



Universidade do Minho
Instituto de Educação

Joana Campos Louçã
“We’d learn in a different way. Instead of listening, we did things”
Body and movement in primary school education

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Instituto de Educação

Joana Campos Louçã

**“We’d learn in a different way. Instead of
listening, we did things”
Body and movement in primary school
education**

Tese de Doutoramento em Estudos da Criança
Especialidade em Sociologia da Infância

Trabalho realizado sob a orientação do
Professor Doutor Manuel Sarmento
e do
Professor Doutor Alan Prout

outubro de 2016

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Abstract

The main goals of this thesis were to study children participation in schools, through their bodily expression and free movement, subverting the discipline of the traditional school inducing passivity. From references mainly sustained by Childhood Studies, with incursions through the sciences that deal with the children's bodies and its relations with school and learning, this research was a case study using mainly qualitative data, such as participant observation, visual methods and interviews. It was done over three years following a project of learning through movement called THE BODY AT SCHOOL, applied by an artistic association (c.e.m) at a primary school in Mouraria, Lisbon. The results showed that the children learnt curricular, pedagogic, artistic and social contents through the project. The positive feelings the children associated with the project's sessions helped them remember what they had learnt, enhanced episodic learning and memory in what, we argue, was the creation of positive "somatic markers". The network of care and affection created through the project between the children and the adults, inside and outside the school and the fact that the sessions were based on open-ended exercises increased the children's confidence and pleasure in learning, which was particularly important for the children with learning or language difficulties.

Children participation at school through the project was especially developed when they taught a class to a group of adults, when they made a book and in their participation in the project's sessions outside the school, in the ruins of an abandoned building in Mouraria. These "collaboratively emergent" sessions developed in a shared decision-making process that also included the children's families, former students from the school, the teachers and some inhabitants of Mouraria. The work with the neighbourhood managed to combine the children's "emplaced knowledge" with "spatial knowledge" and the children's collective actions with the adults transformed ruins that were not originally designed for children, into a "children's space".

The use of the arts and the fact that the sessions developed in a sequence of "expansive cycles" (defined by activity theory) permitted the children to manage their own bodies and, in particular, we described how one child achieved a "moment of epiphany" (or "priming event") that transformed her relationship with the others. A moment that, we argue, would not have happened in a regular class and, in that sense, the project created an approximation to an "ideal speech situation". We exemplified a moment where the project allowed for the translation of children's notions of their "incarnated bodies" into the adults' idea of a "somatic body". Through these sessions, the children's "body as project" was potentiated and the children's formal, informal and non-formal knowledge was included and valued, and we argue that helped the children learn.

The "ethical symmetry" between adults and children, developed by the children working together with the adults, created a flexible "network of relationships" in which most children recognised the importance of their participation in the shaping of the sessions, but they also saw this symmetry as being short-lived and limited to the project.

The sustainability of the project and its promoting association were threatened by a lack of institutional support. Hence, the research could not help but to focus - despite its original intentions did not predict it - on the difficulty of transformation at school, an important question in the contemporary educational agenda, but that is limited or severely restricted by the lack of political structures capable of sustaining change in education. That is one of this thesis' dimensions: its undeniable political character, regarding a defence of the public school and its change for the promotion of learning for the children, especially of the poorer children and/or those who do not correspond to the dominant culture.

Keywords: Childhood Studies, Movement, Learning, Arts, City, Body, School, Community.

Resumo

A tese “Aprendemos de forma diferente. Em vez de estarmos a ouvir, fazíamos.’ Corpo e movimento na educação básica” tem por principais objectivos estudar a participação das crianças em escolas, através da expressão corporal e do seu movimento livre, invertendo a disciplina da escola tradicional indutora da passividade. A partir de um referencial principalmente sustentado nos Estudos da Criança, com incursões pelas ciências que se ocupam do corpo da criança e das suas relações com a escolaridade e a aprendizagem, a investigação da tese assenta num estudo de caso, recorrendo essencialmente a métodos e técnicas qualitativos, como observação participativa, materiais visuais e entrevistas. Feito ao longo de três anos, acompanhou um projecto de aprendizagem pelo movimento chamado O CORPO NA ESCOLA, de uma associação artística (c.e.m) numa escola primária pública da Mouraria, Lisboa. Os resultados mostraram que as crianças aprenderam conteúdos curriculares, pedagógicos, artísticos e sociais através do projecto. Os sentimentos positivos que as crianças associaram às sessões ajudaram-nas a lembrar-se daquilo que tinham aprendido, melhoraram a sua memória episódica e estabeleceram a criação de “marcadores somáticos” positivos. A rede de cuidado e afeto criada através do projecto entre as crianças e os adultos dentro e fora da escola aumentou a confiança das crianças e o seu prazer na aprendizagem, algo particularmente importante para as crianças com dificuldades de aprendizagem ou no domínio da língua, designadamente crianças migrantes.

A participação das crianças na escola foi especialmente trabalhada quando ensinaram uma aula a um grupo de adultos, fizeram um livro e participaram nas sessões do projecto fora da escola, nas ruínas de um edifício abandonado. Estas sessões “colaborativamente emergentes”, desenvolveram-se num processo de tomada de decisões partilhado que também incluiu as famílias das crianças, antigos estudantes da escola, as professoras e alguns habitantes do bairro. Foi possível combinar o “conhecimento territorializado” com o “conhecimento espacial” e as acções coletivas das crianças com os adultos transformaram as ruínas, que não lhes eram destinadas, num “espaço de crianças”.

O uso das artes e o facto de as sessões se terem desenvolvido numa sequência de “ciclos expansivos” permitiram que as crianças gerissem os seus corpos, gerando, em particular, pelo menos um “momento de epifania” (ou “acontecimento primordial”) capaz de transformar a relação da criança com os outros. Um momento que, argumentamos, não teria acontecido numa aula normal e nesse sentido o projecto criou uma aproximação à “situação de discurso ideal”. Exemplificámos esta situação com um momento em que o projecto permitiu uma tradução das noções das crianças de “*encarnated body*” na ideia adulta de “corpo somático”. Através das sessões, o “corpo como projecto” das crianças foi potenciado e o conhecimento formal, informal e não formal das crianças foi incluído e valorizado o que argumentamos que ajudou na sua aprendizagem.

A “simetria ética” entre os adultos e as crianças, desenvolvida pelo trabalho conjunto, bem como pela investigação colaborativa realizada, criou uma “rede de relações” flexível, na qual a maioria das crianças reconheceu a importância da sua participação na criação das sessões, mas também viu esta simetria como breve no tempo e limitada ao projecto.

A sustentabilidade do projeto de intervenção e da sua organização promotora viu-se ameaçada pela ausência de suporte institucional. A investigação, por isso mesmo, não pode deixar de se debruçar - malgrado as suas intenções iniciais não o preverem - sobre a dificuldade da transformação institucional da escola, questão maior na agenda educativa contemporânea, mas que se encontra limitada ou severamente restringida pela ausência de políticas estruturantes capazes de suportar duravelmente a mudança educativa. Encontra-se aqui uma das dimensões da tese: o seu carácter inquestionavelmente político, no sentido da defesa da escola pública e da sua mudança para a promoção das aprendizagens significativa das crianças, especialmente das crianças mais pobres e/ou afastadas da cultura dominante.

Palavras chave: Estudos da Criança, Movimento, Aprendizagem, Artes, Cidade, Corpo, Escola, Comunidade.

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Introduction

This thesis was part of the PhD Program in Child Studies – Sociology of Childhood – from the Institute of Education of University of Minho¹. It intends to contribute for a critical analysis of children participation at school and of alternative methods for teaching. We focused, in particular, in a project called THE BODY AT SCHOOL (O CORPO NA ESCOLA), developed by an artistic association in a primary school, where the curricular contents were taught via movement and role-play exercises and visual arts expression.

The goals of this thesis were:

- To reflect on the consequences and repercussions of this type of learning in the relationship with the school, the colleagues, the teachers and the community and the students' ability to articulate and relate knowledge.
- To study decision-making processes led by children or shared between children and adults, specifically inside the classroom during curriculum time.
- To research the ways in which processes of learning through movement and education through the arts reflected on the articulation of school culture, children's cultures and artistic cultures.
- To study how an arts-based intervention could promote the attenuation of differences among the children, namely in factors such as gender, development and ethnicity.

Origin of this research

The idea for this thesis came from my immersion in the field well before the fieldwork began. I started working with the artistic association that I studied in this thesis in 2007. First we developed occasional workshops with children and then we developed a year-long project, which eventually became the project under study in this thesis. The departing point for this project was not so much the lack of children participation at school, but the scenario we faced in Portuguese public schools. Portugal's public school system suffered abrupt changes over the 20th century, particularly after the Revolution in 1974, that brought to an end 48 years of a dictatorship that restricted public education. However, despite the sudden growth of the public school system, Portugal is a country with a low level of education of the population, a low level of governmental investment in public education (OECD, 2013) and a below-average equity in education opportunities (OECD, 2014).

Faced with the fact that many schools are still organised in a very hierarchical manner, with the teachers enforcing a strict discipline on the students, who are taught as passive students who must adopt a docile body posture (Foucault, 1975), we noticed how many students found little to none

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interest in the classes. The original idea of the project was to promote classes where the children were taught adopting an active body posture and engaged in games and experiences with their colleagues and teachers, hoping this would interest more the children. With time, the association changed the school it worked with to a small primary school in Mouraria, in the city centre of Lisbon, where the project was developed with a teacher that promoted some level of participation of her students (for example, through the organisation of occasional student assemblies). In this new school, the project also gained two new dimensions, when, influenced by the teacher, it also started including children participation in the shaping of the sessions and when, at the end of every school year, the children developed a project chosen and designed by them, in the streets of Mouraria.

By then, my role gradually changed from being one of the people from the dance association in charge of the project to becoming a researcher writing a thesis about the project. With time, I ceased to be responsible for the project's coordination and the conduction of the sessions grew each time more independent from me. My presence in the sessions changed from being one of the people responsible for them, to being a participant researcher.

Orientation of this research

Knowing that children are the generational group more affected by poverty (Sarmiento, 2004a), which in Portugal has been increasing in proportion to an increasing gap between the poorest and the richest (Sarmiento, Fernandes and Tomás, 2007), that poorer children have worse results at school than richer children (Seabra and Mateus, 2011, Seabra, 2012) and the existing structural delay of the Portuguese school system described above; one of the points discussed in this thesis is what can be done about it. If the social classes with more power define school cultures and these cultures are distant from the cultures of poorer children (Sarmiento, 2013:197), we felt that different strategies could be deployed to avoid this inequality. Different strategies to engage the children, but also that allowed them to relate more closely to the contents they must learn. That is where the project entered, willing to try out if movement exercises and artistic expression could perhaps help bridge this gap between the children and the adults worlds. This project was not the first to study the relationship between learning and movement; several researchers have done it with varying results (see Caf *et al.*, 1997 or Lobo and Winsler, 2006), but in this project there was an added factor, absent from most studies on the relationship between learning and movement, which was the inclusion of children participation.

The importance of children participation has been a central demand in Childhood Studies, the field of studies where this dissertation is situated, that defends children are competent social actors and complete social beings (James, Jenks and Prout, 1998). A lot of research has been done in this field, but there is a certain lack of research done about children participation inside their classes - the

impact this could have on the children became a central aspect of this thesis. It became an important part, not only of the project's structure, but also in the methodology used in my research about it, where I conducted interviews with everyone involved in the project, including the children. Before moving on to address the structure of this thesis, I will devote a little longer to discuss the context of this research. Mouraria is the old Jewish and Muslim ghetto and it is going through a simultaneous process of gentrification and of new arrival of mostly poor, non-European migrants (Malheiros *et al.*, 2012). It is a densely populated area, with an ageing population with lower level of studies than in Lisbon, a higher illiteracy rate and a rate of unemployment higher than the average in Lisbon and in Portugal (INE, 2012a). It is very multicultural; in fact, the majority of children from the school I worked with were allochthonous and some of them did not speak Portuguese when they started school. Another important point of discussion for this thesis was if the arts-based approach of the project, done in this particular context, with these particular children, had an effect on the inclusion of children who did not master Portuguese or whom, for some other reason (gender or ethnicity, for example) did not participate in the classes.

Theoretical background

In the first chapter is a literature review of the main references to this thesis. I begin tracing a general picture of how the body, and children's bodies in particular, have been addressed in society and in Social Sciences. Shilling (1993) referred to the body as Sociology's "absent present" that was never directly discussed due to the series of taboos that have been built around it since the 16th century (Elias, 1978). Children's bodies are traditionally seen as either pure and innocent or as sinful and evil (Jenks, 1996). Criticising this dualism, Alan Prout (2000b) described children's bodies as hybrids between nature and culture, changeable entities and embodied beings that move in heterogenous networks.

Children spend most of their time at school, where they are taken care of, but also contained (Valentine, 2010). Schools are one of the central institutions that regulate society (Foucault, 1975) and a place where they are taught discipline and where the desired habitus is embodied in the children (Bourdieu, 1984). Discipline is transmitted through a training that is mostly enforced through their bodies, which led Foucault to describe bodies as a political field, subjected to the microphysics of power. Inside the classroom, a complicated body posture is demanded of the children, one that limits their movements at the same time as giving power to the adults over the children's bodies, reinforced through constant surveillance and evaluation (Foucault, 1975; Dixon, 2011). However, the power relations established at schools are not simple. On the one hand, teachers are themselves subjected to surveillance by the State (Dixon, 2011) and, on the other hand, children find strategies to elude the teachers (for example, Christensen, James and Jenks, 2001).

As mentioned before, our thesis is situated in the field of Childhood Studies. In the first chapter I also describe how this field of studies originated and describe some of the work published that was more relevant for this thesis, especially regarding the methodological concerns to take into account to promote children participation. Alan Prout (2002) explained how, although children and adults experience different power relations, these are not fixed but move in a network of relationships. This idea of the fluidity of the roles (Christensen, 2004) played by adults and children was important to my thesis, particularly, for example, when the children taught a class to a group of adults. I devoted particular attention to the relationship between children and the spaces they are in (for example, Rasmussen, 2004) and how time constraints are embodied and subverted by the children (Christensen and James, 2001).

Before the end of the chapter, I also review some of the literature about the connection between learning and movement, the leitmotif of the project, which has been briefly discussed above. Agreeing with Prout (2005) when he referred how Childhood Studies should search for the included middle through interdisciplinary studies, I have included contributions from psychology and the neurosciences.

Methodological guidelines

The second chapter describes the methodology used in this thesis and also contextualises the neighbourhood where my fieldwork took place, as it has been described above. As far as my methodological approach is concerned, this thesis is a case study. As mentioned before, the use of participant methods with the children in this thesis was two-fold: on the one hand, the project itself stimulated children participation and I studied the sessions and a participant observer; on the other hand, in the evaluation of the project, I used collaborative methods, interviewing everyone involved in it and, additionally, the children were asked to make a drawing of what the project meant to them, which they afterwards interpreted. In this thesis, to achieve a more complex and thick description (Geertz, 1973) of the reality studied and to guarantee a polyphonic approach (Clifford, 1988), I have used multiple methodological tools and did a triangulation of the descriptions and interpretations (Stake, 2005). The main sources of material I have used in this triangulation were: statistical and academic data about the neighbourhood; field notes from participant observation; visual data (photographs and videos from the sessions) and the interviews that were conducted with the children and the adults involved in the project.

According to Graue and Walsh (2003), episodes tell stories that, through their details, illustrate ideas in a research study, but can only be fully understood taking into account the main picture (Graue and Walsh, 2003: 255-257). In my thesis, the analysis of episodes was done using a field journal, documentation from one of the artists in the project; the children's documentation from the sessions

(written texts and drawings) and the children's fictional writings and drawings. To choose the episodes, I looked at the data generated (Graue and Walsh, 2003:115) and searched for recurring patterns and for breaks in those patterns. As a result, I have selected five episodes to represent different aspects of the project: a session on the skeletal system; a session the children taught a group of adults at c.e.m; an improvisation exercise involving one of the girls from the class; the process of making the book that took place over several sessions in the second year of the fieldwork; and lastly, a work that happened in the streets of Mouraria, over ten weeks, with the children and adults.

Visual methods, drawings, photographs and videos, played an important role in this thesis. Weber (2008) referred how images communicate an event more holistically than writing because they can give a more complete depiction of a scene and give further details to the research. Prosser and Burke (2008) argued that, for children, words are the domain of adult researchers but images are central to children's culture and, therefore, can be empowering. For my work, the use of images from this collaborative perspective (for example, the children's drawing describing the project) was be even more pertinent when the children in question did not fully master Portuguese (on this, cf. Sarmiento, 2014). Some of the episodes chosen were described and discussed based on videos. In those cases, I have chosen frames that illustrated what happened during the segments of the sessions and placed them in sequence, creating what I have called a visual mosaic. I describe the videos and highlight particular moments that are then discussed, combined with data from my field journal.

The interviews were conducted with the children, the teachers involved in the project and the artists and they were chosen as a tool in order to give a direct voice to the participants in the project. They were semi-structured and, knowing that neutrality is impossible (as mentioned by Fontana and Frey, 2005), I tried to have minimal influence during the process. The interviews were transcribed and I did a content and discourse analysis of the text.

The data

Chapters 4, 5 and 6 are about the results obtained in the project. Just before that, Chapter 3 provides a contextualisation of the project that begins with a portrait of the dance association, how the association evolved over time and started working with children. Then, I also provide a history of the project and how it changed once it was established in Lisbon. The project was originally developed by another artistic association in a town in Portugal's countryside and I describe what happened in this first phase, mentioning an evaluation of the project conducted by a sociologist and a social psychologist (Lopes and Craveiro, 2008 and Craveiro and Lopes, 2007). I also describe the school we worked at in terms of the building, the schedules, the children, the teachers and the school staff and the sessions during the three school years of the fieldwork.

Chapter 4, the longest in this thesis, describes the five episodes under analysis. They were a session about the skeletal system; a class taught by the children to a group of adults; an improvisation exercise involving one of the girls from the class; the process of the children making a book; the sessions in the last year of the fieldwork that took place in the ruins of an abandoned building in Mouraria. The description and interpretation of each episode, as mentioned above, was done through the triangulation of different types of data (photographs, my field notes and, whenever available, filmed material and the children's reports and drawings about the sessions). In the following two chapters I give direct voice to the participants in the project, analyse and discuss their interviews. In the children's case, as mentioned above, they also did drawings about the project which are analysed in Chapter 5. In total eleven children were interviewed individually, the two teachers were interviewed together and nine people from the dance association that were involved in different stages of the project were interviewed individually.

Discussion of the results

In the last chapter of this thesis I discuss the conclusions of this work, articulating the results with the research questions. I describe the curricular, pedagogic, artistic and social contents the children learnt from the project. I argue that the positive feelings the children associated with the project led to the creation of positive somatic markers (Damásio, 2011). The project was particularly important for the children with learning or language difficulties who, through it, increased their confidence and pleasure in learning. Children participation in sessions that were collaboratively emergent (Sawyer, 2011) in shared decision-making processes was particularly important for them and for the establishment of an ethical symmetry (Christensen and Prout, 2002) between adults and children, creating a network of relationships (Prout, 2002). In this network, the children recognised not only the importance of their participation, but also that this symmetry was limited to the project.

I argue that the sessions developed in a sequence of expansive cycles (Engeström, 1999) and the arts-based approach allowed for the children to achieve moments of epiphany (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005) or priming events (Corsaro and Molinari, 2000) moments that, I argue, would not have happened in a regular class. For that reason I argue that the project created moments of approximation to an ideal speech situation (Habermas, 2010/2009). Furthermore, because the project included and valued the children's formal, informal and non-formal knowledge (Young, 2010; Rogers, 2014; Palhares, 2014), I claim that it allowed for a meeting of the children's and the adults' cultures in the construction of the children's body as project (Christensen, 1999). I show how this happened, in particular, when the project allowed for the translation of children's incarnated body (*idem, ibidem*) into the adults' somatic body (*idem, ibidem*).

The neighbourhood where the fieldwork was conducted was an island in the city (Zeicher, 2003), giving the children freedom to move with limited adult supervision but at the same time, limiting them to the neighbourhood's borders, as they knew little of the city beyond it. The sessions done outside the school, in the streets of Mouraria, combined the children's emplaced knowledge with spatial knowledge (Christensen, 2003). In these sessions in particular, the children's collective actions with the adults transformed the ruins of an abandoned building into a children's space (Rasmussen, 2004).

Sharing this work

Over the last five years, my life changed radically. In the three years of the fieldwork and the additional two that it took to finish this work, people were born into my life, a few died, the children involved in this thesis grew up and the teachers moved to completely different schools. The school we worked in is about to close and the dance association changed its focus from working with children to doing different types of work. To all these people I dedicate this thesis, which was more than a piece of academic research. This thesis became a witness to what happened during the sessions of the project, a documentation of these three years that, despite having been so intense to the people involved in it, risked to fade, as ephemeral as the nature of the movement exercises it proposed. The impact it had in an ever-changing neighbourhood, in a school about to close down, in an association constantly struggling to remain open, risked being lost, forgotten or simply not remembered. For that reason, this thesis will be shared not only with everyone involved in it, but also with anyone interested in the topic, as I will edit a film about the project, write a leaflet summarising the thesis to give to the students who participated in the research, and write an extended summary of the project for the artists and teachers interested.

Chapter 1 – Body, education and childhood

In the first chapter of this thesis we will discuss some of the theoretical approaches and fieldwork studies that were more relevant to our work, that raised questions which we also wanted to answer or that named groundbreaking concepts and ideas without which our research would not have been possible. This literature review is not intended to be exhaustive and, as much as possible, here we discuss theoretical work in articulation with concrete examples from other studies with a practical component.

This chapter is divided into six subchapters, which in turn are divided into smaller sections. At the beginning of each subchapter and section there is a brief introduction to the topics under discussion and at the end of each of the six subchapters there is a conclusion that articulates what was discussed in the different sections and summarises the most fundamental findings for the development of our work.

We begin by discussing how children's bodies have been addressed in society, particularly in the context of the school routine, where they are almost permanently subjected to discipline, surveillance and evaluation. In the second subchapter, we describe on the one hand, the situation of children in terms of exclusion, poverty and inequality, three realities frequently faced by children in Portugal. On the other hand, we discuss the current relationship between public schools and the communities where they are inserted, as well as the measures proposed by several authors to change this situation. Thirdly, we focus on Childhood Studies, a field of study that considers children as social actors and defends and promotes children participation. In this subchapter, we briefly describe the origin of Childhood Studies, the main theoretical and methodological questions raised by its researchers about children participation, and we provide examples of studies from this field. We focus particularly on two themes that will be discussed throughout this thesis: children's construction of places of their own and how this relates to the problems they face with their urban mobility and, secondly, how time constraints are embodied, but also subverted by the children. Next, we describe several different studies and approaches to the relationship of learning and movement with a particular emphasis on more recent publications. Lastly, this thesis tried to be a multidisciplinary product and for that reason we also discussed one particular learning theory (activity theory), and also looked at some data from the natural sciences, namely from neurosciences, regarding the connection between learning and movement. We will specifically describe the functioning of a special type of neurons and a theory about the involvement of emotions in cognition, the somatic markers hypothesis.

Children at school

In this subchapter, we address how, due to the dualism between the body and the mind, the human and, particularly, the children's body have been treated over time by society, but also by the social sciences. Recurring to theoretical studies but also to the fieldwork of other researchers, we shall pay special attention to what happens to the children at school and how discipline is enforced on them.

The body is on the basis of the children's social experience and of the construction of their relations with others. Shilling (1993) defined the body as the "absent present" in sociology because, although it may not be directly discussed, the body is always present in any study about people. Specifically discussing children's bodies, Woodyer (2008) explained that, with few exceptions, they were absent from studies about children's lives because the body was often seen as a static object, external to and apart from the individual². Woodyer added that there was little reflection on embodiment as a process through which children participate in society.

According to Elias (1978), taboos around the body became stronger in the sixteenth century, with the emergence of concepts such as self-restrain and shame around bodily functions. At that time, the Catholic Church moved from interrogating sin through the intentions of the sinner to interrogate the sinner's relationship with his or her body (Ruddick, 2010). This change, Ruddick (2010) describes, led to the development of the conditioning of the subjects through their bodies that became a site of training and governance of the populations. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries this process focused even more specifically on the child's body as an object of scrutiny, even linking childhood illness to a recently created idea of children's culpability³. The logic behind this need for discipline is connected with the Western notion that the children's bodies are the embodiment of good and evil. As summarised by Jenks (1996), children's bodies, in particular, were viewed dichotomously either as the Apollonian (pure and innocent) or the Dionysian (sinful, evil and corrupted) child⁴. Alan Prout (2000b, 2005) described the children's bodies as unstable, unfixed and changeable entities and explained that, interwoven in a heterogeneous network (using Bruno Latour's terminology) with the material environment, the children's bodies are hybrid entities of culture and nature, two elements cannot be dissociated and social relations cannot be understood as if the body was irrelevant to them (2000b:11-12).

These definitions are not static, as what is considered normal and acceptable for a body has changed over time. Fingerson (2009: 220-221) described three recent events that have changed the normative

² As also described by James and Hockney (2007).

³ Ruddick, 2010: 97.

⁴ For how the body and the process of embodiment has been handled over time read also Prendergast (2000) and James (2000).

perspective of children's bodies and the way they are talked about, discussed and debated publicly. Firstly, children and adolescents, adopting the conceptions they are exposed to by mass media on topics such as the body and sexuality, these notions filter into the children's lives and influences peer cultures. Secondly, the AIDS epidemic (coupled with other topics that are now often openly addressed, such as breast cancer, impotence, menopause, or infertility) has changed the way doctors, journalists and health writers discuss the body and sexuality, forcing them to discuss explicit sexual activities naturally and casually, which transpired to the way children discuss the same topics. Lastly, third-wave feminism, with its fight to change stereotypes, media portrayals, and the language used to define women, in a post-structuralist interpretation of gender and sexuality had an impact in children's cultures, leading to more open discussions about the body and sexuality.

As we shall see, this normative perspective is not accepted without a certain degree of criticism and resistance. As Fingerson (2009) describes it, our lived experiences are perceived through our bodies, but humans are not biologically determined, that is, we are embodied beings. The body is a variable in constant change in social interaction, in particular for children, and it is through the personal embodied practice that individuals become subjects, transcend their conditions and are active agents in their worlds (Fingerson, 2009). According to Fingerson (2009), children use their bodies to resist authority and they can use their bodies as a source of power in their interactions⁵. In the next sections we will discuss how children's bodies are treated at school, and the main means used to impose authority on the children.

Children's bodies at school

Schools are a central institution in the dissemination of the social structure. In them, children are taught discipline; they create habitus and train for their adult life. Part of this training is enforced through the body. In this section, we address two of the theoretical contributions to this topic and discuss two recent fieldwork studies that focused on this matter.

According to Foucault (1975), schools are one of the central institutions that regulate society. There, children are taught discipline, and school works as training grounds for their adult life. A considerable part of this training is enforced through the body. The activity control of children when they are at school, according to Foucault, is performed in five steps (1975: 175-183): the use of time; the establishment of a collective and mandatory rhythm of work, which he called "the temporal elaboration of the act" (1975: 177); the creation of a relation of the body and the gesture in order to achieve the most efficient and quick behaviour (e.g., when writing); body-object articulation, that is, the definition of the relationship the body should create with the object it is

⁵ The strategies used by the children will be discussed in the section "About time" of the "Childhood Studies" subchapter

using, in an instrumental coding of the body; and, finally, exhaustive use, that is, in order to avoid any waste of time, time is intensely used.

Foucault explained that the training of discipline is enforced through the body and, as a consequence, the body becomes part of the political field, suffering the immediate effects of power relations. This political investment on the body is related to its economic use: the body is a useful production force, but it has to be a productive and subjected body. Foucault called the process responsible for this a “political technology of the body”, a kind of “microphysics of power”, a “biopower” which works on a “cellular”, natural and “organic” level as a strategy, a network of relations that spreads through society, not only in the relations between the people and the state, but also at the individual level (Foucault, 1975: 175-183).

Additionally, Foucault argued that discipline starts by separating people through space, following four strategies: closure – using the cloisters’ model; a grid – each individual is assigned to a space; functional placements – the spaces are determined to certain functions; ranking – it individualised the bodies, distributing them in a series. Most of these strategies are still used today at schools. The organisation of space according to a series leads to the assignment of individual places in a classroom, allowing for the individual control of each student while the whole class performs the same task (1975: 166-173). Foucault also described how discipline had to rearrange itself so it could become the most efficiently possible. That happened in three ways: firstly, the individual body is seen as a moveable element that can be placed and interacted with the others; then, time and discipline are combined to achieve the optimal result (which is especially subtle in primary school, where, Foucault described, older students first were given duties of surveillance, then of controlling the others’ work, and then they taught the younger, hence, the students were either teaching or being taught); thirdly, the system follows a very precise hierarchical chain of command (1975: 192-199).

Bourdieu (1984) also described primary school as the main factor for a wide dissemination of social structure, as we will discuss further on. He coined the term “habitus” as a double movement of interiorisation of the exterior (of social structures, the objective conditions of existence) and of exteriorisation of the interior (perceptions, representations, behaviours, social practices)⁶. The habitus is socially structured and unified, it is a concept that explains the leaning towards doing, thinking and feeling in a certain way. It is embodied through training and learning, it affects the way people react to certain situations and the way people act in specific moments and, once a habitus has been embodied, it is difficult to erase.

Simpson (2000) described the classroom as a place where complicated power struggles take place and where the body is an important weapon. Schools have rules to how children should behave and

⁶ For a critical review of Bourdieu’s work, read, for example, Mendes and Seixas (2003).

an important number of such rules revolve around spatiality and embodiment (2000: 63-64). Christensen, James and Jenks (2001), in a work that will be discussed below, found two ways through which discipline was enforced upon the children. The first was through the public exposure of the bodies of the children who did not follow the rules: they were placed apart from their colleagues, in a place where they could be seen but could not see the others (sitting at the first row of the classroom, for example). The second and more drastic way was to restrict the children's bodies temporally and spatially. Children who did not follow protocol during curriculum time could see the privilege of playtime being withdrawn and not be able to join their friends during that period. The authors witnessed children in this situation standing with their faces to the wall, so that they could only hear their colleagues playing for an amount of time proportional to the severity of the infraction (Christensen, James and Jenks, 2001: 220). In this case, for those children time stopped, as did their bodies (Christensen, James and Jenks, 2001: 220-221). The means of resistance employed by the children at school will be discussed further on in this chapter⁷.

Regarding the body postures inside the classroom, the preferred body position of sitting at a desk refrains the children from moving and is physically complicated for it involves a complicated posture: flexed ankles, knees and hips, keeping the spine and the neck extended, between looking down at the book and looking up at the board (Dixon, 2011). In addition, children must have their arms free in order to perform fine motor tasks such as writing, organising their desk and moving their eyes independently of their head. At the same time, they must listen to information, process it and remember it. In addition to all that, sitting at a desk also requires a level of passivity because in front of the body is a desk, constraining all their actions and movements (Dixon, 2011). In this way, teachers have power over the bodies of the students, in an attempt for them to become docile through schooling and to create the desired habitus. According to Foucault, the act of writing entails a gymnastic routine: the whole body is inscribed in complex codes, from the tip of the finger to the toe (1975: 175-183). The activities conducted while the children are sitting at a desk, concentrating on a fine motor skill, are valued over ample movements, which are seen only as a means to spend the accumulated energy in class in order to help with concentration (Munarim and Girardello, 2012: 343-345).

Recently, Dixon (2011) provided very interesting data on literacy. The author used Foucauldian theory as framework, which she combined with practical knowledge resulting from her fieldwork in South African schools in order to study how larger political choices can affect daily practices towards small children in classrooms. Since the fall of apartheid in South Africa, the discourse around the new curricula and how a lesson should be has changed, but the lessons themselves, the

⁷ Section "About time", subchapter "Childhood Studies".

way they are being taught, what is being asked of children, and the relationship between the students and the teachers, has not changed much. Students still depend on a supportive home environment to be successful, and this is not available to most of them. Dixon claims that, in South African public schools, students are being taught to read in a “useful” way, that is, they can read, but they have limited ability to interpret and understand the meaning of what they are reading. The same happens as far as writing is concerned, creative writing is barely explored. “If writing is constructed narrowly, then writers are also narrow. This narrowness will either create limited and docile subjects or alienated angry and resistant ones”, explained Dixon (idem, ibidem: 142). She found that, at school, children learn to be scribes, not authors, they learn transcription and not writing. In her study Dixon found that, over time, children were expected to become a “learning machine”, with a given task they all have to complete at the same time. There was a clear shift from the element of classroom community, peer learning and teaching, to the individual, who should complete his/her tasks in silence. In preschool, classrooms group relations were privileged, whereas in primary school there was an individual focus. Furthermore, this study shows how, in South African public schools, docility was valued over creativity. All the creative work done by the children was returned and could be taken to their homes, whereas all the other tasks stayed for archive in the school. The children were being prepared, Dixon claimed, to become docile unskilled workers, who would have a very hard time reaching the level of students who were taught to solve problems and to incorporate technology. Portugal lived a very different history than South Africa, but in some aspects what Dixon found, as we shall see in this thesis, also corresponds to the Portuguese reality at schools.

Valentine (2010) resumed the situation arguing that at schools children are taken care of and they are contained because at schools, where children spend increasingly more time, they have their time and space controlled by adults. There, children are taught obedience to authority, to become compliant and productive workers and are subjected to the reproduction of gender, class and racial roles (McDowell, 2000). However, school in general, and public school in particular, is also the place where all these ideas can be challenged (Valentine, 2010).

Surveillance and evaluation

Evaluation and surveillance have become inherent factors in teaching and learning. In this section we discuss how these two factors are structured and the fundamental consequences they have to the establishment of power relationships in the classroom.

According to Foucault (1975), schools have evolved so that they fulfil three goals: teaching, acquisition of knowledge through the exercise of pedagogy, and a reciprocal and hierarchical observation. Surveillance has become inherent to teaching, and both systems feed each other

mutually, by the individuals that comprise them, that is, the supervisors are also continuously monitored by other supervisors (1975: 207-208). The same was mentioned by Dixon (2011), who described it as a multi-way process: teachers watch children, children watch each other, whereas the State watches teachers and keeps records of written surveillance of the children.

Foucault described how architecture also adapted to this function of surveillance through a design called panopticism, which allows for constant surveillance of the subjects, who do not know whether or not they are being watched, and constantly feel watched, leading to a permanent state of self-regulation. This feeling assures the automatic functioning of the power structure (1975: 133-134). This design exists in some prisons and hospitals, but in schools as well⁸. According to Dixon (2011) the level of surveillance children are subject to is not only intense, but also wide-ranging. As children progress in school, the level of surveillance shifts and exists not only inside the classroom, but also outside of the classroom in the playground.

Besides surveillance, Foucault has also described examination as ritual of power because, through examination, the power does not show signs of its might, but it objectifies the examined. Examination leaves a trail of documentation for each individual, turning each individual into a “case”, becoming a means and method of domination (1975: 219-225). In a recent book, Colls and Hörschelmann (2010) described how, nowadays, from the embryonic stage on, the children’s bodies become a site for measurement, regulation and control, with their development measured and compared to an average. In this way, the children’s bodies are included in a normative matrix tying them to the social body almost from the moment of conception (Colls and Hörschelmann, 2010)⁹. This leads, according to the authors, to the continuous justification of social and cultural hierarchies through bodily markers, discursive constructions, temporal-spacial practices and institutional structures.

Regarding examinations at schools, according to Palhares (2014) the reintroduction of examinations in different levels of learning has made the schools obsessed with improving the students’ quantitative results in the exams, as they have an impact in the school’s ranking, which, in turn, is determinant to the school’s budget and to keeping the jobs of teachers and general staff. Palhares argued that this obsession with the evaluation changed the process of learning and teaching, becoming exclusively an intensive preparation to the exams. The introduction of testing to younger and younger children was one of the means through which centralised control has been reinforced upon children, and it has also been happening in Portugal, leading to the teachers being impelled to a more efficient transmission of content, neglecting children’s exploration of their own interests

⁸ That was the case of the school where our fieldwork took place. In the staff room, the teachers could see the children playing in the playground, who could not see them.

⁹ In the same book, Pike and Colquhoun (2010) also discuss how there has been an increase to an almost unprecedented degree of medical and polity measurement, assessment and scrutiny of children’s bodies.

(Prout, 2000: 306). Mainly due to the pressures to perform well in examinations, formal education in a public school has become bureaucratic, normalised and inflexible, often not valuing the children's non-formal and informal knowledge (Gohn, 2014).

Conclusions from subchapter

We started this subchapter discussing how children's bodies have been ignored for so long, not only in society itself but also in social sciences as well. This happens, in part, because the dichotomy between mind and body is deeply rooted and children's bodies are often seen, on the one hand, as something external to the individual and, on the other hand, as the embodiment of good and evil inherited by the Catholic tradition.

We discussed the theory and a practice of how schools create and enforce discipline on the children's bodies, describing the five steps in which, according to Michel Foucault, activity is controlled in a process of microphysics of power. Discipline demands of the children to spend most of their curricular time in a complicated body position that constraints their actions and movements, creating docile bodies with the desired habitus.

Finally, we addressed several perspectives on how evaluation and surveillance are enforced and what consequences it can have for the teachers and students. This subchapter laid the first groundwork from which this thesis was constructed and it led to several reflections that were important in this study. Could a school or a classroom be organised in a different way, where children are not seen only as passive receivers of a chain of command? Assuming Foucault's description is still accurate for the Portuguese society and school system, could such an alternative relationship be established inside the system?

School and inequality: exclusion and poverty

We shall now very briefly discuss the findings of some authors on the status of children as an excluded minority, particularly regarding poor and migrant children, how their social condition affects their studies and what measures schools could adopt to, on the one hand, overcome exclusion and inequality and, on the other, create a better connection to the community. This subchapter refers mostly to the Portuguese society.

Poverty and child labour are not distant memories for the children in Portugal. Childhood is the generational group most affected by poverty, that is, there is a larger percentage of poor children than adults or elderly (Sarmiento, 2004a) and the growth of children's poverty has been increasing, in proportion to the increasing gap between the poorest and the richest (Sarmiento, 2004a and

Sarmiento, Fernandes and Tomás, 2007). Additionally, Sarmiento (2003b) referred that, in Portugal and around the world, it is among children that the poverty rate is higher¹⁰.

On what concerns child labour in Portugal, Almeida (2009) quoted a study from the Ministry of Work and Solidarity by the end of the 90's that estimated there were around 9000 children and young people between the ages of 6 and 15 years old working for someone else in Portugal, another 34000 working in companies or family farms (Ministério Trabalho e da Solidariedade, 1998; in Almeida, 2009). Another study quoted by the author and published in 2003 showed there were 48000 economically active children in 2001 in Portugal (48% of which worked in agriculture; Fialho, 2003 quoted by Almeida, 2009).

Bourdieu (1980) theorised the role played by the schools in this scenario of inequality. He predicted that social change happens as a consequence of the struggle of individuals and families to keep or improve their positions in the social structure. School reinforces the system of domination in society because the social classes (and the fractions of class) with a strong cultural capital invest in school and activate strategies for limiting the access to certain titles and professions to which their cultural capital gives them access. That is, these classes with a dominant economical capital associate to the familiar reproduction the transmission of their inherence strategies to reconvert their economic capital into school capital and thus maintain the broad reproduction of the class structure (Bourdieu, 1980).

Additionally, Bourdieu described that the strategies of social reproduction used by the social actors to maintain or increase their patrimony (and, hence, keep their position in the social space), depend on the global value of the familiar patrimony, of its structure and the state of the system of the instruments of reproduction (Bourdieu, 1980). According to Bourdieu, the fields of the social global space are constantly under struggle for classification, declassification and reclassification, by individual, group and class structures that want to keep their relative social position or ascend to a higher position.

In this struggle, cultural capital has a great importance. Cultural capital includes the cultural capital that is inherited and the one acquired through schooling. Thus the school is, for Bourdieu, the main mechanism of legitimation of differences in class and of reproduction of the social structure. That is, because the social classes have an unequal distribution of cultural capital, school hence becomes a generalised means to certify a form of pedagogy of differences and class inequalities. To study

¹⁰ Different studies show this reality, for example, Sarmiento, Fernandes and Trevisan (2015) or UNICEF (2013). In a very recent report, Rodrigues (2016) that showed that in Portugal between 2011 and 2014, one in every four children was poor and that the children were the group of people that was most affected by the austerity measures taken during the years of the crisis, namely the reduction of social welfare and by their parents unemployment. Additionally, between 2009 and 2012, one third of the population of Portugal was poor; 12.6% of them increased their income after one year, but 8.2% remained poor during the four years under survey. In 2012, one in every four of the poor people in Portugal were not poor between 2009 and 2011, that is, the crisis increased poverty, creating a new wave of poor people. Lastly, the budgetary cut of welfare state meant that the people more affected by the crisis were the ones who were more vulnerable, the 10% poorest people lost 25% of their income, whereas the middle class lost mostly between 10 and 16% and the richest lost 13% between 2009 and 2014.

Bourdieu's theory, Mendes (2001) analysed intergenerational mobility in Canada, Sweden, the Czech Republic and Portugal, concluding that the cultural capital is the main obstacle for social mobility to happen, with different variations depending on the gender of individuals and their country of origin (namely, the country's historical path and insertion in the capitalist system).

Also concerned with the study of social mobility, Seabra and Mateus, in a work from 2011, investigated the results obtained in the subject of Portuguese by students descendent from immigrants, compared to those of the autochthonous students. Almost two thousand students from Lisbon, Setúbal and Faro answered two questionnaires. The results revealed that the national origin of the students had little impact for students of the same sociodemographic background, the same result that had been found among French students (Dubet, 2001). The level of schooling of the parents proved to be more influential than the students' nationality. The results showed that the nationality of the students was not relevant when compared to autochthonous children of the same social class. In the wealthiest families there is a bigger difference among the performance by autochthonous and immigrant children. The gender gap of the students increased when it came to children descendant of immigrants, with the girls having better results than the boys. Overall, there is an impact of the social class of the student in the results obtained: poorest children had worst school results, regardless of the origin of the children.

In 2012, Seabra investigated the same topic in a study of the results of almost forty-six thousand students in the Lisbon area attending the fourth, fifth and sixth grades, in the subjects of Portuguese and Maths. The results of autochthonous students were better than those of the descendants of immigrants, but as the previous work revealed, the differences became smaller when all the students shared the same social background. The study also showed that the results of the allochthonous children improved as their contact with Portugal intensified (for example, by having family members born in Portugal). All in all, the variable that affected the children's results the least was their gender, but still the girls had better results than the boys. The level of schooling of their mother was the most relevant factor to the results in general and the national origin of the students had a bigger impact in terms of the results in Mathematics. Lastly, the authors concluded that, for poorer children, the difference in general school results between autochthonous and allochthonous students reduced; the difference in results between the autochthonous students and the students descendant from immigrants increased between boys; the results were not the same for all nationalities and that the differences among them should be taken into account.

Sarmento (2013) explained that the difference in performance by poorer children when compared to wealthier families is unnatural and avoidable. The school culture and its distance to the familiar setting of the students is the most important factor leading to an unequal performance by students (Sarmento, 2013: 197). The same school culture is essentially defined by the social classes with the

biggest power and social status. Hence, the students from lower classes are more distant from that culture, having more difficulty learning it. However, that inequality can be avoidable, he argued, if a school that acts against the children's inequalities is conceived and a teaching that provides real and democratic equal learning opportunities is created (Sarmiento, 2013: 197).

Hence, it is because children experience and live in so many different situations that Almeida (2009) suggested that, when working with children it should be taken into account that childhood is not homogenous: variables such as sex, class, ethnicity, and age group introduce important differences among them. The category "childhood" should not be seen as one, and should be associated with the social diversity of the trajectories of the children. Almeida defended that an analysis of a study with children should be made regarding not only the individual body or personality of the child, but also the group of children, taking into account their conditions and social dispositions (Almeida, 2009).

School and the community

In this section, we address some specific recommendations from different authors to overcome school exclusion in terms of the school's relationship to the community, the public policies and the professional practices of the teachers.

Sarmiento (2001) defended a simultaneous movement from the school to the community and vice-versa, stimulating the articulation of an education project in the community space. This double movement is complex, specific for each context and sees the education at school as only one of the components of a much vaster community educational project. This conception of education considers the schooling population, besides being the target of education, also as being active partners in their own process of emancipation. Student participation, hence, becomes a pedagogic device (the verbal expression of knowledge that is created at the same time as it is being expressed), a symbolic need (because the communication and interchange of knowledge is only possible if the children's voice is heard) and a political process (children participation allows them to get acquainted with the means of reflexion and intervention to critically analyse their world and life). Children participation is, thus, embedded in a political nature: children participate in a decision about concrete actions that take place at school as an expression of the right to contribute to the construction of public space, giving to the children the notion that state institutions can be places where their rights are asserted (Sarmiento, 2001).

Nóvoa (2002) agreed with this view of schools and wrote that schools should define themselves as public space, democratic and participative. The school as a public space would extend the space of

the school to other educational partners¹¹. However, Nóvoa (2002) explains that the social structures and the associations that work supporting official education have a very fragile existence because they work in a different timeframe from schools calendar. In Portugal, these social structures and the associations are based on short-term work, whereas the schools work on a much longer timeframe because all the bureaucracy, political and institutional changes require a very long time (Nóvoa, 2002).

One year later, Sarmiento (2003b) added to this debate stating that a public policy for the social inclusion of childhood should be integrated in different levels: in terms of European policies; national policies and legislations; municipal policies; in public administration and social intervention programmes; in the symbolic administration promoting and supporting the creation of contents made to and by the children taking their cultural diversity into account; in terms of research and monitorisation, through the creation of participated structures of research about childhood and social policies, with an active role in the diffusion of good practices and methodologies (Sarmiento, 2003b). The integrated policies of childhood should consider education as social politics and social inclusion (Sarmiento, 2003b). In that respect, the school should be considered in the larger context of the educational act of the community and children's educational action should also be considered in the more general framework of promoting social wellbeing (Sarmiento, 2003b). As a consequence, schools should be effective contexts in children's lives, remaining at the same time places of social transmission and exchange. Such a school should promote: cooperative work among everyone in it; a network within the community; active participation in the decision-making processes revolving around the school for everyone in it, starting with the children; a renovation of tradition; friendly administration inside schools and at a state level.

When discussing what schools should be like in the future, Nóvoa (2009) defended that schools should: be free to chose their organisation, namely in the creation of partnerships with local entities; be able to opt for different educational projects (for example, together with pedagogic associations); and, lastly, be able to define their own, specific, curricula (for example, through the creation of partnerships with universities). In this scenario, the State would have to guarantee that all children should be taught a common basic curriculum of core knowledge, but should also promote different pathways of schooling, adapted to each person to increase school success and help the children finding a sense in school. The defence of a public space of education only makes sense if the different entities are given responsibility, that is, if they are able to participate in the decisions about educative matters.

¹¹ Haddad (2002, 2006), for example, has also discussed the importance of the inclusion of the parents and the family as partners in the process of education of the children (at a pre school level).

Lastly, to change the schools, the way the contents are taught to the children would also have to change. Nóvoa (2002), in a text defining the changes that schools should suffer, defended that the educational system should embrace contemporaneity, refusing to include only the classical forms of knowledge. Schools, Nóvoa defended, should admit new ways of relating to knowledge, as science and art are nowadays defined by a complexity and unpredictability that schools should no longer ignore. Nóvoa (2002) added that teachers have a very complex work from an emotional point of view and if this extension of the school space was to happen, teachers should receive specific preparation for their relationship, not only with the students, but also with the local communities.

Roldão (2005: 18) studied the relation between the educational knowledge (the academic discussion over pedagogy) and the knowledge about teaching in practice and the relationship between these two forms of knowledge among teachers and academics. Educational knowledge was seen as being important to both groups, whereas the knowledge about teaching has a very different meaning to the actors from both groups. To the teachers, it was seen as informative and not performative, it does not influence the way they act. The teachers admitted to needing to learn practical matters, how to solve situations and not necessarily a reflexive, interpretative or analytical knowledge. In the work by academics, the attention paid to this knowledge focused on projects developed at schools and related to a practical knowledge, distant from any theoretical framework. This practical knowledge was valued and seen as something apart from the knowledge about teaching. This meant that the knowledge about teaching was seen as something separate from the production of theoretical knowledge. Moreover, educational knowledge was almost exclusively produced at universities, with a creation of an analytical and interpretative knowledge about the practices, but the impact of this knowledge was only effective inside the academic community. The universes of the teachers and the academia, according to Roldão (2005: 19), met in three moments: when the people studying to become teachers attended university, when the teachers attended post-graduate degrees and when university teachers participated in continuous formation events for teachers at school. Those were moments when the educational knowledge was discussed between the two groups but, according to the author, the impact of the educational knowledge into the daily practice of the teachers was scarce. There were, according to Roldão (2005: 20), exceptions to this generalisation, in studies where the teachers and the academics worked together questioning, theorising and researching with elements from both communities working together.

Arroyo (2012: 29) defended that educational professionals had the responsibility to rethink their professional and theoretical practice when they came into contact with the precarious bodies of children and youngsters at school. The author claimed that another theory was needed, built from the specificity of the social and bodily experiences of these schools. Moreover, assuming the precarious nature of these children's lives, especially of their bodies, might imply a move towards

other theories and a different professional ethic. The children's precarious lives could not be removed from the present, and we could not work with them basing our work in the promise of a non-precarious future for them. Their precariousness needed to be assumed in the teacher's daily work. The author recommended that other pedagogies were taught in education courses to future teachers, using the arts' input to create a new professional ethic in pedagogy (Arroyo, 2012: 47).

Conclusions from subchapter

We briefly described how child poverty and labour are still present in Portuguese society and discussed the process of symbolic administration of childhood, through which experts create concepts about children which are later absorbed into common sense and become definitions of a normative childhood. We discussed two studies that show that social mobility is difficult to achieve in a school system that often reproduces exclusion and inequalities, proving Bourdieu's theory of school as the main mechanism of legitimation of differences and of reproduction of the social structure. Additionally, a study showed that, regardless of their origin, poorer children have poorer results and the level of schooling of the mother is the factor with the most impact on the child's school results. This means that in Portugal, the division of tasks with the education of the child in a household still leans mostly on the mother.

Faced with this diagnosis, several authors have argued that it is urgent that the public school system is changed to act against inequality, providing democratic and equal opportunities for the children. We discussed specific recommendations made by several authors to change the situation of the school system, largely consisting of allowing the schools to work in a network involving a vast educational community, with new and different ways of relating to knowledge and, importantly, allowing for children participation.

Our fieldwork was conducted in a poor neighbourhood and in a school where there was a majority of children that were migrant or descendent from migrants. The work we reviewed in this subchapter gave us some ideas to what kind of school we could aim for and some strategies that could be used to introduce these children to a school culture that can, at times, be so different from their own cultures. We shall discuss in this thesis how an educational network could be built in a public school where the local community and the children's families were invited to participate, without forgetting the crucial role played by the teachers in the establishment of such a network.

Finally, the perspective of children's and childhood rights, especially the participation rights, has been a target of great reflection by the field of Childhood Studies, which will be addressed in the following subchapter.

Childhood Studies

Historically, childhood has been understood from an adult-centred perspective. However, since the 1990s, a considerable body of knowledge has been developed under a theoretical approach that was called the "new social studies of childhood". Childhood Studies focus on children being social actors that have an opinion that should be heard and respected about the matters that concern them. This includes children's action on research done with and about them. This subchapter will describe the emergence and basic concepts in Childhood Studies and highlight some of the academic work that has been done using this framework and that was relevant for this thesis.

The vision of children as active social actors in the construction of the world was considered in the 12th article of the Children's Rights Convention of the United Nations in 1989, which defended the children's right to freely give their opinion and to be heard in the matters concerning them. Despite the fact that the Children's Rights Convention has approved a set of rights, and that it is the treaty that has been more widely signed in the world, the reality of the children's lives has not immediately changed simply by the publication of juridical laws (Sarmiento and Pinto, 1997)¹². In fact, Lee (2000), for example, discussed how children's voice has been disregarded as a source of evidence in court cases concerning events that happened in their lives.

Different disciplines have historically understood childhood from an adult-centred perspective (James and Prout, 1990), defining children in the negative, by what they lack: independence; the ability to speak; the right to vote, to be elected, to get married or build a family, to work, to drive, to drink alcohol; the ability to defend themselves, to think adequately, to have moral values, *etc.* (Sarmiento, 1999; Sarmiento, 2005; Castro, 2008). In the desire to protect the children, they live a partially legitimate exclusion, as there are several political and civic rights that are restricted to them. Sarmiento and Pinto (1997) refer how, paradoxically, children are more considered as their number diminishes in the overall population, at least in industrialised countries, but childhood is also the age group most subjected to specific situations of oppression and to an impact in their life conditions. Specifically, Sarmiento, Fernandes and Tomás (2007) argued that the children remain the only social group truly excluded from political rights, particularly in political participation that does not revolve around elections. That is, children are social actors, capable of cultural creation, but children with no direct political rights become invisible as concrete social actors (Sarmiento, Fernandes and Tomás, 2007). Additionally, children face a "symbolic administration of childhood", a term coined by Sarmiento (2001, 2003b) to define how experts (at universities, clinics, *etc.*) create social representations and concepts about children, which are then absorbed into the common sense

¹² For the impact of the adoption of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child in academic literature, read Reynaert, Bouverne-de-Bie and Vandeveldde, 2009.

and transformed into strict orientations that define what is supposed to be the “normal child” and regulate children’s behaviours. Each historical time has its own images and social myths built through the symbolic administration of childhood (Sarmiento, 2003b, 2011), but any child that lives a non-normative existence faces, according to Sarmiento (2011), a double exclusion that works as another means of accentuating children inequalities and exclusion.

Additionally, the idea of children being “people in the making” is still often argued today, when children are described as going through a process of socialisation, an idea that points to children’s condition as beings in transformation towards a social being. Several authors (e.g., Corsaro, 1997; James, Jenks e Prout, 1998), who see children as complete social beings, active, creative and able to act and to intervene, as actors and not only as passive receivers in social construction¹³ have challenged this view. Chris Jenks (1992: 13) explained that the passive role assigned to children in the theories of socialisation made them entities with an absent presence¹⁴, unimportant and with no active dimension.

The theorisation of Childhood Studies led the way to a series of field research done under the basic premise that children are active actors, who have a voice about the matters that concern them, which should be listened to by the researchers¹⁵. Years after the field of Childhood Studies was created, one of its pioneers, Alan Prout (2005) criticised it, arguing for a need of renovation and suggesting the use of complexity theories and actor network theory in future studies. Because Childhood Studies emerged in opposition to other studies about children, it failed to deconstruct three important dualisms: structure and agency, individual and society, being and becoming (Prout, 2005: 64-67). To overcome these dichotomies, Prout suggested that Childhood Studies should search for the included middle (2005: 69). In practical terms, it would mean that biology and sociology, science and culture are reciprocally constitutive and could be equally present in studies on childhood. Now we will address some of the research on Childhood Studies that was particularly relevant for the development of this thesis.

Examples of academic studies about children participation

In this section, we will address some studies dealing with important theoretical considerations of the relationship between adults and children and the particularities for working with children, then we shall move on to analyse a selection of field work done from this perspective.

¹³ For a critical review of the concept of socialisation, read Marchi, 2009, Grigorowitschs, 2008, and Plaisance, 2004, who defined socialisation as an interactive process of multiple negotiation as an individual identity is being built, a process in which both vertical and horizontal relationships established between children are very important

¹⁴ As Shilling (1993) described about the absence of the body in sociological studies, as mentioned in the subchapter “Children at School”.

¹⁵ For a detailed description of the origin and different currents of the “new” Childhood Studies, see Sarmiento, 2008, Sarmiento, 2009 and Almeida, 2009; for the role that the adults (especially the teachers) should assume to recognise children as social actors, see Fernandes (2015).

Regarding the specificity of adults working with children, several authors have discussed the inequality between adults and children.¹⁶ For example, Graue and Walsh (2003) discuss how adults doing research with children always remain “the other”: they obviously never become children and the structural differences among them never disappear. On this topic, Castro (2008), defended that, when studying children, it is important to distinguish if the knowledge being produced about the children results from their own action and knowledge, or if it results from the researcher’s action and knowledge about the children, with the children, or for the children (Castro, 2008: 27). Thus, if researchers are aware of the structure of inequality between them and the children, it allows for an option in the direction of the research process that does not assume the power relations as being natural, but rather constantly problematises them, allowing for their transformation (Castro, 2008: 28)¹⁷.

Particularly in what concerns the power relations between the people, and exemplifying how they are not fixed between adults and children, Christensen (2004: 171) described a moment when the power relations between her and the children she was interviewing shifted, when the children grabbed the microphone and took over the interview, appropriating it. In that moment, the power was shared between her and the children, she explains:

“The very concrete action of gripping the tape recorder became a way in which some children took the lead, almost rehearsing the character of our relationship as partly defined through the fluidity and shifting relations of power between us. Power was not fixed to or residing neither in me nor in them. In that sharing I believe we established a sense of equality and commonality in our interactions” (Christensen, 2004: 171).

Prout (2002, 2005) also contributed to this idea explaining that children should be seen as actors in a “network of relationships” (Prout, 2002: 74) and, although “some actors and positions within this web are more powerful and far-reaching, all the connections in this web are of importance and neglecting children’s role is to misunderstand how local realities are actually produced”.

About children participation in a research done under the perspective of Childhood Studies, according to Almeida (2009: 68), children should be co-participants and co-researchers, and their involvement in every step of the research is crucial: from the very first decisions about the constitution of the team, the goals, methods and techniques of research, the selection of the sample, the collection and interpretation of information, the spreading of the results and the balance

¹⁶ Besides the inequality of the relationship between them, sometimes adults think they are helping children when in fact they are not. For example, Toren (1993) gave examples from anthropological research where the meanings made by the children were direct inversions of the meanings made by the adults, about the same matter and Hanson (2014) provided several examples from previous studies that described situations where adult interventions that were designed to protect children but that actually made their lives worse.

¹⁷ For a review of the challenges posed by the idea of researching children from the perspective of children being considered active social actors, that is, the challenges faced in the early stages of Childhood Studies, see Morrow and Richards (1996). For a critical analysis of the methodologies used over time to work with children, see Ferreira and Sarmento’s work (2008) and for a description of the evolution of participant methodologies and detailed analysis of the ethic and methodological concerns to take into account when working with children see, for example, Soares, Sarmento and Tomás (2005) and Fernandes (2016). In more recent works, the idea that when working with children, the power difference between the researched and the researcher might be reinforced by an underlying power difference between children and adults is an issue discussed by Christensen (2004).

between the social utility and the benefits for an improvement of the children's active citizenship status. On this topic, Pia Christensen and Allison James edited in 2000 an important book regarding the methodologies for working with children. The basic premise for the book was that children participation implied that children are subjects, and not objects of research, and that working with children does not necessarily demand different or special methods (an idea also shared and discussed in the afore mentioned work by Pia Christensen in 2004 and, for example, by Lange and Mierendorff, 2009 or Fernandes, 2016). Children are not adults, but what is more important is that the methods used are appropriate for the children, the research questions posed and the children's social and cultural context (Christensen and James, 2000a: 2-3)¹⁸. Lange and Mierendorff (2009) defined four methodological paradigms for working with children from a Childhood Studies' perspective: the predominant use of ethnography (as has also been referred by Sirota, 2012); studying children as a group on their own (not only included in their familiar context, for example); recognising children as reliable informants; and providing a constructionist (taking into account the normative constructions, rulings and institutionalisations, that is, analysing the law, political and institutional discourses) and structuralist perspective (looking into the structural effects of the rules on children's lives) of the matter being studied.

Corsaro and Molinari described the theoretical and methodological issues revolving around conducting longitudinal ethnographies with kindergarten children, in particular in what regarded field entry and data collection. The authors used examples from their field experience, quoting their field notes, that they interwoven with a theoretical discussion. The authors wrote that research with children in educational settings depends on dealing with and developing the trust of the adult gatekeepers (all the people who are holding the doors for the research, teachers, parents, school staff and directors included); acquiring a working knowledge of the setting (social structure, nature of interpersonal relations, and daily routines); and being accepted by the teachers and children¹⁹ (Corsaro and Molinari, 2000: 182).

The authors further develop the concept previously coined by Corsaro of "interpretative reproduction", that according to the authors is comprised of three types of collective actions: children's appropriation of information from the adults; children's production and participation in peer cultures; and children's contribution to adult cultures (Corsaro and Molinari, 2000: 198). Furthermore, the authors coined the term "priming events" as the collective activities in which children, by their participation, experience changes in their lives. Priming events are very important to the children's construction of temporal aspects of their lives, such as important life transitions.

¹⁸ The chapters of the book that described works that had a greater importance in ours, will be discussed below and in the following section.

¹⁹ On this topic, Thompson and Holland (2002) published a study, which concluded that young people's ability to learn and to trust, according to the young people, depended on the quality of their relationships to the adults and on the reciprocity and awareness of the power relations between adults and youngsters.

This concept, which will be important to this thesis, takes into account the fact that children's social representations arise through their collective, practical activities with others (Corsaro and Molinari, 2000: 194).

Alderson (2000) conducted a review of international literature focused on three main areas: stages of the research projects in which children were involved as actors, the levels of children participation, and the methodologies used to increase children's informed involvement in research. Regarding the first area, the author concluded that children were most involved in studies as researchers in everyday projects they did at school. The second most usual way of children involvement with research was in projects designed and conducted by adults but in which children were becoming increasingly more involved by helping to plan questions, collect, analyse and report evidences or publicising the findings. Lastly, the least common way for children to participate in research was in projects mainly initiated and conducted by them. The author surveyed the papers showing that children were very often concerned with the research from its beginning until the follow up stages of publicity and the use of research findings to change society, adding that their ability to disseminate research was memorable.

Then, Alderson created a scale for the level of children's involvement in the different stages of research. The lowest level of children involvement was the illusion of shared work (manipulation, decoration and tokenism). The other levels involved children's actual participation (from children being assigned tasks after being informed and consulted, to adults initiating but sharing decisions with children) and, finally, children's participation in projects initiated and directed by them. According to the author, children working as researchers successfully used the same methodologies and procedures as adult researchers. The author highlighted the option by young researchers of combining research with play, which helped teams to enjoy being and working together. The biggest problem for young researchers working with adults, concluded Alderson (2000), were the matters of power relations between the two, which could only be solved through the development of working methods together with young researchers, ones that could help resolve the problems of power, exploitation and coercion.

Regarding the limits of children participation, Kellett (Kellett *et al.*, 2004) conducted an investigation in the highest level of children's involvement in research, according to Alderson's (2000) scale of participation that is, the author described how she taught the children to conduct research themselves. The starting point of her analysis was that even participatory research is usually adult-led, designed and conceived, and it is very rare that children initiate and lead the research project themselves. In order to do so, she gave the children the tools to conduct a research project, to write it and disseminate it. According to the researcher, when children become aware of their knowledge, skills and insights, it also encourages them to be more active agents in their lives. At

a primary school, she created a Research Club attended by seven children aged between nine and ten years old. After learning how to do it, the children carried out their research, which was published in Mary Kellett's paper. This level of involvement of children in research is not without controversy. For example, for Almeida (2009), there are no doubts that children are social actors, but they should be considered the object, and not the subject of the research. She argued that the children produce knowledge about the daily activities in which they participate, but a child is not a producer of scientific knowledge. She added that, as mentioned before, there is always an unequal relationship between the researcher and the researched, to which the children, who are not, in her words, "miniature researchers", are not indifferent to (Almeida, 2009). The point made by Alderson (2000) and Kellett (2004) of increasing children's participation in research is interesting, however, I agree with Almeida's view as we feel that research conducted by children is necessarily different than the work done by adults and that children participation in research done with the adults should be encouraged and done in creative ways, but children researching and interpreting their results alone is not the same, as their work is not the same as social research.

Sinclair (2004), after reviewing the state of children's participation, concluded that for participation to become more than an isolated event, it had to become an embedded, intrinsic part of the relationship of adults with children. Graham and Fitzgerald (2010) published a work about the status of children's participation and how it should evolve from then on. Their departing argument was that there were many ambiguous and contested matters regarding children participation, namely, whether the promotion of children's participation, in theory, was matched by change in practice, if listening to children's voices necessarily lead to benefits for children and public, and, lastly, if private decision-making processes were shaped by children's participation. Graham and Fitzgerald (2010) named five themes identified by children as important for their participation in political and social life: the first is respect, the children wish to be respected and seen as different, individual people; secondly, participation must be genuine and focused on change; thirdly, children demand access to information, so that they can make informed decisions; fourthly, children establish an important difference between participating in a decision-making process and being responsible for a decision; lastly, children see participation as a mutual recognition, respect and interdependence for children and their views (Graham and Fitzgerald, 2010: 345-347). According to the authors, research with children should evolve through a dialogic approach, centred in participation, recognition and dialogue and through a promotion of participation based on relationships, as it should be oriented towards the children's individual agency and self-understanding as well as to the self-understanding of the adults involved.

Prout (2000a) focused on children participation in the UK and the tension between control and self-realisation (when people shape their lives through self-consciousness, creativity and agency, Prout,

2000a:307). The author argued that, despite the growth in the recognition of children as social actors, and, hence, capable of self-realisation, public policy and practice has increased the surveillance, control and regulation of children. According to the author, some of the governmental concerns with childhood are related to the future of the children as working adults, and not necessarily to the present of the children themselves, and that is expressed by a project of control, that should be accompanied by a concern for the children's current well being, participation and self-realisation. In an uncertain world, the temptation to control children as a means to, somehow, control the future, is still socially present (Prout, 2000a). The official interest in transforming the governmental structures into structures more effective for the children is scarce; the structures that already exist to represent children's voice to government are seldom used and when there is an introduction of changes in policies that have important impacts on children's lives (such as changes in the educational system), the children are not heard (Prout, 2000a: 309). At the same time as there was an increase in attempts to control the children; the individualisation of children was channelled to the private sphere of the family. Sarmiento (2011) also developed this topic explaining that, as mentioned before, the symbolic administration of childhood is paradoxical because, on the one hand, nowadays it reinforces children's autonomy but, on the other, it restricts their spacial and time choices.

Prout gave as example the fact that as there was a decrease in children's voice at schools, there was an increase of parents influence on school governance, that is, the family became the target of governmental intervention destined to children (Prout, 2000a: 310). Hence, in institutions, children are controlled and with their families they are allowed to exercise some degree of self-realisation. This tension between control and self-realisation results in an imbalance that is faced by children who, the author recommends, should be recognised in policy and practice and the institutions should engage in a more creative, flexible, engaged and responsive dialogue with the children (Prout, 2000a: 311-312).

Examples of academic studies with children as participants

In this section, we discuss some of the vast bibliography published on Childhood Studies characterised specifically by children's direct involvement in the process of research. We chose this set of papers and book chapters for the importance they had on this field of studies, but also as examples of different levels of children's involvement in research.

Several authors have developed studies with children, taking their opinions and actions into account (for example, Eckert, 2004). Prout (1998, 2000a, 2001 and 2002) supervised a broad and complex multidisciplinary research project called "Children 5-16: Growing up in the Twenty-first Century", commissioned by the Economic and Social Research Council, in the UK, that changed the state of

the art. In this programme, academics and child-related organisations were consulted, responding to policy and public debates, having as the central idea the thought of children as social actors. In autumn 1995, there was a call for projects that received nearly three hundred applications, out of which fifty-nine were shortlisted and, in May 1996, twenty-two projects were selected for funding. A network with these projects was created and lasted until 2001 (Prout, 1998 and 2002). The programme was multidisciplinary and intended to promote theoretical and methodological progress in the study of children. The research projects were divided into five themes: children and household change, shaping children's everyday activities, children's values and identity, children as participants in organisations and institutions, and children as users of and contributors to the physical and built environment (Prout, 1998).

A few years later, the author (Prout, 2001) summarised the results from the project in what regards children representation into five topics: children as research subjects, documenting children's standpoint, children as strategic actors, children's exclusion, and the construction of children's voices. The mass of material produced from the programme gave children a direct voice in their representation (Prout, 2001). Children were asked to tell the researchers about their lives in all these aspects, but, more than that, they gave constructive contributions to the design of the research projects and collaborated in the production of other kinds of data (Prout, 2001 and 2002). Including children's viewpoints, voice and perspectives in the research is important, as is to place them in the context of the contemporary society and of the local interactions in their everyday lives (Prout, 2001). Moreover, children's contributions to social life should be made more visible and to do so it is necessary to reconceptualise children's place in society, seeing them as active participants in it. The other side of this process involves understanding the social practices through which children's contributions are removed of their visibility and even made invisible (Prout, 2001). In this sense, the results from the programme showed that the children were well aware of their lack of voice and exclusion from decision-making processes (Prout, 2001). They expressed their desire to reverse this scenario and to participate and have a voice in such processes, particularly the ones that affected them directly (for example, school affairs or what goes on during a process of divorce).

One year later, Prout (2002) concluded that, on balance, the programme produced a mass of new and high quality research with theoretical implication, new methodologies, with policy and practical relevance. As a result, it brought new information on the structural context of childhood, documented from the children's perspective, that is, describing their actions, perspectives and experiences of their lives. The research was done not only recognising the children's perspective, but also seeing the children as social actors, and, hence, the children were the focus of the analysis, instead of the usual approach that considers family and schooling as the centre of research. The

consequence of this approach was that childhood became, in itself, an autonomous concept of analysis (Prout, 2002: 69). Besides, it documented childhood diversity (regarding local environment, gender, disability, ethnicity and class), while at the same time showing the commonalities between children. In this subject, the idea of "generational order" became important. It refers to, using the author's words: "the systematic pattern of social relationships between adults and children within which children are located and constituted as a social group" (Prout, 2002: 70). This allows children to be theorised through generational relationships compared to other dimensions of social theory, such as class, gender, disability and ethnicity, keeping in mind that generational ordering should not be seen as a fixed process, but rather as an active, open-ended and unfinished one (Prout, 2002: 70-71).

An important aspect in these projects was that, regardless the methodology used, the children were involved in the research design and implementation, hence creating innovative methodological approaches. The programme used quantitative and qualitative methods, such as multilevel and multivariate analysis of statistical data, questionnaires, literature review, analysis of data sets, surveys, individual and group interviews, observation and participant observations and participative methods (children's drawings and their discussion, the use of vignettes and scenarios, the use of photographs taken by the children and the promotion of walks around the neighbourhoods guided by the children). In many of these studies, the children were involved in the design of the methods and the conduction of the research (Prout, 2002: 72).

One very important aspect of a work such as "Children 5-16" is that it should be known beyond the academic world. That concern was addressed in this programme, by disseminating information at all stages, in a variety of ways. All projects had advisory committees, a web page for the programme was created, and printed information about the project was distributed to five thousand organisations and individuals. There was a public launch meeting, a mid-Programme conference and a two-day conference after the programme ended. Moreover, a leaflet with a briefing about each project was sent to more than two thousand and five hundred organisations and individuals. The work of the programme was documented in a book series entitled "The Future of Childhood" (Prout, 2002: 73). Lastly, another goal of the project was to influence policy making, and in some cases, it did, but, as mentioned by Prout, the impact of research in policy making is usually indirect and it is not immediate (Prout, 2002: 74).

In one of the chapters of the book coordinated by Christensen and James, O'Kane (2000) presented a chronology of the use of participatory techniques, and identified five methods and approaches

that influenced greatly this idea: Paulo Freire's active participatory research, agro-system analysis, applied anthropology, field research on farming systems, and, finally, rapid rural appraisal.²⁰

The author provided also the description of a study on decision-making she conducted with children. The study investigated how children under the protection of local authorities were allowed to participate in decisions that affect them directly, regarding their care. The study was divided into three stages: in the first, 225 children (aged between 8-12 years old) were surveyed; in the second, 45 children were studied in greater detail, with interviews, group discussions and participatory techniques; in the third, still under development at the time of writing of the chapter, the author worked on the development of guidance and training resources that could change the common praxis in these institutions, facilitating the inclusion of children in the decision-making processes.

The author defended the use of participant techniques to be particularly interesting when researching with children, especially when it came to visually represent their ideas, as opposed to simply answering questions, which leads the children in a quest for answers that they assume the adults think are better or correct. Participatory activities allowed children to participate in research, using their own abilities and capabilities. In this work, O'Kane (2000: 151) highlighted the importance of the researchers to engage with the children in a relationship of respect and openness, and that the choice of a private space to conduct the interview, with the least interferences possible is important. In conclusion, the author defended that participatory methodologies used in research with children allow for children to direct the content of the discussion and to explain their view of reality; in other words, it allows the children to take control over the agenda of issues revolving around their lives (O'Kane, 2000: 154).

Christensen and James (2000b) studied the common aspects identified by children regarding the experience of being 10 years old. The research was conducted both in a rural and an urban area in the North of England, exploring how age was a useful concept for classifying and categorising children and, moreover, to see how the experience of being the same age varied not only across cultures, but also within them. In the study, the authors researched the similarities in the every day lives of ten-year old children, and compared them according to the children's origin (i.e. whether they came from a rural or an urban area). The children were given a paper sheet with a circle drawn in it and the title "my week", in which they were asked to depict a normal, average or usual week during school time, and to describe how much time they spent doing different things. The children completed the sheets in different ways (with geometrical divisions, drawings, with lists of activities, to name a few examples). The researcher had an audio recorder capturing the process of performing the task, when it was not done at home, and then the discussion of the contents of the exercise was

²⁰ In rural development work, participatory methodologies have been used for years and have become common, under the term "Participatory Rural Appraisal" (PRA). PRA techniques have been used in many different kinds of studies, all of them sharing the common assumption that both researchers and researched are active elements in the collection of data, therefore questioning the issues of power present in any research.

also recorded. The results showed one thing the children shared: being schooled children. Their educational history appeared in the way they established a connection to the task, with many of them assuming it was a pie chart, which they had learnt in mathematics and geography. However, the way they chose to carry out the task revealed the hidden curriculum of the schooling process.

Moreover, the results revealed the children's competence in skills they shared with people their age, such as drawing, doodling and copying. During the performance of a task, the researchers noticed a gender difference, with the girls being more insecure than the boys, asking for the reassurance that they were doing it right. The children constantly compared the similarities and differences between their work and the others' (Christensen and James, 2000b: 166-172). In this paper, the analysis of the contents of the charts revealed how children understand time and their social experience of its use and that the children were competent interpreters of their work (Christensen and James, 2000b: 172-175). In conclusion, this work revealed the use of a simple technique that, when combined with a contextualisation of the children's social experiences and competences as social actors, provided an example of how to understand better the commonalities and diversities of childhood. When creating global models of childhood according to the age of the individuals, the diversity among the children and the impact that local social and environmental contexts have in their lives and experiences cannot be reduced to the similarities between them (Christensen and James, 2000b: 176).

Also regarding methodological choices, Mikkelsen and Christensen's work (2009) provided an example of an innovative use of technology in triangulation of data from ethnography. The researchers studied patterns of children's mobility in a rural and a suburban area in Denmark and, to do so, they resorted to participant observation, formal and informal interviews with children and their teachers; the field researcher visited the children's families and the children. The researcher also went on guided tours on foot or by bicycle during which the children were again interviewed. Moreover, technology was also used to generate data. The use of GPS (global positioning system) was combined with a rolling mobile phone survey. These mobile phone questionnaires were done over text message five times a day, daily for one week. It consisted of five questions of short answer regarding the children's activities at that moment, their location, and their movement to get there and whether they had travelled alone or not. The GPS device was small and was carried by the children for a week and both tools generated a set of qualitative data that added to the ethnographic data.

Pia Christensen (1999, 2000) used an ethnographic study of childhood illness conducted with 6-13-year-old Danish children to study how the perspectives of the children about their accidents and illnesses were different from the adult constructions. According to Christensen, the children saw

their bodies as incarnate, unbounded, that is, the children experienced the body as permeable, fluid. When children were sick, the adults often translated their perspective of an incarnate body to a somatic body²¹, thus creating a boundary between the child, his or her body, and the world, fragmenting and classifying his or her body parts. For the children, the dichotomy body-mind made no sense: the children described themselves as being inseparable from their bodies. For 6-7-year-olds, being ill could be described as another state of being or through a symptom, such as cough, rather than describing the bodily functions affected. One important concern for the children in such moments was the interruption that a recovery process and the restrictions then imposed by their parents caused in their connections with the social and material world, not with their organs or body parts that caused them pain or discomfort. Christensen summarised it saying that children “spoke from the perspective of the body incarnate, the body as experience, in action, involved with the environment as well as in interactions with others” (Christensen, 2000:47). In their perspective of the incarnate body, naming body parts is part of the process of learning the somatic body and for younger children it can be difficult to understand such body image. Specifically for children in pain, in their perspective of the incarnate and unbounded body, the body part that is hurting is not the most relevant thing, the experience of the pain itself is what is more important. Christensen referred how older children (10-12-year-olds) begin to create links between the incarnate and the somatic body perspectives, combining their understanding of their bodily experiences with their knowledge about the different parts of the body and their functions. In this work, Christensen (1999) coined the term “body as project”, to describe how children explore themselves, the others and the world around through their bodies and their interactions with the social and material world of their daily life. In Pia Christensen’s words, the body as project “is about children’s engagement with creating understandings of the body and its capacities. It covers the different ways in which children investigate, test and create control over their body through interactions with the surrounding world in their everyday life” (Christensen, 1999:45). The children’s construction of their body as project should, Christensen argued, be recognised, allowing for a theoretical understanding of the body as a phenomenological experience.²² Alan Prout (2005) added to this idea describing a child as a “being in becoming” (2005: 144). Prout described how the world is made up of assemblages of heterogeneous materials and childhood should also be seen as hybrid between nature and culture:

“Childhood should be seen as neither “natural” nor “cultural” but a multiplicity of “nature-cultures”, that is a variety of complex hybrids constituted from heterogeneous materials and emergent through time. It is cultural, biological, social, individual, historical, technological, spatial, material, discursive... and more. Childhood is not seen

²¹ The designation of the somatic body refers to the child as an entity, a unity, but it does so through the separation, distinction, of the body in its parts, be it organs, systems or limbs (Christensen, 2000).

²² In a relatable argument, Colls and Hörschelmann (2010), from a phenomenological perspective, with the input from the feminist work, argue that, because individuals constantly negotiate body changes throughout their life-course, the body is unfinished, it is always “becoming”.

as a unitary phenomenon but a simple set of constructions emergent from the connection and disconnection, fusion and separation of these heterogeneous materials” (2005: 144).

Places for children

The difference between “places for children” and “children’s places” will be explained in the section below, where we also address what it takes for a city to be considered child friendly, some of the problems children face in urban mobility and describe some research that has been done about children’s perspectives about urban structures for them and their use of a place.

In 1996, UNICEF launched the Child Friendly Cities Initiative to increase the well being of the children in the cities, taking forward the children rights agenda in the developing and the industrialised worlds. According to the initiative, a child-friendly city should guarantee the children’s rights to: influence decisions about the city; express their opinion about their desired city; participate in their familiar, community and social life; receive health care, education and shelter; have access to sanitation and safe water; be protected from violence, abuse and exploitation; live in a safe environment where they can walk on their own; meet and play with friends; have green areas; live in an unpolluted environment; participate in social and cultural events; have access to every service of the city regardless of ethnic origin, religion, income, gender or disability. To become a child-friendly city, the cities had to follow nine steps: guarantee children’s participation; have a child friendly legal framework; develop a children’s rights strategy through the city; create a children’s rights unit; ensure a child-led evaluation process; have a children’s budget; guarantee a regular report about the state of the city’s children; disseminate children’s rights among adults and children; support independent advocacy for children (UNICEF, 2009).

Regarding academic work done on this topic, Zeiher (2003) referred how places created for children are usually scattered around a city, like islands in a map, leading to a process that Prout (2000a) had previously referred to as an “insularisation” of children’s life spaces²³. Valentine (2010) explained that children have been excluded from the public space because they are separated from adults in space and time, as they are usually not allowed in certain places at certain hours. Zeiher added that the familiarisation and privatisation of children led to a partial exclusion of children from the public space and to the creation of places of children or for children, islands where they are subject to adult supervision in a greater or smaller degree. Prout (2000a: 310-311), as we discussed before, referred that this institutionalisation of childhood forces the children to negotiate their freedom with

²³ The presence of children and young people living in the streets of urban areas has been researched since the 80s. Matias and Francischini (2010), for example, studied this reality in Brazil and concluded that until the middle of the 90s, it was thought that the homeless children and youngsters living in the streets were outside of a life pattern and normal developmental conditions, supposedly due to the familiar disintegration assumed to be common among lower classes. More recently, researchers have agreed that there had been conceptual and methodological problems with the previous research leading to a homogenisation and exaggeration of the reality. As a result of this, a new attempt has been made more recently to study the matter taking into account its complexity and giving a chance for the intervenients to express their own views (Matias and Francischini, 2010).

their parents, who in turn are divided between the desire to protect the children from eventual danger, and the intention to increase their children's informal cultural and social capital.

Christensen (2003) studied the way children and young people explore, experience and construct a sense of place and how they understand and use time (which we will discuss in the following section). The data for this study was produced in the framework of ethnographic studies conducted by the author. Christensen showed that children build their identity through their experiences, memories and use of the spaces they are in, through an emplaced and spatial knowledge. Emplaced knowledge is acquired socially and it is personal, local and it is situated in time as it changes through the inhabiting and experiencing of a place. Spatial knowledge is abstract, formal and general, and often considered by the adults as being more important than emplaced knowledge. Part of the work in this study came from a fieldwork in a village in a rural area in England, where a group of children showed, presented and described the village to the researcher. In their guided tour, the children demonstrated their emplaced detailed knowledge of the village built from their experience of it and their mobility in and around the village. The knowledge produced was personal and also collective, done in their group of friends through collective activity. The second part of the work was based on an ethnography conducted in an urban district of Copenhagen to study children's independent mobility. There, children's independent mobility generally began at a later age and was more supervised by the parents than in the first setting. The parents and teachers wanted to provide to the children a formal, spatial knowledge, and for the children it was difficult to integrate it into their emplaced knowledge of space. In one example provided by the author, in the English village, the teachers taught the children how to use a telephone directory and they were additionally expected to learn about their village and region using the book. The children considered that to be a boring task as it had no connection to their emplaced knowledge of the village and was based on uncreative, reproduction tasks. In Denmark, the teachers approached the same goal from a different perspective, from the idea that the children could learn about local geography experimenting it with their bodies, physically exploring the area and answering a questionnaire about it. They got a chance to use their emplaced knowledge of the neighbourhood and the activity became a fun game for them. There, the children engaged in a complex exchange with their parents, teachers and colleagues, integrating spatial and emplaced knowledge, in a constant sharing process. According to the author, it is important to understand how the children see a city in order to understand how to improve it.

One year later, Kim Rasmussen (2004), based on two studies he conducted with children in Denmark (one using photographs taken by the children about places meaningful for them and in the other doing walking interviews with children around neighbourhoods), established the difference between "places for children" and "children's places". Places for children are places designed and

created by adults for the children, whereas children's places are places that the children consider meaningful to them. Adults often perceive the latter in a different way than the children do, they can be considered informal places, unnoticed by adults. Sometimes, the children also consider places for children as children's places, but that is often not the case. This work underlined the importance of including children in the planning and designing of places for children, so that they can also be considered as children's places. The author (Rasmussen, 2004) also discussed the importance of the children's physical exploration, experience and sensation of a place, for it to be encoded with meaning and emotion, to get to know the place and, only then, can a place become a children's place. This process of a place becoming a children's place may not last for a long time, sometimes the relationship established by the children with the place can be brief, or it can last for years (Rasmussen, 2004).

Through the description of a series of episodes, Christensen and Mikkelsen (2011) showed that it was very important for girls to create a place of their own and that together they followed their interests, social relationships and well-being. Together, the girls actively searched and created places of their own, and two of the girls in the fieldwork, in particular, created private moments together, searching their shared interests, and also breaking some rules that were imposed on them by the adults. The authors concluded that the success of the girls' actions depended on the sustainability of the places that were produced by them and of the alliances and connections they created.

About time

In this last section of this subchapter about Childhood Studies, we address how temporal constraints are embodied by children, but also subverted by them through what has been called "time-shifting" strategies.

As referred above, Foucault (1975: 175-183) described how one of the ways of controlling activity is by the use of time, defining and controlling children's timetables and schedules. This an old heritage from monasteries that has been adjusted and still exists today, as does what he called the "temporal elaboration of the act", that is, the establishment of a collective and mandatory rhythm of work. Relating to Foucault's ideas, Christensen, James and Jenks (2001), based in ethnographic data, studied how children, while growing up, learn the value of time, in a process of embodiment of temporal constraints, already present at a primary school level. The research proved how the body plays a central role in the process of learning. The researchers concluded it was done in two interconnected ways: children are defined through their bodies, that are expected to develop socially, physically, emotionally, and morally according to predefined standards based on age. Secondly, it is through the temporal disciplining of the body, which children experience everyday in the classroom,

imposed by themselves or by others. Time becomes an exchange coin between discipline and liberation, and the “battlefield” is the child’s body (Christensen, James and Jenks, 2001: 203).

At the same time, Christensen, James and Jenks (2001) describe how, even inside the classroom and performing tasks designated by the teachers, children managed their own time through the adoption of posture techniques mimicking quietly sitting and reading. Hence, the children demonstrated the possession of an ironic body knowledge that allowed them to gain freedom from the teacher’s supervision, as the teachers judged only the children who did not manage to convincingly engage in this body performance as being immature, while the others escaped (Christensen, James and Jenks, 2001: 214-216²⁴). In fact, to leave the classroom to playtime, the first children to leave were the ones with an organised exterior appearance, and as soon as the bell rang, the children assumed that posture to be the first to leave the classroom (2001: 216). Christensen and James (2001) called “time-shifting” to the different strategies described by the children to control time: they knew they could control their experience of the passage of time, for example, by changing their attitudes about what they were doing (for example, that if they enjoyed their work it went by more quickly), or they could reduce teachers’ apparent control over the children’s time use when the children chose to stretch out time or to spend it with other activities (albeit at a micro level, for example, by not sitting facing the clock because like that they would experience time going by slowly; 2001: 83-84).

Dixon (2011) also published an interesting view on this matter. According to her, where there is power there is also resistance, and the construction of a schooled subject involves outwards manifestations of resistance. The author also gave examples of the strategies she noticed the children using to make time go by faster. One example was the fact that children created a space of coexistence of real and imagined ideal realities, where the children’s identities were reconfigured. This was a transgression because in this ideal space the children were no longer schooled subjects; they gained in their imagination an alternative identity of their own choosing (Dixon, 2011). Additionally, Dixon described how the children performed certain tasks looking “purposeful”, but taking a much longer than they needed to finish it. Hence, the authors showed that the children’s body is the main medium through which cultural practices, such as the use of time, are experienced (Christensen, James and Jenks, 2001: 217). Some teachers use time as a punishment of the children, namely by restricting their amount of free time by a number of minutes proportional to the punishment.

Christensen and James (2001) further studied the concept of time and its relationship with children, but now focused on the children’s perspective of the passage of time at school, their idea of school being boring and its implication for learning. The analysis was based on ethnographic data

²⁴ Read also James (2000) and Simpson (2000). Regarding children managing their bodies at school, Prendergast (2000) reflected on how the body is changed and changes the female identity when she described that, when girls reached menarche, they managed menstruation without calling attention to themselves, being “constantly and completely mindful” (2000: 117). Fingerson (2009), as mentioned in the subchapter “Children at School”, has also argued that children use their bodies to resist authority.

generated from the question of what are the schools for. For both teachers and children, the ability to control time was of adamant importance and the different power they had over time influenced their experience at school. The authors described schooling as something that takes place in time (referring to children's developing skills and competences) and over time (in a routine rhythm of learning throughout the day; 2001: 71). According to the authors, the results showed that teachers and children not always agreed on the educational project they were engaged in and the authors recommended the consultation of both perspectives in relation to the education project to get a better understanding of what schools are for (2001: 72).

The teachers' view was that primary school education was for the children's future, but at the same time admitted that every day they had to teach them in an environment that was becoming more and more restrictive and regulated. They also worried about how to best make use of the time and space at their disposal to maximise the ability of all children to meet the targets of the National Curriculum, and in that process the broader aim of providing an education for who the children are and who they will become was often overrode (2001: 73-74). For example, many schools stopped having extra-curricular activities because the teachers did not have enough time for those, while others compressed them into play-time, lunch-time or after school and even so after-school activities became increasingly difficult to sustain because of the pressure set upon the teachers to prepare the children for tests and exams, leading ultimately to a deterioration of the adult-child relationship at school and to the reinforcement of the adults' authority over the children (2001: 74-75).

For the children, the tension between school being for the future or for the broad education of the subjects was also present. For them, school was seen as a preparation towards the adult work world and subjects such as English and Maths were seen as more useful than arts and technology, which were, however, considered more enjoyable and valuable (2001: 76). According to the authors, the children gave more value to the idea of schooling as a life project and less to the experience of school time per se. As a consequence, many children expressed their negative perception of time at school, saying they did not like it and that it was boring (2001: 81).

The children recognised that different spaces of the school had different rules, demands and freedoms associated and, through their experience of a school with such characteristics, the children learnt the way temporal orders vary and understand how the power relations between them and the adults change according to different temporal structures (the same conclusion was reached by Bruss-Simão, 2012, in his fieldwork). Children saw school as only one activity, whereas time spent outside of school was described as many different activities. The authors argue that this change was due to the degree of power over time used owned by the children and to their recognition that at school they have little control over the use of time (2001: 79). The authors remarked how interestingly

similar this position was to the teachers' sense of having to follow a very regulated and invasive organisation of time due to the National Curriculum.

Christensen's (2002) research on the way children perceived and used time was a part of the Children 5-16 Research Programme. The departure point for this work was the ongoing discussion between familiar needs for "quality time" to be spent together, opposed to "quantity time", or simply "more time". The author argued that this discussion usually does not take into account the children's perspectives on the subject, despite being a matter that affects them directly. The work revealed five "qualities of time" that the children identified²⁵ and that, for them, the notion of "quality time" has a broad meaning and the time they spent with their family could not be separate from the time spent at school, with friends or alone. The paper highlighted the importance of understanding the use of time from the perspective of different actors, when questioning the idea of "quality time". The children's understanding of time is complex and dependent on content and context, attempts to simply create "more time" or "quality time" are not enough. Finally, having a say over their own time and how it was managed proved to be of great importance for the children.

Conclusions from subchapter

For a long time children have been an absent presence in society as they have a partially legitimate exclusion, as many rights are denied to them. Childhood Studies is a field of research that originated in opposition to this exclusion, claiming children as social actors, active and creative, who should be heard in the matters that concern them. Such participation rights have been granted to the children, for example, in the 12th article from the Children's Rights Convention from 1989.

In this subchapter, we described how many authors have discussed how children participation should be considered in academic studies, particularly on the theoretical considerations and practical particularities that such work entails. One important aspect that many authors refer and that was particularly relevant to the development of our study was that the adults should be aware of the structural inequality between the adult researchers and the children, but at the same time to be aware that the power relations among them should be constantly problematised and questioned and, additionally, that these power relations should not be seen as fixed, but instead should be considered in a larger perspective of an ever-changing, fluid and shifting network of relationships.

Having children as co-participants, as subjects and not objects of study, means that the methods used must be appropriate for them (but they do not necessarily have to be different than the ones used when studying adults), the children have to be considered as reliable informants, who must, before anything, accept the adult researchers. In this subchapter, we also discussed different studies

²⁵ The five "qualities of time" identified by the children were: family time as routine; family time as having someone there for them; being able to have a say over their time; having piece and quiet; being able to plan their own time.

that focus on how the researcher should enter the field and collect data. They were an important reference to the establishment of our methodological approach.

Ever since Childhood Studies emerged, one could expect children participation to have changed and several authors discussed if the promotion of children's participation was matched by a change in practice, or if it happens only in isolated events. We addressed the tension between, on the one hand, participation and agency, and on the other hand institutional control, regulation and surveillance. Whilst children participation is a granted right, the structures to represent them are rarely used and children are still not heard when there are changes in the public policies that have an important impact in their lives.

We provided some examples of academic studies in which children participated at different levels and studies that were particularly relevant to the field, such as the vast and multidisciplinary project "Children 5-16: Growing Up in the Twenty-first Century". Then, we particularly focused on two topics that will be very relevant to this thesis: how children build a sense of place and how they react to having their time controlled.

Children's days in a city are generally spent with their families or in private spaces, which leads children to spending their days in different islands scattered around a city, with more or less freedom, and to their partial exclusion from the public sphere. However, children react creating spaces of their own, "children's spaces" (sometimes without the adults knowledge or going against their rules), different from the "places for children" created by the adults for the children. One of the activities developed with the children in this thesis was the collective transformation of the ruins of an abandoned building into, we argue, a "children's place", as we shall discuss through the pages of this dissertation.

Then we discussed how at school children's time is controlled and supervised but, through what has been called "time-shifting" strategies, children exercise some degree of control of the passage of time and resist adult surveillance. One such strategy that has been described by several authors is through the adoption of a body posture mimicking a "purposeful" gesture, like quietly sitting, reading or performing a given task, but taking a much longer time than needed to do it.

Finally, Childhood Studies, through their critique of the process of socialisation, have often neglected how the children are involved in and their relationship to their learning process. An illustration of this is the fact that in the most read and widely distributed handbooks in Childhood Studies written in English on the subject, there rarely are any studies on learning or studies conducted inside the classrooms. Another important topic of discussion in this thesis was what the impact on the children would be if they were given participation rights also inside the classroom, in a development of projects chosen by them.

Our study was conducted with primary school children inside their classroom and in their neighbourhood, and we accompanied and described a project that promoted learning through the arts, especially dance and movement. The relationship between learning and movement will be addressed in the following subchapter.

Learning and movement

From the 19th Century until nowadays, there have been different approaches to the connection between movement and learning. In order to understand better these different takes on the subject, we shall provide a brief survey of the scholarly trends, focusing particularly on works published in recent years, presented in chronological order.

The idea that learning can be achieved through movement is not new. The historical dance and movement theorist Rudolf Laban (1879-1958) referred to the fact that modern dance integrated intellectual knowledge with creative ability and was beneficial for the development of the children's personality (1975: 12-13). Lisa Ullmann, Rudolf Laban's partner, stated that the main goal of dance in education was to help people find a bodily relation through dancing and that it had the advantage of having the attention focused on the action itself, not on its outcome, as it would in sport or in classroom work (1975: 108-109). Marion North, the former head of the Laban Centre for Movement and Dance (nowadays the Trinity Laban Conservatoire of Music and Dance in London, UK) wrote, in the book "Movement and dance education" (1990: 49-50), that, regarding the question of whether movement helped the maladjusted or the handicapped child, the arts did, indeed, help in such cases but that they should not be reduced only to them. North claimed that all children need movement, as it helps them develop a sense of self, and to connect with themselves through the primary experiences it provokes. How this might happen in more detail, and what those primary experiences were, she did not detail unfortunately. Five years later, Leese and Packer (1980:3) stated that children with verbal expression difficulties could benefit from dance, as dance is a means that uses non-verbal communication. Hence, not including it in the curriculum would deprive the children from that experience. In 1987, Joan Russell recognised the importance of dance in education for the social values it could teach children, bringing them together (1987: 88). In 1987, James H. Humphrey, professor of physical education and prolific writer, published "Child development and learning through dance", in which he explained his concept of cognitive dance (1987: 55-67). Cognitive dance uses dance as a medium to learn other curricular contents, through the selection of a dance activity that embodies a specific skill or concept, which is developed through dance. According to the author, the fact that physical activity can be pleasurable, should lead the children to "learn better" (1987: 57). The author stated that the activities of cognitive dance could be divided into two types (1987: 57-61). In the first, children enact a specific concept, which should

make them able to visualise it better. The second type of activities is aimed at developing certain skills, which are used in “highly interesting and stimulating situations” (1987: 60). The author defended learning through cognitive dance should be done during the time given to the specific curricular area being developed. Because children between the ages of six and eight years old usually have a short attention span and difficulty to think in abstract terms, cognitive dance could be particularly suited to them, argued Humphrey. He continued, stating that problem solving is a pleasurable and efficient way of learning, and that a well-structured cognitive dance lesson could offer the ideal teaching-learning situation, for it relied greatly on problem solving.

Furthermore, the author mentioned that having the children seated for long periods of time goes against their basal metabolism (the rate at which the energy is produced and consumed in the body), and that was one of the reasons why, according to the author, primary-school children have a higher attention span during physical activities. Another benefit of learning through cognitive dance pointed out by the author was the fact that, because children felt what they were doing, the knowledge of results was instantaneous; moreover, because children are movement oriented, it made sense to use proprioceptive feedback (the neurological mechanism that regulates movement) to understanding skills and concepts. The author argued how children could learn about reading and mathematics through dance activities. Regarding reading, dance could help children learn word meaning by enacting word opposites (ideas such as tall-small, near-far, etc.). The author suggested the use of a technique he developed, called AMAV technique (auditory-movement auditory-visual technique, 1987: 168-175). Following his technique, children first listened to a story, and then danced the story, demonstrating their understanding and, finally, read along the story with the teacher and the other students. As far as the learning of mathematics was concerned, the author suggested the use of the same AMAV technique, this time with a story involving the concept of number (1987: 180-187). Lastly, the author referred that dance can improve qualities such as body awareness, laterality, directionality, and auditory, visual, kinaesthetic and tactile perception skills (1987: 190-205).

A few years later, Jay (1991) published a research that studied the effect of a dance programme on the creativity of handicapped pre-schoolers. Twelve children between the ages of three and five years old participated in the dance programme of thirty-minute sessions three days a week, over twelve-weeks; five children joined an adapted physical education program over the same time. At the beginning and the end of the study, the researcher conducted a test with the children to evaluate the impact of each programme. It showed a significant increase in the imagination of the children attending the dance programme, but showed no significant difference in the fluency or originality of the children. The dance classes used Rudolf Laban’s methodology and the control group did task-oriented game activities with gymnastics apparatuses such as balls, hoops and ropes. A trained

adapted physical education teacher taught the classes. According to the authors, the outcome of this research might have been influenced by the small size of the sample, by the fact that the children had different ages and types of disability (albeit being within the group of speech and language delays).

In 1994, McFee wrote (McFee, 1994: 41-42) that, because the arts enhanced our understanding of life issues and of our emotional education through a mechanism of conceptual change, their educational relevance was crucial. In 1995, Mollie Davies wrote "Helping children to learn through a movement perspective". According to the author (Davies, 1995: 49-72), movement is important in cognitive development, but there was a lack of academic research on the subject. She quoted a document from 1987 by the National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC) of the USA, which claimed physical activity to be vital for children's cognitive growth, as physical actions help children understand abstract concepts. To overcome this shortage of information, she decided to do a research project investigating if the Piagetian stages of cognitive development could be identified through movement. Children of 5, 7 and 11 years old were tested and they could classify (that is, see similarities), seriate (order differences) and compose in movement, three aspects that the author intended to reflect the stages mentioned by Piaget. The findings revealed that the children in the study not only reached those stages, but also did so earlier than children who took only the traditional test based on shape, size and colour.

The research project involved children creating a series of movements based on three possible actions (climbing, balancing and jumping) using apparatuses (a bench to balance and jump and a climbing frame). Children created their movement phrase and then were asked to repeat it, and then, without moving or looking at the apparatuses, had to describe it orally, to dissect it (that is, to comment on the separate parts of their activity) and to reverse it. The children were evaluated for their ability to analyse parts of the movement phrase in relation to others, to know what movements came before and after the others, to explain the beginning and the end of their process. The author found between the three age groups there were significant differences and that there were no gender differences. After the movement exercises, the children were asked to make a drawing of their experience, which was then analysed by the researcher. The results showed a direct link between the detail and complexity of the movement, the detail in the verbal description of the activity and the ability to illustrate the activity. Inside each age group, the children who had greater detail and complexity in their movement phrases also provided a more detailed verbal and pictorial description. The author did not mention the number of children involved in the research project, nor the details of the evaluation. There was also no mention of how the statistical analysis was done and no mention of differences among children inside each age group.

The author concluded the book with examples from the observation of a three-year old boy at a play area among other children, of a three-year-old girl in a department store, of two children who were waiting for their parents in a supermarket, of a group of four boys jumping off a plank. The author described how she observed situations in which the children learnt concepts through movement and play (such as directions and levels – up and down, above and below, high and low; distance and size – near and far, big and little).

Allison (1997) created a project in which urban students created a dance project based on multidisciplinary contents (from dance, drama, art, music and texts), establishing connections across them, expressing the connections also made between movement and thought, and, finally, gaining expertise in different topics. This was done with fourth and fifth-grade students in an inner-city school of a large metropolitan area in the USA. Allison concluded (1997: 336-337) that the use of multidisciplinary contents (or “multitext inquiry”, as the author put it), could be useful for each student, because each of them could start working from their own strengths, and then develop new ones. According to the author, this kind of approach could also allow for different interpretations, and children could have different entry and transition points. It was concept driven, and, while depending on children’s own work, it allowed them to develop expertise in their explorations. The author²⁶ concluded that this approach taught the students a wide range of academic and social skills, and that the arts were an ideal means to expand children’s education.

Caf and colleagues (1997) studied the effect of creative movement and dance on hypoactive children in primary school. Hypoactive children have low muscular tonus and most of them have verbal and motor difficulties. The research studied if movement sessions helped the children in their creativity, body image and behaviour in the classroom. Sixteen children were selected, eight were assigned to the control group and the other eight to the experimental group, that had one hour of dance sessions per week, over four months. The data was generated from a questionnaire (administered in the beginning and the end of the experiment), diary notes and observation. Despite the small sample, the results showed a positive effect of the dance activities on creativity, body image, motoric, speech and communication skills of the children and there was a transfer of these benefits to the children’s classroom behaviour (Caf *et al.*, 1997).

Rossberg-Gempton, Dickinson and Poole (1999) studied the impact of creative dance in the social skills and creativity of seniors and young children. The study took place in rural Canada with thirty-minute session twice a week, over twelve weeks. There were groups, of seniors (between the ages of sixty one and one hundred and three years old) and children aged eight years old between seven and eight years old. Some children had special needs and the sample was representative of the society in

²⁶ Allison, 1997: 344.

terms of socioeconomic level and ethnicity. The seniors had varying degrees of movement autonomy from walking independently to being in a wheelchair or needing extended care. The sessions were videotaped and the data from the first, fourth, eighth and twelfth weeks was coded to measure social interactions. The researchers kept a diary they recurred to and a questionnaire was applied to the participants and staff during the sixth week of the project. The classes consisted of a ten-minute warm up, fifteen minutes of creative dance exploration and five minutes of relaxation exercises. The classes were inspired by the techniques of Rudolf Laban and Anne Green Gilbert. Creative dance proved to positively affect social skills, all participants demonstrated cooperation, communication and sense of belonging; the children showed awareness of others. Listening and responding to music enhanced the participants' self-expression and creativity. Lastly, dance promoted synchrony, and opportunity to integrate, regulate and inspire movement through rhythm; it revitalised and stimulated people to move and created group cohesion. According to the authors, after the study ended, the impact of the changes it created was unknown, but during the project the researchers witnessed the creation of informal networks of support, leading to a positive tolerance of cognitively and/or physically challenged elderly people, in the end, the quality of life of all the participants was enriched.

Contrary to the view that has been discussed thus far that dance and movement can have a positive effect in learning, in 2000, Keinänen and colleagues (Keinänen *et al.*, 2000) analysed several studies and found that dance had no significant influence on the children learning how to read, but it had a positive impact on nonverbal reasoning and improved visual-spatial skills. Keinänen and colleagues stated that dance engaged students in many ways, such as nonverbal spatial and musical intelligence, verbal vocabulary, evaluation of a dance sequence and, as dancers became more aware of themselves, dance might help gain more energy for their academic work. From this perspective, they decided to study whether there was evidence of learning dance leading to cognitive outcomes in other areas besides the learning of dance itself (2000: 295). The authors did a literature survey on studies relating dance to cognitive outcomes. They analysed three thousand, seven hundred and fourteen studies, and decided to include only the experimental studies that examined cognitive outcomes, with a quantified outcome and control groups. This let the researchers with only four studies on the effect of dance on reading, and three on the effect of dance on nonverbal reasoning. As far as reading was concerned, the statistical analysis of the four studies combined showed that dance instruction had no significant influence on teaching how to read, but the authors admitted the conclusions were very limited by the small sample size. The authors defended also that a lack of effect did not mean the dance curriculum did not improve reading, rather, it meant it did not improve it anymore than the traditional reading curriculum did (2000: 300). As far as nonverbal reasoning was concerned, the three studies analysed studied the impact of dance instruction on

“nonverbal, performance IQ scales and on nonverbal paper and pencil spatial reasoning tests” (2000: 301). Dance curriculum did lead to improved visual-spatial skills, but, again, the sample size was very small and, hence, the results could have alternative explanations. I criticise several aspects of this study. Firstly, I feel that it is questionable if we can accurately evaluate quantitatively the manifold effects that dance can have on children. The choice of including only studies with a quantified outcome lead to, in the end, doing each analysis with a very small sample, which, as the researchers also commented, could have influenced the results. But mainly, I think that the choice to performing a statistical analysis of the results of different works, that were probably conducted under very different conditions, by different researchers, with different methodologies is much more unfortunate than if the researchers would have conducted the studies themselves, measuring and quantifying the effects, with a control group and a sample size of their own choosing.

Catterall (2002) wrote that one of the most required instructional goals is the learning of skills, attitudes and work habits, which can, through a process called transfer (where learning in one context helps learning in another), become enduring traits in a person (Catterall, 2002: 151). The author suggested that learning in the arts can build up capabilities and motivations that will be used in non-artistic learning, and did a literature review of works connecting artistic learning (visual arts, music, classroom drama, dance and multi-arts programs) to the cognitive capacities and motivation to learn. The conclusion reached was that all the projects referred to in the paper showed evidence that the arts have various effects beyond the initial conditions of learning (Catterall, 2002: 152). The author mentioned that another important aspect to learning is motivation, and the arts can help increase motivation for learning. Learning through the arts can increase awareness, judgement, facility, sensibilities, connoisseurship, and other attributes, all of which can affect the way children relate to other disciplines (Catterall, 2002: 154).

