her experience at the BGC and is now seeking certification as a fitness instructor, hoping to teach group classes at a local senior's center or returning to the BGC to teach yoga. And for Idera, his joy came not *just* from watching the kids play together, but from an anticipation that he could help inspire a love of capoeira in others. He hoped that "maybe, just maybe, someone new will get the spark/fire [he] got from the art."

Other benefits for the volunteers had to do with capoeira itself. Stephanie, for example, found that this experience gave her a greater degree of comfort with the moves as well as the history and culture of the art. Having to lead the *rodas*, Josh became more proficient with the *berimbau* (musical bow) and learned new songs. Having to assume responsibility for this project altered the way he sees himself as a capoeirista. He wrote, "I think this really helps me think of myself as an instructor – maybe not officially, but I can now say that I have instructed a bunch of kids (with, of course, the help of an excellent team)." The hierarchical structure of capoeira as a social field discourages individuals from claiming to be teachers without the explicit authorization of a *mestre*, but Josh's point was that the experience affected his sense of self and confidence in his ability to share the art with others.

Some of the benefits were more tangible and utilitarian (e.g. credit for tenure and promotion, the opportunity to network with faculty, getting published). Four of us included responses that could be classified in this way. As Lauren mentioned, she knows that this kind of 'engaged scholarship' that combines research with community outreach is supposedly rewarded by the university, even if it is not entirely clear *how* it would factor into tenure and promotion. Similarly, publishing research with students like those on our team is, at least theoretically, something the university supports. As Josh wrote, "this really does hit on the scholarship, teaching, and service trifecta" around which tenure and promotion are structured. While there are many ways he could check these boxes, this project allowed him to combine something he loves with the requirements of his job.

For the students on the project, this represented a valuable learning opportunity. For Ni, it lowered perceived barriers to participating in research, showing her that it was not as difficult as she had imagined. Mia, then an undergraduate, felt that her classroom experiences left her well-versed in anthropological theory but less prepared to undertake fieldwork. Arguing that "anthropological method is far more complicated and has heavier implications [than theory]," she felt that this field experience was important in her development as

an anthropologist. Intimidated by children and relatively inexperienced in capoeira, she found that the opportunity to network with faculty outside of class and participate in a potentially publishable research project were the best things about her volunteerism.

Interestingly, Idera's reflections did not include any reference to these utilitarian motivations even though he is a PhD student. It is worth noting that while the other disciplines represented here – anthropology, education and kinesiology – are relatively easy to connect to capoeira and teaching capoeira, Idera's academic identity as an engineer does not overlap as neatly with his identity as a capoeirista, making publications in humanities and social science journals less valuable for his career progression than it would be for the other authors. Thus, one's positionality vis-à-vis a particular volunteer project may determine the degree to which the benefits are experienced as emotional/existential or utilitarian.

The second most frequent theme to appear across our narratives was classroom management. None of us had much prior experience working with this age group nor had we even undertaken responsibility for teaching movement classes to such large groups. All six of us mentioned the difficulties we had in controlling the children as one of the worst or most challenging things about our experience, which is ironic considering that one of our goals was to convey the liberatory potential of capoeira. What we imagined is that capoeira would become a model for how they might resist the oppressive structures of society that are imposed on them by institutions like schools; what happened was that they resisted even the most modest structures we tried using to impose order. Stephanie captured this irony in saying it was "extremely stressful trying to both keep track of the kids and make them behave/pay attention while also trying to let them be creative and move freely."

Sometimes, particularly towards the beginning of our program, we had help from the BGC staff. One man in particular would often yell at the children to be quiet and listen. On at least one occasion we witnessed children being pulled aside and threatened with the loss of a fieldtrip if they did behave. On the one hand, we appreciated these interventions because they allowed us to teach the content, but on the other hand, we understood that this approach was at odds with a fundamental belief we held about capoeira. In Idera's words, "there was an underlying authoritative control over the children. They treated them like little soldiers who must fall in line or severe admonishment would be served for the slightest insubordination." We observed, on some occasions, a staff member telling students who were misbehaving not to be individuals. Given our interest in capoeira as an art of resistance, and one that privileges individual creativity and innovation we wonder about the dispositions and attitudes that such authority engendered within students.