Furthermore, the arts attract children who did not have much success in the traditional approach of school to contents. Drama in particular, the author argued, can help the children understand the characters, their motivation, while at the same time increasing peer-to-peer interaction, improving conflict-resolution skills, besides story understanding and writing (Catterall, 2002: 155). In addition, some studies showed that music study could increase spatial reasoning, especially in disciplines such as mathematics, which have an inherent spatial character (for example, in the study of fractions or proportions; Catterall, 2002: 156).

Lobo and Winsler (2006) provided yet another account of the importance of dance and movement for children. The authors studied the consequences of an eight-week program in creative dance and movement on the social competence of forty preschool children, in the USA. In order to create a rigorous design to evaluate the results quantitatively, the authors randomly assigned the children to a control group and a group that participated in the experimental dance program. The teachers and

the children's parents, who were blind to the children's group membership, did the evaluation. The results showed that the children's gains in internalising and externalising behaviour problems and in terms of their social competence were significantly greater in the experimental group than in the control group. Hence, creative dance taught to small groups revealed to be a mechanism for improving behaviour and enhancing social competence.

According to the authors (Lobo and Winsler, 2006), many projects have been carried out with the intention of improving social and emotional competence in early childhood, but these usually focus on verbal and cognitive activities. The arts in general, and dance and movement activities in particular are usually not included in such efforts. The authors assumed that the increased focus and concentration skills developed in dance activities might extend to other areas of social and academic competence, leading to greater gains in social competence and fewer behaviour problems of the child participants relative to the ones in the control group.

The children in the dance program increased their self-confidence over time; initially they were reluctant to do the exercises but, as time passed, they became more confident to expose themselves verbally and physically. In the classes, the children's contributions were valued and their ideas were appreciated. The children felt secure in the dance classes, tried new experiences, expressed and shared feelings through movement in a way that in the regular classroom they would probably not have been able to, especially because many of the children in the study were not native English speakers. According to the authors, the dance classes also helped the children develop a positive self-image, self-concepts and self-esteem, and helped them bonding with their colleagues. Overall, it helped the children take social risks without fearing criticism. The authors suggest that the dance and movement classes gave the children a means of expression, using their bodies to communicate, having a significant impact on the children's competence and behaviour. The authors mentioned that dance proved to be beneficial for the children, but the reason for that remained a mystery. They suggested several possibilities for it to be the case: the positive feeling of getting more physical exercise from the dance; dance gave the children a vehicle for personal expression; the children increased their self-esteem, taking more social risks as a consequence; the physical activity brought the children together to their colleagues, building trust and friendship or maybe the repeated exercises of dance a tool for guiding behaviour teaching the children to self-regulate (Lobo and Winsler, 2006).

In 2006, Gaya published a work in which he stated (Gaya, 2006: 251) that the body was absent from school. Despite the interdisciplinary perspectives developed throughout time, all the curricular configurations and the new spatial organisation of schools, the body was still seen only as an extension of the mind. In contemporary schools, the author defended, the body was treated as being passive, absent from the origin of knowledge and, under these conditions, a pedagogy of complexity

could not arise. In order for that to happen, a “reinvention of the bodies” had to occur (Gaya, 2006: 251). Physical and artistic education should be central subjects in the school curriculum, according to the author. A body rich in meanings is a body that can learn how to express itself in spoken language, that can learn formal reasoning, how to do math, learn its history, sciences and philosophy (2006: 252). The pedagogical speeches that claim for interdisciplinarity, pluridisciplinarity, transdisciplinarity and complexity, should take the body into account, concludes Gaya.

According to the author the body that went to school was passive, sitting down, and disciplined in silence. In a traditional school learning and pleasure were seen as separate moments, one directed to the brain and the other to the body (Gaya, 2006: 255). Hence, alternated with learning moments, the body was allowed to spend the excess of energy and to play in moments designed to give the brain a rest. However, the body is full of sensorial activity, therefore, everything that exists in knowledge passes through the body first. Receiving, emitting, conserving, transmitting are all specialised acts of the body (Gaya, 2006: 266). The author urges for the creation of an effective praxis following these ideas, with an effective integration of theory and practice, “there is no knowledge without a body. There are no pedagogies without bodies” (Gaya, 2006: 267-268).

As an example of a study conducted in Portugal, in 2009, Arroz and colleagues (Arroz, Figueiredo and Sousa, 2009) conducted a research with twenty-eight children aged five and six years old about the meaning attributed by children to learning. The study was conducted in the island of Terceira, Azores. In their study, the researchers asked the children to make a drawing representing a child learning, they discussed the drawing with the children, and then did semi-structured interviews to the children. Lastly, they showed the children photographs and illustrations of children in different activities and in different spaces (playing in the classroom, reading a book in a couch, sweeping a kitchen floor or doing a group work at a table, were the examples given) and discussed with the children if they depicted a moment of learning or not. Lastly, the researchers asked the children a definition of learning.

The researchers divided the answers into four different types of results: i) the children did not distinguish learning from doing, learning was seen as something that required a physical participation, and it could be about intellectual or physical acquisitions, involving the whole body or just the manipulation of material; ii) the children considered learning as something that was transmitted from the older people and involved seeing or hearing someone attentively and in a well-behaved manner, passively; iii) the children considered learning as an accumulation of knowledge, emphasising the quantity and not the quality of learning; iv) the children saw their future success as a consequence of what they learnt, but not of what they studied at school. None of the children mentioned the four categories of results and eight out of ten children expressed only one or two of the categories created by the researchers. In the results obtained, the children did not link learning

to reasoning and connected it to action or to an automatic undifferentiated process. The children saw the school as the place where most learning took place (unlike, for example, their homes), and even at school the areas where they usually played were not seen as places where they could learn. Consequently, for the children activities such as playing or watching TV were not considered as moments of learning, unless they were role-playing that they were adults, or they were watching news programmes for children on TV. The children described learning as having an active body posture, the activities that were most referred were “working” and “doing stuff”. Lastly, the children saw learning as an activity that was not to be confused with fun and that, at the same time, involved a physical action. Interestingly, over one third of the children saw learning as a moment in which the child is well-behaved, pays attention, is quietly waiting for instructions by an adult in designated learning areas (Arroz, Figueiredo and Sousa, 2009: 11-14). In conclusion, the children considered that playing was not a moment where they learnt anything; they considered that learning happened when they performed mandatory tasks and when the teacher was directly involved, and saw learning as an active and cumulative process (Arroz, Figueiredo and Sousa, 2009: 14).

Biazak, Marley and Levin (2010) published a study conducted with children to test whether an activity-based listening strategy would influence the memory for narrative passages of preschool children, when compared to a listening-only strategy. The idea behind the study was to test the indexical hypothesis of embodiment theory. Embodiment theories propose that physically interacting with the environment will help cognition. The indexical hypothesis predicts that children’s language comprehension and memory will develop when physically manipulating objects corresponding to words, that is, the concrete representations of an object will become indexed to their symbolic representations. Thus, according to the indexical hypothesis, manipulating objects connected to a story, while listening to that story, should enhance the children’s memory for the story’s content and lead to a greater memory enhancement for enacted atypical events than for typical ones. The study was conducted with fifty-six preschool children in the United States. On the one hand, the children in the activity-based group recalled more story actions than the children in the listening-only group, but this effect was greater for children who were initially better at remembering a story’s content than for the ones with a poorer memory. On the other hand, the results showed no difference between the two groups of children in terms of remembering atypical story events, unlike what the indexical hypothesis predicted.

In 2010, influenced by Howard Gardner’s multiple intelligence theory, Lengel and Kuczala wrote “The kinaesthetic classroom, Teaching and learning through movement”. The authors²⁷ defended teachers should use movement in their classrooms to teach the normal curriculum because,

²⁷ Lengel and Kuczala, 2010: 1-15.

according to them, it could help meeting academic standards, improving test scores and developing life skills. The six purposes of movement, from their perspective, were to prepare the brain, to provide brain breaks, to support exercise and fitness, to develop class cohesion, to review content and to teach content. The authors (2010: 16-29) provided two examples of when physical activity, movement and academic learning were successfully combined. The first took place in an elementary school in Pennsylvania, USA, and it was a project called Action Based Learning Lab (ABL), and in it children solved math problems, read word walls and learnt other contents while skipping rope, walking on a ladder, and performing other physical tasks. The result found an important decrease in the number of students who could not read at grade level (4/220 instead of the usual 12-15/220). The second example was a project called Learning Readiness PE that was conducted in Illinois, USA. The participating students started the day with physical workouts in stations that included activities such as cardiovascular workouts, juggling, tumbling, cross-lateral exercises, balancing activities, skipping rope, as well as other activities, such as vocabulary and literacy games and Brain Age II (a Nintendo software). Students participating in the project increased their reading ability, reading comprehension, and improved their results in Maths and other subjects. According to the authors, the ten crucial reasons why teachers and educators should use movement to improve learning were the fact that movement provided breaks so that children could refocus attention; it allowed for learning to happen beyond the conscience awareness (implicit learning); it improved brain function (movement, in the form of aerobic exercise, promoted cognitive function and memory); it met basic needs (defined by psychologist William Glasser as survival, belonging, power, freedom and fun); it improved the learning state; it differentiated instruction (according to the authors, and following Howard Gardner's distinction, 85% of the learners were kinaesthetic learners); it engaged the senses; it reduced stress; it increased circulation and, finally, it enhanced episodic learning and memory (because, the authors stated, the brain "makes a note of where it is when it learns something"; Lengel and Kuczala, 2010: 23-29). This last reason, which was not scientifically tested by the researchers, comes in partial contradiction to the result from the previous study, where movement helped the children recall a story better than in a group where the children only heard a story, but there was no difference between the groups in remembering atypical details in a story story.

Grogan (2010) showed that women are very sensitive to differences in body weight and shape, being more dissatisfied with their bodies than men (Grogan, 2010: 43). Moreover, women objectify their body, criticise its negative characteristics, but have difficulties describing its positive aspects. Girls as young as seven years old onwards already show cultural pressures to fit into a narrow range of acceptable body shapes (Grogan, 2010: 43). The author explained that moderate exercise can

improve perceptions of control, self-esteem and body satisfaction in girls, giving them a sense of body mastery and function rather than worrying about aesthetics (Grogan, 2010: 47).

Chappell and Young (2011) developed a project called Zest, with children four to five years old, happening every week over twelve weeks, in two rural schools in South-West England, aiming to introduce dance to children. The dance practitioners were familiar with Reggio Emilia's approach, using stimuli (such as physical proposals or objects) to encourage bodily activity. The adults used the children's responses to the stimuli and developed and extended them collaborating with the children. The goal was to stimulate the children's imagination and creative thinking, hoping that these would also influence the children's participation at school, leading to a better learning.

The authors explained that the children enjoyed very much the experience of physical movement, but for some of them it was a bold step to be involved in the movement exploration. The dance practitioners allowed the children not to participate in the improvisations and to decide when to join them. The freedom of choice, according to the authors, could mean confusion and uncertainty to the children, but it also brought self-motivation and fascination, increasing the children's willingness to embrace learning challenges (Chappell and Young, 2011: 239-240). One consequence of the freedom of choice was that the project allowed the children to understand the relationship between personal and shared responsibility for individual and collective creativity (Chappell and Young, 2011: 241).

The authors found that the children's enjoyment of the sessions was very important to their motivation and, additionally, the open-ended nature of the dance activities encouraged their persistence. This persistence, over time, encouraged the children's confidence. Most of the group sessions had a moment for discussion where the children were invited to discuss open-ended questions and where verbal and non-verbal reciprocity was valued. According to the authors, the climate of trust in the creative movement sessions was central in supporting the reciprocity between the children and the dance practitioners. This creative movement work, coupled with enabling children to contribute with their own ideas and develop from these as starting points can provide, according to the authors, an environment that supports the children to develop dispositions for learning. The children who could benefit the most from this project would probably take a longer period of time to benefit from it, hence, the authors suggest that research on this subject should take place over an extended period of a year or more (Chappell and Young, 2011: 244-245).

Susan Young (2011) described a project of music making with young children, explaining how the non-verbal communication is important for the creative activity. The author suggests the visual sense comes hand in hand with a certain detachment and separation, but if we were to use more senses such as kinaesthesia, touch and hearing, more associated with closeness and intimacy, we would be more aware of our physicality and how we relate physically to others. Such a process of

collaborative music making places the adult as a musically playful partner, who listens, observes in an embodied, empathetic way and takes up the children's ideas. Such projects, the author argues, transform teaching to an open-ended, improvisational and dialogical process. Achieving that improvisational and dialogical quality demands of the adults and the children reciprocity and responsiveness through all the senses, including bodily empathy (Young, 2011: 183). In conclusion the author argues that education should enhance children's integrated experience of the world, and look into it, to avoid neglecting bodily experience, and all sensory experience in general (Young, 2011: 186).

In a study in South Africa, already mentioned above, Dixon (2011) argued that body exercises could help refocusing attention for the start of a new task. At the same time, body exercises could prepare children for writing, as body control is essential in learning to write, which explains why children with balance and coordination difficulties have difficulties in their writing. One example given by Dixon of a moment when it was suggested by the teacher that the whole class became physically engaged together in one event, was when they sang songs with a predefined choreography. However even these moments, as Dixon comments, are disciplinary by nature, continuing to reproduce the power relations inside the classroom.

Across the Atlantic, in Brazil, starting in the 1990s and for a 10-year period, teachers and students from the Pedagogy and Physical Education degree from the Federal University of Santa Catarina developed internships in settlements for the agrarian reform conducted by the educational proposal of the Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra (MST, Movement of the Rural Workers Without Land; Capela and Matiello Jr, 2012: 120). The work developed several multidisciplinary pedagogic projects with the bodily and movement cultures as a main content. They taught games, toys, playing, fighting, dancing and adapted sports that were thought for the children, the youngsters and the other people living in the community (Capela and Matiello Jr, 2012: 120). The projects included not only the children, but also their families, and not only the subject of PE, but also Arts, Maths and Portuguese (idem idem, 2012: 126).

Coutinho (2012) argued that the fact that children experiment with their bodies allows them to create a social knowledge in an active dynamic, which can collide with the school's institutional logic that seeks standardised behaviours, in a structure centred around the homogenisation of time and space (2012: 252). The author described that this situation leads to a paradox: small children learn how to communicate, dynamically, with their bodies, but they are immediately invited, mostly by their schools, to refrain to a docile body or, better yet, an "invisible" body.

Munarim and Girardello discussed how the school is a place where the rules of life in society are taught, often limiting the children and teenagers' rights to express themselves and to communicate. The classroom and the playground hence become a metaphor for the dichotomy between the

children's mind and body. The classroom is a space where children's ample movements are inhibited, where their bodies are contained and locked inside a room and where productivity is valued over imagination. The playground becomes, in opposition to the school period, a place of transgression, of cultural creation made by the children, in their own space, without any adult intervention (Munarim and Girardello, 2012: 343-345). However, according to the authors, it is through movement that the children make sense of the situation observed in their every day life, they try new ways of interpreting what happens in their worlds and the curriculum time should take this into account (Munarim and Girardello, 2012: 343-345). While we agree with the authors conclusion, we think that the conceptual dichotomy often created by researchers between the freedom experienced in the playground by the children and the constraint felt in the classroom is just as questionable as the dichotomy between body and mind itself. Whereas it is true that in the classroom children's bodies tend to be retained, that does not mean that, as we have discussed before, children do not subvert this confinement through several different strategies (cf. Christensen, James and Jenks, 2001 or Dixon, 2011, for example). Likewise, we also find it difficult to argue that the playground can be a place where the children are totally free, as this idea of total freedom is, ultimately, intangible.

Lastly, Gao and colleagues (2012) published a work where they studied the effects of an interactive computer dance game called Dance Dance Revolution (DDR) on the self efficacy, outcome expectancy, perceived social support and daily physical activity levels of one hundred and one fourth and fifth graders in an urban area in the USA. The study comprised of a pre-test, the implementation of an intervention, and a post-test. In the pre-test, all children answered questionnaires about their self-efficacy (the belief a person has about his/her ability to learn or perform at a certain level), outcome expectancy (the perceived value of a behaviour to the person being questioned and that person's beliefs about the likely outcome of that behaviour), perceived social support (wide concepts such as bonding, belonging, binding) and one week of physical activity levels. The intervention lasted for nine months and consisted of the fourth graders being assigned to the intervention group, that had three thirty minutes DDR sessions per week, while the fifth graders were assigned to the comparison group, a control group of the experience. The DDR sessions were performed in groups of up to four children each time. In the post-test phase, all children answered a questionnaire to measure the same variables.

According to the authors, DDR provided an adequate process of energy expenditure, as it combined dancing, fast foot movement and energetic music and visuals, allowing the player to track the calories burnt at each session. The children attended a school that had the particularity of not having any regular physical education and every school day they only had thirty minutes of recess divided in two periods of fifteen minutes. The statistical analysis of the questionnaires showed a

significant effect of the intervention in the children. The fourth grade children from the intervention group had a significantly greater increased self-efficacy, social support and daily physical activity levels than the children in the control group (Gao *et al.*, 2012). There were no significant differences among the two groups in terms of the children's self-reported outcome expectancy, possibly because the fifth grade children also became aware of the benefits of physical activity throughout the school year. In conclusion, the authors recommend the implementation of DDR at schools to promote a healthy lifestyle and prevent childhood obesity. We think that the age difference between the control and the experimental groups could have had an influence in the differences found between the two groups.

Conclusions from subchapter

The studies that we have described relating the arts, dance or movement to children's learning found either no influence or a positive one. Several studies argued that dance and movement, besides being important for the children's physical activity, was beneficial for the children's development of self and to their relationship to others, it helped children with verbal expression difficulties and taught the children motivation, persistence, confidence, trust, social values; it was seen as a means of teaching curricular contents and social skills, and of teaching body awareness, judgement, but also laterality, directionality and perception skills. It improved the imagination of a group of handicapped pre-schoolers, but it did not influence their fluency or originality and it helped children see similarities, order differences and compose a choreography. It had a positive effect on the children's reading ability, reading comprehension, Maths, creativity, self-expression, self-esteem, body satisfaction and body-image, motoric, speech, communication skills and it was a means of creating group cohesion, improving behaviour and enhancing social competence. One study claimed dance learning had no influence on learning how to read, but it improved visual-spatial skills. Movement and play were described as helping children learn concepts such as directions and levels, drama can help the children in conflict solving, and story understanding and writing, and music can increase spatial reasoning.

Other authors also argued for the need for physical and artistic education to have a more central role in the school's curricula and to end the dichotomy between curriculum time and play time, also allowing the children to actively participate and engage in their learning process.

The academic sources presented are very different from one another; there was very little dialogue between them and the studies are very scattered, in terms of the dates of publication and because they were published in different magazines and editors, the vast majority of which in the USA. Several presented methodological problems, namely the fact that most of them tried to use quantitative methodologies in a circumstance where that might be hard, and used very small sample

sizes, which may have biased the results. Additionally, in most studies the children's opinions and voice over the projects were not heard, and there was no relation to the teachers of the schools, or it was not described.

What is, then, the relation between learning and movement? These studies gave several different, and partial, answers, but we wanted to know more about this process and it became one of the main research questions we studied. Of what is more, we also wondered, more specifically, if an experience of learning through movement could affect differences among the children such as gender, ethnicity and development in their participation at school.

Before we move on to describe the fieldwork, we shall now proceed to two much smaller subchapters, about activity theory and neurosciences.

Activity theory perspective

In this fifth, and much shorter, subchapter we shall very briefly discuss activity theory, a theory that arose in the beginning of the 20th Century in Russia and that had great influence in education and psychology.

Vygotsky, Leont'ev and Luria originally developed activity theory in 1920's Russia. It provides a method for understanding, describing and interpreting phenomena and finding patterns and making inferences across interactions. This theory defines human activity, an activity system, as the unit of analysis of action.

In this view, an activity is a goal-directed interaction of a subject with an object mediated by the cultural use of tools and signs. These tools and signs are exteriorised forms of mental processes manifested in physical or in psychological constructs. According to Engeström and Miettinen (1999) in this system, the internal tensions and contradictions are the motive for change, causing continuous transitions and transformations.

According to activity theory, we experience expansive continuous cycles of activity²⁸, which begin with an expansive phase that is initially focused on internalisation. When each cycle begins, it is irreversible. As the cycle advances, externalisation starts to dominate; first as discrete individual innovations, then the internalisations transform into self-reflection and, then, externalisation increases and takes over. Once this phase is completed, a new model for activity is designed and implemented (Engeström, 1999). Activity theory manages to overcome the dualism between the individual subject and the objective societal circumstances, as it studies both, through the activity between them (Engeström and Miettinen, 1999).

²⁸ At the level of collective activity systems, the expansive cycle can be considered the equivalent to Vygotsky's zone of proximal development (Engeström, 1999)

Much has been written and developed in activity theory on the different fields that it is used on. We could not describe it in detail and decided to only mention it, as it was important to the development of our work. We will argue that both the sessions developed with the children and the experience lived by the children in those sessions followed an expansive cycle, at the end of which a new model for activity was implemented.

An input from the neurosciences

To complete our approach to the relationship between learning and movement, we will address it also from the perspective of the neurosciences. As it is not the centre of this study, we shall very briefly discuss the functioning of the brain, particularly how a specific type of neurons, called mirror neurons, work. We will also address António Damásio's somatic markers hypothesis, a theory about how emotions are involved in decision-making and high-level cognition.

We will begin this section with an overview of the functioning of the brain. The brain cells are called neurons. Each neuron has a cell body connected to dendrites and to an axon. At the end of the axon there are terminals that connect to dendrites of other neurons through synapses. Through those connections, neural networks are created. In these networks, the neurons communicate with each other through electric signals that pass down the axon. The axon is involved by a substance called myelin that isolates it, increasing the speed of the process. When the electric signal reaches the synaptic terminal, it is transformed into a chemical signal (a neurotransmitter) that crosses the synaptic gap and reaches the dendrites of the following neuron. The human brain has two hemispheres, left and right, and four lobes, frontal, parietal, occipital and temporal. Each area of the brain has been associated to a specific function, but these functions are never completed by only one part of the brain. That is, each task performed by a person recruits many neural networks largely and broadly distributed around the brain, that communicate with each other in a complex way.

The cortex is the outer surface of the brain; it is more wrinkled in humans than in other species. The hippocampus is associated to consolidating new memories, and the amygdalae play an important role in emotional response. Synaptogenesis (the generation of new synapses) and synaptic pruning (the elimination of infrequently used synapses) occurs at a greater rate among children, but during our lifetime, there is no part of our bodies that remains unchanged, and the brain is no exception. During adolescence, the brain is still developing, especially the parietal and frontal cortex, where synaptic pruning only begins after adolescence and myelination in those lobes increases throughout adolescence and, slightly less, during adulthood. There are two waves of reorganisation

of the brain, the first is in the earliest years of life, and the second is during adolescence. The two periods are characterised by synaptic pruning and are sensitive periods in terms of linguistic learning, for example. During adulthood, the changes are less radical, but never cease. Neurogenesis continues during adulthood (at least in the hippocampus), however, during those years the loss of neurons is increased and the brain becomes less malleable, but it remains plastic throughout our whole life.²⁹

Mirror neurons

Mirror neurons have been found in the ventral pre-motor and parietal cortices in the frontal lobes of monkeys and humans (Spelke and Kinzler, 2007). It is an area homologue to Broca's area in humans – an area associated with syntactic and expressive aspects of language (Ramachandran, 2000). Giacomo Rizzolatti discovered them when he noticed that certain cells fired when a monkey performed a very specific action with its hand, such as pulling or pushing (Ramachandran, 2000). He then noticed that the neurons that fired to different actions were different and the mirror neurons' most interesting feature was that when a monkey was watching another monkey (or even the researcher) perform a certain action, the mirror neurons corresponding to that action also fired, hence their name (Ramachandran, 2000).

The work by Catmur, Walsh and Heyes (2007) revealed that the mirror properties of the mirror system are developed through sensorimotor learning; they are neither innate nor fixed. There are further intriguing aspects of the mirror system: the neurons fire when someone grasps an object in full view of a monkey, and also when the movement toward the object is visible, but the grasping itself is not. This indicates that the mirror neurons work in a sophisticated way, as the visual information is coded differently if there is effectively a graspable object in view or not (Iacoboni, 2009). Moreover, audimotor mirror neurons react to the sound of the actions that their neurons code, including sounds that could not be innately specified (the example given by the researchers is the ripping of paper). In this case, through repeated sensorimotor pairings, the sound has become associated in the mirror neuron system with the corresponding action. In these examples, through sensorimotor learning, the stimuli (which are arbitrary, because they are not physically similar to the responses) have become connected to the responses (Catmur, Walsh and Heyes, 2007).

Regarding perceptually transparent actions, such as hand movements, watching one's own actions originates an identically correlated sensorimotor experience of those actions, that is, they are actions which originate similar sensory inputs when executed and when observed. But for perceptually opaque actions, such as facial expressions, social inputs are essential, because they are actions that originate sensory inputs in different modalities when they are observed and executed. Interactions

²⁹ For more information on the basic structure and functioning of the human brain read, for example, Howard-Jones, 2011.

with others or the use of artefacts, such as mirrors, are essential to see the body movements while performing such perceptually opaque actions (Catmur, Walsh and Heyes, 2007). We have to watch others imitating us, or having the same reaction to an event, or do what we are doing; hence, the human mirror system is, to a point, a product and a process of social interaction and can contribute to the human complex social interaction. Lastly, for its development it depends on the availability of correlated sensorimotor experience in the social and cultural environment (Catmur, Walsh and Heyes, 2007).

Iacoboni (2009) also expressed how neural mirroring facilitates social behaviour and makes intersubjectivity possible. Imitation and empathy have possibly presented an adaptive advantage that enabled the understanding of the feelings and mental states of the others, an important feature of social behaviour. Mirror neurons discharge both during action execution and action observation, but do not fire when the same action is being pantomimed. Only one third of the mirror neurons are strictly congruent mirror neurons, the remaining two thirds are broadly congruent mirror neurons. The former fire for the same executed and observed action, the latter fire for actions that are not the same, but are logically related or achieve the same goal. Broadly congruent mirror neurons provide flexibility on the coding of the actions of the self and the others and, hence, are important for successful social interactions (Iacoboni, 2009).

Further experiences have shown that mirror neurons coded the same grasping action differently depending on the goal associated with the action, hence, instead of coding the grasping action, the neurons code the intention associated with the action, rather than the motor detail of grasping (Iacoboni, 2009). There has also been evidence of mirror neurons coding facial expressions, particularly with the mouth, which is relevant to the hypothesis that mirror neurons might be important to the emotional understanding of others (Iacoboni, 2009). Monkeys can recognise when they are being imitated and, in the monkey brain, mirror neurons might help the recognition of the actions of others. Hence, these neurons have a social function and might just be the precursors of the very complex imitative behaviour in humans (Iacoboni, 2009).

As with anything regarding the human body, things are not simple and the circuits for imitation interact with other neural systems for different forms of imitative behaviour, and empathy is probably coded by a large-scale network comprised of mirror neuron areas, insula and the limbic system (Iacoboni, 2009). In short, mirror neurons seem to provide a pre-reflexive automatic mechanism that mirrors what is going on in other people's brain, compatible with the human ability of understanding others and imitating them (Iacoboni, 2009)³⁰.

³⁰ Despite the excitement that the discovery of mirror neurons arose among neuroscientists, several researchers also expressed doubts. Among others, Dinstein and colleagues (2008) questioned if mirror neurons are really a separate class of cells and a different type of response; Hickok (2009) questioned their role in action-understanding and Churchland (2011) disagrees with the claim they are responsible for understanding the intentions of others.

Mirror neurons and education

As mentioned before, mirror neurons have been associated to empathy, imitation and learning. The children's mirror neurons reflect the external world. A positive and enthusiastic teacher signals the children's mirror neurons, affecting the way the children receive the learning contents that are being delivered (Rushton, 2011).

Rushton (2011) describes certain principles that should be taken into account regarding neuroscience and education. The first principles are that the brain is uniquely organised and is continually growing, adapting to the environment, that is, it depends upon stimulation. Thus the fact that a classroom can be organised in a "brain-compatible" way, that is, enabling a connection of positive emotions to learning and allowing the children to participate in decision-making processes regarding their learning. Lastly, the children need to live real-life, hands-on and meaningful learning experiences. These principles, the author argues, are incompatible with the fact that standardised testing has been applied earlier and earlier, as discussed before, leads the teachers and educators to feel a pressure to focus on the exams, rather than to let the children explore and learn at their own pace. The authors recommend the use of engaging, meaningful experiences for the children to explore and learn because, when the children are relaxed and stimulated, they can achieve greater flexibility and creativity, at a time when millions of neuronal pathways are forming within their brains (Rushton, 2011). Moreover, the use of play that is left open-ended is a means to respect and stimulate individual differences among the children, the same way as each brain's structure processes information uniquely (Rushton, 2011).

The somatic markers hypothesis

The neuroscientist António Damásio (2011: 230-269) coined the term "somatic markers" to designate the somatic (that is, of the body) state corresponding to a specific (visceral and non visceral) sensations. Somatic markers are a special use of feelings created from emotions. Through learning, these emotions and feelings are connected to certain types of future results and linked to specific scenarios and they involve a total change of the body state, which includes changes in the guts as much as in the muscular skeleton system, induced both by neural and chemical signals. For this reason, when a negative somatic marker is superimposed to a certain future outcome, it works as an alarm bell. On the contrary, when it is superimposed with a positive somatic marker, it is an incentive. This happens, for example, when we are faced with a choice between two scenarios and one of them leads to a very negative outcome. In such case, just thinking about the negative outcome our choice can have produces an automatic signal in the body that makes us reject immediately that course of action and to choose other alternatives. This does not mean that the

somatic markers rule over our judgement; it is important to understand that somatic markers do not take the decisions, but they help us in the decision making process.

How do the somatic markers develop? Damásio (2011: 230-238) explained that we are born with the neuronal mechanism necessary to create somatic states to answer certain categories of stimuli, the primary emotion mechanism. However, the most part of the somatic markers we use to a rational decision making process was probably created in our brains during the process of learning and growing up, through the association of specific categories of stimuli and specific categories of somatic states. These somatic markers are based on secondary emotions. The somatic markers work in a continuous learning process. On the neural level, the somatic markers depend on learning within a system that can associate itself to certain types of entities or phenomena with the production of a body state, pleasant or not. They can act in a way that we are not conscious of and can take on functions other than giving out warning signs and go signals.

Damásio's work deconstructs three important dualisms, brain versus body, nature versus nurture and feelings versus reason. Regarding the first, Damásio highlights the importance of the whole organism in the interaction with the environment, he describes that "when we see, touch, taste or smell, the body as much as the brain participate in the interaction with the environment" (2011: 288), one cannot be separated from the other. Secondly, he explains that, as we grow up the design of the neuronal circuits that represent our body evolving and its interaction with the world depend as much on the activities performed by our bodies, as it depends on the actions of the innate bio regulator circuits as they react to such activities. This means that the old dualist conception between nature and nurture has no neuronal basis (2011: 155-156). Thirdly, Damásio makes the case for his book title, "Descartes' Error", as he describes the emotions as being "cognitive", just like any other perception. According to the somatic markers hypothesis, emotions work as an internal guide and help us transmit to the others signals that can also guide their behaviour. Even more than that, feelings, Damásio summarises, have a powerful influence over reason: the brain systems needed for the former are interlaced with the ones needed for the latter and these specific systems are intertwined with the ones that regulate the body (2011: 313).

Conclusions from subchapter

In this subchapter, we looked at two different fields of study within neurosciences, mirror neurons and the somatic markers hypothesis as examples of studies from a field other than the Social Sciences that can also relate to our research.

Mirror neurons are a specific type of neurons that have been relatively recently discovered and whose exact functioning, especially in humans, is still under research. Mirror neurons relative to a task fire when a monkey watches another monkey, or a person, performing that task. Researchers

think that they probably have an important role in learning and imitation. This information was important to our work in the sense that it made us wonder what specific role they have in the process of learning. If the classes, rather than focusing on passive learning strategies, encouraged the children to explore, to watch other the children and even the teacher doing the same, could this help the children learn? Moreover, if synaptogenesis and synaptic pruning occur at a great rate among children, and in that process the infrequently used synapses are eliminated, how could the children be stimulated in different ways than they are in a class that uses passive learning strategies? Of course, as we have discussed throughout this chapter, children are never passive, but could another approach to teaching encourage them more?

The somatic markers hypothesis, theorised by neuroscientist António Damásio, describes how we associate emotions and feelings to certain future results in specific scenarios, working as powerful incentives or deterrents to action. These somatic markers continuously develop as we learn through our lifetime and can work on an unconscious level. The somatic markers hypothesis made us realise the importance of emotions in the process of learning. In the case of children at school, if they associate being in the classroom, or learning something in particular to a joyful feeling, will this help them creating a positive feedback mechanism to learning a particular content? If moving, dancing or playing gives the children a happy sensation and that game is associated to a curricular content, will they enjoy themselves more in learning it? And will that establish a positive somatic marker to learning a particular subject?

Conclusions from the Chapter

In this chapter we reviewed the different literature used in this thesis. We began with a description of how the children's bodies have been addressed in schools, we discussed children poverty and inequality as specific factors of oppression that push the children away from the school culture and increase school failure and abandonment. We addressed some strategies that public schools could adopt to give the children more egalitarian opportunities.

A core aspect of this thesis is to consider children as social actor and subject of culture. For that reason, the largest subchapter in this literature review concerned Childhood Studies, how they arose, what were the theoretical and methodological questions it raised and we also discussed examples of research done from this perspective. Throughout this first chapter, we analysed the participant questions in two ways: on the one hand, participation as a means of sharing power (for example, at schools), on the other hand, regarding participation in research and its methodological, ethical and social consequences.

This thesis, being part of the field of Child Studies, opens a multidisciplinary approach and for the reason, we described different ways of studying the relationship between learning and movement and very briefly addressed activity theory and neurosciences, both of which have an important role in the motivation, reception and consolidation of school knowledge.

In the next chapter, we shall describe the methodology used in our research, in particular how we answered each of our research questions. In the next chapter we also describe the neighbourhood where our fieldwork took place and briefly address the schooling system in Portugal.

Chapter 2 – Methodology and Context

In this chapter we discuss in detail the methods used in this thesis and the context of the fieldwork. This research consisted of a study about a project called THE BODY AT SCHOOL (O CORPO NA ESCOLA), a project of education through the arts and through movement, implemented by an artistic association, “c.e.m – centro em movimento” [“centre in movement”] in Mouraria, in Lisbon. A description about the association and the project is presented in the following chapter.

The fieldwork was done at Escola da Madalena, a primary school in the neighbourhood of Mouraria (a detailed description of the school can be read in the next chapter and of the neighbourhood below, in this chapter). Here, we present the research questions, followed by a description of the methodological tools used in the fieldwork, in the analysis of the data and the way they were used to answer our questions.

This thesis resulted from a collaborative research with the people involved in the project because I attended the projects sessions as a participant observer and after the sessions were over, the children, artists and teachers involved in the project were interviewed about their experience. The project itself used participant methods with the children, as we will discuss.

The project studied also used methods from arts-based research (described in Chapter 3). In this dissertation, arts-based research was used as well in the sense that the children were asked to make a drawing about the project and to explain it, to interpret it. For that reason, the history and characteristics of arts-based research will be briefly addressed, as well as their application in this case. The data resulting from the three years of the fieldwork was divided into five episodes, which are described and discussed in Chapter 4.

The episodes were chosen as fragments of the analysed whose content was considered as paradigmatic and useful to summarise specific aspects of the project. In this chapter, we address the tools used in the analysis of the episodes: thick description, visual methods (drawings, photographs and videos) and text analysis. After the fieldwork was over, the participants in the project (the children, the teachers and the artists from c.e.m) were interviewed. Their interviews are analysed in Chapters 5 and 6 and below we discuss the process of generation and analysis of this data. Lastly, we address the ethical matters of the research, discussing the children and the adults’ informed consent, as well as the researcher’s role throughout the years of fieldwork.

Regarding the context of this fieldwork, in order to situate the reader, we provide a detailed description of Mouraria, the neighbourhood where the school is located. We based our report in statistical data and on the research that has been conducted in the neighbourhood, particularly regarding the gentrification process it is going through. We begin with a brief historical background

of the neighbourhood, a description of its situation nowadays, especially regarding the impact in the area of the measures applied by the then-City Mayor António Costa (he was in office between 2007 and 2015).

We describe Mouraria using data from the last population census and statistical indicators such as area and population density, age of the population, continent of origin and religion, housing conditions, level of schooling, job and unemployment level and a description of the places designed for children in the neighbourhood.

As far as the schooling is concerned, because the fieldwork of this thesis was conducted mostly inside a primary school, we chose to give an idea of the schooling system in Portugal in general. In order to do so, we provide a brief historical description, taking into account some of the changes it has gone through throughout the 20th century, during the First Republic, the period of the dictatorship and in the first years after the revolution. To describe the current situation in the education system, we analysed the data from the most recent international assessment tests PIRLS³¹, TIMSS³², PISA³³ and Education at a Glance.

Methodology

In this section, we discuss the multiple methodological tools used in the fieldwork: texts written by the researcher and by the children, drawings made by the children, photographs, videos and interviews. The project itself and the data collected in the fieldwork are discussed and analysed in the following chapters.

When the project THE BODY AT SCHOOL was designed and implemented, the artists decided to use participant methods with the children. That is, it was a project in which the children were partners, co-managers, co-producers and co-creators of the work, and they participated in its interpretation (as proposed by Ferreira and Sarmiento, 2008). However, the issue of children's participation is always a complex matter, because, as Soares, Sarmiento and Tomás (2005) put it, no method is intrinsically participant; participation is the strategic orientation that must be given to the work itself. According to the same authors, for children's participation to be effective, it is necessary to give value to the children's voice and action, to consider strategies, plural and creative methodological resources.³⁴ In the project THE BODY AT SCHOOL, the children were stimulated to participate using

³¹ Progress in International Reading Literacy Study

³² Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study

³³ Programme for International Student Assessment

³⁴ For an important overview of the ethical questions and matters when it comes to research with children. see also Fernandes (2016)

a vast array of methods and tools. I was involved actively in the project, and was present in most sessions.

Graue and Walsh (2003:118) describe the research process as having three levels: the daily observable, the complete description and the theoretical explanation (which should reach what is invisible and not observable). In this thesis, we tried to reach these three levels and to do so, as suggested by several authors (for example Stake, 2005), we used multiple methodological tools to complete the work, guaranteeing a polyphonic approach (Clifford, 1988): interviews, discussion groups, written works by the children and the investigator (field notes and diaries), photographs and video, stimulation material (images, sounds, etc.), and interviews of the participants.

Lopes referred how the plurality of worlds leads to multifaceted experiences. In complex thought, the analytical simplification makes no sense, and neither does unidirectional causality, as contradictions are associated with the diversity of social roles and the specific worlds that arise (Lopes, 2004). In this thesis, we tried to account for this multidimensional reality. We will address below the methodological tools used and the choices that led us to them; but we shall begin by stating the research questions that were the point of departure for this work.

Research questions

- Does an experience of the arts, of artistic tools, processes, techniques and exercises and of an active body posture in the education process stimulate learning? Is this learning different from or similar to the learning that occurs through school experiences that do not contain these elements?
- How did the children respond to the opportunity to develop a school project that they chose themselves? Did they recognise their own cultural production and their more active role at school?
- Did the use of an arts-based approach diminishes gender, ethnic and developmental differences in the participation of the children?
- How were the children's formal, non-formal and informal knowledge recognised in the classroom?
- Were the hierarchies in the classroom different from classrooms where arts-based methods were not employed? Did the participants experience greater mutual respect, trust and support?
- Did the intervention change the participants' experience of school as a meeting point for former students, the local community and the children's families?

Case study and thick description

The research conducted was a case study, where the researcher was an active participant of the sessions. In a case study, the goal is to find the particular, rather than the ordinary (Stake, 2005). To do so, Stake recommends the researcher should provide maximum detail on the nature of the case: its activity and functioning, to contextualise other categories (the physical, geographical, historical, economic, political, legal, ethical, cultural, social and aesthetic aspects of the study). It is important to do so because the activities were influenced by the contexts, hence they should be described with maximum detail (Stake, 2005).

When establishing this complex contextualisation, we are working with the notion of “thick description” (Geertz, 1973), which, in the Geertz’s own words, happens when “the ethnographer is in fact faced with (...) a multiplicity of complex conceptual structures, many of them superimposed upon or knotted into one another, which are at once strange, irregular, and inexplicit, and which he must contrive somehow first to grasp and then to render” (Geertz, 1973: 10). According to Geertz, the culture of each work is a context that, in ethnography, should be thickly described (1973: 14).

Geertz lists four characteristics of ethnographic description: it is interpretative, it interprets the flow of social discourse, the interpreting consists of rescuing that discourse and fixing it in a way that it can be evaluated, and, lastly, it is microscopic (Geertz, 1973: 20-21). In consequence from the task of thick description, in ethnography, the theory building process should make thick description possible, that is, should allow the researchers not to create generalisations across cases, but to generalise within them (Geertz, 1973: 26). Hence, according to the author, the theoretical contributions from ethnography remain close to the specific studies they have been created from.

The field progresses conceptually when the theory developed in one ethnographic interpretation can be employed in another, reconceptualising it to gain more precision and broader relevance (Geertz, 1973: 25-26). The double task of the ethnographer is to “uncover the conceptual structures that inform our subjects’ acts” (Geertz, 1973: 27) and to create a system of analysis that is generic enough to explain such reality, that is particular enough to describe it and accurate in the sense that it will stand against other explanations of human behaviour (1973: 27). Stake (2005) defined Geertz’s double task of the ethnographer in other words, stating that once the description becomes clear, a case study can be an early step leading to theory building, to generalisation-producing studies.

Lastly, the cultural analysis as discussed by Geertz was not predictive and it was intrinsically incomplete (1973: 26-29). For that reason, in this and in the following chapters, we investigated several aspects of the work under study. Following the recommendation from Stake (2005), the

researcher spent extended periods on the site, developing the cases' issues, contexts and interpretations and at each step, the work was reflective; we were looking for meanings, relating them to the contexts and the experience.

Moreover, a case study becomes deeper through the triangulation of the descriptions and the interpretations (referred, for example, by Stake, 2005 or Christensen and James, 2000b). Triangulation is an essential process of using multiple sources to clarify a meaning, to identify different realities. For that reason, as mentioned before, we gathered data from different sources.

In order to characterise the neighbourhood and understand the consequence the particularities of the area had to our study, we used data from the most recent population census in Portugal; data from researchers studying the neighbourhood where the project took place, particularly the process of gentrification it is going through; and, finally, data from international assessment tests to the education system in Portugal (cf. the second half of this chapter).

In the characterisation of the episodes, we recurred to a vast array of data: the researcher's field journal; videos and photographs from the sessions; documentation from one of the artists involved in the project; the children's documentation from the sessions (written texts and drawings) and the children's fictional writings and drawings.³⁵ We used drawing and text analysis in the analysis of the interviews, and in Chapters 5 and 6 the interviews are discussed in detail. The project that was studied in this thesis was already happening when the fieldwork began, and the process of entering the field (Corsaro, 1997) will be described in the following chapter. Below we describe in particular the methodologies used in the analysis of the episodes and the interviews.

Episodes

In this thesis, we provide a general description of the fieldwork (Chapter 3) and we have also opted for the description of five episodes (Chapter 4), to best illustrate the work. According to Graue and Walsh (2003), episodes serve to tell a story that illustrates a theme in a research study. The episodes show images that, through their details, illustrate ideas, keeping in mind that they are never isolated and can only be fully understood taking into account the totality of the theme (Graue and Walsh, 2003: 255-257). According to these authors, a description of the episodes is insufficient; they should take the reader to a new place, allowing them to establish connections with theoretical ideas and a deep interpretative knowledge (Graue and Walsh, 2003: 255-257).

To choose these moments, we went through the data generated (using a terminology proposed by Graue and Walsh, 2003:115) in the fieldwork and looked for recurring patterns of the project and for breaks in those patterns. As a result, we came up with five episodes that represent different

³⁵ Further on we explain the methodologies we used to extract the information from this data and the episodes are described in detail in Chapter 4.

aspects of the project: a session on the skeletal system that took place at school, a session the children taught a group of adults at c.e.m, an improvisation exercise involving one of the girls from the class, the process of making the book that took place over several sessions in the second year of the fieldwork and, lastly, a work that happened in the streets of Mouraria over ten weeks with the children and adults.³⁶

As far as the description of the episodes is concerned, besides recurring to the data from my field journal and to documentation from one of the artists involved in the project, I used visual methods (videos, photographs and drawings made in the sessions) and the analysis of texts produced by the children (as documentation of the sessions and also as fictional writings). I will begin with a description of how the analysis of the different texts was done, and then I will describe the visual methods used. As the fieldwork was a participant observation and collaborative research, I vary in my writing in using the plural or the singular personal pronoun.

Text analysis in the episodes

The texts that were analysed in this thesis were reports the children wrote about a specific session, fictional tales written by the children and data from my field journal.

There are many ways of analysing a written document. Silverman (2000) and Peräkylä (2005) summarised the possibilities as: semiotic narrative analysis, narrative analysis, discourse analysis, content analysis and membership categorisation analysis. In semiotic narrative analysis, a text is seen as a system of signs (Silverman, 2000) where the primordial structural relations can be established (such as sender vs. receiver, helper vs. opponent, etc.; Peräkylä, 2005). Using discourse analysis, the relation between language and mental realities are investigated (Peräkylä, 2005), using a variety of methods, such as interpretive repertoires or constructions from the subjects to study the different versions of the same reality (Silverman, 2000). In particular, critical discourse analysis studies how texts reproduce power and the inequalities of society; historical discourse analysis uses archaeology and genealogy and can be an application of Foucauldian theory (Peräkylä, 2005). Content analysis sets the definition of specific categories, and the researchers count the number of times each category is mentioned (Silverman, 2000). Lastly, in membership categorisation analysis (MCA) what is studied are the normative and cognitive forms of social relations used in producing and understanding the texts (Peräkylä, 2005). An MCA analysis starts with the choosing of a category followed by an active interpretative work in its description. Any subject of the text or any event may be included in different categories and during the analysis the researcher should keep questioning

³⁶ They are all addressed in Chapter 4.

the process of categorisation (Peräkylä, 2005). Each of these techniques has specific benefits and disadvantages and they are not mutually exclusive.

From the different approaches of text analysis described above, in our work we used content and discourse analysis. Regarding the reports written by the children, they were a small part of the second episode that is discussed in Chapter 4. In the reports, ten children described how a specific session had unfolded and wrote their evaluation of that moment. A content and discourse analysis of the reports was done; on a first stage, the reports were analysed individually for their contents and the categories were defined. Then, the works were studied collectively, to establish points in common and the differences about the same event, and the discourse analysis of the texts was done. In addition to that, the whole session was filmed, so the reports were triangulated with the filmed material and the data from my field journal.

The fourth episode in Chapter 4 describes the making of a book by the children. The children wrote the texts collectively, discussed the book structure and decided how the book launch should happen. There were in total four different texts written by the children; three of them were written in smaller groups and the whole class wrote the last text, together. The four texts were studied using narrative analysis. The texts were analysed separately, looking at the characters, their characterisation and personality; the plot; what the story was about; how it developed, and the connections that the texts could have with the children's lives. Moreover, the time and the space of the tale, the objects, and the way the stories were constructed were also discussed. The discussing and writing of the collective story happened over two sessions that were filmed, so the reports were triangulated with the filmed material and my field notes. The sessions when the three stories of the groups were written were triangulated with my field notes.

Visual methods

“A picture is worth a thousand words” is a common saying in many languages. According to Weber (2008), images incorporate multiple layers and communicate an event more holistically than writing. Moreover, the author adds, through the use of images, the bodies of the researchers and the participants, so often forgotten or ignored, are kept in mind; hence, images are a way to encourage embodied knowledge (Weber, 2008). Additionally, the author argues that visual methods can give a more complete depiction of an experience, a scene, or an event; the use of images can also be important for feedback and documentation of the process; the visual record gives another eye into the process, it can give further details to the research; lastly, it also allows for the researcher to evaluate his or her methods and behaviours (Weber, 2008).

Prosser and Burke (2008) add an interesting argument about working with children. They argue that for children, words can be disempowering, as they are the domain of adult researchers. Images, on the other hand, are central to children's culture and, therefore, can be empowering. This argument can be even more pertinent when the children in question do not speak fluently the language of the adults, as was the case of some of the children in this study (on this, cf. Sarmiento, 2014).

Some visual methods that can be used with children are, for example, photo-essays, photo-collage techniques, diaries, drawings, modelling, concept mapping and still and video camera work (Prosser and Burke, 2008). Photo-elicitation techniques are being used often with children; it consists of showing the children images (or objects) whose meaning is explored by the interviewer and the interviewee (Prosser and Burke, 2008). Harper (2005) explains that there has been a change in the use of visual methods and that, through time, photographs produced by the population under study have become important visual tools.

In fact, the idea is not new. In the beginning of the 20th century, the sociologist Lewis Hine photographed the lives of workers and used photography to study child labour (Sarmiento, 2014). Several other social scientists, particularly in Anthropology, have long been using visual methods in their research (Claude Levi-Straus used photographs and Margaret Mead resorted to children's drawings, to give two examples of renowned social researchers). However, the use of visual tools has been looked upon with suspicion and their generalisation, particularly in Sociology and in Childhood Studies, has been slow (Sarmiento, 2014).

In the late 1960's, Worth and Adair (1972), in an attempt to challenge typical researched-researcher relationships, gave city teenagers and representatives of the Navajo Native Americans movie cameras, so they could decide how films about themselves should be done and should be like. The participants were the data collectors and interpreters. In the 1980's, many photographers gave children cameras, emphasising the empowerment of this action (for example, Jim Hubbard's work in a project called "Shooting back from the reservation"; Prosser and Burke, 2008; Weber, 2008).

In another example, Sharples and colleagues (2003) gave cameras to children aged 7, 11 and 15 years old, from five different European countries. Clark (1999) theorised that the method of giving children control and power over their own representation through image could be called "auto-driving". Clark and Moss (2001) developed what they called "the mosaic approach" (a combination of more classical research methods, such as observation, and visual methods) when they provided children aged between two and four years old with cameras to depict what was important to them in their nursery.

Participatory video and photograph processes allow the children to express what they want to, in a more democratic model of research where researchers and children work together (Prosser and Burke, 2008). Moreover, cameras have been used by children to address difficult aspects of their lives, for example, see the work by Egg and colleagues (2004) done with children who had been victims of violence. In all research using visual methods informed consent is, of course, essential.

The visual methods were used in this thesis from a critical and collaborative perspective (as suggested by Sarmiento, 2014). It was critical in the sense that their use was done in a project that aimed at social change. It was collaborative because I did not produce and interpret them alone (namely in the children's drawings); I did so with the children who participated in the project and, hence, the use of visual methods also worked as a way of sharing power and of involving and engaging the children in the research (in the way defended by Sarmiento, 2014).

The use of visual methods in this thesis was twofold. On the one hand, the project itself used several tools from visual methodologies in exercises during the sessions. The children often did drawings and collages in the last exercise of the sessions, as is described in the next chapter. In the second year of the fieldwork, the children created a book together and photographs staged by the children illustrated one of the stories. They were perhaps usually not the ones to press the button of the camera, but they decided exactly how each photograph should look like. The process of the making of the book is addressed in detail in the fourth episode in Chapter 4. On the other hand, in this thesis we used visual methods as a form of data generation and analysis, recurring to videos and photographs from the sessions and to drawings made by the children.

Alex Campos filmed the videos used in this thesis (described in Chapters 3 and 4). He is a documentarist whose project "Nomad Eyes" uses participatory video processes to "get to know and disseminate the roots of different identities and cultures through the intimacy and keeping up with the camera, together with the protagonists, as a tool for each community to develop their own way of looking as a social motor" (from the project's Verkami page, www.verkami.com/users/23869).

Even though in this case Alex Campos was filming another project, his technique of filming shows the philosophy behind his work. He filmed the events from a very close perspective to the children, managing at the same time not to be intrusive. The fact that he was not a complete stranger to the children, who knew him from the previous year, helped achieving that complicity.

In his interview, Alex explained that, in the sessions he filmed and in his daily work, his method was to:

"assume the camera as another character present. And I am with it. And sometimes it can go into someone else's hands, which also becomes part of the activity. (...) That is, it is as if we were two characters, who are sometimes closer together, and sometimes

further apart, the camera and I, and the people relate to both of us. If I feel, for example, that the camera is... is creating a tension in the moment, or is provoking... yes, a tension, I try that the presence of the camera becomes subtler and I become more involved with the group. If it is the other way round, like... there are groups or there are people who really want to talk to the camera, then it becomes more... the character... it becomes more important, the character of the camera. Almost autonomous from me, which is also very interesting. Until the point when they can take the camera; and then they learn how to create that autonomy of looking to the others without also being the others, but placing them in the place of the observant” (Campos, interview).³⁷

The films were so important for this project that the description of two of the five episodes is based on them, and the use of the films was also very relevant (although not the main source of documentation) in the description of the fourth episode.

In the second and third episodes, because the video was the basis for the description and discussion of the sessions, we opted for a division of the videos into different moments. In each moment, we chose frames that would illustrate what happened during that segment of the session. The frames were placed in sequence, creating what we called a visual mosaic. There are different ways of analysing images (for an explanation of different visual analysis techniques, see, e.g. Rose, 2001). We opted for a description of the videos where we highlighted particular moments that we then discussed in greater detail, for they provided interesting information about the session. The idea of the visual mosaics was to help the visualisation and to support the description of each moment. That way, the reader did not have to keep going back to the video for support and the moments we chose to highlight become clearer. The description of these episodes was completed with data from my field journal.

Alex Campos used an EOS Canon 6D camera, I filmed a few sequences using an EOS Canon Rebel XT camera and I used Final Cut Pro X to edit the videos. The edition of the videos was done because the filmed material was too long and I selected the moments that were more relevant. No sound or colour correction was done to the images. All the material edited for this thesis is available online in my YouTube channel (the username is “Joana Louçã”). The videos of this thesis were uploaded into my account as “unlisted”, meaning that they are only visible to the people with the link, which is provided in this dissertation, in the relevant sections. Some videos mentioned in this thesis have not been edited specifically for it, and are included in other works by Alex Campos. The link to those videos is given in relevant sections and they are available online in his YouTube channel (as “olharesnomadas”).

³⁷ “Alex: assumir a câmara como mais um personagem que está lá. E que eu estou com ela. E que às vezes ela também pode ir a outras mãos, se torna uma parte da actividade também. (...) Ou seja, é como se fossemos dois personagens, que às vezes estamos mais juntos e às vezes mais separados, a câmara e eu, e as pessoas se relacionam com os dois. Se eu sentir, por exemplo, que a câmara está... está a *tensar* o momento, ou está a provocar... sim, alguma tensão, acho que a presença da câmara tento que esteja mais subtil e eu torno-me mais envolvido com o grupo. E se é ao contrário, tipo... há grupos ou há pessoas que querem falar mesmo para a câmara, então aí se torna mais, a personagem se torna mais importante, a personagem da câmara. Quase autónoma de mim, o que também é muito interessante. Até ao ponto em que eles possam pegar a câmara e então já eles é que aprendem a criar essa autonomia de olhar para os outros sem serem os outros também, mas de pôr-se no lugar do observador.”

The photographs used to illustrate the sessions in Chapter 3 and the first and fifth episodes in Chapter 4 were also placed in a visual mosaic. In this case, the photographs were a means of documenting the sessions, an illustration of how they developed; hence the choice to display them collectively, as a whole image of the session, and not individually. The people involved in the sessions took the photos, usually me; therefore, in the sessions that happened in the classroom, the documentation only shows the last exercises and not the whole session. The description of the parts of the sessions that have not been photographed is based on my field journal. Whenever we use photos taken by someone else, he or she gave me permission to reproduce the material and the authorship is referred in the description. I took the photos using an EOS Canon Rebel XT camera and none of the photographs is edited.

Interviews

I interviewed the children, the teachers and the artists from c.e.m who participated in the project in order to obtain an additional tool to complete the information about it and to give a direct voice its participants. The interviews were semi-structured and the interviewer tried to have minimal influence during the process, but we were, of course, aware that it is never possible not to influence an interview; neutrality is impossible (as mentioned by Fontana and Frey, 2005). Trying to minimise the interviewer's influence in the process, the voices of the respondents are considered in separate and we conducted polyphonic interviewing (as defined by Fontana and Frey, 2005:709), gathering answers from a total of twenty-two people (eleven children, the two teachers and nine artists from c.e.m).

Regarding the answers provided by the intervenients in the project, we recognise that they are socially situated accounts about processes in which the people being interviewed were themselves involved. Because in this situation the accounts people give are inevitably a mixture of what actually happened and their constructions of what it means, including their own adequacy in the process, their interviews cannot be presumed to be completely factual reports. However, the fact that each interview was analysed in relation to the others and that the data from the interviews was triangulated with data from other sources, allowed us to use the interviews as evidence.

The interviews results are discussed in detail in Chapters 5 and 6. The interviews began in January 2013 and the last one was done in July 2014. They were held individually, except for the teachers, who were interviewed together. The person being interviewed decided where he or she wanted the interview to take place. The goal of the interview was explained in the beginning; it was made clear to everyone that they did not have to answer any questions they would not want to, and that there were no wrong answers. The audio of the interviews was recorded using a M-Audio MicroTrack II Portable Digital Recorder. During the interviews, no images were recorded.

If the people being interviewed wanted to stop, they were free to do so. Once a child who had other engagements and had to leave, and her interview was continued the following day. The script of the interview predefined the set of questions asked, which revolved around the interviewees' opinions and evaluation of the sessions, how the children and the teachers benefited from the sessions and how did the project interfere with the children's and the teachers' experience at school.

The audio from the interviews was recorded and they were transcribed into text. A content analysis was done and the categories were created according to the main themes. In all cases, the results from the interviews were pooled into four dimensions, self, peers, school and c.e.m. Inside these dimensions, new categories were created from the contents of the answers associated with the scripts of the interviews. In the children's case, the categories were: family, contents of the classes, sessions, teachers and school workers, relationships, learning, children participation, qualification/evaluation of the sessions, REVOADA, explanation of the drawings and children interviewing me. For the teachers, they were: family, education/learning approach, body and corporeity, children, contents of the classes, teachers and school workers, book, relationship between c.e.m and the school, relationships, learning, qualification/evaluation of the sessions. In the artists' case, the categories were: family, education/learning approach, body and corporeity, children, contents of the classes, sessions, school/class/classroom, teachers and school workers, behaviour, book, relationship between c.e.m and the school, relationships, learning, children participation, qualification/evaluation of the sessions, street/neighbourhood/Mouraria, REVOADA. The following table illustrates the occurrence of each category according to each group.

	Children	Teachers	Artists
Children		✓	✓
Teachers and school workers	✓	✓	✓
Family	✓	✓	✓
Contents of the classes	✓	✓	✓
Learning	✓	✓	✓
Education/learning approach		✓	✓
Children participation	✓		✓
Relationships	✓	✓	✓
Behaviour			✓
Body and corporeity		✓	✓
Sessions	✓		✓
REVOADA	✓		✓
Book		✓	✓
Relationship between c.e.m and the school		✓	✓
Qualification/evaluation of the sessions	✓	✓	✓
School/class/classroom			✓
Street/neighbourhood/Mouraria			✓
Drawing explanation	✓		
Children interviewing me	✓		

Figure 1: How each category of analysis was mentioned by each group of interviewees.

The discourse analysis started by taking into account all the interviews of the children together, followed by the interviews with the teachers, and lastly the interviews with the artists. In this process, the children's results were compiled into eight major topics: effects of the sessions, uncertainty of roles, role reversal between the adults and the children, participation in the shaping of the sessions, work vs. fun, autobiography and collective book and REVOADA. The teachers' interviews revealed three main themes: effects of the project on the children, teamwork between c.e.m and the school, and integration of the project in the teachers' organisation. The artists' results showed five major themes: effects of the project on the children, teamwork between c.e.m and the school, children participation in the shaping of the sessions, REVOADA and criticism of the project THE BODY AT SCHOOL.

In the end of the interviews, the children were asked to make a drawing about the project. After they finished their drawing, they were asked to explain it. The methodology of asking the children to make drawings and asking them their perspectives about them has been used in several studies (e.g. see Hallam, Lee and Das Gupta, 2011, or Wright, 2011). In our case, the process of drawing and the explanation were both audio recorded and later transcribed with the interviews. The explanation was used for the interpretation of the drawings, as well as any descriptions or sounds they would make while drawing.

The drawings were described using the categories created by Coates and Coates (2011). These authors examined 800 drawings and related audio recordings from children between the ages of three to seven years old. Coates and Coates (2011) made a list of the nine main forms by which children structure their drawings and the most common themes addressed. The structuring of the children's drawings was, in the authors' experience, usually done according to: the use of the line as a technical basis for drawing; the development of personal geometric symbols or schemas; intellectual realism (abstract elements that exist in the mind of the one drawing, or that could not be visible from the artist's viewpoint); the mixing of planes and front elevations; having a base line and a sky line; a tendency to avoid overlapping; disjuncture of scale (according to the importance of the parts); x-ray pictures that show elements that would realistically not be visible; and writing that accompanies the drawing (Coates and Coates, 2011:94-97). According to the authors (Coates and Coates, 2011:100-106), the children's most common themes were significant first-hand experiences (as revealed through quality talk, that is, conversations held with the children after the drawing, explaining it), secondary sources that influenced imaginative stories (such as advertisement, children's television entertainment, books or adults), and heroes and subjects from the media.

Fulková and Tipton (2011) have also analysed children's drawings, arguing that a picture should be examined not only through its figurative code, but also through its "discourse", where the figurative code and the representational meaning are created. According to them, images and texts become multilingual narrative spaces and an interpretation reflects the relationship between signs, meanings and context. In children's cases, just like with everyone else, the drawings are a form of communication, noted in complex notational processes representing many kinds of languages. The authors recommend that, as we have chosen to do, the children, as authors of the drawings, should participate in the discourses as well as the researchers (Fulková and Tipton, 2011).

Fulková and Tipton also surveyed the symbols in the drawings: the spirals, zigzags, etc., and their shape: strong, sharp, etc., as well as to the layout of the drawing. We have taken their recommendations into account in our analysis. We have worked on two levels of interpretation, following the work by Wright (2011): the "surface level", which represents the literal message, with

the people, places, objects and events; and the “deep level”, the broader, abstract concepts, ideas and values (such as love, friendship or justice, for example; Wright, 2011: 160).

How we answered our research questions

In this section, we shall discuss our strategies for the study of each of our research questions so that we can answer them in a robust way. We will justify the design and the methods used, and consider what were the limits to the inferences we drew from the data.

Relationship between the arts, an active body and the children

This first research question, like all other five, was studied through a triangulation of data, as mentioned above. The influence that an experience of the arts and an active body posture had on the children and the way they related to school was the basic question behind the project THE BODY AT SCHOOL. In order to study it, we followed a project that used methodologies from arts-based research. Below, we summarise this technique and discuss how it was used in particular in our case.

Arts-based inquiry arose in the early 1970's and, according to Finley (2008), two issues were fundamental for its development. First was the questioning of the relationship between researchers and the communities. Research subjects started to be seen not as participants, but as collaborators and co-researchers in the studies. Secondly, and as a result of this change in relationship, there was a “crisis of representation” (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994) of how to present the results obtained in a research, while respecting all the research projects participants' voices. From this crisis emerged non-traditional methods and revised standards for evaluating research. Hence, in arts-based research, researchers started implementing multiple and new approaches to research, and portraying results in different arts-based narrative form. As a consequence of this change in methodology, new characteristics of researchers began to be recognised as being valuable, such as being interpersonal, political, emotional, moral and ethically competent, intellectually open and creative, empathetic and understanding (Finley, 2008).

According to Finley, arts-based research created a field between the arts and science, challenging the status quo of both (what was research, what was art, who was the researcher and the researched, who was the artist, who was being represented, the logics of the artistic market, the logics of the knowledge market, etc.). In 1999, Norman Denzin (Denzin, 1999) took arts-based inquiry one-step further, comparing it to “guerrilla warfare” against oppression. This revolutionary arts-based inquiry should, on the one hand, unveil oppression and, on the other, transform praxis. This type of research would only be possible if the research was democratised and the people being researched had control over the process, becoming co-authors, giving diversity, openness, participation and inclusivity to the research (Finley, 2008).

According to Eisner (2008), the deliteralisation of knowledge allowed for many different forms of knowing, as it opened the eyes to the fact that there are other ways of studying a subject other than through scientific procedures to test propositions. It became clear that a circumstance or a situation could also be described by images, for example (Eisner, 2008:5). Through the use of the arts in research, it is possible to problematize traditional conclusions, more than to provide answers in predefined and strict categories. Eisner added that, moreover, there are other contributions of the arts to knowledge: the arts address the qualitative nuances of situations; they generate empathetic feelings that can lead to action; they provide new perspectives to perceive and interpret the world, beyond our habits and immediate reactions; finally, they make us discover our humanity, because the arts evoke our affective responses to life and make us aware of our capacity to feel. Finley (2008) warned that "arts-based research" is an umbrella expression for many different research methodologies, and should not become a recipe for research.

The research for this thesis was focused on a project that promoted classes where the curricular contents that the children had to learn were addressed through movement exercises and using tools from different artistic areas (theatre, dance, improvisation and the plastic arts). In that way, the work done was an arts-based research, in which an artistic process was used as a way of understanding and examining experience (as referred by McNiff, 2008). All the sessions of the project are described in the following two chapters. In their analysis, we looked at specific events and discussed them as separate episodes. These episodes, triangulated with the interviews and the field notes, allowed us to answer this first question. As it was a complicated and complex theme, it was addressed in all five episodes in Chapter 4.

The first episode describes one session of the project about the skeletal system, and it exemplifies how the project integrated the school cultures, the children's cultures and artistic cultures. The study of the details of the session, and the documentation produced allowed us to begin to address the first question in particular. The second episode illustrates a class that was taught by the children to a group of adults. The class was entirely prepared and executed by the children and shows how the project stimulated the children's creativity and multidisciplinary thought.

The third episode describes a specific improvisation exercise and how one of the children of the class, a Gypsy Romanian girl, decided to execute it. It was an example of the impact arts-based research could have. Denzin and Lincoln (2005) stated that the goal of arts-based research was to reach epiphanies, unique moments of interaction that made a difference on people's lives, and that the process started with such experiences would, in some way, transform the lives of the person or people who lived it (as also mentioned by Fontana and Frey, 2005). The third episode provides a

description of how that girl reached what we will argue is one such moment of “epiphany”, providing yet another element to answer our first research question.

The fourth episode shows how the children wrote a book in the sessions. It shows how the project stimulated the children’s cultural production and creativity. The last episode describes a particular event of the project that happened in the streets of Mouraria and we will argue that it shows the transformative potential of learning as a collective and active process.

During the interviews mentioned above, the lines of inquiry did not follow strictly nor directly the phrasing of the departing research hypotheses guiding this dissertation. We preferred to ask the three groups of people more or less indirect questions of open answer, intended to provide input to at least one of our research topics. In fact, more than one interview questions could be dedicated to different aspects under survey. For example, regarding our first research question, in order to obtain their answers, the children were asked what they remembered from the sessions, what did they think of them and in which way were they important for their learning. The teachers and the artists were asked indirectly how they would describe the project and directly how they thought the sessions helped the children learn. The artists were also asked how could the project influence the children, the school, the teachers and the families. After analysing the interviews, as will be discussed in Chapter 5 and 6, it was clear that the children, the teachers and the artists all referred the curricular, artistic and social skills the children learnt from the project.

The last source of data we used were the drawings the children made about the project. Each child depicted the aspect that they thought was more important of the project, and that also allowed us to infer information to answer some of our research questions. In this case, some children showed the importance that the sessions of the project had, others mentioned how the project had an impact in their personal relationships (both with adults and with their peers), while other children highlighted the emotional importance of the project. The children’s drawings are addressed in Chapter 5.

Children having an active role at school

The second question asked what would be the children’s behaviour if they could develop a project of their own choosing, recognising their cultural production, exploring different ways of learning, deconstructing their traditionally passive role at school. In order to answer it, we created the conditions for that change of role to happen, with different moments when the children were stimulated and supported to develop their own work, individually or in groups. The way the project evolved to create these moments is described in the following chapter, until in the years of our fieldwork the children developing their own work became a recurrent part of the sessions at school. One example of those sessions is one of the episodes of the fourth chapter. Moreover, in order to

understand the dynamics and evolution of a project developed by the children over a long period of time, longer than the usual ninety minutes that the sessions took, every year of the fieldwork ended with a long project, chosen and developed by the children over the last school term, which the artists called NEIGHBOURS (VIZINHOS). Two of those projects are described in the last two episodes of Chapter 4; in the first the children wrote a book and in the second (chronologically ordered) the children, with other adults, engaged together in the renovation of the abandoned ruins of a building in Mouraria. The last episode to address this question is the second episode that also addressed the reversal of roles in the class taught by the children. The episodes showed how the children engaged in a creative process using their multidisciplinary knowledge and how they learnt what they had to do precisely by doing it, proving to be absolutely capable and willing to produce culture. The group dynamics established among the children are discussed in detail in the fourth chapter.

As far as the interviews are concerned, the children were asked directly what they thought of the experience of making the book and of teaching a class to the adults. The teachers and the artists were asked how the sessions influenced the children's learning. In their drawings, some children also highlighted the making of the book, working within the ruins of the building, teaching the class and the impact that had on their relationship with their colleagues and the people from c.e.m.

Exercises that reduce the children's gender, ethnic and developmental differences

To introduce the way I answered this question, I will use the term "ideal speech situation", coined by Jürgen Habermas. The ideal speech situation is a discussion where the best argument will win and the practical matters can be rationally decided because the communication is obstructed neither by contingent external interventions, nor by constraints of the structure of communication itself (Habermas, 2010/2009). Such an ideal speech situation can only be reached in a condition of general symmetry between the people involved, when there is an effective equality of opportunities to speak, that is, when all actors have a "symmetric distribution of the chances to choose and to perform speech acts" (p. 130). Those moments, according to Habermas, would only happen in a pure communicative action, however, according to the philosopher-sociologist, there is no society where an ideal speech situation takes place (Habermas, 2010/2009).

Knowing from the start that the asymmetry between the children in the project was impossible to erase (notably, the differences of gender, ethnicity or development between people), the project made use of artistic exercises to reduce these effects to the least. Children are usually segregated or sorted at school, often precisely according to these differences, girls versus boys, children who speak the language versus those who do not, the best students first and the worse last or vice versa. The project tried to develop exercises and moments to erase these differences, trying to approach an ideal speech situation (the asymmetry between adults and children is perhaps even more striking and

that is discussed in the fifth research question). This question was tackled in the project's sessions, described in the next chapter. In particular, we select one of the sessions as an episode for its striking relevance to this topic.

Another way we used to answer this question was to describe one particular improvisation exercise performed by Georgiana, one very shy girl from the group, which is discussed in the third episode in Chapter 4. We argue, using the terminology proposed by Denzin and Lincoln (2005) and described above, that the improvisation exercise led Georgiana to reach an epiphany in terms of her behaviour and how she chose to expose herself to others. We also discuss how the artistic skills, namely in improvisation exercises, allowed the children to manage their emotional risk-taking behaviours before the others and themselves.

In the interviews, the children were indirectly asked what they thought of the sessions and how were they important for their and their colleagues' learning. The teachers were asked how the sessions helped the children learn, if there were differences that they could pin on the project in the way the children related with each other and with the school and, indirectly, if the teachers remembered any specific moment from the sessions. The artists were asked about the influence the project had on the children, the school, the teachers and the families. In their answers, both children and adults noticed the social skills they gained and explored in the project's sessions.

Children's formal, non-formal and informal knowledge

In order to contextualise this question, we refer to two authors, Michael Young and Alan Rogers. Alan Rogers, on the one hand, addresses the distinction between formal, non-formal and informal learning. According to his definition, formal learning happens in educational institutions, non-formal learning happens outside of schools, it is self-directed and not planned and informal learning happens in everyday life and it is not planned (Rogers, 2014). To discuss the importance of informal learning for formal learning, the author recurs to the analogy of the iceberg an image that has been used by different researchers to address the different types of learning. According to this image, at the tip of the iceberg is formal learning, the area between the top and the sea water level corresponds to non-formal learning, and the largest part of the iceberg is underwater and represents informal learning. Informal learning, according to the author, supports and determines the other types of learning, despite usually receiving much less attention. The three types of learning should not be seen as separate categories, but rather as having blurred boundaries between them.

Michael Young, on the other hand, argued that the school's curriculum should be built based on different curricular contents. According to Michael Young, the curriculum is used to create a particular kind of society, only secondarily is it used to form a certain type of person and even so

only up to the point that the person proves to be available to learn (Young, 2010: 62). The researcher asserts that it is necessary to develop a different model of curriculum, one that is based on knowledge and is an alternative to neoconservatism. Such a model should question the curricular contents in order to recognise its historical and social origins and the ability to transcend them (Young, 2010: 77).

In our study, taking into account this need for a different curriculum that respects the children's varied ways of learning and knowledge previously acquired, we focused on how children's formal, informal and non-formal knowledge could be valued at school. We centred the answer to this question on two particular occasions: when the children were invited to teach a class to a group of adults at c.e.m (discussed in episode 2), and during the writing of the book by the children (episode 4). These episodes showed how they used their creativity and multidisciplinary thought to prepare the class and were an example of integration of children's knowledge in a work for school.

In their interviews, the children were indirectly asked about their experience of making the book and teaching a class to the group of adults. Both the teachers and the artists were asked, indirectly, how the sessions influenced the children's learning.

A different classroom

Our fifth research question was if it was possible to change the hierarchical relationship inside the classroom between the teacher and the children, maintaining a relationship based on mutual respect, trust and support. To answer it, we analysed three episodes, the first (describing one of the sessions of the project), the second (the class the children taught to the adults, including their own teacher) and the fifth (about the occupation by the children and adults – among which, their teacher – of the ruins of a building). If in the second episode there was a clear (albeit for a limited period of time) inversion of the roles of the children and the teacher, in the fifth episode children and adults shared the decision-making in a process that blurred generational differences and also united current and former students of Escola da Madalena.

In their interviews, the children were asked about their experience of making the book, about teaching the class to a group of adults, and directly how they felt about being able to participate in the structure of the sessions. In their answers, they highlighted the ambiguity of the artists' role, the role reversal that happened between them and the teachers, particularly when they taught the class (but they recognised that the change was not permanent but more an exceptional event that did not permanently change the power relation between them) and their participation in the shaping of the sessions. The teachers were asked how they benefited from the project and, indirectly, how the children related to the school with the project. The artists were indirectly asked who was the project

destined to and about the influence the project had on the children, the school, the teachers and the families. Regarding this subject, from the perspective of the relationship between the artists and the teachers, the adults mentioned the feeling of teamwork between the school and the dance association, the importance of working together and of being able to delegate part of the work to others and the ambiguity of the artists' role when faced with the traditional parts played in a school. The artists also discussed the children participation in the sessions.

A school open to the community

As mentioned before, the fifth episode describes the process through which the children, their relevant adults, the teachers and other members of the community occupied the ruins of an abandoned building. This episode is used to address the sixth and last question of how the school could be considered a system open to the community. In the artists' interviews, they were asked about the consequences and influence they considered the project could have on the children, the school, the teachers and the families. Because the interviews started being conducted before we chose to include REVOADA in our fieldwork, and because part of the people interviewed did not take part in the REVOADA sessions (particularly the artists and some of the children), there were no questions in the interview scripts about that process. Be that as it may, the scripts were adapted to the person being interviewed and many people discussed this event, as we shall see in the following chapters. The adults addressed the overall importance of engaging the whole community in the learning process. Lastly, in their drawings, the children also referred to the REVOADA sessions, as well as to the relationships between the school, the dance association and the neighbourhood.

Limitations of our answers

The conclusions we could take from our research questions, were limited by the fact that, for the most part, the project sessions happened once a week hence, despite our relatively long period of fieldwork, the question always remains if the effects here described were due to the project or to other events. Moreover, like in all research, there might have been noteworthy events that happened in the sessions and we simply did not see, notice or take into account. Furthermore, there could also have been effects of the project and ways in which it had impact on the lives of the children, which we could not study, such as effects in their daily life, or at school outside of the sessions. Additionally, the interviews were conducted one year after the children had left the school and that might have had a negative effect in their ability to answer with detail and accurately all our questions.

To overcome these problems, as mentioned before, we used data triangulation. The use of a vast array of sources of information allowed us to build a more complete vision of the project. For example, the description of the episodes included data from my field journal, the videos and

photographs from the sessions, and the material produced by the children. That, combined with the interviews that we conducted with the children, the teachers and the adults, plus the information gathered on the neighbourhood allowed us, we feel, to reduce the level of noise in our sample and in the most complete way possible, answer our questions. Regarding the changes in the children's behaviour at school, as described in the following chapters we kept a very close relationship with the teachers with a constant reassessment of the project, the sessions and the children. The fact that the teachers provided us with information about what went on in the classrooms after the sessions were over also completed our description of the fieldwork.

Summary of the data

The following table shows a summary of the data collected during the fieldwork.

	Total nr	Total time	Pages of transcription/interpretation
Photographs of the sessions	1963	-	-
Filmed sessions	5	9h	30
Short films from sessions	6	30'	-
Analysed texts by the children (reports and fiction)	47 pages	-	17
Analysed drawings by the children	9	-	21
Interviews	22	10h	89
Field journal	104 pages	-	-
Documentation by Lyncoln	20 pages	-	-

Figure 2: The data collected during the fieldwork.

Ethical procedures

Christensen and Prout (2002) proposed the term “ethical symmetry” to describe the relationship that should be established between the researchers and the children being researched in any study conducted in Childhood Studies. According to Christensen and Prout (2002), each researcher works according to a certain perspective on children (the authors identified four ways of seeing children in research: as object, as subject, as social actor and as participants and co-researchers). This perspective has implications for the research practice, influencing the methods chosen, the analysis of data, its interpretation, and the ethical practice itself.

Ethical symmetry between adults and children proposes that the researcher's starting point is that his or her ethical relationship with the children is the same as it would be if they were adults. That is, the children's rights, feelings and interests will be considered as much as the adults' (Christensen and Prout, 2002). Secondly, each ethical decision about the adults in the research has a counterpart for the children involved. The third point derives from the first and states that ethical symmetry

implies that differences between conducting research with children or with adults should not originate from stereotypes or presumptions about the children, but from particular and concrete situations of the children in the research (Christensen and Prout, 2002). This leads to the aforementioned idea that researching with children does not imply using particular methods, but that the practices used have to be related to the children's interests and experiences (Christensen and Prout, 2002).

The idea of ethical symmetry does not, however, assume social symmetry in power relations between children and adults, or among the children, and children's social experiences will also be influenced by such factors as ethnicity, disability, gender, social and economic inequalities, also to be taken into account by the researchers (Christensen and Prout, 2002). Lastly, the authors recommend an intensification of the dialogue between professionals about the ethical questions that arise from research, and also between the children and the researchers involved in their studies (Christensen and Prout, 2002).

When the project started at Escola da Madalena, we informed the teacher working with the project that it would be the subject of this thesis and requested her permission; she agreed. When we asked if we could ask for the children's informed consent, she said that could only happen in writing if we had permission from the Agrupamento Gil Vicente. We asked for the children's informed consent orally after explaining them about the thesis and at the same time tried to resolve the situation bureaucratically.

We asked the school's direction for its approval; the answer arrived after a couple of months and they said they could allow it after the approval by the DCIDC – “Direcção Geral de Inovação e de Desenvolvimento Curricular” [“Directorate General of Innovation and Curricular Development” of the Ministry of Education]. In May 2011, a request was submitted to this entity. It included a letter from Professor Manuel Sarmiento, the supervisor of this thesis; a description of the project and its methodology; the list of questions the children would be asked during the interviews and the DCIDC's questionnaire was answered.

The answer from the DCIDC arrived two months later and the request had been overruled because they required the school's approval first. That left us in a dead end. By then it was July 2011 and the first year of the fieldwork had finished. In September we explained the situation to the teacher, and she agreed to continue asking for the children's informed consent only orally. We did so and that was repeated with both classes that entered the project in the last year of the fieldwork. All the children agreed.

In our work with the children, we always tried to adopt a perspective of “ethical symmetry”. In every moment of writing of this thesis, we considered the impact our analysis could have in the children’s and the participants’ lives and any consideration or data that could jeopardise their reputation, life or relationship with others has been excluded.

After the thesis is completed, a copy will be given to the school, to the dance association, and a summary of it will be given to the children and teachers who were a part of it, so that the actors who have made it possible can also take ownership of this stage of the work.

Roles of the researcher

The role played by the author of this thesis changed gradually with time and with implications to the research. Before the fieldwork began, I was the person in charge of the dance association’s work with children. I coordinated the project and conducted the sessions, with other artists who were also involved.

Once I decided to do a PhD and what the theme of my thesis would be, my role changed gradually and by the first year of my fieldwork, I started sharing the project’s coordination and the conduction of the sessions grew each time more independent from me.

By the time of the last year of the fieldwork, I often had to travel to the UK to work on the thesis, and, with time, I felt the need to become a participant slightly less involved in the project and in the dance association’s daily life, so I no longer had any role in the coordination of the project. The following years, I stopped working with the dance association altogether.

In part, this choice was due to personal reasons, to have more time to focus on the writing of this thesis, but on the other hand, it was also a need that I felt, as a researcher, to distance myself from the object of my research after such a relatively long and intense period of immersion during the fieldwork. I felt that being too close prevented me from seeing “the big picture”. Nonetheless, I value the period of time that I spent immersed in the project; I think it contributed to the depth of the description, and also the time spent doing the project coordination allowed me to access the teacher, children and artists in a way that, otherwise, would have been impossible.

Taking into account my personal history with the project, I could have had the temptation to include all the years that I worked with it as part of the fieldwork. However, it was very clear to me the distinction that happened once I had decided to use the project as the theme of my research. The way of being in the sessions was changed, the relationship with the teachers, the children and the artists changed as it gained a new dimension, the scientific research, which was not there when I was “just” doing the project for personal reasons.

Context: Mouraria

In this section we provide a detailed description of Mouraria, the neighbourhood where our fieldwork took place. We will begin with a brief historical explanation of the neighbourhood and of the gentrification process it is experiencing. Then, we focus on statistical data about the neighbourhood from the last population census. We address statistical indicators such as area and population density, age of the population, nationality and religion, housing conditions, level of schooling, job and unemployment level. In the end, we describe the places for children found in the neighbourhood. Regarding the schooling of the population of Mouraria, because the fieldwork of this thesis was conducted mostly inside a primary school, we considered to be important to provide a brief historical description of the schooling system in Portugal, taking into account the changes it has gone through throughout the 20th century until nowadays. To describe the current situation in the educational system, we analysed the data from the recent international assessment tests.

Historical background

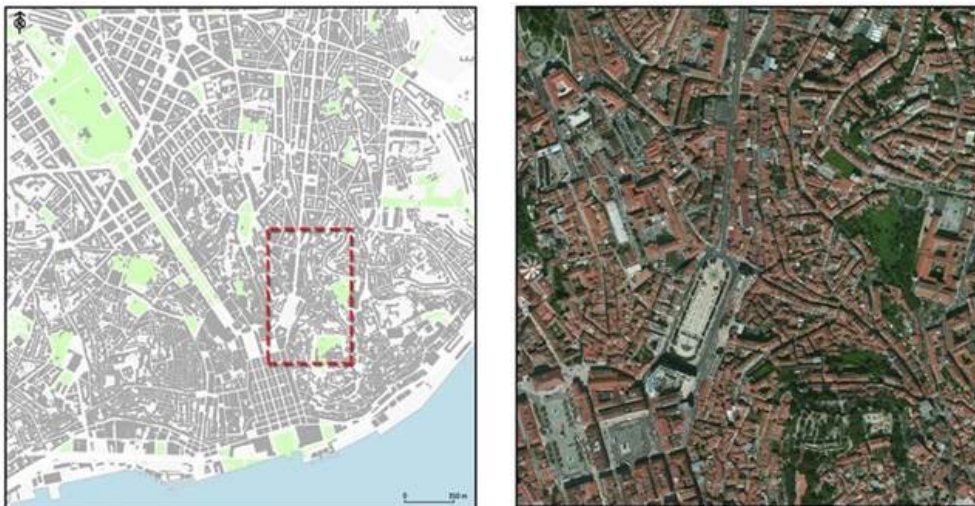


Figure 3 Left: Lisbon, with the dotted rectangle indicating Mouraria; Right: Mouraria.
Images from Ana Estevens.

Mouraria is one of the oldest neighbourhoods in Lisbon. It was inhabited by the romans (in fact, there is a roman cemetery almost directly underneath the school where this fieldwork happened), and most likely its first settlement is from before that time (Araújo, 1992a; Araújo, 1992b). It is located in Lisbon's historic centre, on the hill that leads to the city's castle, bordered in the South by the river Tagus, in the East by Alfama, in the West by Baixa, and in the North by Intendente/Anjos.

Mouraria's name is due to the fact that, after Lisbon was conquered by the Christians from the Arabs in 1147, that region that became the Jewish and Muslim ghetto (but mostly Muslim, and

there were two Jewish ghettos in the city, Araújo, 1992a). Hence the name Mouraria, home of the Moors.

The Islamic community had some agricultural activity in the area, growing olives and grapes. They had certain autonomy, with their own mayor, tax collection, prison, butchery, cattle shed, schools, a mosque and a cemetery (Araújo, 1992c; Dias, 1987). In 1170, they were officially considered impure, and the circulation between the ghetto and the rest of the city became harder (Dias, 1987). In 1497, the king D. Manuel, who had married the daughter of the Spanish Catholic Kings in exchange for installing the Inquisition in Portugal, ordered the occupation and destruction of Mouraria (Dias, 1987). All the marble of Mouraria's cemetery was used in the construction of an enormous hospital, occupying the whole Praça da Figueira (Dias, 1987).

The Muslim and Jewish communities were expelled from the country, and the destruction of the ghetto led to deep changes in Lisbon's urbanism. This period was the peak of Portugal's "age of discovery", a mere three years before the Portuguese caravels had reached Brazil. The city centre was redirected towards the river, and the new royal palace was built nearer the shore.

At that time, Mouraria changed deeply with the construction of convents, churches and palaces. However, the neighbourhood's bohemian lifestyle coexisted with its newfound Catholicism, and it was, simultaneously, a neighbourhood of prostitution and, in its taverns, the Moorish "cativa" slowly changed and became "fado" (a musical genre which later became a symbol of Mouraria and of Portugal).

On November 1st 1755 an earthquake, which historians estimate reached level 9 in Richter's scale, struck the city of Lisbon. Its epicentre was located in the sea, not far from Lisbon, and after the earthquake, followed a tsunami, with waves reaching 20m high (Tavares, 2005). To make things worse, after the tsunami several fires started and the city was reportedly burning for several days (Tavares, 2005). The earthquake destroyed Lisbon and approximately two-thirds of its population died in it (Tavares, 2005). The king was never again capable of being inside a solid building, and moved his court to Ajuda, where they all lived in the "real barraca da Ajuda" ["royal tent in Ajuda"] until his death (Tavares, 2005). The king's prime minister at the time, Marquis of Pombal, was given immense powers afterwards, and ordered the reconstruction of the city (hence the "pombalina" architecture; the building of the school where we worked in is an example of it).

For the reconstruction, and especially for the reconstruction of the area where the school stands, four plans were taken into account: the first was to reconstruct the city as it was before; the second to construct a whole new city, with broad avenues and public gardens and anti-seismic building structures; the third was a mix of those two plans, with parts of the city being reconstructed almost

as they were, others in a planned way (Baixa in particular); or, finally, to simply leave Lisbon to ruins and build a whole new city a few kilometres downstream from the river (Tavares, 2005). The third plan was chosen, and the constructions carried out.

Generally speaking, the neighbourhood did not change drastically with the earthquake of 1755, as the houses were basically rebuilt where they were, nor did it in 1888, when parts of the city were restructured. In the 20th century, during the dictatorship, the attitude towards Mouraria was contradictory. On the one hand the “typical” aspect of the neighbourhood was praised, but on the other, the lifestyle of the inhabitants was condemned for being promiscuous or decaying (Menezes, 2012). Between 1930 and 1960 Mouraria suffered big changes with the destruction of an important part of the neighbourhood, the downtown area, which was carried out for the creation of Praça do Martim Moniz (Dias, 1987; Menezes, 2012). The inhabitants who were displaced moved to neighbourhoods in the periphery of the city, but little is known of the relocation process (Menezes, 2012).

Towards the end of the 20th century, its houses became older and older, petty crime rose, and Intendente, a square at the northern border of Mouraria, became one of the most important areas for selling and buying illegal drugs, and for prostitution in the city centre. At the same time, the number of immigrants living in the neighbourhood rose, attracted by the cheap housing price, not necessarily to the liking of the older inhabitants of Mouraria.

More recently, not only did the financial crisis of 2008 have an important impact on the lives of the people, but also in 2013 a new lease law was approved and implemented. The law had an impact in all lease contracts, but was particularly relevant for people who had contracts previous to 1990. It gave the landlords the power to upgrade the rents from one day to the next by unilateral decision; it was no longer necessary to reach an agreement with the tenant. The law has a safeguard clause of five years, so most evictions will happen in 2018; but many people, already aware that their new rent will be unsustainable, have started moving out of their homes. This has an important impact in neighbourhoods such as Mouraria, with an ageing population where most of the people live in rented apartments, as will be discussed further on.

Present time

Ruth Glass, who studied the link between class struggle and housing in London, coined the term "gentrification" in 1964 (Slater, 2011). It designated the process of displacement of a working-class population by middle-class occupiers through the increase of property price, a tenure change from renting to owning and an accelerated rehabilitation of Victorian houses, especially in Islington, where she lived (Slater, 2011). Gentrification happens in urban areas where previous disinvestment

in the neighbourhoods creates opportunities for redevelopment that is considered profitable by the business and policy elites. This redevelopment is usually done disregarding the urban residents, whose lives are often affected by precarity, work instability, unemployment and stigmatisation (Slater, 2011). It occurs in societies where the middle-class professionals prefer to live in the city centre to living in the suburbia (Slater, 2011:571-572). The concept of gentrification is complex and has been developed and discussed further by several authors (for some examples, read Menezes, 2012 or Slater, 2011).

There are often in cities territories of exclusion, the outskirts of urban areas, or, in the case of historical cities, inner cities in old and degraded neighbourhoods (Sarmiento, 2003b), which in turn lead to more complex and sophisticated exclusion processes. Mouraria was going through that process until 2007, when António Costa, of the Socialist Party, was elected the new City Mayor. He decided to transform Mouraria into his flagship neighbourhood.

Two important plans of City Hall intervention were approved: the “Programa de Acção Mouraria” [“Programme of Action for Mouraria”, that began in 2011, with the total budget of nine million euros; Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 2016a] and the “Plano de Desenvolvimento Comunitário da Mouraria” [“Plan of Communal Development of Mouraria”, an investment of one million euros between 2011 and 2013; Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 2016b], included in the National Strategic Reference Frameworks (NSRFs). Between 2011 and 2014 the mayor symbolically moved his office to Largo do Intendente, in Mouraria.

One piece of information that we consider to be a good representation of the neighbourhood is the fact that, until very recently, Mouraria was one of the very few neighbourhoods in Lisbon that did not have a supermarket. It had many local groceries stores and even mini markets and it was only in 2012 that the neighbourhood a supermarket of the chain “Pingo Doce” opened in the neighbourhood . 2011 was definitely a turning point for Mouraria.

Many authors have recently studied the neighbourhood (for example, Mendes, 2012; Gésero, 2012), and some focused on the gentrification process it is going through. We shall discuss, in particular, the points addressed in two papers. Malheiros and colleagues (2012) focused on two simultaneous processes going on in Mouraria, on the one hand, the gentrification of the neighbourhood, on the other, the new arrival of poor, non-European migrants. These two movements were apparently contradictory, but co-existed in Mouraria. The study focused on the opinions and daily routines of three groups: the gentrifiers, the migrants and the traditional inhabitants. It revealed that, at the time, the flow of migrants was more significant than the process of gentrification and that the processes happened in blocks that were not always the same (Malheiros *et al.*, 2012). In addition, the

study revealed that the gentrifiers in Mouraria valued the feeling of being close to an urban diversity and genuineness, but in their daily lives they did not effectively experience those values.

The City Hall's intervention has been criticised for the importance it gave to tradition and tourism (in particular to the idea of the neighbourhood being the birthplace of fado), while at the same time creating an idea that Mouraria had always been a multicultural neighbourhood (the different aspects that lead to this "invention" of Mouraria have been thoroughly addressed by Menezes, 2012). Menezes wrote another paper (Menezes, 2011) where she addressed the changes in the neighbourhood, using as an example the cultural events sponsored by the City Hall that happened in Mouraria in 2010. The municipal intervention, besides valuing the traditional legacy of the neighbourhood, also created and supported several events and associations promoting multiculturalism. The same researcher (2011) placed an interesting question: whether or not, between the people who go to Mouraria to see the diversity, those who live and work in Mouraria, and those who have just moved in, the gentrification process is not taking advantage of the symbolism of cultural diversity, while at the same time hiding the dynamics between diversities, differences and inequalities that exist under the surface. In other words, when cultural diversity is turned into a spectacle, is that hiding all the rest going on between people from different backgrounds, countries of origin, lifestyles, social classes, and so forth?

Every summer the so-called "Santos Populares", the street fairs with concerts and improvised street restaurants (serving usually only one dish, grilled sardines, and several beverages, from water to beer or wine) are a moment for the people from the neighbourhood and the surroundings to come together, and a moment when the different social actors identify and interact with each other (Menezes, 2011).

Since 2010, however, one of the cultural associations working in Mouraria, called "Associação Renovar a Mouraria" (ARM) ["Renovate/Renew Mouraria Association"], that works as a strategic partner of the City Hall in Mouraria, started hosting its own fair, a few streets apart from the traditional popular party in the neighbourhood. In their party, taking place at the same time as the popular fair, the music played is world music and the food ranges from the typical food to vegetarian dishes. In the popular party, the music played is "pimba" [popular pop and folk music, whose lyrics tend to consist of sexual innuendoes or simplistic romantic stories] and there is no variation in the food menu. Most of the people attending the party by the Association are young and do not reside in Mouraria.

There have been other events in Mouraria sponsored by the City Hall, such as the festival "Todos" ["Everybody"], whose programme highlighted the plurality of the neighbourhood with multiple performances by artists from all over the world. Menezes (2011) considers that the cultural

investment the neighbourhood has witnessed is problematic for not considering the culture of the traditional inhabitants of Mouraria as culture in its own right. Since the traditional production is considered not to belong to the correct kind of culture, this investment tries to educate the inhabitants into a predefined “culture” (for further discussion on the way the elite reacts to the culture of the working classes and how it does not consider it acceptable read Lopes, 2005). As a consequence, the recipients of projects such as “Todos” and the fair by ARM become, in reality, the gentrifiers or people who went to Mouraria just to watch the performances.

In her work, Marluce Menezes (2011) argues that the process going on in Mouraria is complex and often contradictory. She criticises the rehabilitation proposal for Mouraria for not taking into account what had already been done in the neighbourhood in the past, for not evaluating the previous policies and for carrying out successive interventions that keep starting from scratch as if nothing had ever been done in the neighbourhood before (a description of such previous interventions can be read in Oliveira and Padilla, 2012).

Finally, Menezes (2011) summarises thus the approach towards Mouraria: it was as if an invention of a multicultural and multi-ethnic tradition could solve the contradictions of a neighbourhood that is going through a process at the same time of stigmatisation and emblematising. According to her, the idea of considering Mouraria a symbol of multiculturalism and of the creation of the “other”, the foreign, as a positive concept, also creates a logic of exclusion, segregation and stigmatisation. Moreover, she asks a very interesting question: if the whole city of Lisbon is multicultural and plural, then why is the emphasis for multiculturalism and diversity only placed in Mouraria and not in the whole city? In a way, the author argues, that can also lead to the creation of a ghetto, a multicultural area opposed to the rest of the city.

Mouraria’s history and some of the tensions that the neighbourhood is living nowadays have been briefly described in this section. The population changes the neighbourhood is going through were reflected in the children who attended the local public primary school. In particular, the next chapter addresses how the classroom composition varied over the course of two school years, as a mirror of the fluctuations of the population of Mouraria. We shall now look at a contextualisation of the neighbourhood recurring to the statistical data from the population census of 2011.

The numbers of Mouraria

This section is focused on statistical data to complete the description of the neighbourhood. We address indicators such as area and population density, age of the population, continent of origin and religion, housing conditions, level of schooling, a description of the jobs and the unemployment level. We provide a brief description of the schooling system in Portugal, referring to some of the

changes it went through throughout the 20th century, and how the current situation is, based on data from recent international assessment tests.

Mouraria, despite being a neighbourhood, is not an administrative division of the city of Lisbon. The neighbourhood is comprised of five different “juntas de freguesia”³⁸ [“parish councils”, the smallest administrative division of the urban territory in Portugal]: Graça, Madalena, São Cristóvão and São Lourenço (despite its long name, it is just one parish), São Nicolau and Socorro³⁹. In order to provide a detailed description of Mouraria at the time of the fieldwork of this thesis, we present and discuss statistical data from the 2011 census of the population conducted by the National Institute of Statistics (INE, 2012a). We analysed the data for each of the five parish councils that comprise Mouraria. This method was the most approximate analysis of the data for the neighbourhood possible, but it was not entirely accurate, as parts of some of the councils belong to other neighbourhoods. Specifically, part of the council of São Nicolau belonged to the neighbourhood Baixa; part of the parish of Graça belonged to the neighbourhood of Graça itself. Whenever possible, the data from the five parishes was analysed together, except in those cases where the nature of the data or the large disparity between parishes made such combination impossible. Those exceptions are treated separately.

Area and population density

Mouraria occupies an area of 918406 m², and the total number of inhabitants is 11817 (INE, 2012a). The population density is 12867 inhabitants/km², almost the double of the density of Lisbon, considered as a whole (6447 inhabitants/km²).

Population according to age

In 2011, the ageing index in the Portuguese population (or elder-child ratio, the number of people over 65 years old per each group of one hundred young people under 15 years old) was 129, and it was slightly higher in Lisbon (187). In all five parishes the ageing index was even higher than the average for Lisbon, except in Madalena (Graça 271, São Cristóvão e São Lourenço 336, São Nicolau 283, Socorro 197 and Madalena 131). The average percentage of the ageing index in the parishes of Madalena was 244.

Regarding the percentage of children in the population for the whole of Portugal, it was 15%. In Lisbon, it was 13%. In all the five parishes of Mouraria, the percentage was lower than that, except

³⁸ In 2012, the organisation of the “juntas de freguesia” changed in Portugal. For example, Lisbon had fifty-three parishes and in 2012 they were merged or transformed into only twenty-four. In this thesis, we considered the organisation of the city before the change from 2012 because the data from the population census is previous to this merger.

³⁹ Other researchers have considered other divisions of the neighbourhood, see, for example, the GEITONIES project (www.geitonies.fl.ul.pt) where Mouraria was considered to include the whole parish of Socorro, three quarters of São Cristóvão and São Lourenço and a little less than two thirds of Santa Justa. There are no official limits to the neighbourhood and we opted for a less tight division of Mouraria. The different ways of marking the limits of Mouraria have been the topic of a recent work by Bettencourt and Castro (2015).

in Madalena (Graça 10.3%, São Cristóvão e São Lourenço 7.1%, São Nicolau 6.9%, Socorro 10.9% and Madalena 13%). The average percentage of children in the parishes of Madalena was 9.6%.

Figure 5 shows the distribution of the inhabitants according to age groups. The age division is imprecise, but the definite results from the 2011 census dividing the population into groups of 5 years had not yet been published by INE at the time of writing. The results thus far showed a distribution of the population in Mouraria similar to Lisbon and Portugal.

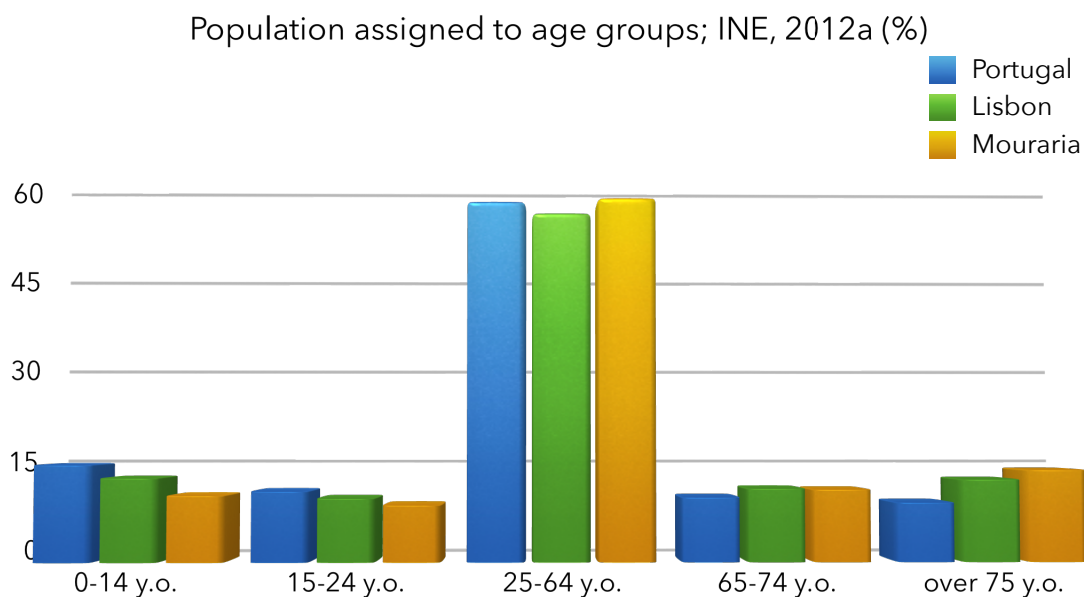


Figure 4: Population assigned to age groups, in INE, 2012a.

A multicultural neighbourhood

In the 18th century in particular, Mouraria grew due to the number of migrants who moved into the neighbourhood. These people were from other, rural areas of Portugal, but also from abroad, particularly from Galicia, in Spain (Malheiros *et al.*, 2012). Over the last quarter of the 20th century, the geographical origins of the migrants moving into Mouraria became more diverse, with the arrival of people from the Portuguese-speaking African countries and, after that, from Asia (particularly, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and China, Malheiros *et al.*, 2012).

Almeida and André (2004) studied the data from the 2001 census regarding information about the children in the population and concluded that in Portugal 2% of the children were foreigner and, in the greater Lisbon area, this number reached its maximum, 4.15%. In the whole country, children from Portuguese-speaking African countries represented the majority of the foreign

children (45%), followed by children from the European Union and Switzerland (25%), Brazil (11%) and Eastern Europe (2%).

Regarding their distribution throughout the country, Almeida and André (2004) described that the percentage of Brazilian children in the population was the same in the whole country, and the main difference between Lisbon and the rest of the country is the percentage of children from the Portuguese-speaking African countries (65% of the foreign children in Lisbon).

The data from the 2011 census showed that Mouraria remained more multicultural than the average for Lisbon, which is the most multicultural city in Portugal. The majority of the population in Mouraria was Portuguese (78.2%), but the percentage of Portuguese was lower than the average for Portugal (91.7%) and for Lisbon (87.9%; INE, 2012a).

Figure 6 shows the division of the population according to their continent of origin, without considering the Portuguese. The percentage of other European citizens was similar between Lisbon and Portugal (2.4% and 2.7% respectively); in Mouraria (3.9%) it was slightly higher. In the parish councils the numbers were similar (ranging from 3.4% to 4.3%), except in Madalena (7.6%), where it was almost the double.

Regarding the number of African migrants, Lisbon had a much higher percentage (5.5%) than Portugal (3.5%). The percentage for Mouraria was almost the same (5.4%). As far as American immigrants (South, Central and North Americas were all pooled together) were concerned, in Portugal the percentage of the population was 1.8%, in Lisbon 2.8% and in Mouraria 3.8%.

Finally, regarding the percentage of Asian immigrants, the numbers were a bit more diverse. Whereas for the whole of Portugal and even Lisbon the percentage was low (0.3% and 1.3%), in Mouraria it was much higher (8.7%). Among the five parish councils that comprise Mouraria, there was a lot of diversity: in Graça and Madalena the percentage was lower than in Mouraria (1.1 and 3.8%, respectively) but in São Cristóvão and São Lourenço, São Nicolau and Socorro, the numbers were higher (9.2%, 13.1% and 21.5%). The number of inhabitants from Oceania was so small that we chose not to include the continent in the graphic. There were 78 Lisbon residents from Oceania, 3 of them lived in Mouraria.

Allochthonous population according to continent of origin; INE,2012a (%)

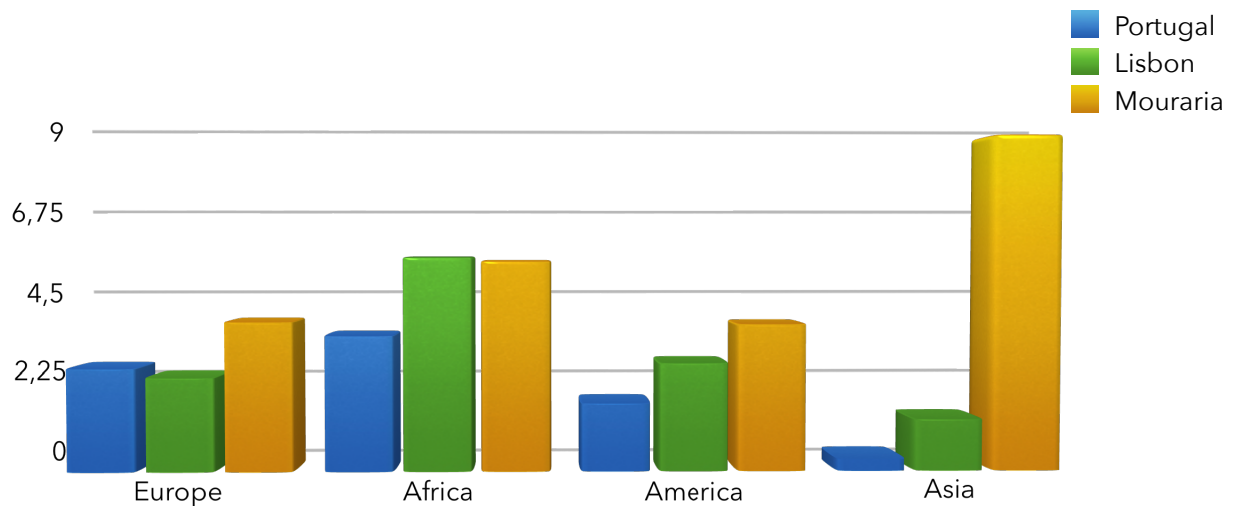


Figure 5 Allochthonous population assigned to the continent of origin, excluding Oceania, in INE, 2012a.

Mouraria was a neighbourhood to which people came not only from abroad, but also from other places in Portugal. The Census described that, of the population of Mouraria in 2011, 19.2% of the people had moved in since 2006 (this date was chosen by the Census to study a 5 year gap, it was not defined by me) from other parts of Portugal; within the same timespan, 6.7% had moved in from another house within the same parish council and 8.7% had moved in from other countries. 61.6% of the population has lived there since before 2006, and 3.8% were born after 2006. Furthermore, 27.5% of Mouraria's population had lived outside of Portugal for at least one continuous year during their lives (INE, 2012a).

Another sign of multiculturalism was the diversity of religious beliefs found in the population, in all the geographical divisions considered. Roman Catholics were still, by far, the majority (Portugal 81%, Lisbon 68.2%, Mouraria 61.1%); for this reason, they were not considered in Figure 7, showing the division of the population according to their religion.

Out of the religions specifically considered in the population census, Jews were less common overall (Portugal 0.03%, Lisbon 0.08%, Mouraria 0.08%). Orthodox Catholics also represented a small percentage in the population (Portugal 0.63%, Lisbon 0.66%, Mouraria 1.03%). There was a slightly higher percentage of Protestants in Lisbon and in Mouraria than in Portugal (Portugal 0.84%, Lisbon 1.02%, Mouraria 1.01%). The people who practiced other Christian religions combined reached a higher percentage in the population (Portugal 1.82%, Lisbon 2.28%, Mouraria 2.67%).

The percentage of Muslims in the population was much higher in Mouraria (4%) than in Portugal (0.23%) or Lisbon (0.65%). Within Mouraria itself, there was an interesting diversity among the parishes. In Graça (0.79%) and Madalena (0.29%), the numbers were low, whereas in São Cristóvão and São Lourenço (5.34%), São Nicolau (3.76%) and Socorro (10.07%), the numbers were higher. Regarding other non-Christian religions, this tendency was maintained (a low percentage in Portugal – 0.32%, and Lisbon – 0.97%, a much higher percentage in Mouraria – 4.01%, but, looking in detail, in Graça and Madalena the numbers were low – 0.87% and 2.34%, and in São Cristóvão and São Lourenço, São Nicolau and Socorro the percentage was higher – 5.02%, 9.17% and 7.57%).

Regarding the number of people with no religion, the percentage was lower in Portugal (6.84%) than is Lisbon (14.1%), which was very similar to Mouraria (14.53%). 11.58% of the inhabitants from Mouraria chose not to answer.

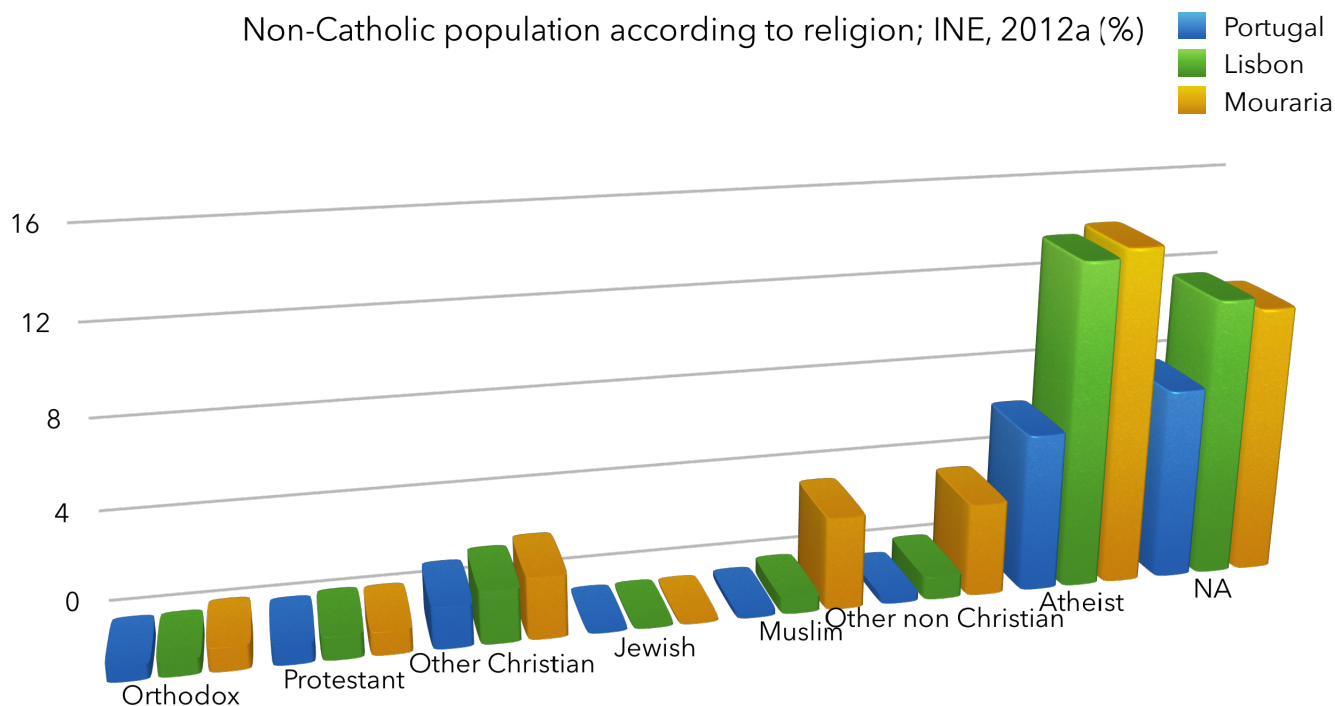


Figure 6 Non-Catholic populations assigned to religion, in INE, 2012a.

Housing conditions

Mouraria, being a historical neighbourhood, is expected to have a high index of old buildings (defined by the ratio of buildings built before 1960 and the buildings built after 2001). Effectively, the results for all the five council parishes (46% in Graça, 14% in Madalena, 62% in São Cristóvão and São Lourenço, 37% in São Nicolau, and 24% in Socorro) were higher than for Lisbon (11%; INE, 2012a).

47% of the buildings in the neighbourhood were built until 1919, 33% were built between 1919 and 1945, 11% between 1946 and 1960, 2% in the 1960's, 1% in the 1970's, 1% in the 1980's, 2% in the 90's and 3% between 2001 and 2011.

19% of the buildings in Mouraria had only one floor, 14% had two floors, 20% were three-story buildings, 22% had four floors, 16% were five-story buildings, 7% had six floors, and only 2% had seven floors or more. Out of those buildings, 36% had no need for renovations, 55% needed renovations and 9% were very deteriorated.

71.1% of the people living in these buildings in Mouraria had running water, toilet, heating system and bathroom; 26.6% had running water, toilet and bathroom; 3.5% neither had shower nor bathroom; 1.12% had running water, toilet, heating system and no bathroom; 0.84% had running water, toilet and no bathroom; 0.15% only had running water and heating system; 0.08% only had running water; 0.06% had none of the above; 0.03% only had a toilet and 0.02% only had a heating system.

30% of the people living in the houses owned them, 66% were letting or subletting (this data, as we mentioned before, means that the new lease law will probably have a considerable impact in Mouraria), and 4% were in any other, unspecified, situation.

Public School and Employment

Before continuing surveying the data from the population census regarding the level of schooling, employment and unemployment of the population of Mouraria, we shall provide a brief contextualisation of the school system in Portugal.

A historical view

Public school in Portugal has gone through constant radical changes since its creation in the 19th century. These changes always have a direct impact on the children, the teachers and the school workers, the schools themselves and on what children have to learn and can do at school. This section provides a brief description of the changes in the education system over the last 150 years, with a particular emphasis on its journey from 1910 until nowadays.

Mandatory schooling was introduced in 1844 and throughout the following hundred years, however Portugal remained with the lowest educational levels of the whole of Europe (Candeias e Simões, 1999; Martins, 2008). That is partially due to the distance between the legislative and the executive powers preventing many reforms from being established, particularly in the 19th century. Despite the approval of laws promoting mandatory schooling with free access to all, an increase in the school network and a modernisation of schooling methods and contents, they were never implemented (Martins, 2008). In the following decades things were not easier: public schools suffered many

reforms in the end of the 19th and in the early 20th centuries, as they went through three very different political regimes (Candeias e Simões, 1999), namely, the Constitutional Monarchy (until 1910), the First Republic (until 1926) and the period of dictatorship (until 1974).

The graphic below shows the evolution of the most basic indicator, the illiteracy rate (according to Candeias and Simões, 1999; the authors warn against the possible lack of accuracy of some of the data, naturally hard to obtain and verify, but the general trend should be accurate). It shows the evolution of several European countries, including Portugal, in 1850, 1900 and 1950. Greece and the former USSR were the countries that, together with Portugal, showed the worst results in 1900.

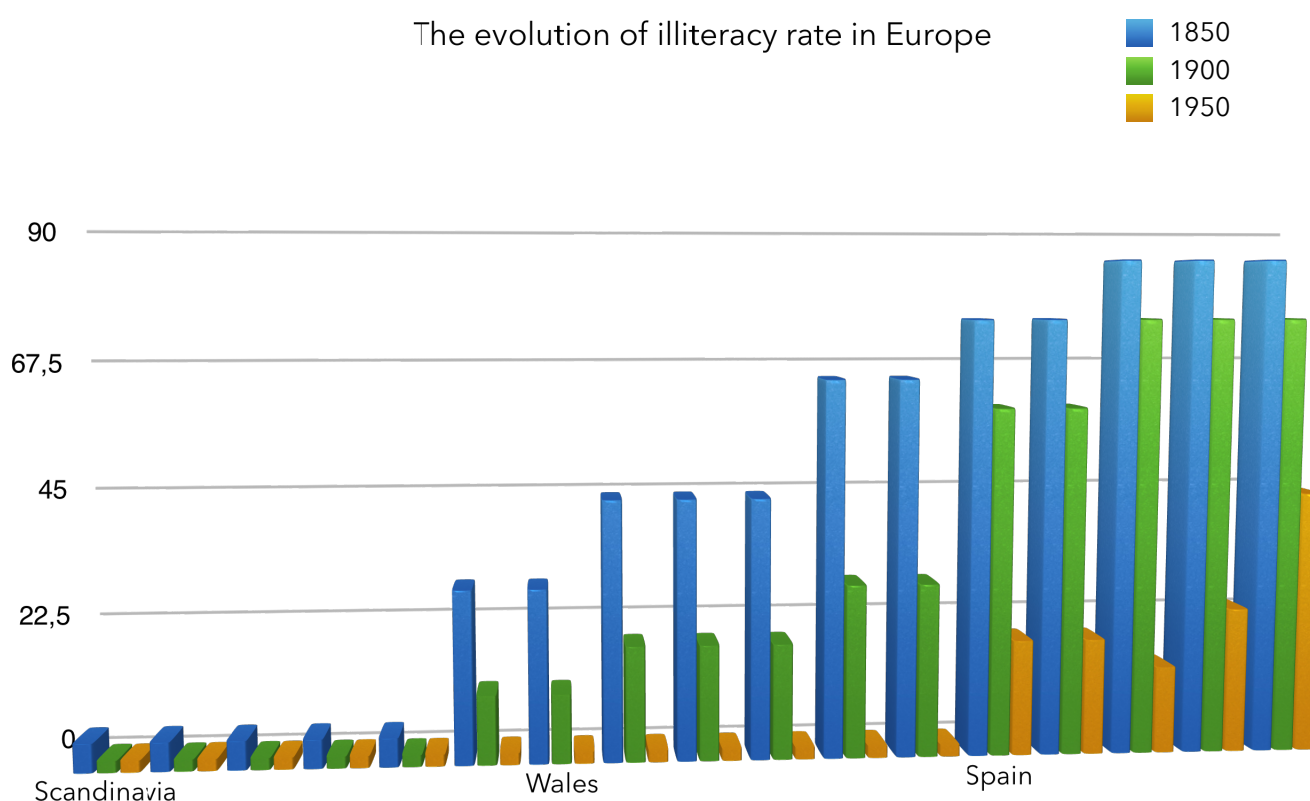


Figure 7: The evolution of the illiteracy rate in several European countries

in 1850, 1900 and 1950, according to Candeias and Simões, 1999.

From left to right: Scandinavia, Germany, Scotland, The Netherlands, Switzerland, England, Wales, France, Belgium, Ireland, Austria, Hungary, Spain, Poland, Russia + Bulgaria + Romania, Greece + former Yugoslavia, Portugal.

There was an investment in those countries to revert that tendency and, unlike what happened in Portugal, the illiteracy rate decreased drastically until 1950. At the time in Portugal 45% of the population could neither read nor write. This value decreased slightly throughout the decades, but it remained gender-related, that is, higher for women than for men.

During the years of the First Republic, the Portuguese education system went through very deep changes with two main educational reforms, one in 1911, and another in 1919, which implemented an innovative pedagogic movement for all school levels, from primary school to university (Martins, 2008).

The first of these reforms, in March 1911, was initiated by the publication of a law concerning primary schools, with their administration becoming the responsibility of the city halls and their supervision guaranteed by inspectors (Martins, 2014). At the same time, there was an increase in the wages of the teachers, and three “Escolas Normais” (“Normal Schools”, schools designed for the formation of teachers) were created in Lisbon, Oporto and Coimbra (Martins, 2008 and Martins, 2014). The reform recreated also the creation of mobile unites set for the teaching of adults. The mobile schools were equipped with the reading method designed by João de Deus, a poet and pedagogue, and they were initially promoted by the private initiative of Casimiro Freire, a republican businessman. Their first mission happened before the First Republic, in 1882, and the last was in 1921. Between that period, almost thirty thousand people attended the classes and 44% graduated (Martins, 2014).

According to the new law from 1911, the primary instruction, that previously only had four grades (three of which were mandatory), was divided in three levels: elementary, complementary and superior. They were all free and in total included eight grades that should be attended by children between seven and fourteen years old. The elementary level had three grades that were mandatory, followed by an optional complementary level, with two grades, and the superior level, with three grades (Martins, 2014). The superior primary instruction was only effectively installed eight years later, in 1919 in a reform led by the minister Leonardo Coimbra. The two higher levels of primary instruction were installed as an alternative to high school, which was too expensive for the large majority of the population (Martins, 2014).

The reform of 1919 increased mandatory schooling to five grades, comprised of the elementary and complementary primary education, and established that, for all primary instruction, the classes should be gender-mixed. The superior level of primary instruction was attended mostly by women (55% to 70%). The approval rates were very high and ranged from 66% and 93%, unlike what happened in high school and, moreover, there were more superior primary schools than high schools (fifty against thirty-three in the whole country, including the former colonies). Be it as it may, superior primary schooling had difficulty establishing itself as an education resource, mostly because of the lack of teachers prepared to teach the technical curricula (Martins, 2014). High school had two branches, secondary school and technical school, and it suffered little intervention by the republican governments (Martins, 2014).

Regarding pre-school education, several innovative laws were approved from the end of the 19th century to 1933, but most of them did not translate into effective measures put into practice (Vilarinho, 2004: 215). The First Republic set out the earliest attempt to establish a pre-school educational network, something that the dictatorship put on hold and would only be resumed after the Revolution (Martins, 2014). In 1911, the law defined that pre-school instruction should be attended by children between the ages of four and seven years old. The children were placed in mixed groups of fifteen to twenty children (Martins, 2014). The pedagogical inspiration for the classes came from the Modern School movement, influenced by Friedrich Fröbel's and Maria Montessori's approaches (according to laws from 1911 and 1919). Beside the curricular contents, there were architectural recommendations as well: these schools should be located in separate buildings, surrounded by a garden and with a room where the children could take their naps. In 1910, there were only two pre-schools; by 1926 the network included fifty-five schools (Martins, 2014).

Despite the effort to increase the level of literacy of the population, the First Republic did not manage to accomplish the results anticipated. In 1926 the dictatorship extinguished the superior primary instruction. Ten years later, a new reform extinguished the pre-school network, reduced mandatory schooling to three years (the elementary primary level) and made the complementary primary level optional (Martins, 2014).

The pre-school education was handed by the government to a charity called “Obra das Mães pela Educação Nacional” [“Work of the Mothers for a National Education”] and its goal changed from being a stage of education into becoming an institution for social assistance and surveillance of the working class (Vilarinho, 2004: 216). At the primary school level, the curricular grades became differentiated according to the gender of the pupils, with different curricula for the boys and the girls, and the Catholic Church and faith becoming actively included in certain mandatory subjects. Moreover, the “normal schools” were closed down; the curricular contents were revised to include the contents that would remain the same over the following thirty years (Martins, 2014).

For as long as the dictatorship lasted, school became a means of propaganda, reproducing a model of society, seldom taking into account the scientific, artistic or social changes brought by time. At the same time, teachers and schools were under constant scrutiny by the authorities, as the Prime Minister Salazar considered those institutions to be “the sacred workshop of the souls” where the generations to come could be “sculpted” (Martins, 2008). The school curriculum became centred around the celebration of the nationalistic pride, teaching the children “true patriotism”, with a particular emphasis on the then-colonies (Martins, 2008). The qualifications of the teachers were not considered a priority. The goal of public school was to teach people how to read, write and

count, and hence the teachers themselves did not need to have a complex education (Martins, 2008). In short, the network of public schooling that was beginning to be created by the First Republic was completely changed by the dictatorship.

During the dictatorship, malnutrition and poor healthcare led to high levels of child mortality. In 1932, two hundred in every one thousand children died and in 1935 in every twelve minutes died a child under the age of five years old (Martins, 2014). The numbers were devastating and the primary school teachers witnessed the precarious health of many of the children. By the end of the 1950s the lack of a qualified workforce led the government to recognise that the model had to be changed. In 1964, mandatory schooling was increased to six years and the government asked the OECD to study the Portuguese school structure between 1950 and 1959 and to predict the needs the country would have until 1975 (Martins, 2014).

Other countries such as Spain, Italy, Greece, Yugoslavia and Turkey, also in educational deficit, joined the OECD's "Regional Project for the Mediterranean". To overcome the deep deficit of the population in a short period of time, the recommendation was for the implementation of a tele school programme for adults. With time, the programme was also adapted for children who lived too far away from a regular school (Martins, 2014). Over the whole country, several venues were built for the people to attend the tele school classes.

Towards the end of the dictatorship, the government decided that it was urgent to fight the mounting illiteracy rate and poor educational levels. In 1971 and in 1973, two laws were approved that would change the schooling system. The idea was to transform it into something similar to a democratic meritocratic system, but with the country still living in a dictatorship (Martins, 2014). Mandatory schooling would increase to eight years, four in primary school and four in elementary school; the poor children would be allowed a subsidy so that they would not be left out of school for financial reasons. The pre-school network was reintegrated into the official school system (Martins, 2014; Vilarinho, 2004: 217) and two public schools were created to give formation to kindergarten and pre-schoolteachers in Viana do Castelo and Coimbra (Vilarinho, 2004: 217). After the 25th of April 1974, the advent of the revolution had as secondary consequence that these changes would never really be applied, and the successive new governments created a much more drastic and deeper school reform.

During the period of the dictatorship, there had been an effective increase of the literacy rate, but the people did not learn how to read and write between the ages of 7 and 14 years old (equivalent to the mandatory schooling period at the time). Unlike what was happening in the rest of Europe and in the Western world, with the development of a public school for the masses, free and mandatory, the Portuguese learnt to read and write outside of school in mostly voluntary and informal contexts

(Candeias e Simões, 1999). That, together with the fact that people who learnt how to read had a longer life expectancy and emigrated less than the illiterate population, explains the increase in literacy levels (Candeias e Simões, 1999). In 1940, only 33% of school-aged children attended primary school.

In Portugal, the alphabetisation cycles where the larger number of people learnt were between the ages of 10 and 14 years old and between 20 and 24 years old. It was only after 1950 that the alphabetisation cycle coincided with the school age, meaning it was only then that mandatory schooling started to overlap other forms of alphabetisation. In 1960, 95% of children attended school (Candeias e Simões, 1999) and by then the literacy rate had become 70% of the population. Ten years later, 25.7% of the Portuguese were illiterate: 31% of women, against 19.7% of men (INE, PORDATA, 2015a).

With the revolution of April 25th 1974, the backwards scenario quickly changed. One of the demands of the 1974 revolution was to allow universal access to public school and to create a new system of social security. Urgent reforms in schools and in the teachers' formation were undertaken. The first goal was to ensure all children attended to at least six years of school and gradually it was extended to nine years (Martins, 2008).

The Constitution of 1976 gave education and teaching a political and ideological orientation, as a democratic and progressive institution (Martins, 2008). New curricular programmes were approved, focusing both on the teacher's creativity and freedom and on the child's own education action, as a subject. Moreover, the number of classrooms increased and the ratio of student per classroom decreased (Martins, 2008).

Another important change was the effective reinstatement of the pre-school network, an increase in the number of pre-schools, kindergartens, centres for children with special needs, and the number of schools to form pre-school teachers (Martins, 2014). Extending the pre-school network to every five-year-old became a national goal and nowadays, the rate of coverage comes close to 100% (Martins, 2014), but the same does not apply to kindergartens. In 1977 the Superior Education Schools were created, to teach pre-school and primary school teachers and, all over the country, courses were promoted for the auxiliary staff (Martins, 2014). All the changes led to an increase in school attendance, but the structural delay is noticeable to this day, in spite of the enormous change done in a relatively short period of time (for a critical comparative analysis of the school system during the dictatorship and nowadays, see also Sarmento, 2013).

The situation nowadays

Nowadays, 5.2% of the population is still illiterate. The difference between genders has reduced, but it is still present: in 2001, 11.5% of the women were illiterate against 6.3% of the men; ten years later the gender gap was at 6.8% against 3.5% (INE, PORDATA, 2015). Mandatory schooling was increased in 2012 up to the age of 18 years old, completing 12 years of education.

Several international reports have been made that evaluated, among other countries, the Portuguese school system. We shall now look at the results of some of the most important assessments: PIRLS, TIMSS, PISA and Education at a Glance.

PIRLS – Progress in International Reading Literacy Study

PIRLS is a report issued every 5 years since 2001 by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA). The 2011 edition included 49 countries⁴⁰ and Portugal participated for the first time (IEA, 2012a).

The Portuguese average scale score was significantly higher than the centre point of the PIRLS scale, placing Portugal with a result significantly higher than that of countries such as Austria, Spain, Norway, Belgium or France. Portuguese girls scored significantly higher than boys, following the general trend. As for more detailed results, the ability Portuguese children had to understand the literary content of a text was lower than the average, but at the same time their ability to understand the informative content of a text was significantly higher than average. In terms of reading comprehension, Portuguese students placed in the average regarding their ability to “retrieve and straightforward inference” and to “interpret, integrate and evaluate”. Portugal was the country with the highest score for the parameter “students like reading”, it placed in the top ten (at number ten) for “students motivated to read” and for “students engaged in reading lessons”, and in the top three (raking third) for “instructional time spent on language and reading” (IEA, 2012a).

TIMSS – Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study

TIMSS report is issued every four years (since 1995) and it assesses the students’ achievements in fourth and eighth grade, also published by the IEA. 63 countries participated⁴¹ in this edition. Portugal has been evaluated since 1995 but in 2011 it was only evaluated for the fourth grade students (IEA, 2012b).

⁴⁰ Australia, Austria, Azerbaijan, Belgium (French), Botswana, Bulgaria, Canada, Chinese Taipei, Colombia, Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, England, Finland, France, Georgia, Germany, Honduras, Hong Kong SAR, Hungary, Indonesia, Islamic Republic of Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Kuwait, Lithuania, Malta, Morocco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Northern Ireland, Norway, Oman, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Trinidad and Tobago, United Arab Emirates and the United States.

⁴¹ Armenia, Australia, Austria, Azerbaijan, Bahrain, Belgium (Flemish), Botswana, Chile, Chinese Taipei, Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, England, Finland, Georgia, Germany, Ghana, Honduras, Hong Kong SAR, Hungary, Indonesia, Islamic Republic of Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Republic of Korea, Kuwait, Lebanon, Lithuania, Macedonia, Malaysia, Malta, Morocco, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Northern Ireland, Norway, Oman, Palestinian Nat'l Auth., Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Serbia, Singapore, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukraine, United Arab Emirates, United States and Yemen.

Portugal was the country with the best improvement of the results since 1995 (over the same period of time, only three countries showed a decrease in the results: Austria, Czech Republic and the Netherlands). Having increased ninety points since then, Portugal's results in 2011 were significantly higher than in 1995. Portugal had an average scale score significantly higher than the average, and it placed above countries such as Spain, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, Italy, Austria or Australia (IEA, 2012b).

TIMSS reports achievements along a scale of four international benchmarks: advanced, high, intermediate and low. Between 1995 and 2011, Portugal was one of the nine countries to report improvement in all four benchmarks, that is to say, the number of students with very good grades increased and the number of students with very bad grades decreased (IEA, 2012b).

In terms of more specific contents of the report, in the domains of “number”, “geometric shapes and measures”, and “data display”, when compared to the overall fourth grade mathematics achievement, Portuguese students showed a score significantly lower than the overall score in the first parameter, whereas they got a significantly higher score in the other two parameters. There were no significant differences in the results for girls and boys. Regarding the cognitive domains of “knowing”, “applying” and “reasoning” relative to overall mathematics achievement, Portuguese students showed sub scale results within the average of the overall test result. In the domain of “knowing”, boys showed a significantly higher result than girls.

According to this test Portugal is the seventh country where the teachers were least satisfied with their careers, it leads the ranking in terms of instructional time spent on mathematics, ranked fourth in terms of “instruction to engage students in learning” and eighth in “students engaged in mathematics lessons” (IEA, 2012b).

PISA – Programme for International Student Assessment

The PISA report from 2012 had a self-explanatory subtitle of “what fifteen year olds know and what they can do with what they know”. It is a report issued every three years since 2000, focused on mathematics, with reading, science, problem-solving and financial literacy as minor areas of assessment. The PISA report is published by the OECD (Organisation for the Cooperation and Economic Development), it included its thirty-four member states⁴² and thirty-one partner countries⁴³, representing, according to the organisers, 80% of the world's economy (OECD, 2014).

⁴² Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Chile, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Korea, Luxembourg, Mexico, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Portugal, the Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United states

⁴³ Albania, Argentina, Brazil, Bulgaria, Colombia, Costa Rica, Croatia, Cyprus Hong Kong-China, Indonesia, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Latvia, Lichtenstein, Lithuania, Macao-China, Malaysia, Republic of Montenegro, Peru, Qatar, Romania, Russian Federation, Republic of Serbia, Shanghai-China, Singapore, Chinese Taipei, Thailand, Tunisia, UAE, Uruguay and Vietnam.

According to the report, between 2003 and 2012 Portugal (along with Italy and Poland) increased its share of top performers and reduced its share of low performers in mathematics, agreeing with the result from the TIMSS evaluation. Portugal's mean score in mathematics was below the average for the OECD countries (albeit very close to the average value), its share of low achievers in mathematics was also not significantly different from the OECD average, its share of top achievers in mathematics was below the average, as were the mean scores in terms of reading and science (OECD, 2014).

Comparing the performance of countries and economies, the Portuguese results in mathematics were not significantly different from those of France, the United Kingdom, Iceland, Latvia, Luxembourg, Norway, Italy, Spain, the Russian Federation, the Slovak Republic, the United States or Lithuania (OECD, 2014).

Portugal showed below-average equity in education opportunities: between 2003 and 2012, Portuguese students' performance might have improved, but the equity (impact of the socio-economic status on performance) of the system deteriorated (OECD, 2014).

When looking at a snapshot of the students engagement, their drive and self-belief (categories created by the OECD), Portugal had an average significantly higher than OECD average in terms of the number of students who reported having skipped classes or days of school, but its average was not significantly different in terms of the score-point difference that is associated with students doing so, and neither was it different in terms of socio-economic disparities in the sense of belonging among students of equal performance in mathematics. Regarding the students' drive, Portuguese students showed an openness to problem solving above the OECD average, the score-point difference per unit of the index of openness to problem solving and the socio-economic disparities (among students of equal mathematics performance) was within the OECD average, and the gender gap for the same item (among students of equal mathematics performance) was below the OECD average. In terms of self-beliefs, Portuguese students had a result above the OECD average in terms of mathematics self-efficacy and of the score-point difference per unit of the index of mathematics self-efficacy, but a result below the average for the gender gap in mathematics self-efficacy (among students of equal mathematics performance; OECD, 2014).

Portugal scored well above the OECD average in the number of students who reported being happy at school, 97% of the students thought that trying hard at school would help them get a good job in the future and 98% thought that trying hard at school was important. 80% of the parents of Portuguese children expected them to work as managers or professionals at the age of 30, and over 60% of the parents expected the children to complete a university degree (OECD, 2014).

General indicators – Education at a Glance

Education at a Glance is a report published by the OECD, evaluating its members' performance. We shall analyse the results from the most recent report from 2013 and, due to its complexity, the reports' results were subdivided.

- General statistics

In Portugal 44% of the population between twenty-five and sixty-four years old had completed pre-primary or primary education, 21% had lower secondary education (both of which were above the OECD and EU21 average), 17% had upper secondary education, 17% had completed tertiary education and 2% completed advanced research programmes (the results for these last three levels were all below the OECD and EU21 average; OECD, 2013).

Portugal was among the five OECD countries with the largest proportion of adults (twenty-five to sixty-four year-olds) without an upper secondary diploma (65%, in contrast with the OECD average of 25%). Regarding the proportion of adults with a university degree, the difference between Portugal (17%) and the OECD average (32%) was particularly noticeable. Portugal was also below the OECD average in terms of population with a tertiary education between twenty-five and thirty-four years old (27% against 39%), making it Portugal one of the three OECD countries where the proportion of population with a university degree was smaller, for this age group. Portugal was the OECD country with the lowest level of population (twenty-five to sixty-four years old) whose highest level of attainment was upper secondary or post-secondary non-tertiary education (OECD, 2013).

Portugal was one of the only three OECD countries (together with Mexico and Turkey) where less than 20% of the population finished upper secondary education. In these countries, together with Italy and Spain, the proportion of people with less than an upper secondary education was larger than the proportion of adults with upper secondary education or with a tertiary degree (OECD, 2013).

Between 2000 and 2011, in Portugal there was a reduction of more than 10% of the share of adults who had only a below upper secondary education; the proportion of twenty-five to thirty-four year-olds with at least an upper secondary qualification increased from 32% to 56% and during the same time period the proportion of adults between twenty-five to sixty-four years old who completed a university degree almost doubled (OECD, 2013).

- New opportunities

Between 2005 and 2011, the number of Portuguese students graduating from upper secondary vocational programmes increased by more than 10%. Around 30% of upper secondary graduates in Portugal were twenty-five or older, making it the OECD country with the highest rate of high

school graduation for adults (21%). Between 2000 and 2011, the proportion of adults who had completed at least high school increased from 32% to 56% (OECD, 2013).

This high rate of people going back to school over such a relatively short period of time was explained in the report by the creation of the programme “Novas Oportunidades” [“New Opportunities”], which was specifically praised. It was a programme intended to provide a second chance for individuals who had left school early without a secondary diploma or who were at risk of doing so, and to assist those in the labour market who wanted to acquire further qualifications. As a result of this initiative, graduation rates rose by more than 40% between 2008 and 2010 and in 2010, more than 40% of the students concerned were older than twenty-five years old (OECD, 2013).

The “Novas Oportunidades” programme was launched by José Sócrates’ government (from the Socialist Party) in 2005 and terminated by Pedro Passos Coelho’s government (from the Social Democratic Party) in March 2013. Between 2006 and 2010, four hundred and nine thousand adults graduated through that programme (Viana, 2013). The programme was discontinued by Álvaro Santos Pereira, Pedro Passos Coelho’s Economy minister, who claimed it was “a total flop in terms of employment” (Público and Lusa, 2012).

- Secondary education

Portugal had one of the largest cross-generational differences in the level of attainment among OECD countries: while less than 20% of the people between fifty-five and sixty-four year-olds attained at least upper secondary education, half (56%) of the youngsters (between twenty-five and thirty-four years old) completed high school (against the average for OECD countries for the same age group of 82%). However, inside this age group, the rate of people who finished high school tripled for women (60%), more than doubled for men (50%) and Portugal was one of the four OECD countries (together with Mexico, Turkey and Spain) that showed the highest average annual growth rates (from 1995 to 2011) for upper secondary graduation (more than 3%, considerably above the OECD average of 0.6%; OECD, 2013).

For first-time upper secondary graduates, graduation rates for women were 17% higher than those for men (this trend, albeit not so strong, was seen throughout OECD countries; only in Austria, the Czech Republic and Germany was the proportion of male graduates slightly higher than that of women). Between 2000 and 2011, enrolment rates for fifteen to nineteen year-olds increased in Portugal around 15%, more than the average increase of 8% for the other OECD countries (OECD, 2013).

- Tertiary education and advanced research programmes

Tertiary-type A graduation rates increased between 1995 and 2011 and this increase was particularly steep between 1995 and 2005. Over the last four years studied in the report, tertiary type-A graduation rates remained stable, at around 40%. Since 1995 the expected tertiary graduation rates increased by 24% in Portugal and, of the people who graduated, women were more likely to complete their tertiary studies than men (73% of Portuguese women who entered a tertiary programme for the first time completed their degrees while only 59% of the men did; OECD, 2013).

Furthermore, unlike most OECD countries where the graduation rate for women was lower than that for men (OECD average at 1.5% and 1.7% respectively), in Portugal the estimated proportion of women who would graduate from an advanced research programme exceeded that of men (1.6% and 1.2% respectively; OECD, 2013).

A large number of women over twenty-five decided to pursue a university education, and that explained why university entry rates among women increased by 40% from 2007 to 2011. In Portugal only two-thirds of all first-time entrants into tertiary programmes were under twenty-five years old and the average age to enter an advanced research programme was over thirty-five years old, much more than the OECD average (where almost 60% of new students entered before the age of thirty; OECD, 2013).

- Employment and earnings

At that time the report was written, the OECD mentioned that the unemployment rate in Portugal for all levels of education combined was particularly high (over 10%), and compared Portugal to other countries with a high unemployment rate, such as Spain (19.5%), Greece (16.0%), Estonia, Ireland and the Slovak Republic (over 10%). Since the report was published, however, the unemployment rate in Portugal increased even more (OECD, 2013).

The difference in employment rates between individuals with a tertiary education and those with a lower secondary education was at the time of 9% (in favour of those with a tertiary education). Both men and women with a tertiary-type B education earned more than individuals with an upper secondary or post-secondary non-tertiary education. Men in Portugal with the higher level of education earned 63% more than men with the lower level of education; for women the difference was less steep (45%). 50% or more of those with a tertiary-type A or advanced research programme degree earned twice as much as the median worker. In all countries, individuals who remained with low qualifications through their working life (below upper secondary education) usually faced large

earnings disadvantages. In Portugal, only 5% of those with less than an upper secondary education earned twice the national median (OECD, 2013).

The difference in employment rates between tertiary-educated men and women was particularly small in Portugal (less than 3%). In most OECD countries, the proportion of tertiary-educated women who worked full time was considerably smaller than the share of men with the same level of education that did so, although in Portugal (as in Estonia, Finland, Hungary, Korea and Poland) more than 80% of tertiary-educated women and men of both age groups worked full time. Portugal was the only OECD country where the net returns for investing in tertiary education were nearly identical for both genders (for the other countries the return was typically higher for men than for women; OECD, 2013).

- Investment in education

The Portuguese annual expenditure per student by educational institutions was below the OECD average in all levels of education (primary, secondary and tertiary). Portugal had a below-OECD-average expenditure per student by educational institutions at the secondary level and below-OECD-average GDP per capita. Portugal had an increase in the annual growth of public expenditure on educational institutions between 2008 and 2009 (more than 10%), only to show a drop between 2009 and 2010. Over a ten-year period (1995-2005), public expenditure on education (all levels combined) as a percentage of total public expenditure increased in twenty of the twenty-six OECD countries. Portugal was one of the six countries with a different pattern and in 2010 it had a public expenditure on education (considered both as a percentage of total public expenditure and as a percentage of GDP) below the average for the OECD countries (OECD, 2013).

We shall look at this in more detail: between 1995 and 2010, Portugal increased the percentage of GDP invested in education (from 4.9% to 5.8%), but it still remained below the OCED average (its growth went from 5.4% to 6.3% in the same period). In the last years, however, this tendency changed. Whereas in the ensemble of the OCED countries investment was still around 6.3%, in Portugal this value decreased to levels prior to 1995: 4.6% in 2011 (the equivalent to the investment in 1992) and 4.0% in 2012 (slightly above the investment levels from 1990, Portugal, 2016). In 2012, the European Union average was 5.5%, and Portugal became the country in the European Union that invested least in education (Viana, 2011).

The effect of the financial crisis on education budgets was mainly seen in the OECD countries that had substantial general budget deficits in 2010 and 2011. Such was the case with Portugal, which suffered a cut of more than 5% in the education budget. As a consequence, private spending on all levels of education combined increased between 2000 and 2010 as it did for the total expenditure

on educational institutions. As a result, the share of public funding for educational institutions decreased by more than 4% in Portugal. Between 1995 and 2010, the private share of expenditure on tertiary education increased by more than 10% in Portugal (OECD, 2013).

Private sources, especially household expenditure on educational institutions (for all levels of education) increased five-fold (from 1.4% to 7.4%) between 2000 and 2010, with Portugal being the second OECD country (to the Slovak Republic) where the proportion of the global budget of the students and their families paying the costs for public education increased the most. This trend is accentuated when we look at tertiary education only, where there was a four-fold increase (from 7.5% to 31%) in private expenditure (mostly household expenditure) between 2000 and 2010. In spite of that, the public support for households and other private entities as a percentage of total public expenditure on education and GDP for tertiary education in Portugal was below OECD average (16.6% and 21.6%, respectively; OECD, 2013).

The Portuguese Constitution guarantees an access that should, in theory, be tendentiously free to the Portuguese public universities. However, in 2013 Portugal was the European country with the nineteenth highest tuition fees, and when the payment exemptions in all countries were taken into account, Portugal became the eighth (after England, Wales, Northern Ireland, Switzerland, Slovakia, Italy and Liechtenstein) most expensive country to study in (European Commission, 2014). For an undergraduate degree they cost over one thousand euros and for a post-graduate there was no limit, so thousands of euros could be charged. A recent study showed that the private contribution for the university education of each student in Portugal was significantly higher than the public investment (Cerqueira, 2012). These governmental options have an impact on the education conquests the country faced over the last forty years and represent some of the challenges public school is facing in Portugal at the moment (OECD, 2013).

- Teachers

The OCED report also showed how the teachers' presence in schools changed over the last years. Of all the OECD countries, teaching time increased most significantly in Japan and in Portugal. In 2011, teachers spent 880 hours teaching in the classroom of public primary schools, almost 100 hours more than the average for the OCED countries and 65 hours more than in 2005. In public elementary and high schools, the increase was even more drastic. From 2005 to 2011, the teaching timetable increased by 210 hours for the elementary school teachers and 265 hours for the high school teachers; both kinds of teachers spent up to 774 hours teaching per year, more than the OCED average. This meant that between 2000 and 2011 at the secondary level, the number of teaching hours increased by more than 25%, and up to 50% more at the upper secondary level (OECD, 2013).

Between 2006 and 2013, 33188 teachers retired (Caixa Geral de Aposentações, 2016) and the large majority of the younger teachers were hired with precarious and temporary contracts. Pedro Passos Coelho's government decisions to stop having non-curricular subjects such as Civic Formation, Project Development and Accompanied Study, as well as the reduction in Visual Arts from having two teachers per class to having only one and an increase in the legal maximum number of students per class all have led to the sacking of teachers. Furthermore, in the past ten years, successive governments have opted for the construction of giant school campus of thousands of students, opposed to small or medium schools, also leading to the hiring of fewer teachers and school workers.

We shall look now at the situation in Mouraria in terms of education and employment.

Mouraria's Inhabitants according to schooling

Now that the situation of the Portuguese school system has been briefly explained, we shall go back to the numbers about Mouraria in particular, and discuss the literacy rate, school abandonment levels, and level of schooling of the population.

The illiteracy rate for Portugal was 5.23%, 3.23% in Lisbon. In all the five parishes that comprise Mouraria, the number was higher than the average for Lisbon (Graça 3.4%, Madalena 4.55%, São Cristóvão and São Lourenço 3.99% and São Nicolau 4.21%), and in one case it was even higher than the Portuguese average (Socorro, 7.38%).

The percentage of school abandonment has been decreasing over the last decades. Unfortunately, the data from the Census of 2011 were not yet available, but the results from 1991 and 2001 were studied to see if there was a trend. In fact, that decade showed a steady decrease of the percentage of school abandonment in Portugal (12.6% in 1991, 2.79% in 2001), Lisbon (5.17% in 1991, 1.89% in 2001) and in three of the parishes that are a part of Mouraria (in Madalena, it decreased from 6.9% to 0%, in São Cristóvão and São Lourenço from 7.24% to 1.56%, and in Socorro from 7.92% to 5.08%). In Graça and in São Nicolau, however, the percentage of school abandonment increased between 1991 and 2001 (in Graça from 3.53% to 5.15%, and in São Nicolau from 2.67% to 7.14%). These were worrying results and only the data from 2011 would show if the situation worsened or not.

Figure 6 shows the level of schooling of the population in 2011. The percentage of Portuguese inhabitants who had not completed any level of schooling was 18.9%. In Lisbon this percentage was 15%, not far from Mouraria's 16.3%.

The result for the population whose highest academic degree was primary school was, for the whole of the country, 25.5%, and for Lisbon 19.6%. In Mouraria the result was 24.7%. The percentage of

the population that only finished basic school (finished, ideally, at the age of twelve years old) in Portugal was 13.4%. In Lisbon (9%) the number was lower, as was in Mouraria (10%). As for the number of people who finished elementary school (finished, ideally, at the age of fifteen years old) was concerned, there was little variation. In Portugal the average was 16.3%, for Lisbon 13.7% and for Mouraria 15%.

Regarding the percentage of inhabitants who completed high school (currently included in mandatory education), the results were similar between Portugal (13.4%), Lisbon (14.8%) and Mouraria (15.4%). Having a post-high school professional diploma was not frequent among the population, neither of Portugal (0.8%), nor specifically of Lisbon (0.9%) nor of Mouraria (1%). Finally, 11.8% of the Portuguese population had a university degree. The result in Lisbon was higher (27.1%), as it was in Mouraria (17.5%).

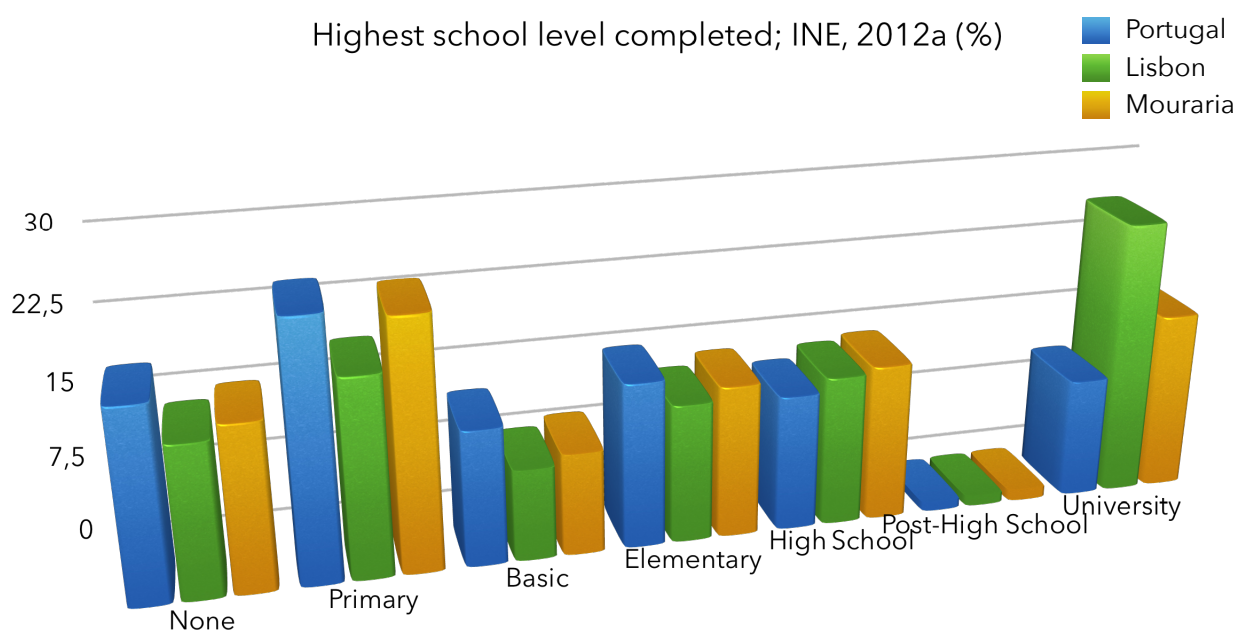


Figure 8 Population assigned to highest school level completed, in INE, 2012a.

Inhabitants according to their job

50.78% of the inhabitants of Mouraria were considered inactive, in terms of their jobs (meaning they were either too young or too old to work). 17.57% of the inhabitants were administrative employees of the commerce and services; 7.67% worked in intellectual or scientific areas. 4.42% of the population were unqualified workers of the commerce and services; 3.61% were qualified or semi-qualified workers; 3.16% were intermediate technical workers; 1.84% were bosses of small commerce and services establishments; 1.31% were directors or managers of the state and

companies; 1.22% were autonomous workers or independent shop owners; 1% were unskilled workers; 0.88% were independent intellectual professionals or scientists; 0.85% were businessmen in industry, commerce and services; 0.75% were bosses of small industries; 0.74% were businessmen with intellectual, scientific or technical professions; 0.69% were bosses with intellectual or scientific professions; 0.62% were administrative personnel; 0.47% were independent industrial and handicraft workers; 0.35% were independent intermediate technical professionals; 0.3% were bosses of small companies, with intermediate technical professions; 0.2% were professionals of the armed forces; 0.14% were workers of the primary sector; 0.1% were directors of small companies and organisations; 0.03% were independent workers of the primary sector; 0.02% were unqualified workers of the primary sector and, finally, 1.27% worked in other, unspecified areas.

Employment and unemployment

Regarding the employed population of Mouraria, 3.2% had not finished any degree of education, 31.54% finished sixth grade (Basic School), 26.47% finished high school, 1.77% had a post-high school degree, and 37.01% had a university degree. 32.55% of them worked in personal services, protection and security or worked with sales; 21.87% were specialist in intellectual or scientific activities; 11.69% were unskilled workers; 9.35% were technicians who worked in intermediate level professions; 9.11% were administrative personnel; 6.64% were representatives of legislative power and executive committees, leaders, directors or executive managers; 5.93% were qualified workers in industry, construction or handicraft; 2.13% were assemblage workers or installing operators; 0.46% were professionals of the armed forces and 0.26% were farmers or qualified workers in farming, fishing and forest.

According to the official numbers in 2011, the unemployment rate in Portugal was 13.18%⁴⁴, and in Lisbon it was 11.84%. In all the five parishes of Mouraria, except one, São Nicolau (8.14%), the numbers were worryingly higher than those (Graça 14.20%, Madalena 13.76%, São Cristóvão and São Lourenço 17% and Socorro 17.51%).

In Mouraria, using the official numbers from the 2011 population census, out of Mouraria's unemployed population, 2.37% did not complete any level of schooling, 44.62% completed basic school (finished at sixth grade), 28.64% finished high school, 1.54% some kind of post-high school degree, and 22.84% of the unemployed had a university degree. 16.69% of the unemployed were looking for a first job, 83.31% had worked before.

⁴⁴ The unemployment rates during our fieldwork were most likely higher than the official numbers for 2011, because between then and 2013, the unemployment rate steadily increased. According to EUROSTAT data in November 2012 the unemployment rate for Portugal was 16.3% (EUROSTAT, 2013). According to data from the National Institute of Statistics, in the third trimester of 2012 the unemployment rate for Portugal was 15.8% (INE, 2012b).

Places for children in Mouraria

The facilities designed for children in Mouraria too are a mirror of the process the neighbourhood is going through. When we began our fieldwork there was only one public playground for children; it was located in a dead-end alley in a secondary street and was poorly equipped. After the City Hall's intervention in 2013, another playground was built and the older one was disassembled. It is larger than the older one, more modern, better equipped and more central to the neighbourhood. More recently, in June 2015, after a long process of public works (that began in 2009, should have been ready by 2011 and cost the City Hall over nine-hundred thousand euros; Banha, 2015) a new public garden finally opened that connected Mouraria to Graça. The garden has a playground area for the children and since the opening the children from Mouraria have gladly started to explore it.

In terms of infrastructures where children spend their days, there is one kindergarten, one pre-school and two primary schools. One of these two primary schools is where we did our fieldwork, and it will be described in detail in the next chapter.

Summary and conclusion of the chapter

In conclusion, this chapter provided a description of the context of the fieldwork of this thesis and the methods used. The goals and questions of this research revolved around approaching the curricular contents the children had to learn at school from an active body posture, in a shared decision making process between the children and adults and transforming the school into a meeting point for former students, the community and the children's families. To study it, we focused on an existing project, implemented in Mouraria by a local artistic association. The details of the project itself and the association will be discussed in the following chapter.

The fieldwork in this study followed a case study with participant observation and in this chapter we have described how in the analysis of the episodes chosen from the field data, we used the following tools: thick description, visual methods (drawings, photographs and videos) and text analysis. Lastly, we described how the data gathered in the interviews of the participants was analysed and how we recurred to it to answer our research questions, discussing the limitations of the inferences we could draw from the data.

In order to describe the context of the fieldwork, we used data from scientific papers, newspaper articles and from the 2011 population census to portrait Mouraria and described the gentrification the neighbourhood is experiencing. The studies of the neighbourhood revealed that it is going through a simultaneous process of gentrification and the new arrival of mostly poor, non-European migrants. The data from the census showed that in 2011 the neighbourhood was a densely

populated area, with an ageing population and a proportion of multicultural migrants from other parts of Portugal and from other continents higher than in Lisbon, the most multicultural city in the country. The percentage of people from other European countries, from the Americas and especially from Asia was higher than in Lisbon. The diversity of the population was also reflected by the religions present in the neighbourhood. The percentage of Roman Catholics was lower than in Portugal and in Lisbon, the Orthodox Catholics, Muslims and other non-Christian religions were more represented than in the rest of the territory. The percentage of people following other Christian religions and with no religion was slightly higher in Mouraria than in Lisbon and in Portugal.

The population of the neighbourhood had a lower level of studies than in Lisbon and a higher illiteracy rate. To contextualise this data, we briefly described the evolution of the school system in Portugal and based a description of its current state in the results from international assessment tests. We have looked at the Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS), the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS), the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) and the report Education at a Glance. In them, Portugal was described as a country with a low level of education of the population (but showing increasing results over time), with high unemployment and a low level of governmental investment to public education. In 2012, Portugal became the country in the European Union that invested the least in education and the consequence was that private sources, especially household expenditure on educational institutions have increased a great deal. Regarding the teachers, teaching time increased very significantly in Portugal, between 2006 and 2013 over thirty-three thousand teachers retired and the large majority of the younger teachers were hired with precarious and temporary contracts.

In 2011 in Mouraria, half of the population was economically inactive and the level of unemployment was higher than the average in Lisbon and in Portugal. At the time of the census, among the population of Mouraria who was employed, half the people worked in personal services, security, sales (32.55%) and intellectual or scientific activities (21.87%). Around 30% of the people were unskilled workers, technicians and administrative personnel. Hence, most of the employed people of the neighbourhood probably did not receive a high salary and the amount of people working in intellectual and scientific activities can be an indication of the gentrification of the neighbourhood.

Lastly, most buildings in Mouraria were old and in need of renovation and they were not very high. More than half of the houses were rented, meaning that the new law of the leases will probably have an important impact on the neighbourhood. During most part of our fieldwork, there was only one public playground designed for the children, but rarely used by them. It was located in a dead

end street and was very ill equipped. This data was reflected in the fieldwork in the children we worked with at the local primary school. Their life stories, living conditions and family backgrounds were a part of the neighbourhood they lived in and in the statistical data and description of the neighbourhood we found an indirect description of those lives, to add to the complexity of their portrait, which will be further developed in the following chapters.

Chapter 3 – Intervention and knowledge through the body in Mouraria

In this chapter we give the reader an overview of the project THE BODY AT SCHOOL. We begin by portraying c.e.m, the dance association that carried out the THE BODY AT SCHOOL, how the project evolved over time and started working with children. Then, we provide a history of the project, from its origin in Vila Velha de Ródão to the first time it was established in Lisbon, at Escola Passos Manuel. This is followed by a brief summary of an evaluation of the THE BODY AT SCHOOL in its first years, conducted by a sociologist and a social psychologist. After that, we explain how the project moved to Escola da Madalena and we describe that school in detail (the building, the schedules, the children, the teachers and the school staff). Lastly, we provide a detail of the sessions during the three school years the fieldwork took place.

c.e.m

c.e.m – centro em movimento [“centre in movement”] is the name of the dance association that ran the project THE BODY AT SCHOOL. It is a transdisciplinary association of artistic research (c.e.m, 2009a) situated in Lisbon. It was created in the 90s and has “worked continuously in the areas of Teaching and Artistic Research, Community and Networking nationally and internationally” (c.e.m, 2009a). c.e.m defined its work as being “inscribed in an area that nourishes the quality of the individual’s existence, their relationship with the environment, and their ability to think and act before the reality they help to construct”. Since 2005, c.e.m worked with the community of Mouraria, the neighbourhood where it was located. The artists of c.e.m defend that “the artistic creation is a practice of continuous Research. (...) Art is for us an embracing concept inseparable from the geographic and human space in which it happens.” (c.e.m, 2005).

The association was created by Sofia Neuparth, a dancer and teacher who has also acted as its only director since its foundation until the moment of writing of this thesis. It began as an informal group who had classes with Sofia Neuparth and who got together in improvisation sessions. The classes and the sessions occurred first in the studios of other dancers (Rui Horta and Marta Athayde) until 1998, when c.e.m finally got its own space in Praça da Alegria. While using the studios of others, the artists from c.e.m felt restricted in what they could do in the space and the number of hours they could use it for (Sofia Neuparth, interview). The new space allowed for the scheduling of classes and rehearsals all day long and for the beginning of c.e.m’s documentation centre, which has since then been extended. Sofia Neuparth had long focused on the study of anatomy and sciences for her research on movement and dance; the new studio allowed for the coming together of people from all fields of study, who shared an interest in the body. The teachers of the classes came from all

over the world, as did the people who attended them. Over time, c.e.m created an international group of multidisciplinary artists who worked together in different projects. The new studio at Praça da Alegria opened at the same time as Sofia Neuparth's son was born. This led, according to her, to the awareness of the specificities of the work with babies, children and their families. In the beginning, c.e.m had children in the studio during classes that were aimed at adults but, with time, it started having classes and moments directed to children and also to the adults that were a part of their lives. The two main characteristics of the early work with children were, on the one hand, that the sessions were not created for children but with the children and, on the other hand, that the sessions revolved around the accompaniment of the physical development of the children through dance and movement (S. Neuparth, interview).

In 2005, c.e.m moved to Rua dos Fanqueiros and then started organising yearly, in July, a street festival called “Pedras” [“Stones/Rocks”]. In this festival, many artists from different areas presented the work they had developed throughout the previous months. The association always gave importance to the fusion between theory and practice. Hence, theoreticians from different fields (philosophy, journalism, art history, or astrophysics, to name a few) were invited to join the artists in their work and to take part in public debates during the festival, together with the artists and the community. The work with the children was often presented at the Festival.⁴⁵

The projects with children

In the early 2000s, as mentioned before, c.e.m started its work with children. In 2002, it created sessions for babies and young children and their parents, called “Dias de Mim” [“Days of Me”], which were still taking place at the moment of writing of this thesis. In 2001, some artists from c.e.m created a team that worked together, in individual sessions, with children with special needs — this work was also still ongoing when this thesis was written.

c.e.m considered creativity an utterly important human characteristic and, in their work; they have tried to create an environment that stimulated it. This was the basis for its work with children and with the community. “The creativity is intrinsic to the human being, it is its inventive ability, its sensitivity, the importance it gives to the connections it establishes on several levels that gives it that ability to generate knowledge, to generate Culture. To c.e.m, more than rescuing that creative movement, it is urgent to supply an environment that, instead of suffocating it, potentiates it.” (c.e.m, 2005).

In 2007, c.e.m did a site-specific project in Largo Camões, called “Memória” [“Memory”], that lasted one week and was a celebration of the revolution of the 25th April 1974. It had a children's

⁴⁵ Presentations of the festival, filmed and directed by Alex Campos, can be seen online in his YouTube channel (Campos, 2013a, 2013b and 2014).

space with its own programme and it also included sessions for schools around the theme of the revolution.

Between April and June 2008, aiming at the creation of stronger bonds with the community around it and at the start of collaboration with schools, c.e.m offered all the local public schools around it a workshop called “The body”. This workshop was organised in five sessions (identity, respiratory system, circulatory system, digestive system and special senses and proprioception). The sessions could be taken independently, or all five of them; the schools decided how they would distribute it.

The goal of the workshop was to teach the basics of anatomy and physiology and, at the same time, to work on the relationship between the children and the environment (c.e.m, 2009a). The sessions explored movement and used different materials; working with group dynamics, the scientific contents were addressed in creative and playful ways. Between April and June 2008, the workshop was done with ten groups from six different schools. The following year, between February and June, it was done with seven groups from four different schools. In June 2010, the same workshop was done with the 4th grades of Escola da Madalena, as it will be discussed below.

At an elementary and secondary school called Escola Passos Manuel, the workshop was done with two classes, both in 5th grade. At the end of the workshop, two of the Arts teachers invited c.e.m for a continuous work, inside the class schedule. The people working at c.e.m had always had a very close relation with the artists from CENTA – Centro de Estudos de Novas Tendências Artísticas [“Centre of Studies of New Artistic Tendencies”] and decided it would be a good opportunity to apply the Project of Continuous Artistic Formation (see description in the following section) in Lisbon, with a few changes. From that invitation, a new project was developed; it stipulated that the sessions would be planned together with the teachers, working the curricula from the point of view of movement, from an active body posture. In its first year, in 2008/2009, THE BODY AT SCHOOL involved a 5th grade and a 6th grade class. In the last school term, in what was called NEIGHBOURS, the sessions were done outside the school and each one developed a different work connecting the school with the neighbourhood in which it was located. In the following year, the work continued in the same school, with the class that was in 5th grade the year before, now in 6th grade. The details will follow in the next sections.

In 2009, Carolina Höfs created a dance and audio piece that was performed at Creche da Encosta do Castelo, a kindergarten in Mouraria, very close to c.e.m’s space. The piece was called “Chão” [“Floor”] and it was presented at the Pedras festival in the same year. The rehearsals brought a proximity between the artists and the staff and babies of the kindergarten, therefore c.e.m decided to propose to them a continuous project, mirroring what was happening with Escola da Madalena, called “O corpo na creche” [“The body at the kindergarten”]. The sessions started in

May 2009 with the three groups (four months to one-year-old, one to two-years-old, and two to three-years-old) and have been going on until the moment of writing of this thesis.⁴⁶

In the school year of 2010/2011, c.e.m developed a complex and broad project with a community called “Toca” [meaning both “to touch” and “animal den”]. The project lasted for eleven months and it took place in Mouraria and Intendente, with the participation of artists working with three groups of people: the elderly from a day care centre, adult women who were sex workers, and the children from the neighbourhood attending an after school activities programme. The three groups worked on specific themes separately and had occasional meetings where they worked together. The result of this project was the publication of a book with photographs and stories.

⁴⁶ Alex Campos filmed and edited a short video about this project (Campos, 2011a). The video was shot in 2011 and was designed to be a presentation of the work c.e.m did with the babies in the kindergarten, but also as a document of that year's work to be offered to the kindergarten and to the families of the babies involved in the sessions.

History of the project The Body at School

Chronology of the project

For an easier understanding of the dynamics of the project, a brief chronology of its development is presented below. It highlights the most important dates for the project and for c.e.m, between 1998 and 2013.

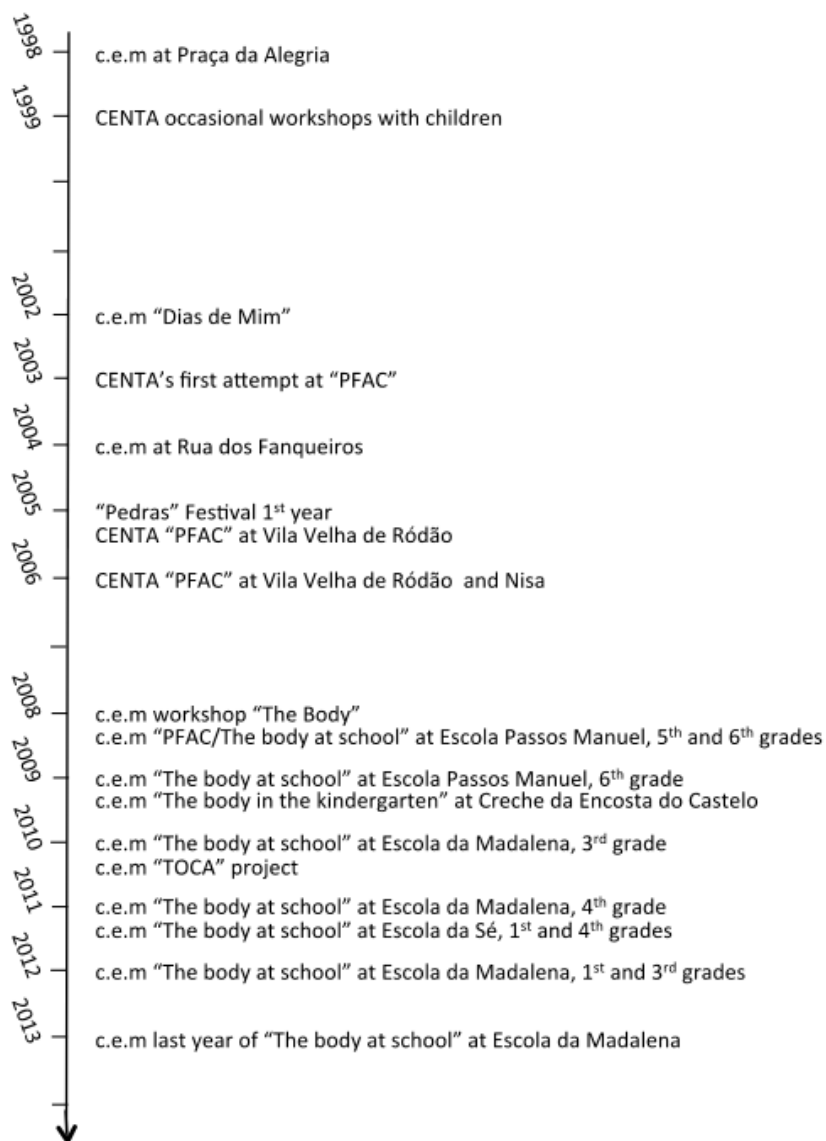


Figure 9: A chronology of the project and the most important dates for c.e.m in terms of the working with the community, between 1998 and 2013.

In the beginning of the school year of 2011/2012, there was an attempt to include two classes from Escola da Sé in the project. This suggestion came from Elda (due to privacy reasons, the teachers will be referred to only by their first name), the teacher from Escola da Madalena, as the school was located a mere 400 metres from Escola da Madalena. Since Escola da Sé also belonged to the group of schools Agrupamento Vertical de Escolas Gil Vicente, Elda thought that the project could establish an interesting exchange between the two schools. The project was carried out during the first term of the school year, after which it was concluded that the teachers were not interested and it was discontinued in that school. The sessions at Escola da Sé will not be addressed in this thesis.

The origin

THE BODY AT SCHOOL was initially called PFAC – “Projecto de Formação Artística Contínua” [“Project of Continuous Artistic Formation”]. It was created in 2003 by CENTA – Centro de Estudos de Novas Tendências Artísticas [“Centre of Studies of New Artistic Tendencies”], in Vila Velha de Ródão, a small city located two hundred kilometres to the northeast of Lisbon, almost at the border with Spain. The county of Vila Velha de Ródão is part of the Castelo Branco district. At the time, it had 4000 inhabitants, half of which lived in the municipality of Vila Velha de Ródão (Passos, 2006:9). It had one of the highest ageing rates in the country: in average, every year, 200 people died and only four were born (Passos, 2006:9). The county of Vila Velha de Ródão was composed of a population with low educational attainment (lower than the Portuguese average) and with 1.6 times more unemployed people than the Portuguese average (Craveiro and Lopes, 2007; Lopes and Craveiro, 2008).

CENTA was a multidisciplinary structure supporting contemporary artistic creation by having, on the one hand, artistic residencies and, on the other hand, continuous formation developed by artists interested in working with the community. It was created in 1989 and located in a farm a few kilometres outside of Vila Velha de Ródão. Its goal, in terms of offering artistic residencies, was to support the creative process and contemporary art research by offering adequate working conditions. Regarding the work with the community, the goal was to reinforce the population’s cultural identity through the work of the artistic community and to create local cultural dynamics. In 2009, due to the difficulties felt by the artists and the curators of CENTA in financing and establishing their work with the local authorities and partners, they decided to close the Centre down.

In this project, trained professionals taught the processes of contemporary arts in Dance and Fine Arts classes, in order to stimulate children’s creativity and to help their learning of the curricular contents (Craveiro and Lopes, 2007; Lopes and Craveiro, 2008). The project promoted the inclusion of Artistic Education in primary school, allowing children to have creative and multidisciplinary experiences, while stimulating their creativity and helping them learn the contents of the subjects of Portuguese and Sciences (Craveiro and Lopes, 2007; Lopes and Craveiro, 2008). Graça Passos claimed that the project helped giving Artistic Education the role it ought to have, as that was usually neglected, though it was fundamental at school (Passos, 2006:6). Continuity was one of the most important aspects of the project, mentioned by the dance teacher, the fine arts teacher, the artistic and pedagogic advisor, and the general coordinator involved in the project in 2005/2006

(respectively, Leonor Barata, Vera Alvelos, Madalena Victorino and Graça Passos; Passos, 2006:6-16).

In 1999, the artists from CENTA had been doing artistic workshops with primary school children (Passos, 2006:8; Passos, 2007) and in 2003/2004 the PFAC was designed and implemented, but it had no official protocol with the school (Craveiro and Lopes, 2007; Lopes and Craveiro, 2008). In 2004/2005, due to financial constraints, the project was not carried out, but the time was taken to prepare it with the schools for the school year of 2005/2006 (Passos, 2006:8). Finally, in 2005/2006, the project started with all four schools of Vila Velha de Ródão (Passos, 2006:6), covering a total of seventy-nine children divided in five different classes from all four grades (Passos, 2006:60). Seventeen classes on fine arts were given over the three terms, and thirteen sessions on dance were done over the same period of time (Passos, 2006: 50-57). The project took place in two-hour sessions, inside the classroom, so that all students had access to it. One artist conducted the sessions and they alternated every week between Dance and Fine Arts. In the beginning of the school year, the teachers and the artists had a joint workshop to help decide which contents should be further explored in the sessions. Another goal of the project was for the teachers to see it as a pedagogic tool they could use (Craveiro and Lopes, 2007; Lopes and Craveiro, 2008).

Previous evaluation of the project

The project had the intervention of the psychologist Tatiana Homem who, in her report, mentioned that the project's sessions were the activities the students mentioned as having enjoyed the most throughout the school year, and the ones they had considered enjoyable and fun (Passos, 2006:59). In its second year, 2006/2007, the project was applied also in Niza, in the neighbouring district of Portalegre. During that year the Institute of Sociology of Oporto's University chose it as an object of study and, as consequence, Daniela Mourão Craveiro, social psychologist, and João Teixeira Lopes, sociologist, followed the project and evaluated it. They published two papers about their evaluation, which we will now analyse.

Regarding the cognitive outcomes, the project aimed at working the children's imagination, invention, creative skills, concentration and decision-making. The emotional dimension of the project was also considered important, with the project effectively establishing positive relationships amongst the students, and between the students and the artists. The promotion of group work was one way of attempting to accomplish that. In terms of its artistic goals, the project worked using movement and drama, applying some Fine Arts' techniques, and concepts such as bi and tridimensionality, and, in Dance training, concepts of persistence, rhythm and synchrony (Craveiro and Lopes, 2007; Lopes and Craveiro, 2008).

For their survey and subsequent evaluation of the project, Mourão and Teixeira Lopes started by identifying the project's goals and dynamics. Only then did they idealise how the evaluation process of the project would occur. The authors decided to conduct and analyse structured interviews with the students, their parents, the teachers and the dancers, the director of the school and of CENTA, and the representatives of the main local entities. Besides observing and evaluating the project's sessions and regular classes, the authors decided to do a questionnaire regarding the occupation of free time by the children who had participated in the project in previous years. Initially, the authors had also intended to compare the grades of the students. The relationship between CENTA and the school, however, became complicated, and all the evaluation had to be conducted outside of the school, so the sessions could not be compared with the regular classes, and the students' grades were not available (Craveiro and Lopes, 2007; Lopes and Craveiro, 2008).

In the interviews, the parents mentioned that their children liked the project very much and valued how close the artists were to the children. The project was considered relevant to the children's parents because it allowed for creativity and expression to develop, and for the management of bad results because it focused on the process rather than focusing exclusively on a final examination. They said it allowed for relaxed, ludic experiments and noticed their children evolved in terms of bodily expression and management of movement in space. Individually, each child became more open and available to others. Collectively, in one of the groups there was an improvement of the classroom behaviour. From all interviews, the only reference to the curricular learning made by the students was from the Parents' Association, who mentioned it helped the students learn and understand punctuation. Some parents mentioned that their children improved in terms of drawing and dancing, and it increased their availability to artistic experiences.

The teachers' interviews revealed they considered the project emotionally important, because it established an empathic pedagogic experience; adding it was important for communicability and personal expression. The teachers also mentioned that the sessions had an important role to increase children's communicability and the adjustment of their social behaviour, and that the children showed improvement in terms of material manipulation and creative posture in the activities. In their evaluation, the teachers mentioned that they could not give continuity to the sessions in their own classes because they did not know which contents the artists would approach at each session, and this lack of coordination between artists and teachers prevented them from integrating the sessions' contents in their classes (Craveiro and Lopes, 2007; Lopes and Craveiro, 2008). Furthermore, it was also pointed out that there were no meetings for feedback of the sessions. Mourão Craveiro and Teixeira Lopes also refer that the teachers' availability to PFAC might have

been compromised by the rules and regulations set by the Ministry of Education, that gave primary school teachers a hard time.

According to their interviews, the artists noticed improvements in the areas of creativity, curiosity, abstraction, memory and concept association, and said that the children grew increasingly enthusiastic over the project and more willing to explore it. The artists from both Dance and Fine Arts noticed an improvement in the verbal and psychomotor expression and an increased persistence to the challenges, adding that the children grew increasingly more comfortable with the artistic language. The artists complained that the teachers would not take full advantage of the project, not giving continuity to the sessions they made with the children. After the comparison of these reactions to those of the teachers, Mourão Craveiro and Teixeira Lopes recommended the creation of moments of joint evaluation, articulation and planning for teachers and artists.

Lastly, 78% of the children said the project was their favourite school activity and 91% said that, after school, they made the artistic activities they had learnt with the project. Regarding the students who had previously participated in the project, they had a positive recollection of it and could still name and describe their favourite activities. The children noticed and recognised the project's usefulness, saying that it helped them learn, but only the older, former students answered in more detail. They said the project taught them new things and that they learnt and played at the same time, leaving them more relaxed (Craveiro and Lopes, 2007; Lopes and Craveiro, 2008).

Mourão Craveiro and Teixeira Lopes compared children who had taken part in the project for one year in the past with children who had not, in order to see if there was any difference in the way children chose to occupy their free time. The total sample was small (27) and, overall, the children who had not participated in the project came from a slightly more educated background. Children who had participated in the project went to or did theatre slightly more frequently and the same went for handiwork, but the difference between the groups was very slight.

The authors mentioned the problems the project was facing with the community. Firstly, some schools did not have the availability of rooms necessary for the development of the sessions. Then, the authors mentioned there were not enough supporting structures (in terms of human and social support) and, at the same time, they noticed a prejudice against CENTA from some communal structures. CENTA was centred in a huge agricultural house, the "Tapada da Tojeira" ["Tojeira Manor"], a symbol of unequal land distribution, and it had always had trouble establishing itself as an open cultural centre working with the community. The artists from CENTA not only faced an often-uninterested posture from the teachers, but also mentioned that CENTA's structure was becoming increasingly more unsustainable, with a shortage of human resources and with them having to accumulate other tasks. Furthermore, the conflicts between CENTA's direction and the

school's direction became increasingly more evident to Mourão Craveiro and Teixeira Lopes. The other local entities heard by the authors were very sensitive to the need of artistic education projects involving children, but did not know about the existence of PFAC.

The authors noted how the school and CENTA were the main local protagonists from Vila Velha de Ródão, and both structures agreed on the project's relevance and utility but, according to them, the project would only reach its goals when it would be completely included in the curriculum and regarded by the teachers as a pedagogic tool. The PFAC project was, at the time, proposing the development of another public school, created from the inside of the already existing school. But according to Craveiro and Lopes, at the same time, as a structure, CENTA did not have the financial, technical and human resources required to overcome the structural needs of the area. The authors wrote that, in order for that to have happened, the school, CENTA and the local governmental institutions had to function as a network. The change of such a system required durability, systematic work, and a strong involvement. That was not the reality and, by the end of the school year, the school's Pedagogic Council decided to move the project to the after school activities' schedule (Craveiro and Lopes, 2007; Lopes and Craveiro, 2008). This led CENTA to decide to stop developing the project there, and it contacted c.e.m to continue it in Lisbon.

In Lisbon, Escola Passos Manuel

The Project of Continuous Artistic Formation moved to Lisbon, carried out by c.e.m, in the school year of 2008/2009, in Escola Passos Manuel. Escola Passos Manuel was the first high school in Lisbon. In 2007/2008 it was included in the programme "Territórios Educativos de Intervenção Prioritária" ["Educational Territories of Priority Intervention"]. The programme was created by the Ministry of Education and designed for schools with a disadvantaged community, that is, where many students were at risk of social and educational exclusion, and where the need for new tools and intervention was required. The school is located at the Mercês parish, in the Bairro Alto neighbourhood, one of the oldest in Lisbon's historical city centre. The neighbourhood had at the time of Daniela Mourão Craveiro's evaluation, after the end of the first year of the project, 5023 inhabitants, 48% of the population was 40 years old or over, and the percentage of residents with non Portuguese nationality (5%) was higher than Lisbon's average (3%) and over twice the average for Portugal. 40% of the population was considered active and 9% was unemployed (Craveiro, 2010).

In 2008/2009, the project was applied to two classes, one in 5th and one in 6th grade. In elementary school, the students have different teachers for each subject (unlike what happens in primary school, where one teacher alone teaches all the subjects). In both grades c.e.m worked with the teachers of Maths, Sciences, English, P.E., Music, Arts, and Portuguese, in a total of twelve different teachers

(the teachers of Arts were the same in both grades). Throughout the year, twenty sessions were done with each group, during the last school term; in each group two sessions were done outside the school (the explanation on NEIGHBOURS will follow).

In this new phase, the project's name was changed to *THE BODY AT SCHOOL*, as a consequence of c.e.m's interest in the body and movement as a main theme, rather than artistic education by itself. At Escola Passos Manuel, the collaboration with the teachers was developed more deeply, including weekly meetings with the teachers individually and, each trimester, with the whole group of teachers involved. In its first year at Escola Passos Manuel, Daniela Mourão Craveiro, who had previously evaluated the project, published another evaluation.

On the document it sent the school as a presentation of the project, c.e.m defined the project in seven key points (c.e.m, 2008). Firstly, it was developed by a multidisciplinary team of artists, together with the teachers, following the curricula and looking for an articulation between the contents of the different subjects. Secondly, it started with preparatory meetings between the teachers and the team involved, in order to create a space for sharing pedagogical practical experiences and to stimulate teamwork. Thirdly, the sessions were done on a weekly basis, ninety minutes each, and took place inside the classroom, during the hours assigned to each subject. Fourthly, the team working on the project was multidisciplinary. In fifth place, it was the first time the project was applied in 5th and 6th grades and that year would be a pilot to see how it could be amplified, reaching more students over the next school year, while at the same time keeping the attention on the quality of the relationship established between the artists and the children. The same social psychologist who had previously evaluated the project, Daniela Mourão Craveiro, would continue to do so. Finally, the last point predicted that the project's evaluation would be published (but it was not).

The major change to the project introduced at this time was the development, during the third term, of a work called *NEIGHBOURS*. The idea for this work came from Carolina Höfs, an anthropologist and a dancer, responsible for the sessions of the project at Escola Passos Manuel. Her suggestion was that the students would use techniques from participant observation methodologies to develop a work about the neighbourhood. Throughout the year, the sessions of the project had revolved around the theme of portrait and self-portrait, from different approaches of the different subjects. The sessions outside the classroom had the advantage of forcing the students to work as a team and to improvise with the tools they had developed through the year, because what they would do was not described in any book or manual. The children made their field journal from the sessions using different supports such as photography, drawing, writing and audio recordings. The field journals were then worked from an urban art perspective, in order to create a mural, built by putting

together the different field journals of the group. The goal of the work was for the children to use research tools that had been worked inside the classroom but in different contexts and, by doing so with an artistic end product, the children would have a formal approach to an artistic language (in this case, mural painting). Indirectly, the other goals were to work the relationship the neighbourhood had with the school and vice versa, making the children aware of the spaces they walked by everyday, and introducing the community around Escola Passos Manuel to some of the children and to one of the projects they were developing (c.e.m, 2009c). In 2008/2009 each class had two two-hour sessions in the neighbourhood: they worked with a photographer at his shop, at a Cape-Verdean restaurant, at a second-hand bookstore and at a barber's shop.

In the report c.e.m sent the school after the first term of working at Escola Passos Manuel, the structure of each session was defined according to six items (c.e.m, 2009b). In the beginning, the students and the artists prepared the classroom by putting away the tables and chairs, cleaning the floor, etc. Then, an initial circle worked on the "arrival and the warming up of the body and the mind, paying attention to the group and to each person's presence". A sequence of movements followed to "prepare the body to the development of the session". What followed was a moment to explain the contents and the theory, with a discussion and specific exercises that would "search for a more sensitive experience of what had just been discussed". Afterwards came a composition exercise to create a product of that session. It was a moment of collective work to explore the theme of the session physically or with fine arts materials. Lastly, the students, the artists and the teachers gathered together again in a final moment.

In 2008/2009, forty-five students took part in the project, twenty-two in 5th grade (fourteen boys and eight girls between nine and thirteen years old) and twenty-three in 6th grade (twelve boys and thirteen girls between ten and fifteen-years-old). There were feedback meetings between the teachers and c.e.m's team at the beginning of the school year and at the end of each term. Daniela Mourão Craveiro was present in all those meetings and wrote her evaluation based on the meetings and on the questionnaires she wrote for the children in each term. After analysing the interviews conducted with the teachers and the students, she concluded that the students showed enthusiasm and commitment in the activities, that they developed individual and group work and that they had a role in the development of the sessions. The artists and the teachers together did the planning of the sessions, showing flexibility and listening to both parties. The students identified the sessions as a working and learning space, despite its free and experimental environment. Most of them understood the structure of the sessions and valued the contribution the sessions gave to the learning of the contents of each subject, as well as to the relationship between the students. The teachers mentioned the importance of the project to the development of social acquisitions of the

students, in particular in terms of the integration of those who, for some reason, were set apart by their classmates. Throughout the year, the artists felt the need for the teachers to be more involved in the sessions. There was some improvement over time, and Daniela Mourão Craveiro mentioned how, during all the years of the project, this point had been a matter that always caused discussion (Craveiro, 2010).

In the following year, 2009/2010, THE BODY AT SCHOOL was applied to one class, in 6th grade (the same group of students that was in 5th grade in the project the year before), in the subjects of Arts and Sciences. From the first to the second year at Escola Passos Manuel, the number of teachers joining the project decreased because the Ministry of Education moved most of the teachers working with the 5th grade class to another school. The children who moved from the 6th grade to the 7th, had a whole new set of teachers, as that is a transition year to a new school cycle (what is called “Basic Education” goes from 7th until 9th grades). The 7th grade teachers did not want to take part in the project, as they felt the curricula they had to teach was too extensive and the bureaucracy they faced each week was too time-consuming. Therefore, the project continued with the only two teachers who remained from the previous year and with the group of students who had already been a part of the project the year before. It was discussed whether to start the project with a new classroom from 5th or 6th grade, but c.e.m decided not to do so until a strategic decision regarding the future of the project was reached.

At that time Daniela Mourão Craveiro stopped working on the project’s evaluation because Anabela Silva, a master’s student in Educational Sciences from the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of the University of Lisbon chose the project as the topic for her master’s thesis. It was established between them that Daniela Mourão Craveiro would help Anabela Silva with her work, but stop doing the evaluation herself.⁴⁷ During that year the relationship between c.e.m’s team and the school’s direction, which had been very distant up to that point, became very tense. The school’s director imposed more and more bureaucracy on c.e.m and on the teachers involved in the project and, furthermore, he made the master’s student research very difficult to conduct, requiring a lot of paperwork from her. This was a major reason that led to the decision to change schools the following school year.

That year, due to the aforementioned circumstances, the project began only in the second term and only had a total of eight sessions with the class: four in the second term, four in the third. The idea of working with the neighbourhood was maintained and the first three sessions of the last term were done in Mouraria and one concluding session happened at Escola Passos Manuel. During the

⁴⁷ Unfortunately, Anabela Silva encountered a number of personal and professional problems during her degree, and until the moment of the writing of this thesis she had not yet finished it.

second term, the themes of the sessions were specific to the subjects of Sciences and Arts. In the last term, the theme of memory and play was chosen as the major topic for the sessions with NEIGHBOURS and the final work.

For that final work the children started by interviewing their parents or guardians on what their toys were and how they played when they were children. Then, the class had three field trips to Mouraria. Escola Passos Manuel is located in another neighbourhood, two kilometres east of Mouraria and they travelled all together by tram from one place to the other. The arrangements for the trip were complicated, particularly because one of the Arts teachers became seriously ill just before and was not going to work any more. The choice done by c.e.m to work specifically in Mouraria, but at the same time to work with a school located elsewhere, was revealing to be complicated for the type of work c.e.m was proposing the group.

The first field trip was a guided tour of Mouraria, focused on its history, the main geographic, political and human transformations it suffered and the stories of the people living there presently. In that walk, the students would also visit the other artistic structures present in the neighbourhood, as well as getting to know the buildings of historical heritage. The second trip focused on the life stories of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, visiting an antique shop owned by someone who used to make rolling carts and who taught it to the children. In order to make the rolling carts, the children had to go in smaller groups to find the required materials, while interviewing the people around them on their childhood and how they used to play when they were children. In the last field trip, more stories of the neighbourhood and of the inhabitants were collected by the children and recorded in audio and video. The children also took their finished rolling carts for a test drive at Praça Martim Moniz (c.e.m, 2010). At the Pedras Festival that happened in July, one of the activities was a rolling carts race, open for the participation of anyone.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Alex Campos made a short video of the sessions and the race at the festival (Campos, 2010).



Figure 10: NEIGHBOURS, 2009/2010.

Photos referred by the number 1 to 8 from left to right (l-r) in both rows. Top row, l-r: the children in the guided tour of Mouraria (photos 1, 2 and 3), the children interviewing a shopkeeper (4). Bottom row, l-r: the children with the owner of the antique shop (5), filming the making of the rolling carts (6), test driving them (7) and back at school, working on the contents for the web site (8).

Back at Escola Passos Manuel, the children worked the collected material, the stories their parents had told them, stories recorded by them and all the audio recordings from the field trips. They were placed online as podcasts at a site created with the children. The idea was for the site to be available for the children, their families, their teachers, and to all the people interviewed. However, one session only to air the site proved insufficient, as there were unforeseen technical problems that did not allow for it to be ready. The teachers and c.e.m's artists decided to schedule another session to finish the work, but because it was the end of the school year, that did not happen and the web site was never finished.

During that period, apart from the project with Escola Passos Manuel, c.e.m continued doing the workshop "The body" with the public schools located around it, especially the primary schools. In 2009/2010, the workshop was done with Escola da Madalena and c.e.m decided to move the project there.

Escola da Madalena

At the end of the school year of 2009/2010, as things were not going well at Escola Passos Manuel and the work there was starting not to make sense for the reasons described above. c.e.m went to Escola Gil Vicente to start the project in that school. Escola Gil Vicente is located at Largo da Graça, at the eastern border of Mouraria. It is the school the children from Mouraria usually attend between 5th and 12th grade, therefore, the one that fitted c.e.m's ideal conditions the best for its work with the community. Since one of the problems with Escola Passos Manuel had been with the school's direction, this time c.e.m decided to start from there and only then to have meetings with teachers. During the months of June and July 2010 several meetings were held at Escola Gil Vicente

with c.e.m's team. The first ones were with the board of directors, who showed interest in the project, and then with some teachers who were indicated by the board of directors as possibly having interest in THE BODY AT SCHOOL. However, this time, the top to bottom approach at the school also revealed problematic, as the teachers indicated by the direction had no real interest in the project. The dance association, already aware by the years of past experience that the teachers' cooperation and interest was of adamant importance for the project to develop properly, decided to find other possibilities.

In June 2010 the workshop "The body" had been done with Escola da Madalena, a primary school located at Rua da Madalena, a street parallel to c.e.m's. It was done with all the four grades and teachers of the school, but the artists found a lot of empathy with one in particular, Elda. She followed the Modern School Movement that defends that learning should be achieved through cooperative projects and class participation in the curricular work. The class organisation and management is cooperatively decided in an "educational cooperative council". It promotes the diffusion and sharing of cultural products and, finally, it promotes autonomous work and individual support of the students by the teacher. She was the only teacher at that school with this approach; the other three teachers followed more conventional methodologies.

Due to the fact that c.e.m had decided to change schools from Escola Passos Manuel and the attempts at moving to Escola Gil Vicente also proved to be unfruitful, c.e.m decided to propose to Elda to carry out the work together in a continuous way with THE BODY AT SCHOOL project. The first meeting with Elda was held in July 2010, but a final decision was delayed until the beginning of the following school year. In September 2010, c.e.m's team met again with Elda. It was then agreed how the project would develop and the required paperwork was sent to the school's headquarters, at Escola Gil Vicente, to receive the required official authorisations. According to Elda, the papers must have been lost somewhere along the way, because, three months later, Escola Gil Vicente still had not answered. Eventually, Elda authorised the project herself and the sessions began in January 31st 2011.

With the change of schools came the introduction of the children's perspective on the work. This was due in part to the teacher's working methods (Elda frequently conducted classroom assemblies and the children were always invited to say what they liked and disliked in a class, what they agreed or disagreed with). It was also a consequence of the experience gained by c.e.m's researchers, who realised that including the children's perspective in the work was not only enriching but also a logic consequence and development of the project. In practice, this introduction lead to a constant discussion with the children of how each session had been and what could be changed for the following session. The children would often suggest changes or activities in the middle of the

sessions, which were accepted or not depending on the circumstances. However, this change became particularly relevant in the definition of the themes and in the development of NEIGHBOURS project.

In order to understand the project and the particularities of the school, we provide below a deeper description of the context. We begin with a portrait of the school's building, because the school was located in a residential building and could be hardly considered a typical school. We then describe the school's schedules, important to understand how the children and the teachers organised their daily lives and the school year. Lastly, we describe the children, the teachers and the school staff with whom we worked.

The building

The school was located in an old building of pombalina architecture. That means it was a building built in Baixa, under the orders of Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, 1st Marquis of Pombal and, at the time, the prime-minister of the King, after the enormous earthquake of 1755 (Rua da Madalena is geographically the first street rebuilt following the reconstruction plan for Baixa).

Escola da Madalena was situated at the western border of Mouraria and was one of its only three public primary schools. It was part of a bigger group of schools called Agrupamento Vertical de Escolas Gil Vicente (with the headquarters at the aforementioned Escola Gil Vicente). After the children finish primary school, they were expected to continue their studies in Escola Gil Vicente. About sixty children studied at Escola da Madalena, divided in four grades, each with a specific teacher. Each teacher did not necessarily accompany the children throughout their whole primary schooling, as they could be assigned to a different school in the meantime. Other than the children and the teachers, there were two people in the supporting staff, two people helped serving meals (which were not prepared there), and there were three teachers doing the after school activities (Music, P.E. and English).

The school's building was built according to an anti-seismic construction, with a wooden structure so that, in case an earthquake hit it (and several have since 1755), the building would shake, but it would not fall down. Having a school in such a location also means that it hardly fulfils the idea of typical primary school. Below are photos of the school's building and a plan of the school with a description of the building.



Figure 11: Three photos of the school's building.

Clockwise, from the top left photograph: photo of the street with the school's five-story building in the centre; photo of the school's building from Rua da Madalena (notice the absence of indication that that building was a public school); photo of the five classroom windows in both floors of the school that face Rua da Madalena, with colourful stickers, the only exterior sign indicating it was a school. Photos taken by myself.

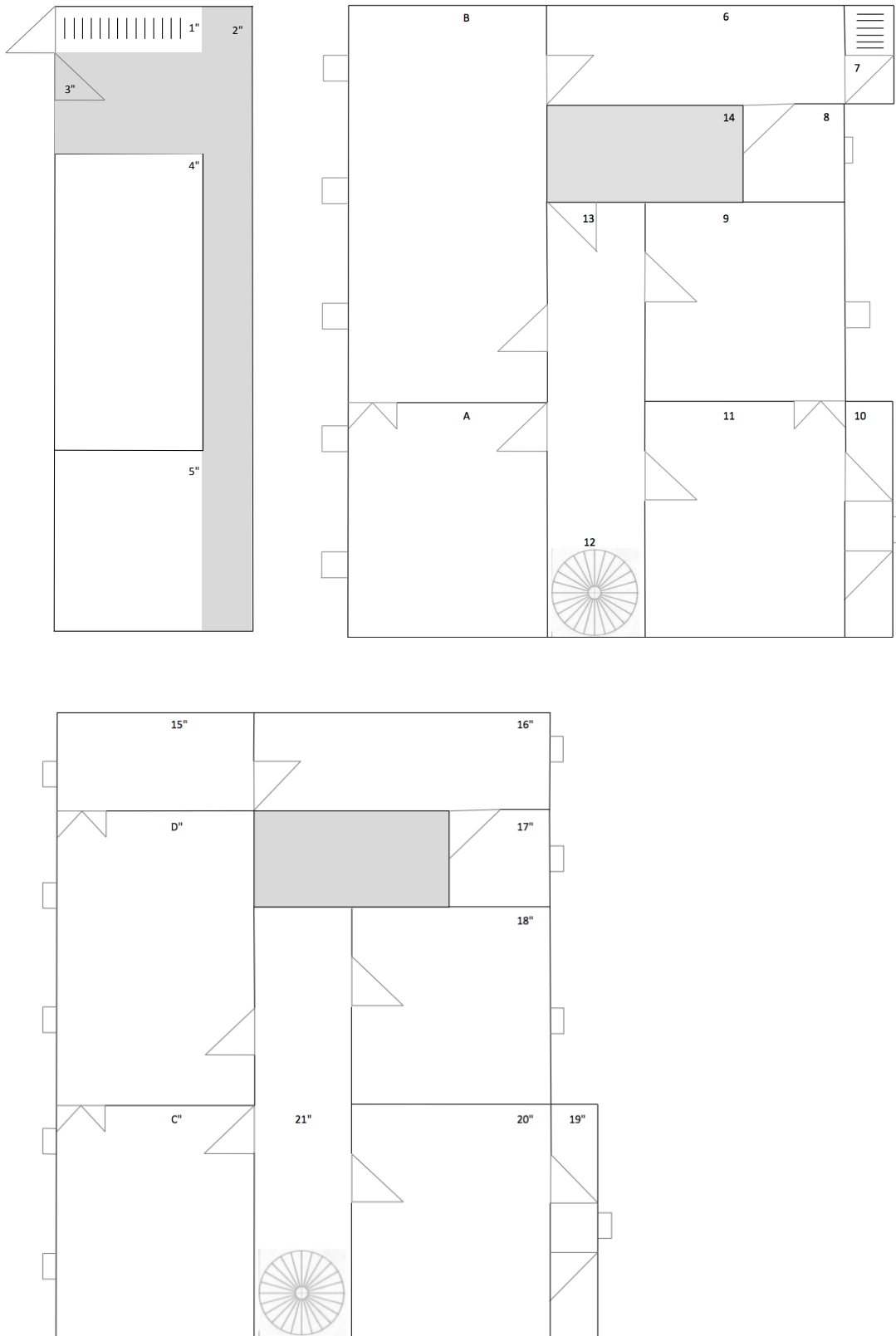


Figure 12: Plan of the School.

Ground Floor: 1.staircase from the school; 2.covered area; 3.entrance from building's staircase; 4.playground, 5.sports area. First Floor: A.classroom; B.classroom; 6.meeting room; 7.staircase to playground; 8.teachers' toilet; 9.teachers' room; 10.children's toilet; 11.canteen; 12.spiral staircase; 13.school's entrance; 14.building's staircase; Second Floor: C.classroom; D.classroom; 15.storage room; 16.library; 17.teachers' toilet; 18.computer room; 19.children's toilet; 20.PE room; 21.corridor. Maps made by the author of the thesis.

Firstly, the school was located inside a five-storey building and nothing in its façade indicated it was a public school, other than some flower stickers glued to the windows on the first floor. The school itself occupied three floors: on the ground floor there was the playground (which the children could access through the exterior building's staircase, number 3 on the house plan, or from a staircase from inside the school, number 1 on the plan), and classrooms were on the first and second floors (the second floor could only be accessed from a staircase inside the school, on the first floor). The school's playground was small, a rectangle of four by thirteen metres, more than one third of which was covered to shelter from rain (number 2 on the plan, nineteen square metres). In the middle, there was a smaller rectangle (number 4, three by six metres) separated from the rest of the playground by a metre-high wall. The floor of the playground was normal cement, except for inside that rectangle, which had six squares of glass bricks, letting light into the building's basement (see photo below). There was an area (marked by the number 5) of three by four metres that the children used to play sports.

The school entrance was on the first floor, where the door was open by one of the two people on the supporting staff whenever someone rang. After entering (the entrance is represented in the house plan by the number 13), there was a corridor of nine metres long and two metres wide. In the house plan, the number 14 depicts the building's staircase, which was on the outside of the school and of free access, because the building had other inhabitants on the upper floors. On the right-hand side there was a door to the classroom B (each grade had a fixed classroom, but every year they changed rooms, thus it is easier to call the areas according to letters A, B, C and D). Room B was the biggest in the school, having an area of thirty-two square-metres (eight by four metres) and had three small balconies (with wooden shutter doors) facing the street. The children were not allowed in the balconies anywhere in the whole school. Classroom B had a door that led to a room (6) used by the teachers for meetings and by the children to play in when it was raining outside. It was two by six metres and had a door that led to a staircase to the playground (7). The meeting room also led to a teachers' toilet (8, two by two metres). Back at the entrance of the corridor, to the left-hand side, there was the teachers' room (9), which normally had its doors closed. That was the room where the teachers spent their breaks; it had a microwave, a fridge, their dish-ware and cutlery, and a big table for meals or meetings. It was four metres wide, four metres long, and its balcony faced the rooftops of the backyard and the school's playground. Continuing down the corridor, to the right-hand side, there was classroom A, which had twenty square-metres (five by four) and two balconies facing the street. To the left, there was the canteen (11), in a room of four by three metres, after which an ancient balcony had been transformed into a children's bathroom (10, one by five metres). The food served in the canteen was not cooked at the school, as there was no kitchen. It arrived every

morning at 12.30 p.m.; it was served in plastic dishes and plastic cutlery was provided (as there was no place to clean the dishes). The children were served according to their age, with the 1st grade students eating first.

The corridor ended in a spiral staircase (12) leading to classrooms C and D, to another room used for P.E. (20), to a computer room (18), to a small storage room (15) and to a library (16). Upon climbing the stairs, there was a corridor (21), two metres wide and nine metres long. At the visitors' right-hand side, there was a room used for gymnastics, of five by four metres. In it there were hoops, some mats, balls and other gear used in P.E. classes. It had a door to a small bathroom for the children (19), of one by five metres. Back at the beginning of the corridor, to the left was classroom C. It was four by five metres, and had two windows. Where in the first floor there were balconies, in the second floor there were windows, because originally the lower floors were nobler, something typical of this kind of architecture. Continuing along the corridor, to the right, there was the teachers' computer room (four by four metres). Back in the corridor, in front, there was a door that led to the building's stairs, but was never used and was always locked. To the left, we would get to classroom D. This classroom had twenty square metres and two windows facing the street. On the corner opposite to the door the visitor had entered by, there was another door, leading to a small storage room (15, three by four metres, with one balcony to the street). This room had another door, leading to a room of six by two metres, which was the library (16). This room was poorly equipped library, it had bookcases along the whole of one of its longest walls, which were half-filled with books. In a corner, there was a piano out of tune, which was offered to the school but was never used. At the end of the library, to the right, there was a bathroom used by the teachers (17, two by two metres).

The school's floor was made of dark-blue rubber tiles with twenty centimetres on each side, laid diagonally. All the walls were painted white, with the children's drawings and works on display on the walls by the spiral stairs. The walls inside each classroom were filled with drawings and posters, placed by choice by each teacher or class, who often changed the decoration according to what they were studying at the time.

Schedules

School started at 9 a.m., but children could be there before, if there was no other option (e.g. if the parents or guardians started working earlier), provided it had been discussed and decided with the teachers. At 10.30 a.m. there was a thirty-minute break, during which they ate a snack, either brought from home, or provided by the City Hall – depending on the parents' income, the children either got it for free or had to pay more or less for it. This snack was often the children's first meal of the day, and consisted of milk and either a piece of fruit or a jam sandwich. During the break, they

also played outside or indoors. Classes restarted at 11 a.m., until 12.30 p.m., at which point there was a one and a half-hour lunch break. As with the snack, they could either go home, or eat at school. Children could go home alone, if it had been arranged between the parents and the teachers.

Classes would start again at 2 p.m., until 3.30 p.m. The students either left by then (going home or to other organised leisure activities, mainly the ones provided by the parish council), or they stayed at school until 5.30 p.m. If they stayed, they had another half-hour break, followed by ninety minutes of Music, English, P.E., or the (morning) teachers helped the children with their homework. The school ran from the beginning of September until the middle of June. It had a two-week break for Christmas holidays, half a week for Carnival and two weeks for Easter.

The children

Escola da Madalena was a particular school in the number of foreign students who attended it, a total of 60% at the time of this study (data provided by the teachers and in agreement with the reality in the groups we worked with), a percentage higher than the number of students whose parents were both Portuguese or who were born in Portugal. During the first year of this fieldwork, we worked with the students of the 3rd grade of the school, who were taught by Elda. The following year, the work was done with the same class, who moved to 4th grade. During the final year of the fieldwork, the work was done with two classes, the 1st grade (taught by Elda) and the 3rd grade (taught by Inês). During that year, some occasional sessions were done with the other two classes (2nd and 4th), and all the school's children were invited to join the NEIGHBOURS sessions and to participate in the creation of a school's newspaper (addressed further on).

Out of the fourteen students in the class in the first year, five were Portuguese (Catarina, Beatriz, Mário, Nelson and Rita), three were Roma from Romanian (Corina, Georgiana and Nicolae), one was Brazilian (Sónia), one was Nigerian (Isabel), one was from Bangladesh (Shorif), one was from Sao Tomé (Emília) and two were from Cape-Verde (Rodrigo and Eliana). Nine were female and five were male. Out of the fourteen students, three were in fact in 2nd grade (Mário, Georgiana and Eliana). This was a common situation: when one child failed the year, he or she was still allowed to remain in the same classroom, with the same colleagues and teacher, but learning the curriculum corresponding to his or her grade.

At the end of that school year, the boy from Bangladesh moved to London; the girl from Cape-Verde changed schools; one Portuguese boy was transferred from another school (Pedro); two other Portuguese students who had failed the 4th grade at that school joined the class (Ana and Diogo), as did a Brazilian boy who had just moved into the country (Davi). Therefore, the class was then

comprised of sixteen students, eight Portuguese (Ana, Catarina, Diogo, Beatriz, Mário, Nelson, Pedro and Rita), three were Roma from Romania (Corina, Georgiana and Nicolae), two Brazilians (Sónia and Davi), one Nigerian (Isabel), one from Sao Tomé (Emília) and one from Cape-Verde (Rodrigo); nine were female, seven were male.

By the time the Christmas holiday came, the guardian of Rodrigo, the boy from Cape-Verde, passed away and he was sent to an institution, therefore leaving the school. Rodrigo's situation was very disturbing to the whole class, who accompanied his fear of not having anyone to look after him. He called his guardian "his grandmother" even though they were not related. When she died, Rodrigo hoped her son would adopt him, but the son decided not to, sending the child away. After Rodrigo left to an institution, he discovered he had relatives also living in Lisbon, something his guardian had always denied. He was going to be adopted by one of his biological aunts but, at the last minute, she decided not to adopt him. At this point, he had changed schools and we lost contact with him, only receiving news from him through the president of the parish council, with whom, at the time, the boy spent every other weekend.

Finally, at the very end of the school year, the three Romanian children moved to Germany. The two girls moved there first, hence not finishing the school year and officially failing it. The boy stayed for three weeks longer, he did the final exam, officially finishing the year, and then he left. In the end of 4th grade, twelve students remained: eight Portuguese (Ana, Catarina, Diogo, Beatriz, Mário, Nelson, Pedro and Rita), two Brazilians (Sónia and Davi), one Nigerian (Isabel), and one from Sao Tomé (Emília); seven were female and five were male. The other classrooms in the school had fifteen students (in 1st grade), fourteen students (in 2nd grade) and fifteen students (in 3rd grade). The following diagram illustrates the changes in the group that formed the class.

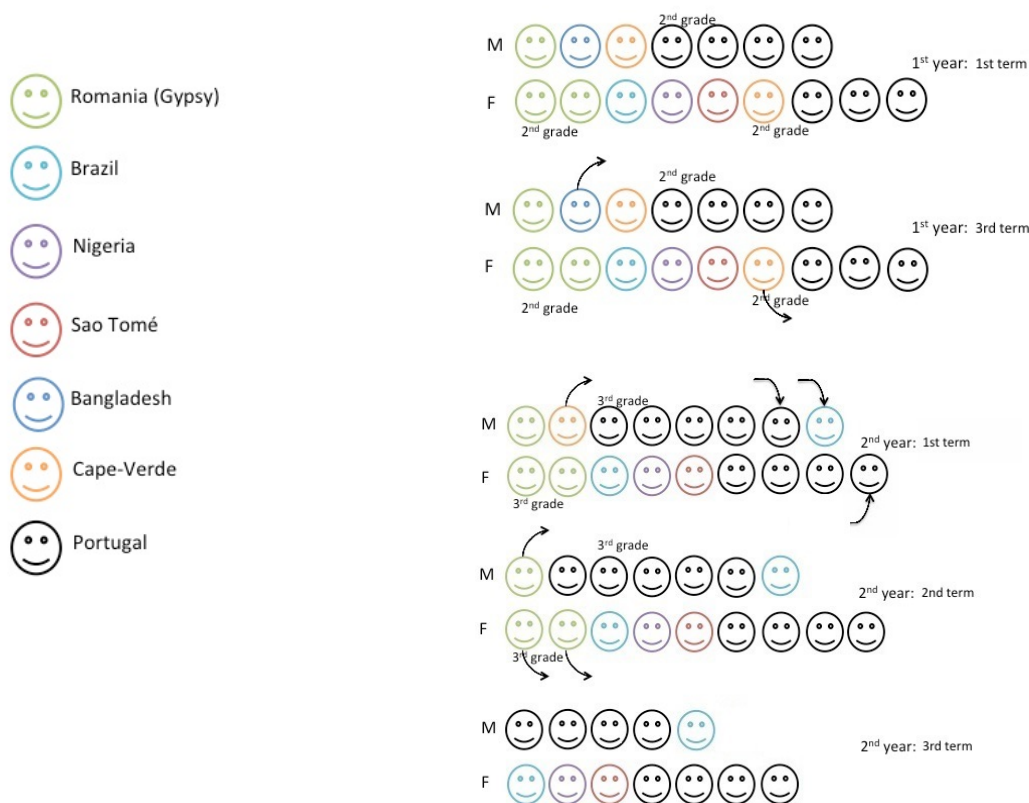


Figure 13: Children's migrations in the class.