Despite being a faculty member in the College of Education, Josh wrote that teaching these classes "was way more chaotic than [he] could have anticipated," coming to the conclusion that "you just have to roll with the punches. Some days they'll be interested, some days they won't; some things they may be consistently more interested in than others, but that isn't a guarantee." It certainly did not help that participation was inconsistent and we were never sure who would or would not be attending our classes. Josh was responsible for designing the lessons we taught. In his reflections, it is clear that he had to simultaneously consider *what* to teach (i.e. the moves) and *how* to teach them so that we retained at least a modicum of control. It is somewhat ironic and perhaps disheartening that even we, scholar/practitioners who wanted to use a historically liberatory artform to subvert the systems of control often imposed on children in educational settings, found ourselves needing to 'manage' or 'control' children.

Idera was most generous in his characterization: "Sometimes it's not that the children are not interested, it's that snack time is just around the corner and food is way higher up the pecking order of need than capoeira." We do not have any data on the income levels of the children who attended our classes, but it is not unreasonable to assume that some of the children may experience at least periodic episodes of food insecurity. In her visits to Brazil, Lauren has seen that kids often attend capoeira classes because there is the promise of a meal afterwards (bread bought by their teachers, rice and beans prepared in a community center kitchen, etc.). Without making too much of this similarity, it is worth considering that capoeira cannot provide food for one's soul unless one's body is also fed, something it is all too easy for privileged volunteers working in their own cities to forget.

Our work was based on the premise that there is something inherent in capoeira itself that would be beneficial for children, particularly children of color and those experiencing precarity (e.g. poverty, being undocumented, experiencing abuse/trauma). We continue to believe that this is true; however, it is striking that this is almost entirely absent from our narratives. Josh discussed the freedom inherent in capoeira as an antidote to the structure typically imposed on children, especially in panoptic educational settings, and Mia discussed capoeira as a "vehicle for cohesion, subversive mischief, and deconstructing hegemony." These comments index the special resonance capoeira might have for children in marginalized social positions, and yet it would appear that these issues were not at the forefront of our minds as we reflected on our engagements with the children and the BGC.

Rather, our reflections focused on the generic benefits our presence had on the children. When Lauren would get frustrated with the chaotic nature of our sessions and with how difficult it was to get the children to pay attention to the form, she would remind herself that they probably did not care about capoeira as much as

they did just having another set of adults paying attention to them. As Idera wrote, "a good number of the kids were excited about capoeira but only so much as it was an activity to fill up their quota for 'extracurricular' activities." Our presence was a novelty, a break in the flow of an otherwise ordinary day. Mia felt similarly but saw it from the staff's perspective. She wrote: "if you ask the staff, maybe they would say that the best thing about our involvement was the chance of entertaining or [occupying] the children."

By and large, our narratives tended to focus more on the benefits we accrued than on the ways in which the children benefited from our presence. This may be due to the way in which the questionnaire itself was constructed, for which Lauren takes full responsibility. It also reflects the fact that our engagement with the children had a clear end date and we are simply not positioned to assess the long-term effects the program may have had. However, this supports other findings about volunteerism in general. All too often, resumes are padded and backs are patted when privileged volunteers undertake projects for which they are ill-equipped in countries and neighborhoods that are experiencing precarity in large part *because of* neoliberal systems designed to benefit the volunteers' own demographic groups [Borland, Adams 2013]. There is growing awareness of this within the field of study abroad programs, but it applies to local outreach efforts as well.

Discussion: Reflections on the Ethics of Capoeira Volunteerism

It was uncomfortable to recognize the utilitarian motivations that at least partially influenced our decision to participate in this project and the way in which we valorize our experiences. Indeed, few people like to reveal selfish motivations for something that others might praise them for. It also highlights how deeply influenced we are by the neoliberalization of higher education, which demands that everything we do have a utilitarian purpose. And so, in thinking about how our work articulates with both the capoeira social field and the university/town nexus, this kind of transparency is important. If we pretend that there is nothing self-serving about what we are doing, we misrepresent our own work and lose the opportunity to think critically about how this kind of work could be done better and more ethically.