On the left-hand side, the caption shows to which colour corresponds which nationality. In the middle, the first row represents the boys ("M" for male) and the second the girls ("F" for female) and so on. The left column indicates the point in time of the fieldwork that is referred. So, the first two rows correspond to the beginning of the first year of fieldwork and thus forth. The arrows pointing outwards indicate the children who left the class, the ones pointing towards the children represent a child who joined the class. As mentioned before, there were a few students who were studying one grade behind the majority of the class. Those are indicated with the word "2nd grade" or "3rd grade" (depending on whether it was during the first or the second year of the fieldwork) next to their representation.

During the last year of fieldwork, the project was done with the 1st and 3rd grade classes. Unfortunately, we did not have the opportunity to follow the children's migrations in such detail, but in the beginning of the third year of this study, the 1st grade class was comprised of fifteen students, whose names and nationalities were the following: Abeeha (from India), Ambre (France/Cape Verde), Arogya (Nepal), Carolina (Portugal), Érica (Portugal), Fardim (Pakistan), Inês (Portugal), Isabel (Cape Verde), Laura (Portugal), Malisha (Sri Lanka), Maruf (Nepal), Minesh (India), Nuno (Portugal), Sanjidah and Ruxanda (Moldova). The 3rd grade included twelve students, their names and nationalities were: Arshdeep (from Bangladesh), Azra (Nepal), Bruno (Portugal), Daniel (Portugal), Daniela (Portugal), David (Portugal), Manoj (Bangladesh), Maria (Moldova), Nila (India), Jessica (Romania), Ya Ya (China) and Vera (Portugal).

The teachers and the school staff

Elda and Inês were the two teachers with whom we worked. Joining in the school's tradition, Elda is also a multicultural migrant. Her father is Venezuelan, her mother is Portuguese; she was born in Venezuela and grew up in Madeira, a Portuguese island. As mentioned before, Elda was a teacher of the Modern School Movement. Inês is ten years younger than Elda and shortly after c.e.m started working at the school she left for maternity leave during five months. During the first year of the fieldwork, the project ran with Elda's class only. When she returned to the school, Inês kept a distance from the group of people from c.e.m. During the project's second year, she followed it more closely, its effects on the students, how it was structured with Elda, and slowly became closer to the group of people from c.e.m. Finally, in the last year of the fieldwork, she decided to join the project, and at the same time, during that year, she and Elda created an exchange program between the two of them, with Elda teaching Portuguese to Inês' children and Inês teaching Maths to Elda's group.

During our first two years of fieldwork, there were two other teachers at school, Elisabete and Fernanda. At the end of the second year, Fernanda retired and Elisabete was forced by the Ministry to change schools and became a replacing teacher in Braga, a city in the North of Portugal. The two teachers who replaced them were Filomena and Carla. At the end of the year of 2012/13, that is, the third year of the fieldwork, Elda, Inês and Carla were placed by the Ministry in different schools, and only Filomena remained for the following school year. Escola da Madalena seemed to have an ephemeral population.

The person who has worked at this school the longest is probably Dona Livia, of the supporting staff. She was the one who usually opened the door when someone rang and she had a very close relationship with the teachers and the children. The other people in the staff worked at Escola Gil Vicente and rotated among themselves and among the different schools that were part of the Agrupamento Gil Vicente.

The sessions

The sessions have progressed and changed through time. A section below will give a detailed description of the project while it happened at Escola da Madalena, providing greater detail into how the sessions developed in each academic year. Certain episodes that were chosen for their importance on the development of the project are addressed in the following chapter. Since the first year was a period of adaptation, the selected episodes belong to the second and third years of the fieldwork.

Some aspects of the project have remained the same through the different years. The sessions were always planned with the teachers; they were done inside the curricular schedule, inside the classroom, and they tried to combine the contents of more than one curricular subject with an artistic curriculum. The sessions themselves had their own ritual: the teachers, the artists and the children started by cleaning up the room together, and by removing their shoes; all the tables, chairs and backpacks were gathered by the walls of the room or taken outside the classroom, in order to create an area where movement was possible. The sessions began with a sequence of movement exercises, which changed throughout the years, designed to establish the children's connection with their bodies, to stress the fact that they were in the sessions, that the space was different, that the rules of that moment were different from the rules of the normal classroom. Then the sessions developed with the activities designed to study the defined theme, and, at the end, there was also a closing ritual, that changed over the years.

Often during the last part of the sessions the children created something (a drawing, a text, a dance, a sculpture, a photograph — many different forms and media were experimented with) representing what they had learnt during that time. Frequently, the last part of the sessions consisted of the children presenting the work they had done, individually or in groups. A short talk would follow as a conclusion and announcement of the following session. The final moment changed with time but in most sessions consisted of everyone making a big circle at the centre of the room, holding hands and all letting go of each other's hands at the same time. At the very end, everyone would put their shoes back on and, together, put all the tables, chairs and backpacks back into their places.

In the following pages we describe each year of the project, how the sessions developed and what were the topics discussed. Each year of the fieldwork is presented starting with a brief description of the themes that were worked during that year, followed by a description of the chronology of the sessions and a discussion of how the year progressed and what happened in the project that had a particular importance or impact. Then, a portrait of each session is depicted, with photos of documenting that day (when they were available), and a description of what has been done.

2010/2011

In the school year of 2010/2011, the sessions were done at Escola da Madalena with the 3rd grade, which had Elda as a teacher. The team from c.e.m doing the sessions was Paula Petreca, Juliana Alves, Lyncoln Diniz (a brief description of the three of them can be read in Chapter 6) and myself. During this school year, there were ten sessions of the project that happened between January and June 2011. The calendar for that year was:

- January 24th – meeting with Elda to define the first session

- January 31st – first session on Portuguese; meeting with Elda
- February 14th – second session on Portuguese
- February 25th – meeting with Elda
- February 28th – third session on Sciences
- March 10th – meeting with Elda
- March 14th – fourth session on Sciences
- March 25th – meeting with Elda
- March 28th – fifth session on Maths; meeting with Elda
- April 4th – sixth session on Geometry; meeting with Elda
- May 5th – meeting with Elda
- May 9th – seventh session on Geometry; meeting with Elda
- May 18th – eighth session in Mouraria for NEIGHBOURS; meeting with Elda
- May 25th – ninth session on building a map; meeting with Elda
- June 20th – tenth session at c.e.m with Stephan Doitschinoff

Over that year, the structure of the sessions was repeated consistently. It started with preparing the space and clearing the classroom from tables, chairs and backpacks. Then everyone removed their shoes and formed a circle holding hands, saying their name out loud, one at a time, and squeezing the hand of the person next to them, who would then do the same. Afterwards, a few exercises of body and movement awareness followed, sometimes involving massage, sometimes involving dance. The structure of this moment changed according to the sessions, as there were many suggestions to continuously explore different exercises.

The exploration of a specific proposal related to that session's theme followed. Afterwards, there was a round discussion and, through dialogue, a systematisation of the session's contents. Finally in the last part of the session the children would build something based on their experience. As mentioned before, it could be, for example, writing a story, making a sculpture, a drawing, or a poem. In this year, the NEIGHBOURS project was focused on the visit of the Brazilian street artist Stephan Doitschinoff to the Pedras festival, organised by c.e.m. The work focused on street art, for their walk around the neighbourhood, three teams were created: the photographers, the interviewers and the drawers. Back at school, they drew a map of the neighbourhood, organised the photographs in small three-dimensional structures and wrote the interview's transcripts in the map. Finally, in the last session, they met Stephan Doitschinoff, had a talk with him and created a paper mural together.

Pedras festival included in its programme an exhibition with the documentation of the work done with the community during that year. That exhibition took place in an empty building, provided by the city hall for the week of the festival and the two weeks before. In the weeks prior to the Pedras festival itself, the three Romanian children, Nicolae, Georgiana and Corina, helped Lincoln Diniz and myself decorating the room in the building that was designed for the documentation of the work with the children. There was a television playing a film c.e.m had done on the work with the kindergarten of Encosta do Castelo (mentioned above) and the children decided to decorate the room with houses of different types, which they built and painted.⁴⁹

Next we describe the planning of the sessions, completed with the remarks the teacher had made in the meeting prior to each session and photographs that were taken in five of them. The photographs were taken by the teacher or by myself but as we were both engaged in the activities, they do not illustrate the whole session but only the last part. The description of each session was written using the jargon the artists used to discuss it, but we tried to describe it in a way that is clear.

- 1st session

In the meeting, Elda mentioned that the children had difficulties understanding what they read and being able to take a written text as something they could transform and retell. The children also had trouble understanding the different types of sentences and in listening to others. The session was based on the text “Lenda de Timor” [“Legend of Timor”].

The first session started with everyone clearing the room and then standing in a circle standing up and holding hands. Each person said their name in turn and after this had been repeated a few times, everyone let go of the hands. Then, each person started touching their own body, feeling the different textures of the skin and clothes. In the circle, they were invited to try different kinds of movements: asymmetric, homolateral (the legs and arms of each side of the body moving together), contralateral (the leg of the right side moving together with the arm of the left side and vice versa), homologous (the legs moving together and the arms moving together). Sitting down in a circle, they had to read and to discuss the text “Legend of Timor”. Who were the characters? How did the story develop, where did it happen, what types of text were used? In the end, groups were created and each group made a comic strip around the text.

- 2nd session

Elda wanted to work the children's reading comprehension and the understanding of the expressions and the vocabulary in the text “Lendas do Mar” [“Legends of the Sea”] by José Jorge Letria.

⁴⁹ The film about the festival (Campos, 2011b) portrays this room and shows Nicolae proudly presenting his work, from minute 05:40 to minute 06:01.

This session began the same way as the first, that is, with each person saying his or her name in succession. After this had been repeated a few times, everyone let go of the hands. The movement exploration was inspired in the characters of the text, which the children had already read. Each person created a movement for a character, and taught it to everyone else. Then each person included the speech: how did that character speak? In a circle, everyone had cards with expressions from the text, verbs or characters that they had to mimic for the others to guess. Sitting down, there was a discussion around the text and, in the end of the session, each person chose a character to draw.

- 3rd session



Figure 14: 3rd Session in 2010/2011, on Plants.

Photos numbered from top to bottom, left to right: 1. Elda with Isabel, Corina and Georgiana's group; 2. Rita working with her group's new plant; 3. Photo of the whole classroom, with Isabel and Georgiana in the foreground; 4 and 5. Rodrigo, Sónia, Nelson and Shorif's group working with their plant; 6. Corina, Isabel and Georgiana working on the description of their plant; 7. Maria Beatriz and Rita working with their plant; 8. Rodrigo, Sónia, Nelson and Shorif's group working; 9. Catarina's group work; 10. Shorif looking over his shoulder. I took the photos from this session.

This session was about plants, the different types of plants, how they grow, the types of roots, the edible plants and the different forms of plant reproduction.

In the beginning the group was standing up together in a circle, sliding their feet on the floor without moving from the same place. When the sliding stopped, they felt the feet rooting into the

ground; then, they began moving along the spine, making the shape of a horizontal number eight, starting from the tailbone and moving upwards to the head. Eventually the movement reached the arms, which began to move as well. The body sank into the floor and the head rose to the ceiling, feeling the liquids of the body, the blood pumping like the fluids in a tree, becoming a tree. They were encouraged to feel the sound, the heat, the light, the shadow, the temperature and the wind all through the body, feeling the weight of the hands, the feet, and finally lifting the feet from the floor. Afterwards, they had to choose another place to stand and start there from the beginning.

After repeating everything and being back at walking, everyone found a partner and, in pairs, found a new place to be. One person rolled the body down the spine until the hands and feet reached the floor, like a horse. They continued rolling down and made themselves a compact, dense sphere on the floor. The partner helped on the way down and now their hands were providing heat and energy to the seed. The person on the floor started unfolding, placed their feet/roots on the ground and their head back pointing at the ceiling. After they changed roles, everyone sat in a circle on the floor to discuss the theme of the session. Everyone joined in the discussion, which revolved particularly around different types of roots, such as aerial roots and forms of reproduction that are usually not discussed, such as the rhizome.

The final part of the session consisted in the creation of a new plant, inspired in the book “Professor Revillod’s Universal Animalarium”, by Javier Saéz Castán and Miguel Murugarren. There were different parts of different plants and the goal was to assemble them together to create an imaginary plant, to create the environment where it would live in, and to find a name for it. In the end, each group presented their plants and explained in what environment they lived in.

- 4th session

In the meeting, the teacher asked to work about animals, that is, their classification, reproduction, what they eat, how they move and their relationship with the environment. The class was at the time making group works about cockatiels, rabbits, camels, snakes and wolves. The fish and the amphibians were not represented in that sample, so in the session they had to be particularly addressed. The factors to mention were the influence of water, air, temperature, light and soil in the animals. If they hibernate or migrate, if they move in flocks, shoals, swarms or herds. They were to discuss habitats such as the air, the desert, the water, the savannah or the Polar region. Then they were to address the different food regimes: herbivores, granivores, insectivores, carnivores and omnivores, followed by mentioning the difference between oviparous and viviparous animals and by referring to the meaning of food chains.

The initial movement was the same as in the previous session. In the circle, there was a prolonged discussion on the different vertebrate animal families: amphibians, reptiles, fish birds and mammals.

The points referred by Elda were addressed and, in the end of the session, there were five groups of children, each with one of those families of animals. Each group made a poster detailing various aspects of those animals' lives and giving examples of each family.

- 5th session

This session was about Maths, specifically on fractions and proportions and on Geometry. Geometric figures and geometric solids, polyhedrons and non-polyhedrons, the differences between vertices, edges and faces. The students were led to find geometric drawing in art and in nature.

Isabel asked if they could begin with the circle of names that has been previously described. Then, in a circle, they were to understand what was curve, what was concave, what was convex, what was the volume of the body and the space it occupied. In groups of two, they drew on the floor, on big sheets of paper geometric, figures with their bodies, identifying the vertices and the edges. How could each figure be divided? What could be created from that? Standing up and using the drawings as a basis, they had to create geometric solids.

Back in a circle, they were to study the different proportions of the body: how could it be divided into different fractions? The group from c.e.m showed them images of artists who worked with a geometric drawing, particularly Stephan Doitschinoff, who was coming to Lisbon and was going to meet them. When they told the children they were going to meet that painter, the children were very happy and Catarina was surprised to know that the painter was alive, asking, even, "Does the painter exist?". Finally, in the end, they studied in small groups the proportions of the human body and represented the body using geometric solids.

- 6th session

The teacher wanted to continue the work from the previous session on geometric solids and spatiality, Mathematics and Geometry.

The session started in a circle standing up and Beatriz asked to do the circle of the names. Still holding hands, the circle started to change its shape and, after exploring the movement, people tried to go back to the original circle, never letting go of the hands. Back to the circle, the group had five seconds to form a square, then to go back to the circle, then to form two lines, then a diagonal, then another diagonal, then a circle, then a line in space, etc. Back in circle, the goal was to follow the lines of the space with the body, to study the relationship of those lines and the architecture with the bodies. What are the proportions of the bodies in that space? It was suggested that they would imagine there were crayons on the tips of their fingers and that the space was being drawn as they moved through it. In the end of the session, large-scale sheets of paper were placed in the room and the children made drawings using a continuation of the lines around them. Taking large pieces of

those drawings, they tried to transform them into a three-dimensional structure, making a pyramid, a cylinder, covering a table with the paper, etc.

In that session, the students were a bit distracted and, in the end, Elda said they were very tired. Interestingly, the students who were very shy participated more, such as Mário or Beatriz.

- 7th session



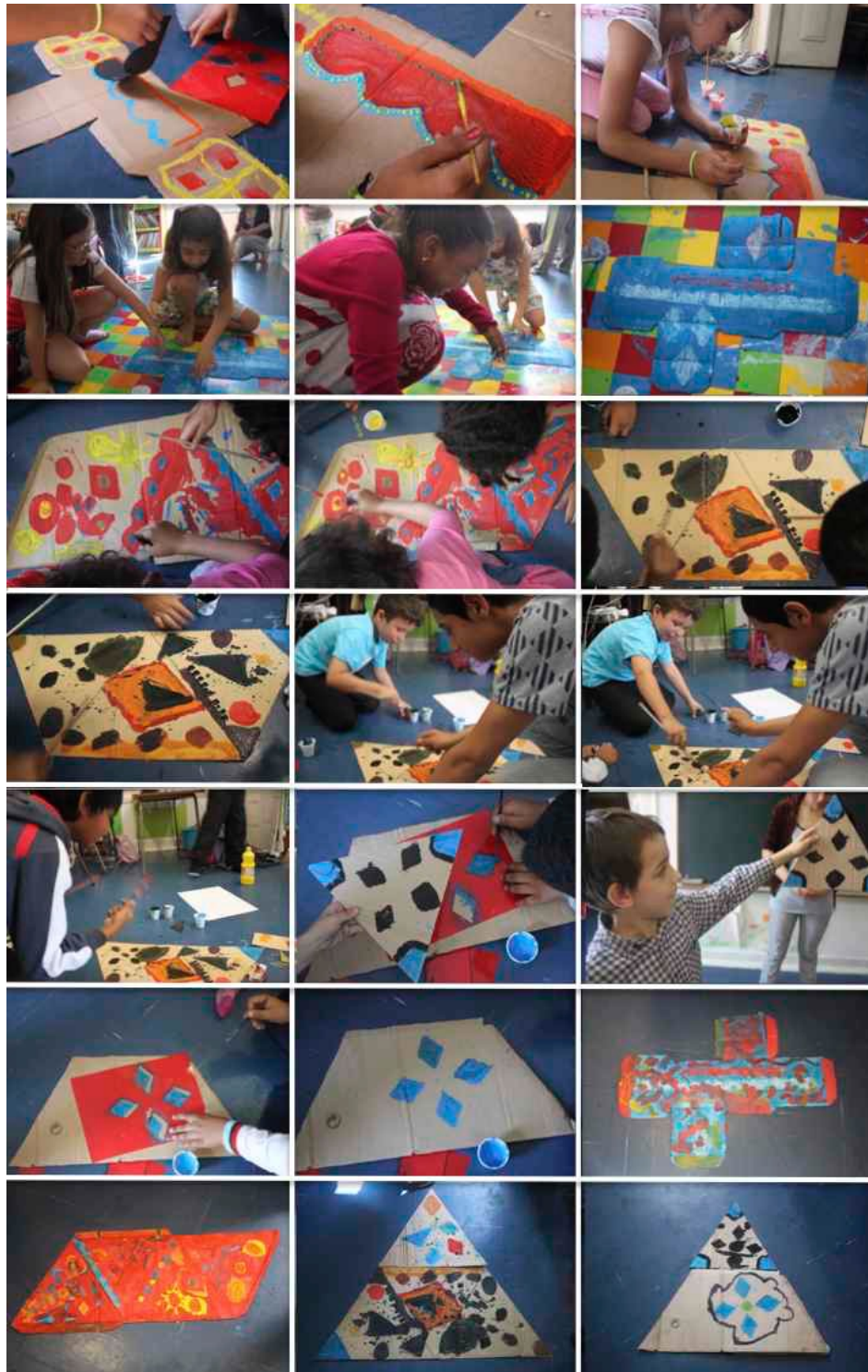


Figure 15: 7th session, in 2010/2011, on geometric solids.

Photos numbered 1 to 42 from top to bottom, left to right: 1.Nicolae and Shorif working; 2.Nicolae, Shorif and Nelson working; 3.View of the room with Lyncoln Diniz, Mário and Rodrigo in the foreground; 4.Mário; 5.Isabel in the foreground, Elda, Sónia and Emília in the background; 6.Lyncoln Diniz, Nicolae and Nelson listening to Shorif (not pictured); 7.A group's work, initial stage; 8.Georgeana, Paula Petreca and Corina; 9.Mário working on a triangular pyramid with Lyncoln Diniz; 10.Georgiana decorating her cube; 11.Rita and Sónia decorating their solid; 12 and 13.Catarina, Maria Beatriz and Isabel painting their cube; 14.View of the room; 15.Nelson and Shorif decorating their triangular pyramid; 16.Elda helping Shorif; 17.Shorif and Nelson discussing the decoration of their pyramid; 18 and 19.Mário watching Lyncoln Diniz and Rodrigo work on the decoration of the pyramid; 20.Georgiana and Corina decorating their cube; 21 to 23.Close-up of Georgiana and Corina's work; 24.Georgiana decorating the cube; 25. Maria Beatriz and Catarina discussing the decoration of their cube 26.Isabel; 27.Isabel, Maria Beatriz and Catarina's work; 28 and 29.Sónia and Emília working; 30 and 31.Nelson, Shorif and Nicolae's work; 32 and 33.Nicolae and Nelson working; 34.Shorif working; 35.Mário and Rodrigo's work; 36.Mário showing his work; 37 and 38.Rodrigo's work; 39.Catarina, Isabel and Maria Beatriz's work; 40.Emília, Sónia and Rita's work; 41.Nicolae, Nelson and Shorif's work; 42.Mário and Rodrigo's work. I took the photos from this session.

In the seventh session the work was done on patterns and geometric solids. The idea was to create patterns from a geometric drawing, then to create geometric solids larger than the children were used to and to decorate the solids with the patterns they had created.

The session began with a warming up of the body that was done in a circle, standing up, rubbing the skin and muscles. In the large circle, everyone designed a choreography together: one person started with one movement, then everybody repeated it and the next person added another movement and so on, until everybody had contributed. In pairs and scattered along the room, each person mirrored the movements of their partner and then continued the movement with one person leading and the other following. The groups switched and the game was repeated. In a circle, sitting on the floor, there was a discussion about patterns in nature, in mathematics and in art. Stephan Doitschinoff's work was shown to the children and discussed with them. There was also a discussion about what we would do in the following sessions. To end the session, groups of three were made and the children decided which geometric solid to plan; they planned it in cardboard, painted it using symbols inspired by Stephan's work and, once they were dry, assembled them.

- 8th session

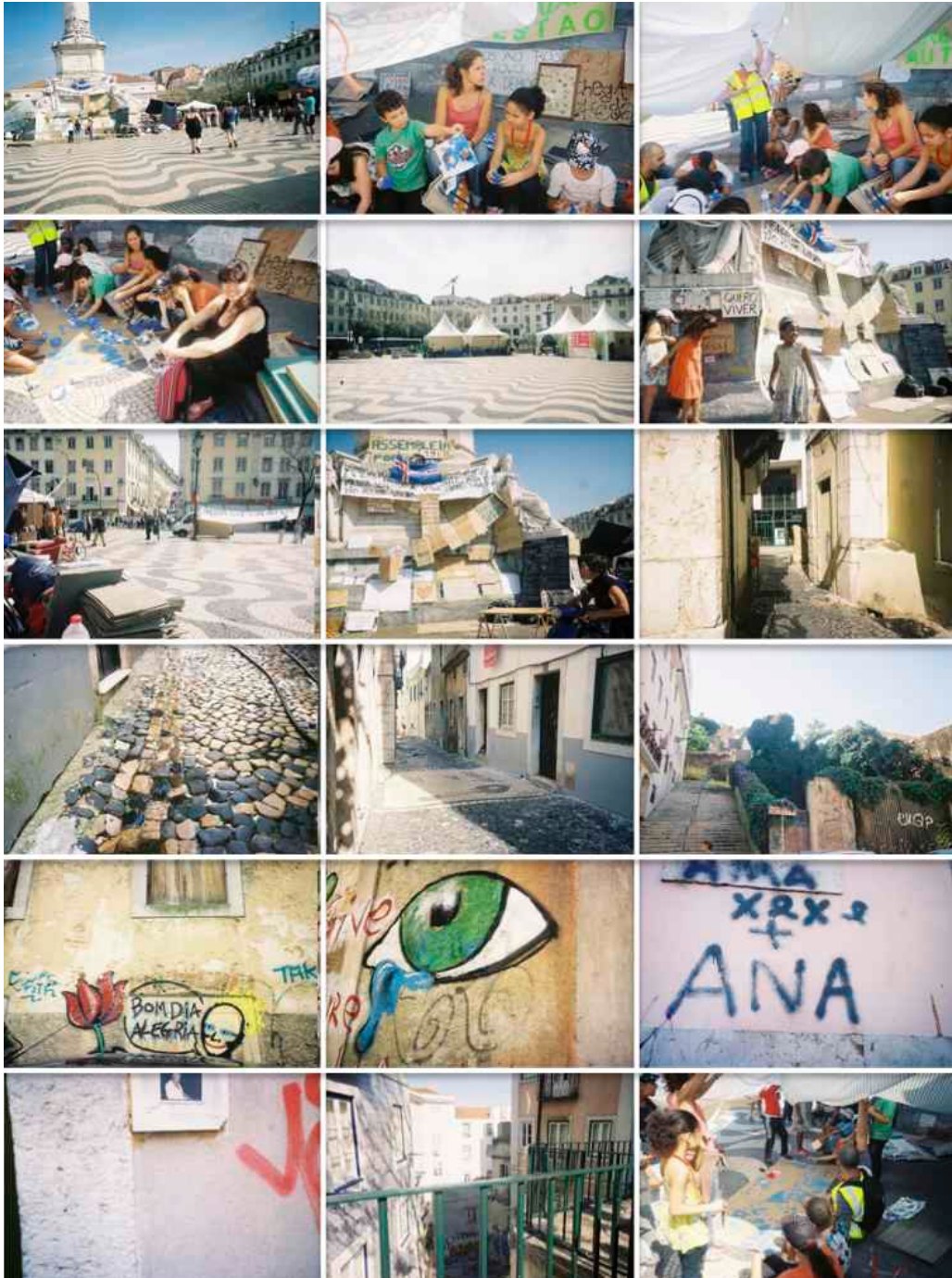




Figure 16: 8th session in 2010/2011, urban art in Mouraria.

Photos numbered 1 to 36 from top to bottom, left to right: 1. Praça do Rossio, with the “indignados” movement camp around the statue; 2. Maria Beatriz, Nelson, me, Rita and Georgiana at Praça do Rossio trying out handmade stencil in cardboard; 3. and 4. Lyncoln Diniz, Rodrigo, Elda, Isabel, Catarina, Maria Beatriz, me, Rita, Georgiana, Corina and Paula Petreca at Praça do Rossio trying out hand made stencil in cardboard; 5. Praça do Rossio; 6. Maria Beatriz, Catarina and Isabel at Praça do Rossio; 7. The objects of the camp in the foreground and Praça do Rossio in the background; 8. The posters of the “indignados” movement around the square, Sofia Neuparth passing in her scooter in the foreground; 9. to 11. The streets of Mouraria; 12. A street in Mouraria, with the Castle in the background; 13. Graffiti with the words “Good morning joy”; 14. Graffiti; 15. Graffiti; 16. Printed photograph on a wall (the work of Mouraria’s photographer Camilla Watson); 17. View in Mouraria; 18. Rita in the foreground, the rest of the group in the background at Praça do Rossio; 19. Poster from the camp, written in Creole from Cape Verde “To have a job we need to have documents, to have documents we need to have a job” 20. The group at Praça do Rossio, Shorif, Georgiana, Corina, Maria Beatriz, Elda, a non-identified child, Nelson and Rodrigo; 21. The posters from the “indignados” movement around the statue at Praça do Rossio; 22. The top of the statue at Praça do Rossio; 23. and 24. The group working on the handmade stencil at Praça do Rossio; 25. Animal shop with parakeets and cockatiels; 26. A police car in Mouraria; 27. Rodrigo and the statue of a Portuguese guitar honouring fado; 28. A souvenir shop, Maria Beatriz and Paula Petreca in the background; 29. A poster for an anarchist book fair; 30. The façade of a church in Mouraria; 31. Outer gate of the Villa where Nicolae, Corina and Georgiana lived; 32. Paula Petreca’s tattoos; 33. A street in Mouraria; 34. and 35. Largo da Rosa, Mouraria; 36. The façade of another church in Mouraria. Photos taken by the children.

In that session the goal was to walk in Mouraria observing the geometric patterns present in the city, the urban symbols and what was urban art vs. what was not art. They were to take photographs of those symbols, to interview the people and to make drawings of the street.

This session was done in three groups, the photographers, the drawers and the interviewers. The photographers had two disposable cameras (a selection of their photos can be seen above); the drawers had a pencil, notebooks, rubber and scissors with them; and the interviewers had an audio recording device. The path was the following: school, Largo do Caldas, Largo de São Cristóvão, Rua das Farinhas, Largo da Rosa, Rua do Marquês de Ponte de Lima, Escadas da Saúde, Beco do Jasmim and then across Largo do Martim Moniz until Rossio, where the “movimento dos indignados” [“indignados” movement] had set a camp, inspired by the protests in Madrid at Plaza del Sol on May 15th 2011.

- 9th session





Figure 17: 9th session in 2010/2011 on the creation of a map of Mouraria.

Photos numbered 1 to 19 from top to bottom, left to right: 1.General view of the classroom, making the map; 2.Corina, Catarina, Georgiana and Rodrigo working on the interviews; 3.Nelson drawing the map; 4 and 5.Isabel, Nicolae and Nelson drawing the map; 6.Nicolae drawing the map; 7.Rodrigo and Nicolae working on the map; 8.Corina working on the map, with the photos already assembled; 9.Mário in the background, working on the map; 10.Mário working on the map; 11.Corina drawing on the map; 12.General view of the classroom, with Rita and Sónia in the foreground, with the photographs on the floor; 13.General view of the room, with Maria Beatriz in the foreground assembling the cubes with the photos; 14. and 15.Maria Beatriz wearing the photos' cube as a hat; 16.Sónia with the photos as a hat; 17.Mário drawing on the map; 18.Sónia and Rita discussing how to place the photos on the map; 19.Shorif wearing the photographs as a hat. The photos from this session were taken by Elda.

The aim of the session was to create a map of Mouraria based on the previous session. The printed photographs were used as the basis for the creation of geometric solids to illustrate the map. The symbols and patterns were placed in the maps and the transcripts from the interviews were quoted in specific areas.

- 10th session





Figure 18: 10th session in 2010/2011, getting to know Stephan Doitschinoff at c.e.m's studio.

Photos numbered 1 to 36 from top to bottom, left to right: 1 to 3.The group watching the documentary about Stephan's work; 4.Close-up of Rodrigo, Mário and Emília watching the video; 5.The group talking to Stephan (wearing a green t-shirt); 6.The group talking to Stephan, Emília in the foreground; 7 and 8.Nelson, Mário, Elda, Maria Beatriz and Shorif talking to Stephan; 9.Corina, Emília (raising her hand), Stephan and Catarina; 10.Catarina, Nicolae, Georgiana and Sónia; 11 and 12.The whole group drawing together; 13.Stephan and Mário; 14 to 17.The whole group drawing together; 18.Detail from one of the drawings, with a symbol usually used by Stephan; 19.Rodrigo and Rita in the foreground, Catarina and Stephan in the background; 20 and 21.Catarina, Nicolae and Georgiana looking over Stephan's shoulder as he draws; 22.Detail from the drawing representing Stephan (notice the same arm position as Stephan had in photos 14 and 15); 23.Parakeet, drawn by Stephan; 24.A girl putting her hand under her drawing; 25.An image of the group working; 26.Detail of the drawing, another version of the parakeet, done by a child; 27.Catarina placing her hand on top of the drawing; 28.An image of the drawing; 29.Another parakeet by Stephan; 30.Stephan and Catarina drawing; 31.Isabel; 32.Mário; 33.Part of the drawing, done by Corina; 34 and 35.Posters of Stephan's works; 36.Panoramic view of the whole drawing. The photos were taken by Elda, Mário, Isabel, and myself.

The last session happened at c.e.m's studio where the children saw a short documentary on Stephan Doitschinoff's work⁵⁰. Afterwards, they were introduced to Doitschinoff, talked to him and painted a mural in paper together.

2011/2012

In the school year of 2011/2012, the sessions were done at Escola da Madalena with the 4th grade, which still had Elda as a teacher. Lyncoln Diniz and myself did the sessions. During this school year, there were eighteen sessions of the project that took place between October and June 2012. The calendar was:

- September 5th – first meeting with Elda
- October 10th – second meeting with Elda
- October 17th – first session on Sciences
- October 26th – meeting with Elda
- October 31st – second session on Sciences
- November 9th – meeting with the teacher
- November 14th – third session on Portuguese
- November 23rd – meeting with Elda
- November 29th – fourth session on Portuguese Grammar
- December 7th – meeting with Elda
- December 14th – fifth session on Portuguese
- January 6th – meeting with the teacher
- January 13th – sixth session on Portuguese and meeting with Elda
- January 23rd – seventh session on History
- February 1st – meeting with the teacher
- February 8th – meeting with the students
- February 14th – eighth session, taught by the children
- February 15th – ninth session, taught by the adults from c.e.m
- February 22nd – meeting with Elda
- February 27th – tenth session on Arts

⁵⁰ Available at <http://doitschinoff.com>

- March 12th – eleventh session on writing the stories for the book and meeting with Elda
- April 16th – twelfth session on writing the stories for the book and meeting with the teacher
- May 14th – thirteenth session on the stories for the book and meeting with the teacher
- June 4th – fourteenth session on the book at c.e.m and meeting with Elda
- June 11th – fifteenth session on the book at c.e.m and meeting with Elda
- June 20th – sixteenth session on the preparation of the book launch at Largo da Severa and meeting with the teacher
- June 27th – seventeenth session on the preparation of the book launch at Largo da Severa and meeting with Elda
- July 6th – last session with the book launch at Largo da Severa, included in Pedras festival followed by open discussion on public school with the teachers and the students

This year, the basic structure of the sessions remained consistent and not very different from the year before. The sessions started by preparing the space and clearing the classroom from tables, chairs and backpacks, with everyone removing their shoes. Most sessions in the usual circle, followed by exercises of body, movement and space awareness. There was an attempt to make these exercises related to the theme of the session. Afterwards there was the exploration of a specific proposal related to that session's theme and a round discussion about it. The last part of the session, like in the previous years of the project, consisted in the children doing a piece of work (using different means) based on their experience.

Every year c.e.m offers a course for adults called “FIA – Formação Intensiva Acompanhada” [“Intensive Accompanied Formation”] that lasts for five months. During that time, the people who join the course (usually around ten people from different places of the world, between the ages of twenty and forty years old) take modules with different teachers, on subjects such as dance and movement, embryology, composition, documentary movie making, or writing. The different teams of artists from c.e.m doing community work are invited to teach a module on their experience. Lyncoln Diniz and I were invited to teach a four-day course to the adults of FIA in February 2012. The first two days of the workshop were dedicated to the work with Escola da Madalena and the last two to the work in the kindergarten. On the first day, we invited the children to teach a class on whatever topic they chose, to the adults of the FIA. On the second day, the people from the FIA went to the school and taught a class to the children, on a topic chosen by the teacher. The details of these two days will be discussed further on and in the following chapter.

The following month, the NEIGHBOURS project was, for the first time, chosen together with the children, rather than simply proposed to them. Story writing and the creation of books had been the theme of sessions in the previous months and the children decided to create a book. That was the topic of the last seven sessions of the school year and it meant that the NEIGHBOURS project was more focused on the writing and drawing of the stories than on the neighbourhood itself. Just before the Pedras festival there were two sessions at Largo da Severa, where the book launch would take place. In those sessions the children prepared the space and decided how they wanted to decorate it. On the day of the event, they also interviewed people who lived around the square; these interviews, mostly with elder people, led them to the day care centre, where they conducted some more interviews. The book was launched during the Pedras festival. Three episodes have been selected from this school year, which will be discussed in detail further on: the class the children gave at c.e.m, the class the adults from c.e.m gave to the children the following day, and the creation of the book. Because the episodes chosen were considered to portray the key moments of the project during this school year and because the structure of the sessions was quite similar from one day to the next, we detail only the structure of the first four sessions. The remaining sessions are described according to their theme and what the children did in the last part of the meeting.

Between the months of March and May 2012, the sessions happened only once a month because there were Easter holidays and the children had the 4th grade exam, to which the teacher had to prepare them with diligence. In June the sessions picked up on their cadence.

- 1st session

The first session was on Sciences, about the bones and the skeleton system. This session will be addressed and discussed as the first episode of the following chapter.

- 2nd session



Figure 19: 2nd session in 2011/2012 on animals' coatings.

Photos numbered 1 to 12 from top to bottom, left to right: 1.General view of the room, with Nelson in the foreground; 2.General view of the room, with Maria Beatriz and Nelson in the foreground; 3.General view of the room; 4.Nicolae working; 5.Detail from a drawing; 6.Davi at work; 7.Rita gluing paper to her work; 8.Catarina presenting her work; 9 and 10.Maria Beatriz presenting her work; 11.Nicolae presenting his work; 12.Rodrigo making his presentation. I took the photos from this session.

This session was on Sciences, on the different coatings the animals can have and on their forms of locomotion. It started in the same way it usually did, with a circle and saying the names of the people around it. Then, the hands touched the body, feeling the different textures of the surface of the body: skin, hair and clothes. There was a box with different objects and, in a circle, each person picked an object and started walking around the space, without pausing. Afterwards, they started doing different kinds of movements: asymmetric, homolateral, contralateral, homologous. They changed the object with each change of movement. The movements started with everyone standing up, continued until everyone was lying on the floor and then back up again. There was a discussion in a circle about the roles of the skin: protection, transpiration, thermoregulation, feeling of warmth and cold. What is the skin made of? An outer layer of dead cells, an inner layer with blood vessels,

nervous cells and sweat glands. What care should one have with the skin, such as washing, avoiding sun exposition, care with nutrition or hydration? Then we focused on types of skin and coating in other animals: naked skin (amphibians), with hair (mammals), with scales (reptiles and fish), with feathers (birds) or the skin of the invertebrate animals. In the end of the session, in groups of two, the children were given a large paper where they were to create an imagined animal coating, related to the role it plays in that particular animal. The session ended with examples of artists who also worked with different skins and coatings (for example Hélio Oiticica, Lygia Clark or Francesca Woodman).

- 3rd session



Figure 20: 3rd session in 2011/2012 on Grammar.

Photos numbered 1 to 9 from top to bottom, left to right: 1.Emília working; 2.Isabel cutting a magazine; 3.Mário in the foreground, and Rodrigo showing his work in the background (this was the last time Rodrigo was photographed in a session); 4.Nelson with his hank; 5.Davi writing "... big. And on a beautiful afternoon..."; 6.Davi writing; 7.Nicolae gluing an illustration on his work; 8.Corina and Georgiana working; 9.General view of the room. I took the photos from this session.

The third session was about Portuguese grammar. The beginning of this session was the same as in the session before. In a circle there was the discussion about a story called “O rato de Alexandria” [“The mouse of Alexandria”] by José Jorge Letria. The children had not yet read the story and the discussion revolved around the possible endings it could have. After that, the verbs, adjectives, onomatopoeia, and synonyms in the text were discussed. In the end, each child created a “hank of a story”, that is, based on what was discussed, each child wrote a story in his or her hank (a paper roll) and used photos from magazines to illustrate them.

- 4th session

This session was on a subject simply called Portuguese, where children learn Portuguese literature and grammar. The session started with an exploration of movement similar to the previous sessions. Then, the movement of the body was explored in three bulks: the head, the spine and the pelvis. The goal was to study how the movement transforms the physical characteristics of a person and how that relates to the construction of characters. Subsequently, in a circle sitting down, there was a discussion about the short story “O Sábio, o Califa e o Saber” [“The Wiseman, the Caliph and the Knowledge”] also by José Jorge Letria, which, unlike in the previous session, the children were familiar with. The ending of the story was discussed, as were the characters, the construction of the story and the types of text used. In the last part of the session the children assembled a book that would become their diary, making both the cover and the inside pages. The making of the diaries was to be continued in the following session.

- 5th session

This was not a regular session, as the teacher asked the team from c.e.m to help her with a Chinese shadow play performance she and the children were organising for the school’s Christmas party. The performance at the party can be seen in a video (Louçã, 2015a). The teacher and the students developed the plot.

- 6th session



Figure 21: 6th session in 2011/2012 on History.

Photos numbered 1 to 9 from top to bottom, left to right: 1. Isabel reading her part in the foreground, Emília in the background; 2. Maria Beatriz and Isabel, who is reading aloud; 3. Group discussion between Mário, Davi, Corina, Diogo, Elda and Nicolae; 4. Isabel and Emília, who is reading aloud; 5. Pedro, Nelson, Ana Raquel and Georgiana acting their scene; 6. Davi, Mário, Nicolae, Diogo, Corina and Elda watching attentively; 7. Rita, Emília and Maria Beatriz acting; 8. Maria Beatriz, Rita, Emília and Isabel, who is reading her role out loud; 9. Emília, reading her role out loud, sided by Maria Beatriz and Rita. I took the photos from this session.

In this session, the movement exploration was similar to what was done in the fourth one. Then, the children finished the cover of their diaries (begun in the 4th session) and started organising the text with the images they had (some photographs and drawings made by them).

- 7th session

This session was about History, particularly the Portuguese restoration of independence from the Spanish, on December 1st 1640. There was a discussion about the subject and then the children read the text of a theatre play around the historical events that led to the overthrow of the Spanish king in Lisbon. The text was provided by Elda. The children worked in three groups and each group did an act of the play. In the end, each group presented their work.

- 8th session

The eighth session was the class taught by the children to the adults at c.e.m. The session will be discussed as one of the episodes addressed in the following chapter.

- 9th session

This session was another one of the episodes we chose to discuss in detail in the following chapter. It was the session taught by the adults of FIA to the children at the school.

- 10th session



Figure 22: 10th session in 2011/2012 on Arts.

Photos numbered 1 to 15 from top to bottom, left to right: 1. One of the pieces of work, with the word "CEM"; 2. General view of the classroom; 3. General view of the room, with Corina in the foreground; 4. Mário's draft (at the bottom) and final work (at the top); 5. Mário's work, signed at the left and at the right saying "it is forbidden to enter through this door because otherwise the zombies eat the people"; 6. One of the works; 7. Detail from that work, saying "it is forbidden to eat lemon"; 8. Detail from the same work, saying "for tourists only"; 9. Detail from Mário's work with the text described in photo 5; 10. One of the pieces, saying "for sweethearts only"; 11. Detail from a piece of work; 12. Another piece of work, with the saying "it is forbidden to talk and to paint with paint, crayon or coloured pencil"; 13. Detail from the saying of the previous piece; 14. Emília colouring her work; 15. Made up logo for c.e.m, in draft form on the left and the final work on the right, with the slogan "it's a good place!". I took the photos from this session.

The tenth session was about arts and the development of a personal symbol. In this session the children reflected on the traffic signs they encountered in their everyday lives. They were asked what

would it be about if they could create their own sign. The results can be seen in the photographs from the session.

- 11th session

This session was the first time the stories for the book started to be addressed. In this session, the groups were created and each group decided who were the characters of their story, and the basic plot.

- 12th session

This was the second session to develop the stories for the book. Here, the same groups from the previous meeting did the drawings to illustrate their stories.

- 13th session

This was the last session at school to write the stories. Each group presented their story and illustrations to the others and there was a feedback session on each story. In the remaining part of the meeting, the groups finalised their stories, taking into account what they had heard from the others.

- 14th session

The session took place at c.e.m's studio and will be discussed in detail in the next chapter, as it is one of the chosen episodes of the project. It was the session when all the three stories were mixed together to make one. There was a discussion on how to proceed and the final story started being written and illustrated.

- 15th session

This was the last session to finish the book, where the ultimate details of the story and the illustrations were discussed, written and drawn. It took place at c.e.m and will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

- 16th session

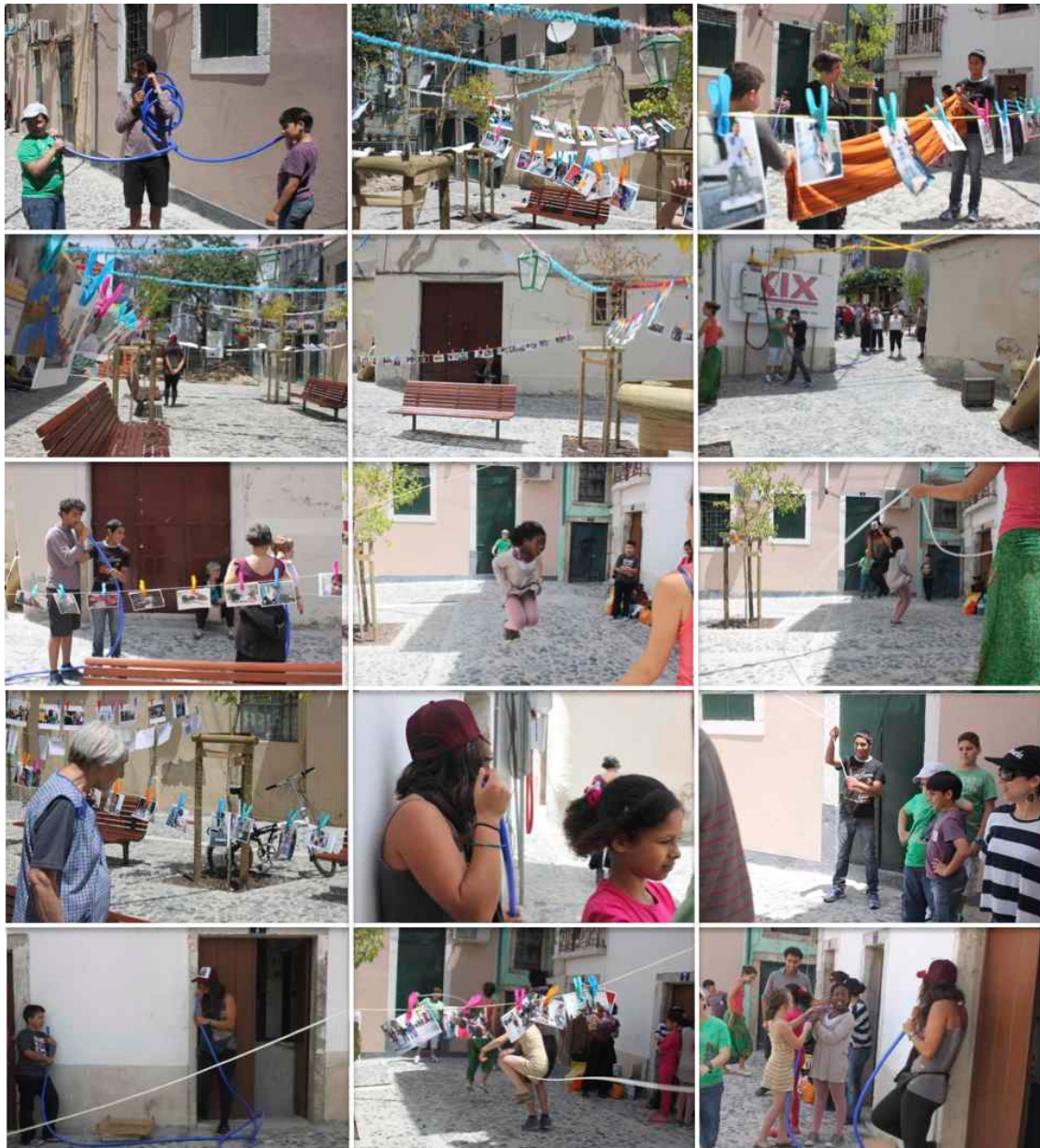


Figure 23: 16th session in 2011/2012 at Largo da Severa.

Photos numbered 1 to 16 from top to bottom, left to right: 1. Diogo, Pedro (from c.e.m) and Pedro (from school) communicating through a hose; 2. A view of the square, with the photos taken throughout the year hanging from a wire; 3. Nelson, Sofia Neuparth and Nicolae shaking the towel that would be used for people to seat in; 4 to 7. A view of the square; 8. Isabel skipping rope; 9. Isabel and a tourist skipping rope; 10. An inhabitant from the square passing by; 11. A tourist who decided to play with the children and Rita; 12. The group skipping rope, Nicolae, Diogo, Pedro, Davi and Elda; 13. Nelson playing with a tourist, communicating through the hose; 14. Ana Raquel skipping rope; 15. General view of the group, with Ana Raquel, Isabel and the tourist communicating through the hose; 16. General view of the group, with Ana Raquel, Isabel and the tourist talking through the hose. Alex Campos took the photographs of this session.

This session took place at Largo da Severa, where the book would be launched two weeks after. In that session, the children started discussing the decoration of the space for the book launch.

- 17th session



Figure 24: 17th session in 2011/2012 at Largo da Severa.

Photos numbered 1 to 9 from top to bottom, left to right: 1.Vera, Rita's younger sister, in the square; 2.Rita and Catarina, with their clothes adorned with the clothes pegs they used to put up the photographs in the wire; 3.A resident from the square and Nelson; 4.Pedro and Diogo; Pedro is wearing headphones because he was recording the audio for the video by Alex Campos; 5.Pedro; 6.Lyncoln Diniz putting up photographs; 7.Catarina putting up photographs; 8 and 9.Pedro, Diogo, Alex Campos and Nelson around the video camera; Alex was telling them how it worked. I took the photos from this session.

The session dealt with the final preparations for the book launch. This time the children interviewed two people who lived around the square, Amália and D. Piedade (in her home) and then went to the day care centre for the elderly where c.e.m had another project. Once there, the children conducted more interviews. Alex Campos and some of the children filmed this session (Campos, 2013c), from minute 04:15 until the end of the video.

- 18th session



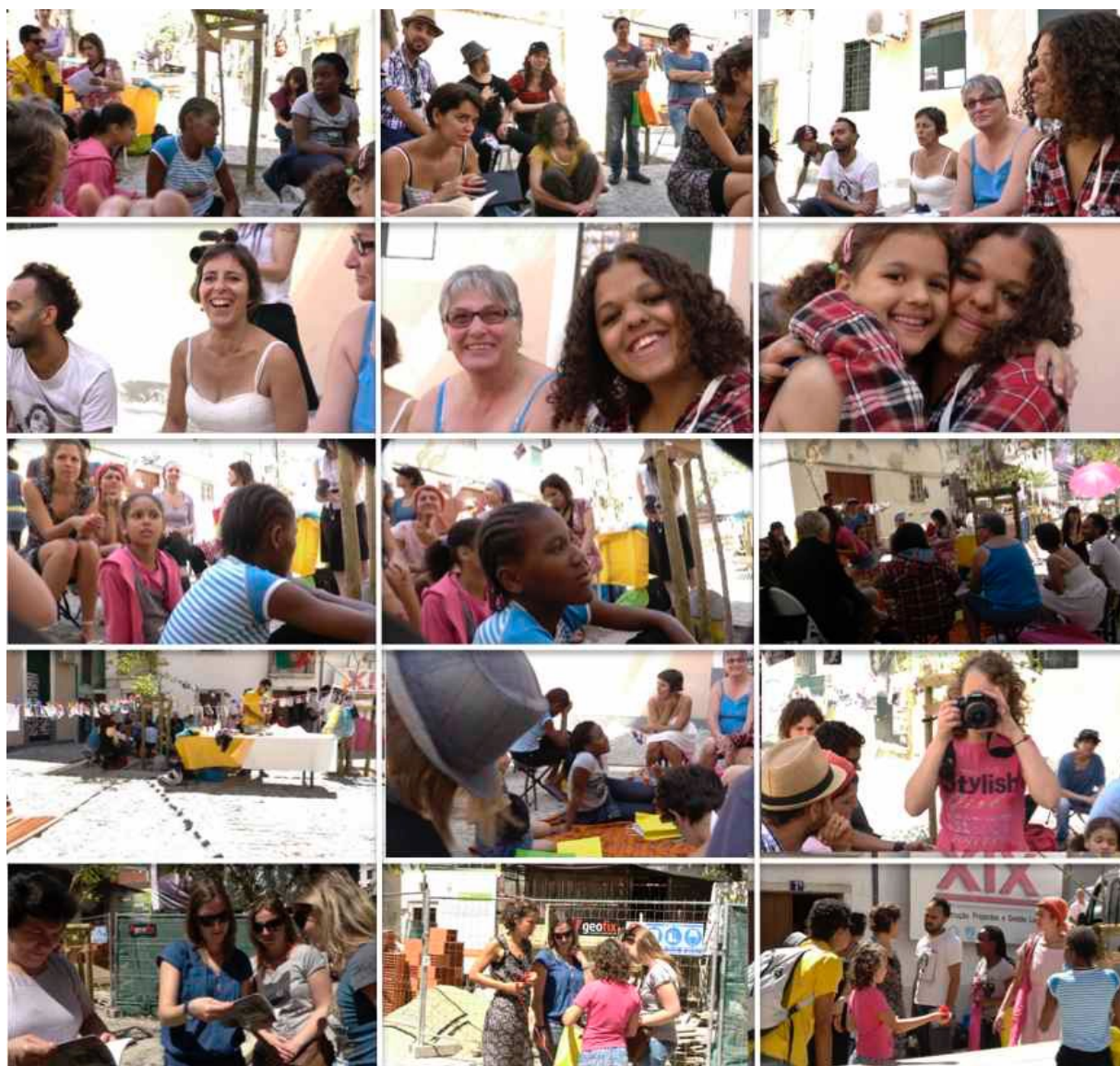


Figure 25: 18th session in 2011/2012, the book launch.

Photos numbered 1 to 30 from top to bottom, left to right: 1.Nelson holding his book, with his mother and uncle; 2.Inês (Rita's older sister), Margarida, Gonçalo and Amália (from c.e.m) reading the books; 3.Inês and Margarida reading the book; 4.Sofia Neuparth, Isabel and Graça Passos reading the book; 5.Pedro and I looking at the book; 6 to 8.Luz Camara (from c.e.m) with Catarina and Ana Raquel, checking the book; 9.Catarina's paternal grandparents looking at the photographs; 10.Sofia Neuparth; 11.Lyncoln Diniz; 12.Elda putting a hat on Vera (Rita's younger sister); 13.Sofia Neuparth, sitting down; 14.Isabel photographing in the foreground, Sofia and Amália sitting down in the back; 15.General view of the people sitting down during the talk; 16.Rita, Emília and Isabel participating in the talk, 17.General view of the assembly; 18.Mário, Lyncoln Diniz, Sofia, Amália, and Vera, sharing her opinion; 19.Lyncoln Diniz, Sofia and Amália; 20.Amália and Inês; 21.Vera and Inês, Rita's younger and older sisters, respectively; 22.Me, Rita and Emília in the assembly; 23.Emília in the foreground; 24.General view of the meeting; 25.General view of the assembly and the square, with the photographs hanging on the lines; 26.A view of the meeting; 27.Ana Raquel photographing; 28.D. Livia (from the school staff), Inês (teacher at Escola da Madalena), Inês (teacher at Escola da Sé) and Elisabete (teacher at Escola da Madalena) looking at the book; 29.Me, Ana Raquel, Inês and Elisabete (both teachers at Escola da Madalena) looking at the book; 30.View of the group, after the discussion was over. The photographs were taken by myself, Alex Campos and by the children.

The final session was the book launch included in Pedras festival. The families of some of the children joined the event, as did all the teachers from school, as well as the helping staff. After the

launch itself, there was an open talk on “O esvaziamento da escola, da rua e outras questões” [“The emptying of school, the street and other matters“], in which the children participated.

2012/2013

In 2012/2013, the sessions were done with the 1st and 3rd grades of Escola da Madalena, taught by Elda and Inês, respectively. Lyncoln Diniz, Adriana Reyes (a brief description of Lyncoln Diniz and Adriana Reyes can be read in Chapter 6) and I did the sessions, but I was in England to work on this thesis for a large part of the year. During the school year of 2012/2013, the sessions took place between October and July 2013.

The NEIGHBOURS project of this year is one of the episodes that will be discussed in further detail in the next chapter together with a brief description of each session. This last year of fieldwork was not originally planned to be discussed in this thesis, however, because NEIGHBOURS provided an interesting new input for the project, that plan was changed. Because the sessions at school about the curriculum have already been described in detail in the section above about the first two years of the fieldwork, the sessions that took place in this final year were only briefly addressed and the focus of the analysis of the project in 2012/2013 was on NEIGHBOURS, which will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

The whole project had a very particular organisation this year. The sessions began in October and until the middle of April there was one session per month with each class. During this period, the sessions became more and more improvised, both in the way the contents were dealt with and the movement exploration. The children interacted more with the artists and the sessions were not previously structured to the degree of detail that they were before. In December there were no sessions, in February the sessions were disrupted by the Carnival holidays and, almost immediately after, by the Easter holidays. In January the NEIGHBOURS meetings began and until April they happened once a month, on Saturdays.

The children started participating very enthusiastically in these sessions, including the children who had already left the school but who had taken part in the project the years before. The teachers Elda and Inês started joining the sessions, even on Saturdays. In the third term, the project sessions at school also became intertwined with NEIGHBOURS and during, the months of May and June, the sessions with the school happened in the square and the content of each session was a mixture between NEIGHBOURS and the school contents. Once the children started the summer holidays, the NEIGHBOURS sessions also happened during the week and on Saturdays, open for anyone to join.

A final important aspect of the work in the year of 2012/2013 was the creation of a school newspaper. “Diário da Madalena” [“Madalena’s Daily”] had a weekly edition from the 26th of April

until the book launch, that is, until the end of June. The children created the contents with their teachers or with c.e.m's staff, and the artists put together the newspaper. Every Monday, it was printed and distributed to everyone at school (children, teachers and staff). "Diário da Madalena" was very closely related to NEIGHBOURS and is discussed in the next chapter. The newspaper and the sessions of NEIGHBOURS were the base of a book, called "9-9A as histórias de um buraco ou as aventuras de um prédio interrompido" ["9-9A the stories of a hole or the adventures of an interrupted building"], which was presented and distributed to the children during the Pedras festival that year and is also discussed in Chapter 5 of this thesis.

Summary and conclusion of the chapter

In this chapter we addressed the circumstances surrounding the fieldwork carried out as part of the research for this thesis. In order to do so, we described the people and the places involved. We began with a description of the dance association that carried out the project, then went on to the details of the school where the fieldwork happened, and finished with a detailed description of the sessions of the project, over the first two years of the fieldwork.

The dance association responsible for the project had its own space for the first time in 1998. It started out as a multidisciplinary space with classes, workshops and research in different artistic fields. At the same time the connection with other subjects, such as anatomy or philosophy, was sought. In 2002 began the classes specifically conceived and planned for children. In this chapter, we have described how the dance association evolved, particularly regarding its different projects with children.

The project studied in the fieldwork, THE BODY AT SCHOOL, was not originally designed by the dance association c.e.m. It began in 2003 in a small city in the interior of Portugal, Vila Velha de Ródão, and was created and implemented by an artistic research centre that had a very close relationship with c.e.m. We have described how the project was initially designed and its dynamics over the four years in Ródão before the research centre decided to discontinue it and the project was implemented in Lisbon by c.e.m's team. We have described the difficulties felt by the artists in charge of the project in Ródão and the reasons why they have decided to interrupt it. However, they felt that such a project still had room to grow and that it should not be abandoned after the first experience. Hence its transfer to Lisbon, and to c.e.m in particular, where a growing group of researchers from different fields had already gained experience in working with children, and they had a close connection with the research centre in Ródão, having followed (albeit from afar) the different phases of the project thus far.

In the first year the project was implemented in Lisbon, its name was changed to THE BODY AT SCHOOL. It happened with two grades (5th and 6th) and in seven different subjects at Escola Passos Manuel. The main difference from the earlier version of the project was the introduction of a final work, developed with the children and the teachers working the connection of the school with the neighbourhood in which it was located, called NEIGHBOURS. We have detailed how the project unfolded at Escola Passos Manuel and how eventually, after two years in that school, c.e.m decided to implement the project in a school closer to its own space, in Mouraria. This change was partly due to a refocus of the work of the association on the neighbourhood in which it was located, and partly because, as it had happened in Ródão before, there was a growing conflict between the school's direction and the association. This conflict was considered to be counterproductive to the work c.e.m was trying to conduct with the project.

2010/2011 marked the beginning of the project THE BODY AT SCHOOL at Escola da Madalena, in the neighbourhood of Mouraria, as well as the beginning of the three years of the fieldwork of this thesis. In this school, the project was done with younger children, from 3rd grade of primary school and with a teacher that followed alternative teaching methodologies. This change marked a new phase of the project, with the clear introduction of the children's perspectives in the sessions. This was due to the teacher's own teaching methods and also to a change in perspective of c.e.m's researchers. The children became more involved with the planning and contents of the sessions, a process that also evolved over the following years, as has been described above.

This chapter, in connection with the previous one, also provides a description of the context of the fieldwork. In the last chapter we have discussed the neighbourhood where the school was located, in this chapter we addressed the school itself. To do so, we looked at three aspects of the school, the building, its organisation over time (daily routines and yearly schedule) and the population of the school (the children, the teachers and the staff members). As far as the school's population is concerned, over the pages of this chapter we have chronicled the dynamics of change in the people attending the school over the course of the fieldwork, particularly the children. For example, at the beginning of the fieldwork the class had seven boys and eight girls and over the following two years, three boys and three girls left the class, and two boys and one girl joined it. We described not only these migrations within the group, but also those of the teachers of the school, as well as the nationalities of the school's population. These details are very closely connected to the description of Mouraria in the previous chapter, and demonstrate how the changes of the population of the neighbourhood had a direct and straightforward impact in the school and, as a consequence, in our fieldwork.

Lastly, we described the sessions of the project. The sessions were planned with the teachers, taking into account the feedback and comments by the children. They happened inside the classroom, during curricular hours and crossed the curricular contents with artistic exploration. We have in these pages described in detail every session of the first two years of the fieldwork. We addressed how the sessions were organised, how their contents were developed and how the themes were addressed. We completed this description with a chronology of each year and an explanation of how the project evolved over that time. Each session was detailed based on my field notes and, whenever possible, with the photographs taken that day. An important part of the description of the project is how NEIGHBOURS was developed each year. In the first year of the fieldwork, NEIGHBOURS focused on street art in Mouraria and the children's perception of the neighbourhood. The children had a walk around Mouraria where they took photographs, made drawings and interviewed people about the neighbourhood. Then, they made a collective map of the area using the photos, symbols and patterns they had discovered as well as quotes from the interviews they had made. In the end, they met Brazilian street artist Stephan Doitschinoff, who painted a mural in Mouraria, and made a collective drawing with him, getting familiar with his work and techniques. In the year after that, in the NEIGHBOURS project, the children created a book with collective stories written and illustrated by them. This process is one of the episodes described in the following chapter. In the third year of the fieldwork, the project was done with two different classes and a new teacher joined the project. The sessions at school occurred cyclically but that year NEIGHBOURS began much earlier in the year and quickly gained more importance in the overall relationship between the school and c.e.m. This time, as we will see next, NEIGHBOURS happened in the ruins of an abandoned building in Mouraria, which the artists and the children transformed and then edited a book about the process. We have chosen not to describe the sessions of that last year of fieldwork, but to focus on a detailed description of NEIGHBOURS sessions, which have been chosen as one of the episodes addressed in the following chapter.

In conclusion, this chapter is intended to provide a deep knowledge of the project and of its context. In relation with Chapter 2, this chapter has completed the background information needed to get a multidimensional perspective of the fieldwork and of the project THE BODY AT SCHOOL. With this information, in the next chapter we can analyse the five episodes that have been chosen to illustrate particularly important aspects of the project. The episodes have already been superficially mentioned in this chapter. The first episode describes a session in the second year of the fieldwork. It exemplifies the structure of the sessions and how the curricular and the artistic contents were integrated. The second episode describes a session that was entirely planned, prepared and taught by the children to a group of adults. It is an illustration of how the project allowed for the students'

and the teachers' traditional roles to be deconstructed and questioned. The third episode describes a particular improvisation exercise performed by one of the children; it is an example of how the arts can have an important role in children's development and their relationship with others. The fourth episode describes the making of the book in the second year of fieldwork and it shows how the children are capable of cultural creation and how their formal, non-formal and informal knowledge can be embraced, accepted and valued. The sessions of NEIGHBOURS in the third year of fieldwork were the last chosen episode, used to exemplify how the project involved the community of Mouraria.

Chapter 4 – The episodes

In the previous chapters we presented a general view of the neighbourhood where the project THE BODY AT SCHOOL took place, Mouraria, and of the project itself. Mouraria was, at the time of our fieldwork, densely populated, with an ageing population, and going through a simultaneous process of gentrification and the new arrival of poor, non-European migrants, as mirrored in the nationalities of the children attending Escola da Madalena. Most buildings in Mouraria were old and in need of renovation.

This fieldwork took as its case study a participant arts-based project, THE BODY AT SCHOOL, which proposed an approach to the curricular contents the children had to learn at school from an active body posture. The process of decision-making was shared between children and adults, and the project aimed at transforming the school into a meeting point for former students, the community and the children's families. In the previous chapter we described the dance association that carried out the project, c.e.m – centro em movimento, and how it evolved over time. We have also provided a detail of the sessions from the first two years of fieldwork, in the school years of 2010/2011 and 2011/2012. The artists planned the sessions with the teachers, using the feedback and comments by the children; in the previous chapter we described how the sessions were organised, how their contents were developed and how the themes were addressed.

From all the data collected during the fieldwork, we chose five episodes to illustrate particular themes of our research, recapitulated below:

- 1) Does an experience of the arts, of artistic tools, processes, techniques and exercises and of an active body posture in the scholarization process stimulate learning? Is this learning different from or similar to learning that occurs through school experiences that do not contain these elements?
- 2) How did the children respond to the opportunity to develop a project in school that they chose themselves? Did they recognise their own cultural production and their more active role at school?
- 3) Did the use of an arts-based approach diminishes gender, ethnic and developmental differences in the participation of the children?
- 4) How were the children's formal, non-formal and informal knowledge recognised in the classroom?

- 5) Were the hierarchies in the classroom different from classrooms where arts-based methods were not employed? Did the participants experience greater mutual respect, trust and support?
- 6) Did the intervention change the participant's experience of school as a meeting point for former students, the local community and the children's families?

The chosen episodes were the following, some of them relevant to more than one research question:

- 1) A session about the skeletal system;
- 2) A class taught by the children to a group of adults at c.e.m;
- 3) An improvisation exercise involving one of the girls from the class;
- 4) The process of making a book in the second year of the fieldwork;
- 5) The NEIGHBOURS project in the last year of the fieldwork, which took place on the ruins of an abandoned building in Mouraria.

Our description and interpretation of each episode was done through the triangulation of different types of data including the photographs, my field notes and, whenever available, filmed material and the children's reports and drawings about the sessions. To illustrate what happened during each segment of the episodes, the photographs are placed in a mosaic and the videos are divided into different moments and we selected frames from each moment, which were also displayed in a mosaic.

The first episode, chosen as an example of a normal session of the project, shows in detail how a session developed and how the documentation of each session was produced and used in the project, allowing us partly to address the first research question. It focuses on a session from the year of 2011/2012 that illustrates how the curricular and artistic contents were integrated with the children's cultural background in the project, that is, how the children's knowledge was integrated in the sessions, which is the topic of the fourth research question. We shall discuss the exercises performed in the session and how they were presented and developed by the group in a way that, we shall argue, allowed for each person to feel comfortable in his or her body and allowed for the people to take control over their bodies and the exposure they were subjected to during the sessions. Therefore, we use this episode to address the third research question as well, which considers how the sessions could minimise the influence of gender, ethnic and developmental differences among the children. Moreover, because adults and children were doing the same thing, i.e. the same exercises during the session, particularly the movement exercises, it is also a way of answering the

fifth research question, about the hierarchy inside the classroom. In this episode, we used drawings made by the children in their last exercise and photographs of the sessions.

In the second episode, we describe the class the children planned and taught the adults studying at c.e.m in 2012. This session is an example of how the project stimulated a deconstruction of the students' traditional role and will be used to discuss mainly the second and the fifth research questions, concerning how the children would choose what they wanted their classes to be and how the hierarchy inside the classroom could be transformed. This episode is also important to discuss the first research question, that is how the experience of the project stimulated children's learning and growth. In the description of the second episode we will use reports made by the children describing how the session unfolded and what their evaluation of that moment was. We did a content and discourse analysis of the reports in two steps. We began by analysing the reports individually for their contents and by defining categories of analysis. In a second stage, the works were studied collectively, in order to establish the points in common and the differences in the descriptions of the same event; then we analysed the discourse of the texts.

The third episode is focused on a girl's participation in an improvisation exercise. In one of the exercises proposed, Georgiana, who was a very shy and introverted child, creates and interprets a short play that will be discussed further on. She also acted as the main actress in Lara's play, an adult studying at c.e.m, who did the exercise immediately after Georgiana. This episode illustrates the role that art can have stimulating and potentiating a child's growth, hence, answering our first research question. It was also fundamental evidence for the answer to the third research question, about the differences among the children and the exercises that could be proposed to minimise them.

The making of a book in 2012 is the fourth episode. The process of writing of the stories is described, in particular the writing of the story that the children produced all together, after three groups had written stories separately. We shall also describe how the children discussed the book structure and decided what they wanted for the book launch. This episode was chosen as an example of the children developing a project of their choosing (connected to the second research question), valuing their own knowledge and learning how to do something by doing it, which also gives important input to the fourth research question. Moreover, it shows how the project created the conditions for the children to express and develop their creativity and cultural production (the first research question). The four texts written by the children are described using narrative analysis, that is, the texts are analysed separately with special attention given to the characters, their characterisation and personality. Additionally, we discuss to the plot, what the story was, how it

developed, the relations that the texts could have with the children's lives, the time and space settings of the tale, the objects mentioned and the way the stories were constructed.

Finally, the last episode is about the REVOADA sessions. REVOADA is the name the NEIGHBOURS project took in 2013. As we have described previously, Mouraria had a large number of old buildings in need of renovation. The REVOADA sessions happened precisely on the ruins of an empty building, and, during the sessions, the children participated in its renovation, decoration and transformation into a garden. The episode describes how the sessions unfolded over the last ten weeks of the project, culminating in a book launch and on a sleepover at the square, involving the children, their families, the teachers, the artists and several people from the neighbourhood. The decision-making process of these sessions will be important for the answer to the fifth research question, about the ways in which the hierarchy between the teachers and the students can be changed. It will also be relevant for the answer to the first and the second questions, about the impact the project had on the children's learning, growth and in their lives, and in their capacity to develop a project of their choosing. Each session is described briefly and for each day there is a montage of the photos from the session. We also scanned the "Diário da Madalena" (a weekly journal made by the artists and the children) of each week. The material is presented following a chronological order. This episode, chosen for the dynamic created between the people involved in REVOADA and the way the sessions unfolded involving the community, is the main source of information to answer the sixth research question. Attention was paid neither to the details of the sessions, nor to one day in particular, but to the building up of the sessions throughout the whole project and to the consequences they had in the involvement of others.

Episode 1 – A session on the human skeleton

The first session of the school year of 2011/2012 happened on October 17th 2011. The session was on Sciences, specifically about the bones and the skeletal system. The session had been planned with the teacher one week beforehand and most of the students were familiar with the project from the year before. The meeting started with the clearing of the room from tables, chairs and backpacks that were placed in the adjacent storage room (room number fifteen in the plan of the school from the previous chapter). Before the exercises started, there was a brief discussion about the project, mostly for the children who had just joined the class. Elda, Lyncoln and I did this introduction and I also explained that the project was part of my PhD research. The participatory character of the project was also explained to the children, who were told they could suggest exercises or themes for the sessions, and that they were expected to intervene in them.

Everyone removed their shoes and placed them by the walls of the room, so that they would take up little space. Greeting all the children and clearing the room took about ten minutes. Lincoln and I gave most of the indications in the session. If there was some confusion about our explanations or the children's interactions, Elda intervened. She also sometimes intervened to give examples that the children could relate to more easily, when it came to the explanation of the curricular contents of the session.

Everyone began by standing up in a circle holding hands and saying their name out loud. The person saying their name gently squeezed the hand of the person next to them, who was going to say their name next. The names could circle in any direction and the person saying his or her name decided who would go next by squeezing the left or the right hand. This game and the play with the directions of the flow of the names caused great amusement to the children. After understanding the game, some children transformed it, and instead of saying their name, they sometimes would say someone else's.

After the circle of names had been going on for ten minutes and everyone had said their names more than once, the children let go of their colleagues' hands and started rubbing their right hand against the left. When the hands were warm, they passed the palms of their hands and their fingers along their bodies from the head to the toes, paying attention to every body part they touched. They were encouraged to feel the different textures of the body while at the same time massaging it. After the massage was done from head to toes, the hands followed the reverse path back to standing position. Then, everyone rolled down their heads along the spine until the legs bent and everyone was in a squatting position. From there they went to an all-fours position, then to a foetal position and then lying on the floor. From lying on the floor, everyone reversed the sequence and went back to standing up. This took around five minutes. Back at the circle, standing up, the indication was for the children to move as if there were no bones in their body. Then the idea was to move as if there were no muscles, and then as if there were no joints. Then moving again with the bones, muscles and joints in their body, noticing and exploring the differences in the quality of the movement. This movement exploration lasted for around ten minutes.

The last part of the movement exercises was done in pairs, with a person feeling the body of their partner, paying special attention to the feeling of the bones. Continuing the movement exploration that they were doing before, the children continued moving exploring the idea of the bones, joints and muscles, but this time their partner could help in their movement or direct it him or herself. The roles of the pairs changed and the exploration lasted for ten minutes.

After the movement exploration, everyone sat down in a circle and discussed the skeletal system, its functions, what it consisted of, what were bones, joints or muscles. They considered the skeletal

system in other animals or, in the case of the invertebrates, which systems fulfilled some of its functions. The names of some of the bones were discussed and the children looked at the anatomy atlas (Frank Netter's "Atlas of human anatomy") brought by Lincoln and me to get a more detailed perspective of the human skeleton. In this discussion, the children were encouraged to dialogue with the adults in the room. The contents were discussed and explored together, rather than presented. Elda established the links between what the children had already learnt in previous classes or years and what was that years' curriculum. Not all children participated in the discussion, but many did; the discussion lasted for fifteen minutes.

The last part of the session was intended for the children to explore and apply what they had experienced in the session. In groups of three, the children should draw the silhouette of one of them in any position they wanted and then fill in that body with a skeleton, decorating it with other details they wanted to add. As one person lay down, the others drew the contour of the body. All together and with the help of books, each group filled that outline with a drawing of the skeletal system. This lasted for twenty minutes. Finally, the children placed their work in front of the blackboard and presented it to their colleagues. After the presentations were done, Lincoln and I showed some paintings by Frida Khalo, who included detailed anatomical drawings in her work. After the session was over, the adults and the children put on their shoes and put the chairs, tables and backpacks back in their original location. Photos from the session can be seen below.



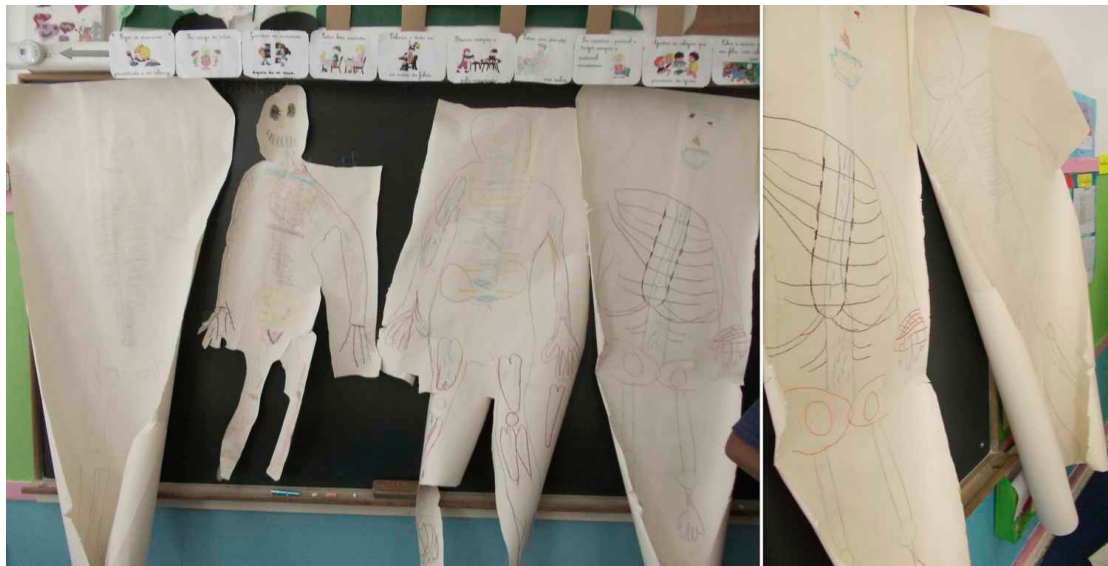


Figure 26: 1st session in 2011/2012 on the skeleton.

Photos numbered 1 to 16 from top to bottom, left to right: 1.Maria Beatriz and Catarina drawing the bones in the legs; 2 and 3.Rita and Emília drawing; 4.General view of the room; 5 to 7.General view of the room, with Georgiana and Davi working in the foreground; 8.Ana Raquel working on the face of her drawing; 9.Ana Raquel discussing her work with her partner; 10 and 11.Isabel, Rodrigo and Mário drawing the bones in the skull; 12.Ana Raquel showing off her work; 13 to 16.The different skeletons produced. I took the photos from the session. Pedagogical documentation from the session on October 17th 2011. Two photographs showing the work made by the five groups during the session about the skeleton.

I took the photos from this last part of the session. As all the adults present in the room (Lyncoln, Elda and I) were involved in the session, the only moment when we were watching the children working and not really working with them was in the last exercise, when we went from group to group helping the children with whichever doubts they had. That was the only time when I had a moment to take the photographs displayed above. The photos show the children working in groups, deciding how to do their work and the organisation of the space in the classroom. The skeletons that resulted from the group work are also shown in the photographs. This episode and the photos were chosen not for something in particular that happened in the session, but because they are an example of how the sessions unfolded and also how the artistic and the curricular content were handled and combined.

Analysis of the episode

The description of this episode began with emptying the space of the classroom to mark the beginning of the session. This moment was repeated in every session at school (c.e.m's studio was already an empty space, there was no need to do it) and the team from c.e.m gave it a ritualistic importance, as it was the moment that marked the preparation of the something different. Garcion-Vautor described the rituals at the beginning of each day in a nursery school in France (the gestures and words performed), as a delimitation of time and space, and as a means to discipline the body (Garcion-Vautor, 2003). These rituals, according to the author, serve the purpose of helping the children entering a role and a culture, viz. the school culture. The artists also implemented the ritual

in the beginning of each session to mark the distinction from a regular class. From the moment the group from c.e.m walked into the school and into the classroom, the children already knew that a session was about to happen, where they were expected to behave in a different way that they did in a regular class. The clearing of the room marked the preparation for that moment. From then on, the rules that applied were different. For example, immediately after everyone had removed their shoes, which they could not do during a normal class, the exercises that followed also assumed a different way of behaving (holding hands, massaging the partner, the movement exploration, standing in the classroom, sitting down on the floor; these were all forbidden actions during the classes).

The beginning of the class per se was the circle with everyone standing up and holding hands. This beginning, which is relatively common in movement sessions of different kinds, was used in the sessions by the artists as a metaphor of a membrane, as an exercise joining the group as one, at the same time as announcing each person's individuality when they said their names aloud. It created the unity and awareness of a group that would then experience, create and participate in the session together.

From this collective moment, the session then turned the attention back to the self, with each person working individually in the warming up of their bodies, rubbing their hands, then rubbing the face and the rest of the body. The introduction of movement in space along the vertical axis, moving from the spine from standing up until lying in the floor, introduced a new dimension to the movement, i.e. the possibility of exploring also the floor.

The movement exploration that followed included the possibility of using the floor and all the different positions the children could come up with until standing up or even jumping. The idea of moving with the different qualities established a connection with the notions of muscles, bones and joints that the children already had from past experience, with their representations in the children's minds and also the possibilities of physical movement.

This exploration stimulated the children's creativity in the connection of different movements and also the creation of phrases of gestures invented by the children. The movement improvisation also created a situation where copying, imitating and transforming someone else's actions was a part of the creation of one's own movement. This appropriation of moves through movement exploration was one of the ways the project's sessions stimulated the children to experience things by doing them.

In terms of the hierarchy inside the classroom, the adults did exactly the same exercises as the children; the teacher and c.e.m's staff were just as involved as the children were, copying the

movement from the children or vice-versa. This meant that the availability the adults had to have before the sessions was similar to the children's, and that, during the sessions, the power relations between them were blurred. The same happened for the gender and ethnic differences among the classroom. In PE classes, it was not uncommon for the boys and the girls to be given a different assignment; invariably the girls were given a task a lot less challenging and physically demanding. Moreover, some girls, notably the two Romanian girls, had trouble doing certain physical activities because of the exposure their bodies would get. In the sessions of the project, each person decided how much he or she wanted to expose him or herself. Because everyone was moving at the same time, and there was no correct way of doing something, the pressure of being watched by others was substantially reduced (the third episode will deepen the discussion on this topic).

The attention to the self changed in the next exercise of working in groups of two. There, the centre of attention was the other, the partner who was moving and who had to be safeguarded, cared for in order not to get hurt. The same happened to the person moving, who had to take care not to hurt the partner or the others. The duos cooperated in their movement, leading and helping, guiding and being guided, and alternating the roles between the two, in a dialogue that was not verbal.

Thus far, the curricular contents were addressed metaphorically. The group discussion marked the inclusion of the curricular contents in a direct and literal way. In the next exercise, the children worked in groups of three, drawing the silhouette of one of them and filling with a drawing of the skeleton. In this exercise, the children experienced a transformation of the body; the person whose silhouette was worked on no longer owned that body, and it became a communal object of work for the group, who together decided how to decorate it. The final results, seen in the photos above, were very different: three of the groups focused on the skeletal system alone, one focused on the muscles and the skeleton and another on the organs and the skeleton. The bones of the skull, spine, ribcage, pelvis, arms and legs are present in all drawings. Frida Khalo, as mentioned before, was presented as an example of an artist who included detailed anatomical drawings in her paintings. Hence, the session brought the children closer to the processes and techniques of artistic creation. In terms of curricular content, the skeletal system was introduced without underestimating the children, showing them the same anatomical atlas used by medicine students instead of childish interpretations of anatomy. At the same time, in the session, the children were given the freedom to choose what to depict and how to do so. The final result was rich in personal details, particularly in the facial expression of the drawing, the choice of colours used, the mixing of the different planes of transparency of the body (in theory, if the bones were visible then organs would not be, for example) or the contents that were included (bones, muscles or joints).

The sessions of the project ended with a final product that was worked on as the result of what had been done during that meeting. This product could take different forms; it could be a story, a dance, a poem, a sculpture or a drawing. The sessions were built this way so that they had a consistent structure that the teachers and the children could relate to. When this final work was a physical object, it was left in the classroom, so that the teacher and the children could continue working on it if they wanted to, and would be able to show it to the children's families and to the remaining people in the school. This structure of the sessions related to the concept of "pedagogical documentation" applied in the Reggio Emilia schools. Reggio Emilia is the name of a city in Northern Italy, in the Emilia-Romagna region. The city developed its educational approach after World War II by a teacher, Loris Malaguzzi with the parents of the children of the city and the villages around it. It is focused on preschool and primary education. The educational approach is based on stimulating the involvement of the community in the education of the children, and the learning is done through a process of exploration and discovery, where the children choose and guide the curriculum they learn.

According to Michael Armstrong (2006: 181) whatever the merits of standardised tests, they tell us nothing about the quality of the children's thought that is demonstrated in their works. Armstrong adds that such tests treat children's works as if they were empty of significance. Documentation, according to the author (Armstrong, 2006: 181), by contrast, is "the narrative of a culturally significant achievement, traced through the succession of works and their interpretation over the course of a term, a year, a school lifetime".

The teachers who work with the practices of the Reggio Emilia schools believe that documentation contributes to the quality of teaching in many ways. Documentation enhances learning because, when the children revisit their experience, they clarify, deepen and strengthen their understandings. Moreover, documentation helps the children in recording, preserving and stimulating their memories of their experiences, as well as processing new information. Neuroscientists studying the processes involved in learning defined "working memory" as "the ability to hold a piece of information in our attention while we process it", and found that external representations help with the heavy initial demands of school on working memory (Howard-Jones, 2011). Hence, neuroscience also proved that it is important for the children faced with a new problem to show their work and that visualisation is a very useful strategy to learning because visualising an object recruits almost as many areas of the brain as actually seeing it (Howard-Jones, 2011). Therefore, mental imagery is also a learning tool. The construction of the documentation at the end of each session helps the children in forming further links between the new information and the existing previous

knowledge, which is another important step in the construction of meaning, understanding and remembering information (Howard-Jones, 2011).

Additionally, teachers following a Reggio Emilia methodology defend that pedagogic documentation by pointing to how it takes the children's ideas and work seriously (and encourages them as well to take their work seriously, showing them that the teachers value what they do), helps in teacher planning and children evaluation (the planning is done continuously and decided on the basis of what the group and the individual children connect to), enhances parent appreciation and participation (it helps the parents see their children in a group context, it can bring the members of the community into the school, being a bridge between the school and the families), teacher research and project awareness (looking into the documentation, teachers realise what the children understood and how they are developing and adjust their practices accordingly, modifying and adjusting their teaching strategies, and it is a tool of assessment, helping the teachers becoming aware of their choices and values) and, finally, it helps making children's learning visible (Katz and Chard, 1996; Rinaldi, 2004; Oken-Wright, 2001). Furthermore, pedagogical documentation is a tool for observation and interpretation and part of the school's daily life, creating and maintaining relationships between the teachers and the children, in a dialoguing process where both the teacher and the children learn (Rinaldi, 2004; Gandini and Kaminsky, 2004).

In conclusion, this episode showed some of the potential of the articulation of the school culture with the children's cultures and the artistic cultures, based on a curricular content. It also demonstrated how the sessions unfolded, largely based on group work, but also giving importance to the individuality of each child.

Episode 2 – The children teaching a class to the adults at c.e.m

The second episode took place on the 14th February 2012. One week prior to the session there was a meeting between the teacher, the children and the artists from c.e.m where the details for the session were discussed. The session began with an introduction, through movement, done by Lyncoln Diniz and me and then the children took over.

The children started the class as Lyncoln and I often did, with everyone in a circle and people starting by saying their names, one at a time. Then, each person had to name one animal that lived underground. On the third round there was a game of mimicry, where each person had to make the movements and the sounds of an animal that lived underground, for everyone to guess. Following that, in groups of four, each group had to make a poem with the names of the students, the sounds, gestures and the names of the animals. When every group was done, people gathered in a circle to

watch all the presentations. In the end there was a feedback discussion about the session and finally the children shared the documentation they had collected about the underground animals. In the end, they made pairs of one child and one adult to go back to school together.

In this analysis, we divided the session into fourteen moments: the arrival of the children to the studio; everyone walking in the studio; the making of a circle; massages; the circle of names followed by the circle of animal names; the mimicry game; the explanation and unfolding of the poetry game; the presentation of the poem, followed by a discussion of the animals people liked the most; a circle of feedback and opinion; the presentation, by the children, of the documentation used to prepare for the session and, finally, the children and the adults journey back to the school. Each of these moments are discussed and analysed individually⁵¹. The video begins with the preparation of the studio by some of the people from c.e.m and ends the children and the adults walking together back to the school. The session lasted for ninety minutes and the video was edited into twenty-seven minutes.

On the day of the session, the teacher asked the children to write a report on how the session went. Elda graded the texts, discussed them with the students and afterwards gave them to me. These ten reports will be discussed after the video analysis. The children gave us the paper sheets they had written with the plan of the session, which will also be discussed below.

1. The children entering the studio



Figure 27: The children walking into the studio.

The students from c.e.m were already in the studio, together with Sofia Neuparth and Margarida Agostinho, who worked at c.e.m and joined the class, and Amália also joined the class. Amália was a seamstress who sometimes worked with c.e.m and participated in some activities there; she was also the next-door neighbour of Nicolae, Georgiana and Corina and knew them well.

⁵¹ The complete video from the session is available online (Louçã, 2015b). I edited the material filmed by Alex Campos.

As the children walked in the studio, a space most of them already knew from the previous year, they greeted the people they knew (as can be seen in both pictures, where Georgiana is hugging Sofia) and did not interact particularly with the people they had not met yet.

2. Walking in the studio



Figure 28: Walking in the studio.

Photos numbered 1 to 8 from top to bottom, left to right: 1.Walking in the studio; 2 and 3.Isabel, Catarina and Mário running and sliding; 4 and 5.Gathering at one side of the studio; 6 to 8.Nicolae, Davi, Sofia, Pedro and Ana Raquel talking in a circle.

Once everyone had entered the room, no one gave any indication and everyone started walking in the space, in any direction. Some children started running, sliding on the floor and some bumped into others. Small groups of people talking to each other (children and adults) were spontaneously created. After a few minutes, Lyncoln asked everyone to form a big circle.

3. Circle



Figure 29: Forming the circle.

Photos numbered 1 to 3 from left to right: 1.Lyncoln proposing the circle formation, 2.The circle being formed; 3.The circle fully formed.

Lyncoln started by asking everyone to make a circle and randomly held the hands of Mário and Susana. Everyone followed that lead, creating a large circle with adults and children in no particular order. When the circle was formed, I said: “Before we start with the exercises you [the children]

have prepared, we will just do one exercise Lyncoln and I have prepared and then you start, ok?’. The children agreed and we began.

4. Massages



Figure 30: Massages.

Photos numbered 1 to 18 from top to bottom, left to right: 1 to 3.Me (behind) and Rita; 4 to 7.Sónia (behind) and Ana Raquel; 8 and 9.Pedro (behind) and Davi; 10.Nicolae (behind) and Nelson; 11.My hands on Rita’s back; 12.My hands on Rita’s foot; 13.Elda (behind) and Isabel, after finishing the first round of massages; 14 and 15.Mário (behind) and Bernardo; 16.View from above of Rita massaging me (left) and Ana Raquel massaging Sónia (right); 17.General view of the studio with Elda in the foreground, being massaged by Isabel; 18.Georgiana and Marta at the end of the second round of massages.

The exercise suggested by Lyncoln and me was a quick massage, done in pairs standing up. In the beginning, I asked the pairs to place themselves with one person in front of the other. The person in the back massaged the partner. In this first round, when the pairs were one adult and one child, in

most cases the adults were the ones doing the massage first. Most people did not know what we were going to suggest but in these exercises usually the person in the back takes a more active role, and that could be why the adults chose that order.

The massage started by laying the hands on the partner's shoulder blades and start touching the body as if making bread dough. With that image in mind, the massage continued down the arms until the hands and then all the way back to the shoulders. From there, the hands of the person massaging went more softly to the neck of the partner, and then to the head and face. It was suggested that they would let their fingers explore the face of the person, softly, but trying not to predict how the face should be like; the same was done for the ears and head. At the top of the skull, the fingers tapped the head as if they were raindrops and moved like that through the back of the person. Reaching the legs, the massage returned to a bread dough-making type and went like that all the way to the feet. In the feet, the "bread dough" was spread on the floor. To finish the massage, the person in the back moved the fingers along the partner's body as if they were a broom dusting off a surface and in the end the person in the back hugged the partner. When the pairs changed, Lyncoln gave the directions.

The children had done this sort of massage in the sessions at school and were no stranger to it, but the ones who were paired up with someone they did not know were shy touching the other person's body only with the tips of the fingers. They giggled a lot when their partners touched places where they were ticklish, the neck, for example, or when something funny happened (such as when Catarina's fingers went into Lyncoln's mouth, who was speaking at the time and had the mouth opened). When the two rounds were over, the people went back to the circle and the children started their class.

5. Circle of names



Figure 31: The circle of names.

To get to know their students, the children decided to begin the class with the same "circle of names" with which Lyncoln and I would usually start the sessions at school. The children had not chosen who would begin the circle and Diogo asked me who should do it. I answered that I did not

know, and Pedro (a boy from school) raised his finger and said he would begin. The children did not explain this exercise to their students, but there was really no need to as it is very self-evident and the people understood it immediately. The exercise went on for three rounds, each time faster, and was ended by Diogo, who explained the ensuing exercise.

6. Circle of animal's names



Figure 32: The circle of animal names.

Photos numbered 1 to 6 from top to bottom, left to right: 1. Diogo, between me and Amália, explaining the game; 2. Me and Diogo waiting for Amália to answer; 3. Anaïs and Mariana; 4. Georgiana; 5. Mário, Maria Beatriz, Susana, Lyncoln (answering) and Catarina; 6. Sofia, Nelson, Nicolae and Davi (answering).

Diogo simply explained the exercise as being the same as before, but with underground animals. This game went on for one round, with each person naming an animal that lives underground. Most people were still holding hands during this exercise.

7. Mimicry game



Figure 33: The mimcry game.

Photos numbered 1 to 16 from top to bottom, left to right: 1.The children came to me before explaining the new game; 2 and 3.Davi explaining the game; 4.Sónia starting the game, at the centre of the circle; 5.Rita; 6.Discussion about the sounds of the animals (notice Lyncoln pointing at his ears); 7.Me; 8.Pedro; 9.Georgiana's hands; 10.Marta; 11.Lara; 12 and 13.Elda playing a fox and the children pointing, ecstatic; 14.Isabel; 15.Bernardo; 16.Mário.

When the round was over, the children gathered around me to discuss what they were doing next. I participated in the discussion, as I knew the session's structure, but they had settled among themselves who presented what and carried on with their plan, quickly going back to the circle and holding hands again. This time, it was Davi's turn to explain.

The exercise was a mimcry game, where each person went to the centre of the circle and presented the animal they had named in the previous exercise, using only sounds and mimic for the others to

guess. Sónia began the round mimicking a maggot and in the beginning there was some confusion about the exercise. Ana Raquel asked if the animal was the same that they had said before, Diogo confirmed and so did the teacher, who added that no one remembered which animal each person had done anymore. The first two people also did their animals without making any sound and throughout the round there was often at least one person reminding the others to use sound. Amália, who said that caterpillars were silent, personified the doubts about the sounds made by such animals. Diogo promptly explained that they could make up sounds. From then on, most people added imagined sounds to their mimicry.

The children were very excited when it was Elda's turn and were happy to guess on her fox. The only animal that was not guessed was Bernardo's beetle as he gave away the animal's name before anyone guessed it. The exercise finished when Sónia was about to repeat her mimicry and Isabel mentioned she had already done it.

8. Explanation of the poetry game



Figure 34: Explanation of the game.

Photos numbered 1 to 8 from top to bottom, left to right: 1. The children came to me to ask which game was next; 2. Davi asking people to form groups of four people; 3 and 4. People starting to form the groups; 5 to 6. Davi explaining the game; 7 and 8. The groups being formed.

Once they realised it was time for another exercise, some children gathered around me, while some other went to check in their papers what exercise was next. Davi explained the exercise and began by asking everyone to form groups of four people, which generated a bit of confusion because most people did not understand if they were supposed to group immediately or if they should wait for the explanation. The children already knew what was coming next and were excited to create the groups.

Lyncoln asked Davi to explain what was going to happen and he said that the groups of four people were to take their names, the animal's names, the sounds and the gestures to make a poem. Each person should make a line and, putting the four lines together they would have a quatrain. He explained that was the reason why the session was about science and poetry. Six groups were made: Pedro (c.e.m), Ana Raquel (school), Mário (school) and Sónia (school); Maria Beatriz (school), Mariana (c.e.m), Anaïs (c.e.m), Isabel (school) and Margarida (c.e.m); Lara (c.e.m), Corina (school), Georgiana (school) and Amália (c.e.m); Pedro (school), Nicolae (school), Davi (school) and Sofia (c.e.m); Nelson (school), Gonçalo (c.e.m), Marta (c.e.m) and Diogo (school); Rita (school), Catarina (school), Bernardo (c.e.m) and Susana (c.e.m).

9. The poetry game





Figure 35: The poetry game.

Photos numbered 1 to 30 from top to bottom, left to right: 1 to 3. Pedro, Sónia, Ana Raquel and Mário's group; 4. Nelson and Diogo; 5 to 8. Nicolae, Davi, Sofia and Pedro's group, 9. Marta and Nelson; 10 to 11. Corina, Georgiana, Amália, Mariana and Lara's group; 12. Sofia, Pedro and Nicolae; 13. Catarina, Rita, Bernardo and Susana's group; 14. Ana Raquel; 15. Detail of a poem; 16. Detail of the animals' photos; 17 to 18. General view of the room; 19. Detail of a poem; 20. Nelson; 21 to 22. Pedro, Sofia, Davi and Nicolae working; 23. General view of the room; 24. Detail of a poem; 25. Pedro, Sofia, Davi and Nicolae; 26. Rita and Catarina; 27 to 30. Mário, Ana Raquel, Sónia and Pedro rehearsing their presentation.

In this exercise, each person was given four pieces of paper, two of them were blank (to write their names and the sound of the animal) and the other two were chosen from two piles of pieces of paper that could be blank or have a word written on it. One of the piles had verbs in it, the other had animal names. To make the poems it was not required to use all the words in the papers. Lyncoln and I prepared the papers before the session at the children's request.

The several groups spread around the studio and worked sitting or lying down on the floor. After writing their quatrain, each group also decided how they would present it. Some opted for a musical presentation, others for a more performative or theatrical one.

10. Poem presentation





Figure 36: Poem Presentation.

Photos numbered 1 to 25 from top to bottom, left to right: 1 to 2. Pedro, Mário, Sónia and Ana Raquel presenting; 3. Marta, Nelson and Diogo; 4. Gonçalo rolling on the floor; 5. Lyncoln asking Nelson to repeat his verse; 6. Nelson presenting; 7. Clapping Nelson's presentation and Amália getting ready to begin; 8 to 12. Amália, Lara, Corina and Georgiana's group; 13 to 14. Isabel, Catarina, Mariana, Margarida and Anais' group presenting; 15 to 16. Sofia, Nicolae, Davi and Nelson's group; 17. Me getting Nicolae's group a copy of their poem so they could repeat their presentation; 18 to 22. Nicolae, Pedro, Davi and Sofia presenting their poem for the second time; 23 to 25. Susana, Bernardo, Rita and Catarina's group.

Everybody sat down in a circle for the presentation of the poem, after all stanzas had been taped to the wall. There was no set order to present the work. The people paid a lot of attention during the presentations and, after each one of them, the whole group clapped as a sign of appreciation. The first group was Pedro, Ana Raquel, Mário and Sónia's and the poem was: "Once upon a time there was a boa strolling/it got out of its burrow and started foxing/as a maggot sliding/it found the meerkat dining"⁵². Pedro went to the middle of the circle and, as he read the poem, the children entered the scene one by one. On the first line Mário entered, playing the boa. On the second, Ana Raquel played the fox and Sónia was the maggot. On the last line, Pedro himself played the meerkat.

The second group was Nelson, Gonçalo, Marta and Diogo's. Their poem was: "The scorpion smells the dog and Diogo under the mattress, sniff sniff/Marta and the maggot eating whatever they want to, nher nher/Gonçalo and the caterpillar are rolling around, that's so cool!/Nelson is hiding the

⁵² "Era uma vez uma jibóia que andava a passear/saiu da sua toca a pôs-se a *raposar*/como um verme a deslizar/encontrou a suricata, a jantar!"

cricket, crick crick crick!”⁵³. Diogo sang the first line and then there was some hesitation between him and Nelson as to whom would continue; Nelson indicated he would be last. Marta also sang her line and Gonçalo sang his while rolling around on the floor. Nelson said his line, but the people were clapping and did not hear him. The group sat down and Lyncoln and Elda, who had noticed it, asked Nelson to repeat, which he did and after he was done, the people clapped again.

The third group was Lara, Corina, Georgiana and Amália’s. They made the following poem: “Woof, woof, barks the dog, Amália/the cockroach sshhhh, sshhh, enters Corina/the mole digs Georgiana/the cat meow”⁵⁴. They all entered the circle crawling and Amália seemed to be a sort of leader, helping Georgiana and Corina who were not fluent in Portuguese and who were very shy. Amália said the first line, Corina said the second, the third was up to Georgiana with Amália’s help, and Lara said the last. Lara seemed to be the leader in terms of movement; both Corina and Georgiana glanced at her at each new line, as if to check the movements they were supposed to do.

Next was Maria Beatriz, Mariana, Anaïs, Isabel and Margarida’s group. Their poem was: “The ant Margarida jumps tac tac tac!/The lizard and the cockroach get glued to Isabel/The turtle igligli crawls rec rec rec/The crab turns its head inwards, it crawls rch rch rch!”⁵⁵. Their presentation was done in duets of one person reading the line and the other mimicking the sound the animal would make. The first duo was Margarida reading and Isabel should have been jumping. Margarida made her a sign to do so, but she only did it after the line was over. Then Beatriz read and Margarida made gestures with her mouth. Isabel read the line about the turtle, which was mimicked by Anaïs. Anaïs read the last line while Mariana did gestures with her mouth.

Pedro, Nicolae, Davi and Sofia’s group was next. Their poem was read as a song by the four of them together and it was as follows: “Sssssssss, goes the snake, I’ll run away!/Iiiiihhhhh, goes the armadillo draining./With Pedro, I’ll frighten it!/The hedgehog, the frog, go aaahhhh, running!”⁵⁶. The group made an inner circle at the centre of the big circle and began their presentation by snapping the fingers rhythmically. Then they sang the lyrics. Pedro alone sang the words “I’ll frighten it!”, the rest was all sung together. The group tried the first time, but there was no synchrony between them, which Sofia explained was because they could not see what was written. I took the copy of the poem that was taped to the wall and gave it to them, as Sofia had said they were going to repeat the presentation. The second time, their timing was much better.

⁵³ “O escorpião cheira o cão e o Diogo debaixo do colchão, snif snif!/A Marta e o verme a comer, aquilo que lhes apetece, nher nher!/O Gonçalo e a minhoca estão a rebolar, isso é que está a dar!/O Nelson esconde o grilo, cric, cric cric”. The internal rhyme is lost in English.

⁵⁴ “Ao ão, ladra o cão, a Amália!/Sshhhhh shhhh, entra a Corina/A toupeira escava a Georgiana/O gato miau!”

⁵⁵ “A formiga Margarida salta tac tac tac!/A lagartixa e a barata colam-se à Isabel/A tartaruga igligli rasteja rec rec rec!/O caranguejo mete a cabeça para dentro, rasteja rch rch rch!”

⁵⁶ “Sssssss, faz a cobra, fugirei!/Iiiiihhhhh faz o tatu a escorrer./Com o Pedro, assustarei!/O ouriço, a rã”

The last presentation was by Rita, Catarina, Bernardo and Susana's group. Their poem was: "I'm a spider called Rita, I like crawling, making gur gur gur, I look like I'm from Alentejo!/The weasel, who was going crec crec, meets the beetle./Biting the lady, monk monk, and the boa Susana./There comes Catarina's centipede always screaming and going ouro ouro!"⁵⁷. The poem was read aloud by Susana, who stood in the circle. The other three crawled at the centre of the circle. For the first line, the movement was just crawling, for the second it was a crawling movement but lying on the back, with the legs and the arms in the air. At this point, Catarina remained seated next to Rita and Bernardo, who were doing the movements. As they reached the third line, she looked over at Elda, who nodded to her, as if encouraging her. She was wearing a skirt with tights, maybe that was the reason why she would not do the movement. The movement for the third line was the same as for the second. For the last line they went back to crawling belly down and Catarina joined them. Susana joked with the last sounds of the poem and repeated them, as her group was finishing their movement.

11. Animals people liked the most



Figure 37: The round of the animals people liked the most.

Photos numbered 1 to 6 from top to bottom, left to right: 1 to 2. Isabel explaining the purpose of this round; 3. Sónia raising her hand to answer; 4. Susana raising her hand to answer; 5. Corina raising her hand to answer; 6. Georgiana raising her hand to answer while Mário said his favourite animal had been the shark.

After the presentations everyone sat back in the circle and Isabel asked which were everyone's favourite underground animals from the session. The children started answering quickly one after the other, raising their hand to request Isabel's permission to speak. The round finished when Mário raised his hand and said "shark", with the other children reacting and saying that sharks do not live underground. He had perhaps been inspired by Nicolae who, in the beginning of the session, had said "sea turtle", explaining his choice by saying they lay eggs underground, which develop and hatch under the earth and the baby sea turtles come out to find the sea.

⁵⁷ "Sou uma aranha chamada Rita, gosto de rastejar e faço gur gur gur, pareço alentejana/A doninha, que estava crec crec, encontra o besouro/A morder a senhora, monk monk, a jibóia Susana/Vem aí a centopeia da Catarina, sempre a gritar e a fazer ouro, ouro!"

12. Feedback and opinions

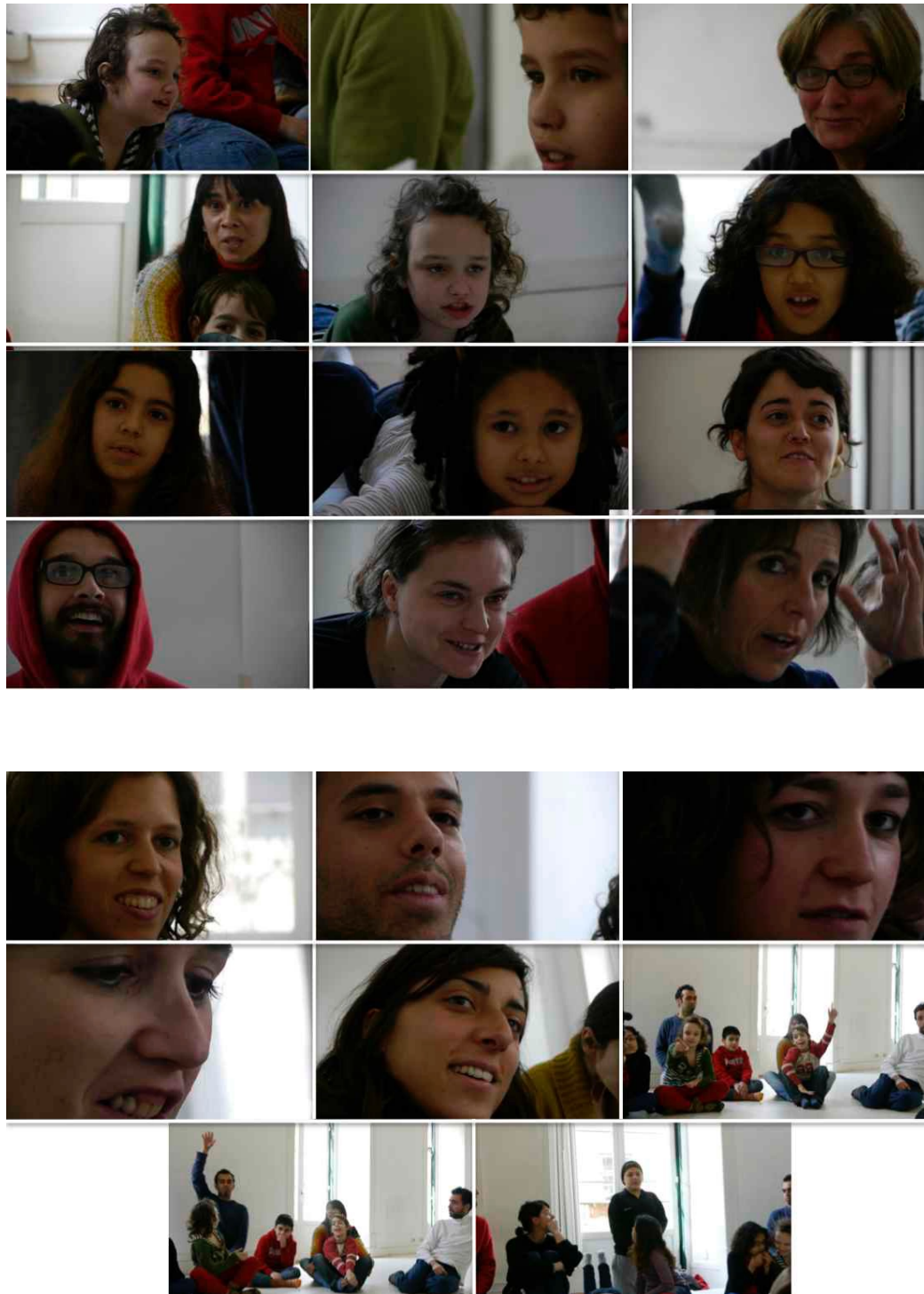


Figure 38: Feedback and opinions.

Photos numbered 1 to 20 from top to bottom, left to right: 1.Ana Raquel; 2.Nelson; 3.Amália; 4.Mário and Elda; 5.Ana Raquel; 6.Sónia; 7.Catarina; 8.Rita; 9.Susana; 10.Bernardo; 11.Marta; 12.Sofia; 13.Me; 14.Gonçalo; 15.Mariana; 16.Margarida; 17.Anaïs; 18.Mário raising his hand to speak; 19.Lyncoln raising his hand to speak; 20.Davi.

After Mário's comment on the shark, the children decided it was time to move on to the next activity. It was a round of feedback and opinions about the session, introduced by Ana Raquel as follows: "Now we're going to talk about what we did today. We made the quatrains. What did you think when you were making them, were they easy, were they difficult, was it interesting, was it not?". She finished talking and rolled her eyes as her colleagues were giggling at her explanation.

Probably because of the way the question was placed, the first person to answer, Bernardo, said he thought it had been “very interesting”. Isabel was the second to speak, saying she had found it “good and very easy”. People were speaking in a random order and Sofia spoke next, saying she had enjoyed moving and, through movement, discovering the animal sounds. Ana Raquel moderated the debate, giving centre stage to Diogo, who was sitting to the right of Isabel, and asking him whether or not he had found it interesting. He said it had been very interesting. Isabel took over the moderation and asked the following person in the circle to answer. It was Nelson, who said he thought it had been very interesting.

Sofia then interrupted saying “Now we’re forbidden from saying 'interesting', say something else!”. Isabel went on asking every child in the circle to speak, but not really giving him or her the time to answer. Isabel asked Georgiana, who answered it had been interesting, then Corina and jumped over Amália to ask Nicolae and Mário. The answers from Corina, Nicolae and Mário were not audible but, when Isabel skipped Amália’s turn, I asked her why she had done it and Sofia insisted, asking Amália why she had enjoyed the session.

Then Isabel stopped asking other people while Amália was answering. Amália said she enjoyed being together with the others, making the sounds of the animals and the playing. Isabel continued the circle, skipping Nicolae, who had answered, and asked Mário. Mário was sitting in Elda’s lap and it was her who answered, pretending to be him. After answering, she said that Mário had spoken and that Elda would speak next. Elda mentioned that she enjoyed the combination of words that seemed at first unthinkable. Ana Raquel spoke next, saying she liked the activity that different and fun things had been done. Sofia then interrupted Isabel’s interviewing sequence, saying she liked the massages in the beginning of the session. Isabel waited for her to speak and then continued her survey. By then, Davi, who thought the discussion was going on for too long, as it had already by far exceeded the minutes they had planned for it, interrupted, saying they were going to do something else. Isabel and Diogo asked him to wait for the circle to be complete and Sofia commented that Davi gave the orders. Alex, who was filming, said he did not hear Sónia, who spoke at the same time as Davi. She repeated, saying she had enjoyed learning about the animals. Catarina followed, saying she liked the sounds of the animals in the mimicry game. Rita said she had already answered and simply added she liked the session.

Susana was next and spoke without waiting for Isabel's request. She said she liked the sounds and using her name in the poem. Bernardo was next, also saying he had enjoyed making the sounds and that he discovered he liked imitating noises. Marta said she liked watching how everyone mimicked his or her animals and creating the poem with her group. Then Isabel asked Sofia to speak, who had already spoken. She apologised and said she had not understood that there was a sequence in the

answers. She repeated what she had said before and added she enjoyed the fact that each group created something so different from the other. Isabel asked me to speak and I said I enjoyed the games with the music of each word and animal. Gonçalo also said he liked how each group created something so different. Mariana liked seeing how each person mimicked his or her animal and how the group work went, distinguishing between when people were really doing what they were doing, or when they were “just shrugging the shoulders”. Margarida said she had enjoyed playing a beetle, being together and the way the children had created the poetry game, with the square pieces of paper.

Anaïs liked impersonating a mole, playing with the children, speaking in Portuguese, a language she was not fluent in, and making the sounds of the animals. The round was apparently done and Isabel asked who wanted to add anything. Mário raised his hand and said he did, but when everyone waited for him to speak, he said nothing. Alex, who was behind the camera, took the opportunity to say that he had been going around the room and had seen a “symphony of meetings”. He added that it was beautiful to see how people had created something together, in groups. Mário then raised his hand again and said a sentence I could not decipher. Ana had also raised her hand and Isabel let her speak, but at the same time Lyncoln raised his arm and said he still had not spoken. He said he was sitting by a corner and liked seeing the groups working in a symphony, as Alex said, as if the “whole room was having a conversation”. Isabel let Ana speak, but we do not have the record of what she said. Finally, Davi said he liked talking to other people and doing the exercises.

13. Showing the documentation for the session



Figure 39: Showing the documentation from the session.

Photos numbered 1 to 6 from top to bottom, left to right: 1. Isabel explaining what was going to happen next, while Lyncoln pointed at his wrist to ask what time it was; 2. Davi distributing the documentation brought by the children; 3 to 4. People looking through the pages of the research brought by the children; 5. Georgiana holding the beetle replica; 6. The scorpion replica.

After the round was complete, Isabel said they had brought some photos of the animals and documentation they had researched to show their students to show their students. They had also

brought two plastic replicas of a beetle and a scorpion. The replicas were passed along the circle so that everyone could see them.

14. Exiting c.e.m and going back to school



Figure 40: Leaving the studio.

Photos numbered 1 to 4 from top to bottom, left to right: 1. Isabel thanking the group; 2. Ana Raquel asking me to speak to the group; 3. The pairs being formed; 4. Everyone getting ready to leave the studio back to school, Nelson still alone at the centre of the circle (he later paired up with Alex Campos, who was filming the session).

To finish the session, everyone stood up, held hands and I thanked the children for giving us the class. Ana Raquel stood in front of me, touching my shoulders and said that she was going to present a last part, and swirling to the centre of the circle thanked everyone. Isabel joined her at the centre of the circle, also thanking. Ana Raquel said “thank us!” and Isabel added “and thank you!”. I said that I had one last thing to add, and asked each child to chose someone from c.e.m, to hold their hand and to go with that person back to school. Everyone left the studio, put on their shoes and their coats, and left in pairs to school. There, the adults said their goodbyes and left.

On the way to school, Alex paired with Nelson and interviewed him. After the adults had left, Alex remained in the classroom and also interviewed Isabel, Ana Raquel and Elda. Because Nelson’s and Elda’s interviews were about the project *THE BODY AT SCHOOL*, they are available online (Louçã, 2015c) and were included in the interview analysis in the following chapters. The interview with Isabel and Ana Raquel was about the session that had just happened and was included in the film on this session. Alex asked them how they had prepared the class. Isabel said Lincoln and I had helped them preparing it and explained how they had structured it. She then started posing for the camera and Sónia pulled her back, at which point Ana Raquel appeared in front of the camera and also explained how the children had structured the class. Isabel went to her side and Alex asked them where the ideas for the session had come from. Ana Raquel answered that it had been from their minds and both started posing for the camera again.

As mentioned above, apart from the video, there are other documents from the session that were provided to us by the teacher. After they returned to the school, Elda asked the children to write about their experience. She graded their works and gave them to us by the end of the school year. The ten texts have been scanned (the children's surnames have been removed) and are translated below. Furthermore, the children gave us the paper sheets they used to guide them in the sequence of exercises as they taught the class. Since these papers had all the same thing written on them and were not signed, we have scanned only one, as an example.



Figure 41: Reports from the session.⁵⁸

The teacher graded as “Very Good” [“MB” for “Muito Bom”] the reports by Nicolae, Beatriz and Catarina; as “Good” [“B” for “Bom”] the ones by Sónia, Corina and Rita; she graded the reports of Georgiana, Ana Raquel, Isabel and Pedro as “Satisfactory” [“Suf” for “Suficiente”].

⁵⁸ They have been numbered 1 to 10 from top to bottom, left to right: 1.Nicolae’s report, with a text that reads: “Our class/We went to c.e.m on the 2012.02.14 and gave a class on “Science and Poetry” with underground animals. First we held our hands and made a circle to get warm. Then we played the names game and the mimicry game. Then, we made groups of 4 people with sounds, gestures and the names of the animals./My group was Sofia, Pedro, Davi and myself. At the end of it all, we all gave our opinion about how the class went./Nicolae 2012.02.14”; 2.Corina’s report: “Lisbon, 14 February 2012/Science and Poetry/We went to teach a class at C.E.M./We left school, went down the Rua dos Fanqueiros until the stairs at Pollux, we walked down the stairs, we turned left and went straight ahead until we reached a green door with the photograph of a child./We got to C.E.M. removed our shoes and coats and walked in the room. We started the class playing the names game and the mimicry game. But only with the names of underground animals! Then we made groups of 4 people and each student invented a line and with them a quatrain was made. To finish the class, we asked each person what their conclusion from the class was, and they had all liked it. We chose one person from C.E.M and we came back two by two to the school./Rita”; 4.Sónia’s report: “Sonia/”The report from our class/”On the 14th February we went to c.e.m at Rua dos Fanqueiros. When we got there we did a warm up and then we did:- The names games, which was to do a circle and say our names to get to know the other people; the mimicry game, in which is each person goes to the centre of the circle and does an underground animal and their sound./Then the people had to guess those animals. Then, we made a quatrain of 4 lines. When we finished that we presented. My group spoke about a maggot, the boa constrictor, the meerkat and the fox./When we finished we talked about what we liked and went away.”; 5.Maria Beatriz’s work: “On the 14th February my class and I went to do a class at C.E.M. about the underground animals./When we got there we started by saying each other’s names and the names of the underground animals. Then with the animals we said we made the sounds and the gestures./We made groups of 4 people and each group had to make poetry of 4 lines. Joana gave out some papers with the names of the animals and with those sheets we used to write the lines. Then we sat down and said what we liked the most about the class./When we finished we came back to school with them./Maria Beatriz/14.02.2012”; 6.Ana Raquel’s report: “Lisbon, 14th February 2012/On the 14th February 2012 me and my group passed by Rua dos Fanqueiros to get to “C.E.M.”. Then we made the mimicry game and said our names slowly but then started speeding up. We made the movements of the underground animals. Then we proposed the poetry and everyone made groups of four people./The people liked very much the activities we had prepared with Joana and Lincoln’s help. In the end, I asked if we had behaved well and they said yes./I thanked them./Everyone liked the activities we prepared./Name: Ana Raquel.”; 7.Catarina’s report: “The report of our class/On the 14th February the 4th grade class gave a class to the students of cem./To get to know each other better we made two games that were:/mimicry, where we had to imitate an animal that lives underground, then we made a game not to get confused with the names (the names game). Immediately afterwards we also made the same game but with underground animals. After all these games we got together in groups of 4 people to make a quatrain. The groups demonstrated their quatrains. At the end of it all, we had a little talk to see what they thought of our class and we concluded that the lesson was fun, serious and well applied./Name: Catarina/Date: 2012.02.14”; 8.Isabel’s report: “Isabel/We, in the visit, made the mimicry game, the sounds and the gesture, of the underground animals. Then we made groups of 4 people. Some minutes after that we made four lines, which is a quatrain and with that we made a poetry. We presented our works about the poetry and in those poetries there had to be, sounds, name and gestures. Before all that we made a warm up. In the end, a small interview about how it went, and everything went well because they understood. That is how the visit ended. The visit was about underground animal.”; 9.Georgiana’s work “The fourth grade class went to c.e.m and we made the mimicry game and then we made a circle and said our names. We made 4 groups and I had a group that helped me a lot: it was Lara, Corina, Amélia and myself. We made the sounds of the animals. And they all said they liked our presentation. And then after the class was over we went to school two by two with the students from C.E.M./Georgiana Date 14.02.2012”; 10.Even though the last report was not signed, according to the composition of the group, it must have been written by Pedro: “On the 14th February 2012 the 4th grade class went to C.E.M. We said the names and made the mimicry game. We made groups of 4 people: our group made a music music and we presented the animals that live underground. My group was Nicolae, Davi and Sofia. They liked the activity.”

There was no remark in the reports about any negative aspect of the session or anything that did not go well. The children enjoyed it, as it could be noticed during the session and was a unanimous remark in their interviews, which can be read in the following chapter. The reports were written in a factual manner without detailed descriptions or remarks. In their reports, the children showed how they embraced their role as teachers by expressing their concern over the happiness of their students. For example, Rita wrote “To finish the class, we asked each person what their conclusion from the class was, and they had all liked it”, Georgiana: “And they all said they liked our presentation”, and Pedro: “They liked the activity”.

Catarina and Isabel took their role more seriously, as they worried not only about the students’ happiness, but also about the success of their learning. Catarina: “At the end of it all, we had a little talk to see what they thought of our class and we concluded that the lesson was fun, serious and well applied”, Isabel: “In the end, a small interview about how it went, and everything went well because they understood”. Ana Raquel simultaneously had the dual perspective as a teacher and a student, she worried about the students liking the class, but she also commented on the children’s good behaviour. “The people liked very much the activities we had prepared with Joana and Lyncoln’s help. In the end, I asked if we had behaved well and they said yes./I thanked them./Everyone liked the activities we prepared”.

Corina was the only one who wrote entirely about her personal experience in the class “In that class I had fun and liked to meet other people”. This could be because she did not feel as included in the process of planning and teaching the class. In his interview, Davi mentioned that he thought Corina and Georgiana were very lonely at school and that the project helped them talk to more people other than their inner circle of family and it made them happier. Her mention of the pleasure of meeting new people could be an expression of this. However, she was not the only one who felt it, as Davi mentioned the same and in his interview. Nelson also praised the project for introducing the children to new people.

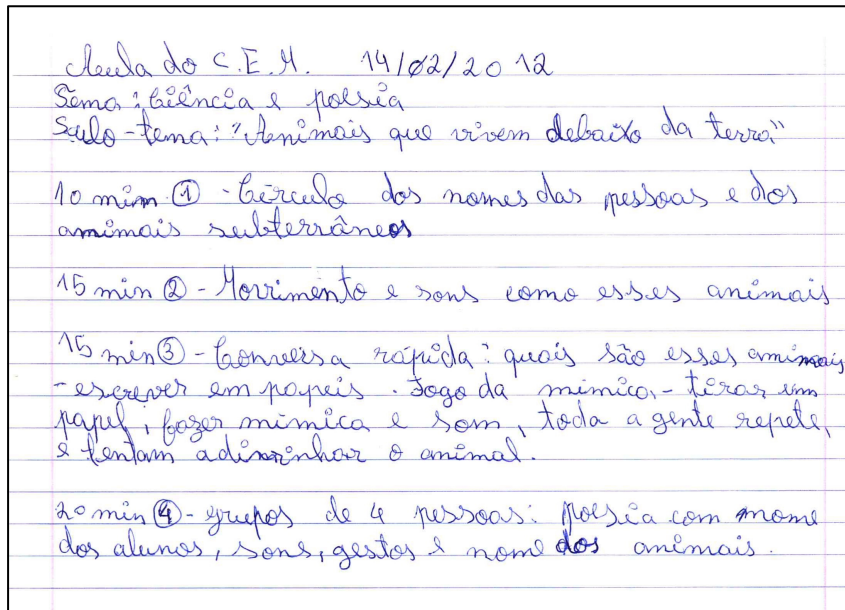


Figure 42: The paper sheet written by the children with the plan of the session and the time division of each exercise.

"C.e.m's class - 14/02/2012/Theme: Science and Poetry/Sub-theme: "Animals that live underground"/10 min. 1. Circle of the names of the people and the underground animals./15 min. 2. Movements and sounds as those animals./15 min. 3. Quick chat: which are those animals - write in papers. Mimicry game - choosing a piece of paper, doing the mimicry and the sound, everyone repeats and tries to guess the animal./20 min. 4. Groups of 4 people: poetry with the students' names, sounds, gestures and the names of the animals."

Analysis of the episode

This session was remarkable in the way the children embraced the proposal that Lyncoln and I put to them to teach a class to a group of adults. The choice of theme came entirely from the children, as did the idea of how the session should develop. It was very peculiar choice and a good example of their creativity and multidisciplinary thought. They really experienced all the stages that a teacher goes through when preparing a class; they decided the theme, the planning, then they prepared for the class, studied and organised the contents.

Lyncoln and I had previously agreed with the children to have one exercise led by us before the children started their class. I still asked their permission and they accepted, and were not at all surprised by the exercise. We often did in the sessions different forms of massages and this time it was used as a moment to calm down and mark the beginning of the session.

The session led by the children started with the circle of names. According to their reports, they chose that beginning to "get warm", according to Nicolae, to get to know the people they did not yet know, in Catarina and Sónia's perspective and also, in Catarina's words, "not to get confused with the names". The circle with the names of the animals and the mimicry game marked the introduction of the contents of the session.

The way the contents of the session were introduced approximated the people to the animals, transforming them into humanised creatures. The animals that live underground are usually

animals that people do not consider as being cuddly, sweet or friendly. The children chose this group of animals and managed to create empathy towards them. The first stage of this process happened in the exercise where everyone had to come up with the name of animal. The second stage was the mimicry game, when the people in the group embraced the animal they had named, becoming them, that is, not only moving like them, but also communicating in the way they imagined the animals would. The poetry game that followed was a mixture of personal information with the contents of the session. The people used their names, the names and sounds of the animals they had just transformed themselves into, and literary skills. The final result, the poems and the presentations were varied and illustrated the diversity of the groups.

In the two final exercises (mentioning their favourite animal and the round of feedback), one child, Isabel, was moderating the debate, and there was no confusion or discussion about it. The children knew they were playing the role of the teacher and they respected the child that was giving the information to the students, even if not all children had that experience. They had previously agreed who would explain what and they kept their agreement. The only time one child tried to interrupt an exercise was when Davi suggested skipping the remaining part of the feedback as he realised the class was already running late. The other children and the adults disagreed and decided to carry on with it. In the feedback round, as in the reports written later on by the children, their worry regarding the reaction of their “students” was clear. When she introduced the exercise, Ana Raquel specifically wanted to know whether or not it had been interesting and challenging for the adults. The last part of the session was when the children showed the material they studied for preparation; they brought it to the class to share it with the adults, to make sure that they could also see the additional material in case they wanted more information about the theme of the session.

There is an additional aspect we would like to highlight, namely, the way the adults behaved during the session. During the massages, as discussed above, in pairs of a child and an adult, most adults started by taking the “active” role (though receiving the massage was also a way of being actively engaged in the interaction). There are many reasons for that and some of them were mentioned above. It could simply be the case that they were imitating Lyncoln and me, who took the role of doing the massage first because we were going to guide the people through it. Throughout the session, however, there were various moments when an adult used his or her dominance over the children.

One example was Amália’s reaction during her group's presentation. She acted very protectively of Corina and Georgiana who, as will be discussed in the next episode, were perfectly capable of presenting a work before others. Another such example happened during Isabel’s group presentation. As Margarida was reading aloud the first line, she was hinting at Isabel what to do.

The two girls in that group, Maria Beatriz and Isabel did not join in the mimicry in the presentation and only read their lines. Maria Beatriz was a shy girl, but Isabel was nothing of the sort and it is strange that she was given an opportunity to act before everyone and had chosen not to. During the session, she would often compete for the main role, stealing the spotlight from her colleagues (notably Ana Raquel, as addressed further on). The fact that she reacted so hesitantly made me wonder about the role the two girls had during the development of the idea for the presentation, as they seemed not to fully understand what their group was doing.

One last example was Sofia's behaviour during the session. She is a very uninhibited person and, when given the opportunity to participate, she usually takes it. Sofia decided alone that her group should repeat the presentation of the musical poem after the first attempt did not go so well. Then, in the feedback round, she intervened to forbid the use of the adjective "interesting". Though not realising it immediately, she interrupted Isabel's interviews in the feedback discussion and gave her opinion out of turn. However, when Davi interrupted Sónia, she said he was the one giving the orders in the session.

This point of discussion was not to criticise the oppressive behaviour towards the children during the session, but rather to show that it may occur in the everyday life of adults who interact with children, even when they are people who defend the importance of children participation and who are well aware of the different power relations between adults and children. That obviously does not mean that, when interacting with children, adults should not express their opinions. On the contrary, their opinions are also important, but they should do so being aware of the differences between an adult and a child. For example, when Sofia asked the children to use an adjective other than "interesting" to qualify the session, she tried to open a new layer of discussion for the children, who were giving their opinions in a very superficial way, but she did so in an authoritarian way.

Lastly, another recurring dynamic during the session was the tension between Ana Raquel and Isabel. Both girls were very demanding and competed for attention. On several occasions that were filmed in the video of the session, Isabel stole the spotlight from Ana Raquel (in the feedback round Ana Raquel was moderating the debate and Isabel took over; when Ana Raquel went to the centre of the room to thank the adults for the session, Isabel quickly followed and imitated her; in the interview back at school, Isabel did not let Ana Raquel speak), however, the two girls seemed to negotiate well their interactions and there never seemed to be any resentment between them. There is a short sequence in one of the videos of the fourth episode when Isabel was filming with Alex and she decided to interview Ana Raquel, so their competition for attention also reverted at least on that occasion, with Isabel giving Ana Raquel the main role in the short interview she conducted.

This episode illustrated how the children became the teachers, even if momentarily. This temporary role reversal was an important theme in the interviews with the children discussed in chapter 5. The class they created combined elements of school and the curricula, such as the animals and the poetry, with an imagined and playful universe, like the mimicry game, or the way the poems were made. The end result was a very interesting fusion of formal school elements articulated with creativity exercises. Some of the formal school elements present in the session were, for example, the fact that every task was organised, each moment was divided in minutes (as can be seen above in the plan of the session written by the children), and the children knew who presented what. The person in charge of each exercise was the authority figure of that moment and even when the other children wanted to speak, they raised their hands and waited for permission. This happened, to name one example, when Isabel asked the group what animal they had liked the most. Everyone answered and the children raised their hand to request Isabel's permission to speak.

The only moments when there was some confusion and all the children spoke at the same time were precisely at the end of an exercise, when they did not know which exercise was coming next, therefore, they did not know who was in charge. In these moments of transition between exercises in the first half of the session, the children turned to me to ask for directions or possibly waiting for me to tell them what to do. They were obviously in an unusual situation new to them and their first reaction was to turn to patterns of behaviour they were familiar with. This happened when they asked me who should begin the circle of names and just before the circle with the animal names; they came and gathered around me to know what would happen next. Just before the poetry game there was another moment of distraction between them, but then they immediately went to check their papers to know what should happen next.

As the session progressed, they seemed to become more at ease, independent and agile in managing the transitions between exercises and stopped asking Lincoln, the teacher or me what to do. The planning of the session and the division of the time was also important for the children, giving them the assurance that they were preparing the class in a professional way. The plan of the session was a representation of the power and authority of the adult world, since it is something only the teachers do, but for a day, it was the children's responsibility. In their interviews (cf. Chapter 5 and at the end of the video of the session), Davi mentioned the fact that in their plan they had included the division of time of the session, as did Isabel and Ana Raquel. They followed their plan for the most part but eventually it took much longer than predicted by them (ninety minutes as opposed to the planned sixty), and it included three moments that were not in the children's description: a round to discuss the animals everyone liked the most, the round of feedback and opinion and the moment when they showed the documentation they had brought to prepare for the session. I do not know if

those moments were improvised or if they had been planned but were not written down; since the children reacted very naturally in those transitions, I reckon it is the latter situation.

In conclusion, this episode illustrated how the project gave the children an opportunity to explore different ways of learning and also to deconstruct the hierarchy found inside a traditional classroom. To teach the class, the children had to prepare and to study extensively and, therefore, this session also showed the children that learning could be achieved in different ways. Moreover, it gave the children the experience of being the teachers of the adults, an experience of role reversal that will be discussed in Chapter 5 and that was important for the children. Finally, the children had never taught a class before, and this activity allowed for the exploration of another dimension of the project: learning by doing.

Episode 3 – Georgiana engaging in an improvisation exercise

This session was the class taught by the adults of FIA to the children at school. The theme of the day was a book chosen by the teacher called “Sonhos na palma da mão” [“Dreams in the palm of the hand”] by Luísa Dacosta. The session started with everyone standing in a circle and there was a piece of cloth that was passed around from one person to the next. Each person that received the cloth had to create a sound for it and to transform it, so that it would impersonate something different from what it had been before. The cloth became an old lady, a tent, a ghost, but mostly it was transformed into abstract shapes and sounds. The goal was not to guess what it had turned into, but to change it. This exercise lasted for nineteen minutes and everyone participated in it. The person holding the cloth chose whom to give it to; it did not follow the order of the people in the circle.

In the second exercise of the session, there was a box with random items and each person picked one object and created a story with it, which was told to everyone in the class. The objects were as varied as two watering cans, a wooden airplane, a piece of blue tulle, candles, empty water bottles, an electric heater, a comb, a pair of yellow fins, sellotape, a bright pink umbrella, empty Nespresso capsules, small pieces of a tree trunk, an empty bag, a balloon or the cloth from the first exercise. The children and the adults created stories of all sorts. Ana Raquel was one of the first people presenting and created a wedding scene that involved five other people: Isabel as the priest, Davi as her groom, Pedro as her father and Catarina and Maria Beatriz as the bridesmaids.

Other people made up stories that they presented alone, such as Elda, who, for the children’s delight, presented a story using an empty plastic bottle of water. Some people played with stories that had been previously presented to create their own, as did Davi, who in his presentation had

Ana Raquel play her role as his wife, in a continuation of her own sketch. Georgiana and Lara were the last two presenting this exercise. In the end of their presentations, only Mário had not yet presented but he chose not to. This exercise was the longest in the session and lasted for thirty-three minutes. In the last exercise of the session, everyone formed in small groups and, in those groups, put their objects together in order to create a new creature. This creature was then orally presented to the class, with its name, age, life story and characteristics.⁵⁹

In the improvisation exercise with the objects from the box brought by the students from c.e.m, the performance by Georgiana and her participation in Lara's presentation were remarkable. The story told by Georgiana was about a princess who liked flowers and wanted to have a pink flower but there was none. She found a small pink flower; she watered it and decided to go home and to come back the following day. When she returned, she was surprised to notice that her pink flower had grown and decided to bring it home to show it to her mother, at her mother's house. Her mother was also proud to see how the flower grew and the princess decided to take it with her in order to keep it at her own home. As can be seen in the video from the session that took place just the previous day, Georgiana was extremely shy and hardly ever spoke inside the classroom. That is why her story and her participation in Lara's story came as a great surprise.⁶⁰

Corina and Georgiana are sisters and Nicolae is their uncle. They all lived together in the same house, where the girls had household tasks to do, what was not demanded from Nicolae. At the time of this session, Nicolae was fourteen years old, Corina was twelve and Georgiana was eight. Georgiana was in 3rd grade but had classes with the 4th grade class. When they first got to that school, Elda told us they would not dare to speak without Nicolae's nod of approval. With time, Elda managed to blur the hierarchy between them, but it took the girls much longer to be able to speak in Portuguese than it took Nicolae and, while he was very popular at school and had many friends, Romanian and not, the girls were much more introverted. At the end of that school year, as mentioned before, the two girls left to Germany before finishing their degree, while their uncle left only after his was concluded.

We chose to present this episode based on filmed material. The video of the selected performances lasts for two minutes and a half. Each of the presentations lasts for roughly one minute. In the first presentation, we can see how Georgiana placed herself in space in relation to everyone else and the objects she chose to use. In Lara's presentation, the shot was filmed as a close-up of the object that was the main character of the story. Georgiana was manipulating it but because of the angle that

⁵⁹ The film of the session can be seen online (Louçã, 2015d; it was filmed until the last exercise, when the battery of the camera ran out). Alex Campos filmed the session and I edited it. The session lasted for ninety minutes and the video was edited into a fifty-two minute clip. Instead of looking at the whole session, we chose two details from that session that, for us, were of particular relevance.

⁶⁰ Both presentations are available in separate – Louçã, 2015e.

was used to film it, we often cannot see her face but we can guess her expression from the body language and the part of her face that appears on camera.

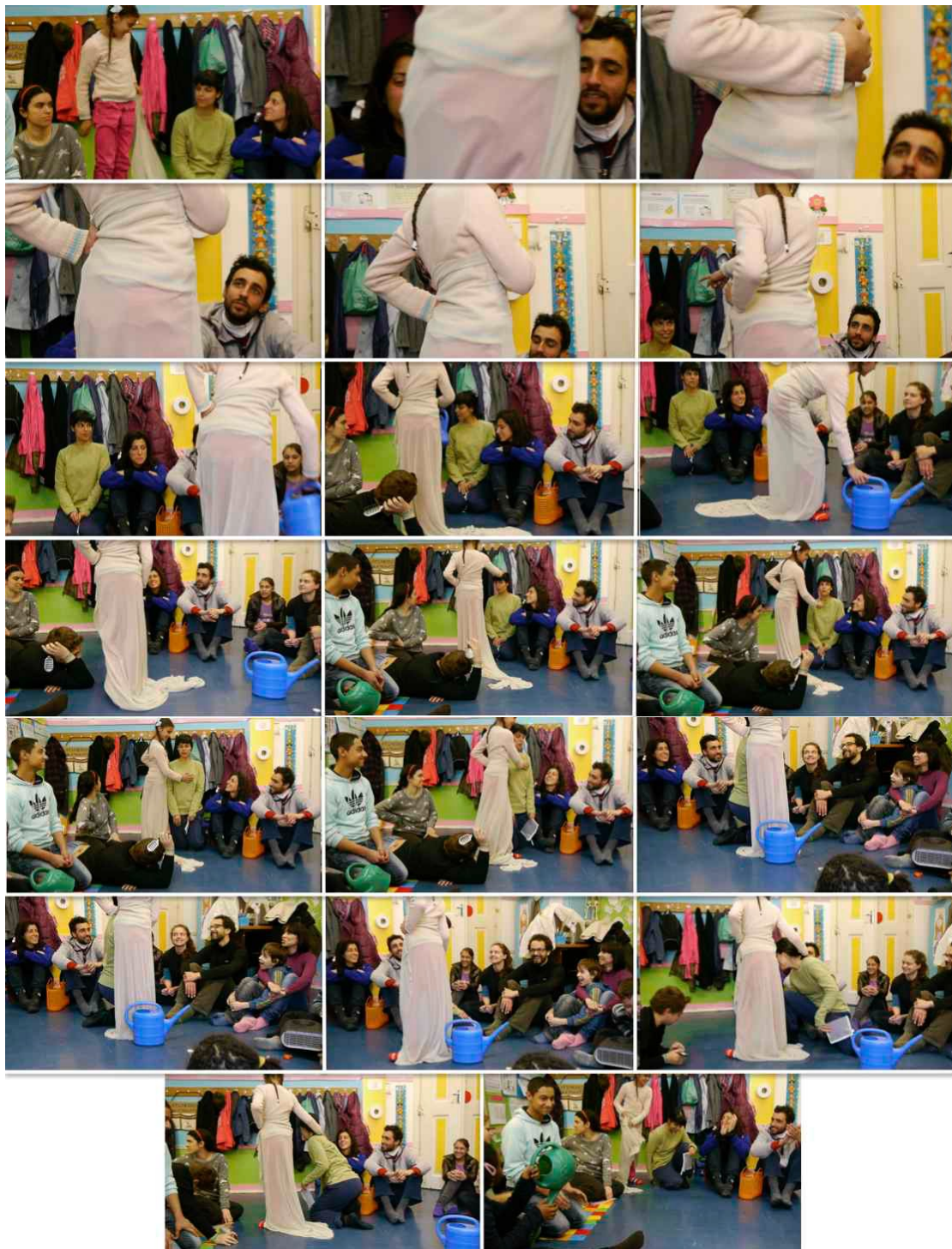


Figure 43: Georgiana presenting her story about the princess who wanted to have a pink flower.

Georgiana played the princess after wrapping a cloth around her waist as if it were a long tailed dress. She went to the middle of the room to begin her story. The imaginary small pink flower she spotted was next to Lara, where Georgiana was originally sitting. She watered it with a blue watering can that was among the objects brought by the people from c.e.m. When she said she

would go home and come back the following day, she walked along the circle, going back to her original place and then the small flower had become Lara. She hinted Lara should go with her when she said she wanted to show the flower to her mother. Lara accompanied her, walking on her knees. Georgiana took her to Elda, who played the princess' mother. When Georgiana told her about the flower, Elda improvised accordingly to her role, acting surprised and proud at how much the flower had grown. Having shown it to her mother, the princess decided to go back to her own house, along with her flower. When they understood it was the end of the presentation, everyone clapped and Georgiana removed her "dress" and sat down, smiling.

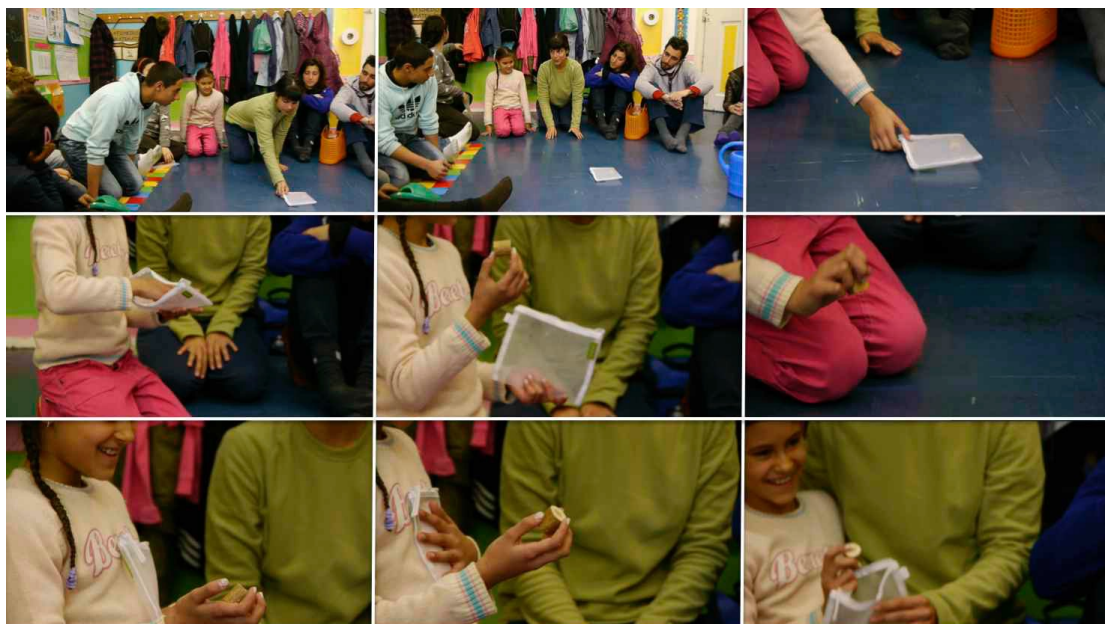


Figure 44: Lara presenting her story about a secret cylinder, with Georgiana's participation.

Immediately after Georgiana finished her story, Lara began hers. She had chosen a white bag in cloth that had a small wooden cylinder inside. Her story was about the bag, which had a secret inside. The bag belonged to a lady who would not speak about the secret inside it, nor show it to anyone, but one day a little girl found the bag and opened it. At this point Lara nudged Georgiana so that she would play the little girl, which she did and, from then on, the story was told by Lara inspired on Georgiana's movements. Georgiana took the wooden cylinder and Lara suggested she would shake it and stir it strongly, but I think she did not quite understand what those words meant exactly. She knocked with the cylinder on the floor and Lara created a moment of suspense, when she said that suddenly something happened, making the sound of an explosion. Georgiana acted surprised by something, took her left hand to her chest as if recovering from a shock and kept looking at the wooden cylinder, in her right hand. Lara added that after the sudden explosion nothing happened and thus ended the story. As everyone clapped at the end of the performance, Georgiana was smiling and put her arm around Lara's shoulder, hugging her.

Analysis of the episode

Georgiana not only created an elaborate story, but also the way she chose to interpret it was complex. She used the watering can as another object other than her own, she chose to interact with two other people, in a totally improvised manner, without being able to predict how they would react. And, mostly, she was not hiding while she was doing it, she went to the centre of the room, spoke out loud and moved around the whole circle and everyone was able to see her and hear her story. In Lara's presentation, the story and the interaction between Lara and Georgiana were also totally improvised, with one responding to the stimulus of the other and influencing the unveiling of the story.

Georgiana had only met Lara the day before, during the session at c.e.m where they created the poem in the same group. They were not familiar with each other from before and their interactions were not based on something that they had already experienced in some other context; it really was something created in that moment.

Georgiana's reaction was provoked by an improvisation exercise that allowed for and stimulated a theatrical expression. Keeping to the rules of that exercise, Georgiana could create whatever life she wanted for herself. She became a princess walking in her garden, having a home of her own, visiting her caring and sympathetic mother (and with no masculine characters around), those were her characteristics as a character in the story she created. But the real-life Georgiana, moving along the presumptions of the exercise, was herself changed, no longer afraid of going to the centre of a room to tell her story, with everyone staring at her. And after the first performance was over, she was even willing to be the only actress and co-creator of Lara's story. In the end of both presentations, she was smiling and obviously happy with her performances.

In 2008, Christensen and Mikkelsen published an ethnography about children's control and management over their bodies that we think can be related to Georgiana's improvisation. In their study, the children were observed and followed over eight months, and then interviewed in groups to analyse the physical and the social risks they took in their relationships and social interactions with other children. Children's experience of their body and their interpretation of its capacities revealed to be fundamental in the process of shaping how children engaged with risk and the sort of precautions they took, or did not take, in their activities (Christensen and Mikkelsen, 2008: 117).

Regarding gender differences, the study revealed the girls took risks in other aspects of their life than boys. They took more emotional and social risks, while boys took more physical risks. Children's risk management strategies involved a subtle combination of their skills in navigating the social terrain, personal resilience and working out the amount of harm one could inflict on someone else, in

practices that were largely invisible to adults (Christensen and Mikkelsen, 2008: 124). The authors referred to the idea previously stated by Christensen (1999, 2000) of the children's "body as project", meaning that it is through their bodies that the children explore themselves, the others and the world around them, and it is through interactions with the social and material world of their daily life, that children investigate, test and create control over their bodies (Christensen and Mikkelsen, 2008). In her presentation, Georgiana also took a lot of personal risk when compared to what her regular behaviour was usually like. That is, her "body as a project" experienced a new terrain in that session. This risk-taking behaviour on Georgiana's part could, we feel, only have happened in a situation where creative expression is encouraged. These moments are common in artistic practices, but will hardly ever happen in regular classes. It is one role of the arts to expand the person's horizons, to show them that they can do things that they thought they could not, as it happened that day with Georgiana.

Another interesting input to this episode comes from the work of Broström (1999), who describes the possibilities and limitations of the use of drama games with six-year-old children. As playing is a creative activity, voluntary and independent, according to the author, during it the changes that happen support the child's transition to a new level of development. Therefore, through the use of drama games, the children bring themselves to their zone of proximal development. Additionally, in play, children internalise local culture and expand beyond it, gaining new knowledge, skills and action, that is, as Engeström (1999) defined it, the children learn by expanding their action. In Georgiana's case, we argue that the voluntary aspect of the exercise was crucial; she was able to control her involvement in the activity and, hence, she brought herself to the zone of proximal development. For that to have happened, a relationship of trust had to be established with the adults first.

This episode is an example of the impact arts-based research can have. Denzin and Lincoln (2005) stated that the goal of arts-based research was to reach epiphanies (which we argue can be related to Corsaro and Molinari's "priming events", which have been discussed before; Corsaro and Molinari, 2000), unique moments of interaction that made a difference on people's lives, and that the process started with such experiences would, in some way, transform the life of the person or people who lived it. An epiphany is what happened in this episode, in terms of Georgiana's behaviour and how she chose to expose herself to others. Elda, who was not familiar with this literature, was equally surprised by Georgiana's conduct and the way she placed herself out of her comfort zone. In the end of the session I had a brief conversation with Lincoln and Elda, and she said that Georgiana's reaction had been one of the most surprising events of the session; it was, in her words, "a notable

moment of learning”.⁶¹ In the end, a poetic analogy could be made between the flower in her story that suddenly appeared before everyone’s eyes and blossomed, and Georgiana’s growth as a communicating subject.

Episode 4 – The making of the book: learning by doing

The book was the theme for the NEIGHBOURS project of the year of 2011/2012. The children chose it after working on story-writing and creating books in previous sessions, as described in the previous chapter. For five consecutive sessions (three at school, two at c.e.m’s studio) the children only worked on the book. The last session was the book launch and the two sessions before that took place at the square where the book was launched (Largo da Achada). In this section we describe the process of making and writing the book. We will not focus neither on the two sessions at Largo da Achada nor on the book launch itself.

Below we discuss the three stories the children wrote in groups, followed by the story they all wrote together. The stories are translated and discussed briefly. The story written by the whole class is discussed recurring also to the videos that were made in those two sessions. The videos will not be described in detail. They show the discussions between all the participants in the project in both sessions trying to decide the unwinding of the story and the details around the book. On the first day the edited video has forty minutes and on the second it has been divided into three clips of around fifteen minutes each (one about the story, the other about the book structure, the last one about the title of the book). Because they are long videos of a group openly discussing a theme (the story, the book’s structure and its title), they will be presented as relevant documentation of the sessions, and they will be addressed in general. We decided that discussing in detail each moment from the film, as we did in the previous two episodes, would not make sense in this case. Besides the four stories written by the children, there were three more stories in the book (written by Elda, Lyncoln Diniz and a collective story) that are also addressed below, just before the conclusions. The illustrations the children made for their stories can be seen in the videos. They are very interesting but we neither analyse nor discuss them in separate, because the main focus of the children’s work was on the text; the drawings were made very quickly, and they were considered personal works, as they were not discussed in the group.

The stories of the three groups

In the 11th, 12th and 13th sessions (respectively, on March 12th, April 16th and May 14th 2012) the children divided into three groups, created the stories of each group and the illustrations that

⁶¹ “Elda: um momento único de aprendizagem.”

accompanied it. The three stories were called “Two lost girls”, “Friday 13th” and “The city” and they are translated and discussed below.

The writing of the stories was done gradually. On the first day, the three groups were created (without adult interference). Each group decided who were the characters of their story, and the basic plot. On the second day the children wrote the outline of their stories and made the drawings to illustrate them. On the last day, each group presented their story and their illustrations to the others. Then, there was a feedback discussion about each story, after which the groups finished their stories.

- Two lost girls

“Two lost girls

Once upon a time there were two well-behaved girls who lived in the street. Inês was the prettiest and the youngest; she was 8 years old. The older was less pretty, her name was Sofia and she was 10 years old. They had lost their parents inside an enormous shop called “H&M”. On a rainy day, walking down the streets, they got to Rua dos Cavaleiros and found a girl called Andreia.

- Why are you so filthy?

Andreia was surprised; she had never seen anything like it.

- Because we don't have money to wash our clothes – Sofia answered.

- Do you want to be my friends?

- Ok. Answered Sofia and Inês at the same time.

Andreia called her older sister, Luana. Luana and Andreia asked their father if the two sisters (Sofia and Inês) could stay in their house.

The father accepted:

- If they don't have a house, they can stay for as long as they need until they find their family.

After asking their father, only one element was missing, their mother.

- Yes – she answered tenderly.

They called Sofia and Inês to join them in their home.

The following day, Luana and Andreia's parents took the new friends to walk around the streets and neighbourhoods of Lisbon, trying to find the lost parents. They were walking along Praça Martim Moniz when, from afar, they saw their parents.

- Mum, dad! Over here! – The two girls cheered. They ran towards their parents, anxious to hug them.

- Beloved daughters – said the parents, happy to have been able to find their biggest treasure, their daughters.

They came back home glad and happy to reunite!

THE END⁶²

Rita, Georgiana, Corina and Emília wrote “Two lost girls”. The four girls wrote the first half of the story, but the ending was written after Corina and Georgiana had moved to Germany. Rita and Emília wrote the ending at school just before the 14th session at c.e.m. Emília only came to Escola da Madalena once a week and she missed the 12th and 13th sessions and therefore they only managed to finish the story then.

The sad story of the two sisters, Sofia and Inês, who get lost from their parents could have a resonance with Georgiana and Corina’s life at the time. The two girls, who were also sisters, were about to move to a new country, where they did not understand the language, and they knew they were going to leave all their friends and part of their family behind. Rita and Emília gave the story a happy ending.

The streets mentioned in the story are all located very close to the school and to the girls’ homes. There is a big H&M store within a walking distance of five minutes from the school. The shop of the international retail brand represented a place with a hint of wildness to it for the children. A place where they wanted to go, but where they knew they would be met with certain dangers, such as the danger of getting lost from their parents.

It is interesting to notice the passive role given to Inês and Sofia’s parents. The girls eventually got reunited with them, but apparently that was only due to the girls’ continued search. Finally, the answers given by Luana and Andreia’s parents are quite normative (with the father being objective, but fair, and the mother being maternal and caring), but it is noteworthy that the authors did give a perspective of gender equality in what regards decision-making at home (when they mentioned that, besides asking for the father’s permission, they also had to request the mothers’).

- Friday 13th

“Friday 13th

⁶² “Duas meninas perdidas

Era uma vez duas meninas bem comportadas que moravam na rua. Inês era a mais bonita e a mais nova, tinha 8 anos. A mais velha era menos bonita, chamava-se Sofia e tinha 10 anos. Elas tinham perdido os pais numa loja enorme chamada “H&M”. Num dia de chuva, andando pelas ruas, chegaram à Rua dos Cavaleiros e encontraram uma menina chamada Andreia.

- Porque estão todas sujas?

A Andreia ficou admirada, porque nunca tinha visto nada assim.

- Porque não temos dinheiro para lavar a roupa – respondeu a Sofia.

- Querem ser minhas amigas?

- Pode ser. Responderam em coro a Sofia e a Inês.

A Andreia chamou a sua irmã mais velha, chamada Luana. A Luana e a Andreia foram perguntar ao pai se as duas irmãs (Sofia e Inês) podiam ficar lá em casa.

O pai tinha aceitado:

- Se não têm casa, podem ficar o tempo que for necessário até encontrarem a sua família.

Depois de perguntarem ao pai, só faltava um elemento, que era a mãe:

- Sim – respondeu carinhosamente.

Elas foram chamar a Sofia e a Inês para irem para casa delas.

No dia seguinte, os pais da Luana e da Andreia levaram as novas amigas a passear pelas ruas e bairros de Lisboa, para ver se encontravam os pais perdidos. Seguiram na Praça do Martim Moniz quando, ao longe, viram os seus pais.

- Mãe, pai! Aqui! – Alegrou-se as duas. Correram para os pais ansiosas para os abraçar.

- Queridas filhas – disseram os pais, felizes por terem conseguido encontrar o seu maior tesouro, que eram as filhas.

Voltaram para casa contentes e felizes por se voltarem a reunir!

FIM”

One Friday the 13th, Mr Vicente was feeling lucky, and bet on “euromillions”. On Sunday, he was surprised to find out on television he had won. The following morning, he wanted to go to the bank to collect his prize. He looked at his car and saw the state it was in.

It was falling apart and the motor wasn't working. That very day it didn't start and Mr Vicente had to take the tube. He alighted at Restauradores and went straight to the cash machine. Since he had so much money, he ran to a car shop nearby, because it closed from 12 to 2 p.m.

He decided to buy a sports car. He walked into the shop and saw several Ferraris, and one caught his eye. The worker noticed Mr Vincent was very interested in the car and approached him. He asked:

- Can I help you?

- Yes – Mr Vicente answered, and he bought it.

He cautiously left the store not to break his Ferrari. When he was driving around the streets, all the girls were flabbergasted and started running after him. And Mr Vicente started speeding his Ferrari, dropping money from his pocket because it was too full. When he was far away, he parked the Ferrari and bought an airline ticket to New York. Meanwhile, the pigeons stained Mr Vicente's car and he ran them over. He went to the automatic wash. But the pigeons stained his new car again. He ran them over again, and went to the automatic wash again. Coming out with his clean Ferrari, the pigeons, with their sharp beaks, broke the glasses of Mr Vicente's car as a revenge for all he had done to them. Mr Vicente ran after the pigeons and more money was coming out of his pockets. People saw the notes and started picking them up.

The pigeons eventually ruined the man's car, who bought a new one, which the pigeons ruined again... and that's what happened until Mr Vicente became poor again.”⁶³

The boys from the class (Nicolae, Davi, Nelson, Mário and Pedro) wrote “Friday 13th”. The story tells a tale of a man who goes from rags to riches only to return to his original condition. The main character's name in Portuguese can be either a first or a family name. He lives somewhere unspecified, but far from the city centre (he has to drive or take the tube to Restauradores).

⁶³ “Sexta-Feira 13

Numa sexta-feira 13 o senhor Vicente sentia-se com sorte, e foi jogar no euro milhões. No domingo, ele ficou surpreendido por ver na televisão que tinha ganho. No dia seguinte, logo pela manhã, quis ir levantar o seu prémio ao banco. Olhou para o seu carro e viu o seu estado.

Estava a cair de velho e o motor não funcionava. Mas logo nesse dia o seu carro não pegou e o senhor Vicente tinha mesmo de ir de metro. Saiu na estação dos Restauradores e dirigiu-se, imediatamente, ao multibanco. Como ele já tinha tanto dinheiro desatou a correr para uma loja de automóveis perto, porque encerrava do meio dia às duas.

Decidiu comprar um carro desportivo. Quando entrou na loja viu vários modelos de Ferrari, e houve um que lhe chamou a atenção.

O empregado reparou que o senhor Vicente estava muito interessado nesse carro e foi ter com ele. E perguntou:

- Deseja alguma coisa?

- Sim – respondeu o senhor Vicente e comprou-o.

Saiu cuidadosamente da loja com o seu Ferrari para não o partir. Quando ele estava a andar pelas ruas, todas as meninas ficaram pasmadas e começaram a correr atrás dele. E o senhor Vicente enquanto se afastava, acelerava o Ferrari e ia deixando cair notas de dinheiro do seu bolso, pois estava muito cheio. Quando já estava longe, o homem estacionou o Ferrari e foi comprar uma passagem para Nova York. Enquanto isso os pombos sujaram o carro do senhor Vicente e este atropelou-os. Foi à lavagem automática. Mas os pombos voltaram a sujar o seu carro novo. Atropelou-os mais uma vez, e foi novamente à lavagem. Ao sair já com o seu Ferrari limpo, os pombos com o afiadíssimo bico, foram partir os vidros do carro do senhor Vicente para se vingarem de tudo o que lhes tinha feito. O senhor Vicente ia a correr atrás dos pássaros e as notas caíam mais ainda pelo bolso. As pessoas viam as notas e começaram a apanhá-las.

Os pombos acabaram por estragar o carro ao homem, que comprou outro, do qual os pombos deram novamente cabo... e assim foi até o senhor Vicente voltar a ser pobre.”

The story had an ominous title and it all happened on a Friday 13th, a day traditionally associated with bad luck. The man's first investment when he discovered he received a large sum of money was to buy a new car to replace his old one, which was falling apart.

The authors of the story, all of them pre-teenage boys, decided he should buy a sports car. The children discussed it among themselves as to what colour the car should have, but there was no doubt neither about the priority of the purchase nor about the brand of the car. In the boys' minds there seemed to be a certainty, money led to buying goods that showed the financial situation of the owner (the Ferrari), which led to getting female attention.

If in the first story there was a hint of gender equality, in this story that was no longer the case. The female characters in the story are hysterical and materialistic. The last part of the story became a surreal battle between the man and the pigeons, which grew in intensity until eventually the pigeons won their vendetta and the man lost all his money and returned to his initial stage. Lisbon is a city plagued by pigeons, particularly the city centre and for some reason the children chose them to act as the trigger that eventually led to Mr Vicente's downfall.

The boys had long discussions about the ending, they considered the man spending all his money buying heavy machinery to kill the pigeons (bazookas and such) and they also thought about having him steal from his mother to buy a weapon to try to kill the pigeons. Eventually the children opted for the ending written above. In all scenarios, they agreed that the money was neither going to last nor was it a guarantee of happiness. The children who wrote the story came from poor, working class families and this story has the underlying idea that money always comes with strings attached, that poor people cannot get rich without somehow paying for it. The fate of the man could also be due to a notion that he could not keep the money he had not done anything to deserve.

- The City

“The City

There once was a city where dreams came true.

In that city there were five girls who dreamed every night and were close friends. Those five girls were called: Isabel, Beatriz, Ana, Catarina and Sónia. One night when Isabel and Catarina were dreaming, they realised they could all get into each other's dreams because their subconscious were connected in a unique way.

In Ana's dream, she dreamed of becoming a teacher. And that Beatriz, Sónia and Isabel were her students. In Sónia's dream, she dreamed of becoming a painter. And that Beatriz, Catarina, Isabel and Ana were her clients. In Beatriz' dream, she dreamed she was a pharmaceutical, and that her clients were: Ana, Catarina, Sónia and Isabel. In Catarina's dream, she dreamed of being

superwoman. And that Beatriz, Isabel, Sónia and Ana were the ones in danger. In Isabel's dream, she dreamed of becoming a doctor. And, Beatriz and Catarina were her patients. Her assistant was Sónia.

At the hospital where Isabel worked as a doctor, there was a lady called Ana, who was doing very bad and was going to be admitted. Her daughters were Catarina and Bia and they were also very sick.

The kind Sónia, who was Isabel's assistant, decided to help them and since she had a medicine already prepared, she gave it to them. But that made-up medicine was not suited for them, getting them even sicker! Ana, who was worse, became a UFO and, while transforming herself into a UFO she became a hero with superpowers. And after that everyone ran after the superwoman to ask for help, and Catarina, seeing that Ana was in danger because she now had the shape of an ET, saved her with her superpowers.

And thus were the dreams of that night.”⁶⁴

Maria Beatriz, Isabel, Ana, Catarina and Sónia wrote the third text. It is a story that starts by suggesting a number of beginnings until it effectively begins. First the girls explain the magical aspect of the story's scenario, a city where dreams come true. The premise is taken literally and the five best friends discovered (or two of them discovered, Catarina and Isabel) that they could enter each other's dreams. The story takes place one night when all girls were dreaming their own dreams, where all the other girls had a role.

More emphasis is given to Isabel's dream than to the others and the action in the story unfolds from that dream. Isabel is a doctor, Sónia her assistant, Ana, Catarina and Beatriz the patients, who become very ill. Ana is Beatriz and Catarina's mother and, being sicker, takes a wrong medicine that turns her into a UFO, and becoming a hero with superpowers.

The people constantly request for Ana/the UFO's help and she eventually is in danger herself. Then, magic does happen and Catarina's character from her own personal dream (she dreamt she was a superwoman) goes to Isabel's dream and saves Ana. We don't know what happened to Catarina's original character from Isabel's dream (she was Ana's daughter and was also sick).

⁶⁴ “A Cidade

Era uma vez uma cidade onde os sonhos se tornavam realidade.

Dentro daquela cidade havia cinco meninas que sonhavam todas as noites e eram muito amigas. Essas cinco amigas chamavam-se: Isabel, Beatriz, Ana, Catarina e Sónia. Uma noite em que todas sonhavam, perceberam que conseguiam todas entrar nos sonhos umas das outras porque o subconsciente delas estava ligado de uma forma única. No sonho da Ana, ela sonhava que ia ser professora. E que a Beatriz, a Sónia e a Isabel eram as alunas. No sonho da Sónia, ela sonhava que ia ser pintora. E que a Beatriz, a Catarina, a Isabel e a Ana eram as clientes. No sonho da Beatriz, ela sonhava que ia ser farmacêutica, e os seus clientes eram: a Ana, a Catarina, a Sónia e a Isabel. No sonho da Catarina, ela sonhava que era a supermulher. E que a Beatriz, a Isabel, a Sónia e a Ana eram as que estavam em perigo. No sonho da Isabel, ela sonhava ser médica. A Ana, a Beatriz e a Catarina eram as suas doentes. A ajudante era a Sónia. No hospital onde a Isabel trabalhava como médica, havia uma senhora que se chamava Ana, que estava muito mal e ia ser internada. As suas filhas eram a Catarina e a Bia e também estavam muito doentes.

A simpática Sónia, que era ajudante da Isabel, resolveu ajuda-las e como tinha remédio feito, deu-lhes. Mas aquele remédio inventado não era adequado para elas, e ficaram ainda mais doentes! A Ana que estava mais doente transformou-se num OVNI, e ao transformar-se num OVNI tornou-se uma heroína com superpoderes. E depois disso todos corriam atrás da supermulher a pedir-lhe ajuda, a Catarina vendo que a Ana estava em perigo, pois tinha agora a forma de um E.T, foi salvá-la com os seus superpoderes.

E assim foram os sonhos daquela noite.”

Every night the girls lived adventures not only in their own dreams, but also in their friends'. And all that took place in a city where dreams come true. The girls writing the story created a complicated set before actually starting their story. The oneiric nature of this story gives it a surreal atmosphere with an intricate layer structure. The girls created several layers of imagined scenarios, which crossed and interacted.

An imagined story is, by definition, a setting where anything can happen. Nonetheless, the girls created a second layer to ensure anything could, indeed, happen, viz. a city where dreams come true, and even so the action itself only developed in the dreams of their characters. This construction may have been chosen because they knew that in real life dreams not always come true, and they wanted to absolutely guarantee they created a place where they did.

The story written by the whole class

The final story created by all the children together is the following:

“On the night of a Friday 13th five girls were caught by the same dream. They were together dressed up as pigeons, boarding the tube at Restauradores station, in a train headed to New York. They needed to find a man who had become a millionaire that same day.

When they got off in New York, they wandered through the streets and spotted the man they were looking for driving a red Ferrari. They ran after the car. The new millionaire, seeing from a distance that five girls dressed like pigeons were running after him, sped up on his new and potent Ferrari, because he thought those five girls were running after him because now he was famous and wanted to ruin his life by stealing all his money.

The five girls dressed as pigeons, tired from running, saw the Ferrari disappear through the streets of New York. They were so tired they stopped to take a rest at an H&M store. While inside, they thought that the man did not recognise them on account of the pigeon clothes. They decided to buy normal clothes. When they were about to come out, dressed like people do, they found two girls who were looking for their father who had disappeared. They struck a deal: they would help each other; they would look together for the man in the Ferrari and for the father of the lost girls.

Suddenly, a man passed by them driving a red Ferrari. The seven girls started running after him, and he sped up his Ferrari even more. In the middle of the way, the seven girls realised they were chasing the same man! That is when the Ferrari stopped! The man could finally recognise the girls!

In the same instant, the seven girls looked at the man coming out of the Ferrari and screamed in unison [sound or something that happens at the same time]:

- Father!

The man answered all of them:

- Yes daughters.

The five girls who dreamed the same dream did not understand why the two lost girls called that man their father, and neither did the two lost girls understand why the dreamers did the same.

The man who was the father of all of them gave them a ride home while he told them that they were all sisters without knowing so. Daughters of the same father and the same mother, they had never met before because their mother suffered from a serious sickness: every once in a while, the woman transformed herself into a UFO [unidentified flying object]! Five of those daughters were sons of the mother⁶⁵ in the shape of a UFO, while the other two were sons of the mother in the shape of a woman.”⁶⁶

The footnotes were decided by the children to explain words that they thought might be harder to understand and a disclaimer regarding the Portuguese expression “filhas da mãe”, which can figuratively be a swear word (with "mother" being an euphemism for "whore"), but in this case it was to be taken literally, as the girls were, really, their mother’s daughters.

This story was written by the whole class and was a mixture of the three stories that had been written in groups. The brainstorming process that led to this story is described below. The story has details from all three stories and the beginning is structurally as interesting as the story about the city where dreams come true. On a Friday 13th, five girls were caught in the same dream. How were they caught in this dream, was it literally, like in that story, meaning that each girl was sleeping and that they could all get into each other’s dreams? Or was it figuratively, meaning that they were living their dream; they were experiencing what they had longed for, for a long time? That was left for the interpretation of the reader.

The following two sentences continued with the atmosphere of mystery: why were the girls dressed as pigeons and why were they looking for the millionaire? The fact that they could get from Restauradores to New York by tube situates the reader back in the surreal settings, hinting at the oneiric interpretation of the first sentence. The development of the plot followed the structure of

⁶⁵ Sons of the mother: it is not a curse nor is it a swearword; it means that the girls were daughters of a woman or daughters of a woman UFO.

⁶⁶ “Numa noite de sexta-feira 13 cinco meninas foram apanhadas pelo mesmo sonho. Estavam juntas vestidas de pombo, a embarcar na estação de metro dos Restauradores, num comboio com destino a Nova Iorque. Elas precisavam de encontrar um homem que tinha ficado milionário naquele dia.

Quando desembarcaram em Nova Iorque, saíram pelas ruas e avistaram o homem que procuravam, ele guiava um Ferrari vermelho. Dispararam a correr atrás do carro. O recém-milionário, vendo ao longe que corriam atrás dele cinco meninas vestidas de pombo, acelerou o seu novo e potente Ferrari, pois julgava que aquelas meninas corriam atrás dele porque agora era famoso e queriam estragar-lhe a vida tirando-lhe todo o dinheiro.

As cinco meninas vestidas de pombo, já cansadas de tanto correr, viram o Ferrari desaparecer pelas ruas de Nova Iorque. Estavam tão cansadas que pararam para descansar numa loja da H&M. Estando lá, pensaram que o homem não as reconhecia com aquelas roupas de pombo. Resolveram comprar roupas normais. Quando iam a sair, já vestidas de gente, encontraram duas outras meninas que estavam à procura do pai que tinha desaparecido. Fizeram um acordo: ajudar-se-iam umas às outras, procurariam juntas o homem do Ferrari e o pai daquelas que estavam perdidas.

De repente, passou por elas o homem a guiar o Ferrari vermelho. Desataram as sete meninas a correr atrás dele, que acelerava ainda mais o seu Ferrari. A meio da corrida, as sete meninas perceberam que estavam atrás do mesmo homem! Foi então que o Ferrari parou! O homem pode finalmente reconhecer as meninas!

No mesmo instante, estavam as sete a olhar para o homem que saía do Ferrari e gritaram em unísono [unísono: som ou alguma coisa que acontece ao mesmo tempo]:

- Pai!

O homem respondeu a todas:

- Digam filhas.

As cinco meninas que sonhavam o mesmo sonho não percebiam porque as duas meninas perdidas chamavam aquele homem de pai, e nem as duas meninas perdidas percebiam porque as sonhadoras faziam o mesmo.

Então, o homem que era pai de todas deu-lhes boleia para casa enquanto lhes contava que eram todas irmãs sem saber. Filhas do mesmo pai e da mesma mãe, nunca se tinham visto porque a mãe sofria de uma grave doença: de tempos a tempos, a mulher transformava-se em OVNI [OVNI – objecto voador não identificado]! Cinco daquelas filhas eram filhas da mãe [filhas da mãe: não é um palavrão nem uma asneira, significa que as meninas eram filhas de uma mulher ou filhas de um OVNI mulher] em forma de OVNI, enquanto as outras duas eram filhas da mãe em forma de mulher.”

the three stories written by the groups, and some questions from the three stories are solved here, for example, the man, who is probably Mr Vicente in this story, finally fulfilling his dream of going to New York. Finally, the tale unfolded into a surprising ending. There were details in the story that were left unsolved, such as the reason for the mother's occasional transformation into a UFO, how could the man give a ride to seven children inside a Ferrari and how could they get from New York to Restauradores.

The children managed to work together and to combine three very different tales into a new story that was funny and surprising. In the following section we see how the children brainstormed the ideas for the story and decided the remaining details of the book.

Two sessions to decide the story's final details, the book structure and title

The two last sessions to work on the book happened in c.e.m's studio ten days apart, on June 4th and 14th 2013. On the first day, the children created a common story, which was a blend of all three stories they had previously written. During the discussion of the story, the adults present (Lyncoln Diniz, myself and Elda) gave some directions, but the main decisions regarding the story came from the children. That day, in the end of the meeting, the children started illustrating the story. The film of the session on June 4th begins with everyone sitting down in a circle. The camera was placed on the floor, pointing slightly upwards and it was filming about half the people in the circle. In the beginning, Diogo started suggesting a story that combined the "Friday 13th" story with the "Two lost girls". Catarina interrupted him in the middle of his tale and added to his story that all the characters went to H&M and at that point Ana Raquel interrupted her saying that that was where they found the two lost girls crying. Isabel also joined in the brainstorm.

The children had no particular order to speak and they decided when to intervene. After around three minutes Elda asked Lyncoln and me about the process of mixing of the stories. The children were creating a new story loosely based on the previous ones and Elda wondered if the idea was rather to develop the three stories independently, and then connect them at a certain point. Lyncoln and I agreed that, for the time being, it was best to work following the second option. Lyncoln got a long roll of paper that he unfolded and laid down on the floor, with crayons of different colours. He placed them on the floor and said that maybe taking notes or making drawings could help organise the ideas, but that it was not mandatory to do so. The children approached the paper little by little and started writing down notes and making drawings about the story. The circle in the centre of the room became a circle around the paper.

Lyncoln began noting all the times and places from the three stories and suggested the children found a way to unite them. They began again their story following this lead. The brainstorming

continued and Davi joined the group of children who were saying things out loud to continue the story. When the stories the children were describing were becoming contradictory, Lincoln asked them to clarify. Nelson also contributed to the story. After sixteen minutes of film, Lincoln retold the story the children were telling in order to clarify some aspects that were still confusing. He asked the children to interrupt him when they thought he was wrong. There were some points where the children still had not reached an agreement and there was some discussion around the details. Nicolae joined the discussion and, as the conversation went on, the children started reaching a consensus around the story.

At minute twenty-second of the film, Lincoln asked Catarina to tell the class what she had understood the story was, resulting from the discussion. Nelson did the same and, as each child told the story, it started reaching its final form. There was another moment of discussion and some children spoke about the story and the points that they were still unsure about, while others (Nelson and Nicolae) had remarks, ideas and questions about the organisation of the book.

Lincoln asked them to continue discussing the topic of the story and that the book would be discussed later. Catarina retold the story, Ana Raquel followed, and Davi spoke afterwards. In the last three interventions, the children were already telling the same story. Lincoln asked the children to clarify the paternity of the five children looking for their father and of the two lost girls. The children suggested several different theories until Nelson suggested that the children had different mothers, one of them was a UFO and the same UFO had kidnapped the other mother. Lincoln and Ana Raquel spoke almost at the same time: he suggested that the mother was the same, but had transformed into a UFO, she suggested the mother changed into a UFO whenever she sneezed. Nelson suggested she changed when she was sick; Davi added that the change could take place when she was nervous. Lincoln said that the change could happen according to her state of mind and they continued with this discussion for a few minutes. Lincoln repeated his suggestion and Diogo raised the question that the girls who were the daughters of the UFO should also be UFOs. Davi argued that, because the mother's DNA was human, her daughters would always be human, even though their mother was a UFO.

Thirty-six minutes into the film, the discussion was over and the children started drawing episodes of the story. I filmed the final results that were hanged on a rope inside the studio. Just before the end of the meeting, Lincoln read the story he had written for the book. In the end, the children clapped and there was a short conversation about how he had written the story and Davi asked questions he still had about the book, e.g. how it would be called. Several children gave suggestions,

but because there was no time left and the children had to go back to school, I suggested that for the following meeting each child would write down three suggestions of title for the book.⁶⁷

On June 14th, the book title and its organisation were discussed and decided. On that day there was a final discussion regarding the story, the book and the children did some illustrations that were still missing. Ana Feijão, a landscape architect and an artist who was invited by Lincoln and me to help designing the model of the book, attended the last session of the project at school and she also attended the last session in c.e.m's studio. She was there to see the children's reaction to her proposal of organisation of the book and to see what could be changed, as it was still a work in progress at the time (the book was only printed two weeks later). That session lasted for ninety minutes and was filmed by Alex Campos. I edited the material into three separate clips of around fifteen minutes each, according to the topics under discussion: the story, the book structure and the title. The three clips were edited separately but happened immediately one after the other. We will discuss the videos in this order.

In the beginning of the session, the discussion centred on the story, that resulted from the previous meeting. Lincoln began by explaining that him and I had written down the story that we had only orally discussed thus far and wanted to read it with the children to change whatever had to be changed. Lincoln read the text from his computer screen and then printed the story so that the children could also read it. Nicolae started reading the story out loud and Davi followed him. After Davi read I asked the children what they thought of our detail of having the five girls dressed as pigeons. The pigeons were an important part of one of the stories and in the previous session the children had not quite agreed where to include them in this version. Making the girls wear pigeon clothes would explain other details that were still unexplained in the children's story, namely why their father did not recognise them when they ran after him, and why they decided to walk into the H&M store, where they met the two lost girls. The children gave their agreement and Ana Raquel carried on with the reading. Isabel was next. After her reading, I asked if they liked the use of the Portuguese verbal form "ajudar-se-iam" ["would help each other", the conditional tense with a mesoclitic reflexive pronoun] which was grammatically correct, but could be written in a less formal manner ["iam ajudar-se", the colloquial conjugation with an auxiliary verb and an enclitic reflexive pronoun]. The children said we could leave it as it was and Rita continued reading.

When Rita was reading, she pronounced the word "unison", and Nelson interrupted to explain what the word meant. A short discussion about the word began. Because many of the children did

⁶⁷ The film from the session on June 4th can be seen online (Louçã, 2015i). Alex Campos filmed the first seven minutes of the session and I filmed the rest. I edited the video into a forty-minute clip from ninety minutes of footage. The movement exercises that were done in the beginning of the session were not included into the film because they were not the focus of this episode.

not know the meaning of the word, Nelson suggested we created a glossary explaining the most difficult terms. Elda agreed and said they had done it several times before, because there were so many foreign children in the class. Lincoln wrote down the children's definition of the word "unison" to add as a footnote to the story. Davi said there was another word that he also found hard, but could not remember which one it was. Ana Raquel asked if that word was going to be on the book, Nelson and Davi said it would, but with an explanation, she did not seem to think a book should contain explanations, and Nelson argued that it was just an definition of the words people could not understand.

Catarina continued reading the story, with Maria Beatriz and Sónia by her side, also looking at the sheet where the story was printed. The two of them burst into laughing when they heard the expression "filhas da mãe", which, as mentioned above, can be a play on swear word. The rest of the class followed them and also started giggling at the use of the expression. Nelson said that expression also had to be explained in a footnote. Lincoln started writing down the explanation and asked how he should explain it, which raised a laugh and a lot of talking among the children trying to reach an explanation of the expression. Nicolae suggested it should be "daughters of a woman", Diogo suggested "daughters of the mother who raised them", Nelson suggested "daughters of a woman". Davi said "daughters of a woman UFO or of a real woman". The children continued the discussion and Lincoln read aloud Davi's suggestion and some children still reacted in shock at the use of the expression. Lincoln asked them if they wanted to change the text or to add a footnote with the explanation. They said they preferred to keep the text, adding a footnote. Alex, who was filming, suggested adding the explanation that it was not a swear word. The children agreed and Davi, Nicolae, Pedro, Nelson and Diogo dictated the sentence to Lincoln, as it would eventually appear in the book. Davi suggested adding an explanation to the acronym UFO, which Lincoln wrote down. The clip ended with Nelson saying he would bring a gadget to the next session that could be used in the book launch.⁶⁸

The second clip shows the part of the session when the children made the drawings and the book structure was presented and discussed.⁶⁹ In the beginning of the clip the children are sitting in a circle and the image captures about one quarter of the circle. In the foreground there is Nelson and Elda, and Nelson is explaining to Elda and Lincoln (who was sitting at the left hand side of the camera) that when he grew up, he wanted to be a writer, but to have a side job to guarantee his living.

⁶⁸ The first clip is available on youtube (Louçã, 2015f).

⁶⁹ The second clip can be watched online (Louçã, 2015g).

The whole class talked for a while, and afterwards Elda told Lyncoln to interrupt, otherwise the chatter would go on until the end of the meeting. Lyncoln explained that there were some drawings that were still missing in the story, such as the girls dressed as pigeons, and asked the children to make any drawing they wanted to, keeping in mind which illustrations were already done and which ones were still missing in the book. As the children were making their drawings, Elda was skimming through the preliminary version of the book Lyncoln and I had printed to show the children. After finishing her drawing, Isabel briefly interviewed Ana Raquel and Catarina about what they were doing.

Lyncoln explained that next we were going to show them the proposed book structure. I said the cover and the book title still had to be discussed, and that we were thinking of having an inscription at the beginning of the book; Catarina suggested it could be a sentence dedicating a book to c.e.m, Davi suggested a dedication to all the writers. I said that we could first go through the book structure and then discuss the cover and the title and all the details. As I began presenting the book, Nelson suggested it could be smaller, to fit into a pocket. Nicolae disagreed, and said that that was a good size; Nelson eventually agreed that like that it could still fit into a pocket.

When I was showing the stories to the children, Isabel said that the drawings were not visible under the text, Nicolae and Davi agreed with her, and Lyncoln and I took note to change it. The end of the stories about the Friday 13th and the city were still not written down at the time and I asked the groups to either write them down or audio record them before the end of that meeting. As for the illustrations, the children liked the idea of the colour inversion of their drawings on the story they all wrote together. They had made their drawings in black in a yellow paper and in the book the drawings were changed to being drawn in white in a black background, as if it were a blackboard and they were drawn in chalk.

As I was showing the book structure, Davi summarised it nicely by saying that there was always something interrupting something else. Nicolae wondered if the people would still remember Lyncoln's story as they read the book because it was interrupted by other stories. Davi, Elda and Lyncoln disagreed, because the story was always connecting to the other stories that were appearing in the book, so it worked as a thread between the stories. Nicolae agreed. Ana Raquel said that she thought the photos should appear all facing the same direction, Isabel agreed; Davi disagreed because with the photos facing different directions he felt that the reader could interact with the book. Lyncoln and Nicolae agreed with him; Elda added that like that it was more dynamic. Isabel said that she still did not agree, but Elda and Nicolae told her that the majority of the people liked it and that the details were discussed with everyone and a consensus had to be reached, based on the decision of the majority.

The third and last clip from the session on June 14th 2013 concerns the choice of the book title. It can be accessed online (Louçã, 2015h). As the film begins, the children were browsing the book model we showed them. Lyncoln asked the group to discuss the book title before they left. Nicolae gave a graphic suggestion for the book cover and Lyncoln asked him to focus first on the book title.

The children started brainstorming ideas; Isabel suggested “fun stories”, Diogo “stories for children”, Pedro “story with no end”, Davi “attractions and joys”, Diogo “living stories and photos”, Davi “life stories”. Lyncoln asked them to think of a title, rather than an explanation of what the book was. The brainstorming continued, Nicolae said “reading, reading, without forgetting” and the brainstorming continued with Lyncoln suggesting the children to really think about that book in particular and how the stories were written. Many children continued giving ideas and I suggested that instead of being something like “stories about...” as the children were suggesting, to drop the explanation (“stories about”) and for it to be simply what they were suggesting for the second part of the sentence, and for them to focus on the contents of their stories.

Catarina suggested “unthinkable meetings”; many children liked it, and Diogo suggested “stories united and shuffled”, also to the children’s approval. I suggested using both. Diogo explained his choice: the stories had been written all together but then had been shuffled in the book. The children repeated aloud the title suggestion and seemed to like it. Nicolae suggested “reading, reading, saying, without forgetting”. The children gave different alternatives based on that suggestion and Lyncoln said it could be the dedication that had been discussed before in the first page of the book. Nelson told Diogo, who told the class, a suggestion about interacting stories but they were still unsure about the final phrasing.

The children continued suggesting variations to Nicolae’s idea introducing the verb moving. Lyncoln was taking notes and said that the title could be “unthinkable meeting stories united and shuffled” and then “reading, moving, not to forget” as a subtitle. Diogo suggested a vote to decide the winner. Ana Raquel suggested “an upside down story”, some girls liked it and some boys did not. The discussion continued and Lyncoln read the last suggestion “reading, seeing, moving make the things happening”; some children liked it, others did not. Lyncoln suggested it could be the dedication in the first page of the book. Nicolae said that it should be the title and others agreed.

Ana Raquel insisted on the title “an upside down story”; Davi suggested, “Friday 13th and other stories”; Lyncoln and Elda teased him for only wanting his story’s title to figure in the book title, not caring about the other stories. Time was running out and Lyncoln repeated the title suggestion again and asked if they wanted it. Many children said yes, particularly the boys. The girls were sitting down on the other side of the circle and by then were a bit distracted. Diogo continued giving suggestions to add to the title and I said that I thought it was enough, that it did not have to be a

poem and he laughed. The children were very distracted then and Lyncoln said that now that we had more information, he, Ana Feijão and I would try to work on the book as soon as possible. He also gave more information about the book launch and the meetings that would happen until then. Alex slowly got up and left the studio, when we were still discussing some details about the following meetings and the book launch.

In the middle of this session, there was a moment that was not related to the story but that we considered important nonetheless. Ana Raquel asked Lyncoln if the following year c.e.m was still going to be doing the project. Lyncoln answered that with Escola da Madalena for sure, but that he was not certain it would happen also in their new school. Isabel and Ana Raquel then asked if they could come and join the sessions, as Emília had done with their class.⁷⁰

Other stories in the book

There are three more stories in the book, written by Lyncoln, Elda and a collective story. Lyncoln wrote a fictional tale that was divided in parts and between them there were other stories of the book, it worked as a link between all the texts. Elda wrote two sentences that were supposed to be the introduction to the book, but eventually were placed as side notes in the pages where the story from all the children was printed.

The collective story was an exquisite corpse made of photographs and text, made by the children from the school together with the group. The group included artists, people from the neighbourhood and a group of special needs actors who were working with some of the staff from c.e.m. The children took the first photo, which was then brought to the group from c.e.m, who wrote a text and took the following photo. This photo was printed and shown to the children at school, who dictated to Lyncoln a text and created a pose for the next photo, and so on. The story came to an end after twenty photographs were taken and the last photo leaves the reader the possibility to carry on the exercise, with the sentence “take a photo and continue the story” written under it in one of the last pages of the book.

The video⁷¹ shows the children writing the last piece of the story and taking the last photograph. The whole class was in the street, in some steps between the school and c.e.m, with the teacher and some people from c.e.m. Lyncoln read to the children the complete story and showed them all the photos. Several children gave contributions to the development of the plot, and Lyncoln wrote the story down as they agreed upon it. The video shows how, after the text was written, the

⁷⁰ The whole conversation lasted for less than one minute and can be seen online (Louçã, 2015c).

⁷¹ Louçã, (2015j).

corresponding photograph was taken in the street, with the children transforming the steps into the set for the final chapter of their story.⁷²

Analysis of the episode

Sawyer (2011) wrote about the developmental benefits of improvisational group play for the development of a narrative, which can also be discussed regarding this episode with the children writing a book together. In Sawyer's work, as it happened in ours, the children created collectively improvised narratives, turn by turn. Each time a child had a suggestion, the others evaluated it, and only after their approval would it become a part of the dialogue. Sawyer called these narratives "collaboratively emergent", as they were unpredictable and contingent. The narratives hence created were not a product of one single person, but of everyone's efforts, and because they were a collective social product, they did not come from one single child's mental schema, but from all of them (Sawyer, 2011: 30). This work is an interesting point of departure for the analysis of this episode.

This episode showed how the project stimulated the children's collective cultural production and communication. None of the children had ever published a book before, and the project taught the children how to achieve it by allowing them to do it and supporting them. The children had chosen to write the book as their final work in the project. They experienced the different stages of making the book, the writing of the stories, the construction of a plan of a book and the book launch. The children led the decision-making in certain parts of the process (writing the three stories of the groups, writing their part of the exquisite corpse and posing for the photographs); in others it was a mixed process with the adults intervening to give ideas, to accelerate the process or to summarise the opinions (such as in the decision of the book title or the creation of the story written together). Lastly, the book structure was created by the adults and then shown to the children and discussed with them, accepting their ideas and suggestions of change (for example, the children's request to remove the text from the top of the drawings; another important discussion was about the display of the photographs, with the majority of the children agreeing with the adults' suggestion). In short, this episode illustrated how the project considered the children as capable of developing a project of their own, that is, capable of cultural production, and also showed how the book was done in a shared decision-making process.

The children showed that, in order to write their stories, they mastered complex notions of biology, geography and, naturally, story writing. Davi's explanation during the session on June 4th that the daughters of the UFO were human because the DNA of their mother was human, despite the fact

⁷² I edited the video from material filmed by Alex Campos and me.

that she had mutated into something else, was the most relevant mention of biology content. Not only did Davi know about the existence of the DNA molecules in the cells of the bodies of humans, but he also knew that DNA molecules are responsible for coding the individual's genome and phenotype and that, hence, when humans reproduce, their DNA is partly copied to the offspring. Most impressively, he knew that phenotypic changes in an individual do not affect his or her genotype. That is, he knew that when someone's appearance changes that person's genome, that is, the DNA, is not affected and that the characteristics that are passed on to the offspring are genetic and not phenotypic.

Regarding geography, the children mentioned many locations close to their school and neighbourhood (Restauradores, the H&M store, Rua dos Cavaleiros) and also the city of New York. Armstrong (2006: 154) addresses the importance of a succession of familiar landmarks in children's narratives as a way used by the children to increase the authenticity of their writing.

In order to write their stories, the children had to learn how to write stories. They knew how to write, how to develop a story structure, how to create an interesting and surprising plot and how to create compelling characters. They used the traditional division of a narrative into introduction, development and conclusion. In terms of story writing, the children proved to be particularly masterful in getting the readers' interest. In the story about the two lost girls, like in many dramatic stories, the interest of the reader was captured by the empathy created with the characters and the hope for a satisfying denouement to their dramatic situation. In the second story, the main character is interesting and surprising. In the story about the girls that dreamed into each other's dreams, the complicated narrative structure captures the attention of the reader.

The episode stimulated the children's creativity in different ways. Firstly, the creativity was worked in terms of the content of the stories. For example, the children knew that one could not get from Restauradores to New York either by tube or by car, but they still decided to write it like that, to create a universe of strangeness and because the physical impossibility of the trip was not a deterrent for the children as they probably had the intuition that plausibility in fiction (sci-fi being an example) does not depend on the factual accuracy of a situation in real life, but on the internal sense in the world created in the text. Another exercise of creativity was the crossing of the different stories, with their different imagined universes, to build a new story. Lastly, in the process of making of the book, the children also participated in a collective story written together with a group of people (artists, people from the neighbourhood and a group of actors with special needs) they did not know personally. This experience also provided the children with creative writing tools, such as the technique of the exquisite corpse or the use of photography to generate a narrative.

According to Sarmiento (2003a), children's imagination is one of the most studied characteristics of the specific ways children relate to the world. Childhood cultures mirror the society the children live in, its contradictions and complexity. They are influenced by the historical process of social change the children live through, which influence the interaction among children and with the other elements of society (Sarmiento, 2003a). One of the specificities of childhood cultures is the particular relationship children establish with language, in such a way that Sarmiento proposed a grammar of childhood cultures, regarding their semantics, syntax, morphology and pragmatics.

In addition, Sarmiento (2003a) classified a few other distinctive traits of childhood cultures, such as the fact that children synchronise diachronically, hence changing, temporal linearity. In other words, children incorporate past, present and futures, allowing for chronologically different events to happen in simultaneous. Moreover, the fact that reality is interpreted in a non-literal way also adds to this non-linear temporality, leading to the interruption of temporal continuity and to the idea of reversibility, of starting all over again, such as what happened in the story about the girls' dreams. The children also change formal logic of speech, in a way that the children can be between the real and the imaginary worlds, for example, in the story about the man in the Ferrari. Lastly, Sarmiento (2003a) refers to the interaction between children and to the playfulness characteristic of childhood cultures.

Episode 5 – The NEIGHBOURS or REVOADA

“Revoada” means the act of flying again, a flock of birds that fly together, or, figuratively, an opportunity. The expression “às Revoadas” can mean “once in a while”, “from time to time” (Dicionário Priberam da Língua Portuguesa, 2008-2013). REVOADA was the name of a new event created by Lyncoln Diniz and Adriana Reyes during 2012/2013.

In the beginning, REVOADA was thought as intergenerational gatherings that would take place in the streets and become moments of learning and meeting. The whole school was invited to join the sessions. From October to April, they happened once a month. Rita and Sónia, who had left Escola da Madalena and were attending different schools, always came, as well as Vera, Rita's younger sister, at the time studying at Escola da Madalena. Until January, the sessions took place in c.e.m, because the weather was bad and everyone preferred staying indoors.

From February on, REVOADA happened in the streets of Mouraria. In February and March, the sessions took the form of wanderings in Mouraria and, from April on, Lyncoln Diniz and Adriana Reyes suggested REVOADA would happen at Largo da Achada. By then, Catarina, who had left Escola da Madalena, and her younger sister, Margarida (still attending it) became regular presences

in the sessions, as did Mário (who was attending Escola da Madalena in Margarida's class). At that time, it was becoming obvious to the artists, the teachers and the children that that year's NEIGHBOURS project was, in fact, REVOADA.

At Largo da Achada there is a cultural centre and it is a mostly quiet, residential square. The ruins where REVOADA took place, 9-9^A in Largo da Achada, were not new to Lyncoln Diniz. In July 2010, in that year's edition of the Pedras festival, Lyncoln Diniz performed in that same place in a piece by Sofia Neuparth called "Práticas para ver o invisível e guardar segredo" ["Tasks to see the invisible and to keep it a secret"]. Since then, c.e.m had not done anything inside it and; after Lyncoln Diniz and Adriana Reyes investigated, they concluded it looked like no one was using it. In that space there used to be a building, but it was torn down and what remained of it were just the outer walls of the ground floor. The floor was cemented and it had no ceiling.



Figure 45: Largo da Achada.

Photos numbered 1 to 5 from top to bottom, left to right: 1.An old illustration of the square (the building 9-9A is the one directly behind the fountain); 2.A contemporary photo from a similar perspective; 3.The inside of the space; 4.The children getting into the building, seen from the outside; 5.The children getting into the building, seen from the inside.

After the Easter holidays, REVOADA gained a weekly rhythm, which continued until July 2nd, during the Pedras festival, some time after the children began their summer holidays, in the middle of June. Everyone who attended Escola da Madalena received an invitation to each REVOADA meeting, announcing the date, the time and meeting point. After the Easter holidays Elda and Inês invited c.e.m to attend the parents' meeting with their classes, in order to explain the REVOADA project and

to personally invite the families to join it. REVOADA became an interesting meeting point between the children who were still attending Escola da Madalena, the ones who had already left and the teachers.

The momentum for these meetings grew throughout the year and reached its peak on the evening of the 2nd to the 3rd July, when the children, their families, the teachers and the artists from c.e.m gathered for supper and camped in the square. The following morning, after having breakfast together, the book launch took place. Below is a brief discussion of the sessions from April onwards, the issues of the newspaper “Diário da Madalena” and the drawings made by the children about the house, following a chronological order.

The newspaper was first published on the 22nd April and from then on was published weekly. Its contents were a collage of photos from the sessions, drawings and texts written by the children (be it news written by them, be it texts they wrote about the house) and texts written by Lyncoln and Adriana, often inviting the children to come to REVOADA. The assemblage of the material to make the newspaper was made by Lyncoln and Adriana. Each Friday they went to the school to get the material the children wanted to share for the newspaper. The teachers, especially from 4th and 3rd grades, made it a class task and their groups usually handed in a collective piece that was related to their curricular work. The other children had personal contributions. The book was published in July 2013 and Lyncoln and Adriana assembled photos from the sessions, drawings and texts written by the children with a story written by Lyncoln. A translation of this story and a short description from the book can be read further on.⁷³

This episode was chosen for the way it developed. The idea for it did not come from the children; it was a proposal by Lyncoln and Adriana, but the children quickly appropriated it. It often happened that they would go to the space alone and water the plants, or just visit it. Lyncoln and Adriana came up with the introduction of new materials each time, but their use was discussed and decided within the group. With time, REVOADA included more and more people, who joined it absolutely voluntarily. The teachers came to the sessions on weekends and Elda brought her daughters; the children who no longer attended Escola da Madalena joined the sessions, as did the children who still attended it. The children started bringing relatives and friends to the sessions and in the night of the camp and the book launch, many parents also joined the group.

⁷³ The notes about the meetings are based on my own notes and on Lyncoln's. Lyncoln made a blog about his work (www.eudocumento.wordpress.com) where he organised the documentation from the sessions. They are available online either on Alex Campos' YouTube channel (“Olhares Nómadas”), or on my own channel (as Joana Louçã), in which case they have been posted as “unlisted”, that is, only people with the link can access them.

- REVOADA, 20th April, Saturday





Figure 46: REVOADA, 20th April.

Photos numbered 1 to 25 from top to bottom, left to right: 1.Mário, Rita putting on Margarida's apron, and Lyncoln; 2 and 3.The group separating the seeds; 4 and 5.Rita, Lyncoln, Mário, Margarida and Sónia distributing the earth into the pots; 6.Parícia, Sónia and Rita placing the earth in the hole in the wall; 7.Rita, Adriana and Mário; 8 and 9.Margarida, Sónia and Lyncoln watering the newly planted seeds; 10.Sónia, Margarida, Rita, Patrícia and Lyncoln watering the newly planted seeds; 11.Adriana distributing seeds to Rita and Mário; 12 and 13.Margarida putting the seeds in the earth; 14.Rita patting the soil; 15.Rita and Sónia, watering the seeds, 16.Rita planting some seeds; 17 and 18.Lyncoln, Mário and Margarida; 19.Mário striking a pose; 20 and 21.Mário and Adriana; 22.Catarina planting; 23.A note that was found in the space; it read, with many spelling mistakes "Here grows nature. Please do not destroy nature."; 24 and 25.Mário playing. Luís Gerald Fonseca took the photos.

During the week before the session, Lyncoln, Adriana, Pedro and Gonçalo had been at the space and cleaned it, removing garbage and filth and sweeping the floor. In the first meeting inside 9-9^A, the mystery revolved around the space, with conversations centring on what had happened to that house. Surely people had lived there, but what happened to the building? Lyncoln and Adriana brought gardening gear and seeds from "Horta do Monte", a communal garden that existed not far from Largo da Achada, and everyone got to work. New places to plant the seeds were discovered in between the walls of the house and going to a public fountain nearby to fetch water became a recurrent group task. The people who joined this session were Lyncoln, Adriana, Rita, Sónia, Margarida, Mário, Patrícia, Luís, Pedro, Joana and a girl whose name I cannot recall.

- First issue of “Diário da Madalena”, 26th April, Friday

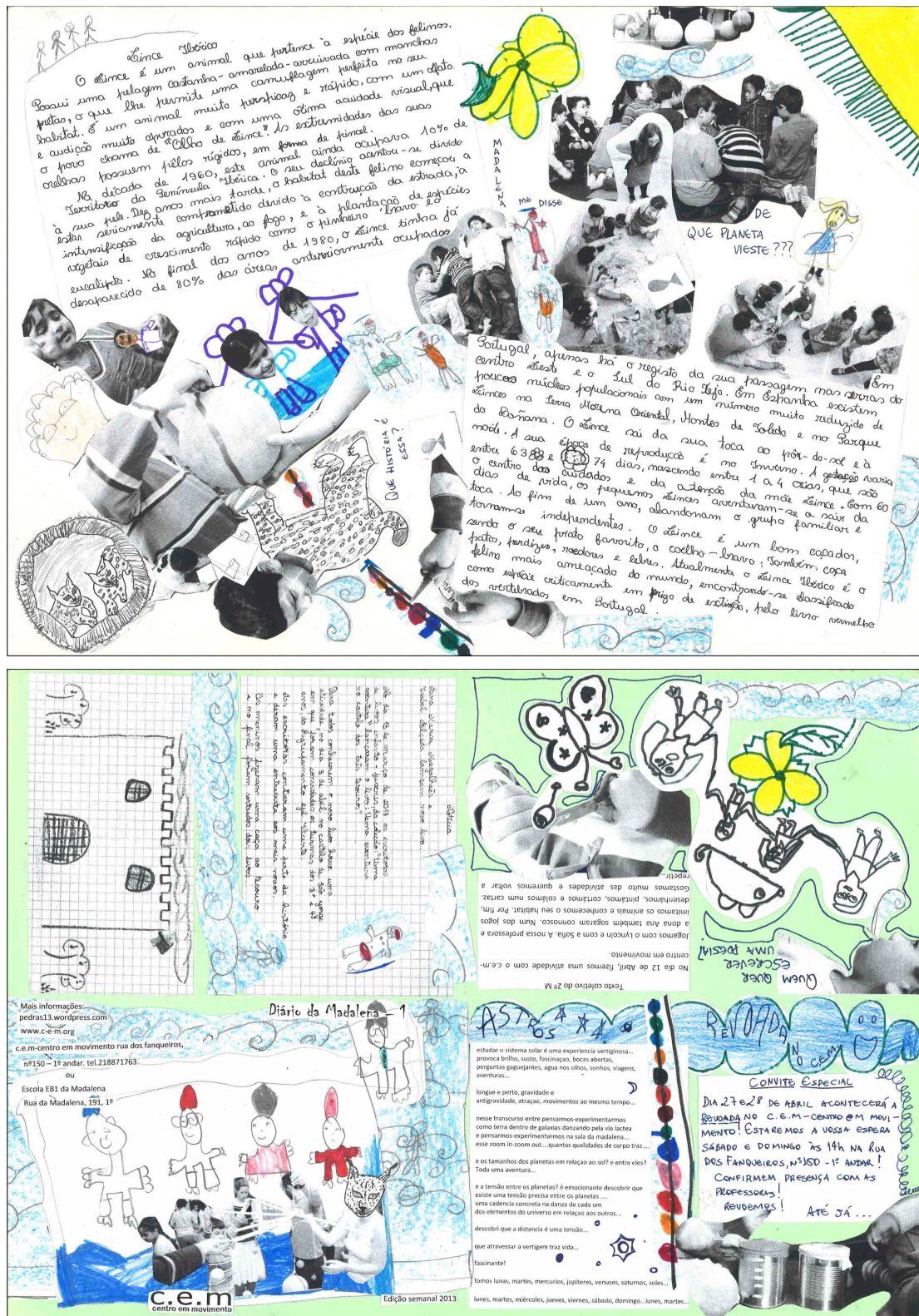


Figure 47: First issue of “Diário da Madalena”

Top: A report written by the fourth grade students about the Iberian lynx, photo collage done by Lyncoln and Adriana. Bottom: A news article written by the 3rd grade about a field trip they had where they visited two famous writers for children's books, Ana Maria Magalhães and Isabel Alçada; a text by Lyncoln and Adriana about the session that had happened with 3rd grade on the solar system; an invitation to join REVOADA and a collective text written by children from another school.

- REVOADA, 27th April, Saturday

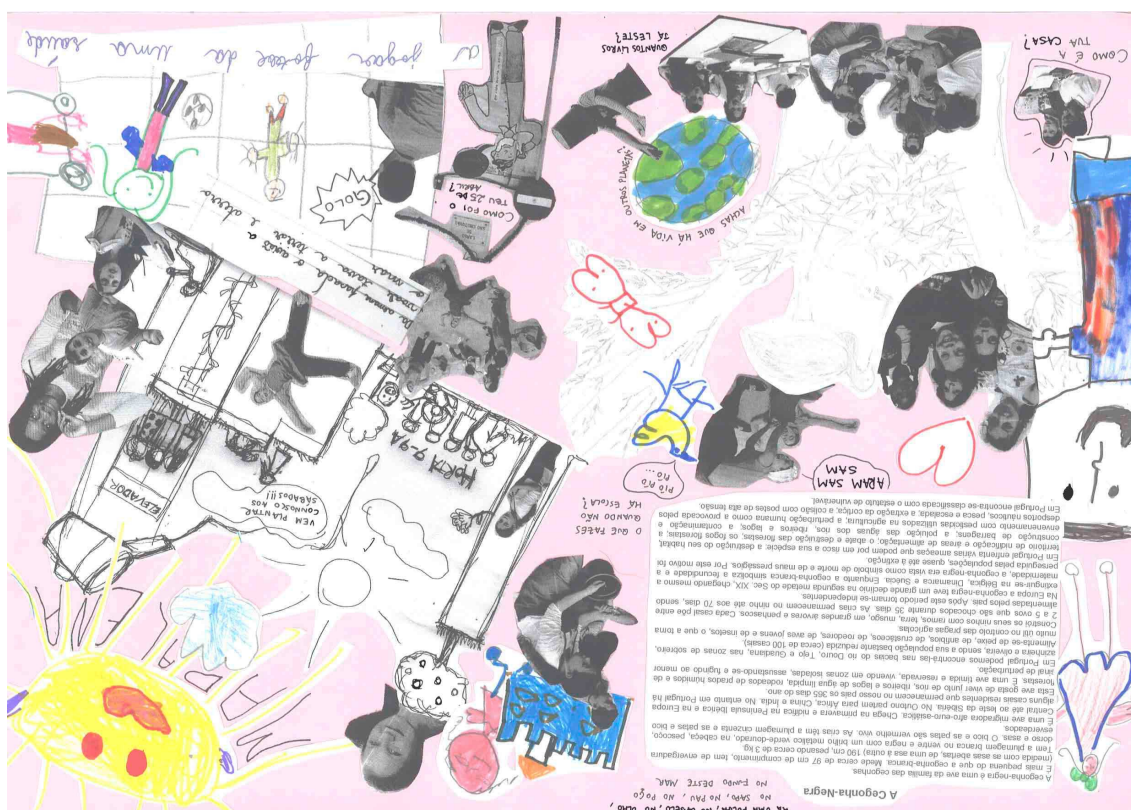


Figure 48: REVOADA, 27th April.

Photos numbered 1 to 20 from top to bottom, left to right: 1 and 2.The plants; 3 to 5.Some decorations starting to emerge in the house; 6.Rita and Susana in the foreground and the group in the background; 7.The group at Largo da Achada; 8.Sónia, Rita and Vera; 9.The group at Largo da Achada; 10.The outside of the house; 11.Luís, Vera and Inês choosing the seeds, 12.The seeds; 13.Vera skipping rope; 14 to 16.The group at Largo da Achada, drawing or taking notes about the building 9-9^A. Lincoln and Luís Gerald Fonseca took the photos.

While the seeds were still quietly growing under the earth, this meeting focused on the organisation of the space and starting to discuss and create some decorations. After being inside, the group gathered at Largo da Achada to eat and discuss the meeting and some people took notes, wrote a text or made a drawing about the building. In the session were: Lyncoln, Adriana, Pedro, Patrícia, Luís, me, Susana, Carolina, Rita, Sónia, Vera, Margarida, Inês, Raúl and Tiago.

- Second issue of “Diário da Madalena”, 3rd May, Friday



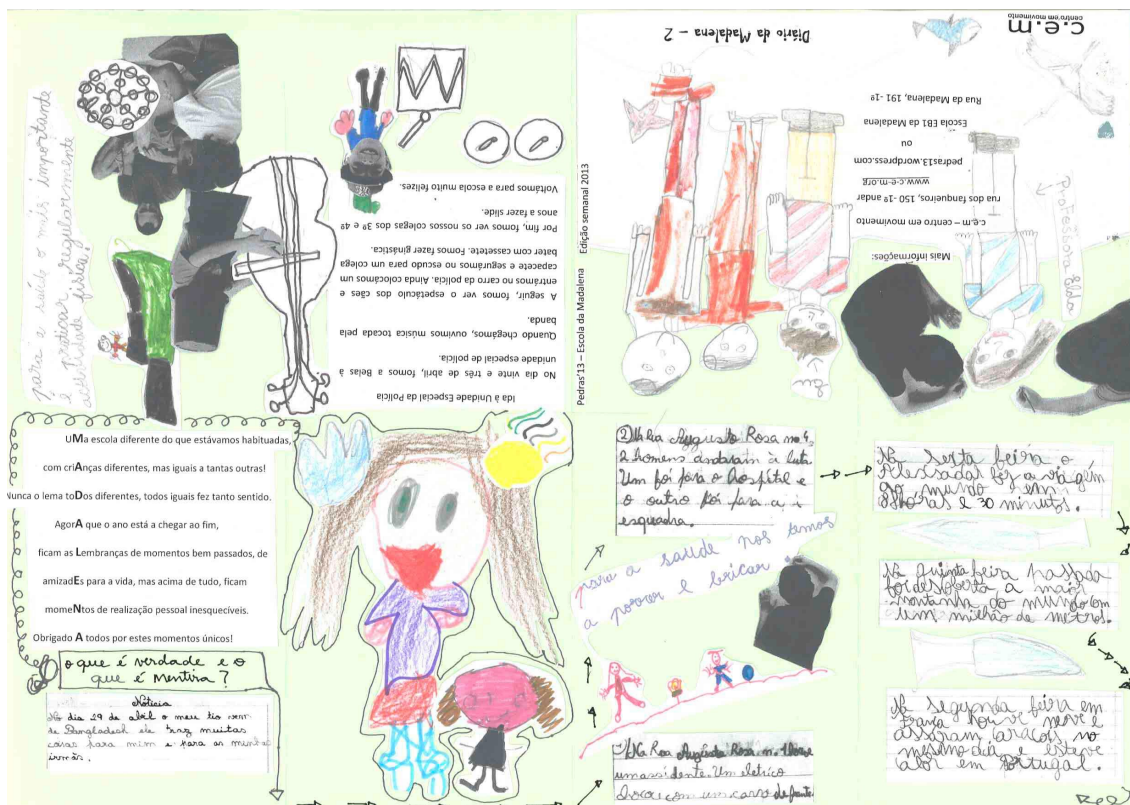


Figure 49: Second "Diário da Madalena".

Top: A text about the black stork written by the 4th grade students; sentences, photos and drawings by the children and adults from the REVOADA and school sessions compiled by Lincoln and Adriana. Bottom: A poem written by Elda and Inês with capitalised letters making the word "MADALENA", it says "A school different than we were used to/with different children, but equal to so many others!/ Never did the saying all different, all equal made so much sense./Now that the year is coming to an end,/the memories of the good times remain,/of friendships for a lifetime, but above all/unforgettable moments of personal realisation./Thank you all for those unique moments!"; a game with real and fake news written by the children for 3rd grade "On the 29th April my uncle comes from Bangladesh and brings many things for me and my sisters.", "At Street Augusto Rosa nr4 two men were fighting. One went to the hospital and the other to the police station"; "At Street Augusto Rosa nr1 there was an accident. A tram collided head-on against a car"; "On Friday, Alexandar travelled around the world in 8 hours and 30 minutes"; "Last Thursday was discovered the biggest mountain in the world with one million meters"; "On Monday in France there was snow and they roasted escargots, on the same day and it was hot in Portugal". There is a report on a field trip the 1st, 3rd and 4th grades did to a police station, written by the 1st grade and there are two notes about health care practices, consequences from a session of THE BODY AT SCHOOL on the theme, "For our health we have to [illegible] and play" and "For our health the most important is to exercise regularly".

- REVOADA, 4th May, Saturday



Figure 50: REVOADA, 4th May.

Photos numbered 1 to 12 from top to bottom, left to right: 1.Sara, Lyncoln, Beatriz, Minesh, Sanjidah, Elda, Daniela and Catarina inside the building; 2.Clara, Ambre and three other girls choose the seeds; 3.Sónia and four other girls watering the plants; 4.View of the group at Largo da Achada; 5.Maruf making a drawing of the house; 6.The children drawing at Largo da Achada; 7.Catarina and Beatriz writing; 8.Abeeha painting the house; 9.Rita painting; 10.Maruf painting; 11.Arogya climbing up the wall to leave the house; 12.A view of the group at Largo da Achada.

This was the first Saturday Elda joined the REVOADA with her daughters, Sara and Beatriz. Because there were so many people in the session, it was decided to create groups with specific tasks; while one group was inside the building, planting and painting the walls, another was outside taking photographs, recording sounds and drawing.⁷⁴ The children walked around Largo da Achada recording the music from a Cape Verdean restaurant in the neighbourhood and a Romanian singer in the street. They also interviewed shop owners and people in the street and recorded conversations among themselves. Inside, the walls started being painted and some more seeds were planted. Luís Gerald Fonseca and Camila Jorge took the photos from this session. Abeeha, Ambre, Arogya,

⁷⁴ The result from the audio recordings can be heard in the site <https://soundcloud.com/eudocumento/novela-da-semana>.