As faculty in the College of Education, Josh faces more pressure than do the other team members to engage in community outreach (for Lauren, it is encouraged but not essential to her tenure review). This project wasn't merely a Machiavellian attempt at killing multiple birds with one stone, but it certainly did not hurt that something he loved, playing capoeira, could also be leveraged to meet service and scholarship requirements.

Knowing that many universities encourage faculty and students to participate in engaged scholarship – applying disciplinary knowledge in service of the local community and/or gathering data that can be useful to local stakeholders – it is worth at least briefly reflecting on the ethics of such arrangements. Although we submitted an application to our Institutional Review Board (IRB) before collecting data, we did not have serious and sustained discussions about the ethical implications of our work. This is a failure on our part that others should avoid.

The ethical issues of our project were at least twofold. As artists/scholars we have responsibilities both to the children we were studying *and* the art form itself. Our project began when Josh initiated a conversation with someone at the BGC who thought it was a good idea and granted us permission to teach *and* pursue our research questions. In retrospect, the ease with which we were able to begin our program may be a potential source of concern. Only some of the team members received background checks and we as a whole did not receive any sort of briefing on what was or was not permissible to do with the children. Our affiliation with the university most likely gave us some credibility in the eyes of the center, but in reality, none of us had much experience working with children and little to no formal experience in teaching physical education (or managing the risks that could come with teaching an acrobatic, martial art to children).

With regard to the children, we followed the IRB's parameters for protecting research subjects, but there are aspects of a project like this that are simply outside the scope of an IRB review. They did not review the content of what we were planning to teach nor the methods we planned to use to teach the kids. On the one hand, this is outside of their mandate, but on the other hand, it is entirely possible that we could have done psychological harm in how we presented elements of capoeira's history. Lauren has heard of an instance elsewhere in the U.S. where a presumably well-intentioned individual taught a few capoeira classes as part of a kids' camp. The capoeira classes were a short-term enrichment activity added on to a program with multiple goals rather than a long-term program designed to cultivate capoeiristas. As part of the teacher's attempt at conveying the history of the art, some of the kids were cast in the role of slaves and the others were masters or slave catchers. Being charitable, it is possible that the instructor opted to use active learning to teach the history of the art thinking it would make it more memorable than something more passive like a lecture. But we know that intent does not erase impact, and there is no way to quantify the damage this may have done to children in attendance, not to mention the negative associations they may now have with capoeira.

There were some aspects of our research design that, although approved by the IRB, are not without

problems. For one thing, the children could have been injured during training. And while we *assume* any liability issues would have been handled by the BGC, if anyone *had* been hurt, we would have shouldered that emotional/psychological burden. Furthermore, our protocol involved video-recording parts of the classes. We were not required to get signed parental consent for this because it was considered part of standard educational procedures and not to be used in any public presentations. Most of the kids either seemed oblivious to the camera or, if they did notice it, played up to it and wanted us to record them showing off their moves. However, upon reviewing the footage, there were a few who seemed to shy away from the camera. We do not know why this is. Perhaps they were just 'camera shy,' but it is also worth considering that they may have been coached by parents to avoid being on camera due to custody issues or immigration status. *We* knew that our use of the camera was only for research, but the children did not, and this could have caused them undue stress.

The second major set of ethical issues had to do with us presuming to teach capoeira in the first place. There have been concerns in the capoeira community about underqualified individuals teaching classes. There are many reasons for this, but an important one is financial. Although we may receive professional benefits from doing this kind of engaged scholarship that should not be overlooked, we were not receiving any financial compensation for the hours we spent teaching. So, in this sense, we were not taking away income that would otherwise have gone to more qualified capoeira teachers, none of whom live in our community anyway. Yet the financial issue is not the only reason to urge caution. A great deal could be said about the ethics of non-Black teachers profiting from the commodification of an Afro-Brazilian art, but that is outside of the scope of the present paper. The issue of appropriation is not one that came up in our discussions or reflections but is a perennial concern within the broader capoeira community. Furthermore, Brazilian *mestres* and other guardians of the capoeira tradition have long had concerns about individuals without proper credentials teaching the art. These concerns are magnified if they are teaching under the banner of a particular *mestre's* name – which we were not doing – but even in the absence of any claimed affiliation, the risk of misrepresenting the tradition to an audience that is not sophisticated enough to spot a fake or an unqualified teacher is a real one.