Carolina, Fardim, Maruf, Minesh, Sanjidah, Sinthia, Maria, Vânia, Marta; Ruxanda, Daniela, Manoj, Vera, Rita, Sónia, Catarina, Sara, Beatriz, Elda, Susana, Pedro, Lyncoln, Adriana, Patrícia, Luís, Camila, Clara, Iria and some people we did not know beforehand took part of the session. Largo da Achada became once more the place where everyone gathered to talk about the session and eat a snack in the end.



Figure 51: Drawings made by the children.

Some of the drawings and stories made by the children, 4th May 2013. Photos numbered 1 to 10 from top to bottom, left to right: 1."Don't miss the next edition of "In the strawberries' Castle"/Back cover by Sinthia/Cover by: Ruxanda"; 2."Photo by: Minesh/What did we do today? Today our team was having an adventure at Largo da Achada. The first thing we did was to go to a hole and all of us (from the most fearful to the bravest) had fun in there planting and painting the bricks"; 3."Photo by Bia, nr1 fan/Michael/super star/lol/Then we went outside and interviewed our favourite "urban" star, Michael. He is a 5 star dancer and musician and we lived talking to him, especially Bia who is his nr1 fan! 😊"; 4."Photo by: Catarina/Then, we drew one of the objects we saw. I don't know about you urbanists, but I drew a simple window. No one knew this team had so much talent!!!!/Don't copy be original"; 5."There is a car parked by the garden. And it is surrounded by houses/This is the garden, except for the roof"; 6."Today we painted. And drew. We walked into a hole and sowed seeds and painted bricks!"; 7."We painted walls and planted things in the walls/We climbed the wall. And it was very cool."; 8."Happy mother's day"; 9."9-9A Garden/This car, is out of context"; 10."Maria/Vânia/Marta/Sara/Carolina/Ambre".

- 6th session 1st grade/REVOADA, 7th May, Tuesday



Figure 52: REVOADA, 7th May.

Photos numbered 1 to 12 from top to bottom, left to right: 1. Isabel, Ruxanda and Ambre painting the walls, 2. Isabel painting; 3. Inês painting; 4. Fardim; 5. Fardim helping Maruf put on his apron; 6 and 7. Ambre and Isabel; 8. Ruxanda, Ambre and Isabel; 9. Ruxanda; 10. Isabel and Inês; 11 and 12. Isabel, Inês and Ruxanda. I took the photos from this session.

This was the first time REVOADA was included in the school session with Elda's class, the 1st grade. It was centred on getting to know the space, for the children who did not know it yet, planting some more seeds, taking care of the ones already growing and painting the walls of the house.

- Third issue of “Diário da Madalena”, 10th May, Friday



Figure 53: Third “Diário da Madalena”.

Top: A collage of photos, drawings and text by the children, put together by Adriana and Lyncoln, it includes two short poems by Bruno (3rd grade) about his mother, for Mother’s Day. Bottom: A report on the Iberian wolf written by the 4th grade class, several texts by the 3rd grade children and by the children who had been to REVOADA, “The walk today/We agreed there would be three groups. Each one took a different object: an audio recorder, paper to draw and a photo camera. We took a long walk until Largo dos Trigueirinhos until Largo da Achada. We interviewed the people from the tea, the fruit shop and the hair dresser” and a collage from the texts in the photos 2, 3 and 4 above (Figure 49).

- REVOADA, 11th May, Saturday

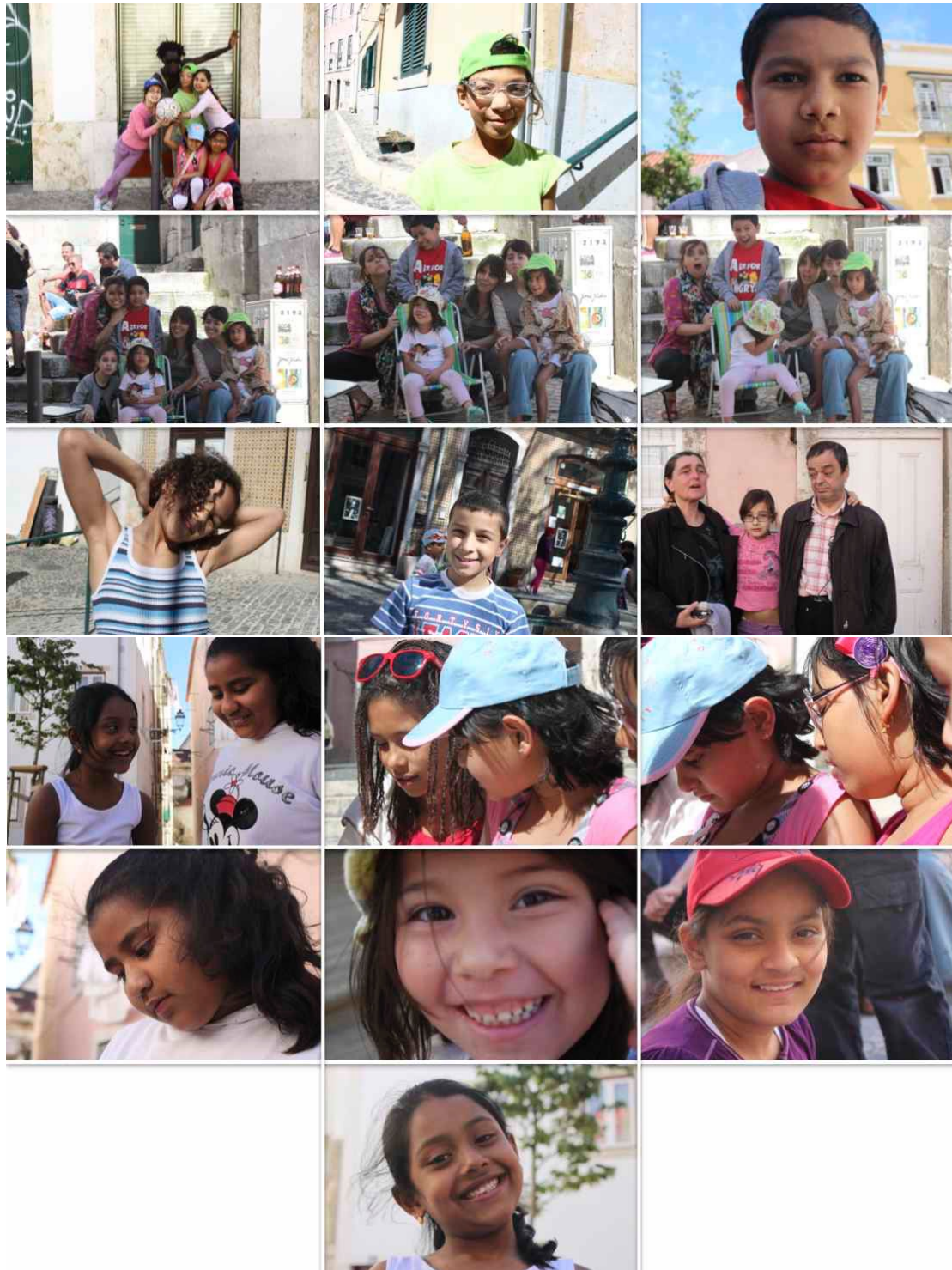


Figure 54: REVOADA, 11th May.

Photos numbered 1 to 16 from top to bottom, left to right: 1.Group photo of Daniela, Michael, Érica, Nila, Jessica and Nila's cousin; 2.Érica; 3.Manoj; 4. Group photo of Clara, Inês, Manoj, Mar, Joana, Susana and Laura looking happy; 5.Group photo of Clara, Manoj, Mar, Joana, Susana and Laura looking sad; 6.Group photo of Clara, Manoj, Mar, Joana, Susana and Laura looking surprised; 7.Vera; 8.Bruno; 9.Daniela between her parents; 10. Sinthia and her friend; 11.Rita and Nila; 12.Nila and her cousin; 13.Sinthia's friend; 14.Mar; 15.Armandeep; 16.Sinthia. I took the photos from this session.

This session was the first time Inês (the teacher) joined REVOADA. Like in the previous Saturday, there were so many people in the session that groups had to be created. One group

was inside the building gardening and painting the walls, whereas the other was outside taking photographs, filming and drawing. A film made by some of the girls⁷⁵ shows them playing football with Michael, who was playing with some friends nearby. The girls ran into them by chance and ended up playing with him. Michael was the person responsible for some of the after school activities from the local parish, which many of the children attended. He was very patient with them and they liked him very much. Nila, Nila's cousin, Érica, Daniela, Rita, Adriana, Susana, Joana, Mar, Clara, me, Inês (the teacher), Elda, Sara, Beatriz, Vera, Manoj, Bruno, Sinthia, Sinthia's friend, Inês, Laura, Jessica, Daniela's parents, Sanjidah, Lyncoln and Pedro were in the session.

⁷⁵ Available online (Louçã, 2015k).

- Fourth issue of “Diário da Madalena”, 17th May, Friday

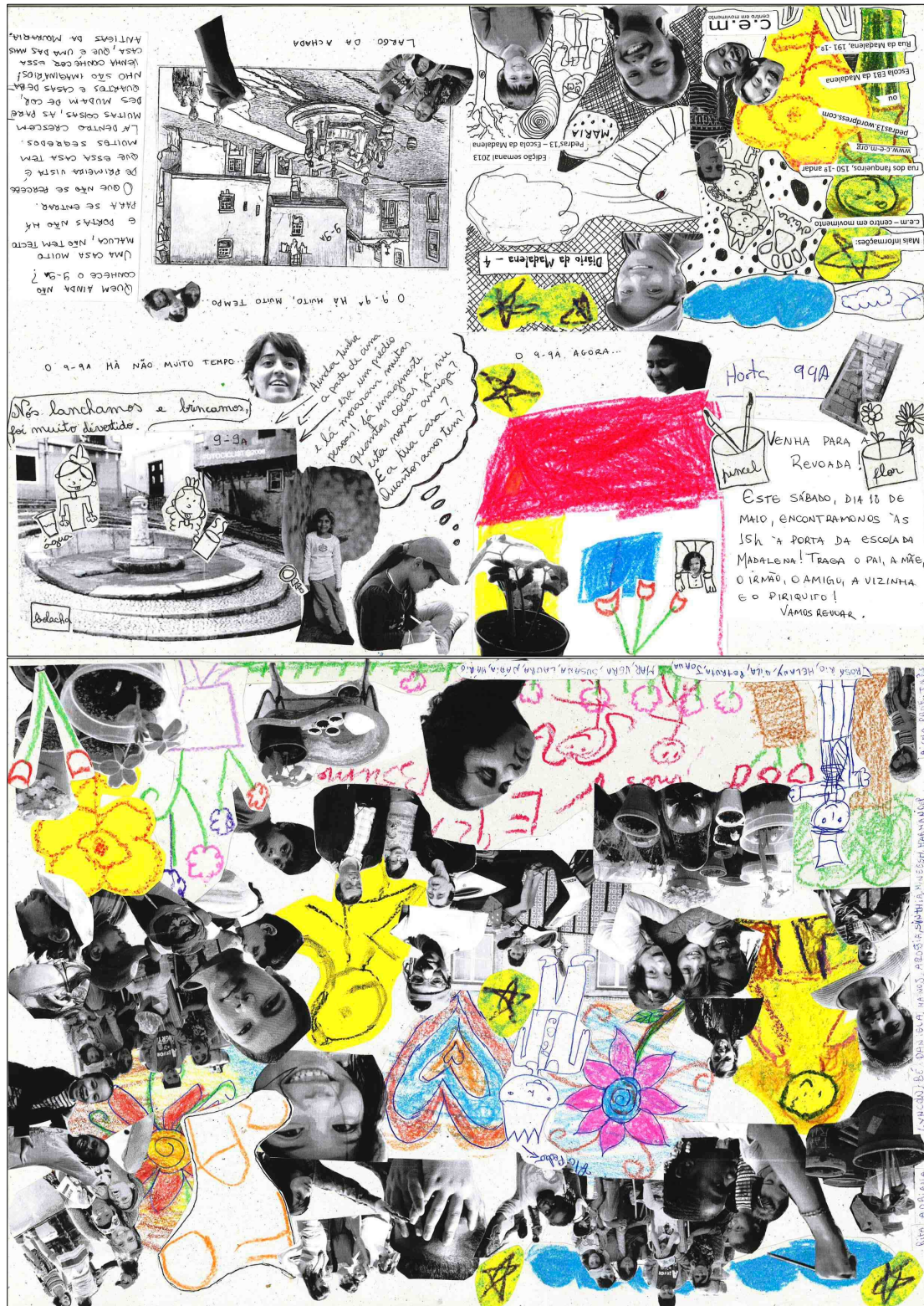


Figure 55: Fourth “Diário da Madalena”.

Top: Invitations to come to REVOADA and explanations about the house, on top of a collage done by Lincoln and Adriana. Bottom: Photo and drawing collage done by Lincoln and Adriana and a list of the children’s names written by the children in the margins of the drawing.

- REVOADA, 18th May, Saturday



Figure 56: REVOADA, 18th May.

Photos numbered 1 to 12 from top to bottom, left to right: 1. An onion being used as a stamp; 2. a pepper being used to stamp the walls of the house; 3 and 4. Inside the house, using sun shades as protection from the rain; 5. Inside the house; 6. Sanjidah painting the walls; 7. A view from the square; 8. Catarina and Pedro making a drawing; 9 and 10. Inês and Margarida talking via plastic cups and a string; 11. The group at Largo da Achada, Diana, Sanjidah, Catarina and Sónia; 12. Skipping rope: Adriana, Sanjidah, Pedro, Inês, Sónia, Catarina and Lyncoln. Lyncoln, Adriana and Diana took the photos.

In this session it was raining intermittently and fewer people showed up. It marked the beginning of a new phase in the decoration of the walls of the house, using paint of different colours, and vegetables to make stamps. In the previous sessions, a plant with green leaves had been painted in that wall, with the words “Horta 9-9A” [“9-9^A Garden”]. After people grew tired from being in the house, the group gathered at Largo da Achada, had a snack, discussed the session and some people played at skipping rope. In this session Margarida, Lyncoln, Sanjidah, Sónia, Adriana, Inês, Pedro, Catarina and Diana came.

- 7th session 1st grade/REVOADA, 21st May, Tuesday



Figure 57: REVOADA, 21st May.

Photos numbered 1 to 20 from top to bottom, left to right: 1.Sinthia; 2.Arogya through the magnifying glass; 3.Abeeha; 4.Fardim and Maruf; 5.The children checking the plants; 6.Carolina and Elda looking for insects; 7.Using a magnifying glass; 8.Ambre looking at something; 9.Magnified leaf; 10.Inês checking the photographic camera; 11.The insects collected; 12.Elda, Nuno, Isabel, Abeeha and Minesh checking the floor; 13.Minesh and Elda investigating; 14.Abeeha looking for insects; 15.Abeeha, Minesh, Isabel and Iria; 16.Elda, Ruxanda, Abeeha, Sinthia, Minesh, Isabel and Iria; 17.Isabel; 18.The collected insects; 19.Minesh; 20.Isabel. I took the photos from the session.

This was the second time the 1st grade class joined REVOADA as a group. While half the class was in the building gardening and painting, the other half was in the square studying entomology. After a

while, the groups changed. The children had several magnifying objects and cups to temporarily host the collected insects. The insects were released at the end of the session.

- Fifth issue of “Diário da Madalena”, 24th May, Friday



Figure 58: Fifth “Diário da Madalena”.

Top: Three texts written by the children, on top of a collage of photos and drawings assembled by Lincoln and Adriana; a text written by the 4th grade students on turtles; and two texts by unidentified children: “The star/There once was a star called Joaninha. The star Joaninha shined so bright in the sky it was the most beautiful of them all. She played everyday with her friends and forgot to go to school. When she went to school she didn’t want to work. The teacher warned her that could not go on. She had to come work. From that day on, the little star never missed another day”; “Seahorses/Once there was a sea. In the bottom of the sea there were seahorses. A female seahorse called Bruna liked to play, take walks and to have fun. One day, at ten to twelve a.m., she went for a walk and a male seahorse showed up. She fell in love and he fell in love as well. “What’s your name?” said Bruna, “My name is Bruno” answered Bruno, “Do you want to marry me?” said Bruno, “Yes” answered Bruna. They got married and became happy.”

Bottom: Photo and drawing and text collage assembled by Lincoln and Adriana.

- REVOADA, 25th May, Saturday



Figure 59: REVOADA, 25th May.

Photos numbered 1 to 25 from top to bottom, left to right: 1.A girl I cannot identify watering the plants; 2 and 3.The plants; 4.Catarina and Sónia; 5.Elvis, Sanjidah's friend, Jessica, Lyncoln, Catarina's friend, Catarina, Adriana and Sónia; 6 to 8.Margarida; 9.Elvis and Jessica; 10.Elvis; 11 to 13.Margarida and Mário; 14.Sanjidah's friend and Sanjidah; 15.Pedro making a drawing; 16.Me and Margarida; 17.Catarina, Sónia and Lyncoln; 18.Elvis and Jessica; 19 and 20.Elvis gluing photos to the wall; 21.Jessica and Elvis, 22.Jessica gluing photos to the wall; 23 and 24.Elvis using the graffiti spray can with Lyncoln's help; 25.Rita using the graffiti spray can. Luís Gerald Fonseca and I took the photos.

The plants had started to grow and in this session the children cut symbols to use as stencil and tried out using graffiti spray cans to decorate the wall of the house. On the wooden door, the photos from previous REVOADA sessions were glued. Catarina, Catarina's friend, Sónia, Margarida, Mário, Elvis, Jessica, Vera, Sanjidah, Sanjidah's friend, Rita, Lyncoln, Adriana, me, Pedro, Camila, Henrique, Patrícia, Luís, Iria and a girl I cannot identify participated in this session.

- 1st session 4th grade/REVOADA, 28th May, Tuesday





Figure 60: REVOADA, 28th May.

Photos numbered 1 to 20 from top to bottom, left to right: 1.João and Pedro; 2 and 3.Óscar, Pedro, Filipe and Tasdid; 4.Bianca and Inês; 5.Daniyal; 6.Pedro; 7.Inês and Michael; 8.Bianca, Filipe and Michael; 9.Tasdid, Bianca and Michael; 10.João and Margarida; 11.Camará; 12.Osório and Camará; 13 and 14.Osório, Camará and Margarida; 15.Osório; 16.Camará; 17.Azra; 18.Marneuza; 19 and 20.Azra and Marneuza. I took the photos from the session.

The teacher of the 4th grade asked for her group to join one of the REVOADA sessions as well, and so they did. The group was also divided in two, half of the class going inside the building, to garden and decorate the space, while the other half walking around the neighbourhood and making interviews about what had happened to the house. One of the groups ran again into Michael by chance and had a long conversation with him about what he thought had happened to the house, as he had lived in the neighbourhood for a long time. In the end, the whole class got together at Largo da Achada to represent their findings in a text or drawing. The result from this work was later included in the “Diário da Madalena” and also in the book.

- 6th session 3rd grade/REVOADA, 31st May, Friday



Figure 61: REVOADA, 31st May.

Photos numbered 1 to 25 from top to bottom, left to right: 1.Osório and Daniel; 2.Jessica; 3.Nila; 4 and 5.The group at Largo da Achada; 6.Inside the house; 7.The plants growing; 8 and 9.Painting inside the house; 10.Nila; 11.Daniel, Arshdeep, Marco, Daniela and Nila; 12.Arshdeep; 13.Inês and Osório; 14.Inês and me; 15.Manoj, me and David; 16.Érica; 17.Érica and Vera; 18.Érica; 19.David's drawing; 20.Manoj; 21.Ya Ya; 22.A drawing; 23.Érica; 24.Vera and a neighbour of Largo da Achada; 25.The group at Largo da Achada. Lyncoln and I took the photos from the session.

This was the first time the 3rd grade class joined REVOADA. The session had the same structure as the previous ones and; in the end, the work produced by the children was included in the newspaper.

- Sixth issue of “Diário da Madalena”, 31st May, Friday

Diário da Madalena - 6

Edição Especial: DESVENDANDO OS SEGREDOS DO 3-9A

CONHECE ALGUÉM SEM CASA?

CONHECE Camação?
 A camação tem uma história muito interessante, e como sabem a maioria das crianças, a camação é feita com farinha de trigo e leite. É muito gostosa e saudável. Mas atenção, não se esqueça de lavar bem as mãos antes de fazer a camação. E não se esqueça de lavar a camação com água quente. E não se esqueça de lavar a camação com água quente. E não se esqueça de lavar a camação com água quente.

Para que temos casa?

Existem pessoas muito pobres mesmo muito pobres que não têm dinheiro mas a renda era muito cara para eles com o preço das coisas. É um dia que o Fernando decidiu sair de casa e não sabia para onde ir. Ele foi para a rua e encontrou um rei muito rico. O rei deu-lhe comida e ele ficou muito feliz. O rei deu-lhe uma casa e ele ficou muito feliz. O rei deu-lhe uma casa e ele ficou muito feliz. O rei deu-lhe uma casa e ele ficou muito feliz.

ALGUÉM LUGAR SECRETO?

Uma vez, um dia, uma menina chamada Adriana estava muito triste porque ela não tinha casa. Ela estava muito triste porque ela não tinha casa. Ela estava muito triste porque ela não tinha casa. Ela estava muito triste porque ela não tinha casa.

MAIS INFORMAÇÕES:
 c.e.m. - centro em movimento
 rua dos fanqueiros, 150 - 1º andar
 pedras13.wordpress.com
 www.c.e.m.org

ou
 Escola EB1 da Madalena
 Rua da Madalena, 191 - 1º

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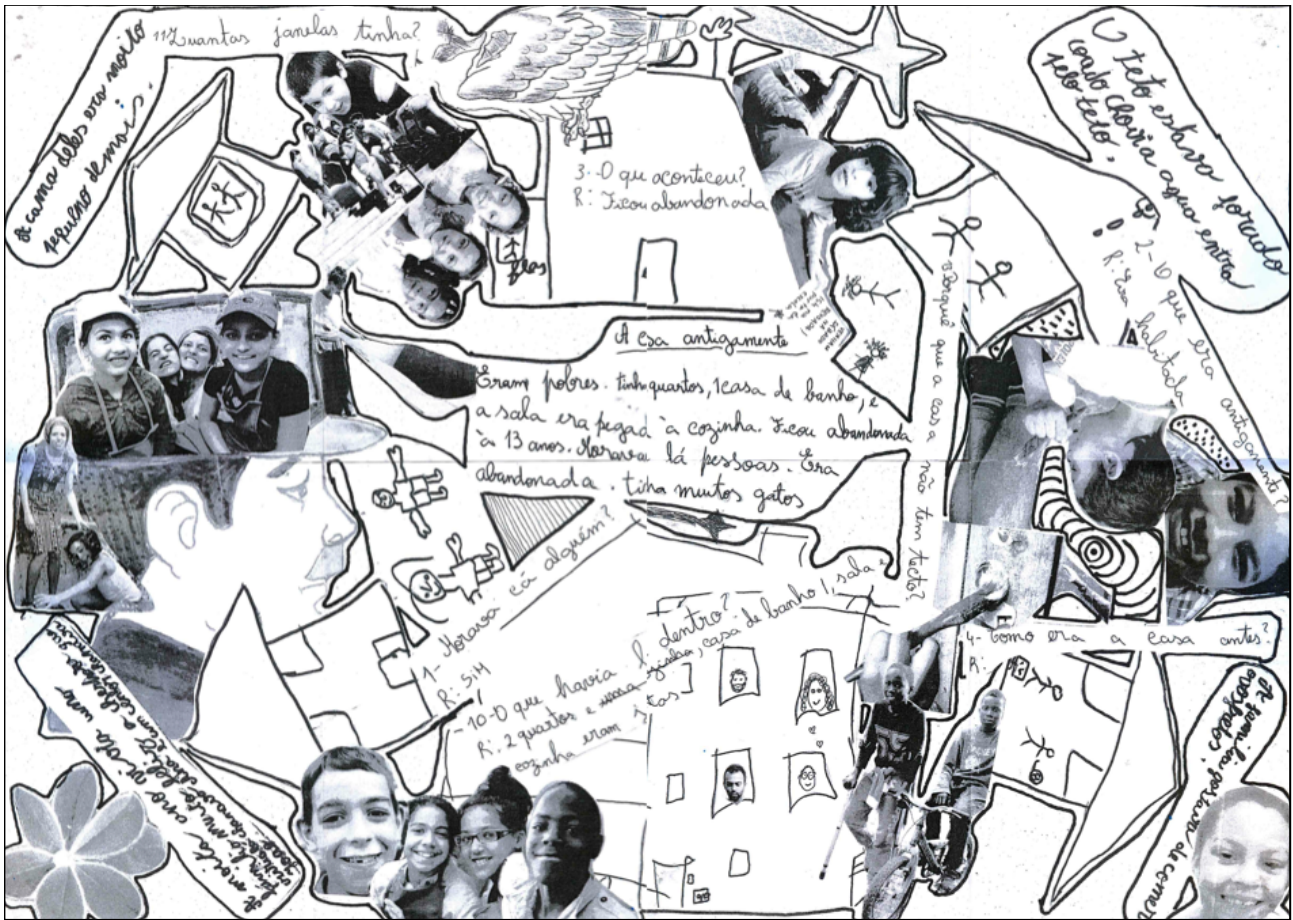


Figure 62: Sixth "Diário da Madalena".

Top: Drawings and texts about the house and photos from REVOADA. The texts were written by the children, "Did the house have a backyard?", "There lived people who were really very poor, really very poor, and who didn't have money but the rent was too expensive they couldn't pay the money. And one day the son decided to leave the house the mother's name was Mrs Lurdes and the father was António and the son was Camará and they were very sad and the son went to the king and went to ask the king for food and the king gave him a lot of food and the king gave them cod and potatoes and the son found a lot of money in the street and gave it to his mother and father. THE END", "Once upon a time there was a very old house. One day the owner abandoned it because it was very old and one day a project called c.e.m centre in movement that managed to [intelligible] that house and said I think we should have that house as a place filled with trees, and started sowing and now the house has no roof and is so beautiful. Camará"; "The earthquake of 1755/One fine day, a lady called Adriana. That lady was very pretty, friendly and adorable. Joana was also the same thing. They lived in a cosy house. But an earthquake happened. The house fell down and the project cem [intelligible] the house. Written by Marneza." Bottom: Collage of drawings and notes from interviews about the house and photos from REVOADA. The texts, clockwise, starting in the top left corner "Their bed was very too small", "11 - How many windows did it have?", "3 - What happened? A - It was abandoned", "The house before/They were poor. It had 2 bedrooms, 1 bathroom and the living room was contiguous to the kitchen. It was abandoned 13 years ago. People lived there. It was abandoned. It had many cats.", "13 - Why doesn't the house have a roof?", "The roof was punctured when it rained water entered the ceiling"; "2 - What was it before? A - It was inhabited", "The family liked to eat fried eggs", "4 - how was the house like before?", "1 - Did anyone live there? A - Yes", "10 - What was inside it? A - 2 bedrooms, bathroom 1, living room and kitchen were together", "Many years ago lived a very happy family the lady lived there was called Ana and the gentleman was called João".

- REVOADA, 1st June, Saturday



Figure 63: REVOADA, 1st June.

Photos numbered 1 to 8 from top to bottom, left to right: 1 and 2. The plants with a cat; 3 and 4. Vera and the photos at the door; 5. Marco and Vera; 6. Adriana and Pedro; 9. The wall of the house; 10. Marco watering the plants in the pots and wall. Lyncoln and Adriana took the photos.

This session happened on 1st June, Children's Day. Most children were, for that reason, busy attending the activities the city hall promoted to celebrate the event. When Lyncoln, Adriana and Pedro got to the building, Mário and Marco were already waiting outside. When they got in, they surprised a couple of black cats that were inside the house. Mário, Marco, Sónia, Vera, Rita, Adriana, Lyncoln and Pedro participated in this session.

- Session with 1st and 3rd grades/REVOADA, 5th June, Wednesday





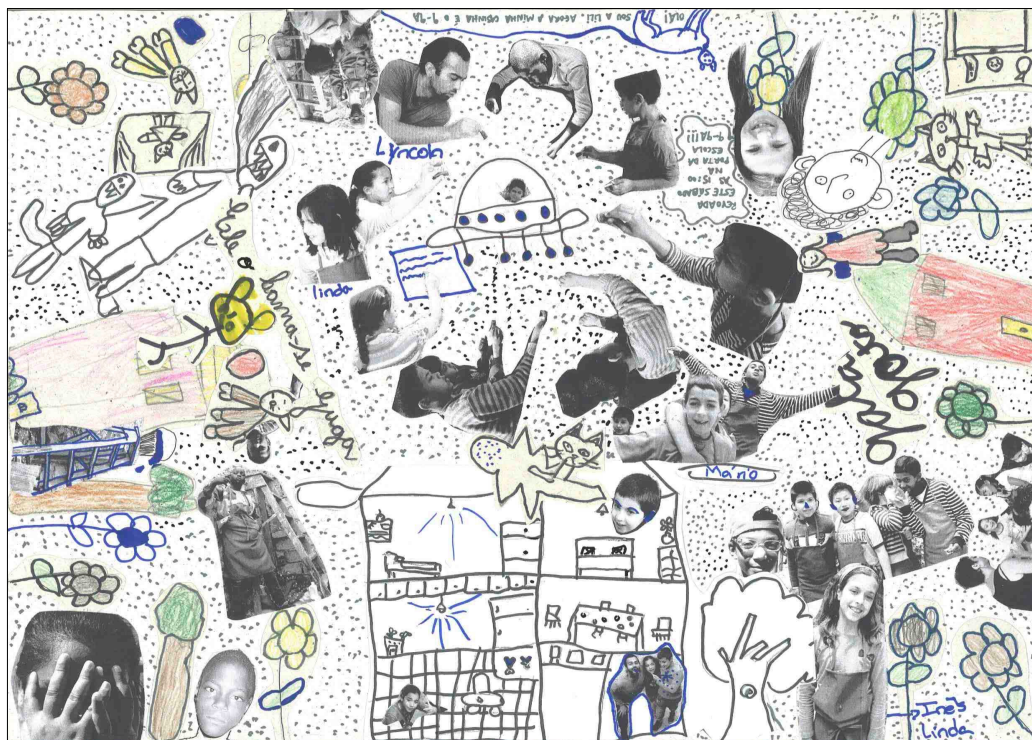
Figure 64: REVOADA, 5th June.

Photos numbered 1 to 30 from top to bottom, left to right: 1 to 4. The plants growing; 5. Laura interviewing a neighbour; 6. Fardim playing in the square; 7. Laura wearing Érica's (her older sister) glasses; 8. Fardim, Arogya and Maruf playing at Largo da Achada; 9. The children playing in the outer wall of the house; 10. Lyncoln, Maruf, Arogya and me, Lyncoln and I helping them getting into the house; 11. Lyncoln, Daniela, Inês, Me and Elda, the adults helping the children getting into the house; 12. Inês and Elda, climbing into the house; 13. The group inside the house; 14 and 15. Érica, Vera, Arogya, Maruf and Minesh, knocking on doors at Largo da Achada to interview people; 16. Érica drawing the house; 17. Notes on the interview on the houses, the paper reads "It took two years and six months to be built/It had 3 floors/Couples/Children/Babies/The city council ordered it to be destroyed/Reason: at night it made noise people got scared and pieces fell down"; 18. Minesh and his drawing; 19. The children making their drawing in the square; 20. Daniel interviewing David with an audio recorder; 21. Inês showing her hands after some gardening and painting; 22. Malisha sweeping the floor; 23. David, a girl I cannot identify and Camila interviewing a neighbour; 24. A child checking the mail box of the house; 25. The plants growing; 26. Harmandeep, Sandijah, Nila and Abeeha interviewing a neighbour; 27. Nila, Abeeha, Sandijah, Harmandeep and the neighbour; 28. Nila watering the plants; 29. Nila and Bruno trying out the door to the house; 30. Children's hands. Camila, Thiane, some of the children, and I took the photographs from the session.

This session maintained the same structure of dividing the group into teams to garden, decorate the house, make interviews in the neighbourhood and take notes from the story behind the building 9-9A. This day was peculiar because both Elda's and Inês' classes came, so there were many people around. From more people joined from c.e.m as well: Camila, Mariana, Thiane, me, Adriana, Lyncoln, Pedro and Luz. It was Pedro's birthday and after singing him "Happy Birthday" the children decided to offer him another song as a gift. It was a march written by the teachers, mimicking the marches the different neighbourhoods organise and perform on 12th June in Lisbon. The Lisbon marches were an event created by the dictatorship but that gained popularity since and are still an important event nowadays, particularly in traditional neighbourhoods such as Mouraria. The children's performance can be seen on youtube (Louçã, 2015l). In the corner of the house Vera is doing some of the movements of the choreography the teachers created. The lyrics were: "At Escola da Madalena everything is worth it/Everything is worth it at Escola da Madalena/This multicultural school/Goes from India to Nepal/ And it goes around the world/From China to Portugal/This school is tradition/Joy and fun/We have the most beautiful... (Unintelligible)/With a view to the castle/We are students/In this beautiful capital/It's the prettiest city/Of our Portugal".⁷⁶

This was the last week of classes for the children; from then on they were on summer holidays and the teachers were having meetings at school and preparing the next school year. It is noteworthy that both teachers and students continued participating in the sessions after that.

- Seventh issue of "Diário da Madalena", 7th June, Friday



⁷⁶ "Na Escola da Madalena ai tudo vale a pena/Ai tudo vale a pena na Escola da Madalena/Esta escola é multicultural/Vai da Índia até ao Nepal/E dá uma grande volta/ Da China até Portugal/Esta escola é tradição/Alegria e diversão/Temos o... (Inteligível) mais belo/Com vista para o Castelo/Somos estudantes/Nesta linda capital/É a cidade mais bonita/Deste nosso Portugal"

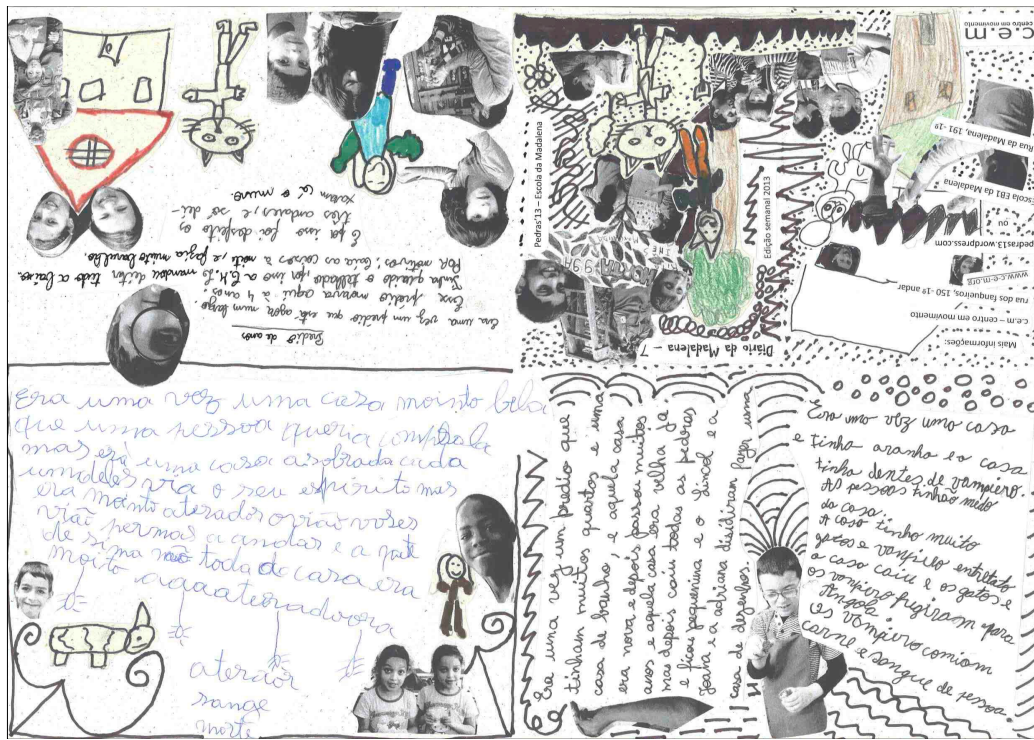


Figure 65: Seventh "Diário da Madalena".

Top: Drawings and texts about the house done by the children and photos from REVOADA, assembled by Lincoln and Adriana. Bottom: Four texts about the house have been written by the children: "Once upon a time there was a very beautiful house that a person wanted to buy but it was a haunted house each one of them saw their ghost but it was very frightening they heard voices they saw legs walking and the top part of the whole house was very friiiightening/frightening/blood/death", "Once upon a time there was a building that had many bedrooms and a bathroom, and that house was new and then many years went by and that house was already old. But then all the stones fell and it became small and Lincoln and Joana and Adriana decided to do a house of drawings.", "Once upon a time there was a house and had spider and the house had vampire fangs. People were afraid of the house. The house had many cats and vampires and in the meanwhile the house fell down and the cats and the vampires escaped to Angola. The vampires ate flesh and people's blood.", "Building of years/Once upon a time there was a building that is now in a square. That building lived here 4 years ago. The rooftop had fallen down and that's why Lisbon's town hall decided to throw it down. Reasons: Things fell at night, and it made a lot of noise. And that's why the three floors were undone and all they left was the wall".

- REVOADA, 15th June, Saturday





Figure 66: REVOADA, 15th June.

Photos numbered 1 to 16 from top to bottom, left to right: 1. Manoj and Arogya; 2. Susana, Arogya, Mário, Manoj and Lyncoln; 3. The plants grown; 4. Manoj watering the plants; 5. Manoj; 6. Arogya; 7. Vera watering the plants; 8. Lyncoln making holes in the bottom of a can (to be used as a pot); 9. Manok, Arogya, Adriana, Vera, Lyncoln and Susana; 10. Vera watering the plants; 11. Mário and Sónia, getting into the house; 12. Arogya and Adriana making holes in the bottom of a can; 13. Mário; 14. Manoj watering the plants; 15. Adriana, Rita, Luz, Sónia and Lyncoln; 16. Manoj, Lyncoln, Rita, Luz, Sónia and Vera.

This session centred on gardening. Corn, beans and lupine were replanted. Manoj, Arogya, Mário, Vera, Rita, Sónia, Adriana, Lyncoln, Susana, Luz and Alex came to REVOADA that day. On the video he made about Pedras festival, Alex Campos used some of the material he filmed on this day.⁷⁷

⁷⁷ It can be seen on his youtube account (Campos, 2013d) from 1' to 6'10".

- REVOADA, 19th June, Wednesday





Figure 67: REVOADA, 19th June.

Photos numbered 1 to 25 from top to bottom, left to right: 1. Manoj, Lyncoln, Arogya and Rita; 2. Harmandeep, Vera, Rita and Lyncoln fetching water; 3. The house viewed from Largo da Achada; 4. Harmandeep, Rita, Harmandeep's friend, Vera, Arogya, Manoj; 5. Harmandeep's friend decorating a pot; 6. Rita decorating a pot; 7. Rita, Harmandeep, Vera, Harmandeep's friend and Sofia decorating pots and the house; 8. Manoj decorating a pot; 9. The group, working and talking; 10. Arogya and Manoj; 11. Rita decorating a pot, Harmandeep in the background; 12. Manoj, Adriana, Ana and Rita; 13 and 14. The group view from above; 15. The decorated wall; 16. Lyncoln and Arogya in the foreground; 17 and 18. Arogya in the foreground; 19. Harmandeep's friend in the foreground; 20. Arogya; 21. Harmandeep's friend; 22. Arogya; 23. Lyncoln and Arogya; 24. Pedro; 25. Manoj interviewed by Sofia, with an audio recorder. Pedro and Adriana took the photos from this session.

Before the session, Lyncoln and Adriana had painted the floor of the house red. In this meeting the focus was on the decoration of the house, painting the pots, etc., and we began discussing the camp that would happen in two weeks: how the sleeping arrangements should work, the meals and the book launch the following day. Manoj, Arogya, Rita, Vera, Harmandeep, Armandeep's friend, Sofia, Lyncoln, Adriana, Ana and Pedro were in the meeting.

- REVOADA, 22nd June, Saturday

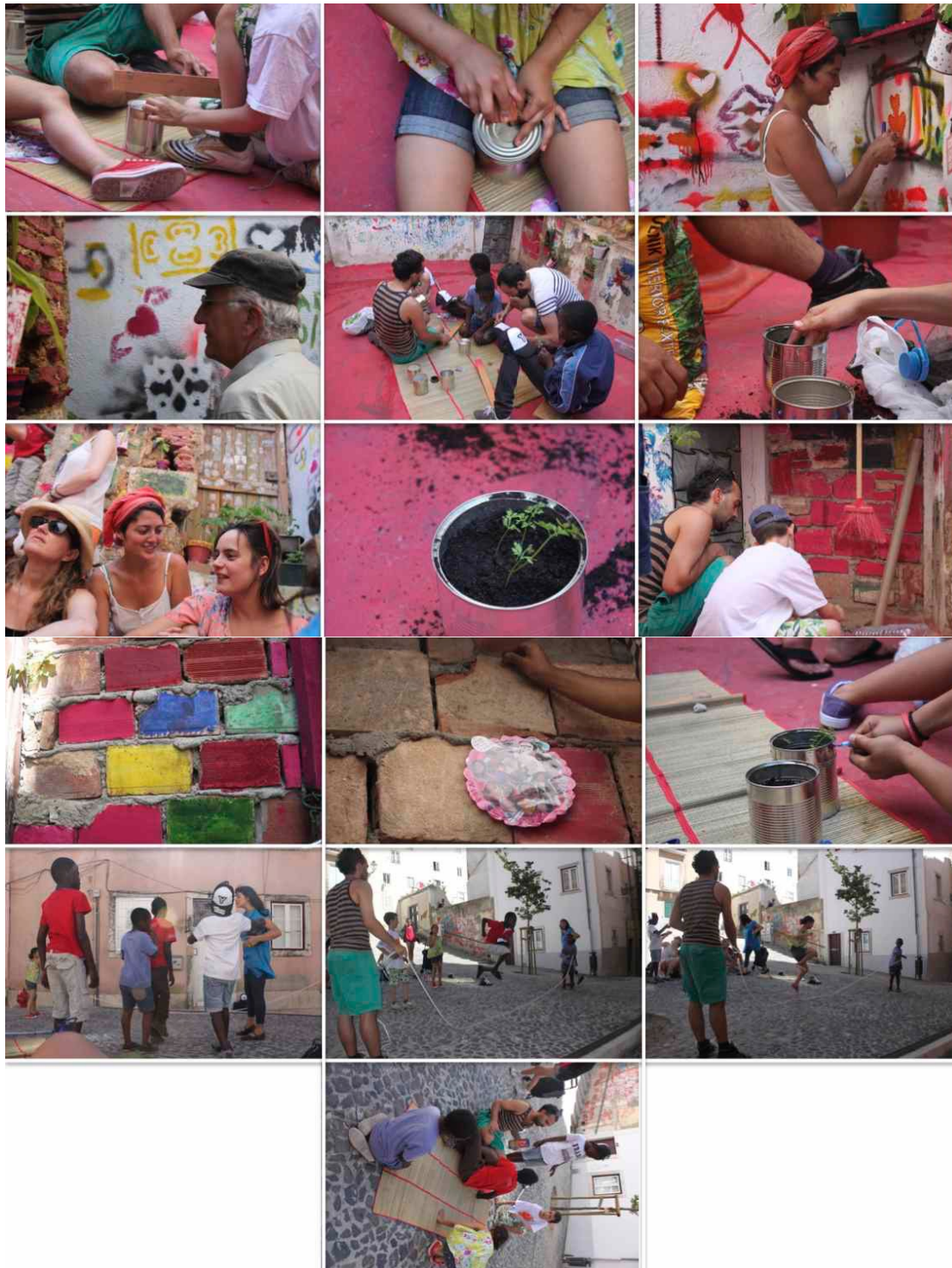


Figure 69: REVOADA, 22nd June.

Photos numbered 1 to 16 from top to bottom, left to right: 1. In the house; 2. Vera making holes in a can; 3. Adriana; 4. Juan, who gave the first seeds that were planted in the house; 5. Lincoln, Mário, Mané, João, Pedro and Camará; 6. Planting; 7. África's friend, Adriana and África; 8. The plants growing; 9. Lincoln and Mário; 10. The house, decorated; 11. A photo collage made by the children; 12. Decorating a pot; 13. Vera, Garcia, João, Mané, Camará and Patrícia in Largo da Achada; 14 and 15. Skipping rope at Largo da Achada; 16. Having a snack in the square. Luís Gerald Fonseca took the photos from the session.

In this meeting Juan came to visit the house. He had given Adriana and Lincoln the first seeds that were planted and had already grown. The session was dispersed, with many people showing up and staying just for a short while. There was the continuation of a discussion about the night of the

- REVOADA, 29st June, Saturday



Figure 71: REVOADA, 29th June.

Photos numbered 1 to 8 from top to bottom, left to right: 1 to 4. The children playing around the fountain with water balloons; 5. A neighbour watching them; 6 to 8. A view from the square; Ana Raquel and Marco's mother is helping fill the balloons (see photos 1, 2 and 6 to 8). Pedro took the photos from the session.

This Saturday the weather was extremely hot, well above 35°C, making it hard to stay in the house or at Largo da Achada. The children decided the only sensible thing to do was to throw water balloons at each other in the fountain close to Largo da Achada. Pedro, Lyncoln, Adriana, myself, Marco's and Ana Raquel's mother, Vera, Rita, Sónia, João, Camará, Mané, Marco, Ana Raquel and Garcia joined the session.

- REVOADA – camp, book launch at Pedras festival, 2nd July, Tuesday





Figure 72: REVOADA, 2nd July.

Photos numbered 1 to 25 from top to bottom, left to right: 1 to 4. The group sleeping in the square; 5. Lyncoln, Alex, Adriana, João and me; 6. Lyncoln, me and Adriana; 7. Mário, Ana Raquel and Rita; 8. Margarida, sleeping; 9. Mário and Alex; 10. Vera; 11. Alex, Mário, Camila and Ana Raquel; 12. Mário; 13. The group sleeping; 14. Mário and Camila; 15. Mário and Camila in the foreground with Elda sleeping in the background; 16. The group sleeping; 17. The group sleeping and a neighbour in the background wearing a sleeping gown and taking a photo; 18. Me combing Nila's hair in the morning; 19. The group in the morning; 20. Maria; 21. Ambre and her mother making her a hair do; 22. Nila, Elda, Manoj, Arogya and me in the morning; 23 and 24. Ambre and Mário on top of the house; 25. A boy that lived in the square, Ambre, Lyncoln and Mário in the house. I, Alex Campos and João Camargo, took the photos.

The last meeting of REVOADA happened at 7.30 p.m. of 2nd July. The dinner, consisting of salads of different types, was prepared together in the square, mostly by the adults but the children also participated. After dinner, a film by Alex Campos was projected in the 9-9A outer wall. The projection was far away from the children, who were sitting in the square, and most of them did not pay much attention and were talking to their friends instead. After the projection, people started going to sleep. A group of four children (Mário, Ana Raquel, Rita and Vera) tried to stay awake all night but by 2 a.m. they were also asleep. Lyncoln, Adriana and I took turns sleeping so that there

would always be one of us awake in case someone needed to go to the bathroom and making sure nothing happened to the groups' belongings. Lyncoln, Adriana, me, Alex, João, Inês (Rita and Vera's older sister), Inês' boyfriend, Rita, Vera, Ana Raquel, Sónia, Maria, Mário, Carolina, Nila, Nila's friend, Manoj, Elda, Inês (the teacher), Margarida, Sofia, Susana, Pedro, Arogya, Ambre and her parents, Malisha and his mother, Jesus, Raúl, Camila, Iria and Bernardo slept in the square.

In the morning, we had breakfast and after that the book was launched. Some people did not sleep in the square and came especially for that. Before the book was distributed, everyone held hands for one last time creating a large circle at Largo da Achada, saying their names as a farewell ceremony.

Some of the neighbours from the square joined the group, as did D. Lívia, of the school's staff, the school's representative at Escola Gil Vicente, and some other adults, friends of people in the group.

The books were then handed out; two copies were given to each person. The children were curious about the book and happy to find their photos and drawings in it.

After a while, the group dispersed, the people from c.e.m had other activities related to the festival and the children also left. People dispersed naturally without much ado because they would still run into each other during the festival, which lasted until the 6th July.

- Book “9-9^A As histórias de um buraco ou as aventuras de um prédio interrompido” [“9-9A The stories of a hole or the adventures of an interrupted building”]

The book is available online (at <https://eudocumento.files.wordpress.com/2013/04/capa.pdf> and cover at https://eudocumento.files.wordpress.com/2013/04/livro_final_.pdf). It consists of a story

written by Lyncoln⁷⁸ and more collages of photos from the REVOADA sessions, drawings and texts about the house made by the children. Lyncoln's story is based on the idea from some of the children's writings that the house is a subject itself, with a personality and its own desires (cf. the children's texts in Figure 36, for example). The story is written in the third person and the main character is the building in Largo da Achada. In short, the idea is that the house was very sad because it could not travel around the world but it found a way of imaginary travelling through the people that lived in it. With time it became degraded, the people stopped living there, the walls were torn down and the rooftop was pulled out, but the house continued to exist, and fighting against abandonment. The story ends with an invitation to whoever may come across such a house, not to be afraid to walk in and to explore it.

⁷⁸ "Many years ago, a house was born that had in itself a will that was uncommon to houses. It had a travelling spirit, a restless desire not to stay in the same place - it wanted above all to walk around. It just so happens that when it was built, distracted, they left there, in the middle of the bricks, someone's dream. Its walls, floor, ceiling, every window and every door were made, not only by hands, but also by the arms, legs, hearts, hugs and, yes, by people's dreams. In that house resided a living desire to move around the world.

However, no matter how hard it tried, it could not leave the floor where it once had settled in.

When it became an address in the square it is until now, it was lonelier.

There were other neighbours, but they were few and distant. And the great space that existed between them made it feel less distressed for not having legs and being able to move from one place to the next.

If the dreams left through any hole in the wall they ran into a long grass field to roll around before going back in. If the arms left out the window, they could stretch and wave at someone far away. If through the door came legs to drop off a letter, they walked for many meters until finding their destiny. If a voice from within wanted to call someone passing by the street, the dream was strong and stretched to reach the ears of the people passing by.

Little by little buildings began being constructed that were raised not out of a will to become a home, but from a strange intension of being occupied by someone unknown, who had not been involved in the building of the new house and had never even dreamed of living there.

Suddenly, the houses started being built without the will and the dreams of someone, even without anyone to inhabit them. There were even houses built with no desire at all.

As time went by, more houses built by people appeared around it.

That made it feel sad, not because it had closer company, but because it started feeling each time tighter, with less space, feeling even more trapped and paralysed. That made it feel rebellious, it had a strong desire to collapse, to change colour, to shrink or to dissolve into thin air. It thought that a house with dreams should not live so tight, and that increased its anguish and desire to, at least once in a while, move.

After years and years passed by of tremendous rebellion, trying to walk on the loose and scaring who was inside it with noises and anguished tremors for not being able to get loose from the ground, the house learnt, with the help of the trees nearby and with the rocks inside its walls, the wisdom to travel and getting to know the world having no legs and staying in the same place.

It concentrated and let the movements come from far away, always telling it different things.

It realised, at last, that the place it was in was never the same, in spite of not giving one step forwards or backwards.

All it had to do was to listen to other movements besides walking from one place to the next, and with patience it discovered that the floor did not have to move for it to find stories.

There was a dog that once in a while fetched a spoon or the foot of a chair and used it as a toy, or that lady who brought gifts and souvenirs from other countries, the kids who made a mess out of everything, dragging the furniture, rearranging the rooms and releasing the dust from the most forgotten corners. Hence, it began travelling and roaming universes without leaving the place it was in.

One thing it found out then was that, the least alone it got, the more people came in and out, more things it knew. It realised hence, that if it had company, longer and more intense became its adventures.

It would not move, at least that is what it looked like, and everyone that walked in and out of it came from roads and paths, closer or further away, climbed up, down and got there. So, each time the house welcomed someone, it got some news from the outside, always offering a piece of news that it found under the table or inside a drawer.

The fierce address wanted to keep that dream alive, the dream that existed in it since it was born and that made it be so alive and full of desires. The people living there learnt that the house in itself was not a refuge where the world ends. Each time someone left they took with them, even without knowing, a piece from the house, and little by little realised that the house was not a fixed place, and it can continue in every rock they stepped on, every landscape they looked at.

The house can continue around the world and the world can continue inside the house.

The most curious thing is that, even if a piece of the house went for a walk, it continued there, without crushing from all those wanderings.

That is why the daring and dreaming house did not want to remain full or empty. It wanted much more to be occupied. It wanted to hear and exchange stories with new people. It reminded the house of the importance of not being tied down, that the houses change, the people change houses and moving like that is also getting to know the world.

The years changed, the dwellers changed and even the house did. It enjoyed those movements so much it became a mutant building, constantly changing. Each day, and even today, it always changes aspect and accepts bravely each new shape it gets. With each new appearance it gets, it invents, daringly, new ways not to be interrupted in its saga to be inhabited by different meetings and stories.

The bricks fall every day, the cracks grow in the walls and the floor sinks further in the ground.

At the same time, the plants grow in its cracks.

The cats nap there.

And it never feels messed up.

It even resisted when people started being afraid to sleep there.

Its houses and windows were covered up, it was cut in half and its rooftop was pulled out.

It knew it was always possible to remain a house. It promised itself that the strength to be inhabited was stronger than the strength to be abandoned.

Whoever may find such a house one day, do not be scared off by the appearances, enter it, even if the doors are covered by concrete. Get closer, touch the walls, step of the floor, sit down and take your time, colour the fading walls. Let the stories be remembered. Because there are always ways in, as long as people want to be inside the house.

A house never wants to be abandoned.

A house lives."

Analysis of the episode

In conclusion, this episode depicts in detail the extension the project THE BODY AT SCHOOL had in the year of 2012/2013 towards the neighbourhood and the community. In that year, because of the way the teachers chose to organise the sessions and the artists' response to it, THE BODY AT SCHOOL actually had less weight inside the school (even though that dimension was also continued) than in the relationship with the neighbourhood. In that way, this episode also illustrates the flexibility of the project and what the artists meant in their interviews when they said they constantly reinvented themselves and the project.

REVOADA was a very long process and, over time, it managed truly to involve the community and many people joined it: the children, their families, the teachers, the artists from c.e.m, and the people from the neighbourhood also got engaged in the process. All these people of such different ages and life experiences worked together. REVOADA was a moment when the generational differences were blurred. The fact that the teachers Elda and Inês joined the sessions, and that Elda even brought her daughters, created a moment when the children had a different relationship with their teachers. In those sessions, the hierarchy between them was blurred, creating different possibilities of communication.

Moreover, the REVOADA sessions became a meeting point for students who had already left Escola da Madalena but who wanted to continue meeting with their former teachers, colleagues and friends on their own time. In the fourth episode, Ana Raquel and Isabel predicted this and asked if in the following year they would be able to attend the sessions of the project, despite studying at another school. The fact that many of the children who had left the school still joined on weekends and during their holidays demonstrated the humane and relational importance of the project.

Another important dimension of the project shown in this episode was the transformative potential of learning. In this case, it showed the children that learning does not have to be passive and centred on the individual. It can be a collective process, where, once again, the children learnt by doing. In this case, the focus of the project was not only relation, but also urban and ecological.

The urban aspect of the meetings started with the curiosity of the children about the story of the former building and what had happened to it. The children were familiar with poverty and the idea that a family might have been left homeless after their house was destroyed was a worry for them. By asking around and interviewing the people in the neighbourhood, the children became aware of the process of change that Mouraria was going through. The gentrification of Mouraria has been discussed in Chapter 2, and most children lived in Mouraria and witnessed the construction work in the public areas, but many had never realised the number of empty buildings in their

neighbourhood. Indeed, the number of empty buildings in Lisbon is very high; according to official numbers there are 4665 empty buildings in the city, corresponding to a staggering 8.7% of all buildings; 4568 buildings need deep renovations and that corresponds to 8.1% of the total (Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 2009). The project, conducted in the ruins of a building (that belonged to the City Hall) in Mouraria, opened the children's perception to the necessity of solving the housing problem many people experience, as will be discussed further, particularly in Margarida's interview.

Also in terms of the urban aspect of the project, throughout the process, the fact that the building had been a house where people had lived became an increasingly fascinating theme for the children. Their investigation with the neighbours only intensified their interest in the matter and the idea of doing things inside the hole that are regularly done in a house was fascinating for them. They enjoyed imagining who had lived in the house and how the house was decorated before. The idea of sleeping in the building came up very naturally. Because the space inside the building was too small, it was moved to the square. The details for the sleepover such as where to sleep, what to use for sleeping (blankets, sleeping bags, mattresses, etc.), what to have for dinner, for breakfast, where to go to the toilet, were discussed with the children throughout several meetings.

The decision-making process of the project was led by Lyncoln and Adriana and then discussed in the meetings. In each session, after being inside the building, there was a meeting in the square to have a snack and talk about the session and discuss the plan for the following days. Everyone's opinions were heard and respected. Lyncoln and Adriana's choices were related to the kind of plastic materials to explore in the sessions (it was their idea to introduce the vegetables as stamps and the graffiti, or to paint the floor red, for example). But what each person did in each session was of their own choosing: if they wanted to plant, or preferred to paint, and to paint what with which material in which colours, or if they just wanted to sit on the wall and talk to their friends — those were all treated as valid choices.

Adriana described the process very clearly in her interview:

“I think it was a creation, really, between everyone, even if we [Lyncoln and Adriana] took the... if we were the engine of it, in the sense that in every session we proposed, invited, but it was a work that was built together, that was built together and in the end, in the camp, for me it was super special that the teachers came, some fathers and mothers sleeping there with us, in a place where we never meet, which is the street, let alone sleep!”⁷⁹ (Reyes, interview).

Adriana expressed the idea of the unlikelihood of the events that took place in REVOADA to have ever happened, an idea we would like to develop further. According to Valentine (2010), children have been excluded from the public space, separated from adults, in space and time, as they are

⁷⁹ “Adriana: Acho que foi uma criação, mesmo, entre toda e todos, por muito que nós levássemos a... que fôssemos o motor disso, no sentido de que em cada sessão propor, convidar, mas foi um trabalho que se construiu em conjunto, que se construiu conjuntamente e que no final, na acampada, para mim foi super especial que viessem as professoras, alguns pais e mães a dormir lá com a gente, num lugar onde nunca nos encontramos, que é a rua, e ainda menos todos a dormir!”

usually not allowed in certain places at certain hours. The streets have become places where people spend increasingly less time, the children in particular. The habit of going outside to meet other people in the streets and to stay there has become uncommon, and choosing to sleep in the street, with children in particular, was something on the verge of the impossibility.

According to Buss-Simão (2012), spaces are identified by what happens in them, by what is or is not possible to do in them, be it because they have been built for some specific purpose, or because they have been used in a specific manner. A place set out in a way, predisposes an experience of the bodily dimension, of how that body can be experimented with, what the place allows for and what its limits are. The way the spaces are internally disposed contains normative determinations, rules of behaviour that indicate what should and should not be done in them, if there is, or not, the possibility of movement (Buss-Simão, 2012: 261).

The ruins of a former residential building were not a welcoming space designed for children. The welcoming space they became, instead, was a product of the children's and the adults' actions to change that space and to transform it into something else, in a shared process. In the process of REVOADA the tendency of the space to be abandoned was overcome by the action of the children and the adults involved in the process, making it a fertile and homely area.

The ecological importance of the REVOADA sessions was evident in one of the main activities of the meetings, the building of a garden. The awareness given to the different stages of planting the seeds was evident, as was the combination of REVOADA sessions with sciences classes with the whole classroom. In a more subtle way, the work that was done in terms of recycling and reusing material was also important (and also mentioned by Margarida and Vera in their interviews). The seeds themselves were representative of this; they were seeds from the communal garden at "Horta do Monte", which was destroyed under the City Hall's orders in the meantime. In that way, the children's garden became a continuation of "Horta do Monte". The furniture that was brought to the ruins of the building was also recycled from other people's garbage, and even the use given to the material (turning empty cans into flower pots, or a drawer into a flower pot holder, for example) was intended to allow the children to explore how different objects could be reused, and was also mentioned by them in their interviews.

The relationship that was created among the children and the other people in the neighbourhood, particularly when they were making interviews, and with the structures of the area (cafes, restaurants, a hairdresser or the cultural centre in Largo da Achada) gave them a spatial awareness of the community that became another important dimension of the project.

Finally, REVOADA was probably only possible because of the previous work with the community that c.e.m had done. It was a site-specific project and for it to have happened and to have evolved the way it did, a lot of time, dedication and work were necessary.

Summary and conclusion of the chapter

In this chapter, we have analysed five episodes that were chosen to illustrate particularly important aspects of the project THE BODY AT SCHOOL. What follows is a short summary of the key findings and interim conclusions from each episode.

The first episode was a description of a session in the school year of 2011/2012, demonstrating in detail the structure of the sessions and how the curricular and the artistic contents were integrated in the project. We have also addressed the importance of the act of documenting by the children. The ritualistic dimension of the sessions, marked by the moment of clearing the room from tables, chairs and backpacks, had a goal of signalling to the children the beginning of something different. However, this separation from their daily activities, as we will argue, might also have led to the children's recognition of the temporal limitation of the project, specifically discussed by the children in their interviews.

About the first research question, this episode allowed us to discuss how the open-ended exercises applied in the sessions had no correct or expected result, which valued the children's own work and personality. At the same time, the children were not treated childishly (when the materials used could be materials designed for adults, they were chosen over simplified or adapted versions for children, for example, the anatomy book used) and the children were expected to put effort into their works. These works produced by the children in the sessions were a documentation of the session in the sense that they were the end result, or product, from the activities; as a way of strengthening the children's learning from the sessions, connecting it at the same time with their previous (formal, non formal or informal) learning. Lastly, they were also a connection point between the teachers and their regular classes, and the sessions of the project. In that sense, the documentation was, we argue, a way of disrupting the afore-mentioned temporal limitation of the project, that is, a guarantee of the temporal continuation of the project (albeit, in a larger timeframe, the project always remained temporarily limited).

The first episode also contributed to answering the third research question, as this episode allowed us to explore how the children managed their bodies in the sessions and we argue that the anonymity of being part of a group moving at the same time reduced the pressure of being watched and, hence, stimulated the children's empowerment over how much they wished to expose

themselves to the others. This first episode provided a first glimpse of how the matter of hierarchy inside the classroom was addressed, with the adults performing the same tasks as the children. However, this does not mean that there was not a relation of power between adults and children; but it was one of the strategies deployed by the dance association to create “ethical symmetry” (Christensen and Prout, 2002) between everyone involved and this matter was also detailed in other episodes and will be discussed in the chapter dedicated to the interviews.

The second episode was the session the children taught to the adults of c.e.m, and it illustrated an example of how the roles traditionally assigned to students and teachers can be deconstructed. It showed the children’s creative and multidisciplinary thought when preparing the class. It certainly shed some light into two of our research questions: the second, about how would the children react when developing a project of their own; and the fifth, about how the hierarchy between teacher and students could be challenged.

The experience lived by the children in this episode put them temporarily in the role of the teachers, and we have seen how the children organised and prepared for it. The fact that the role reversal was only momentary was a topic of discussion of the children in their interviews. In this episode, it was noteworthy how the children worked as a team, with their spokesperson being respected by the rest of the group almost at all times. Moreover, the children made sure their class was done professionally, that is, that there was a detailed plan that was followed through and there was a specific concern by the children that the adults understood the contents of the class (a concern made evident in the feedback round and in the children’s reports of the session).

The choices made by the children in this episode were also their way of criticising their traditional classes. When given the possibility of planning any class of any type, the children chose a class where their students would not be passive or with their bodies restrained. They imagined a creative class with group and individual dynamics, a class that mixed formal school elements with creativity exercises and a class that, nonetheless, focused on a useful and efficient learning.

We addressed the oppressive or paternalistic behaviours sometimes expressed and performed by the adults in the session, even if unwittingly, and how they proved that it is very hard to come close to a situation of equality between adults and children, particularly in a school, or school-related context, where there is a strong feeling that the adults teach and the children learn, rather than considering learning a multidirectional process. The children’s reactions contradicted this idea, as they prepared for the class, taught it and, as we discussed, also successfully negotiated the tensions among them, e.g. as described between Isabel and Ana Raquel.

The third episode was an improvisation exercise in a session at school that exemplified how the arts can enhance the children's development and relationship with others, that is, how an arts-based research stimulated moments of "epiphany", or "priming event" (borrowing terms from Denzin and Lincoln, 2005; and Corsaro and Molinari, 2000; respectively) in the children's lives. In this case, Georgiana was so involved in the construction of her performance that her own presence, that is, the way she usually conducted herself at school, changed as she became the centre of attention and main actress in the exercise.

This episode proved to be an important factor to answering the third research question, which is about ways of approaching equality between the children, namely in terms of gender, ethnicity and development. We argue that the project and the way the sessions were structured regarded the children and their bodies not as fixed entities, but as flexible, complex and multi-layered and in the way the sessions were designed their "body as project" (Christensen, 1999, 2000) was given a vaster array of possibilities of learning, relating and being than they would get access to if the children only had their regular classes.

The fourth episode was the making of a book with stories and drawings made by the children. It described the process through which the children developed a project of their own and learnt how to do it precisely by doing it. It focused on the children's ability of cultural production and valued their formal and informal knowledge. Therefore, it was related to our second and fourth research questions. The children's development of a project chosen by them led them to the creation of a "collaboratively emergent" narrative (Sawyer, 2011) and to the experience of a shared decision-making process. In this process, the children's different knowledge was valued and used in the construction of a more complex narrative (we gave examples in biology, geography and story writing). Indirectly, this episode also related to our first research question, in the sense that it was another example of how an artistically based exercise potentiated and stimulated the children.

The last episode took place in the school year of 2013/2014 and described the NEIGHBOURS project, exemplifying how the project involved the community of Mouraria, hence, it is one important element to answering our last research question. This episode, we argue, is also useful to illustrate different matters of the project **THE BODY AT SCHOOL**.

On the one hand, it was a long process that eventually became an extension of the school inserted, connected and working from within the community. The children, their families, the teachers, the artists from c.e.m, the people and structures from the neighbourhood all got involved in what happened, as we argued, on the verge of impossibility. This idea of REVOADA having been nearly impossible, but eventually real, was present in the artists' thoughts throughout the several months that the project lasted. What made the sessions on this "verge of impossibility" was firstly the high

level of participation. The artists from c.e.m. were not sure the sessions on a Saturday would attract the children's attendance but they did not only do so, but the teachers also came (Elda even brought her daughters along), and eventually even the sessions at school started happening in the ruins of the building instead.

Secondly, the basic idea of inhabiting the ruins of an empty building was risky, even more so with children, because their families or the people and structures from the neighbourhood could have reacted in an unpredictable way. After all, there was no paperwork involved in the sessions and no insurance was made on anyone. Moreover, despite the high rate of empty buildings, the Portuguese society in general does not see squatting under a positive light; it is often the neighbours from squatters who denounce the occupation to the police. Furthermore, the neighbourhood was going through a gentrification process, and at the same time the older residents became at risk of being evicted because of the new lease law, leading to an increased awareness to what was going on with the houses of the neighbourhood. All these factors independently or combined could have resulted in an obstacle to the sessions.

Thirdly, the habitation and transformation of the ruins went against the rules of behaviour in an empty, old, decaying, space, where the possibility of movement was, according to its normative determination (as referred by Buss-Simão; 2012), inexistent. The adults and the children involved in the REVOADA sessions happily opposed this normative determination. Additionally, as addressed by Adriana in her interview, the streets have become uninhabited and the people have stopped meeting in the streets, which have been reduced to a means of going from one place to the next. The transformation of the ruins and the sleepover in the square with the children, their families and their teachers, was the culmination in the series of impossible events that became real.

On the other hand, the last episode was another moment when the traditional school hierarchy was minimised. The sessions outside school reinforced the blurring of the generational differences and of the hierarchy between the teachers, their students, the artists and the former students. This episode, as we discussed, was another shared decision-making process between everyone involved, albeit led by the two artists from the dance association. Moreover, the NEIGHBOURS sessions demonstrated how the project stimulated a learning process that was collective and active and that had a relational, urban and ecological component where the children (and the adults) learnt new things (for example, how to paint a wall or grow a seed) by doing them.

In the following two chapters we address the children's, the artists' and the teachers' views of the project, with the analysis and discussion of their interviews. In the children's case, the drawings they have made about the project were also considered as a contribution to a more complete, polyphonic approach to their views of the project **THE BODY AT SCHOOL**.

Chapter 5 – The children's voice about the project

Thus far in this thesis we have described Mouraria, where the project THE BODY AT SCHOOL happened, and presented the project itself. In the previous chapter we described and analysed five episodes that illustrate different themes of the project and help providing answers to our research questions.

In this chapter and in the following we shall address the direct voice of the intervenients the project had, analysing and discussing their interviews. In this chapter, we address the children's interviews, and we begin by looking into the drawings they made about the project. Their drawings are a contribution to a more complete, polyphonic approach to their views of the project. The interviews were conducted by me, they were semi-structured and during the process I encouraged the children to speak freely and honestly and tried not to lead the answers, as we discussed in Chapter 2. With that in mind, we gathered answers from the maximum number of people possible.

In total eleven children were interviewed individually between January and December 2013. The children decided where they wanted the interview to take place. Before the interview began there was a short introduction where the goal of the interview was explained, we explained to the children that they did not have to answer any questions if they did not want to and that we were not looking for one specific answer, but to their opinion, that is, that there were no wrong answers. The interview could be interrupted before the end if the children wanted to stop. We explained how the data gathered would be processed and asked if they wanted to participate in the interview. They all accepted. The script of the interview predefined the set of questions asked, following the same basic structure, which was then adapted according to the circumstances. The questions were:

1. What do you remember from the sessions?
2. What did you think of the sessions? Why were they... (the adjective they chose)?
3. How were the sessions structured?
4. How were they important for your learning? And your colleagues'?
5. Was it important to be able to participate in the structure of the sessions? How?
6. Can you describe the experience of making the book?
7. Can you explain the experience of teaching a class to the adults of c.e.m?
8. How would you explain the project to someone else?

In the previous chapter we discussed how each episode allowed us to answer our research questions. We shall now explain how we conducted the same process for the interviews. The question "What

do you remember from the sessions?” was used as an ice breaker, and also to answer the first research question, about the influence the project had in the children’s learning and growth. The question “What did you think of the sessions? Why were they... (the adjective they chose)?” served to indirectly answer our first and third research questions (the third research question was about the exercises of the project that minimised the influence of gender, ethnicity and developmental differences among the children). The question “How were they important for your learning? And your colleagues’?” was important to answering our first research question and also to indirectly answer our third research question.

As far as the question about the importance of participating in the structure of the sessions, it was clearly a way of finding answers to the fifth research question, about the hierarchy inside the classroom. Regarding the question about the making of the book, it was used to answer the second research question, about how the children felt about developing a project of their own at school, and, indirectly, the fourth and the fifth research questions. The question about teaching a class to the group of adults was also used to answer the second, fourth and fifth research questions.

The third and eighth questions were not designed to answer any of the research questions in particular. The question “How were the sessions structured?” was a follow up question from the first evaluation of the project, by Daniela Mourão and João Teixeira Lopes, who asked the children the same question in their interviews. Because the circumstance of the two studies is different and the children we interviewed remembered the structure of the sessions, we decided not to discuss this question. Regarding the last question, it was a means of getting additional information from the children, of understanding which part of the project they considered the most important, but it did not answer one research question in particular.

The structure of the interviews was malleable, and changed according to the answers given by the children and to the personality and background of each child. The reason why there was no question destined to answer the sixth research question, about the relationship between the school and the community in the REVOADA process, in the original script was because many interviews were conducted before the REVOADA sessions happened and others took place in the very early stages of REVOADA. Most of the children interviewed participated in the first two years of the fieldwork and, hence, many of them did not take part in the REVOADA sessions. Those who did, however, were asked about it and their opinions were used to answer the last research question. The basic script of the interviews was decided after we already had an idea of the episodes we would choose to analyse and, hence, there is a link between the two, giving us more profound information about the selected episodes.

As explained in Chapter 2, the interviews were audio-recorded and then transcribed into text. We did the content analysis of the text, pooled the results from the interviews into four dimensions (self, peers, school and c.e.m) and inside these dimensions created the categories of analysis. In the children's interviews, the categories were: family, class contents, sessions, teachers and school workers, relationship, learning, children participation, qualification/evaluation of the sessions, REVOADA, drawing explanation and children interviewing me. Then, in each category, we did the discourse analysis of all the interviews of the children. In this process, the children's answers were compiled into eight major topics: effects of the sessions, uncertainty of roles, role reversal, participation in the shaping of the sessions, work vs. fun, autobiography and collective book and REVOADA.

The results from the interviews are described beneath, summarised and organised. Nine of the twelve children of the first two years of fieldwork and two children from the last year of fieldwork were interviewed: Ana, Catarina, Davi, Diogo, Emília, Isabel, Nelson, Rita and Sónia. From the first two years of the work, three children were not interviewed. They were Pedro, Mário and Beatriz and I did not talk to them because at the time the interviews happened, I had lost track of them. The two girls from the last year of the study who were interviewed were Margarida (age 10, she had finished 4th grade at the time of the interview) and Vera (age 9, who had finished 3rd grade) and they were both interviewed separately in September 2013, because they both had older sisters in the 2011/2012 class and, after them, they had both also participated in the project and in all other c.e.m's activities with children.

During the interviews, I showed the children some of the video material I had from the sessions, edited into a ten minute clip. We discussed the video and after answering the questions, the children were asked to make a drawing representing how they felt about the project, followed by their own explanation of the drawing they had made. The process of drawing and the explanation were recorded and transcribed; the explanation was used for the interpretation of the drawings. The children had the artistic freedom to choose how they made their drawings. They had thirty-six different colouring pens they could use and they spent between five to fifteen minutes making the drawing. How long they took depended on them.

As detailed in Chapter 2, the drawings were analysed using the work of Coates and Coates (2011) and Fulková and Tipton (2011).

We will begin the analysis of the interviews by looking at the drawings they made, their explanation and our interpretations. Before each drawing is described, there is a short presentation of each child. Because the drawings are at the centre of this section, rather than giving each drawing its

author's name as a title, we have opted for deriving a title from the drawings' analysis or from the children's explanation. In order to respect the children's privacy, their surname was erased from the drawing in the cases of the children who chose to sign their first and last names (Emília, Catarina, Diogo and Rita).

The drawings

A sunny day and two houses by the sea side



Figure 73: Emília's drawing

Emília was born in Sao Tomé and moved to Portugal when she was twelve years old. Portuguese was not her first language and she was still not completely fluent in it at the time of the interview. She moved to Portugal with her father and stepmother, leaving her mother, brothers and sisters in Sao Tomé. When she arrived, she was placed in 6th grade at Escola Gil Vicente. Because she could neither read nor write, her head teacher established an exchange program with Escola da Madalena, where Emília spent one morning every week, in order to work on the basic skills she had not yet acquired. During the first year of the project the day she spent in Escola da Madalena was not the same day we were there, therefore she only participated in very few sessions during the first year. During the second year, her morning at Escola da Madalena was in the same day the project happened there, so we worked together. At first she hardly participated in the sessions, but with time became a very keen contributor. Even though she was frequently invited to come, she never joined c.e.m's after-school dance classes. She had younger family members to look after and she had many

housework tasks to do, such as doing the laundry, hanging and folding it. In the second year of the project, she could read and write with some difficulty. She was considered a student with special needs and, in her regular classes, she was given different work from the rest of the class and found limited interest in the classes' contents. At the moment of her interview, she still had private tutoring classes and speech therapy sessions at Escola Gil Vicente. Her interview was conducted in a public square in front of her home and she was fourteen years old at the time. Her first name was Marizette and Emília was her second name. At school she was always called Marizette, but when I interviewed her, she told me she preferred to go by Emília. Hence, I always refer to her as Emília in this thesis, but the teachers mentioned Marizette in their interview and in her drawing she signed as Marizette

Emília drew a sunny day and two houses by the sea side. At first she had drawn only one house, but in the end she opted for drawing a second one (in black) "so that it's not an island of only one house".⁸⁰ She explained the pink house was where two couples (I think she meant two people) lived, "they decided to buy a house near a beach, so that in the summer they can see the wind more; like that it isn't too hot".⁸¹ On the first floor of the house, in the living room there is a flower (in green) on top of a table, and there is another in pink in a balcony just outside the house. In front of the pink house there are some stairs and a door. She signed her name in light blue at the left hand upper corner of the sheet.

The drawing has very few fine details. The choice of colours is realistic (the blue sea, the yellow sun, the grey house and the red table, a pink house and a green flower). The choices that may seem unrealistic at first make sense in terms of the contrast with the white paper (a blue cloud and red people).

Some of the aspects highlighted by, among others Coates and Coates (2011), are present in Emília's drawing, such as the use of the line as the technical basis for the drawing, the development of personal schemas (such as the characters' facial features), the drawing of a base line (in Emília's case, the sea) and a sky line, mixing of planes and front elevations (the couple is drawn unrealistically close to the viewer), the disjuncture of scale (according to the importance of the parts, the couple and the table with the flower are drawn with a larger proportion than what would be correct), intellectual realism (abstract elements that exist in the mind of the person drawing, or that could not be visible from the artist's viewpoint, such as her explanation of the couple's decision to buy a house near the sea "so that they could see the wind more, like that it isn't too hot"), the tendency to avoid

⁸⁰ "Emília: para não ficar uma ilha só duma casa"

⁸¹ "Emília: decidiram comprar uma casa perto duma praia, para no verão ver mais o vento, assim já não é muito calor."

overlapping and x-ray pictures (the table with the flower on the first floor of the pink house is seen from the outside).

She explained that she decided to create this story to represent the project's sessions because a similar story could have been written as a session's work, except that it would normally have been written collectively ("Emília: there at school we used to make stories like this, almost like this, but they did not belong to just one person, they were made by many people; we would put this story together to get just one result"⁸²).

The presence of the sea is obviously very relevant in the drawing, covering practically half the page. Water is an element very present in her home country (São Tomé is an island) and also in Lisbon, which is situated by the riverside and Emília lives and studies very close to the Tagus. The reference to the heat and to water's soothing effect on the temperature can also be traced back to São Tomé and Lisbon at the same time, where in the summer temperatures are often also quite high, but the river's influence reduces the feeling of heat.

When asked to make a drawing representing the project, Emília drew an environment reminiscent of her native island and that can mean that she associated the two positive past memories from a time that has passed and a moment in her life she knows she will not have again, together in one drawing. This choice is similar, as we shall see, to what Catarina, Ana Raquel and Isabel chose to portray in their drawings. Moreover, the fact she drew a relatively uninhabited island (the whole island seems to have only two families) and only one couple appear in the drawing might be a reference to her feeling alone in Lisbon, missing her family, and/or her former colleagues and teacher from the time she was at Escola da Madalena.

⁸² "Emília: lá na escola era uma história desse género que nós fazíamos, quase parecido, mas só que não era só de uma pessoa, era de muitas pessoas, juntávamos essa história para dar só um resultado."

Five people



Figure 74: Catarina's drawing.

Catarina has a younger sister, Margarida, two years younger than her, who also attended Escola da Madalena and afterwards Escola Gil Vicente. Both sisters lived separately; Catarina lived with her paternal grandparents, Margarida with her maternal grandmother and mother. They all lived in Mouraria and the girls often had sleepovers at each other's home. Their mother is Cape-Verdean and a recovering drug addict. Their father was arrested for buying drugs in the same case where Nelson's father was sentenced to jail. The "Comissão de Proteção da Criança e do Jovem" ["Commission for Protection of the Child and Teenager"] was monitoring her and her family. Catarina loved going to school, was at the time an excellent student and loved writing poems. During the second year of the project and since leaving Escola da Madalena, her grades lowered, but she remained interested in school. After leaving Escola da Madalena, she attended Escola Passos Manuel, where she was placed in a different class from Rita, the only other student from that group moving to that school. The interview was done on two different days because on the first day I did not bring my computer, so I showed her the videos only on the second day. On both occasions her interview was conducted in a public square in front of her home and on the first day a friend and neighbour of hers, Núria, joined us. While we were in the middle of that first interview, Lyncoln also showed up and sat next to us, while he was waiting for an acupuncture consultation he had in a building in the same square. Catarina was twelve years old at the time of the interview.

Catarina drew a simple drawing with five people, all about the same size, approximately one third of the height of the sheet of paper placed horizontally. They are all in the same plane at the centre of the sheet and are separated by the same distance between them. There is a light green line

uniting the left hand of each character to the right hand of the following one. She explained the green line represented friendship. From left to right, the second and the fifth figure are boys and the remaining three characters are girls. The girls were drawn wearing long sleeves and not showing the hands whilst the boys are wearing short sleeves and their arms and hands are clearly drawn. All the characters have dark brown hair, dark brown eyes and a red mouth, smiling, but in all other traits look very distinct from each other. The characters' legs and face (and, in the boys' case, also the arms and hands) are drawn in light pink, and the inside was left white, only showing the body's silhouette, by not painting the skin itself. All the girls wear the same kind of dress, turtle-necked, long-sleeved and knee long, but in different colours. They are also all wearing the same dark brown shoes with a slight heel. The boys wear turtle-necked t-shirts, knee long shorts and dark brown flip-flops.

From left to right, the first person is a girl wearing a light blue dress. She has long, waist-length, curly, voluminous symmetrical hair. She said the first girl was herself. The second character is a boy wearing a red t-shirt, red shorts with a black contour and flip-flops. His hair is curly and shoulder length. It represents Lincoln. She drew the hair longer than she had imagined and wondered on whether to change the character to a girl or to leave it representing Lincoln. Lincoln, who was next to us at the time, said he did not mind being that character and Catarina decided to keep it as it was. The following girl represents Rita wearing a pink dress and an asymmetrical hair, shoulder length on the left side and knee long on the right side. She has the most voluminous hair of all the characters. The next character is wearing a green dress (of a slightly darker colour than the "friendship line"), her hair is less curly than the other two girls' hair and is slightly asymmetrical: a bit longer than her shoulders on the left side and as long as her arm on the right. That character represents Mariana, who joined a couple of the sessions with Catarina's class. Catarina could not remember her name correctly, thought her name was Beatriz and later showed her to me on the video so that I would identify her. Finally, the last character is a boy wearing a turtle-necked t-shirt the same shade of pink as Rita's dress. He is also wearing petrol blue shorts with a black contour. His hair is very different from the rest of the characters'. Instead of the usual thick, curly hair with volume, his hair is straight, spiked and not abundant. It represents Nicolae who, indeed, wore lots of hair gel in order to spike his straight hair. She signed in dark green in the lower, left hand corner of the sheet.

Following the points of analysis established by Coates and Coates (2011), Catarina's drawing used the line as the technical basis for the drawing and developed her own schema (in her case, the green line representing friendship).

It is interesting that Catarina chose to represent the girls wearing clothes a lot more formal than the boys, probably showing her view of women and men's fashion and of what is accepted and expected of women and men, in terms of appearance. The fact that the women were drawn without hands is possibly just a consequence of the shape of their long-sleeved dresses, that do not show the hands. The characters' hair is also worth noting. All of them have hair very different from their "real life" hair, except for Nicolae. They all have much longer hair than they really do have (which, in Lyncoln's case, was an accident, but for all the other characters was deliberate), hence having long hair was also another gender specific characteristic, for Catarina. Apart from wearing formal clothes, to her, women were probably also expected to have very long hair. Interestingly, it is something she shares with her sister, Margarida, as we will see further on, despite the fact that neither of them have very long hair, nor do their mother or their grandmothers. At this point it is interesting to mention the study by Wiggers (2012), who surveyed 614 self-portraits by children between the ages of 7 and 9 years old, and defined eight recurrent categories of characters: the woman-child, the imaginary blond, the fun girl, the skinny girl, the skater, the bad boy, the virtual hero and the tough guy. According to the author, most female characters drawn are characterised by their beauty and femininity. Just like the female characters in Catarina's drawing, the author found the "woman-child" character when women and girls were represented (as they often were) with long hair and are dressed formally, with long skirts and high heels (Wiggers, 2012: 314).

She made a very peculiar choice regarding the people she decided to draw. She chose to draw, from left to right, herself, Lyncoln, Rita, Mariana and Nicolae. Out of all the colleagues she had in her class, she drew Rita and Nicolae. Rita was the only person in that class who went to the same school as Catarina. They were placed in different classes with very different timetables and Rita had previously told me that, since moving to the new school, they had grown apart from each other and hardly spoke anymore. Nicolae, on the other hand, moved to Germany one year and a half before she made this drawing, and even though they were friends through Facebook, their relationship was very distant. When asked to make a drawing about the project, Catarina drew two of her colleagues with whom she had little to no contact anymore. She has possibly chosen those two people because they were people with whom she had a good relationship and who she probably missed, but with whom she has hardly had any connection at the time of the interviews. Just like the project, which happened in the past and she knew her classes were different and would probably never be similar to those days, but she has good memories and missed that time, similarly to what is represented in Emília's, Ana Raquel's and Isabel's drawings (see below).

Regarding the adults, she drew Lyncoln and Mariana, who only joined a few of the sessions. She could have drawn either the teacher or myself, but she chose to draw someone else. The reason she

did not draw the teacher might have been that she saw the project as something separate from the regular classes. This is possibly another clue (along with she wanting to know what exactly was our profession, see the transcription further on) suggesting that, despite the fact that for the teachers the project was totally intertwined with their classes, for the children it was clearly something different from most of the classes they attended.

Catarina emphasised an opposition between work and fun (as did Margarida and Diogo, see transcription further on). The rope uniting everyone represented friendship and she explained she made such a representation of the project because, despite the fact that we all worked together, the children liked the sessions very much and had a feeling of friendship towards each other (“Catarina: So, despite everything, we liked it very much. Joana: Despite everything, what do you mean? Catarina: So, we worked, right, but we liked each other. Joana: And we still do. Catarina: Yes.”⁸³). Catarina thus deconstructs the idea that fun, work and friendship cannot go together. She seems to think that in most working environments friendships are not common, because she mentions our friendship and the fact that the children liked the project as something that is not common: despite the fact that we worked together, we liked each other.

Four characters

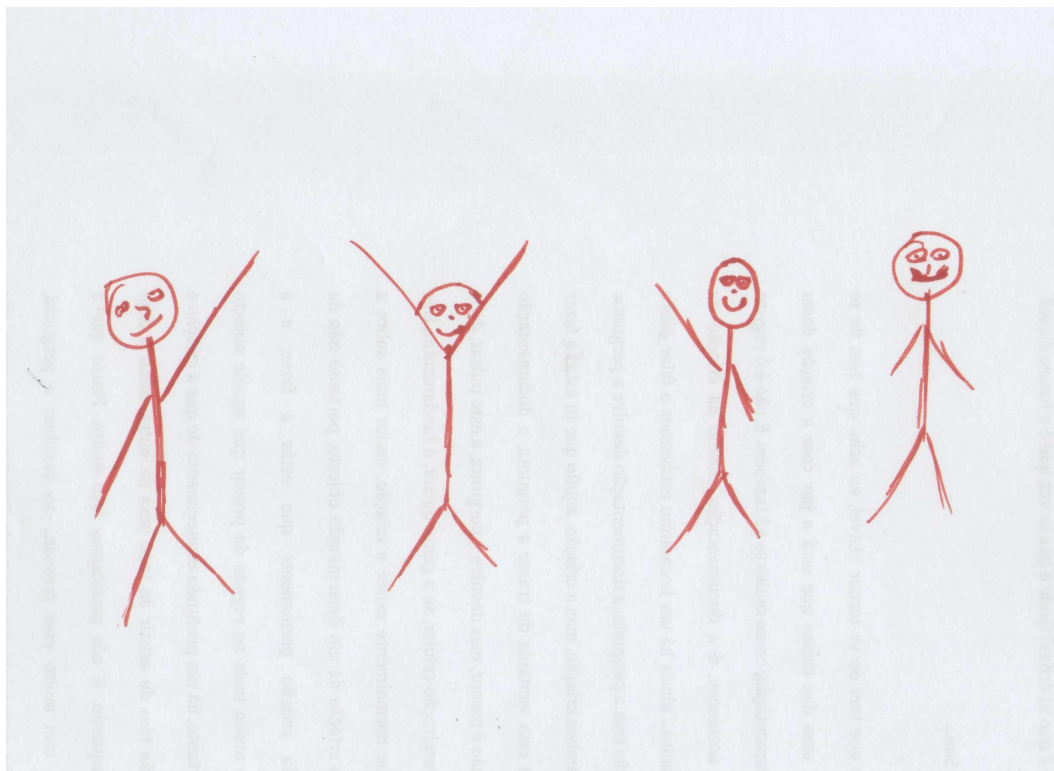


Figure 75: Davi's drawing

⁸³ “Catarina: Então, apesar de tudo nós gostávamos muito.

Joana: Apesar de tudo o quê?

Catarina: Então, nós trabalhávamos, né, mas gostávamos uns dos outros.

Joana: E ainda gostamos.

Catarina: Sim.”

Davi was from Brazil and lived with his father, sister and grandmother at the time of the interview. When he was younger, he was a victim of physical abuse by his mother and was left partly blind from his left eye. The very unstable home environment and the change from Brazil to Portugal when he was younger, then back to Brazil and a few years later back to Portugal made him fail some school years, attending to 4th grade classes only at the age of thirteen. He was always very enthusiastic about the sessions and about school in general. His interview was conducted in the presence of Emília at some public stairs close to his home, a place chosen by him. After leaving Escola da Madalena, he attended Escola Gil Vicente. He was fourteen at the time of the interview.

Davi made a drawing similar to Catarina's, but much simpler. Davi drew four characters, all about the same size, approximately half of the height of the sheet of paper placed horizontally. They are all in the same plane at the centre of the sheet and are separated by approximately the same distance, except for the last two, who stand slightly closer together. The characters are all drawn in simple lines in red. None of them show any details such as clothes, joints, hands, feet, ears or hair. All four characters' faces have eyes, nose and mouth and they are all smiling. The position of their arms varies. The first character has the left arm at the position of one o'clock, the right arm at seven o'clock. The second character has the left arm at one o'clock and the right arm at eleven o'clock. The following character has the left arm at five o'clock and the right arm at eleven o'clock. The last character has the left arm at five o'clock and the right arm at seven o'clock. The first and the third characters are holding the arms in symmetrical positions, and so are the second and the fourth characters. All their legs are straight and standing slightly apart. The second character from left to right has no neck, with the head falling directly between the two arms. All the other characters have necks. Davi did not sign the drawing. Just like Coates and Coates summarised, Davi used the line as the technical basis for the drawing and developed his own personal schema, noticeable in the way he drew the characters' facial features.

Davi made a drawing which is apparently simple, but the reduction of the formal elements of representation may be, in fact, a complexification of the message it conveys. The symmetry between the characters may mean that they are all a representation of the same character, as Davi explained that he drew a boy expressing his happiness for the project. The characters do not represent anyone in particular. Davi did not give a detailed explanation of the drawing. He said that the people in the drawing are happy due to the happiness he felt with the project, what he learnt from it and the fact that it encouraged the children to persevere in what they liked doing ("Davi: This here is demonstrating the happiness we had because you did the project with us. We learnt a lot, it was very fun. We learnt a lot of things about which we didn't have the faintest idea, especially me, because I had arrived not even a month before. (...) I had arrived here in Portugal almost one month before. I

learnt a lot from your project. I thought it was a very good project, that encourages children not to give up on what they like, what they dream of becoming when they grow up, when they are adults. And that it helps a lot a person who is growing up, becoming adult and thinking 'Ah, I'll do this, I'll make a mistake and I won't try again', it's always by trying and trying again that you can do it, and I think the project encouraged me to do that... It did something very well; it changed a lot in my life. There, that's it."⁸⁴).

A boy at the centre



Figure 76: Diogo's drawing

Diogo had not passed his 4th grade examination and was therefore forced to repeat the year, joining the class we were working with and the project on its second year. He was interested in the project and participated in the sessions, despite being shy. I do not have any detailed information on his familiar or personal life. His interview was conducted in a public square close to his school. After

⁸⁴ "Davi: Isso aqui tá demonstrando a felicidade que a gente teve, por vocês terem feito esse projeto com a gente. A gente aprendeu muito, foi muito giro. A gente aprendeu muita coisa que a gente não tinha a mínima ideia do que era, principalmente eu que tinha chegado não fazia nem um mês. (...) Tinha chegado quase há um mês aqui em Portugal, aprendi muito com o vosso projeto. Achei um projeto muito bom, que incentiva muito as crianças a não desistir do que elas gostam, do que elas sonham em ser quando crescerem, quando forem adultas, e isso ajuda muito uma pessoa, que é ela crescendo, sendo adulta e pensando "Ah, eu vou fazer isso, vou errar e não vou tentar mais", é sempre tentando e tentando que você consegue, e eu acho que o projeto me incentivou nisso, isso... fez uma coisa muito boa, mudou muita coisa na minha vida. Pronto, é só isso."

leaving Escola da Madalena, he attended Escola Gil Vicente. At the moment of the interview, he still had private tutoring classes and speech therapy sessions at Escola Gil Vicente. He was thirteen at the time of the interview.

Diogo drew a boy with the height of about two thirds of the sheet, placed at the centre of the sheet, slightly to the right. He signed in capital letters at the right hand lower corner of the sheet in petrol blue. The drawing itself starts just above the signature. He drew the boy's body in red, he drew the lines but did not fill the drawing. As mentioned by Coates and Coates (2011) in their analysis of children's drawings, the line is often used as a technical basis for drawing. As it is also referred by the same authors, Diogo created his own personal schemas (the character's hair or facial expression).

The boy is wearing boots, trousers and a turtle-necked, long-sleeved shirt. Diogo drew the boy's hands with undifferentiated fingers and his neck is very broad, when compared to his head. The head and the hair were drawn in dark blue and the facial features in orange (the eyes and eyebrows) and red (the mouth). The mouth is smiling, the eyes are looking to the left of the boy and the eyebrows are raised, in an amused and inquisitive expression. The nose and ears have not been drawn. The boy has four hairs in the head, straight and spiked, pointing slightly to the boy's left hand side. His legs are straight and stand close together. His arms are open, with his left arm at the half past four position and the right arm at the half past seven position. His left arm is slightly longer than his right arm.

He explained that the boy in the drawing was Lyncoln, even though he did not end up looking exactly the same ("Diogo: Just by looking at this drawing I'm reminded of him more or less."⁸⁵). He chose to draw Lyncoln because in the sessions he was the one who spoke the most and, therefore, thinking of Lyncoln reminded him of c.e.m ("Diogo: I tried to draw Lyncoln, because he was the one who talked the most, so, just by looking at this drawing I'm reminded of him more or less, and if I'm reminded of him, I'm reminded of c.e.m"⁸⁶). In his drawing, Diogo reduced the elements of the representation to a very simple drawing, yet allowing it to have several particular details (such as wearing boots, the fingers in the hands or the expression in the eyes).

⁸⁵ "Diogo: É só olhar para este desenho que lembro-me mais ou menos dele."

⁸⁶ "Diogo: Eu tentei desenhar o Lyncoln, que era ele que estava mais a falar, então, é só olhar para este desenho que lembro-me mais ou menos dele, e se eu me lembrar dele, lembro-me do c.e.m."

A computer



Figure 77: Rita's drawing.

Rita has an older sister, Inês, six years older than her and who was at the time of the project already attending Escola Passos Manuel, which Rita also attended after leaving Escola da Madalena (as did Catarina, her classmate at Escola da Madalena, but they were placed in different classes, as mentioned before). They have a younger sister, Vera, three years younger than her and still attending Escola da Madalena at the time of the interview. Their father is Portuguese and was unemployed at the time; their mother is of Angolan and Cape-Verdean descent and worked at McDonald's. Rita had always been very enthusiastic about the sessions and came voluntarily and very assiduously to c.e.m's dance classes for children three times a week. She was very protective of her relationship with the people from c.e.m's staff, often claiming her role as the one who knew them the longest; she also was the one encouraging her friend Sónia to come to the classes. Her interview was conducted in c.e.m's studio, empty but for her and me and, even though she is normally very comfortable in my presence, she was somewhat shy and did not develop her answers. Because she was such a frequent presence at c.e.m, her interview was the first I did with the children and at the time I did not ask her to make the drawing, as that idea only came up later on. She made her drawing in the same day as her younger sister was being interviewed at c.e.m, months after her own interview. She was twelve years old at the time of both the interview and the drawing.

Rita depicted a computer screen, a computer keyboard and two hands typing. On the computer screen we can see a book cover, with the title "Ler, ver, mexer, faz a coisa acontecer" ["Reading, seeing, moving, makes the thing happen"]. The book cover is painted brown, the title is written in

dark blue and at the left hand bottom corner of the cover the word “C.E.M.” is written in purple, therefore identifying the dance association as the book author. The book spine is painted red. The remaining of the desktop background has been painted dark green and the outside of the computer screen is light grey. The computer keyboard is dark grey and there is a dark grey wire connecting the two objects. The keys themselves have been painted light brown, except for the escape and F1 to F12 keys, which are written in black in a white background. The keys indicating the numbers, at the right hand side of the keyboard have the numbers written in dark grey, against the light brown background. The remaining keys do not have anything written on them. The two hands are typing in the part of the keyboard that normally has letters; they each have a thumb and four fingers and are painted in a light shade of pink. The hands have been drawn in perspective, so that the whole finger is showing. The drawing was done with the sheet placed horizontally and it begins immediately at the bottom of the page. It is almost centred, but placed slightly to the left side of the sheet and it occupied the sheet almost until the top. She signed in petrol blue at the top left hand corner of the sheet. Coates and Coates (2011) mentioned how children develop their own schemas in their drawing and Rita did so in the manner in which she represented the computer. Furthermore, the authors (2011) suggest that writing usually accompanies children’s drawings, as it does in Rita’s case.

The title of the book drawn is the title of the book we did with her class and she said the hands in the drawing were mine, doing the design of the book cover. “Rita: This was the first book we did. I did, at least, with my class. It’s called 'Reading, seeing, moving, makes the thing happen' [that was the book title]. I drew a computer, and then someone typing, and that someone is you, making the first page”.⁸⁷ She did not explain why she chose depicting this, but she began by criticising her own drawing, saying it was ugly (“Rita: I went through so much work to do this thing and now it’s ugly, because it’s scribbled. Joana: So, explain it to me. Rita: Ah, the table is missing, except then it would be too... Do you want me to draw a table?”⁸⁸). Possibly it was because of her own insecurity and self-criticism that she was so shy during the interview and now, in retrospect, I think that I should have used other strategies to make her feel more comfortable with the questions.

⁸⁷ “Rita: Isto foi o primeiro livro que nós fizemos. Eu fiz, pelo menos, com a minha turma. É “ler, ver, mexer, faz a coisa acontecer” [título do livro]. Desenhei um computador, e depois alguém a teclar, que esse alguém és tu, a fazer a primeira página.”

⁸⁸ “Rita: Tive tanto trabalho para fazer esta coisa, e, isto está feio, por causa que está rabiscado. Joana: Então, explica lá. Rita: Ah, faltava-me fazer a mesa, só que isso assim ficava muito... Queres que eu faça uma mesa?”

A greeting, a photograph and a class



Figure 78: Ana's drawing.

Ana has two younger brothers: Marco, who is three years younger and Rui, who is ten years younger than her (and he attended the kindergarten where c.e.m also worked). They all have different fathers and the same mother. She lived with her brothers, her mother and her stepfather. She never mentioned her father; it is unknown to us if they kept in touch. Nelson is her cousin and she had another cousin who, as a baby, was removed from his family for suspicion of mistreatment (this happened during the second year of the project). She was very easily distracted and easily bored when she did not find interest in what she was doing. She had very limited interest in regular classes. She had not passed her 4th grade examination and was therefore forced to repeat the year, joining the class we were working with and the project on its second year. She participated in the sessions in an shilly-shallied manner, she could be engaged in the action in one moment and a few minutes later be talking about something completely different with her friends, only to come back to the session some time later. Her interview was conducted in a public square close to her school and it was done on two different days because on the first day after ten minutes she had to leave for a hip hop class. After leaving Escola da Madalena, she attended Escola Gil Vicente. At the moment of

writing, she still had private tutoring classes and speech therapy sessions at Escola Gil Vicente. She was thirteen years old when she was interviewed.

Ana made her drawing with the sheet placed vertically and divided it in two, as she chose to draw a two-part representation of the aspects she liked the most about the project. On the top half of the page, she represented a moment in the making of the book and on the bottom half of the page, she depicted the class the children taught to the adults at c.e.m. In her drawing, she only used the colour black, except for her signature at the bottom right corner of the sheet, in red. She wrote “Assi:” for “signed” and then “Ana”, drawn with big, circular lines around the last “a” and around the central dash in the first, capital “a”.

On the top half of the sheet she drew, from left to right: me, her teacher (Elda), Lyncoln and four unidentified children. Me and Elda both have speech balloons at the right of our heads saying “Hello Hello!”. I have curly, shoulder-length hair and Elda has straight hair of the same length. Our characters have been drawn without any further details, the bodies were drawn in lines, without the hands or the feet and the only facial features are the eyes, nose (a simple dot) and a smiley mouth. Further to the right is Lyncoln taking a photograph of the children. Lyncoln seems to be the character to whom it was given the most importance in the drawing: he is the biggest, he is placed at the centre of the sheet and his character is drawn with more detail than any other. He has short, curly hair, his eyes have been drawn as a dash, rather than the dots that represent the eyes in all other characters. His nose is a dot and his mouth shown a broad smile. He does not have hands, but he is holding a photo camera, which is flashing. He is wearing clothes over his chest, but the lack of detail does not let us know what it is exactly. He is wearing trousers (with a fly, but no pockets nor any other detail) and shoes. What he is photographing is drawn further to the right, a group of four smiling children. They were not identified by Ana and they were all drawn with simple lines, just like mine and Elda’s characters. The children were made smaller than the adults. They are standing at the top of a small wall (that photo actually happened, with the whole class standing at the top of the wall and it is the photo at the last page of the book). The four children all have the same size and their gender is not clear. From left to right, the first one has ear-length, curly hair and a smile on his or her lips; the second has short, spiked hair and is the only one not smiling, his or her mouth is pointing down, as if the character were sad. The third boy or girl is smiling to one side of his or her face and has short, curly hair, similar to Lyncoln’s. The last child has straight, ear-length hair and the broadest smile of all four.

On the bottom half of the page there are three characters facing the reader. They are standing opposite four characters who have their backs turned away from the reader. According to Ana, the bottom half of the sheet represents the class given by the children to the adults of c.e.m. Standing

facing the reader are two girls and one boy, who are teaching four adults (she specified they were a woman, a man, a woman and a man, from left to right: “Ana: Then in the second part, here are not all of us, because I didn’t draw all of us, here are the gentlemen and the ladies; this here is a lady and a gentleman, a lady and a gentleman, and here we are teaching them a class. It was at c.e.m, when we went to c.e.m.”⁸⁹). The children have not been identified, neither have the adults. The three children are, from left to right, two girls and one boy. They have been drawn in the same simple way as have all the other characters apart from Lincoln, that is, with their bodies drawn in simple lines, without clothes or details such as hands, feet or joints. The faces have their eyes, nose and smiling mouths drawn and only the hair changes between them hinting at the gender of the character. The first has a string of long, wavy hair in a ponytail, falling to the left side of her head. The second has two strings of equally long, wavy hair, but it is divided symmetrically at both sides of her head. The boy has short, spiked hair. The adults drawn with their backs to the reader are equally simple characters, only differing in their hairdos. From left to right: a woman with shoulder-length, thick, curly hair; then a man with thick, short, curly hair; followed by a woman with shoulder-length, straight hair and, finally, a man with short, straight hair. The indication of the gender is given by the length of the characters’ hair and was specified by Ana while explaining the drawing.

There are several elements in Ana’s drawing that have been described by Coates and Coates (2011), such as: the use of the line as the technical basis for drawing, the development of personal schemas (such as all the different hair styles of the characters), the mixing of planes and elevations (the teachers, Lincoln and the students all in the same plane), the tendency to avoid overlapping, the disjuncture of scale (Lincoln’s character is the biggest in the drawing, indicating his importance, as will be discussed below) and, finally, writing accompanying the drawing.

Ana identified two moments in the project that were relevant to her, the experience of making a book together and the class the students taught to the adults of c.e.m. These evidences from her drawing were reinforced during her interview, those were, indeed, the two moments she mentioned the most. It is interesting that only three characters in the drawing have been identified and they are all adults: me, the teacher and Lincoln. All the other children and adults remained unidentified, even in the bottom half of the drawing, where three children are given a position of power over the adults. The fact she chose to identify the adults and the specific adults she identified may reflect her awareness of the power relation between us and them, the adults in the project and the children. That is, despite Ana’s recognition that the project worked with and stimulated children’s participation, in a certain way she also identified the undeniable inequality that always exists

⁸⁹ “Ana: Depois na segunda parte, aqui não estão todos, que eu não fiz todos, estão aqui os senhores e as senhoras, isto aqui é uma senhora e um senhor, uma senhora e um senhor, e aqui estamos a dar aula a eles, quando foi no c.e.m, quando fomos ao c.e.m.”

between children and adults. The analysis of Isabel's interview and of Margarida's drawing, which can be read further on, indicated the same conclusion. In fact, in her interview, Ana highlighted as one important or surprising point of teaching a class to the adults that the adults actually followed their instructions ("Ana: We told them to do one thing and they did, it was fun, because they did what we told them to!"⁹⁰). She realised there is an underlying unequal power relation between the adults and the children and that was always present despite the moments where there was a stimulus to revert that relation.

Lyncoln is, by far, the character that received the most emphasis in the drawing. It is someone Ana related to and with whom she had a good relationship. The fact that she drew the fly in his trousers may indicate she had some form of sexual feelings towards him, but it may also just be a coincidence. In the real photo at the end of the book, Lyncoln is the last person on top of the wall and the photo was actually taken by Helena Katz, who was teaching at c.e.m. Ana might have made Lyncoln take the photo because she assumed he was somewhat in charge of the project, or it might also just be that she could not remember it exactly (perfectly expectable after one and a half year), and just assumed he had taken the photo, as it was usually him who did so. Finally, the sad child posing for the photo could not be found in the real photograph. It may be a hint that sometimes Ana did not enjoy the project so much, or that she had the impression some of her colleagues might not have enjoyed it. The sad child in the middle of a smiling group of children posing for a photograph as a reflexion over a past event could also be reference to her own sadness that she has left all the people in the photograph: the school, the project, her teacher and her colleagues and that some of her colleagues have moved away and she will never meet them again.

⁹⁰ "Ana: Nós mandávamos fazer uma coisa, eles faziam, foi engraçado, porque eles obedeciam aquilo que nós dizíamos!"

The places of the project



Figure 79: Isabel's drawing.

Isabel was born in Nigeria and moved to Portugal when she was a small child. She has one older brother and one younger brother, of whom she took care. Her father owned a shop of imported African goods, but it closed since she left Escola da Madalena. Her mother had no clear job and the teachers suspected she was a sex worker. Her family life was unstable and she took care of herself and of her younger brother almost alone. She cleaned, sowed, chose her own clothes and cooked her meals. She was completely bilingual. In the beginning of the project, she demanded a lot of attention, but in the second year her presence in the sessions became more balanced. She enjoyed the project and our presence at school very much. Her interview was conducted in a public square close to her school. Even though she was frequently invited to come, she never joined c.e.m's after school dance classes. After leaving Escola da Madalena, she attended Escola Gil Vicente. She was twelve years old at the time of the interview.

Isabel drew three different parts to her drawing separated by grey lines. The sheet was placed vertically and on the top part of the page she drew c.e.m in great detail (especially impressive considering how she had not been there in over two years). The location and the areas of each room in space are not realistic. She drew a see-through house under a roof. The roof was drawn in brown perpendicular lines suggesting the texture of a tile roof. Under the roof, on the right hand side division (the division probably represents the walls and floor as if the outer wall of the house were transparent) drawn in the same brown of the roof and through it we can see the top part of a green ladder. She explained that was c.e.m's storage room. Under the roof, on the left, there is a similar division, only bigger. It has four small human stick figures made in the simplest way with a circle for the head and straight lines for the bodies, without details such as hands, feet, facial features or clothes. The two outer characters have been drawn in dark blue and the two inner characters in red. The difference in colour may mean a gender difference, but Isabel did not identify the characters. In the centre of this division, three sides of a rectangle have been drawn in dark blue, probably representing a window. Isabel explained that division to be the dance studio, which, indeed, has five very large windows. The bathroom, she said, would be in the space between both rooms. Directly under the studio is another division drawn by Isabel, larger than the studio, with a mezzanine structure drawn in black, with stairs at both ends of the structure and six black circles drawn just above the structure, which I assumed were computer screens. That division represents the place where c.e.m's production team works, which is a wooden mezzanine with two computers on the top floor and another two downstairs. In real life, this division is much smaller than the dance studio, which, in turn, is much larger than the storage room. To the right of the stairs, there is a door. Underneath the storage room there is a dark green door (the same colour shade as the outer walls of the house and the periphery of the rooftop) and joining it to the dance studio there is a black staircase. c.e.m is located at the second floor of a building, and to get in the children had to climb the flights of stairs of the old wooden staircase.

In the middle section of the drawing, Isabel drew a light brown swing on the left hand side. On the swing there is a person, drawn in pink, in the same undetailed, simple way as the other characters have been drawn. The swing is still part of the drawing of c.e.m, as there is a swing in another room and it is undoubtedly one of c.e.m's favourite features for children. In the drawing to the right of the swing there is a dark brown staircase leading to c.e.m's door in the top section of the drawing and it is also separating the middle section of the drawing in two different parts. In the drawing in the right side of the middle section there is a parallelepiped structure. It was drawn in the same shade of grey as the lines separating the drawing into three distinct parts. The parallelepiped represents, she explained, the building in the Achada Square, 9-9^A. There are blue lines drawn in the façade,

parallel to the floor (giving a sense of transparency of the building to the viewer) and inside the building itself there are four people, drawn in the same shade of blue, in the same minimalistic way as the other characters, and placed in a square at the right hand corner of the building.

On the bottom part of the drawing Isabel drew two girls in profile sitting on the floor and facing each other. The characters are much larger in scale than any other character, occupying in height most part of the bottom third of the sheet. Between the girls, as if scattered on the floor are twenty-two red, pink and blue small, round objects. The floor they are sitting on is blue with coloured rectangles painted blue, brown, green and red in an apparently random order. The floor is not straight and it has a small elevation under the girls. The girls have been drawn in much greater detail than the other characters. They have long, straight hair with a fringe; their arms, hands and fingers are represented. Their face has a nose, eyes and a mouth. The character on the left, who is slightly bigger than the one on the right, is wearing a brown t-shirt and her legs are showing underneath her blue skirt. The character on the right is wearing a fuchsia dress (with its tail spread on the floor) that does not show her legs. Both characters have a head disproportionately big when compared to the rest of their body, with the character on the right having a head even larger than the one on the left.

The character on the left has a very long, red hair falling down her back and reaching her legs. Her skin colour is red and she has an eye drawn in black and a black mouth with a tiny smile. The character on the right has pink skin, equally red hair that falls straight reaching her shoulder blades. She has one red eye, a pink nose and a red, smiley mouth. Both characters seem to be reaching for the round objects lying on the floor. Isabel explained to me that the character in red on the left was herself and in pink on the right was Rita. They were drawn together in their former classroom which did, indeed, have a blue floor decorated with colourful square stickers, which looked like tiles. She explained they were making the bracelets “we used to make the book”,⁹¹ I did not understand what she meant, for I had no recollection of making bracelets, and she would not explain it further.

Interestingly, Isabel drew both girls as having an unrealistic skin colour. Both girls are black and Rita’s skin is of a lighter tone than Isabel’s, who did draw her skin in red and Rita’s a slightly paler shade of pink. Their hair in the drawing is ginger, long and straight, very different in colour, length and texture from their real hair. Arroyo and Silva (2012) have made the experience of asking school children in Brazil for their self-portraits and concluded that in such exercises, the tensions involving the social representations of their bodies were exposed. According to the authors, the self portraits of poor, black children and youngsters, often showed a feeling a resistance and rejection towards

⁹¹ “Isabel: que nós usámos para fazer o livro”

their own bodies. In such cases, the children, just like Isabel did in her drawing, depicted a different skin colour and hair than their real bodies. According to the authors the children drew a different racial, ethnic and class identity and they concluded that their relationship with their bodies revealed the ideas from the media, society, sexist and racist children's literature that are still present (Arroyo and Silva, 2012: 18).

Isabel signed in black at the bottom right corner of the sheet, with her first name and the date (16th October 2013) of the interview.

Coates and Coates (2011) identified that children often use in their drawing the line as the technical basis of the drawing, as Isabel did. Moreover, they mentioned other aspects present in Isabel's drawing: the development of her own personal schemas (such as the way she drew the two girls at the bottom of the sheet), the intellectual realism (elements that could not be visible from that artist's viewpoint, but that exist in the mind of the person who made the drawing, such as the drawing of the house in Largo da Achada in the middle of the drawing, below the stairs that lead to c.e.m), the mixing of planes and elevations (the swing from c.e.m is next to the stairs, which are next to the building in Largo da Achada), the tendency to avoid overlapping, disjunctures of scale according to the importance of the parts (such as the girls at the bottom of the sheet, much larger than all the other humans in the drawing) and, finally, the use of x-ray pictures (the people inside the house in Largo da Achada are visible from the outside, for example).

The drawing is divided in three parts, with the top and the bottom parts representing the two main structures involved in the project, c.e.m and the school. It is fascinating the detail with which she managed to draw c.e.m's building when taking into account two years had passed since she had last been there and the fact that she had not been to c.e.m without her class, so in total she had only been there around five times. She must have created a strong bond with the space to remember it and to be able to represent it in such detail. The middle section of her drawing seems to be a representation of the places that she liked particularly: the swing at c.e.m and the ruins in Mouraria. In the bottom third of the painting Isabel managed to use a very precise detail to immediately set the stage to the scene. The only room at school that had such a floor was their classroom and she chose precisely that simple and distinctive detail to be the only element surrounding the two girls, therefore in a very simple way managing to clearly precise the location of that scene. This last part, despite being perhaps less rich in detail is precisely more straightforward in the message, just like her representation of the floor. When asked to depict the project, Isabel gave a lot of importance (noticed by the proportion of the characters when compared to everything else in the drawing) to the personal relations established during the sessions, in this case represented by one of her colleagues, Rita. The fact she chose to represent Rita, with whom she kept little contact after they

both changed to different schools may mean, just like in Catarina's case, that she is reminiscent of her past, that Rita is someone with whom she had a good relationship and whom she probably misses. Thinking of the project makes her think of the friendships she had at the time, while at the same time realising neither the project nor that relationship existed at the later moment in her life when the drawing was made.

Concluding from the drawing as a whole, Isabel has drawn a world of collective spaces where she found her own place and where she possibly found she could simply be herself: school, c.e.m, the building in Largo da Achada. This complex articulation of the different spaces is all brought together inside one, same building, a house, her home. In her drawing, Isabel included the different spaces that were important for her in one same building, which was also, at the same time, her representation of the city, or, at least, of Mouraria, drawing the articulation between the different spaces.

What we did



Figure 80: Margarida's drawing.

Margarida is Catarina's younger sister. She joined the project in the school year of 2012/2013 when she was attending 4th grade. Her class had only one session with the project but she was a very active participant in REVOADA. She was interviewed in her own house, one morning during her summer holidays, when her grandmother and her mother were at home. She was ten years old at the time of the interview.

Margarida made her drawing with the sheet placed horizontally and divided in four unequal parts. A purple line divides the sheet in half horizontally, from left to right, almost until the last third of the sheet. At the last third of the sheet there is a vertical purple line, from the top to the bottom, reaching up to the last third of the page. At that point there is a horizontal line almost until the end of the sheet. To make the explanation more straightforward, we will call the drawing's subdivisions according to the numbers 1 to 4, counted clockwise and starting from the top left side of the sheet. She signed the drawing in the back of the page, in black, with her first name and her mother's surname (it is interesting that she used a different surname from her sister Catarina, who used her fathers'), in big, handwritten letters occupying most of the sheet.

On the first subdivision, Margarida drew on the left side a simple character, all in black with a head, arms, torso, legs and feet and no further details, with three speech balloons saying "Eu sou [I am]", "A!!! (the defined article that precedes feminine nouns in Portuguese, followed by three exclamation marks)", "Margarida.". Then there is an horizontal black arrow pointing from that character to three others, located further to the left. All three characters have been drawn in orange with a head, arms and hands (drawn as circles at the end of the arms), torso, legs and feet. The first character is wearing a light green t-shirt and light green shorts and has a speech balloon saying "Eu sou o Lyncoln! [I am Lyncoln!]", The second character is wearing a light blue dress and has a speech balloon saying "Eu sou a adriana! [I am adriana!]", The third and last character is a dark green dress and has a speech balloon saying "EU sou A" the defined article in the feminine form – written in capital letters" joana! [I am joana!]", All speech balloons are written in black. Both girls are wearing sleeveless dresses. In the women, the arms of the characters join the body directly at the neck, as if they had no shoulders. The man, on the other hand, has very broad shoulders connected to the arms, making him look a lot bulkier than the women. At the junction between the first and the second subdivision is written the word "depois [after]" in black, that is an explanation of the drawing in the second subdivision, as will be explained next.

The second subdivision has, on the page's top right-hand corner, the drawing of a house façade. The house has no windows nor doors, it has a light brown rooftop with two signs written in red inside a black box that read "99" and "A". The wall has been painted light green and, on the top half of the house, placed in a triangle, are three drawings in black of a circle with five short straight lines placed perpendicularly to the circle and equally distanced along the top half of each circle. On the bottom half of the wall there are five red lines, parallel to the floor and among each other. Surrounding the house are five flowers, drawn with a dark orange stem, two symmetric green leaves. The centre of the flower is a large circle painted in the same colour and the petals are light pink. There is one flower on each side of the house, two on the rooftop, one on each side and finally one

at the left hand side of the house, on the top half of the façade. Under the house, written in purple, is an arrow pointing to the first subdivision and the words “Versão bonecos [Doll version]”.

The third subdivision had the word “Antes [Before]” written in black and placed diagonally at the top of the top left hand corner of a square. The square was drawn in a black felt pen and was painted red inside with a coloured pencil. There are three yellow vertical undulated lines, with the length of about one third of the square, placed in what seems to be at random inside it.

Finally, the fourth subdivision has four characters, about two times bigger than the ones in the first subdivision. There is one character on the left hand side, smaller than the others, then a black arrow pointing from her to the other three characters. The following three characters are larger than the first and are standing closer together. All four characters have broad shoulders, pink skin and have no hands. The first character, from left to right, has waist-length brown hair, in a side swept hairdo. She has wide brown eyes and a very broad, red smile and she has no visible ears. The character is wearing dark brown shoes. She is wearing a pink dress with blue circles and is holding something pink and orange, which I cannot identify. She has a speech balloon saying “Eu sou a margarida [I am margarida]”, written in black. The second character is wearing a red, long-sleeved t-shirt, grey trousers and dark brown shoes. The clothes of this and the next two characters have detailed necklines, this one is in the shape of a semicircle. The character has small ears, short curly black hair, dark brown eyes and red lips, smiling. He has two speech balloons saying “Eu sou o [I am]” and “Lymcoln”. The third character is wearing a light blue, long sleeved, knee-length dress with a triangular neckline and grey shoes. She has waist length black hair, in a side swept hairdo. She has small ears, brown eyes and red lips, smiling. She has a speech balloon saying “Eu sou a adriana [I am adriana]”. The last character is slightly larger than the other two, very broad shouldered, but with very thin arms. She is wearing a purple, sleeveless t-shirt with a plunging neckline and a knee-length black skirt with yellow shoes. She has a red necklace, shoulder-length blond hair in a symmetrical loose hairdo, green eyes and a dark pink, thin mouth, with a smile that is fading in the pink background. She has no visible ears. She has a speech balloon saying “Eu sou a Joana. [I am Joana.]”.

The elements defined in Coates and Coates (2011) present in Margarida’s drawing were: the line as the basis for drawing, the development of personal schemas (for an example, the characters’ faces in the fourth subdivision), intellectual realism (in the flowers all around the house in the second subdivision), the mixing of different planes (the characters in the first and fourth subdivision standing next to the house from the past and from the present in the second and third subdivisions), the tendency to avoid overlapping, disjuncture of scale (the characters in the fourth subdivision are

given the most importance in the drawing), the x-ray pictures (the inside of the house in the second subdivision is seen from the outside) and the writing that accompanied the drawing.

Margarida explained her choice of drawing as follows:

“Margarida: So, the drawing is: me first. You asked me 'now make a drawing explaining first the things we did', so I explained it. First of all we introduced each other, and I put 'I am Margarida', and I put Lyncoln 'I am Lyncoln', introducing himself, and Adriana saying the same thing, but 'I am Adriana', and you saying 'I am Joana'. Joana: Humm humm. Margarida: In a doll version. And then I drew it as if it were a people's version. Introducing us, which was the same thing. Then I drew the house before, as it was, falling down, painted one colour and then painted another, with things falling down, and then I put the house as it is today, with your hands, with some stripes from our playing, painting, everything. The flowers around the house and there's the house's address. That's it”.⁹²

She explained that the drawings at the top of the page had no eyes because they were the “doll version”. She considered for long how the people in the “people's version” should be dressed and which colour combinations to use. In the fourth subdivision, despite my hair and my eyes being brown, she drew me blond with green eyes, that could be because my hair is lighter than the Portuguese average and because, in Portugal, the exotic feature of having blond hair is usually associated to also having either green or blue eyes. Adriana's character is also represented in a more hegemonic way than the reality, as Adriana has very short black hair. Margarida's own hair was drawn much longer than it actually is. Regarding the women's hair, Margarida, like her sister Catarina did before, seems to think that adult women are supposed to have long hair, in that way her drawing is very stereotypical in terms of gender distinction. Both mine, hers and Adriana's characters were drawn as a representation of ourselves, what we could be like, rather than what we were like. Lyncoln's character, however, was simply a representation of what he was like.

Margarida's drawing was done in part with coloured pencils, in part with felt pens because it was done at her home, where she had her own material and she chose what to use. All the other interviews were done with my material alone, so the children only used felt pens. In the case of Margarida's drawing, the difference in the material was not considered relevant to the analysis of her drawing. In both the first and the fourth subdivision, she used arrows pointing from her character to mine, Lyncoln's and Adriana's, the adults involved in the project, possibly meaning she recognised a form of hierarchy between her and us. That could also be the reason why, in the first subdivision, her character was drawn in black, whereas the adults were drawn in orange and why, in

⁹² “Margarida: Então, o desenho é, eu primeiro, tu perguntaste-me “agora, faz um desenho a explicar primeiro as coisas que nós fizemos”, então eu expliquei. Nós primeiro que tudo, apresentamo-nos uns aos outros, e eu meti “eu sou a Margarida”, e meti o Lyncoln “eu sou o Lyncoln”, a apresentar-se, e a Adriana a dizer a mesma coisa, só que “eu sou a Adriana”, e tu a dizeres “eu sou a Joana”.

Joana: Hum hum.

Margarida: Em versão dos bonecos. E depois eu desenhei como se fosse em versão pessoa. E ao apresentarmo-nos, que foi a mesma coisa. Depois eu desenhei a casa antes, como ela tava, a cair, pintada duma cor e depois pintada doutra, com coisas a cair, e depois meti a casa como está agora, com as nossas mãos, com algumas riscas de nós andarmos a brincar, a pintar, e tudo. As flores à volta da casa que há e a morada da casa. E é isto.”

the fourth subdivision, her character was drawn much smaller than the adults. There is, naturally, a difference in size between us, but its scale is largely exaggerated in the drawing. The hierarchical difference, in this case, might have been of a shifting nature, notice that the arrows point from her character to the adults and not the other way around. The recognition of an unequal power relation between the adults and the children was also found in Ana's drawing and in Isabel's interview, further on. Finally, it is noteworthy that Margarida had a peculiar choice of which letters to capitalise, often not doing it to the first names she wrote (e.g. Adriana and Joana in the first subdivision), but writing other words in capital letters (e.g. "EU sou A joana" in the first subdivision). We do not think this choice had any particular reason and it was possibly only a coincidence.

The book

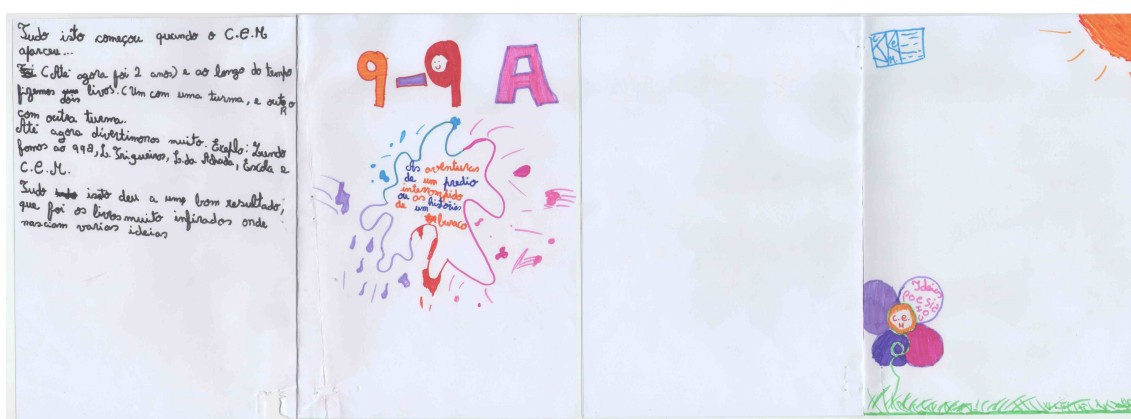


Figure 82: Vera's drawing.

Vera is Rita's younger sister. She joined the project in the school year of 2012/2013 when she was attending 3rd grade with teacher Inês. Her class had many sessions with the project and, particularly, she joined REVOADA very actively. There was some tension between her and Rita, who would rather come alone to c.e.m or to c.e.m's activities, but Vera usually managed to come along. There, Rita would often leave Vera with the dancers from c.e.m while she would join the older girls who had been in her class the previous year. Vera could sometimes be very attention demanding, both at school and at c.e.m and, at the same time, she was very keen on both school and c.e.m's sessions and after school classes. She was interviewed at c.e.m, by the end of her summer holidays. She was nine years old at the time of the interview.

Vera took two A4 sheets of paper, folded them in half and placed one inside the other, creating a booklet of 8 pages. She only painted one of the sides of each sheet, painting pages number one, five and eight of the book. The cover of her book is reminiscent to the one of the book we did together and she gave it the same title: "9-9A As aventuras de um prédio interrompido ou as histórias de um buraco [9-9A The adventures of an interrupted building or the stories of a hole]". She wrote the first number 9 (in "9-9A") in orange with a red outline, the dash is purple with a red outline, the

second number 9 is red and the letter A is pink with a purple outline. The word 9-9A is written in large, capital letters at the top, centre of the sheet. Inside the second 9 Vera drew a simple smiley face with two eyes and a mouth, also in red. Underneath it and centred is the rest of the book title handwritten in blue and orange (the first word is dark blue, the second orange and the colour keeps changing with each word). In the last word it seems she made a mistake and corrected it, writing the full word after the scratched letter. Surrounding the title is a curvy line that changes colour from pink to red, purple and petrol blue. Around the title are some short lines, drops and blots of these four colours.

On the top right corner of the fifth page there is a quarter of an orange sun with four rays. At the bottom of the page Vera drew a light green grass field. In the left bottom corner of the page we see a flower with a thin, light green stalk, four large petals painted pink, purple and violet and the fourth is white with a purple outline. Inside this petal is written in pink “Ideias [Ideas]”, “Poesia [Poetry]” and “I O U”, the last holds no meaning in Portuguese. The centre of the flower (at what would, biologically, be called the flower’s ovary) Vera drew a light green circle, with an orange inner circle and a white centre with the word “c.e.m” written in red.

At the top left corner of the page is a light blue drawing of two squared, almost like two stamps. On the left-hand “stamp” there are many smaller triangles and Vera wrote the letters “c”, “e” and “m” scattered. On the right-hand “stamp” there are many lines, which resembles writing that has been reduced and made so, so small, it cannot be read, like the way smaller children pretend to write before they know how to.

Finally, on the eighth and last page Vera wrote a small text. It is handwritten in black and it reads:

“All this started when c.e.m
showed up...

(Until now it was 2 years) and through time
we made two books. (One with one class, and the other
with the other class.

Until now we had a lot of fun. Example: When
we went to 99^a, [Largo], L. Trigueiros, [Largo] L. Achada, School and
C.E.M.

All this gave a good result
which was the books very inspired where

several ideas where born”⁹³

Of the items mentioned by Coates and Coates (2011), Vera’s drawing shows: the line as the technical basis of drawing, the development of her personal schemas (such as the stamp in page five, for example), the base line and the sky line (in the same page, the sun on top and the grass at the bottom) and the writing that accompanies the drawing.

After finishing a first version of her drawing, she made some changes correcting her own writing and then decided to use punctuation marks, particularly brackets, in a very personal way. When asked what the drawing was about, Vera only read aloud what was written in it and said she had done a painting of the ruins in Mouraria. She did not sign her drawing. Her sister Rita was with us at the time and she was disputing my attention, and that may have been the reason why Vera would not go into further detail of the drawing explanation, even though during the interview itself Vera seemed very at ease with the presence of her sister and went into great detail when giving her answers. It was perhaps the fact that she was talking about a product of her own creation that made her more insecure, together with the fact that Rita made her drawing at the same time and Vera might have been reluctant of the possible comparisons between the two.

The cover of her book is a simplified version of the book’s actual cover. The drawing on the fifth page obviously might mean she felt the project was fertile (due to the fact that she drew the sun, a grass field and a flower, the typical scenario of Spring, which in turn is the fertile season and the placement of the word “c.e.m” at the flower’s ovary, which she probably does not know how it is scientifically called, but it is relevant the fact that she placed it at the centre of the flower). The placement of the words “ideas” and “poetry” in one of the petals of such flower may mean she considered c.e.m to be the enhancer and what nourished those two things. We do not know why she placed the letters “I O U” in the same petal. Lastly, the fact she drew what seems to be a stamp on the top left corner of the page might mean she wishes to send the project to other people, other children.

Regarding the last page of her book, it is interesting how she highlights the experience of writing a book (also already made obvious by the fact that when asked to make a drawing about the project she decided to make her drawing inside a book). She also mentioned the REVOADA project, leaving school to go to the 9-9A building and to the other squares in Mouraria, but she did not directly

⁹³ “Tudo isto começou quando o C.E.M apareceu... (Até agora foi 2 anos) e ao longo do tempo fizemos dois livros. (Um com uma turma, e outro com outra turma. Até agora divertimo-nos muito. Exemplo: Quando fomos ao 99ª, L. [Largo] Trigueiros, L. [Largo] da Achada, Escola c C.E.M. Tudo isto deu a um bom resultado que foi os livros muito inspirados onde nasciam varias ideias”

mention the classes taught by the project. She did, however, link it to the ideas that came up during the making of the book, therefore valuing the creativity that the project stimulated in the children.

The other children

There were five more children in the class, who did not make a drawing and who will now be introduced. Nelson was interviewed, but he had to leave early and therefore did not have the time to draw, Sónia's interview did not really happen because she claimed not to remember anything, and Pedro, Beatriz and Mário were not interviewed, as explained before.

Nelson is Ana's cousin. He played football in Amadora, a city close to Lisbon, where he lived. He lived with his mother and his stepfather, who is Brazilian. His father was in jail for selling drugs, arrested in the same case that sent Catarina's father to jail. Nelson was very interested in school. He was a perfectionist. He enjoyed the sessions, but was quite shy and his participation was never immediate. After leaving Escola da Madalena, he attended Escola Gil Vicente. His interview was conducted in a public square close to his school and was done with some haste because he had to leave for football practice, so he did not get to make a drawing. He was twelve years old at the time of the interview.

Sónia moved to Portugal when she was a baby, both her parents are Brazilian, lived in Lisbon and were divorced. She lived with her mother and her stepfather, who was from India. They had both partly adopted his culture as their own. She would often see her father. She voluntarily attended c.e.m's dance classes for children twice or three times a week, but was not very assiduous and she sometimes lost interest in the classes while she was inside the studio. After leaving Escola da Madalena, she attended Escola Gil Vicente. Her mother worked with her stepfather at a kebab shop. When asked to participate in the interview, at first she accepted, but then said she could not remember anything, after being asked several questions. She was eleven years old at the time of the interview.

The three other children in the class by the end of the third term of the second year of this work, who did not get to be interviewed, were Pedro, Beatriz and Mário. Pedro had been Elda's student in his first grade at her previous school, before she started working at Escola da Madalena. He moved from his previous school to Escola da Madalena because his family was not satisfied with the teacher who replaced Elda and wanted him to be her student again and that is why he moved to Escola da Madalena in the fourth grade. He was eleven years old when he participated in the project. Pedro was shy, enjoyed school and the sessions and participated in them. He had a speech disorder, which sometimes made it hard to understand what he said. After leaving Escola da Madalena, he attended Escola Gil Vicente. Beatriz was eleven years old when the project was going on. She was very shy

and at the end of the school year she had a dispute with Catarina, which was made public by both girls' grandmothers. That left her a bit estranged from some of her former colleagues and even shyer around the adults she already knew. After leaving Escola da Madalena, she studied at Escola Gil Vicente. Mário was eleven years old during our work. He was studying one grade behind the rest of his class and, when the other children moved to another school, he remained at Escola da Madalena for one more year, to move to Escola Gil Vicente later on. He had very serious concentration issues; he came from a problematic home environment where he was most probably subject to physical violence and mistreatment. The year before we began our work, he once fainted at school and spent two weeks in hospital with severe mal nutrition. He was very protected by the teacher and enjoyed school and the project very much.

Summary and conclusions of the drawings

The drawings were a way of giving voice to the children about the project, and it was perhaps particularly relevant to Emília, who did not speak Portuguese as her native language. It is interesting to notice the formal diversity of the drawings. Some were very simple in terms of the details depicted (Davi, Diogo), others more complex (Rita, Vera, Isabel and Margarida), some represented the passage of time in the drawing (the house changing in Margarida's drawing), some drew different moments of the project in the same sheet (Ana, Isabel and Margarida), while others focused on just one instant (Rita). Some drew the action occurring in different spaces at once (Ana, Isabel and Margarida), others in an imagined space (Emília, Davi). Some explained the metaphor included in the drawing (Catarina) and others gave more mysterious explanations (Emília, Isabel). Some children drew in just one colour, other used several and only three children placed their sheet of paper vertically, to make their drawing.

Regarding the differences among the children, we could look at our sample in terms of gender, ethnicity and experience in the project. On what concerned the differences between the boys and the girls, the drawings by the two boys, Diogo and Davi, seemed to represent a reduction to the essential, be it in terms of colour, complexity of the characters drawn, their details, the details of the drawing itself and in terms of the objects depicted. The drawings by the girls were a lot richer in detail (e.g. Rita), complexity (e.g. Isabel), colour (e.g. Margarida), characters (e.g. Catarina) and were a lot more diverse from one another than the boys'. Of course, the fact that the the group included only two boys biased the sample.

Looking at the influence the ethnicity of the children may have brought upon the drawings, the fact that only three of the children (Davi, Isabel and Emília) were not born in Portugal and that they came from completely different parts of the world (Brazil, Nigeria and Sao Tomé, respectively) means that they could not be compared with the drawings from the children who were born in

Portugal (they were a lot more in number and, consequently their drawings were very diverse) based on this parameter.

As far as the experience the children had with the project was concerned, we could see a clear difference between the drawings of the children from the class that worked with c.e.m for two years and the two children who were interviewed and who were not from that class (who only had occasional sessions of the project, but who took part in REVOADA), Vera and Margarida. Both girls drew what was more relevant for them about the project and in both cases it was REVOADA. Vera depicted it through the book and Margarida showed the difference in the house in Largo da Achada before and after the project. That does not mean, of course, that the other children did not also mention REVOADA or the book, they also did so (Ana, Isabel and Rita), but the fact that the only two girls who were interviewed from outside of this group mentioned the same aspect of the project is relevant of the overall importance REVOADA had on the project. Since they only had a few sessions inside their classrooms, it was at the same time not very surprising they chose to represent the part of the project that was closest to them and where they probably felt the work was more consistent. Within the group of Elda's class, there were some children who took part in the project over two years (Catarina, Isabel and Rita) and others who joined the class later on, only taking part in one year of the project (Diogo, Davi, Ana and Emília). Between these two groups we could not find a pattern to establish a comparison among them. The second year of the project with that class was very intense in the number of sessions, also due to REVOADA and to the making of the book and through the drawings we could not find a difference between the children who took part in the project over two years or just over one.

Concerning what was similar between the different drawings, we could divide them into the ones who referred to the book, the sessions, specific people, people who became distant from the children, and people from c.e.m. In respect of the book, it was represented by Ana, Rita, Vera and Isabel. Rita and Vera drew the book cover, while Ana and Isabel drew moments they remembered from the making of the book. The sessions were mentioned by Ana, who drew a moment in the session the children taught the adults, by Emília (who made a drawing representing the hypothetical work resulting from a session) and Margarida (who drew the beginning of each session). Out of the nine drawings, five (by Ana, Catarina, Rita, Diogo, Margarida and Isabel) had specific people in them (respectively, Elda, me and Lyncoln; Catarina, Lyncoln, Rita, Mariana and Nicolae; me; Lyncoln; Margarida, Lyncoln, Adriana and me; Isabel and Rita). Only two (Isabel and Catarina) drew former colleagues who were no longer close to them (in Isabel's case, Rita; in Catarina's case, Rita and Nicolae). Five children (Margarida, Diogo, Rita, Ana and Catarina) drew people from c.e.m (respectively, Lyncoln Adriana and myself; Lyncoln; me; me and Lyncoln; Lyncoln and Mariana).

Lastly, could the body work done in the project have an effect in the way the bodies were represented in the drawings and, ultimately, the way children idealised and saw their own bodies? It is not possible to answer that question with certainty but, in that perspective, Davi and Margarida's drawings were both very interesting. Davi drew several representations of the same body moving, or different bodies moving. In his case, the movement embodied the feeling of the character, namely the joy for being a part of the project. Margarida drew the staging of four bodies, that is, she drew four characters whose mutant bodies changed according to whether they were "dolls" or real characters, as real as a drawing can be. In her drawing, Margarida represented different possibilities of movement and presentation drawn (and real) bodies can have. Both Davi and Margarida in their drawings opted for unusual representations of the human body, which might have been based on the body work developed in the sessions. On the other hand, Catarina, Margarida and Isabel all depicted, in different ways, stereotypical female bodies. We argued that, in spite of the changes that the project might have brought for the children, the children lived in a society where there is a stereotypical ideal of the female body. Be it as it may, that does not mean that the children did not question this normativity and that they did not appropriate, deconstruct and question gender roles.

The children's drawing could be organised into four large categories: the project as a feeling, as a practice or an action, as a personal relationship and as a space. The project was represented as a feeling by Emília, Davi, Catarina and Isabel: Emília made a drawing representing the feeling of freedom she got from the project, Davi drew the happiness felt by someone taking part in the project, Catarina the friendship established among the different people taking part in the project and Isabel, who drew herself with a former colleague, a friend, as the project for her also stood for the friendships she established at the time.

Isabel, Emília, Margarida, Rita, Ana, Vera and Margarida all drew the project as a practice or an action and in this category the children focused mainly in two aspects, the book and the sessions: Isabel drew herself and Rita while making the book, Emília drew an imaginary story that could have been created for the book, Rita drew me making the book cover on a computer, Ana drew the people from the project taking a photograph for the book and Vera drew an hypothetical book. Ana also drew the class the children taught the adults and Margarida drew the beginning of a session.

The project was highlighted for the personal relationships it created by Isabel, Catarina, Diogo, Margarida, Rita and Ana. These children drew former colleagues from the class at the time they were a part of the project or the adults from c.e.m responsible for the project, and both groups of people represent the relationships that were established and strengthened with the project. Isabel drew herself with a friend and colleague, Rita, with whom she hardly spoke at the time she made the drawing, but to whom she had been close during the project and thinking about it recalled her

of those times. Similarly, Catarina drew two of her former colleagues with whom she had hardly any contact at the time of the drawing, she also drew Lyncoln, one of the adults from c.e.m responsible for the project and with whom the children got along very well. Diogo also drew Lyncoln and, for him, Lyncoln was a symbol of the project itself; Margarida drew me, Lyncoln and Adriana; Rita drew me making the book on the computer and Ana drew me, Lyncoln and her teacher, Elda.

Lastly, the project was seen as the space it happened in by Margarida, Isabel, Vera, Ana and Emília. Margarida and Isabel drew not only the classroom where the sessions happened, but also the ruins of the building in Mouraria, where the REVOADA sessions took place. Vera drew the book, which was an indirect way to refer to the REVOADA project and, hence, to the building in Largo da Achada. Emília drew an imagined island, giving a hint about a space that was not physical, but imagined, that was also worked in the project. Finally, Ana drew both c.e.m's studio where the children's class took place, but also the street in Mouraria, where the photograph she drew was taken.

The interviews

Results from the interviews

Effects of the sessions

Many children mentioned the different effects the sessions had, particularly regarding what they learnt. Curricular, artistic and social contents were highlighted by the children alike.

Regarding the curricular contents, the topics brought up by the children were: the revision of contents, grammar, learning how to read and write, the solar system, plate tectonics, history, geometry, the human body and learning and/or understanding better the contents.

Margarida said the sessions were helpful for the revision of the contents they had already learnt, in a way she found more fun (“Margarida: then it was a time where we could do everything anew, and learn everything anew, to review the contents, it was as if we reviewed the contents but in a more fun way”).⁹⁴ Davi said the project helped him learn the grammar of the Portuguese spoken in Portugal (he came from Brazil, where the Portuguese is slightly different) and also how it helped his Romanian colleagues learn it and speak it. Emília and Isabel added the project helped them learn how to read and write, Emília from the perspective of learning how to correctly spell and read and Isabel highlighted the story-writing skills acquired. Vera recalled learning about plate tectonics, the

⁹⁴ “Margarida: e assim foi um termo onde nós conseguimos fazer tudo de novo, e aprender tudo de novo, rever a matérias, foi como se revíssemos a matéria só que numa maneira ainda mais engraçada.”

solar system, the earth's rotation and translation movements and studying a lot in the project's sessions. Margarida said that in a history session she learnt more about the Romans than what she had already learnt from her previous History lessons. Isabel mentioned a session where she did posters with the geometric solids.

Many children mentioned sessions around the human body (for example, "Ana: We often did [sessions] about the human body").⁹⁵ Nelson and Catarina recalled having made a representation of a human body ("Nelson: We even made a doll with the bones, with the veins... I don't know if we did it with the bones, but we did, we did someone's contour and then did the drawing. I actually think it was Mário, because he was the smallest. And then, then we did, we used chalk to make the veins, we used a paper to make the clothes. We also used woollen yarn to make the hair").⁹⁶ Vera said in the project's sessions she learnt about the different organ systems ("Vera: Because I had fun and then, when it was like, about the human body, the digestive system, the digestion, actually, if I were inside my body and were some organs... I felt sometimes, and realised it could be great fun").⁹⁷ Rita said the sessions helped her learn about the muscles and the human skeleton, which otherwise she would not have been able to memorise ("Joana: What do you think you learnt [in the sessions]? Rita: A lot. We worked the muscles. That's where I learnt the most. Joana: Why? Rita: Because when I studied, I couldn't memorise anything, and when you worked the muscles with us, I managed to memorise. Joana: And were there other times, other things you understood better when we went there? Rita: The human skeleton").⁹⁸ And, lastly, Emília explained that the physical approach of the sessions taught her how the body moves ("Joana: Right, you had already said that and at the time I wanted to ask you again. How did it [the project] help learn more things about the human body? Emília: The way each part of the human body moves, how the head moves, the hands, the feet, the arms, all that.").⁹⁹

Some children mentioned that the project helped them learn and/or understand the curricular contents in question (one example is Ana who said that with the project they learnt differently "Ana:

⁹⁵ "Ana: Muitas vezes fazíamos [sessões] acerca do corpo humano"

⁹⁶ "Nelson: Nós até fizemos um boneco com os ossos, com as veias... não sei se fizemos com os ossos, mas fizemos, fizemos o contorno de alguém e depois fizemos o desenho. Eu acho que até foi do Mário, por causa que ele era o mais pequenino. E depois, depois fizemos, usámos giz para fazer as veias, usámos um papel para fazer a roupa. Usámos também fio de lã para fazer o cabelo."

⁹⁷ "Vera: Porque divertia-me mais e ainda, quando era tipo, sobre o corpo humano, o sistema digestivo, a digestão, por acaso, se eu estivesse dentro do meu corpo e fosse alguns órgãos, sentia às vezes, e percebia que aquilo podia ser muito divertido."

⁹⁸ "Joana: O que é que achas que aprendias [nas sessões]?"

Rita: Muita coisa. Nós trabalhámos os músculos. Foi aí que eu aprendi mais.

Joana: Porquê?

Rita: Por causa que quando eu estudava, não conseguia decorar nada, e quando vocês trabalharam os músculos, connosco, eu consegui decorar.

Joana: E houve mais vezes, coisas que tu percebeste melhor quando nós lá fomos?

Rita: O esqueleto humano."

⁹⁹ "Joana: Pois, já tinhas dito isso, eu na altura fiquei com vontade de te voltar a perguntar. E como é que ajudava a aprender mais coisas do corpo humano?"

Emília: Hum, como cada sítio do corpo humano se movimenta, como se movimenta a cabeça, as mãos, os pés, os braços, isso tudo."

Because this... we learnt, but we learnt in a different way”).¹⁰⁰ Isabel said that, because they understood the contents better, it helped them learn. Rita said she enjoyed learning Maths in the sessions better than in her regular classes but she did not explain why she liked it better (“Joana: Why do you think you liked it so much? Rita: Because I didn’t have to be sitting down doing Maths. Joana: Is it cooler to do Maths standing up? Rita: No, but it’s also not cool to do Maths. Joana: But sometimes we did Maths with you! Rita: But I like it better with you. Joana: Why? Rita: I don’t know”).¹⁰¹

Regarding artistic and social contents, the children mentioned learning in terms of: group work, perseverance, feeling more empathy towards the teacher and in the relationship with the colleagues, integration, interacting with new people, strengthening the relationship with the colleagues, explaining things, collective decision-making processes, relaxation and movement.

Some children referred how the project focused so often on group work (Davi) and how it helped them developing team work skills (Nelson and Ana mention it, for example “Ana: I also think we learnt to work together, because the first time I joined the class it was a mess, because I didn’t know, right? In all the sessions we did we had to take photos, and it was all a mess that’s why now we know how to work more in a group, how to organise ourselves”).¹⁰² Emília mentioned that for her, one of the benefits of working as a group, as the project encouraged, was that she could learn from her colleagues (“Emília: No, it’s more like working in group because like this, we don’t share only our idea. We share our colleagues’ and ours as well. And like this we learn more of what he has to say, and we learn more of what they have to say”).¹⁰³

Davi and Nelson both emphasised how the project encouraged them not to give up from the things they could not do at first (for example, “Davi: I thought it was very neat, very cool... the playing you did with us, because it encouraged us to have more joy at school, it encouraged us to try not to stop, not to give up from things we couldn’t do, encouraged us to keep going and to keep going until we got it, not to give up the first time we tried to do it and it wouldn’t work out. It helped me a lot,

¹⁰⁰ “Ana: Porque isto... aprendemos, mas aprendemos de forma diferente.”

¹⁰¹ “Joana: Porque é que achas que gostavas tanto?
Rita: Por causa que eu não tinha de estar sentada a fazer matemática.
Joana: É mais fixe fazer matemática de pé?
Rita: Não, mas também não é fixe fazer matemática.
Joana: Mas nós de vez em quando fazíamos matemática convosco!
Rita: Mas gosto mais com vocês.
Joana: Porquê?
Rita: Não sei.”

¹⁰² “Ana: E também acho que aprendemos a trabalhar em conjunto, porque na primeira vez que eu fui para a turma foi uma confusão, porque eu não sabia, né? Nós todas as sessões que nós fazíamos tínhamos de tirar fotos, e era tudo uma confusão por isso agora nós sabemos trabalhar mais em grupo, a organizar-nos.”

¹⁰³ “Emília: Não, o mais *coiso* é trabalhar em grupo porque assim, só não partilhamos a nossa ideia. Partilhamos a nossa e a dos nossos colegas também. E assim ficamos a aprender mais o que ele têm para dizer, nós ficamos a aprender o que eles têm para dizer.”

because I gave up from many things easily and it didn't work out so well. That's what I think, I find it cool...").¹⁰⁴

One girl (Ana) and one boy (Davi), explained that the project, particularly the fact they taught a class to a group of adults, made them feel more empathy towards their teachers ("Ana: We felt what they, imagine, imagine we're at school, what the teachers are telling us, we felt what the teachers do, right? Which is, imagine, it was fun, but we saw what they go through to teach us a class. (...) Even today I get very annoyed when they [her colleagues] don't obey the teachers, but I also don't obey them, but then I think twice. Sometimes it's hard, you know, to see the teachers yelling"¹⁰⁵ and "Davi: It was very cool because we went through the teacher's role and we realised some things we did and that the teacher didn't like."¹⁰⁶ Davi added that the project changed the relationship his female Romanian colleagues had with the rest of the class, helping in their integration and encouraging them to speak Portuguese ("Davi: Corina and Georgiana, after you got there [to school] they had a bigger incentive to try to speak the language, to try to learn more, they tried to go deeper into the language and that's why they got more cheerful, they stayed more with us, because [before] they would be very quiet in the corner, they didn't have many friends, they didn't have much friendship with the Portuguese [children] from school, they would really just keep to their groups of [Romanian] friends. I think that was very good for them").¹⁰⁷ Nelson said the project helped him interacting with people he did not know previously and taught him and his colleagues how to be together in harmony. Margarida mentioned that the sessions allowed for her to see her teacher under a different light ("Margarida: We had also never sat really just talking just, alone with the teacher."¹⁰⁸ and both she and Emília said that the project helped them establishing a friendship with her colleagues that, according to them, will remain over time.

Nelson mentioned how the participatory experience of the sessions helped him learning how to explain things ("Nelson: It was a way of learning how to explain things. Before I couldn't explain. For example, when I did group work, I'd say 'It has to be like that!' I couldn't explain. Then, after c.e.m's classes, I could explain why").¹⁰⁹ Ana referred the process of collective decision-making the

¹⁰⁴ "Davi: E achei muito legal, muito fixe, é... as brincadeiras que vocês faziam com a gente, porque incentivava a gente a ter mais alegria na escola, incentivava a não tentar parar, desistir das coisas que a gente não conseguia fazer, incentivava a gente a continuar e continuar até a gente conseguir, não desistir na primeira vez que a gente tentasse fazer e não desse. Isso me ajudou muito, porque eu desistia de muita coisa tão fácil e não dava tão certo. É isso que eu acho, eu acho fixe..."

¹⁰⁵ Ana: Sentimos o que é que eles, imagina, imagina estamos na escola, o que os professores nos estão a dizer, nós sentimos o que é que os professores fazem, não é? Que é, imagina, foi divertido, mas já vimos o que eles passam a dar-nos aulas. (...) Até hoje também irrita-me muito quando eles [os seus colegas] não obedecem aos professores, mas eu também não obedeco, mas depois penso duas vezes. Às vezes custa, não é, ver os professores a gritar."

¹⁰⁶ "Davi: Foi muito fixe porque a gente passou pelo papel que a professora nos ensinava e a gente percebeu algumas coisa que a gente fazia e que a professora não gostava."

¹⁰⁷ "Davi: A Georgiana e a Corina, elas depois que vocês chegaram lá [à escola] elas tiveram um incentivo maior para tentar falar a língua, tentar aprender mais, tentaram ficar mais aprofundado na língua e por isso elas ficavam mais alegres, ficavam mais com a gente, porque [antes] elas ficavam muito quietinhas num canto, não tinham muitos amigos, não tinham tanta amizade com os portugueses [crianças] lá da escola, só ficavam com o grupo de amigos deles [romenos] mesmo. Acho que isso foi muito bom para eles."

¹⁰⁸ "Margarida: Nós também nunca tínhamos nos sentado mesmo a falar assim mesmo, só com a professora."

¹⁰⁹ Nelson: Foi uma maneira de aprender a explicar as coisas. Antes eu não conseguia explicar. Por exemplo, quando eu fazia os trabalhos de grupo, eu dizia: "Tem de ser assim!", não sabia explicar. Depois, depois das aulas do c.e.m, eu conseguia explicar porquê."

class went through to organise the class they taught the adults (“Ana: It was difficult also because we had to respect the others’ opinions, and that’s hard for me, right? Because I feel like doing something and then we have to do something else.”).¹¹⁰

Rita said the movement exploration in the beginning of the sessions helped her relax, which was good for her, before working the session’s contents. Diogo, who said he learnt exercises that helped him relax but learning how to relax was not very important to him, reached the opposite conclusion. Ana mentioned how before the sessions we would do a warm up with movement, describing some of the movement sequences sometimes used. Emília also described some of the movement explorations done in the sessions (“Emília: How each part of the human body moves, how the head moves, the hands, the feet, the arms, all that”).¹¹¹

Ambiguity of roles

As Christensen (2004) described that happened with her, after the interview was done, a couple of children took the chance to ask me a few questions of their own, which unfortunately were not registered. Catarina and her friend, however, at the end of the interview, did take the audio recorder from my hand so that she could, then, conduct the interview herself. Their questions revolved around my personal life (if I got along with my parents, where I lived and with whom) and then they went into great detail on what my profession was, on what I did and on what I will do after my PhD. Then, they focused their attention on Lyncoln, who in the middle of the interview had sat next to us, as mentioned before, while waiting for an acupuncture appointment in an association also located in the square. They also asked him about his job and we ended talking about how old we were and our birthdates.

Catarina’s interest in our professional life reveals that, even though she had known us for four years at that time, our presence at school had never really been completely clear to her. Lyncoln and I were at school regularly, we were with her inside the classroom and working very closely with her teacher, but she also saw us outside school, in the neighbourhood, she knew we also worked in the kindergarten which is just a few meters away from her house. The fact that we worked at school but were not teachers, that we worked in the kindergarten but were not kindergarten teachers, the fact that we moved and worked between the borders of these different spaces must have never been clear, despite our past explanation of the project and c.e.m’s work. Furthermore, that me and Lyncoln, despite working together, had different jobs, that I was doing a PhD and he was not, also seemed to be puzzling facts for her.

¹¹⁰ “Ana: Foi difícil porque também tínhamos de respeitar as opiniões dos outros, coisa que é difícil para mim, né? Porque apetece-me ir a fazer uma coisa e depois temos de fazer outra.”

¹¹¹ “Emília: Como cada sítio do corpo humano se movimenta, como se movimenta a cabeça, as mãos, os pés, os braços, isso tudo.”

This reveals, on the one hand, that we could have spent more time talking to the children about what we did and, on the other hand, the general lack of information in Portuguese society regarding the work of researchers and contemporary artists. Additionally, it could also be the case that children do see visitors in school and are maybe not that curious at the time, but when given a specific space and time to think and ask questions about it, then they do get more curious and express it. In the next chapter we will discuss how Carolina also mentioned the ambiguity of the artists' role in the eyes of the children. According to her that was a sign that a part of the projects' goals was accomplished, viz. to be able to blur the roles attributed to the adults working in a school, but it was also a sign, as we concluded as well, of a certain lack of communication between the artists and the students.

Role reversal

In February, 2012 the children from Elda's group taught a class to the adults from c.e.m and to their own teacher, as discussed in the previous chapter. The class was entirely designed by the students, who chose the topic of the class and how they would approach it. Out of the eight children interviewed from the school year of 2011/2012 and who answered the questions, many said they liked teaching the class (Rita, Davi, Isabel, Ana and Diogo). Some did not remember a great deal from the sessions in general, including that particular class, and the fact that they were interviewed more than one year and a half after they happened surely is related to that fact (for instance, Rita said "I never remember the past years...").¹¹²

Davi and Ana, as mentioned above, referred how teaching that class made them feel more empathy towards their own teachers (for example "Davi: It was very cool because we went through the teacher's role and we realised some things we did and that the teacher didn't like").²⁷ Both of them, together with Diogo and Isabel, gave importance to the way the class they taught was prepared and structured ("Davi: It was very cool, it gave us a certain work to... it wasn't a looot of work, a lot of work, but we had a certain work finding the things, thinking of what we would explain, what we knew, we had to research and to write everything in a piece of paper to, like, plan the class, like all teachers do").¹¹³ Ana and Isabel also mentioned the process of planning a class in the blackboard having minutes assigned to each task, and Diogo also mentioned the planning the session had involved ("Diogo: Well, for us, we had the things planned. In the playground we had told the others what we wanted to do, and so on, and that's how teachers do it, I think.").¹¹⁴

¹¹² "Rita: Eu nunca me lembro dos anos passados..."

¹¹³ "Davi: [Riso] Foi muito fixe, a gente teve um certo trabalho pra... não foi um *graaande* trabalho, um grande trabalho, mas a gente teve um certo trabalho para achar as coisas, pensar no que a gente ia explicar, no que a gente sabia, a gente teve que pesquisar e escrever tudo num papel pra, tipo, planejar a aula, como todos os professores fazem."

¹¹⁴ "Diogo: Então, para nós, já tínhamos as coisas planeadas. Nós no recreio já tínhamos dito aos outros aquilo que queríamos fazer, e assim, e é assim que os stôres fazem, acho eu."

Nelson said he did not quite remember the class, but he remembered the feeling of strangeness of the reversed roles (“Actually I can’t remember too well, but I think I felt strange, teaching instead of being taught”).¹¹⁵ Isabel took this idea of the strangeness of role reversal further, when she said that being able to participate in the classes’ organisation was not very important because students’ and teachers’ roles were too different to be able to exchange (“Isabel: I said that for the teacher to become a student, humm... I don’t know! Joana: Because... the teacher can’t become a student? Isabel: He can, but to go from a student to a teacher it’s a bit hard!”¹¹⁶ Unfortunately, she would not develop her opinion).

Her interpretation of this student-taught class was precisely that; it was taught by the students and being the teachers for a short period of time did not alter the fact that they were still the students. Isabel deconstructed thus our proposal to deconstruct the structure of a class. The idea behind the class taught by the children was, on the one hand, to give the power to the children, so that they would think about different pedagogic approaches, how they related to them, how they could perhaps relate differently and establish different relationships among each other, with the teacher, with what they had to learn and, on the other hand, to place them on the same hierarchical level as their teacher and the other adults. With her remark, Isabel showed that she had understood our proposal and she also understood the inevitability of her situation, demonstrating how she was aware of the unequal power relations between the adults and the children, similarly to what Ana and Margarida did with their drawings, as discussed before.

Participation in the shaping of the sessions

Most children said they liked teaching the class or that they found the fact they could participate in the sessions development to be fun (Rita, Davi, Isabel, Emília, Ana and Diogo; for example, Davi acknowledged that the sessions were based on what had been planned with the teacher which was then improvised and merged with the children’s input: “Davi: You also... you based yourselves more or less on our opinion, a bit, and put together, together with the thought you had had, with the class you had done. Joana: Yeah. And what do you think of that? Davi: It’s a good way of teaching, it’s something very cool that I like a lot, if I were a teacher, I would always do that”).¹¹⁷ Emília highlighted the importance of participation to increase the fun of the sessions (“Emília: Yes, I also

¹¹⁵ “Nelson: Por acaso não me lembro muito bem, mas acho que me senti, entranho, a ensinar em vez de ser ensinado.”

¹¹⁶ “Isabel: Eu disse que o professor para passar para aluno, hã... não sei!
Joana: Porque... o professor não consegue passar a ser aluno?
Isabel: Consegue, mas de aluno para passar a ser professor é uma bocado difícil!”

¹¹⁷ “Davi: Vocês também... vocês se baseavam mais ou menos na nossa opinião, um pouco, e juntavam, junto com o pensamento que vocês tiveram, com a aula que vocês fizeram.
Joana: Ia. E o que e que achas disso?
Davi: É uma boa maneira de dar aula, é uma coisa muito gira que eu gosto muito, se eu fosse professor fazia sempre isso.”

found that fun, us choosing what we wanted to do, and... so we could have more fun”).¹¹⁸ Catarina mentioned that for her to be able to participate in the structure of the sessions was important and regrets no longer having that possibility at her new school (“Catarina: Then, I could give the ideas I wanted to, there are certain things that I can’t. At school. I mean, at school I can, right? But not like this. Joana: What do you mean, like this? Catarina: For example, I can say an idea with you that I couldn’t say for example at [my new] school, because it was at school!”).¹¹⁹

Diogo disagreed and said that student participation in the classes’ contents was not important because, for him the fact that this process of bricolage between the students’ suggestions and what had been planned for the sessions reduced the importance of student participation (“Diogo: Humm, no, I didn’t find it very important. Joana: Why? Diogo: Because you also had things planned and we had to do what you had planned!”).¹²⁰ Even though the possibility of a complete change to the sessions’ plan existed, it is true that it would not be likely, the suggested change would have to be explained by the student proposing it and in fact, it never occurred. Small suggestions were frequent from several students, and included in the sessions. Diogo seemed to have understood that difficulty, but at the same time, his reaction also indicated his tendency to obey the established rules of what a class should be like and the relationship of obedience that should be established between the adults and the children.

Work and fun

Most children highlighted the fun aspect of the project (Davi, Nelson, Isabel, Emília, Vera, Margarida, Ana and Diogo). Ana recognised she had a lot of trouble in classes where she had to sit down and be still, listening to the teacher, and emphasised how the sessions were different from those classes (“Ana: Because... we did some fun work, we did... it was also fun because when you came we didn’t have to do contents. Because that... we learnt, but we learnt differently, it wasn’t sitting down, listening to things, those things. Joana: Ok, how was it then? Ana: Ha, like, instead of listening, we did things, we didn’t copy things”).¹²¹

Four children made the association between fun and learning or working and, interestingly, for the children, having fun and learning are not intrinsically opposites, but they considered the two

¹¹⁸ “Emília: Sim, eu achava isso também divertido, nós escolhermos o que queremos fazer, e... para nos divertirmos mais.”

¹¹⁹ “Catarina: Então, assim podia dar as ideias que eu queria, há coisas em que eu não posso. Na escola. Quero dizer, na escola posso, não é? Mas não é assim.
Joana: Assim como?
Catarina: Por exemplo, eu posso dizer uma ideia com vocês que não podia dizer por exemplo na [minha nova] escola, por causa que era na escola!”

¹²⁰ “Diogo: Humm... não, não acho muito importante.
Joana: Porquê?
Diogo: Então, porque vocês também tinham coisas planeadas e tínhamos de fazer o que vocês tinham planeado!”

¹²¹ “Ana: Por causa que... fazíamos trabalhos giros, fazíamos... também era divertido porque quando vocês vinham não tínhamos de fazer matéria. Porque isto... aprendemos, mas aprendemos de forma diferente, não é estar sentado, a ouvir as coisas, essas coisas.
Joana: Ok, era como, então?
Ana: Ah, tipo, em vez de estarmos a ouvir, fazíamos, não copiávamos coisas.”

concepts are treated as such in regular classes. Catarina mentioned that the project helped them learn because they liked the sessions (“Catarina: Because we... I liked it, and if we like it, we learn!”),¹²² and Vera made a similar point and said she learnt in the sessions because they were more fun. Margarida and Diogo established the same relationship and named it in opposition to the boredom (in Margarida’s case) and to their dislike for learning (according to Diogo) in a regular class. “Margarida: I thought they were interesting, and I thought they were fun. Because at the same time you put together the interesting with the... you didn’t make it boring, as if it really were a class. I liked it because at the end of everything that was a game and we learnt more things.”¹²³ “Diogo: We [in the sessions] joined together study and play. And like that we made things more fun, and like that it’s a much easier way of learning. Joana: Why is it easier? Diogo: Well, we joined together playing and learning. Something we like with something we dislike. Joana: And you think that is... that way of learning, what do you think of that way of learning? Diogo: I think it stays; it’s easier to keep in the memory. Joana: Ok, why? Diogo: Because we remember the game, when we are remembering the game, we remember what we were doing, and like that we remember the curricular content”.¹²⁴ When she was explaining her drawing, Catarina also emphasised the opposition between working and having fun, when she said “Catarina: So, despite everything, we liked it very much. Joana: Despite everything, what do you mean? Catarina: So, we worked, right, but we liked each other”.¹²⁵ In the view of these children regular classes are boring, learning in a regular class is something they disliked and when you work you often have to do it with people you do not necessarily like. It is not that they said they disliked learning per se, they liked learning things in the project, but they associated negative feelings with classes and work.

Autobiography and collective book

During the interviews, a curious event occurred: many children mentioned having written a book as one of the important moments of the project and I always assumed they were referring to the book we published at the end of the school year (discussed as one of the five episodes from the previous chapter), including collective stories, but in fact some of them were referring to a book we had individually made in the sessions before the collective book, where each one of them was invited to write their autobiography. For some of them, that hand-made personal book was more relevant than

¹²² “Catarina: Porque nós... eu gostei, e se nós gostamos, aprendemos!”

¹²³ “Margarida: Eu achei interessantes, e achei engraçadas. Porque ao mesmo tempo que vocês juntaram o interessante com o... não tornaram aquilo mesmo uma seca, como se fosse mesmo uma aula. Gostei porque no fim de tudo aquilo foi uma brincadeira e aprendemos mais coisas.”

¹²⁴ “Diogo: Então, [nas sessões] juntamos a brincadeira com o aprender. Uma coisa que nós gostamos com uma coisa que não gostamos.

Joana: E tu achas que isso é... essa forma de aprender, o que é que tu achas dessa forma de aprender?

Diogo: Eu acho que fica, é mais fácil para ficar na memória.

Joana: Ok, porquê?

Diogo: Porque lembramo-nos do jogo, enquanto estamos a lembrar-nos do jogo, lembramo-nos do que nós estávamos a fazer, e assim lembramo-nos da matéria.”

¹²⁵ “Catarina: Então, apesar de tudo nós gostávamos muito.

Joana: Apesar de tudo o quê?

Catarina: Então, nós trabalhávamos, né, mas gostávamos uns dos outros.”

the published collective story. Emília was one of them and she said that with that book they would always remember what they lived (“Emília: Because... like this I’ll never forget what happened.”).¹²⁶ Nelson, interviewed at that time, said writing his own book was his favourite project so far and Isabel said that even after the school year was over she kept using the book as her diary. When first asked about the book, Catarina also mentioned first the biography.

Regarding the published book, all the children interviewed said they had fun doing it, they liked the final result (even though Diogo and Nelson found its structure surprising, despite the fact that they were present when it was discussed; for instance, Nelson said, “I didn’t think it would be like this, but it was very good. It didn’t get those stories that had, how should I put it, had everything... aye, everything, everything square, that was fun because it was one photo like this [horizontal], the other like this [vertical], and then, then we mixed at the end [the] stories, only one story came out, it was fun.”),¹²⁷ and that they still have the book with them. For Davi, the fact that he had Nicolae’s incentive was important in the process. Vera, who participated in the project the year after, said that writing for the school newspaper “Diário da Madalena” [Madalena’s Diary] made her more inspired to write and make drawings. Ana mentioned that taking the photographs for the book was her favourite part and that writing the collective stories was no easy task (“Ana: I think it was fun, but I think that at the same time... it’s not so common, is it? Because we were used to writing our own stories and I think it was, I think then it was more... no, it gave more work. Because some said one thing, the others said... and then we couldn’t reach a conclusion, but now when we make our own story it’s easier, it’s organi... we say what we think and we write it. Together no, we had to prepare the ideas, see which ones were the best, which weren’t. But even so I think it was good.”).¹²⁸ It made her realise how hard it must be for the authors to write their own books and stories (“Ana: I think that I know what, how do the authors, when they write, the writers, when they write the books, I know what they think, I think that, I think it gives a lot of work, like us, it took a long time, right? Then if we are many, we took some time, and then imagine one, one writer writing! [Laughs] Joana: One writer alone? Ana: Right!”).¹²⁹ Last but not least, Diogo said he enjoyed the experience of writing a book and valued the collective process it involved before reaching the final stage of writing one story (“Diogo: Humm, the book experience. I thought it was fun, to create a book together,

¹²⁶ “Emília: Porque... assim nunca me vou esquecer do que passou.”

¹²⁷ “Nelson: Eu não pensava que ia ser assim, mas ficou muito bom. Não ficou aquelas histórias, que tinham, como é que eu hei-de dizer, tinham tudo... ai, tudo, tudo muito certo, aquilo ficou giro por causa que uma foto tava assim [horizontal], outra assim [vertical], e depois, depois misturámos no fim [as] histórias, deu numa história, foi giro.”

¹²⁸ “Ana: Acho que foi divertido, mas acho que foi ao mesmo tempo... não foi assim tão habitual, não é? Porque nós estávamos habituados a escrever as próprias histórias e acho que foi, nessa altura acho que foi mais... não, que deu mais trabalho. Porque uns diziam umas coisas, outros diziam... depois não chegávamos à conclusão, mas agora quando nós fazemos a nossa própria história já é mais fácil, é organi... dizemos o que nós pensamos e escrevemos. Em conjunto não, tínhamos de preparar as ideias, ver qual eram as que estavam melhores, as que não estavam. Mas mesmo assim eu acho que foi bom.”

¹²⁹ “Ana: Acho que, já sei o que é que, como é que os autores, quando escrevem, os escritores, quando escrevem os livros, já sei o que é que eles pensam, acho que, acho que dá muito trabalho, como nós, demorou buéda tempo, né? Então se somos muitos, demorámos algum tempo, então imagina um, um escritor a escrever! [Risos]
Joana: Um escritor sozinho?
Ana: Pois!”

brainstorming the ideas and putting them together into one, as if we were writing a real story.”).¹³⁰ He thought that the fact the stories were written collectively helped improving their quality (“Diogo: Humm... we had several groups, we had 4 or 3, and one wrote a story of each group, and then we told it and the other group gave ideas. So, [working] like that I thought we could put together ideas and write a better story.”).¹³¹

REVOADA

As referred previously, the NEIGHBOURS part of THE BODY AT SCHOOL project was the name given to the work in the last term of school, when a project, chosen by the students, was developed establishing a connection between the school and the neighbourhood. In the school year of 2011/2012, this led to the making of the book. The year after that, as explained in the past two chapters, NEIGHBOURS was called REVOADA (flock/flight) and happened not only with the children from school during the school time, but also over ten Saturdays in open sessions where the children who had previously taken part of the project could come (Rita, Sonia and Catarina came regularly), their families and friends, as well as all the people from c.e.m and the children from school (the teachers Elda and Inês joined in some of the weekend sessions, apart from the ones during the week). In 2012/2013, the project became the reconstruction and creation of a garden in the remains of an abandoned building in Largo da Achada in Mouraria. At the end of the school year, another book was published, with a story written by Lyncoln and illustration and secondary stories by the children who took part in REVOADA, while writing a book about the process. The night before the book was launched many children, along with their parents, the teachers Elda and Inês and the artists from c.e.m camped in Largo da Achada, spending the night not in the abandoned house, which would have been too small, but in the square itself which is a pedestrian area.

Different aspects of the REVOADA part of the project were highlighted by different children. Isabel and Catarina mentioned the fact that some of the sessions happened outside of the classroom, around Mouraria. The most detailed descriptions, however, came from the students who joined the project in the school year of 2012/2013 and who accompanied all the REVOADA sessions that involved a more detailed and complex work with the neighbourhood, in the process that involved occupying and turning the empty remnants of a building into something the children had co-created.

Margarida, on the one hand, mentioned how much fun she had, that the adults never got angry at them and mentioned the fact that she tried different things (“Margarida: I liked it because we had

¹³⁰ “Diogo: Hã, a experiência do livro. Achei divertido, tamos a criar um livro, a lançar ideia para o ar e a juntá-las numa só, como se estivéssemos a escrever uma história verdadeira.”

¹³¹ “Diogo: Hã... nós tínhamos vários grupos, tínhamos 4 ou 3, e um escrevia uma história de cada grupo, e depois dizíamos e o outro grupo dava a ideias. Então, [trabalhar assim] assim achei que podíamos juntar as ideias e escrever uma história melhor.”

fun, and you never scolded us, even if we were slapping each other and saying “aye, you can’t paint” you wouldn’t scold us, you only told us to be quiet, and let us paint and... do things, and feel the paint in our hands, then we learnt more things.”).¹³² On the other hand, she learnt how to reuse an old house and she enjoyed getting to know different people and different things, in a common work (“Margarida: I liked it, because you showed us new things, and made it so we wouldn’t always be inside the school learning the same things. That’s what I think, and I think the house looked nice, and that we all worked very hard together, and that is good for our future.”).¹³³ She also added that after the work in the house, many people would like to live in it (“Margarida: We learnt how to take advantage from an old house, abandoned, and that many people would like to have that house now”).¹³⁴

Vera, on the other hand, mentioned what she learnt about plants and the use of recycled material (“Vera: inside it I even understood we used to do many things, like, sausage tins and pineapple tins, that I used to take, and we planted things there (...) I learnt how to make very useful things, and that shoes could also be used, we used like, a drawer to make a bookshelf, things like that, old and a bit damaged, we would reuse them again, like... those deposits, like, to recycle.”).¹³⁵ She also mentioned the night we all camped in the square in front of the house and that the house had some magical feeling to it, because people in the street could not see what was happening inside it and could not imagine what it was like on the inside (“Vera: That looked like a really big garden, but actually it was small, that was just, humm... small, but it was like, as if it were something just magical, outside is small, it looks a bit small, but inside it’s like all this part! This whole room, filled with flants, ha, flants, plants, hearts, ha... some watering cans, a water can, earth, seeds... and many things that... tins, many reused objects.”).¹³⁶ Finally, she referred to the decorating process and that the adults let them try all the techniques used (“Vera: Lyncoln, Adriana, let many people try many things. Imagine that there was something very fun, they would let everyone try once, five times, six times, in just one fun thing. Like, painting something with graffiti and... making a game for the graffiti was like this, it was like this, and then there, we would do it, with paper, then we cut it there,

¹³² “Margarida: Eu gostei porque nós divertimo-nos, e vocês nunca ralharam connosco, por mais que nós andássemos às bofetadas e a dizer “aiii, que tu não sabes pintar” vocês não ralhavam connosco, só nos, diziam para estarmos quietos, e deixavam-nos pintar e... fazer coisas, e sentirmos a tinta nas mãos, depois aprendemos mais coisas.”

¹³³ “Margarida: E eu gostei, porque vocês mostraram-nos novas coisas, e fizeram com que nós não estivéssemos sempre na escola a aprender sempre as mesmas coisas. E é isso que eu acho, e acho que a casa ficou bonita, com o trabalho de todos, e acho que trabalhámos muito em conjunto, e isso é bom para o nosso futuro.”

¹³⁴ “Margarida: Aprendemos a aproveitar uma casa velha, abandonada, e que muitas pessoas gostavam de ter agora aquela casa.”

¹³⁵ “Vera: Lá dentro até percebi que usávamos várias coisas, tipo, latas de salsichas e latas de ananás, que eu costumava trazer, e plantávamos lá coisas. (...)Aprendi a fazer coisas muito úteis, que os sapatos também podiam ser utilizados, usámos tipo, uma gaveta para ser uma estante, coisas assim, velhas e um pouco estragadas, voltávamos a reutilizá-las, tipo... naqueles depósitos, tipo, da reciclagem.”

¹³⁶ “Vera: Aquilo parecia um jardim mesmo grande, por acaso era pequeno, aquilo era só hum... pequeno, mas era tipo como se fosse uma coisa só magia, por fora é pequeno, parece um pouco pequeno, mas por dentro é tipo esta parte toda! Esta sala toda, mas cheia de *flantas*, ah, *flantas*, plantas, de corações, ah... alguns regadores de água, um regador, terra, sementes... e muitas coisas que... latas, muitos objectos reutilizados.”

with sellotape, then we could do the graffiti as many times as we wanted, they let everybody do many things, even if it's just once or twice, they let you try many times.”).¹³⁷

Summary and conclusion of the chapter

Briefly resuming all the answers, the children’s interviews were divided into seven themes: effects of the sessions, ambiguity of roles, role reversal, participation in the shaping of the sessions, work and fun, autobiography and the collective book and REVOADA. The effects of the sessions were divided into the curricular contents and the artistic/social contents. The curricular contents were subdivided into: revision of the contents, grammar, learning how to read and write, the solar system, plate tectonics, history, geometry, the human body, learning and understanding. The artistic/social contents were subdivided into: group work, perseverance, empathy towards the teacher, integration, interacting with new people, relationship with the colleagues, explaining things, collective decision-making, relaxation, movement.

The following diagram explains the division of the themes in the interviews and who mentioned them.

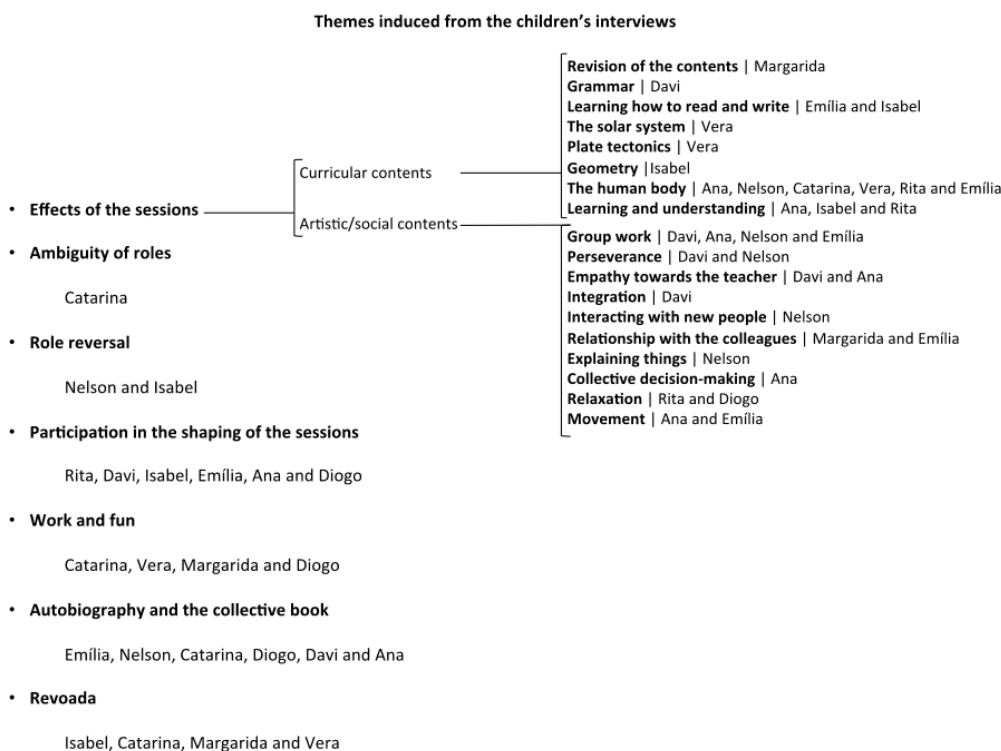


Figure 82: Themes induced from the children’s interviews.

¹³⁷ “Vera: O Lincoln, a Adriana, deixavam muita gente experimentar muita coisa. Imagina que houvesse uma coisa muito divertida, deixava toda a gente experimentar uma, cinco vezes, seis vezes, só numa coisa divertido. Tipo, pintar uma coisa, com graffiti e... fazer um jogo para o graffiti era assim, era assim, e depois lá, íamos fazer, com papel, depois cortávamos lá, com fita adesiva, depois podíamos fazer quantas vezes quiséssemos o graffiti, deixavam toda a gente fazer muita coisa, nem que seja só uma ou duas, deixavam experimentar várias vezes.”

In relation to our first research question, about the curricular and pedagogic contents of the project, the interviews revealed the project served as a learning device of a broad spectre of contents. From sciences to grammar and reading and writing, the children referred to many topics they learnt through the project, including the tools it gave them to learn and understand the curricular contents in general. On the subject of the artistic and social contents, the students also mentioned different aspects of the project, such as the impact it had on their ability to work as a group, on their perseverance, integration, ability to explain things, to participate in collective decision-making processes, on relaxation and movement. On this theme, comparing the results from the drawings and the interviews there are some interesting points. The artistic and social contents of the project had an impact in terms of the relationships the children established, be it among themselves, be it with the teachers or with the artists. Concerning the interaction with new people, it was mentioned in the interview only by one boy, but in the drawings five children drew people from c.e.m, who they had met through the project. With regard to the children's relationship with their colleagues, two girls mentioned it in their interviews and two other did it in their drawings, by depicting former colleagues with whom they had lost touch.

Regarding the learning approach of the project, three children mentioned specifically how it helped them learn. One girl thought she learnt better and understood the contents during the sessions and one boy explained that, when he learnt something in the sessions while he was playing a game, afterwards he could remember what he had learnt by remembering the game; this idea will be discussed further on.

One important aspect from the data from the children's drawings and interviews was their idea of the temporal restriction of the project, that is, that the project and its sessions, and all the behavioural, relational and hierarchical changes they brought along were only temporary. The children also knew that the sessions of the project were restricted in time not only in their daily routine, that is, they knew there were certain days of the week in which they would experience these changes in the sessions, but also, in a larger timeframe, the children knew that after they moved to a new school they would not continue the project. In the trajectory of their education, the project happened during a relatively short period of time. The temporal restriction of the project was present in the drawings of seven children by nostalgic remarks, such as the fact that they depicted people with whom they had contact in the sessions, but whom they hardly talked to by the time they made their were interviewed.

As far as the tension or complementarity between working and pleasure is concerned, it was present in the drawings of one child. A girl mentioned how she learnt and had fun in the sessions and highlighted the importance of affection in the project, by drawing what she called a "friendship

line” between the characters. She argued, while explaining her drawing, that in regular work environments people did not like each other, but at school, in her own work environment, the children liked the artists from c.e.m, and also worked with them. Even though she did not refer to any hierarchy between the children and the adults, it was underlying to her explanation that, in her metaphor with a working environment, the artists from c.e.m were the bosses of the children, the people who are usually disliked. Four children also made reference in their interviews to the fact that the project allowed them to have fun and, at the same time, to learn and work. In a girl and in a boy’s case, this relationship was established in opposition to the boredom of regular classes or dislike for learning, respectively. Another girl approached the subject comparing the project’s methodologies to the children’s passive role in their regular classes and her conclusion was that in the project the children did “fun work”, where they learnt by doing things, while the rest of the time they were sitting down and listening to the teacher.

Other children described in their drawings the emotions and affection that arose between the intervenients of the project. One girl mentioned the sense of freedom; one boy described the happiness and Isabel who also made a drawing about the friendship developed in the project’s sessions. In their interview, both of them also mentioned how the project gave the children more joy and fun (respectively) at school.

Regarding the second research question, several children illustrated or mentioned particular parts of the project which were developed by them, such as the book, the REVOADA meetings or the class taught by the children. The making of the autobiography and the collective book also had an important impact on the children, as many of them made reference to the book in their interview and some also mentioned it in their drawings. Two girls who are sisters drew the cover of the book that was done with their class and two other girls depicted moments that happened in the making of the collective book. Lastly, the REVOADA was mentioned in the interviews by four girls, two of which also depicted the REVOADA sessions in their drawings. This question was also partly addressed by three children who emphasised the relational side of the project, by expressing their desire for it to continue with other children (one girl and one boy in their interviews, another girl in her drawing, with the drawing of a stamp) and the same had been mentioned by two girls in a session of making of the book (as mentioned in the previous chapter).

Regarding the third research question, about the project’s idea of creating moments of gender, ethnicity and development equality, two girls who were also sisters, showed a great dimorphism in the gender treatment of the characters in their drawings, which were supposed to represent the project. We knew from the start that overcoming societal hierarchies, even if temporarily, would be impossible and this might mean that the idea of horizontality and equality promoted by the

exercises in terms of gender would not be achieved. However, it might also be simply explained as an artistic choice of both sisters of how to draw girls, after all, the youngest girl only attended one session of the project with her class.

Giving a concrete example of this subject, one boy, while explaining his drawing, made a first person account of how he felt in the project's sessions coming from a different country and school and feeling different from the rest of the class. He started attending the sessions almost immediately after he arrived in Portugal and he said they made him feel very happy and helped him learn the Portuguese from Portugal. He added the influence he felt the project had on two of his peers, the two Romanian girls of the class (the youngest of which was the central girl in the third episode in the previous chapter). According to him, the sessions were important in their integration, making them feel happier at school and with more friends, from outside the Romanian circle.

On the fourth research question, the recognition of the children's formal, informal and non-formal knowledge was indirectly answered by the children, who showed how much they valued the aspects of the project that highlighted the children's knowledge, formal, informal and non-formal. The children referred to the making of the book, to the REVOADA meetings and the class taught by them in their drawings and in their interviews. Regarding their formal knowledge, the children extensively exemplified what they learnt in the project's sessions, secondly, they highlighted their experience of participating, in the sense of sharing ideas and experiences, in the REVOADA sessions. Thirdly, as examples of the children's knowledge, some children exemplified how the group work that was practiced in the project allowed them and their colleagues to learn from one another and how the children's ideas were included in the sessions.

Additionally, we argue that the matter of knowledge in the project came hand in hand with emotion. On the one hand, several children referred to the pleasure they felt in the sessions, as we have described above. On the other hand, along with the recognition of the children's knowledge, some children realised the power that gave them; the power to tell the adults what to do when they were the teachers of a class, for example. But the children also realised that that power was limited to the project and that in their remaining life at school they would not experience the same situation.

On the fifth research question, the ambiguity of the roles played by the artists at school was mentioned by one girl in her interview and no other child alluded to it, but Carolina, one of the artists who was involved in the project from its beginning in Lisbon, also referred to the same, as can be read in the next chapter. The girl's comments mean two things: on the one hand that there was not enough communication between the artists and the children in that matter and, on the other, that there is a generalised lack of information regarding the work of researchers and artists.

Four children pointed out in their interviews and two girls included in their drawings, aspects concerning the feeling of role reversal experienced by the children when they taught a class to a group of adults. A boy and a girl mentioned in their interviews that the project made them feel more empathy towards their teacher as both of them described the effort they felt while performing the role of their teacher, that is, both children acknowledged the work involved to teach a class and recognised the attitudes they occasionally had and that displeased their teachers. Isabel made a very interesting reflection about this topic as she considered that, despite being offered the opportunity to teach a class to the adults of c.e.m and to their own teacher, that was an occasional event, since it would not change the permanent unequal power relation between the children and the adults. About the same topic, as mentioned before, one girl's drawing explanation had a veiled reference to considering the artists as hierarchically superior to the children. This again showed not only that the children were well aware of the power relations in their lives, but also that, no matter how horizontal were the practices of the project, the asymmetry in the relations between adults and children were still present, in the children's view. Her sister, to add complexity to this point, might also have made a symbolic representation about this in her drawing, but in her case, we argued that she depicted how the power relations shifted between the adults and the children. To corroborate this conclusion, in her interview, even though she had a different experience of the project than the other children, the girl mentioned that the only session she had with her class made her see her teacher differently, as they had never had a normal conversation before, that is, she felt in that moment a reciprocity between the children and their teacher.

The children's participation in the shaping of the sessions was considered an important part of the project the children, who referred to it in their drawings (indirectly) and in their interviews. Six children said they found being able to participate in the sessions development to be fun and they valued the fact that the sessions were a result of an improvisation between what had been planned, merged with the children's input during the class. One girl regretted no longer having that possibility at her new school, but one boy disregarded the importance of participation in the sessions saying that the artists had a previously designed plan for the session that he felt that had to be followed through, which reduced the possibility of student participation.

Lastly, our sixth research question revolved around how the project could establish a relationship between the school and the community and REVOADA was mentioned by several children. The two youngest girls referred to it in greater detail, with one of them mentioning how fun the sessions were, that they got to know different people and to reuse an old house that could after the sessions be used for someone to live in. This last remark was an exaggeration on her part but it shows that the children were definitely aware of the housing situation in their neighbourhood, particularly of

its many empty and abandoned houses and the existence of homeless people, who needed a house to live in. The other girl said that she learnt about plants, how to use recycled material, that she enjoyed the decoration of the house and the fact that the adults let the children try out everything. She added that the house had a magical feeling to it, appearing to be much bigger from the inside than it was from the outside and she also mentioned the night of the camp in the square.

In conclusion, in this chapter the children were given a direct voice about the project and in their interviews and drawings the children highlighted the curricular, artistic and social skills worked in the project, giving particular importance to the relational and emotional aspect of the project. The children mentioned that the sessions were important to the integration of different children, and explained how they helped them work their relationship with their colleagues. They discussed in detail the class they taught, the experience of making of the book and the REVOADA sessions and gave their opinion regarding the organisation of the project and the impact it had in their learning and experience of the school life. In the following chapter, we will discuss the interviews of the teachers and the artists.

Chapter 6 – The Teachers and c.e.m's staff assessment of the project

This chapter analyses and presents the remaining interview data produced after the conclusion of the project. These interviews were carried out as a way to give direct voice to those who took part in the sessions. In the previous chapter we discussed the interviews and the drawings made by the children about the project THE BODY AT SCHOOL. We shall now turn to the statements given by the teachers and the artists on the same topic. The interviews were semi-structured and were conducted by me.

Throughout my three years of fieldwork, the project was carried out mainly with two teachers, Elda and Inês. As mentioned in Chapter 3, the contact with Escola da Madalena was established by c.e.m in order to do a workshop called “The body”, with all the children from the school. Of all the four teachers in the school at the time, the artists from c.e.m experienced a lot of empathy with Elda, hence the idea arose to create a more continuous project together. This was one of the reasons why THE BODY AT SCHOOL moved from Escola Passos Manuel to Escola da Madalena. In the third year of fieldwork, Inês joined the project with her class (two other teachers had also occasional sessions with their classes and took part in the REVOADA sessions). Elda and Inês were interviewed together in January 2013 at school, after the children had left. Elda was at the time thirty-nine-years-old and Inês was twenty-nine-years-old.

The team from the dance association, c.e.m, that worked in the project changed over time and in the interviews we tried to talk to artists who were part of the different stages of the project. The people from c.e.m's team were interviewed separately between November 2012 and July 2014. The nine interviews were conducted with people who worked for, with, or around the project: Sofia Neuparth, Alex Campos, Lyncoln Diniz, Adriana Reyes, Juliana Alves, Paula Petreca, Carolina Höfs, Graça Passos and Daniela Craveiro.

The process of the interviews was the same as with the children: the teachers and the artists chose where their interviews would take place, I explained them the goal of the interview, that they could choose not to answer the questions and that the interview could be stopped at any time. Everyone agreed. The script of the interview with the teachers was the following:

1. How would you describe the project?
2. How do you think the sessions helped the children learn?
3. How did you benefit from the project?
4. Were there any differences in the relationship of the children towards their peers and towards the school in general?

5. Is there any specific moment you remember from the sessions?
6. How would you evaluate the project, which goals were fulfilled and which were not?

The question “How would you describe the project?” was as an icebreaker and a way of gathering answers to the first research question, how the project influenced the children’s learning and growth. The second question, about how the sessions helped the children learn, also answered the first research question, and provided additional information for the second (about the children developing their own projects at school), third (about the minimisation of gender, ethnic and developmental differences among the children) and fourth (about valuing the children’s formal, informal and non-formal knowledge) research questions. When we asked the teachers how they benefitted from the project, the question was meant as a way of evaluating the fifth research topic, concerning the hierarchy inside the classroom (not only between the children and the teachers, but also the hierarchy that could have been established between the adults, teachers and artists).

The question about the way the children related to each other answered the third research question, about the gender, ethnic and developmental differences between the children. The question about how the children related to the school with the project hinted at answering the fifth research question, about hierarchy between the teachers and the students. The answers to the question on whether the teachers remembered any specific moment from the sessions were important in generating data about the third research question, about how the project’s exercises minimised the influence of gender, ethnicity and development. The last question was not related to any specific research question, it was simply related to the criticism the teachers could have to the project. The REVOADA sessions were not addressed in the teachers interview because at the time, they had only just begun and we were still considering including only the first two years of the fieldwork in the thesis; the decision to include also the third year came later on, after the sessions gained such an interesting dynamic.

The interviews of the artists had the following basic script:

1. How would you describe the project?
2. Who was it designed for?
3. How did the sessions influence the children’s learning?
4. What were the consequences and how can the project influence the children, the school, the teachers and the families?

The first question was designed to allow the people being interviewed to feel comfortable, and it was used to answer the first research question about the impact the project had on the children. The

question “Who was it designed for?” answered the fifth research question, about the hierarchy in the classroom. The question about how the sessions influenced the children’s learning answered the first research question, as well as the second (about the children developing their own projects at school) and the fourth (about how the project valued the children's different types of knowledge). The question about the influence the project had on the children, the school, the teachers and the families, provided data with which to answer our first, third and fifth research questions. There were many artists who were interviewed and who had different roles in very different periods of the project. Most of them, however, were no longer working on *THE BODY AT SCHOOL* by the time they were interviewed; hence, this basic script was often substantially modified according to who was being interviewed. For example, it would have made no sense to ask the artists who were only involved in the early stages of the project about the REVOADA sessions and that theme only came up in the interviews that were done after we decided to include the last year of the fieldwork in the thesis. That is why Lincoln, who was very much involved in REVOADA but who was one of the first artists to be interviewed, in November 2012, was not asked about it; at the time of his interview, REVOADA was still only a vague idea.

As described in Chapter 2, the interviews that were audio recorded were transcribed into text. We did the content analysis of the text and pooled the results from the interviews into four dimensions (self, peers, school and c.e.m). In each of these dimensions we created categories of analysis. In the teachers’ interviews, the categories were: family, education/learning approach, body and corporeity, children, classes' contents, teachers and school workers, book, relationship between c.e.m and the school, relationship, learning, qualification/evaluation of the sessions. For the artists, the categories were: family, education/learning approach, body and corporeity, children, classes' contents, sessions, school/class/classroom, teachers and school workers, behaviour, book, relationship between c.e.m and the school, relationship, learning, children participation, qualification/evaluation of the sessions, street/neighbourhood/Mouraria, REVOADA. For each category, we then did the discourse analysis of all the interviews. The teachers’ results revealed three main topics: effects of the project on the children, teamwork c.e.m-school, and integration of the project in the teachers’ organisation. The artists’ results showed five topics: effects of the project on the children, teamwork c.e.m-school, children participation in the shaping of the sessions, REVOADA and criticism. The results from the interviews will be discussed below.

The teachers

Analysis of the interviews with the teachers

After being analysed, the interview made with both teachers was divided into three main themes: effects of the project on the children, teamwork c.e.m-school and integration of the project in the teachers' organisation.

Effects of the project on the children

According to the teachers the project clearly had an impact on the children and the teachers. The teachers highlighted the influence of THE BODY AT SCHOOL in terms of language learning, inclusion, self-confidence, learning from the body, behaviour, the book experience, the involvement of the families, the ability to share space, and as a meeting point for the children who had left the school.

Firstly, it was noted by both teachers that the project's sessions helped the children who could not speak Portuguese, which was particularly important in a school with so many foreign students, many of whom could not speak any Portuguese in the beginning of the school year. Elda, on the one hand, said that the project allowed for a wide range of experiences for the children and that it was useful for all of them, particularly for the children who had not mastered Portuguese or who had learning difficulties, and they all learnt more easily. For example, Elda said: "I think everything we do in c.e.m's sessions facilitates, makes the kids grow up, makes them learn more easily. The children who don't speak and have more difficulties only benefit from all of this, because in the middle of this whole path, they find themselves in a point. Any point. And they have more varied options to be able to fit what is more appropriate."¹³⁸). She exemplified this by mentioning Arogya, a boy with whom she managed to start communicating using a game played in a previous session [Arogya was a student in Elda's class during the last year of the fieldwork, he was in the 1st grade and was not a part of the group of students who were interviewed]. According to her, the fact that he had been playing with something he needed to learn gave him the ability to use that knowledge intuitively.

"Elda: Here I can tell Arogya's story, for example, who did not speak in the beginning, when you were here, and one of the things I had asked to work in the sessions was communication. Since many children are foreign, let us work to make them comfortable, to communicate, not to be afraid to speak out. On a vocabulary level, that game with the telephones made him start speaking, and I started using that strategy, when I needed him to answer something. I used it and he answered; it is something extraordinary, it is immediate. Because he played with it. There was no instruction for a certain task; he

¹³⁸ "Elda: Acho que tudo aquilo que nós fizemos nas sessões do c.e.m facilita, faz os miúdos crescer, e faz-nos aprender com maior facilidade. Os meninos que não falam e têm mais dificuldades só têm a beneficiar com tudo isto, porque no meio deste percurso todo, eles encontram-se num ponto. Em qualquer um. E têm um leque variado para se poderem enquadrar naquilo que melhor se adequa."

was playing, simply. He was playing with something he needed to learn, right? That was the will to speak, a will to speak. So, that made him use the same strategy when I needed to in class, and he was at ease with it”¹³⁹.

Inês added that three of her students did not speak the language and found in the sessions a means of integration in the rest of the class, for the sessions became moments when they could do exactly the same as their colleagues, without being treated differently.

“Inês: This year I have three boys who arrived out of nowhere and barely spoke [Portuguese]. What we can see is that in the activities you do with them, because they [the activities] are different, and because they do not need solely and exclusively to speak, they can [participate]. They need to know what you want, all right, but from the moment on they understand it (as it ends up being a game and they understood it, but they do not need to communicate a lot, they only have to do the activity), they managed to do exactly the same as the others. So they stopped feeling, so to say, excluded, or that they are doing a different work. No, they felt part of the group. Which is an advantage. Regardless of having difficulties or not, they can do the same as the others. That increases their self-esteem and all because they feel just like the others. For a moment, even if it is brief, they can do exactly the same thing, without us having to find different strategies. Which is very good for them”¹⁴⁰.

Secondly, in terms of the project’s effect on the children’s self confidence and inclusion, apart from what was mentioned just before by Inês, Elda added that the children not only became more self-confident, but they also assessed information more easily (“Elda: Not only regarding the learning process, I think they find it easier to expose what they need to expose. I think they find it easier to search for information, both on a curricular level and on a personal level.”¹⁴¹). Elda explained the project as being a physical continuity of what she taught the children, therefore helping the process of learning. After being involved in the project for some time, she noticed differences in the children, who became more self-confident.

“Elda: This project is almost like a continuity, a physical continuity, of what is done at school. In the other years I’ve been working with c.e.m, I said children learn with the body what we then can’t teach them with words. And that’s why I think it’s a project that respects children as a whole, making them more available for learning, and learning in an easier way. That is why we have continued for all these years, because then you see this evolution, you see the result. The difference between these children without the project, and the children who were involved in the project. They are children who speak,

¹³⁹ “Elda: Aqui posso contar a história do Arogya, por exemplo, que não falava no início, quando vocês estiveram cá, e uma das coisas que eu tinha pedido para trabalharmos nas sessões era a comunicação. Uma vez que são muito meninos estrangeiros, vamos trabalhar o pô-los à vontade, o comunicar, o não ter medo de dizer as coisas. A nível de vocabulário, aquele jogo com os telefones fez com que ele começasse a falar, e eu comecei a utilizar essa estratégia para, quando precisava que ele me respondesse a alguma coisa, utilizava isso e ele respondia, é uma coisa extraordinária, é imediato. Porque ele brincou com isso. Não havia a indicação para uma determinada tarefa, ele estava a brincar, simplesmente. Ele estava a brincar com uma coisa que ele precisava de adquirir, não é? Que era uma vontade de dizer as coisas. Então, isso fez com que ele utilizasse essa mesma estratégia quando eu precisei na aula, e fê-lo com à vontade.”

¹⁴⁰ “Inês: Este ano tenho três meninos que chegaram caidinhos de paraquedas e que pouco falavam. O que se nota é que, nas actividades que vocês fazem com eles, por serem diferentes [as actividades], e por não necessitarem única e exclusivamente de falar, eles conseguem [participar]. Eles precisam de perceber o que vocês querem, tudo bem, mas a partir do momento em que percebem, (como acaba por ser um jogo e conseguiram perceber, mas não precisam de comunicar muito, basta conseguirem realizar a actividade), conseguiram fazer o mesmo exactamente do que os outros. Então deixaram de se sentir, entre aspas, postos de lado, ou que estão a fazer um trabalho diferente. Não, sentiram-se a fazer parte do grupo. O que é uma vantagem. Independentemente de terem dificuldades ou não, conseguem fazer o mesmo que os outros. Isso aumenta a auto-estima deles e tudo porque se sentem iguaizinhos aos outros. Por momentos, por pouco que seja, conseguem fazer exactamente a mesma coisa, sem nós precisarmos de arranjar estratégias diferentes. O que é muito bom para eles.”

¹⁴¹ “Acho que eles, não só a nível das aprendizagens, têm mais facilidade em expor-me aquilo que precisam de expor. Acho que há mais facilidade em ir buscar informação, a nível curricular, a nível pessoal.”

who aren't afraid to expose themselves, who express themselves, even with difficulties, even with the language barriers, they just express themselves."¹⁴².

She gave Emília's example, who took part in the project not knowing how to read or write, with a great fear of exposure and, with time, she overcame that fear.

"Elda: I remember Marizette [Emília], for example, and the fact she came [to Portugal] at the age of twelve years old, not knowing how to write, and how the tasks we gave her and the activities we developed in c.e.m's classes helped Marizette [Emília] a great deal in being able to communicate, being able to expose, being able to write. I don't know if you remember, in the beginning, she was very scared, and covered it up, and by the end, good or bad, she did it, she was no longer afraid of doing it."¹⁴³.

Thirdly, regarding learning from the body, Elda added that she had been teaching for seventeen years using a method called the "phonomimic method", that "it involves the whole body; we start from our body to learn"¹⁴⁴, and she believed that "even children with difficulties learn from the body. They may not get here [makes a gesture with the hand indicating a point], but they'll always get somewhere. And c.e.m reinforces just what I do daily with them. That allows me to work better, and with them it has been really extraordinary!"¹⁴⁵ On that note, Inês referred how, even some time after the class, the children still repeated some of the movements from the session about the digestive system, and the same usually happened with other sessions.

Lastly, both teachers mentioned other effects THE BODY AT SCHOOL had on the children, notably in terms of behaviour, the book, the relationship with the families; the ability to share space and how the project became a meeting point after the children had left the school. Initially, Inês said she did not notice a great deal of change in the children's behaviour from the project, possibly because they had already been together for two years by then, but she did notice an increased fellowship between two of her students ("Inês: between Nila and Daniela, you notice it more... that they help each other more, that they try to integrate into the group a bit more, instead of doing isolated activities."¹⁴⁶). Inês highlighted the experience of making a book as something "unique" for the children that she believed marked them. The teacher mentioned that the work evolved to involve also the parents, which was particularly clear on the last day, when they helped with the preparations. According to Elda, another advantage from working with c.e.m was that the project

¹⁴² "Elda: Este projecto é como que uma continuidade, quase que física, daquilo que se faz na escola. Nos outro anos em que tenho trabalhado com o c.e.m, digo que as crianças aprendem com o corpo aquilo em que nós não conseguimos chegar até eles com as palavras. E por isso acho que é um projecto que respeita a criança no seu todo e torna a criança mais disponível para a aprendizagem, e aprende duma maneira mais fácil. E por isso é que temos continuado estes anos todos, porque depois vê-se esta evolução e vê-se o resultado. A diferença destas crianças sem o projecto, e das crianças que estiveram envolvidas neste projecto. São crianças que falam, que não têm medo de se expor, que se exprimem, mesmo com as dificuldades, mesmo com as barreiras da língua, exprimem-se simplesmente."

¹⁴³ "Elda: Estou a lembrar-me da Marizette [Emília], por exemplo, do facto de ela ter vindo [para Portugal] com 12 anos, sem saber escrever, e as tarefas que nós dávamos e as actividades que nós desenvolvíamos nas sessões do c.e.m terem ajudado imenso a Marizette [Emília] a conseguir comunicar, conseguir expor, conseguir escrever. Não sei se te lembras, no início, ela tinha muito medo e tapava, e no fim, bem ou mal, ela fazia, e já não tinha medo de o fazer."

¹⁴⁴ "Elda: Envolve todo o corpo, partimos do nosso corpo para aprender"

¹⁴⁵ "Elda: Podem ser crianças com muitas dificuldades a aprender a partir do corpo. Podem não chegar aqui [faz um gesto com a mão a indicar um ponto], mas chegam a algum lado. E o c.e.m reforça aquilo que eu já faço todos os dias com eles. Isso permite-me trabalhar melhor, e com eles tem sido extraordinário mesmo!"

¹⁴⁶ "Inês: Por exemplo, entre a Nila e a Daniela, nota-se mais... que se ajudam mais, que se tentam integrar um bocadinho mais no grupo, em vez de fazerem actividades isoladas."

taught the children how to divide the space, their own space and the common space. Inês referred how c.e.m became a meeting point for the children after they all left school, as some attended different schools from the others. Both teachers mentioned how they were friends with the former students through Facebook. Especially for those who had left Portugal, it became a means of also keeping in touch, as it was also between the dancers and the children.

Teamwork c.e.m-school

When the first stage of the project started in Vila Velha de Ródão, the main problem pointed out by both teachers and artists was a lack of communication between both structures, which led to the artists feeling the teachers were not following up the sessions during ordinary classes, and to the teachers regretting they never knew what the theme of which session would be, as explained before. At Escola da Madalena, this matter seemed to be overcome and a full integration of the project into the teachers' classes was accomplished. In their interview, both teachers mentioned how the project influenced the children to work as a team, but it also made them, as teachers, work together with the artists from c.e.m. Moreover, the teachers highlighted the project's importance mainly as a continuation of their own work, an extension that helped them teach part of the curricula, provided the sessions were integrated into the teachers' classes.

According to Elda, the way the dancers from c.e.m had of organising work within the group was very compatible with her own way of working. She encouraged the children to always work together, as a team, and the work with c.e.m allowed her go deeper into her work, more than she would have on her own. According to her, the fact that the group of dancers who came to work at school had strong ties amongst themselves helped making the whole class work together “as a family”¹⁴⁷. She mentioned how the work done by the teachers and by c.e.m's team was similar in the sense that they both gave the children “all the attention, all the accompaniment”¹⁴⁸. Elda said that, as teachers, they had many benefits from the sessions and they delegated to c.e.m a part of what they had to teach, making the project a true collaboration between the two structures (“Elda: it's as if it were a puzzle where we place all the pieces neatly and the panel is assembled. c.e.m's sessions are part of that puzzle, and they are an important part, so that all the learning path can be done.”¹⁴⁹). Both teachers added that, for the project to work, the teachers needed to have the availability to integrate the sessions in order to truly profit from them. According to them, that was the only way the project made sense, otherwise the sessions would just be isolated events.

¹⁴⁷ “Elda: como uma família”

¹⁴⁸ “Elda: toda a atenção, todo o acompanhamento”

¹⁴⁹ “Elda: É como se fosse um puzzle em que depois vamos a encaixar as peças todas e está o painel montado. As sessões do c.e.m fazem parte desse puzzle e são uma parte importante para depois se fazer todo o percurso da aprendizagem.”

Inês only joined the project after two years and she decided to do so after seeing how it positively affected Elda's class, a class that in the beginning had all sorts of negative connotations to it and she also noticed that Elda's students liked the sessions very much.

“Inês: It was because we saw the results you had had, and the dynamics, and I think mainly because it was with that specific class. Because when we got here, they would always tell us “it's the worst class in school, it's this and it's that...”, I mean, they managed to do things that perhaps... Perhaps no, for sure later will yield other results for those children who didn't go through the same and who won't be able to achieve them.”¹⁵⁰

She then decided to join the project during the school year of 2012/2013, and emphasised that the work in the project was a continuation of what was done by the teachers in the classroom. According to her, the project managed to cover all the artistic content, which is also a part of the curricular program that the teachers did not feel very comfortable with, namely drama and dance. Furthermore, Inês explained how during the last year of the fieldwork she and Elda started teaching together (she taught Maths to Elda's class, who taught Portuguese in Inês' class) and c.e.m's work with both classes became an extension of this team work (“Inês: besides the two of us in class, you're also a part. It is this whole team together that helps in their development, not just one person, and they only benefit from it, because they take advantage of a bit of every one of us in their development.”¹⁵¹).

Integration of the project in the teachers' organisation

When the first stage of the project in Vila Velha de Ródão was evaluated, as previously described, a remark made by both teachers and artists alike was that there was a lack of meetings between them, which meant that the sessions were not worked together. That problem was solved at Escola da Madalena, with both teachers mentioning how important for them the frequent feedback sessions were.

When asked what could be improved about the sessions, Inês said she found it hard to answer that question because after each session there was a feedback discussion between the teachers and the dancers and, hence, with each session there was an attempt of improvement. According to her, how the sessions developed might have been completely unpredictable and dependent on the children's reactions.

“Inês: It often depends on the group we have, not every group answers the same way, so it is a bit hard to say what can be improved, or what is already good enough. It depends on the group you are with, and that is very complicated, because there are things that

¹⁵⁰ “Inês: Foi por vermos os resultados que tinham tido, e a dinâmica, e acho que principalmente por ter sido com a turma que foi. Porque quando nós cá chegamos, sempre nos disseram “é a pior turma da escola, é isto e é aquilo...”, quer dizer, eles conseguiram fazer coisas que se calhar... Se calhar, não de certeza, mais tarde vão ter outros resultados para eles que meninos que não passaram pelo mesmo e que não vão conseguir fazer.”

¹⁵¹ “Inês: Além de sermos nós as duas na turma, vocês também fazem parte. É esta equipa toda junta que ajuda no desenvolvimento deles, não é uma única pessoa, e eles só têm a ganhar, porque aproveitam um bocadinho de cada um de nós para o desenvolvimento.”

work with some groups and with others they do not. And there are goals, there are strategies you use that work beautifully with some and not with others. Elda: And that has to do with many factors. Inês: Right, it does not have to do with your actions, or with anybody's actions, it is always the whole thing."¹⁵²

Elda agreed that the fact the feedback discussions that happened immediately after the sessions helped improving them and added that working for such a long time with the group of dancers was also important ("Elda: I think that has been worked on all this time, 'look, maybe we could have done this', and I think we always discussed these items. These years served for us to improve all the sessions."¹⁵³).

The conclusions from the teachers' interviews will be discussed further on together with the artists' interviews.

c.e.m's artists

Description of the artists who were interviewed

Sofia Neuparth (fifty-two years old) is a dancer and teacher; she was the dance association's director since its beginning. She is Portuguese and was interviewed in November 2012 about c.e.m's history in terms of working with children and young people. Her interview was conducted at c.e.m. Alex Campos (thirty-five years old) is a Spanish documentarist who regularly filmed c.e.m's works and who filmed most of the material used in this thesis. He was interviewed at c.e.m on his choices regarding the filming of the sessions. Lyncoln Diniz is a twenty-eight year-old Brazilian actor and dancer. He joined the project in the year of 2011/2012 and was a part of it since. He was interviewed in November 2012 at c.e.m. Adriana Reyes was twenty-seven years old at the time of the interview. She is an anthropologist, actress and dancer from Spain, who joined the project in the year of 2012/2013 and was part of it since. She was interviewed in a public garden in Lisbon, in July 2014. Juliana Alves (twenty-eight years old) is a Brazilian dancer who began by occasionally accompanying the project during the school year of 2009/2010 in Escola Passos Manuel, until she joined it the following year, in Escola da Madalena. She was interviewed in January 2013 in writing, via e-mail, as she was at the time living in Curitiba, Brazil. Paula Petreca (twenty-nine years old) is a Brazilian dancer, journalist and philosopher who had joined the sessions during the school year of 2010/2011, in Escola da Madalena. She was interviewed in December 2012 in writing, via e-mail, as she was at the time living in São Paulo, Brazil.