The aforementioned issues are most relevant to us, the individual athletes/scholars involved in the project; however, there are additional structural issues of which volunteers (and university administrators encouraging engaged scholarship of this sort) should be aware, particularly when this outreach occurs in parts of the community that are 'poorer' or 'more diverse' than the areas inhabited by the volunteers. Writing about several programs in England through which children are given the opportunity to learn a musical instrument and perform, Robinson [2014] explains that the goals of such programs are not only to have a positive impact on the children enrolled but on the wider community in which these programs take place. Robinson [2014] was highly attuned to the possibility of Othering the people involved in his research, a form of symbolic violence that may further disadvantage the people about whom we write. As is the case for our project, Robinson was researching an arts-based intervention that took place in a lower-income neighborhood, which was subjected to local social stigma. She writes: "[i]t would...be very easy for casual observers to focus on the 'deprivation' in these areas at the expense of other, more positive, facts about the area..." [Robinson 2014: 14]. This is the paradox for individuals who want to share their cultural resources with lower-income communities. Even if they avoid the trap of the white savior mentality, "organisations that wish to access resources and rally public support need to emphasize what they are bringing to a community or population, and so for them to be adding value what they bring cannot already be there" [Robinson 2014: 15]. Do the ends justify the means if securing resources and support means emphasizing the 'deficits' present in an already marginalized community? How will we know if the benefits of our projects outweigh the risks and what is to be done if we find that they do not? These are questions that should inform all community stakeholders interested in pursuing these kinds of outreach activities.

By and large, the members of our team had little knowledge of the specific community we would be entering. Mia, who was an undergraduate at the time of this project, had the greatest amount of knowledge. Having grown up in Lubbock, but on a more prosperous side of town, she recalled her parents warning her away from the east side – which other students have pejoratively called "the ghetto" in Lauren's presence – and she developed a sense that it was unsafe. With the limited exposure our project gave her to this community, she feels that she still does not know enough to objectively evaluate its safety; however, the project created a situation in which she stretched her own personal limits, crossed into a side of her own city she had never seen before, and questioned some of the assumptions she had about the area. This in and of itself seems like victory, one of the things that universities no doubt hope to see occur as a result of structured outreach programs. And yet, we urge caution in designing such programs if the gains are limited to or disproportionately experienced by the volunteers. Do we want our university students to decrease their fear of communities of color and desist from using terms like "ghetto" to refer to an economically depressed but historically rich part of town? Absolutely. But we must also ensure that these communities are benefiting from our presence and not just serving as laboratories for anti-racist white identity development.

Based on our experiences and the themes that emerged from our reflections, we offer the following as concrete recommendations for anyone considering similar outreach projects, whether as individuals or as representatives of a university or other institution.

1. Be upfront with all stakeholders that the volunteers are reaping material and immaterial benefits from the project, often disproportionately so. This is not to take away from the benefits of the program, but to dispel any notions of the volunteer (and in our case the university and its representatives) as being a 'savior' of marginalized communities. Being transparent about how volunteers benefit from their work with such communities makes interactions more equitable and ensures that consent is actually informed.
2. Take time to learn about the community in which you are volunteering and help all members of the team prepare for the conditions, cultural norms, communication styles, etc. that they may encounter during the course of their volunteer work [Keene, Colligan 2004]. This could be accomplished by doing observations (or participant observation) at the site prior to formulating the project or finding some other way to become integrated into the community before beginning the project itself.
3. Go beyond the requirements of the community partner(s) and the Institutional Review Board, when applicable, in anticipating even the slightest potential risks to participants. This is particularly true if working in a community where seemingly innocuous forms of documentation may pose a threat to individuals' immigration status.
4. Discuss liability issues with the host organization. Sports tend to carry more risk than do other activities that host organizations may be used to offering and, thus, the organization should be prompted to consider how any potential injuries or other incidents would be handled.
5. If working with students, help them translate their concrete experiences in the field into academic capital. A full year after completing the project, Mia asked Lauren if this work was the kind of thing that she might be able to reference in an application for graduate school. The answer, of course, is a resounding yes, but the fact that the question needed to be asked at all suggests that faculty need to be more explicit in framing the benefits of student participation in projects like this one.

Conclusions

Learning capoeira is not so much about mastering a list of moves, but completely reshaping the body's physical and neurological relationship to the world [Downey 2010]. This kind of enskillment [Ingold 2000] is the result of years of scaffolded training conducted under the direction of a master or more senior teacher, something we were simply not equipped to offer in a few biweekly sessions. Furthermore, when an art is adopted in a new socio-cultural context, the methods used to teach that art may need to change in order to accommodate learners in that environment [McIntosh 2010]. The methods used to teach us may or may not have been appropriate to apply in this setting without first having a better sense of who we were working with, what their assumptions about the art were, and whether or not their goals aligned with ours. In the end, we assume it was not really the capoeira that mattered to these children but the opportunity to connect with adults who cared about them as individuals.

Reflecting on our project, we see that we accomplished some of our goals and fell short in other areas. As evidenced by our narratives, we grew as capoeirista and as people. We assume that the children benefited but probably less than we ourselves did. This is not to say that universities should stop encouraging engaged scholarships or athletes should stop volunteering their time teaching underserved youth. Quite the contrary, actually. What we are urging is more careful consideration of the structuration of such initiatives to ensure that benefits are equally distributed.

In some sports, teaching may be an almost compulsory component of one's centripetal movement towards the center of the field [Lave, Wenger 1991]. Many capoeiristas consider it a moral obligation to share their art with others, particularly those whose circumstances might make capoeira's message of liberation a resonant one. Athletes in less ideologically loaded sports might also have a desire to teach/coach as a form of service. Regardless of whether one's motivations for offering such classes are personal, professional, or a mix of both, it is important to remember that the recipients of our attention similarly have complex identities, motivations, and modes of agency that must be respected in order to practice an ethical version of sports volunteerism.

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Spojrzenie na lokalną społeczność *Quilombos*: kwestie etyczne w wolontariacie sportowym

Słowa kluczowe: capoeira, wolontariat, etyka, refleksja, zasięg uczelni

Streszczenie

Tło. Autorzy tekstu opisują jak latem 2019 roku w lokalnym Klubie Chłopców i Dziewcząt wdrożono krótki program nauczania afro-brazylijskiej sztuki walki *capoeira*. Uniwersytet, na którym pracują autorzy wspiera stypendia, w ramach których wykładowcy i studenci łączą badania z działaniami na rzecz społeczności. To dobrze współgra z ich tożsamością jako praktykujacymi sztukę walki *capoeira*, ponieważ są oni często żarliwi w pragnieniu propagowania swojej sztuki walki. Często przybiera to formę nauczania *capoeiry* wśród kolorowej młodzieży w zaniedbanych społecznościach, ze względu na historię *capoeiry* jako narzędzia oporu z czasów kolonialnych w Brazylii. Jednak kiedy praktykujący *capoeirę* wykorzystują dzieci jako „króliki doświadczalne" w swoich wysiłkach czynienia dobra bez krytycznego rozważenia niezamierzonych konsekwencji swoich działań, mogą wyrządzić więcej szkody niż pożytku.

Problem i cel. Główne pytanie badawcze autorów dotyczyło stopnia, w jakim dzieci przyswajają sobie wyzwalające cele *capoeiry*, zwłaszcza gdy jest ona nauczana w tych samych warunkach, które narzuciły im dyscyplinę Foucaulta. Ten artykuł jest jednak refleksją nad autorskimi doświadczeniami.

Metody. Pierwsza z autorów przeprowadziła otwartą ankietę dla zespołu badawczego i dokonała indukcyjnej analizy tekstowej tych narracji.

Wyniki. Refleksje zespołu badawczego ujawniły więcej korzyści, jakie wolontariusze czerpią z tych projektów, niż dla dzieci, które wzięły udział w programie. Autorzy znaleźli niewiele dowodów na to, że dzieci czerpały jakiekolwiek korzyści z ich interwencji, związanej z *capoeirą*.

Wnioski. Refleksja nad doświadczeniami autorów pozwoliła sformułować kilka zaleceń dla innych osób zainteresowanych wdrożeniem podobnego programu popularyzacji sztuk walki, szczególnie w zakresie etyki.