¹⁵² "Inês: Muitas vezes depende do grupo que temos, nem todos respondem da mesma maneira, por isso é assim um bocadinho difícil dizer o que se pode melhorar ou o que é que já está bom o suficiente. Depende do grupo com que estás, e isso é muito complicado, porque há coisas que funcionam com uns grupos e com outros não funcionam. E há objectivos, há estratégias que se utilizam e que funcionam lindamente com uns e com os outros não.

Elda: E isso tem a ver com vários factores.

Inês: Pois, não tem a ver com a vossa prestação, nem com a prestação de ninguém em concreto, é o conjunto de tudo."

¹⁵³ "Elda: Eu acho que isso foi trabalhado este tempo todo, 'olha, se calhar acho que poderíamos ter feito isto', e acho que discutíamos sempre esses pontos. Estes anos serviram para irmos aperfeiçoando todas as sessões."

Carolina Höfs is a thirty-three year-old anthropologist and a dancer, who was a part of the project since it started in Lisbon. She joined the sessions in Escola Passos Manuel, during the school years of 2008/09 and 2009/10 and after that she remained close to the project, but no longer participated in the sessions with the children. She was interviewed at her home in February 2013 and shortly after that she moved back to her hometown, Brasília, in Brazil. Graça Passos (fifty-two years old) designed and applied the first version of this project at Vila Velha de Ródão. She was the director of CENTA – Centre of Studies of New Artistic Tendencies [Centro de Estudos de Novas Tendências Artísticas], and a Science teacher at the local public elementary school. She was interviewed at a café in Lisbon in January 2013 on the experience of the project before it moved to Lisbon. Daniela Craveiro (twenty-eight years old) is a social psychologist, who evaluated the project during its first five years of existence, when it took place in Vila Velha de Ródão and then with the shift to Lisbon, during its first year in Escola Passos Manuel. She was interviewed at her home in Lisbon in December 2012, about her evaluation of the project, on how she had chosen to conduct it and on the results achieved.

c.e.m's artists interview analysis

The analysis of the interviews of the artists from c.e.m has been divided into five themes: effects of the project on the children, teamwork c.e.m-school, children participation in the shaping of the sessions, REVOADA and criticism.

Effects of the project on the children

The effects of the project on the children were divided into two groups: curricular/pedagogic and artistic/social. Regarding the curricular/pedagogic effects of the project on the children, the artists mentioned, on the one hand, the pedagogic structure and logic of the project and the different pedagogic tools provided to the children by the project. On the other hand, on a more particular note, it was referred how the project helped the children learn about the human body.

Six members of c.e.m's staff mentioned the pedagogic effects the project had on the children, underlining the creative way the sessions had of teaching the contents, while at the same time being included in the classes and how that allowed the children to learn in ways that did not consist of memorising, but rather of understanding the contents.

“Paula: The project THE BODY AT SCHOOL for me consisted in pedagogic-artistic actions in which the curricular content of the primary school subjects found a place to be revisited in a ludic and creative way in sessions of artistic practice conducted within a regular chronogram of classes in Primary Schools, encouraging an approximation to knowledge in a sensitive way to the participant students, from an experiential perspective. That approximation between the tacit and objective knowledge qualified the interest of the children in the contents with which they were in contact, often de-

automatizing the reproduction of narratives and allowing the understanding of the ways of operating the subject studied, integrating that knowledge in an active way.”¹⁵⁴

Paula added that the sessions managed to show the children how the contents breached the distance between what they learn and their lives, showing them how what they learnt had practical effects and consequences in their everyday lives.

“Paula: From my experience as an art-educator in the project THE BODY AT SCHOOL I could observe in the learning process of many children the establishment of references in concrete and proximal realities (in the dimension of the affective involvement, and in the apprehension of a world that can be dimensioned from experiences and personal memories) to the concepts that had been apprehended abstractly and/or in a schematic way in their classes.”¹⁵⁵

Juliana also commented on this aspect of the project.

“Juliana: THE BODY AT SCHOOL: that project in the scope of experimentation and research is included in the curricular grid inside the discipline of Biology, for example, and, in a complementary way, it approaches the content to be worked on from a practical way, that is, bringing to the classroom environment a way of studying the body and its actions, in larger or smaller representations of the studied topic, in a way that the topic integration is understood. It is created in a way the student understands that that content being studied exists in life, it is outside the books and among the people in nature and in the body.”¹⁵⁶

Adriana referred how the project provided the children with different learning tools, other than the recurring way of studying which simply involves memorising the contents. According to her: “at least they get close to another way of learning, that maybe later on they will take with them, that perhaps when they are home alone studying, maybe they also bring that way of learning that is not just about opening the book and memorising the contents, that perhaps they will play with the contents in other ways.”¹⁵⁷

Sofia mentioned the curiosity about the contents that were worked through the arts in the sessions.

“Sofia: How the curricular contents that they have to go through (and that are included in the program, for them to learn, for example, throughout that year) can be experienced through that mobile curiosity, through, let us say, dance, or let us say fine arts, or theatre, or sound composition, if

¹⁵⁴ “Paula: O projecto “O corpo na Escola” para mim consistia em ações pedagógico-artísticas nas quais o conteúdo curricular das disciplinas do ensino básico encontrava um espaço para ser revisitado de modo lúdico e criativo em sessões de prática artística realizadas dentro do cronograma regular de aulas de Escolas do Ensino Básico, encorajando os educandos-participantes a uma aproximação com o conhecimento de modo sensível, pela perspectiva experiencial. Essa aproximação entre conhecimento tácito e objectivo qualificava o interesse destes educandos pelas matérias com as quais estavam em contacto, muitas vezes desautomatizando a reprodução de narrativas e possibilitando a compreensão dos modos de operar do assunto estudado, integrando de maneira activa estes conhecimentos.”

¹⁵⁵ “Paula: Da minha experiência como arte-educadora no projeto “O corpo na escola” pude observar no processo de aprendizagem de muitas crianças o estabelecimento de referências em realidades concretas e próximas (na dimensão do envolvimento afectivo, e da apreensão de mundo que se é capaz de dimensionar desde experiências e memórias pessoais) para os conceitos que haviam apreendido de forma abstracta e/ou de modo esquemático nas suas aulas.”

¹⁵⁶ “Juliana: ‘O corpo na escola’, este projecto ainda no âmbito de experimentação e de pesquisa insere-se na grade curricular dentro da disciplina de Biologia, por exemplo, e, de modo complementar, aborda o conteúdo a ser trabalhado de forma prática. Ou seja, trazendo para o ambiente da sala de aula um modo de estudarmos com o corpo e ações, em representações maiores ou menores do assunto estudado de um modo que se percebe integrar o assunto. Cria-se um modo de que o aluno perceba que aquele conteúdo a ser estudado está na vida, está fora dos livros está entre as pessoas na natureza e no corpo.”

¹⁵⁷ “Adriana: que pelo menos se aproximaram a outra maneira de aprender, que talvez eles depois levem consigo, que talvez, quando estejam sozinhos em casa estudando, talvez levem também essa maneira de estudar que não seja só abrir o livro e aprender de cor a matéria, que talvez eles brinquem de outras maneiras com a matéria.”

you want such a strictly artistic perspective.”¹⁵⁸ Carolina made a similar connection, but instead of focusing on the arts, she mentioned the body and how learning is connected to the body.

“Carolina: I think it is a project that proposes an approach to the program contents, actually, of the education process, that resumes the relationship with the body. I think in short I would describe it like this. Then, if I am to describe in greater detail the concrete proposals, I think it was a proposal of dialogue with what the children are learning in a certain period, and a work with the teachers to make a new approach less Cartesian and less square of knowledge.”¹⁵⁹

Lyncoln highlighted the approach to the contents that was given in the sessions “Lyncoln: To relate the things they find inside the school, the contents, with a bit more flexibility (...) perhaps to go deeper or to relate differently to what they’re working on.”¹⁶⁰

Regarding the human body, three artists from c.e.m, Carolina, Paula and Adriana, mentioned particular sessions about the human body and how the children reacted to them. Carolina described a session about the respiratory system as an example of a session, at Escola Passos Manuel, she thought was particularly understood and participated by the students.

“Carolina: It was a session on the respiratory system. I don’t know why, but that was from the beginning, like that, one day it looked like something happened and they joined in, just like that. I think they understood it, they participated in it from the inside, from the movement construction in the beginning, it was very fluid, the way the movement in the beginning was constructed and the installation of the content in the space took place. I think that moment was special, you know.”¹⁶¹

Paula and Adriana both mentioned different sessions about the digestive tract. Paula, as mentioned before, used a session about the digestive system to describe the way the project helped the children learn a specific content, where the organs are located in the body. Adriana remembered the same session Inês also commented on in her interview, how the children could not recall the names of the organs specifically, but could remember the functioning of the digestive system as a whole .

“Adriana: I remember once the teacher [Inês] telling me that they couldn’t remember the names of the organs, but that they remembered the sounds, the movements they did while they were role-playing the food, or what they said, that it [the food] entered the stomach. I don’t know, but those are things that linger, because since you experiment

¹⁵⁸ “Sofia: Como é que as matérias curriculares que eles têm de atravessar, e que estão dentro do programa para eles aprenderem, vá lá, durante aquele ano, podem ser experienciadas através dessa tal curiosidade móvel, através, digamos, da dança, ou digamos que das artes plásticas, ou do teatro, ou da composição sonora... se quiseres pôr uma perspectiva assim, estritamente artística.”

¹⁵⁹ “Carolina: Acho que é um projecto que propõe uma abordagem dos conteúdos programáticos, na verdade, do processo de educação, que passa pela retoma da relação com o corpo. Acho que resumidamente descreveria assim. Depois, se for descrever mais pelas propostas concretas, acho que era uma proposta de diálogo com o que as crianças estão aprendendo num determinado período, e um trabalho junto aos professores de fazer uma abordagem menos cartesiana e menos quadrada do conhecimento.”

¹⁶⁰ “Lyncoln: Relacionar as coisas que se encontram dentro da escola, os conteúdos, com um pouco mais de flexibilidade (...) se calhar aprofundar mais ou relacionar-se de uma forma diferente com aquilo que eles estão trabalhando.”

¹⁶¹ “Carolina: Foi uma sessão do sistema respiratório, eu não sei porquê, mas aquilo foi assim desde o início. Parece que foi um dia em que a coisa aconteceu e em que eles se entregaram. Acho que perceberam a coisa, e participaram da coisa por dentro, desde a construção do movimento no início. Foi muito fluida, a forma como se construiu o movimento no início e se chegou à instalação do conteúdo no espaço, e acho que aquele momento foi especial.”

them with your body, moving and touching, they stay somewhere in the body's memory."¹⁶²

Both examples illustrate children's "body as project" as Christensen (1999, 2000) described, in a work addressed in the first chapter. Children see their bodies as "incarnate", unbounded, they experience it as permeable, fluid. The adult conception of a "somatic" body, with fragmented and classified body parts can be difficult for the children to understand. The project, as described in the examples above, helped build this bridge between these two conceptions.

As far as the artistic/social effects of the project on the children are concerned, they were divided into inclusion, arts, movement, family and relationships.

Lyncoln, Juliana and Adriana mentioned different aspects related to children's inclusion. Lyncoln mentioned how the children got involved differently in the project and how the project itself was adapted to the children in it.

"Lyncoln: I don't know... I think a bit of everything happens, because depending on the kid, if he/she is more or less involved, I think the work also allows for that approximation that is not the same to all... And it really goes in the direction that each one is going forwards, or backwards, or being, remaining, according to how the work is, how they can get involved into the questions we're raising."¹⁶³

Juliana highlighted how the sessions managed to transform the curricular contents into something that could be understood by anyone in the class.

"Juliana: If we treat the learning of the teaching contents of the project THE BODY AT SCHOOL we can say that in that work the kids learn in a fair and closely related way what they would learn in a regular class. The only thing that changed in that type of work is the way that content is studied. In a collective, practical way, through the body in action, with doubts, discoveries and understandings becoming common. In a movement to create ways so that everyone constructs means for the content to become close and easy to understand."¹⁶⁴

Adriana said the project included all children, even those who did not speak the language or who had trouble paying attention or moving, giving them confidence and empowerment for school and life in general.

"Adriana: That concentration, that confidence that is given to each one within their own timing, each one has a place to get to. At least in the sessions, that each one could get where he... can! People who don't speak Portuguese, others who perhaps pay less attention, who speak a lot, others who can't move very well, everyone is different. And I

¹⁶² "Adriana: Lembro-me de uma vez que a professora [Inês] me contou que eles não se lembravam dos nomes dos órgãos, mas que se lembravam dos sons, dos movimentos que faziam enquanto faziam a comida, ou quando a comida ia entrando no estômago e não sei quê. Mas são coisas que vão ficando, como experiências; elas com o corpo, mexendo e tocando, ficam na memória do corpo em algum lugar."

¹⁶³ "Lyncoln: Eu não sei... Acho que acontece um pouco de tudo, porque, dependendo do miúdo, se envolve mais, se envolve menos. Acho que o trabalho também permite um pouco dessa aproximação que não é igual para todos... E é mesmo no sentido de que cada um vai avançando, ou recuando, ou estando, permanecendo, de acordo como está no trabalho, como consegue se envolver nas questões que a gente vai abrindo."

¹⁶⁴ "Juliana: Se tratarmos o aprendizado como Ensino-conteúdo no projecto "O corpo na escola" podemos dizer que nesse trabalho os miúdos aprendem de forma justa e próxima ao que aprenderiam na aula normal. A única coisa que muda nesse tipo de trabalho é o modo como esse conteúdo é estudado. Em colectivo, em prática, por meio do corpo em acção, tornando-se comum dúvidas, descobertas e compreensões. Num movimento de criar maneiras de que todos construam formas para o conteúdo se tornar próximo e simples de perceber."

think that this proposal gives the possibility to have a lot of accesses to the contents. And then I think that that confidence we give them creates confidence in them as well, they trust us and they trust themselves. And that place I think gives them a lot of... I don't really like the word, but I think it empowers them, somehow, regarding life, not only school."¹⁶⁵

Regarding the importance of the arts in the project, Lyncoln pointed out how the project brought the art to the school, to the children, who often live distanced from the artistic expressions, with the misconception that they only occur in certain designated spaces, such as museums or theatres.

“Lyncoln: So... for me, one of the most important things of the work, one that I've been thinking more about and that has made me quite restless is really how the creation... the relationship with the art can, for example, permeate an institution and be near the children inside the context of an institution, such as the kindergarten or the school. I, for example, when someone who, I don't know, proposes to create or... the artist, I see myself in a great transit over it, those institutions, those places that... it even has a context differentiated from the child's reality. So, for me, it can be like that... one of the strong questions is that transit and, from a creative field that for example doesn't, doesn't, doesn't, doesn't remain simply in a place; the children will have to come to a place to be able to have contact with creation, they can simply be there as they study, and are coexisting with one another, in an almost daily context, they're almost all the time at school.”¹⁶⁶

Adriana mentioned how in the end of the sessions different artistic languages could be addressed: “maybe in the end we made a drawing, or a story, or a drawing, I don't know, a comic strip, or a proposal to build houses, or to build a cartography of the body.”¹⁶⁷

Carolina, Paula, Juliana and Adriana mentioned the relationship with movement and the body promoted by the project. Another argument in favour of how the project helped in the construction of the children's “body as project” (Christensen, 1999, 2000) came from Carolina, according to whom one of the goals of the project was to breach the distance found at school between learning and the children's bodies, as if one could be dissociated from the other. In that way the sessions allowed for a better understanding of the contents by the children.

“Carolina: Because I think the project's proposal is not only to make the children enter into a relation with that other learning approach, but it's also to propose a new approach of teaching itself; not a teaching that is so... distanced from the body really, and from everything that involves everything that is being taught. Because what we saw, at least,

¹⁶⁵ “Adriana: Essa concentração, essa confiança que se dá a que cada um tem os seus tempos, cada um tem um lugar onde chegar. Pelo menos nas sessões, em que cada um pudesse ir por onde... pode! Pessoas que não falam português, outros que talvez sejam menos atentos, que falam muito, outros que não se conseguem mexer muito bem... todos são diferentes. E acho que esta proposta dá possibilidade para ter muitos acessos à matéria. E então acho que isso cria. Essa confiança que lhes damos cria confiança neles também, confiam em nós e confiam também neles. Eu não gosto muito da palavra, mas acho que os 'empodera', de alguma maneira, também face à vida, não só à escola.”

¹⁶⁶ “Lyncoln: Uma das questões mais importantes do trabalho, uma daquelas em que mais tenho pensado, que me tem tomado tempo, e que tem me inquietado bastante é mesmo como é que a questão da criação, da relação com a arte, pode, por exemplo, permear uma instituição e estar junto com crianças dentro de um contexto de instituição, como a creche ou a escola. Eu, por exemplo, enquanto pessoa que, sei lá, propõe criar ou enquanto o tal artista, me vejo num trânsito muito grande por isso, por essas instituições, por esses lugares que às tantas têm um contexto diferenciado até da realidade da criança. Então... para mim, pode ser assim... uma das questões mais fortes é essa, é esse trânsito é um campo criativo que, por exemplo não, não, não, não, não fica só num lugar, que as crianças vão ter de ir até um lugar para poder ter contacto com a criação, que elas podem ter ali mesmo, enquanto elas estão estudando e estão convivendo umas com as outras, num contexto que é quase diário. Elas estão quase sempre na escola.”

¹⁶⁷ “Adriana: Talvez propúnhamos no final desenhar, ou fazer uma história, ou fazer um desenho, um *comic*, ou algum proposta de construir casas, ou de construir alguma cartografia do corpo.”

what I understood, which is evident, obvious, is not, is one of the reasons why the thought of the project in the first moment, is that distance so big between what is being said and actually the notion of what is that knowledge practically, that's why it's distanced from the body. It's not that people don't have a body, or that... but I think that, willingly or not, with the sessions we managed to help in the process, not that we did it, but I think it helped in the process of making it more touchable, more intelligible in the children's practical world."¹⁶⁸

Paula referred that the project, by promoting an access through movement to the contents, allowed for their better understanding: "That bodily access to the subjects, looking from the perspective of a sensorimotor experience in the activation of their contents allowed for the construction of particular connections between the way of seeing the world and each child's personal references and the academic, technical and scientific knowledge presented in the curricular structure."¹⁶⁹ She considered that the children who lived the experience of THE BODY AT SCHOOL gained tools to apply motricity to solve day to day problems and she added an example of that.

"Paula: I bet the perspective of motricity will become emphasised in the children's cognition processes that come into contact with the project (awakening them to the integration of the commitment of actions and the conducting of experiments, in the production of their knowledge), I think it's very likely that a kid who passed by a session of THE BODY AT SCHOOL if in a near future is asked the length of a land in which a gate is to be built, before recurring to a measuring tape or a metre, will lay down on the floor knowing he's one metre and a half, will discover that his body needs to lay down three or four time until making it all the way to where the door will be, deducing that there between six and four and a half metres long."¹⁷⁰

Juliana and Adriana commented on how the project started from the bodywork and movement. Juliana mentioned how in that way, the project allowed for children to discover contents from their own bodies that could be extrapolated and related to the curricular contents.

"Juliana: When we say the work starts from bodywork, it is because it is from that mode we understand the world. To understand that an organism lives and develops because in it there are functions, roles, organisation, movement, articulation, things that fit into others, hierarchy, synchrony, pulse, interdependence, familiarity, signals, gaps, intervals, etc. I could not stop quoting the matters we find in the body to learn at school relating with any discipline or area of knowledge. But in a harsh way that is the place that this

¹⁶⁸ "Carolina: Porque acho que dentro da proposta do projecto está não só fazer com que as crianças entrem em relação com essa outra abordagem do conhecimento, mas também propor uma nova abordagem do ensino em si; não ser um ensino que seja tão distanciado do corpo e de tudo o que envolve tudo o que está sendo ensinado. Porque o que a gente ia vendo, pelo menos, o que eu ia percebendo, que é evidente, é que uma das razões pelas quais a gente pensou no projecto no primeiro momento, é essa distância tão grande entre o que está sendo dito e na verdade a noção do que é aquele conhecimento na prática, porque isso é distanciado do corpo. Não que as pessoas não tenham corpo! Mas acho que, querendo ou não, com as sessão a gente conseguia ajudar no processo de tornar aquilo mais *tactível*, mas inteligível no mundo prático das crianças."

¹⁶⁹ "Paula: Esse acesso corporal às disciplinas, buscando a perspectiva de uma experiência sensorio-motora na activação dos seus conteúdos possibilitava a construção de conexões particulares entre o modo de ver o mundo e as referências pessoais de cada criança e os conhecimentos académicos-técnicos e científicos apresentados na estrutura curricular."

¹⁷⁰ "Paula: Uma aposta que me fica é que a perspectiva da motricidade se enfatize nos processos de cognição das crianças que entrem em contacto com o projecto (despertando-as ao integrar do empenho de acções e da realização de experimentos, na produção de seus conhecimentos). Acho muito provável que um miúdo que passou por uma sessão de "O corpo na escola" se, num futuro próximo, for inquirido sobre a metragem de um terreno para viabilizar a construção de um portão, antes de recorrer a uma trena ou a um metro, se deite no chão e, sabendo que tem um metro e meio, descubra com o seu corpo que precisa de se deitar três ou quatro vezes até percorrer toda a largura onde se instalará a porta, deduzindo que ali cabem entre seis metros e quatro metros e meio."

work has grown and matured in me. And to find also in me the question about education, about the needs of an individual body in school.”¹⁷¹

Adriana said that the movement allowed for children to pay attention without having to be still, it stimulated a form of learning that engaged with the body.

“Adriana: And I think there it has different approaches, but I think the main one is the study, and the learning and the teaching from proposals of the body and the movement. Then I think that this proposal of THE BODY AT SCHOOL has other aspects, which are also very important, besides the work with the body and the movement. (...) And then I feel that c.e.m works with affection, another relationship with affection, which is to not being seated all the time while learning, but that you can also be lying down, you can be running, you can be moving things; paying attention means a lot of things, so I think that other types of attention towards learning are practiced that I think have more to do with childhood than those that we, as adults propose them.”¹⁷²

Three people from c.e.m’s staff referred how the project could also be important for the children’s families: Juliana mentioned how the project was directed mainly at the children, but also at the families and teachers; Paula referred that the work gained the visibility of the families as it progressed in time (“Paula: Regarding the families I think the results grow more visible in the long run, when the transformations processed by the children in the project show clearer contours, in a way that the parents pay attention to the differences of their children’s development in relation to other children.”¹⁷³) and Adriana added how the project was also directed at “the work with the community with the families.”¹⁷⁴

Adriana added that the families were often separated from the education of the children at school and that the way the project included the neighbourhood helped the families (and the community as a whole) to feel more connected to the education of the children. According to her, that experience was particularly visible during the REVOADA and it left a mark in the families and in the school itself. Adriana referred that REVOADA lead to the creation of “networks of affection” between the children and the whole community, centred on the process of growth, which was common to everyone.

“Adriana: Their grandmothers perhaps already go to the day-care centre and their siblings to the kindergarten, their mothers work in a café or so. That is already happening, but I think those are lines that instead of being enhanced are made invisible.

¹⁷¹ “Juliana: Quando dizemos que o trabalho parte de práticas de corpo é porque é a partir deste modo que percebemos o mundo. Entender que um organismo sobrevive e se desenvolve porque nele existem funções, papéis, organização, movimento, articulação, encaixe, duplas, hierarquia, sincronia, pulsação, interdependência, convivência, sinais, vazios, intervalos e etc. Poderia não parar de citar questões que encontramos no corpo para se aprender na escola relacionado com qualquer disciplina ou área do conhecimento. Mas de forma bruta esse é o aspecto em que este trabalho me fez crescer e amadurecer. É a encontrar também em mim a pergunta sobre a educação, sobre as necessidades de um corpo-indivíduo na escola.”

¹⁷² “Adriana: E acho que tem várias aproximações, mas acho que a principal é aproximar-se ao estudo, e à aprendizagem e ao ensino a partir de propostas de corpo e de movimento. Depois acho que esta proposta do corpo na escola entra mais como outras vertentes que também são muito importantes, além do trabalho com o corpo e com o movimento. (...) E depois sinto que no c.e.m se trabalham os afectos, outra relação com os afectos, outra relação com o corpo, que não é estar só estar sentado aprendendo, mas que também podes estar deitado, podes estar correndo, podes estar mexendo em coisas. A atenção são muitas mais coisas! Acho que se praticam outros tipos de atenção na aprendizagem, que acho que tem mais a ver com a infância do que aquelas que nós, como adultos, lhes propomos.”

¹⁷³ “Paula: Em relação às famílias, penso que os resultados se tornam mais visíveis a longo prazo, quando as transformações processadas pelas crianças no projecto apresentem contornos mais definidos, de modo a que os pais atendem para as diferenças no desenvolvimento dos seus filhos em relação a outras crianças.”

¹⁷⁴ Adriana: o trabalho com a comunidade, com as famílias”

And I think that with that work of going to the street the lines of the meetings that are already happening but aren't worked are highlighted, right? And... usually... So, in some way, it seems to amplify the ones that take part in that person's education, that it is not only the teachers or the parents, that suddenly many people can be... many things can also be education and learning. (...) The families, for example, the ones that were closer last year, who joined the REVOADA over the weekends, some parents came along, they joined the work weekly, who then came to the camp, who slept with us, well, who also participated in some way in the book, in the stories their children told, the recordings, or I don't know, I think they felt more participant in the school, more participants in the children's education not only in the family, but also at school. So I think it influenced that way of being closer, fathers, mothers, teachers, students, that is, everyone that participates in the education, it created a communication. That work has the potential to create networks with the community, but also with the people who are closer to the children. For example, anyone can join, so they get to know each other, already... it seems to unite people, it doesn't separate them, because people can get into the classes, the families couldn't get into the classes and we brought along that possibility, for the families to be inside the sessions. Maybe not at school, because the institution itself would not let it happen. Well, one mother did, right? Because Elda let her¹⁷⁵. But the street work allows for it, for anyone to participate, hence it influences it, to be closer to the child's growth, to what is happening inside it. (...) To create bonds, to create networks of care and affection, so that childhood, old age and adulthood are not so separated, that the generations mix there also, they have a lot to bring to each other, the growth, everyone is always growing, that unites us, the fact we are all always growing. And seeing there how the different stages of growth can also communicate. (...) For the school it was important, the children's experience and the parents. Of other possibilities of being. Of being, of creating, of learning, because with that you also learn, it's not just Maths, that is also learning for life."¹⁷⁶

Carolina, Paula, Adriana and Juliana mentioned the effect the project had in the children's relationship. Carolina referred how the children created a new relationship with the school and towards one another, perceiving a different way of being inside the school, where the order is no longer there, but is transformed into a different form of respect towards the space, constructed from a sense of freedom.

¹⁷⁵ In the last year of our fieldwork Elda invited the mother of one of the children, Malisha, to join our sessions and sometimes also the other classes at school. Malisha and his family had arrived in Portugal very recently; they did not speak Portuguese and were from Sri Lanka. His family became refugees after the earthquake in 2004, but I do not know where they had lived after that period. His mother was a victim of domestic abuse by his father and after that school year he changed schools as his mother separated from his father; he stayed with the mother.

¹⁷⁶ "Adriana: Por exemplo, as suas avós talvez já vão ao centro de dia e os seus irmãos à creche, as mães trabalham no café ou assim. Isso já está a acontecer, mas acho que são linhas que em vez de se potenciar se tentam invisibilizar. E acho que com esse trabalho de ir para a rua se potenciam as linhas de encontro que já estão acontecendo, mas que não se trabalham, não é? Então, de alguma maneira, parece que amplia o que os que participam na educação dessa pessoa, que não são só os professores ou os pais. De repente parece que muitas pessoas ou muitas coisas podem ser educação e aprendizagem, também. (...) As famílias, por exemplo, as que estiveram mais próximas no ano passado, que acompanharam as 'Revoadas' nos fins de semanas, em que alguns pais e mães vinham junto, que acompanhavam o trabalho semanalmente, que depois vieram para a acampada, que dormiram com a gente, que também participaram de alguma maneira no livro, nas histórias que os filhos contavam, nas gravações, ou não sei quê... Acho que se sentiram mais participantes na escola, mais participantes da educação não só familiar, mas também escolar das crianças. Então acho que influencia nessa maneira de estar mais próximos, pais, mães, professores, professoras, alunos, ou seja, que todas as pessoas que participam na educação, que estejam em comunicação. Esse trabalho tem esse potencial de criar redes com a comunidade, mas também com as pessoas que estão mais próximas das crianças. Por exemplo, todo o mundo pode entrar, passam a conhecer-se. Parece que une as pessoas, não as separa, porque as pessoas podem entrar nas aulas. As famílias não podiam entrar nas aulas, e nós trouxemos essa possibilidade, que as famílias pudessem estar dentro das sessões. Talvez não dentro da escola, porque a própria instituição não deixa. Bem, uma mãe entrava, não é? Porque a Elda deixava. [No último ano do trabalho de campo a Elda convidava a mãe de uma das crianças, o Malisha, a juntar-se às nossas sessões e às vezes também às outras aulas na escola. O Malisha e a sua família tinham chegado a Portugal muito recentemente, não falavam português e eram do Sri Lanka. A sua família tornou-se refugiada depois do terramoto de 2004, mas desconheço onde viveram depois desse período. A sua mãe era vítima de violência doméstica do seu pai, e no final desse ano lectivo ele mudou de escolas quando a sua mãe se separou do seu pai. Ele ficou com a mãe.] Mas o trabalho na rua possibilita que qualquer um possa participar. Influencia nisso de estar mais perto do crescimento da criança, do que está a acontecer lá dentro. (...) Criar laços, criar redes de cuidado e de afectos, para que não estejam tão separadas a infância, da velhice, do adulto, que se misturem aí as gerações também, que têm muitas coisas a trazer às outras, o crescimento, todo o mundo está sempre em crescimento, isso nos une, que todos estamos sempre crescendo. E vendo aí como se podem comunicar as diferentes etapas de crescimento, também. (...) Que para a escola ficou marcada a experiência das crianças e dos pais, assim. De outras possibilidades de estar. De ser, de criar, de aprender, de que com isso também se aprende; não é só a matemática, isso também é aprender para a vida."

“Carolina: And I think they [the children] learn a lot both about the relation with what they are learning, and the relation with that classroom space they inhabit, where they are everyday. They see it in a different way, understand another way of also being there, and I think the great challenge then is how when you take away the commands and instructions they are in an almost military way of learning. They enter and they have that row of desks, they sit in each and they have that arrangement all the time, one behind the other. So the moment we enter, remove everything, we roll on the floor and so on, how do you propose all that, to make them understand that that is also respectful towards the space and that it is also a way of gaining freedom in that place without being... from the outside, you know?”¹⁷⁷

On the other hand, she considered the sessions were also a space where the children learnt to overcome their own limits and to transform their relationship with the others.

“Carolina: I think they learn that, and learn a lot about their relationship, also. Because in a way they are also more exposed, we propose also that they are together in that space and are all in that thing. I also think they learn a lot about the relationship between them and about them, too. They learn to look at themselves, to look at their own limits. They learn to overcome also some things. Initially not all of them take up the proposal; there are always the ones that stay in the back teasing the others in the front, pointing and such, because they have difficulties, actually to also be the centre of attention. And there are those who are always the centre of attention and then learn to retreat a bit so that the others can go forward, so I think this knowledge about themselves and the others, which is the knowledge of the relationship, of the relationship that is social life. It is a microcosm to the relationships outside of it.”¹⁷⁸

Paula added that, with time, children who participated in the project not only established a more humane relationship with the contents, but also with each other, the teachers and school workers and the school itself.

“Paula: I think the student’s participation in the sessions of *THE BODY AT SCHOOL* allowed these children a humanisation of the school content, also sensitising the social and emotional relationships established in those spaces – be it with the classmates, be it with the teachers and school workers, installing dimensions of affection and belonging in the school environment. (...) Generally, it is noteworthy the behavioural differences processed with the participation in the project, but the unfolding in the intellectual development and also the personality in a global way of each student need time to establish the characterisation of qualitative data.”¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁷ “Carolina: Eu acho que as crianças ganham essa outra dimensão do que estão aprendendo, do conteúdo que eles estão aprendendo, e ganham essa experiência. Quando eu falo do corpo não é só o corpo, mas da relação deles enquanto sujeitos com o espaço que os rodeia. E acho que eles aprendem muito sobre a relação tanto com o que estão aprendendo, quanto da relação com aquele espaço da sala que eles habitam. Eles estão lá todos os dias, eles vêm aquilo de uma outra forma, percebem outro jeito de estar lá também. Acho que um dos grandes desafios então é de como quando você retira a ordem com que eles estão, não é, quase militarizados a aprender, eles entram e têm aquela fileira de carteiras, sentam em cada carteira e têm aquela ordem sempre, é o fulano atrás do sicrano, atrás do beltrano. Então, no momento em que agente entra, tira tudo, e vai rolar pelo chão e não sei quê. Como é que você propõe tudo isso? Fazer com que eles entendam que aquilo também é respeitoso do espaço e é também uma forma de ganhar liberdade naquele lugar?”

¹⁷⁸ “Carolina: Acho que eles aprendem isso e aprendem muito da relação entre eles, também. Porque, de certa forma, eles estão também mais expostos. A gente propõe também que eles estejam todos juntos naquele lugar e estejam todos naquela coisa, também, e acho que eles aprendem muito sobre a relação entre eles e sobre eles. Aprendem a olhar para si, a olhar para os seus próprios limites. Aprendem a superar também algumas coisas, que inicialmente não são todos os que entram na proposta, não são... há sempre os que ficam atrás, que ficam sacaneando os que ficam na frente, apontam e não sei quê, porque têm dificuldades, na verdade, de se colocar também em foco. E há aqueles que estão sempre em foco e depois aprendem a recuar um pouco para que os outros possam avançar. Acho que com esse conhecimento sobre si e sobre os outros, que é o conhecimento da relação, da relação que é da vida social. É um microcosmos para as relações também fora dali.”

¹⁷⁹ “Paula: Penso que a participação dos educandos em sessões de ‘O corpo na escola’ possibilitava a estas crianças uma humanização do conteúdo escolar, sensibilizando também as relações sociais e emocionais estabelecidas nestes espaços - quer com colegas de sala, quer mesmo com professores e funcionários, instalando dimensões de afecto e pertença no ambiente escolar. (...) De modo geral, é notável que transformações comportamentais se processam com a participação no projecto, mas os desdobramentos na formação do intelecto e também da personalidade de modo global de cada educando pedem por tempo para estabilizarem a caracterização de dados qualitativos.”

Adriana started by mentioning the development of each session, how it began by the preparation of the room, done together with the children, who had a physical, affectionate relationship with the artists from c.e.m. From then on, the session would develop using the material from the classroom and the school itself.

“Adriana: I really like the idea that we always remove the chairs and the tables with them, we remove the shoes, we hold hands and we hug each other, we also touch each other. And we move with the material we bring and the material that is already there, I also think that is very good, it is not only the things that come from the outside but also from the inside, that is, with the things that are already there and we can also work with it, with the chairs, the backpacks, the shoes, everything is possible to play and to move.”¹⁸⁰

Adriana added that this newly-created affectionate relationship gave the children more confidence towards the adults, but also towards one another, and it gave them pleasure to learn, confidence to relate to others while at the same time developing skills such as group work.

“Adriana: The body work brings another possibility to the relation between the bodies also, of more proximity. And I feel that that close relationship also gives confidence to the children regarding the person who is... not teaching, but well, working the contents with them. And I think that working the affection in that way, which is not just touching, hugging, but having confidence in the children, confidence that each one of them is, is like working one on one with each child at the same time as we are working with all of them. We get to know at the same time little stories of each one, and at the same time we are looking at all of them. (...) Because I think sometimes there is not a lot of trust in the children, in that sense, at school, they all have to reach the same place, if they do not reach it, it's because they are bad. As if only the intellectual level was important, other levels are disregarded, other things. And I think that gives more confidence, and openness, and the possibility of many diversities to coexist one class. I feel that that the greater the possibility of trust, the more they like it. In the sense that the more they are together, the more they will be willing to work that way. (...) I think it influences on a general level, not only the way of studying, but of being in life, of relating, of being with the colleagues... I think it also helps a great deal in the group work, between them, of not competing, but collaborating instead, “perhaps I'm best at one thing, I can be together with the other who perhaps is not” and I do not know at what it can influence concretely, but I think it opens and that they can feel like they participate in its construction, that they moved or built something together during the session.”¹⁸¹

¹⁸⁰ “Adriana: Eu gosto muito da ideia de sempre tirarmos as cadeiras e as mesas com eles, tirarmos os sapatos, e darmos as mãos e nos abraçarmos, nos tocarmos também. E mexemos com materiais que trazemos e materiais que já estão lá, isso também acho muito bom; que não sejam só coisas que vêm de fora mas que de dentro, ou seja, com as coisas que já estão lá se pode trabalhar também, com as cadeiras, as mochilas, os sapatos, tudo é possível para brincar e para mexer.”

¹⁸¹ “Adriana: O trabalho com o corpo traz outra relação entre os corpos também, de mais proximidade. E acho que essa relação próxima também dá confiança às crianças em relação à pessoa que está... não é ensinando, mas pronto, trabalhando a matéria com eles, ou assim. E acho que trabalhar os afectos nesse sentido, que não é só tocar, abraçar, mas ter confiança nas crianças, ter confiança que cada uma está, é como trabalhar um a um com cada criança ao mesmo tempo que se trabalha com todas. (...) Porque acho que às vezes não há muita confiança nas crianças. Na escola, todos têm de chegar ao mesmo lugar, se não chegam é porque são maus. É como se só se olhasse para o nível intelectual, não se olhasse para outros níveis, outras coisas. E acho que isso dá maior confiança e abertura, e possibilidade de muitas diversidades coexistirem numa aula. Sinto que quanto mais possibilidade de confiança, mais eles curtem. No sentido em que mais juntos estão, mais vontade têm de trabalhar dessa maneira. (...) Eu acho que influencia a um nível geral, não só na forma de estudar, mas de estar na vida, de se relacionar, de estar com os colegas... Acho que também ajuda muito no trabalho de grupo, entre eles, de não ser uma competição, mas uma colaboração, que “eu talvez seja melhor numa coisa, posso estar junto com outro que talvez não” e agora não sei em que pode influenciar em concreto, mas acho que abre e que se podem sentir participantes na construção disso, que mexeram ou construíram juntos durante a sessão.”

Lastly, Juliana mentioned how the project instigated the children to work on their relationships with the colleagues and the teachers, not from a perspective of fear and discipline, but out of the respect and collaboration the project stimulated.

“Juliana: This work’s effects can be very positive and transformative when worked together and in continuity. Understanding this education is not just about the content, the knowledge of discipline and rules. But we can say the recognition of the other, the respect for the other’s role. The respect to listen to the other and to work their limitations to also place you and build a space that each one desires inside the school environment. Never is the school environment questioned, but rather the environment we are responsible for transforming. This way the teachers available and open to receive this work allow for an interchange between the students from another perspective.”¹⁸²

Teamwork c.e.m-school

Carolina, Paula, Juliana and Adriana referred to the different aspects of the importance of teamwork between c.e.m and the school; the topics brought up were divided into: the recipients of the project, articulation c.e.m-school, relationship with the children, permanent evaluation and feedback and ambiguity of roles.

Carolina and Adriana both referred that the recipients of the project went far beyond the students alone. According to Adriana, at first the project seemed to be destined to the children only, but a more detailed analysis made her realise it was indeed for the whole community, including everyone in the school. According to her, the impact of the sessions was felt in the whole school and well after the teachers changed schools she believed they continued with the project’s proposals.

“Adriana: In the beginning it seems to be the children, right? But I think the teachers are also. We also had a lot of relation with the helping staff, who are around. In the end we have a relationship with the school all together, the people working in the kitchen, cleaning up, with the teachers and also with the families. (...) Nowadays the projects are always aimed at one kind of people, and I think this is a project that has as recipients the community in itself. Public school itself, the institution itself. Because I feel that Elda and Inês, they are now in other schools and I am sure the work will reverberate in the other schools they are at, in other neighbourhoods. (...) And then there is that, now they [Elda and Inês] are in different schools and I am sure they are also working the contents like this, the way we used to do and with the coexistence of many different ways of studying. And I think that also reverbs in the institution. Different lines move the institution, and I think it influences it a lot.”¹⁸³

For Carolina, it was important to realise that the teachers were an important part of the project. In

¹⁸² “Juliana: Os efeitos deste trabalho podem ser muito positivos e transformadores quando amadurecidos em conjunto e em continuidade. Entendendo que essa educação não passa somente pelo conteúdo, pelo conhecimento de disciplinas e regras. Mas podemos dizer pelo reconhecimento do outro, do respeito do papel do outro. No respeito de ouvir o outro e trabalhar suas limitações para também se posicionar e construir o espaço que cada um deseja dentro de um ambiente escolar. Em nenhum momento se põe em questão o ambiente escolar mas, sim, o ambiente que somos responsáveis por transformar. Desta forma os professores disponíveis e abertos a receber este trabalho permitem a troca entre os estudantes a partir de outro posicionamento.”

¹⁸³ “Adriana: Parece assim no começo que são as crianças, não é? Mas acho que também são as professoras. Nós também temos muita relação com as auxiliares, que estão por aí. No final temos uma relação com o conjunto da escola no total, com as que trabalham na cozinha, com as que limpam, com as professoras e também com as famílias. (...) Agora os projectos sempre são só para um tipo de pessoa, e este acho que é um projecto que tem como público-alvo a comunidade em si. A própria escola pública, a própria instituição. Porque sinto que com a Elda e com a Inês, elas agora estão noutras escolas e de certeza que vai reverberar o trabalho nas outras escolas onde elas estão, noutras bairros. (...) E depois disso, agora elas estão noutras escolas e de certeza que estão também trabalhando desde aí as matérias, das maneiras que costumávamos fazer e com a convivência de várias maneiras de estudar. E acho que isso depois reverbera na instituição também. Linhas diferentes vão mexendo na instituição, então acho que influencia bastante.”

the beginning, she explained, she did not realise this, she assumed the project was destined to the children and with time she explained the project itself evolved by understanding the importance of that dimension, understanding that it was actually proposing a different way for the teachers to teach and that sometimes it was more important to work with the teachers than with the children.

“Carolina: When we started working, with the project, for me, the project’s recipients were the children themselves. But today I think that, besides the children, it is the school, it is the teachers and the school’s structure itself. Because I think in the project’s proposal it is not only to make the children enter into a relation with that other learning approach, but it is also to propose a new approach of teaching itself; not a teaching that is so distanced from the body really, and from everything that involves everything that is being taught. Because what we saw, at least, what I understood, which is evident is that one of the reasons why the thought of the project in the first moment, it is that huge distance between what is being said and actually the notion of what is that knowledge practically. That is why it is distanced from the body. It is not that people do not have a body! But I think that, willingly or not, with the sessions we managed to help in the process of making it more touchable, more intelligible in the children’s practical world. And I think that, at least in the time I was in the process, with the teachers we also had that. They reached an understanding that they could teach in a different way, that would not be so much “me here, talking to you”, but us experimenting together what it could be. (...) But perhaps it was not so clear, for example, the need to work sometimes more with them [the teachers] than with the children. And I think that is something that, at least while we were in Passos Manuel, I don’t know how it is now, but while we were in Passos Manuel, we gained also, we gained that dimension, the importance of also doing that, and we also gained that relation. (...) In the end, this is a virus for the whole school, and not just for the children. The children are affected, of course, but I think it is for the school, for the whole school.”¹⁸⁴

Paula, Juliana, Carolina and Adriana, similarly to what Elda and Inês did in their interviews, mentioned the importance of the articulation between c.e.m and the school. Paula’s view was that the project was only possible due to the articulated relationship between the teachers and c.e.m’s staff, in the classes themselves and in the meetings prior to each session.

“Paula: This work was possible thanks to the articulation between the teachers of the formal teaching and the art-educators from c.e.m’s professional team. Opening the perspective of a detailed look into the life of each student in each class, the meetings between the teachers and the art-educators were conducted with the goal of mapping the potentialities and the fragilities revealed by the children in their access to the curricular contents.”¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁴ “Carolina: Quando a gente estava trabalhando, quando a gente começou a trabalhar com o projecto, para mim os destinatários eram as crianças em si, mas hoje acho que para além delas o destinatário também é a escola; são os professores e a estrutura da escola em si. Porque acho que dentro da proposta do projecto está não só fazer com que as crianças entrem em relação com essa outra abordagem do conhecimento, mas também propor uma nova abordagem do ensino, em si; não ser um ensino que seja tão distanciado do corpo mesmo, e de tudo o que envolve tudo o que está sendo ensinado. Porque o que a gente ia vendo, pelo menos, o que eu ia percebendo, que é evidente, é que uma das razões pelas quais a gente pensou no projeto no primeiro momento, é essa distância tão grande entre o que está sendo dito e na verdade a noção do que é aquele conhecimento na prática, por isso é distanciado do corpo. Não que as pessoas não tenham corpo! Mas acho que, querendo ou não, com as sessões a gente conseguia ajudar no processo de tornar aquilo mais *tactível*, mas inteligível no mundo prático das crianças. E, pelo menos na altura em que eu estava no processo, acho que com as professoras a gente tinha isso também, assim. De eles também perceberem que podiam ensinar de outra forma, que não fosse tão “eu aqui, falando para vocês que é desse jeito”, mas a gente experimentando juntos o que pode ser. (...) Mas talvez não estivesse tão claro, por exemplo, a necessidade de trabalhar às vezes mais com eles [os professores] do que com as crianças. Pelo menos enquanto a gente esteve na Passos Manuel, eu não sei como está agora, mas enquanto a gente esteve na Passos Manuel, fomos ganhando a dimensão do que era isso, a importância do que era também fazer isso, e a gente foi ganhando também nessa relação. (...) E acho que isso é um vírus que é para a escola inteira, e não só para as crianças. As crianças são afectadas, claro, mas acho que é para a escola, para toda a escola.”

¹⁸⁵ “Paula: Esse trabalho era possível graças a articulação entre os professores do ensino formal e os arte-educadores da equipe profissional do c.e.m - centro em movimento. Abrindo a perspectiva de um olhar pormenorizado à vida de cada educando de uma turma, reuniões entre professores e arte-educadores eram realizadas com o propósito de mapear potencialidades e fragilidades reveladas pelas crianças no seu acesso aos conteúdos curriculares.”

Juliana shared the same view, adding “Juliana: The teachers available and open to receive this work allow for an interchange between the students from another perspective.”¹⁸⁶ Adriana mentioned the importance for the teachers to be present not only in the preparation of the sessions, but also in the sessions themselves and in continuing with the session’s work after the people from c.e.m had left.

“Adriana: As I mentioned before, for example, regarding the teachers and the school institution itself, what was important was that they also experienced the classes, they were together, in the sessions. They participated, created them together, in the preparation, but also in the experience of the session. Then, it is what we mentioned before about Elda and Inês, they built it together and then they continued it the following days. (...) And I think that the work we propose is also good for the teachers to pick up on what we did and continue it. With Elda and Inês they continued it a lot, with the “maps of me” [the name given by c.e.m’s team to the last part of the sessions]. That maybe in the end we made a drawing, or a story, or a drawing, I do not know, a comic strip, or a proposal to build houses, or to build a cartography of the body. Elda and Inês picked it up a lot to continue that work, those things they are already studying at school at that moment, how they can pick that up and continue. Which I think was also very good for them. For everyone, it was good to know there are other ways to access the contents.”¹⁸⁷

Moreover, Carolina added how the different reactions from the teachers had an effect on how the project evolved in their subjects. While at Escola Passos Manuel, the Sciences and Portuguese teachers, particularly, who embraced the project completely and restructured their practice, “Carolina: I remember those two teachers who were always trying to create other ways and thinking other ways of being with the kids, of teaching to the kids, other than picking up the book and reading aloud. (...) The teacher was there; we were together with the teacher in a movement of turning that pedagogic process around. Or to include things.”¹⁸⁸ Adriana said that the weekly frequency of the sessions helped creating a connection between the contents of the different sessions, therefore working with the notion of the continuity of knowledge.

“Adriana: I think it opens many paths, be it for the school in general, or for the teachers, or the students. And I really like the experience of it being inside the classes, inside the school schedule, creating a proximity to the contents from another access and I think that giving you access from the body, the movement, it also makes connections between the different contents, we can relate one with the other, since we go weekly [to the school], we can always relate with the previous one, then it seems that everything is one,

¹⁸⁶ “Juliana: os professores disponíveis e abertos a receber este trabalho permitem a troca entre os estudantes a partir de outro posicionamento.”

¹⁸⁷ “Adriana: Por exemplo, em relação às professoras e à instituição escola em si, o que é importante é que elas também experienciam as aulas, elas também estão nas sessões. Elas participam, criam junto na preparação, mas também na experiência da sessão. Então é o que falava antes da Elda e da Inês, elas construíam junto e depois continuavam elas nos próprios dias depois. (...) E acho que o trabalho que nos propomos assim, também é bom para as professoras depois pegar nas coisas que fazemos e continuar, não é? Com a Elda e com a Inês elas continuavam muito isso, com os “mapas de mim” [nome dado pela equipa do c.e.m à última parte das sessões], não é? Que talvez propúnhamos no final desenhar, ou fazer uma história, ou fazer um desenho, sei lá, um *comic*, ou algum proposta de construir casas, ou de construir alguma cartografia do corpo, não sei. A Elda e a Inês pegavam muito nisso para continuar esse trabalho, essas coisas que eles já estão a estudar na escola nesse momento, como elas podem pegar nisso e continuar. Que acho que para elas foi muito bom também, não é? Para todas, foi bom saber que há outras maneiras de acesso às matérias.”

¹⁸⁸ “Carolina: Eu lembro-me daquelas duas professoras que estavam o tempo todo criando outras formas e pensando outras formas de estar com os miúdos, de ensinar os miúdos, que não só pegar no livro e falar: (...) A professora estava cá, a gente estava com a professora num movimento de virar aquele processo pedagógico do avesso. Ou incluir coisas.”

that the knowledge is only one thing. That the contents are not separated, but they debouch one into the other.”¹⁸⁹

Carolina and Adriana mentioned that the project also had a big impact in their relationship with the children. Carolina mentioned how the relationship with the children was never taken for granted and it did not evolve in a literal way; one day the children could be participating in every step of the session (she mentioned a session on the respiratory system as an example), and the following day sometimes the team had to start anew, being as if they had never been there before.

“Carolina: It was a session of the respiratory system, I don’t know why, but that was from the beginning like that. It looks like it was one day when the thing happened and they gave themselves in. I think they understood it, they participated in it from the inside, from the movement construction in the beginning, it was very fluid, the way the movement in the beginning was constructed and the installation of the content in the space arrived, and I think that moment was special. In other sessions that also happened, but it is always that thing, it was never a granted relationship. It looked like every week we were there we gained something. In others everything went backwards: “Forget it, it looks like it is the first time we show up here”! But it is the first time we show up here that no one ever saw because we saw too much, the relationship was worn out, so we had to go back, start the courtship again.”¹⁹⁰

Adriana admitted that the project changed a lot the work c.e.m was doing with the community and she mentioned how the project forced her to find different ways of connecting to the children other than the ones she was used to. She said that it became clear to her that rather than proposing something pre-established, she found it more interesting to work from what the children were already proposing. In that sense, the project for her was quite unique, as it was built inside the public school, in the classroom, and not as an after school activity or in an alternative school.

“Adriana: At c.e.m I think it also changed a great deal the work with the people and the places. The work with the children brought very much that relationship with the body, with growing up, with learning, with teaching, with educating. I think that at least it influenced me a lot. Like in everything I have to work also the listening to be able to be with the children and trust that the body must be present that you have to create other lines of relationship, other than the ones I have already learnt. For me that was it, not to get into the ‘aye, shut up!’, you need to always be recreating how not to get into the first train you already know. Or suddenly how can they listen to me but without having to punish or discipline the children. So for me it is super hard, I make mistakes, I make mistakes, until I create other lines of communication with the children and how to access them. What I find good and that influenced me not to have to bring anything to them, but to listen to what they are already proposing with their bodies. Sometimes it is a lot of chaos, a lot of screaming, running from one end to the other of the classroom,

¹⁸⁹ “Adriana: Acho que abre bastantes caminhos, tanto para a escola em geral, como para as professoras e os alunos. E eu gosto muito da experiência de ser dentro das aulas curriculares, do próprio horário escolar, que cria uma aproximação às matérias desde um outro acesso e que acho que dar acesso a partir do corpo, movimento, também faz relações entre as diferentes matérias, uma podemos relacionar com a outra, como vamos semanalmente [à escola], sempre podemos relacionar com a anterior. Então parece que tudo é um, que o conhecimento é uma coisa só. Que não estão tão separadas as matérias, mas que começam a desaguar umas nas outras, assim.”

¹⁹⁰ “Carolina: Foi uma sessão do sistema respiratório, eu não sei porquê, mas aquilo foi assim desde o início. Parece que foi um dia em que a coisa aconteceu e em que eles se entregaram. Acho que perceberam a coisa, e participaram da coisa por dentro, desde a construção do movimento no início. Foi muito fluida, a forma como se construiu o movimento no início e se chegou à instalação do conteúdo no espaço, e acho que aquele momento foi especial. Acho que noutras sessões também aconteceu isso, acho que é sempre essa coisa. Não era nunca uma relação ganha, parece que toda a semana que a gente estava lá a gente ganhava alguma coisa. Noutras voltava tudo para trás: “Esquece, parece que é a primeira vez que a gente aparece aqui!” Mas é a primeira vez que a gente aparece aqui que nunca ninguém viu porque a gente viu de mais, já estava meia desgastada a relação, então tinha que voltar tudo, começar a namorar de novo.”

sometimes the teachers get a bit like this, trying the opposite, for them to stay still, not to talk among them, but I think it has more to do with them. If you are already working from what they are already proposing, maybe they will pay even more attention. Maybe not interest, because that is not it, but maybe they are more willing to work together. But I think it influences almost everyone that participates in the project, in a positive way, because I think there are many proposals such as this one to work with the body and the movement outside of school, or after-school, but inside it I do not know any, maybe in an alternative school that has this as the school's project, but that no one can access. So that is it, that it is not an alternative, but that it is something else inside public school.”¹⁹¹

As had already been pointed out by the two teachers in the project, Juliana and Adriana mentioned the importance of the permanent evaluation and feedback of the sessions after each session. “Juliana: The consequences for us could be seen in the sessions’ development, after an evaluation we realize that what we observed the day before and that had to be worked with each child was accomplished, or at least a possible path to work it in the next meeting was found.”¹⁹² Adriana mentioned how the project was, itself, not fixed, therefore it had to recreate itself over time, depending on the people involved and she gave the dancers’ perspective of always having to study and research for the sessions.

“Adriana: I think it is a work that seems to be constantly recreating itself. By the students, the teachers, it also depends. And even us, the people proposing it, the ones researching at c.e.m, we also always have to be studying, not only what they [the children] are studying, history, Maths (that I often have to study because I don’t remember), but also our own body, to research at the same time. I don’t feel like it is an alternative of the kind ‘ah, let’s propose an alternative to school’, but I think that it is very much ‘a part of’, it does not look like something from the outside. (...) For us also! Because we always have to be studying and recreating ourselves. It is not a fixed project that has these ideas. I have only been here for one year and a half, but I imagine that since the beginning until now the way of creating the sessions has changed a lot, because the people are different, the students are different, we are different, also, because we are not always the same, and I think the recipients are very broad. Which is good, right?”¹⁹³

Carolina, as some children did in their interviews and drawings, mentioned the ambiguity of the roles played by the dancers. She commented that it was important that the work with the school was

¹⁹¹ “Adriana: No c.e.m acho que também modificou bastante o trabalho com as pessoas e os lugares. O trabalho com as crianças também nos trouxe muito nessa relação com o corpo, a crescer, a aprender, a ensinar, a formar. Acho que pelo menos a mim me influenciou bastante. Como em tudo o que tenho de trabalhar também de escuta para poder estar com as crianças e de confiar que o corpo tem de estar presente, que tens de criar outras linhas de relação, que não as que aprendi já. Para mim era isso, não entrar em “ai, cala a boca!”. Tens de estar sempre recriando como não apanhar os primeiros comboios que já conheces. Ou de repente de que maneira me podem escutar, mas sem ter que punir ou que vigiar as crianças? Então para mim é super difícil, erro, erro, até criar outras linhas de comunicação com as crianças e de acesso a elas. O que acho bom e que me influenciou em que eu não tenha de levar nada para eles, mas escutar o que eles já estão a propor com os seus corpos, não é? Às vezes é muito caos, muita gritaria, correndo de um lado para o outro da aula. Às vezes as professoras ficam um pouco assim, tentado o contrário, que eles fiquem quietinhos, que não falem entre eles, mas acho que tem a ver mais com eles, se trabalhas desde o que eles já estão a propor, talvez até tenham mais atenção. Talvez não interesse, porque não é isso, mas talvez estejam mais disponíveis a trabalhar juntos. Mas acho que influencia quase todas as pessoas que participam do projeto, de maneira positiva, porque acho que há muitas propostas destas de trabalhar com o corpo e o movimento fora da escola, ou extra-escolarmente, mas dentro não conheço. Talvez haja numa escola alternativa em que seja a proposta da escola, mas aí ninguém tem acesso a isso, então é isso, que não seja uma alternativa, mas que seja uma outra coisa dentro da escola pública.”

¹⁹² “Juliana: As consequências para nós vêm-se no desenvolvimento nas sessões, após avaliação vamos nos dando conta de que aquilo que observámos no dia anterior e que era preciso ser trabalhado com cada criança foi atingido, ou pelo menos foi encontrado um caminho possível de ser trabalhado no próximo encontro.”

¹⁹³ “Adriana: Acho que é um trabalho que parece que tem de se estar recriando constantemente também. Pelos alunos, pelas professoras, depende também. E que as próprias pessoas que propomos, as que estamos investigando no c.e.m também têm de estar sempre a estudar, não só aquilo que eles estão a estudar, a história, a matemática, que eu muitas vezes tenho de estudar também porque não me lembro, mas também o nosso próprio corpo, ir investigando ao mesmo tempo. Não sinto que seja uma alternativa, do tipo “ah, vamos propor uma alternativa à escola”, mas acho que fica muito “fazendo parte de”, não parece uma coisa de fora. (...) E para nós também! Porque temos de estar sempre estudando e recriando-nos. Não é um projeto fixo que tenha estas ideias, assim. Eu só estou há um ano e meio, mas imagino que desde o começo até agora mudou bastante a maneira de criar as sessões, porque as pessoas são diferentes, os alunos são diferentes, nós somos diferentes, também, porque vamos mudando, e acho que os destinatários são bastante amplos. O que é bom, não é?”

done almost daily, instead of only going there every once and again; for her it was important the fact they were there, being a part of the school while at the same time not being a teacher, not having a very clear label as to what they were doing.

“Carolina: I think that for me it was more in the pertinence of being there working, daily, rather than being that lightning figure that shows up; it is the the continuous and daily work, inside the school, not necessarily inside the classroom with the children all the time, but to be inside the school, to be a part of that life, without being a teacher, without being the category ‘x’, but as a person, a part of that agglomerate.”¹⁹⁴

Carolina added that this undefinition of the artists’ role at school happened not only with the children, but also with the teachers who, in a first moment, also did not really understand the project or exactly what c.e.m was doing at school, but at the same time appreciated the work and wanted it to be carried on. According to Carolina, the ambiguity of roles had a negative side (as it revealed a certain lack of communication) and a positive one (as it was, in fact, the dancers’ role to question the definition of all the roles established inside the classroom).

“Carolina: But we felt the pertinence of working with it, and some things that I have considered deficient in that first moment, had to do with the communication, actually, to make it clear for the children what we were really doing, what was our place there, what was our role. We talked a lot about it at the time, how it was difficult to make it clear for them what we were doing, because we were also that, in a way... It is funny, because it is positive in the sense our role was exactly to disorganise that order, but at the same time I think they needed a reference as to what we were, because we were not the teacher, we were not their colleague, we were... nothing! We were c.e.m, we were c.e.m, all of a sudden we were that institution, “c.e.m”, we had no name, we were not Joana, Carolina, we were c.e.m! They did not even know what that was. And our sessions had no name, “we are going to have... c.e.m”! It was not a session of THE BODY AT SCHOOL, it was c.e.m’s session! And I think they were a bit puzzled at times. But that’s it, they were puzzled also because that was new, also for us, as a project, for the teachers who did not understand a lot, they wanted us to be there, because they understood that was cool, “it is very good, and I see it makes a difference for the children that you are here, but... we do not really know what you are doing” [pretending to be a teacher speaking].”¹⁹⁵

Children participation in the shaping of the sessions

Paula and Adriana both mentioned how children were encouraged to participate in the shaping of the sessions. Paula mentioned the role the children played in the structuring of the sessions, “Paula: Afterwards, a meditation about this material was done between the team of art-educators, searching

¹⁹⁴ “Carolina: Acho que para mim mais ficou a pertinência de estar trabalhando, quotidianamente, assim, também não ser essa figura relâmpago que aparece, mas sim o trabalho contínuo e quotidiano, na escola, não necessariamente estar em sala de aula com as crianças o tempo todo, mas estar na escola, fazer parte daquela vida, sem ser professor, sem ser a categoria “x”, mas como uma pessoa, parte daquele aglomerado.”

¹⁹⁵ “Carolina: Mas que a gente sentiu pertinência em trabalhar com isso, e algumas das coisas que, para mim, foram deficientes naquela primeiro momento, tinham a ver com a comunicação, na verdade, deixar claro para as crianças o que a gente estava realmente fazendo, qual era o nosso lugar ali, qual era o nosso papel. A gente conversou imenso na altura sobre isso, como era difícil deixar claro para elas o que a gente estava fazendo, porque a gente também era isso, por um lado... é engraçado, porque é positivo no sentido de que a nossa figura era exactamente de desorganizar aquela ordem, mas ao mesmo tempo acho que eles precisavam de uma referência do que a gente era, porque a gente não era professora, a gente não era colega deles, a gente... não era nada! A gente era do c.e.m, a gente era o c.e.m, de repente éramos essa instituição, “c.e.m”, a gente não tinha nome, a gente não era a Joana, a Carolina, a gente era o c.e.m! Que nem eles sabiam o que era. E as nossas sessões não tinham nome, “a gente vai ter... o c.e.m”! Não era sessão do “corpo na escola”, era sessão c.e.m! E acho que eles ficavam um pouco baralhados às vezes, assim. Mas é isso, ficavam baralhados também porque era essa novidade, também para a gente, enquanto projeto, para os professores que não entendiam muito, queriam que a gente estivesse lá, porque percebiam que aquilo era legal, não sei quê, “é muito bom, e eu vejo que faz diferença para os miúdos vocês estarem aqui, mas... a gente não sabe muito bem o que vocês estão fazendo” [simula a conversa de um professor].”

for ludic and creative proposals from bodily procedures, but that also requested each child's reality in the construction of the session (or meeting), thus encouraging the assumption of a participative posture of the student in the construction of knowledge."¹⁹⁶

Adriana mentioned that, in the project, the children were seen as political actors involved in their own learning process and that the sessions were created together with them, which gave them the confidence to know that they were not passive subjects in the process, that could be done cooperatively with the adults.

“Adriana: And it is also a work that transcends the school's physical space, how the school is seen as a physical space it is not only the physical space as it is also the street, and hence the work with the community, the families, the neighbours and with those close to the school's physical space. Then that's it, how to work, for me it is a sort of relearning how to study, or relearning to learn, or to... Recreate what is teaching, and what is studying, and learning. I think it is a project that somehow is a part of the idea, not the idea, but the reality that is and that I don't know how it is that we changed this idea, that children are also active people participating in the creation of their own classes, creating their own knowledge. And I think that in that sense the “BODY AT SCHOOL” sees the children as dialoguing subjects in their own learning.”¹⁹⁷

“Adriana: I think the work listens to what the students are already bringing, or are already moving, and from then on that is created together, the sessions are created together. (...) It gives them [the children] confidence to know that they were a part of their own education, and for that they are active subjects in their education. That they are not only people who receive information, but that they are also people who can create knowledge together with the professional, who studied for it, to teach classes, to teach. But it can be something more cooperative.”¹⁹⁸

REVOADA

Adriana made a detailed description of REVOADA and its evolution over the year of 2013. For her, time was very important in the development of the project. The way it evolved over time, slowly but surely, with the meetings being held regularly made sure that the children took ownership over the space and that, in the end of the school year, the night everyone slept in the Square was seen as something ordinary.

“Adriana: I think it was a proposal where the important thing was the cadence. In the beginning it was monthly, but from April on it was every Saturday, and I think that that cadence of happening every week end, I think it brought a great deal of quality to the

¹⁹⁶ “Paula: Em seguida uma reflexão sobre este material se fazia entre a equipe de arte-educadores, buscando propostas lúdicas e criativas desde procedimentos corporais, mas que também solicitassem a realidade de cada criança na construção da sessão (ou encontro), encorajando assim o assumir de uma postura participativa do educando na construção do conhecimento.”

¹⁹⁷ “Adriana: E que também é um trabalho que transcende o espaço físico da escola, como que entende que a escola como lugar físico não só é o espaço físico como também é a rua, por isso o trabalho com a comunidade, com as famílias, com os vizinhos e os que estão próximos do espaço físico da escola. Então seria isso, como trabalhar, para mim como uma espécie de reaprender a estudar, ou reaprender a aprender, ou... Recriar o que é o ensino, e o que é estudar, e a aprendizagem. Sinto que é um projeto que de alguma maneira faz parte da ideia, não da ideia, mas da realidade que já é e que não sei como foi que mudamos essa ideia, de que as crianças também são pessoas ativas a participar da criação das suas próprias aulas, da criação do seu próprio conhecimento. E acho que nesse sentido ‘O corpo na escola’ vê muito as crianças como sujeitos dialogantes na sua própria aprendizagem.”

¹⁹⁸ “Adriana: Acho que o trabalho tem muita escuta do que os alunos já estão a trazer, ou já estão a mexer, e a partir daí se cria em conjunto isso, se criam em conjunto as sessões. (...) Dá-lhes [às crianças] confiança para saber que eles foram parte da sua educação, e por isso são sujeitos activos da sua educação. Que não são só pessoas que recebem informação, mas que eles também são pessoas que podem criar o conhecimento junto com os profissionais, que estudaram para isso, para dar aulas, para ensinar. Mas que pode ser uma coisa mais cooperativa.”

work, and more implication. Sometimes some children showed up once and never came back, but they knew we were there every Saturday, and since many of them live around that street, sometimes they came alone for a little while and left, that is, it was a meeting point. People around it knew that sometimes the children went there alone and watered the plants, took care of the space, or... and then it ended with a camp that was only possible due to this previous work. I think that the camp would not have been possible if we had not been there for one year working. It was not an invasion of the space, it was not an occupation, we were living there.”¹⁹⁹

Adriana referred the REVOADA sessions became a meeting point of different people, and even other people already involved in local projects in the neighbourhood. According to her, it was the conjugation of all these people that created, together, the sessions and it led to the widespread participation, notably in the camp, of the children, their parents and the teachers.

“Adriana: It was a place where many people met, people who sometimes do not meet for a number of reasons, because it was not only with the people from the neighbourhood, but also with the structures of the neighbourhood, artistic, cultural and social. And I think that it was a very pretty work of uniting generations and people and meeting to be, and to have fun and to create together, to get to know each other, having a lot of time. It was not something quick like “let’s do this, let’s build this, there!” [Speaking very quickly]. I think it was a creating, really, between everyone, even if we were the engine of it, in the sense that in every session we proposed, invited, but it was a work that was built together, that was built together and in the end, in the camp, for me it was super special that the teachers came, some fathers and mothers sleeping there with us, in a place where we never meet, which is the street, let alone sleep!”²⁰⁰

Lastly, Adriana reinforced that the slow development of the project and the insistent work it involved allowed for its complexity. She added, as did the children before in their interviews, that this work offered an indissociation between labour and pleasure, as it allowed for the possibility of joy in a work.

“Adriana: I think it looks like something that happened and all that, but it was a huge work for that to be possible. And that no one questioned it a lot that we were going to sleep in the street and if that was a good or a bad thing. Shall we sleep in the street! Let’s! I mean, there was not a camp in the street. And I think it was a work also of a lot of insistence, in the beginning few children came, but then with insistence and trust I think it was something very beautiful. And for the school it was important, the children’s experience and the parents, you know. Of other possibilities of being. Of being, of creating, of learning. That with that you also learn, it is not just Maths, that is also learning for life, to relate, to sleep together, to think together, to paint together, to laugh.

¹⁹⁹ “Adriana: Acho que foi uma proposta em que o importante foi a cadência. No início foi uma vez por mês, mas a partir de Abril foi todos os sábados, e acho que essa cadência de a cada fim de semana acontecer, acho que trouxe muita qualidade também ao trabalho, e mais implicação. Às vezes havia umas crianças que apareciam um dia e não vinham nunca mais, mas sabiam que estávamos aí aos sábados, e como muitos moram por aí pela rua, às vezes vinham sozinhos um tempinho e iam embora, ou seja que foi um lugar de encontro, esse. Que sabiam que por aí às vezes as crianças iam sozinhas e regavam as plantas, cuidavam do espaço, ou... e depois acabou numa acampada que foi possível só por esse trabalho anterior. Acho que a acampada não teria sido possível se não tivéssemos estado um ano a trabalhar aí. Não foi uma invasão do espaço, não foi uma ocupação, foi um viver lá.”

²⁰⁰ “Adriana: Foi um lugar onde muitas pessoas se encontraram que às vezes não se encontram por X coisas, porque não foi só com pessoas do bairro, mas com estruturas também do bairro, artísticas, culturais e sociais. E acho que foi um trabalho muito bonito de unir gerações e pessoas e encontrar-se para estar, e para se divertir e criar juntos, para construir, para conhecer-nos, desde um tempo mais alargado, não uma coisa assim rápida de “fazer isto, vamos construir isto, pronto!” [falando muito rapidamente]. Acho que foi uma criação, mesmo, entre todas e todos, por muito que nós fôssemos o motor disso, no sentido de que em cada sessão propor, convidar, mas foi um trabalho que se construiu em conjunto e que no final, na acampada, para mim foi super especial que viessem as professoras, alguns pais e mães a dormir lá com a gente, num lugar onde nunca nos encontramos, que é a rua, e ainda menos todos a dormir!”

It was very joyful. I think that was also very beautiful; the possibility of joy to also be in the work! Because I felt that none of them was forced to come, as they may be at the after school activities, or at the summer workshops, where they had to go everyday. They came because they wanted to, really. Because there was really no obligation, it was an open invitation! And it was super special.”²⁰¹

Criticism

Regarding what could be improved about the project, Adriana, as the teacher did before, mentioned it could not be evaluated that way, as it did not have quantitative goals and because it was built step by step with the people involved in it, “Adriana: I do not feel there is anything wrong, I feel we do not want to reach anything like ‘ah, the goal is for all children at the end of the project to be able to add up with their body, or something’ or ‘can draw...’. The proposal did not have any goal other than the proposal itself, doing it.”²⁰² Carolina made a similar remark, referring that, over time, the project changed and adapted always in the sense of improving it “Carolina: I think that, you know, things happened, and they were conquered in a way. As time went by, I think some things disappeared, disappeared because it did not make sense to be like that, and others were transformed, changed, and others remained the same.”²⁰³

Carolina had a more critical perspective and remarked that, when the project happened in Escola Passos Manuel, during the first year it was done in Lisbon, the sessions were performed in a dualist way, with the movement exercises and artistic expression being separated from the theoretical discussion. The sessions would have a physical beginning which would lead to a theoretical development with the teacher and, in her perspective, the two moments were separated, which resulted in a confusing message for the children.

“Carolina: In the beginning for me, it was very difficult, when we were in Passos Manuel. It was the way we could do it, but perhaps it was something that was still under construction. I think somehow we worked the content in a way that was also very binary. In the beginning of the sessions there was the movement, blah blah blah, and then we go to the part where the teacher is also more with us, working the content, and for me it was a question that always remained. Why separately? I understand why separately, why we always did separately, so I understand why in this proposal also, but I think that many times the children did not understand it very well. It was not very clear for them the reason why we were doing it like that. And I think that in reality I understand why, but I understand why because actually at the time I could not think how it could be

²⁰¹ “Adriana: Acho que parece uma coisa que aconteceu e tal, mas que foi um trabalho para que isso pudesse ser possível. E que ninguém se questionasse muito se fôssemos dormir na rua se isso ia a ser mau ou bom. Vamos dormir na rua? Vamos! Ou seja, não houve uma acampada na rua. E acho que foi um trabalho também de muita insistência, no começo vinham poucas crianças, mas depois com insistência e confiança acho que foi uma coisa muito bonita. Que para a escola ficou marcada, a experiência das crianças e dos pais, assim. De outras possibilidades de estar. De ser, de criar, de aprender de que com isso também se aprende, não é só a matemática, isso também é aprender para a vida, a se relacionar, a confiar nos outros, a dormir juntos, a pensar juntos, a pintar juntos, a rir. Era muito alegre. Acho que isso também foi muito bonito, não sei, a possibilidade de a alegria também estar nos trabalhos! Porque eu sinto que nenhum vinha obrigado, como pode ser o ATL ou os “praia-campo” esses, em que tens que ir obrigatoriamente todos os dias. Eles vinham porque queriam, mesmo. Porque não havia nenhuma obrigação mesmo, era um convite aberto! E foi super especial.”

²⁰² “Adriana: Eu não sinto que haja assim nada de errado, sinto que também não queremos alcançar nada assim como “ai, a finalidade é que todas as crianças no fim do curso saibam somar com o corpo, ou assim” [risos] ou “saibam desenhar...” a proposta não tinha nenhuma finalidade mais que a própria proposta de fazer.”

²⁰³ “Carolina: As coisas aconteceram, e elas foram conquistadas numa certa medida. Com o passar dos anos, acho que algumas coisas foram sumindo, foram desaparecendo porque não fazia tanto sentido ser daquela forma, e outras se transformaram, se modificaram, e outras se mantiveram as mesmas.”

done in another way, it was also a very embryonic phase. In the first year we did a pilot year, and in the second year, it grew and we kept doing it.”²⁰⁴

Moreover, Carolina added that the project was too ambitious for its real possibilities. Carolina said the project started from a point of view that considered the whole public schooling system to be wrong, while it obviously did not have the ability to change it. She considered it to be an underlining statement of the project to take into the artists hands the necessity to be involved in the education of the children. For Carolina, that was at the same time a real urgency, but also a show of arrogance on the part of c.e.m, who wanted to be involved with the school, while at the same time not wanting to be a part of the school itself.

“Carolina: It is a very difficult project, because it is also very ambitious, because sometimes perhaps it was very petulant. ‘It’s all wrong!’, but it is not ‘it’s all wrong’... it is really all wrong, it is all wrong in our life, it is all wrong in society, it is all wrong, I am wrong! And I think it was a feeling, because it wasn’t a statement. Never have we said ‘man, the children’s education is ours as well, it’s not only the state’s’. It was not a statement, we never said that with those words, but it was a feeling. If it were not, we never would have moved to do it, we would not have gone after, no, wait, I want to be inside the school. To be inside the school not because I know more than the teachers, or because I know how to raise someone, or I don’t know what, but I also want to be a part of that education process, that’s it. Just... because! Because you can’t deny [means rely on] the state, rotten as it is. And it is my responsibility as a person. There are people who will participate in a meeting with the community, there are people who will participate in the school director board, I can do inside the classroom with the kids! It is a bit like that. In that sense, it is a bit petulant. Why won’t you be a part of that board, why don’t you go? You don’t even have children! Do you have children? No, then! But because it’s not my son’s education, and it’s also that broader idea of education, not just teaching techniques, learning techniques. (...) Because to me what was very pertinent was that: the pertinence of being inside, not of the school system, but of the school structure. Because we can do that at c.e.m, we do not need to go inside the school, but it is so pertinent to be in that place, you know, that is the place they are in, so then that is how it goes, “I’ll tell you a different story” [as if she were talking to the children].”²⁰⁵

²⁰⁴ “Carolina: Acho que no início para mim, era muito difícil, quando a gente estava na Passos Manuel, era do jeito que a gente conseguia fazer, mas talvez fosse uma coisa que ainda tivesse de ser mais trabalhada. Acho que de certa forma a gente trabalhava o conteúdo de uma maneira também muito binária. No início das sessões há o movimento, não sei quê, nã-nã, e aí a gente passa para a parte em que a professora também está mais junto, trabalhando o conteúdo, e para mim era uma pergunta que sempre ficava. Mas porquê separado? Eu percebo porquê separado, porque a gente sempre fez separado, então eu percebo o porquê da proposta também, mas acho que muitas vezes as crianças não entendiam muito bem, não ficava muito claro para elas o motivo pelo qual a gente estava fazendo daquela forma. E acho que na verdade entendo porquê, mas entendo porquê porque na verdade não conseguia na altura pensar como poderia ser feito de outra forma, também é uma fase muito embrionária. No primeiro ano ficamos num ano piloto, e no segundo ano, a coisa foi acontecendo e a gente foi fazendo.”

²⁰⁵ “Carolina: É um projecto muito difícil, porque também é muito ambicioso, porque por vezes talvez tenha sido muito petulante. “Está tudo errado!”, mas não é está tudo errado... está tudo errado mesmo, na nossa vida está tudo errado, na sociedade está tudo errado, está tudo errado, eu estou errada! E acho que era um sentimento, porque não era um *statement*. Em nenhum momento a gente disse “a educação das crianças é nossa também, não é só do estado”. Não era um *statement*, a gente nunca chegou a dizer com essas palavras, mas era um sentimento. Se não fosse, a gente nunca teria se movido para isso, não teria ido atrás, não, espera aí, eu quero estar dentro da escola. Estar dentro da escola não porque eu sei mais do que os professores, ou porque eu sei como educar, ou não sei quê, mas eu quero fazer parte também desse processo de educação. Porque sim! Porque não dá para renegar ao estado, podre do jeito que ele é, isso, não é? E é a minha responsabilidade enquanto pessoa. Tem pessoas que vão participar da reunião com a comunidade, tem pessoas que vão participar do conselho directivo, eu posso ir para dentro da sala de aula com os miúdos! É um pouco isso. Nesse sentido, é um pouco petulante. Porque é que tu não vais então fazer parte do conselho, porque é que não vai? Nem filho tem! Tem filho? Não, então! Mas porque, pronto, porque não é da educação do meu filho, e é essa ideia também mais ampla da educação, não é só técnicas de ensino, técnicas de aprendizagem. (...) Porque para mim o que era muito pertinente era isso, a pertinência de estar por dentro, não do sistema de ensino, da estrutura de escola, porque a gente pode fazer isso dentro do c.e.m, não precisa ir para dentro da escola, mas é tão pertinente estar naquele lugar, assim, que é o lugar que eles estão, então depois é isso, “eu vou-te contar um história diferente” [como se estivesse a falar com as crianças].”

Summary and conclusion of the chapter

Briefly recapitulating all the answers, in the teachers' interviews, three main themes were addressed: the effects of the project on the children, the teamwork between c.e.m and the school and the integration of the project in the teachers' organisation. The first theme was subdivided into language learning, inclusion, self confidence, learning from the body, behaviour, the book, family, sharing space and c.e.m as a meeting point. In the second theme, both teachers mentioned the importance of the project as a continuation of their work, how some of the curricular contents were taught by the artists from c.e.m and underpinned the importance of working together in the preparation of the sessions. Regarding the integration of the project in the teachers' organisation, both Elda and Inês reported the importance of feedback sessions and frequent meetings to plan the following sessions.

As far as the answers from c.e.m's artists are concerned, they were divided into five themes: the effects of the project on the children, the teamwork between c.e.m and the school, children participation in the shaping of the sessions, REVOADA and criticism. The effects of the project were divided into the curricular/pedagogic effects (subdivided into pedagogic tools and the human tools) and the artistic/social effects (subdivided into inclusion, arts, movement, family and relationships). The teamwork between the two structures was divided into five sub-themes: recipients of the project, articulation c.e.m-school, relationship with the children, permanent evaluation and feedback, and ambiguity of roles.

The diagrams show the different themes that were brought up in the interviews and who mentioned them, in the teachers' interviews and in c.e.m's artists'. In comparison, both teachers and artists mentioned several effects of the project on the children, which are important items to answer the first research question, which was whether an experience of the arts, of artistic tools, processes, techniques and exercises and of an active body posture in the education process stimulate learning and if whether the learning is different from or similar to the learning that occurs through school experiences that do not contain these elements. The artists went into more detail in their description, which was not surprising taking into account there were only two teachers interviewed against nine members of c.e.m's staff.

Themes induced from the teachers' interviews

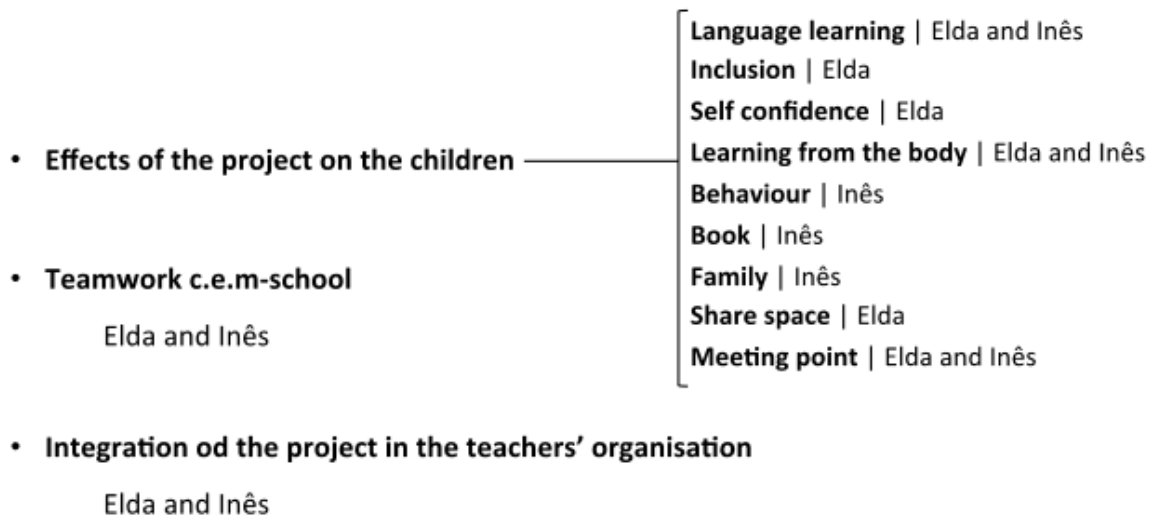


Figure 82: Themes induced from the teacher's interviews.

Themes induced from the artists' interviews

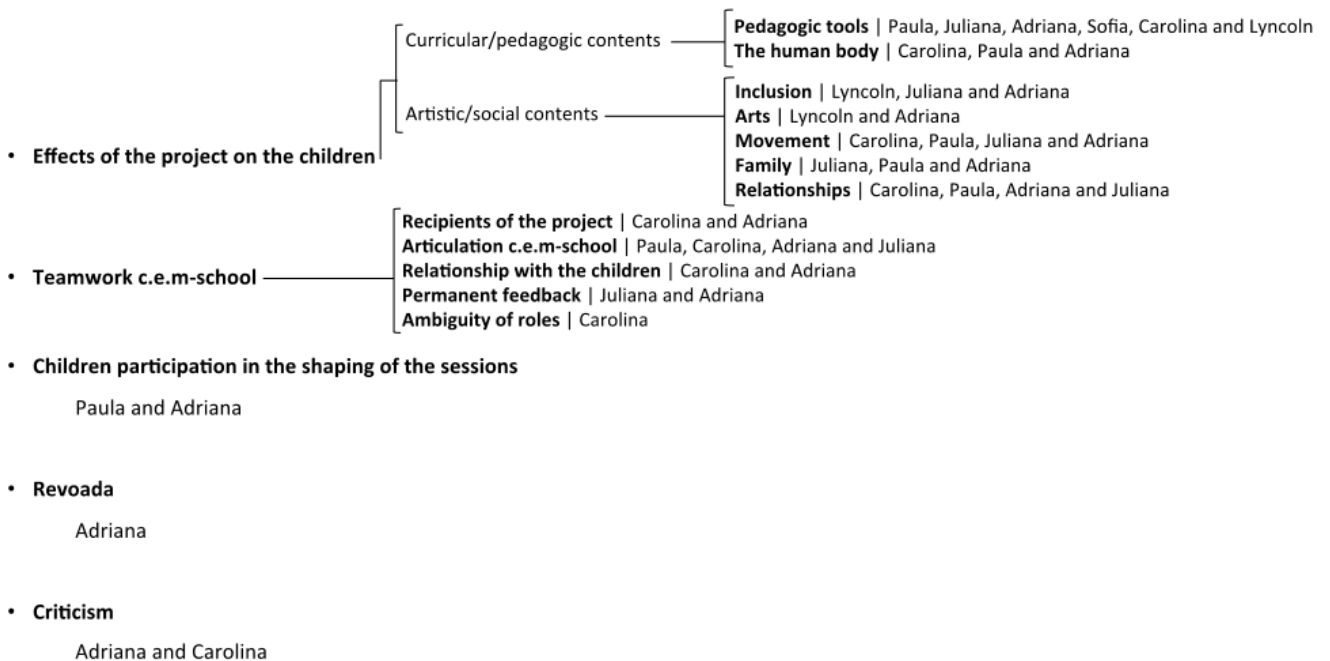


Figure 84: Themes induced from the artists' interviews.

Some of the effects mentioned were the same in both groups, such as the impact on the children's relationship with the school and the relevance given to movement and to the body. The teachers

mentioned specific acquisitions from the students, such as language learning and learning to share a space. The teachers also referred other impacts of the project, such as its influence on the children's self-confidence and behaviour. The interviews of the artists revealed the importance given to the relationships established and to the curricular, pedagogic, artistic and social tools acquired by the students. For example, the artists mentioned how the sessions taught the children about the human body, how to speak Portuguese, they learnt about the arts and they gained tools to problem solving. In addition, the artists mentioned how movement stimulated learning, while engaging the whole body.

The emotions and affection are perhaps not often stimulated inside the classroom, but were an important part of the project. According to one of the artists, the sessions were a moment when the children overcame their limitations (one such moment was described in the third episode of Chapter 4) and transformed their relationships with the others, an idea that had also been expressed by Davi in his interview in the previous chapter. Paula agreed that in the sessions the children worked their relationship with the contents they had to learn, as well as with the other children, the teachers, the school staff and the school itself. Adriana mentioned the network of care and affection created by the project, arguing that the children had an affectionate relationship with the artists, and that gave them, on the one hand, more confidence with the adults and with each other and, on the other hand, more pleasure in the learning process. Adriana concluded that, in this network of care and affection, the more secure the children felt, the more they enjoyed the sessions of the project.

Elda concluded what we previously discussed in the third episode in Chapter 4, about the children's "body as project" (Christensen, 1999): being given a diverse array of possibilities of learning, relating and being, will facilitate the children's learning. According to her, the project did not treat the children in a childish way, therefore helping them grow. She defined the project as a physical continuity from her classes, adding another layer to the children's process of learning. Elda mentioned that learning using the body is very important and a teaching method she used for teaching how to read and write as it involved an embodiment of the contents, and c.e.m reinforced her method, improving her own teaching skills. About this same topic, according to the artists, because the children's bodies were free to move and explore and the sessions were designed in a creative way that provided the children with different learning tools while stimulating their curiosity, the children, instead of memorising, understood the contents that were being recapitulated or addressed for the first time.

The relationship between working and having fun and the fact that the project allowed the children to do both at the same time was highlighted by the children in their interviews and was also mentioned by Elda. She referred to the fact that in the sessions the children learnt as they played,

and how she continued using the same strategy with the children after the artists left. She added that the children became more available to learn, doing so more easily. The information they acquired was also more easily assessed, according to Elda, as a consequence of the project, with the children gaining more self-confidence from this process. Adriana, from the group of artists, reinforced this idea by agreeing that the work was very joyful.

About the second research question concerning particular projects developed by the children, the teachers mentioned the making of the book as a moment of great importance for the children and the artists referred to the REVOADA sessions.

Regarding our third research question, if an arts-based approach diminishes gender, ethnic and developmental differences in the participation of the children, the teachers and the artists mentioned in their interviews the importance of the project in the inclusion of the children, especially, as we have mentioned before, those who did not speak Portuguese or who had learning difficulties. To the former, according to the teachers, the sessions managed to make them comfortable and not to be afraid to communicate, becoming a moment when they were totally integrated with the rest of the class, doing the same exercises as their colleagues, which increased their self-esteem. To the latter, the project, according to Elda's example of Emilia's case, gave them the courage to show and to exhibit their work. According to Elda, all children, even children with difficulties, learn if their bodies are used as another learning tool. Hence, both teachers defend the open-ended and varied nature of the project to have been an important contributor not only to the children's learning (as mentioned just above), but also to the inclusion of children who could feel set aside in the regular classes. On the same note, the artists mentioned that the sessions made the curricular contents accessible to all the children, including those who did not master the language or who had learning difficulties. According to Adriana, as a consequence, the children got more confidence and felt more empowered at school and in life in general.

Regarding our fourth research question, of how the formal, non-formal and informal knowledge was recognised in the classroom, one of the artists mentioned that the frequency of the sessions helped working the contents in continuity, even if they were from different subjects or from the children's daily life, highlighting the importance given by the project to the crossing of knowledge of different types and from different subjects. Besides, the artists felt that the sessions breached the distance between the curricular knowledge and the knowledge of the children about themselves, which the artists felt was important to increase the children's interest in the sessions and helping them understand the contents. This evaluation of the project was shared with the teacher and both teacher and artists indicate that because in the project, the children's "body as project" (Christensen, 1999) was given different possibilities of relating to the curriculum, it improved children's learning.

For example, in one session about the digestive system, the children knew by heart how to describe the digestive tract, but they did not know where in their bodies those organs were. Adriana gave another, similar, example, where the children knew where their organs were in their bodies and what their functions were, but could not remember their names precisely. The example from this session was also mentioned by one of the teachers as a positive example of an exercise from the sessions that the children kept in their minds well after the session was over and these two examples show how the project provided the children with links between their perspective of the “incarnate body” and the school’s “somatic body”. Besides, this was also a good example of the importance of the continuation and teamwork between the two structures.

With reference to the fifth research question, if the hierarchies in the classroom were different from classrooms where arts-based methods were not employed, the teachers and the artists both gave a lot of importance, in their interviews, to the teamwork between the school and c.e.m. The teachers mentioned the fact that they felt able to delegate part of the contents to the project and both teachers and artists referred the importance of a continuation between the sessions and the regular classes, and working the sessions and the contents of the project together was considered a matter of utmost importance. Furthermore, Elda and Inês referred that the project was only viable when integrated into their classes and with constant feedback meetings to plan and to improve the sessions. Therefore, the project at Escola da Madalena seemed to have overcome its past problems in Vila Velha de Ródão, when the school and the artistic structure complained from miscommunication, which eventually escalated to a rupture between the two structures, as we described in the first chapter.

Also, the artists mentioned how the project changed with time, how it was not fixed and was developed as it went on, which was visible from the flexibility it demonstrated in the fifth episode in Chapter 4. This was particularly relevant for the artists in their relationship with the teachers. Carolina described how initially she did not see the teachers as recipients from the project, but as the years went by she understood they were so, as much as the children, the school workers, the school itself and the community; and Adriana added that the teachers continued the project even after changing schools. This flexibility of the project had many positive sides, but it also meant that it was fragile, easily susceptible to change and, as we will argue, this eventually led to its ending.

The staff from c.e.m acknowledged their relationship with the children was very important and permitted the collaboration, respect and freedom between the people in the sessions. Still, for the artists, it remained a challenge to work with the children from a non-hierarchical, condescending or paternalistic position something that, as we have discussed in the end of the second episode in Chapter 4, can be difficult.

In addition, the artists from c.e.m mentioned that their role at the school was ambiguous (agreeing with one of the children, Catarina, who mentioned the same) for the children and for the other teachers, who also took the time to understand the project and what they wanted from it. According to Carolina, this ambiguity showed some lack of communication between the artists and the teachers and children. The artists also and highlighted the children participation in the shaping of the sessions and in the REVOADA, which the children had also referred to.

Lastly, regarding the sixth research question about a school open to the community, the teachers and the artists recognised the project had an important impact on the families, making them participate more at school and in their children's education, therefore creating a network between the school and the community. Both groups also agreed that the REVOADA sessions became a meeting point between the people who left the school, the teachers, the current students, the neighbours and the structures of the neighbourhood (shops, restaurants, artistic structures, etc.) and Adriana mentioned the importance of time, of how the project developed slowly but regularly, for its complexity.

Finally, two of the artists from c.e.m exposed their criticism of the project. According to Carolina, despite criticising an approach that separates the children's minds from their bodies, the way the sessions were conducted at Escola Passos Manuel still had a dualist perspective. The final criticism made to the project was that it was too ambitious for c.e.m's structure, which, as we will discuss on the following chapter, was another reason for the ending of the project. According to Carolina, if one of the project's goals was to change public schooling as a whole, while at the same time remaining a small, independent structure working from outside the system, then it was a failed attempt from the beginning. The effort to change the public school through pedagogic innovation and hierarchical transformation was, as will be discussed in the last chapter, crucial to the project, but created a tension with the reality of the artistic association.

Chapter 7 – Discussion and Conclusion

In this final chapter, we will resume and discuss the findings and conclusions of this thesis. We shall also reconsider the methodology used and discuss how successful it has been. Lastly, we shall discuss what further questions our work has identified for future research, as well as wider implications for policy and public debate that this work suggests.

Empirical findings

We summarise below all the empirical findings of our work that have been described over the previous chapters of this thesis. We begin by addressing the context of the fieldwork and the intervention performed, and then discuss each of our six research questions and the answers for each of them.

Context

The fieldwork described in this thesis took place in Mouraria, one of the oldest neighbourhoods in Lisbon which was, during the period of the fieldwork, experiencing dramatic changes due to a sudden increase in public and private investment, a new lease law whose impact was felt essentially by older inhabitants of the neighbourhood, and an increase in the number of migrant inhabitants.

To describe the context of our intervention, we began by providing a historical description of the neighbourhood centred mainly on two papers dealing with the population changes the neighbourhood was going through at the time of our fieldwork. Malheiros and colleagues (2012) described two simultaneous processes going on in Mouraria: gentrification and the new arrival of poor, non-European migrants, concluding that the latter was more significant than the former and that the two happened in parts of the neighbourhood that did not always coincide (Malheiros *et al.*, 2012). Marluci Menezes (2011) criticised the City Council's rehabilitation proposal for Mouraria for not taking into account what had been previously done in the neighbourhood. Menezes (2011) summarised the approach towards Mouraria by saying that it was as if an invention of a multicultural and multi-ethnic tradition could solve the contradictions of a neighbourhood that was going through two simultaneous processes of stigmatisation and emblematising, an invention which could lead to the creation of a ghetto: a multicultural area opposed to the rest of the city.

The data from the population Census in 2011 revealed that the neighbourhood of Mouraria was a densely populated area, inhabited by an ageing population (with an ageing index of 244 and a percentage of children in the population of 9.6%). It was a very multicultural neighbourhood, as the proportion of migrants from other parts of Portugal and from other continents, especially from Asia, was higher than in the rest of the city of Lisbon (the capital, and the most multicultural city in

the country). The percentage of atheists, Orthodox Catholics, Muslims, and believers in other Christian (non-Roman Catholic), and non-Christian religions was higher in Mouraria as well.

Regarding the education and employment numbers of the neighbourhood, the situation caused for concern, with the population having a low level of studies, a high illiteracy rate and level of unemployment that was higher than the average of Lisbon and Portugal. Moreover, based on their jobs, most of the employed people of the neighbourhood probably did not receive a high salary; there was, however, a relatively high amount of people working in intellectual and scientific activities, which could be an indication of the gentrification of the neighbourhood.

Most buildings in Mouraria were old, in need of renovation and more than half of the houses were rented. During most part of our fieldwork, there was only one public playground designed for the children of the neighbourhood, but which was rarely used by them, as it was located in a dead-end street and was very ill equipped.

Because the study happened inside a school and the relationship established with the school was so relevant, we have not only described the evolution of the school system in Portugal over the previous century, but also analysed the results from a set of international assessment tests made to the students' performance. The level of studies of the people of Mouraria reflected characteristics found in the international reports of education, despite the progress made in Portugal since 1974 (IEA 2012a; IEA 2012b; OECD, 2013; OECD, 2014).

Intervention

The project studied in the fieldwork, entitled *THE BODY AT SCHOOL (O CORPO NA ESCOLA)*, was originally implemented in Vila Velha de Ródão and, as we discussed in the third chapter, was then evaluated by Daniela Mourão Craveiro and João Teixeira Lopes (Craveiro and Lopes, 2007; Lopes and Craveiro, 2008). The researchers concluded that the children, teachers, parents and the artists all agreed that it had positive outcomes, but there were fundamental divergences between the artistic structure and the school's direction that eventually led to its ending.

The project was then transferred to c.e.m, an artistic association in Lisbon, where a group of interdisciplinary researchers had been working with children and was starting to feel the desire to develop a continuous work with them. In the first two years the project was implemented in Lisbon, it happened with groups of 5th and 6th grades at Escola Passos Manuel. The main difference from its earlier version was the introduction of a project in the last term of the school year, developed with the children and the teachers working the connection of the school with the neighbourhood it was located in, called *NEIGHBOURS*. After two years in that school, c.e.m decided to implement the project in a school in Mouraria, Escola da Madalena. This change was partly due to a refocus of the work of the association with the neighbourhood of Mouraria, and partly because, once again, there

was a growing conflict between the school's board of direction and the arts association despite, in this case, the teachers being favourable to the continuation of the project at Escola Passos Manuel. 2010/2011 was the beginning of the three years of our fieldwork when the project THE BODY AT SCHOOL was done with children from 3rd grade and with a teacher that followed alternative teaching methodologies. This change marked a new phase of the project, with the introduction of the children's perspectives in the sessions.

In the third chapter we described the school's building (three floors in an habitation building changed to host a public primary school), its daily routines and yearly schedule and the population of the school (the children, the teachers and the staff members). Over the course of our fieldwork, there were many population changes at school, not only of the children, but also of the teachers. This is an example of the direct impact the gentrification and migration of people in Mouraria discussed above had in the school and, as a consequence, in our fieldwork.

Over the pages of this thesis we described the sessions of the project, which were planned with the teachers, taking into account the feedback and comments by the children. The sessions happened in the children's classroom, during curricular hours and joined the curricular contents with artistic exploration. An important part of the description of the project is how NEIGHBOURS (VIZINHOS) developed each year as a work chosen and carried out by the children, connecting the school and the neighbourhood. In the first year of the fieldwork, they focused on the street art in Mouraria and on the children's perception of the neighbourhood to make a collective map of the area using photos, symbols and patterns they had discovered, as well as quotes from the interviews they had made in a group walk around the neighbourhood. Then, the children met a Brazilian street artist and made a collective drawing with him. In the year after that, in the NEIGHBOURS project, the children created a book with collective stories written and illustrated by them. In the third year of the fieldwork, the project was done with two different classes and a new teacher joined it. That year, the NEIGHBOURS sessions gained more weight than the sessions at school in the overall relationship between the school and c.e.m. NEIGHBOURS took place in the ruins of an abandoned building in Mouraria, which the artists and the children transformed into a garden together, and the process led to a sleep over in the square and to the publishing of a book about the experience.

At the end of the three years of fieldwork, the younger teacher was unemployed for a few months before being placed in a different school, whereas the older teacher was immediately placed in a school in the outskirts of Lisbon. The teachers who replaced them did not show much interest in the project but still decided to continue with it for a few sessions. As we have described, primary school teachers work very long hours, have precarious job situations, and they face the curricular demands

of preparing the children for exams in 3rd and 4th grade that.²⁰⁶ All these aspects have helped in giving the new teachers little availability to experiment with different approaches, even though they were aware of the previous results of the project. They soon decided not to continue with the sessions.

In September 2014, the two artists who were working in the project during the last year of our fieldwork, moved to Madrid in search of better job offers. The artistic association, as the result of governmental policies, got its budget cut by the Ministry of Culture and also by the City Council and lives under the constant threat of having to close its doors. The school, on the other hand, is also about to close down, if all goes according to what has been announced; because all the primary schools in the neighbourhoods of Mouraria, Alfama and Graça are going to be merged in one big building that is, at the time of writing, still being renovated, in Graça. The change of the school has been repeatedly postponed due to a delay in the renovation of the new building, but should happen before July 2016.

The research questions

In Chapters 4, 5 and 6 we have presented the results of our fieldwork, divided into selected episodes and interviews to the children, artists and teachers involved in the project. These results have been triangulated with the data from my field journal and visual data to answer our six research questions. We shall turn now to the conclusions for each question, recapitulated below:

1. Does an experience of the arts, of artistic tools, processes, techniques and exercises and of an active body posture in the scholarization process stimulate learning? Is this learning different from or similar to learning that occurs through school experiences that do not contain these elements?
2. How did the children respond to the opportunity to develop a project in school that they chose themselves? Did they recognise their own cultural production and their more active role at school?
3. Did the use of an arts-based approach diminishes gender, ethnic and developmental differences in the participation of the children?
4. How were the children's formal, non-formal and informal knowledge recognised in the classroom?
5. Were the hierarchies in the classroom different from classrooms where arts-based methods were not employed? Did the participants experience greater mutual respect, trust and support?

²⁰⁶ During the time of my fieldwork, these exams had been reinstated, but the recent government has cancelled them.

6. Did the intervention change the participant's experience of school as a meeting point for former students, the local community and the children's families?

The first research question asked how could the project stimulate the children's learning and growth, having an impact in their lives. The data from our fieldwork showed that the children apprehended curricular and pedagogic contents from the project. Some that were specifically mentioned in the interviews were: sciences, grammar, reading and writing, geometry, the human body, learning to share a space, how to speak Portuguese and arts. More general acquisitions from the project included how it was useful to the revision of previously learnt contents, that it gave the children tools to learn and understand the curricular contents and to problem solving. In addition, it was also argued that movement stimulated learning, which will be discussed further on.

There were many artistic and social contents acquired from the project, namely: the children's ability to work as a group, their perseverance, integration and inclusion, their ability to explain things, to participate in collective decision-making processes, their self-confidence, behaviour, relaxation and movement.

The relational aspect of the project was also considered very important, and both children and adults highlighted its importance to the relationships the children established with their colleagues, with the teachers, with the artists, with the school and with new people, that the children did not know before. Many children emphasised further this relational side of the project, by expressing their desire for it to continue with other children, and some of the children even wondered about the future and asked if they could come to the sessions after leaving the school (one of the reasons why the REVOADA sessions outside the school had such a big importance in the following year, as we shall discuss further on).

Regarding particularly the learning approach of the project, several children mentioned how it helped them learn and how they understood the contents during the sessions. The children associated the project with emotions and affection; the ideas of freedom, happiness, joy and friendship were used directly or indirectly to describe the project. One child explained that, when he learnt something in the sessions while he was playing a game, afterwards he could remember what he had learnt by remembering the game. The teacher corroborated this idea stating that in the sessions the children learnt as they played and that made them more available to learn, doing so more easily and the information acquired was more easily assessed. As a consequence, she explained, the children became more self-confident. In the third year of the fieldwork she began using the same strategy with the children in her classes. This idea had been expressed already by the children who were interviewed in the first stage of the project, in Vila Velha de Ródão, who, as mentioned before, explained that the project helped them learn as they played, relaxing them.

One of the artists explained that the project created a network of care and affection around the children and that gave them, on the one hand, more confidence with the adults and with each other and, on the other hand, more pleasure in the learning process. She concluded that, in this network of care and affection, the more secure the children felt, the more they enjoyed the sessions of the project. The open-ended nature of the exercises applied in the sessions meant that they had no correct or expected result, valuing the children's own work and personality, which, we argue, helped create the sense of security in the children. Another factor that also contributed to that was the fact that the children were not treated with condescendence, which made them realise that the relationship was two-sided, that is, that the adults had expectations from them and that made them act responsibly.

In their interviews and drawings, the children showed their awareness of the temporal restriction of the project. The children recognised that, in the trajectory of their education and life, the project would happen during a relatively short period of time. They recognised that it was, in a way, ephemeral, like the dance and movement exercises that it proposed.

Several children remarked that in the sessions of the project they felt like they were working and learning, while at the same time they were enjoying themselves. The children described this as a particular characteristic of the project and one that was opposite to the work environments they were familiar to, including in their regular classes at school, which were associated with negative feelings (the people did not like each other, they were bored or they were sitting down listening and not intervening).

Our second research question asked how children would act if they could develop their own projects at school, ultimately, if they could decide how their classes would be like. In this thesis, this complex question was studied in three episodes: when the children taught a class to a group of adults, when they wrote a book together and when they worked, together with a group of adults, in the ruins of an abandoned building in Mouraria.

In the enunciation of this research question, there was the underlying idea that, in their regular classes, the children were attributed a passive role, as has been extensively discussed in the first chapter. Several children corroborated this view, when they described their regular classes as boring, for example, one boy said that he did not like to learn, and one of the girls described the regular classes as being a time when they had to be sitting down and listening to the teacher. In the sessions, the same girl explained that she learnt by doing things, which was "fun", according to her.²⁰⁷

If they agreed with our diagnosis, then, how did they develop a class of their own choosing? When given the possibility of planning a class of any type, the children chose a class where the students

²⁰⁷ The relationship between the work in the sessions and the children's enjoyment has been discussed in the answer to the previous research question.

were not passive and where their bodies were free to move. The children imagined a creative class with group and individual dynamics, mixing formal school elements with creativity exercises while at the same time focusing on their students' learning. The class imagined by the children was obviously influenced by the sessions of the project which they had experienced before, but it was not a copy of the project's sessions. It was, as two girls explained in an interview immediately after the class, a product of their imagination, using their own ideas and creativity. The final product of their choices was also a way of criticising their traditional classes. Additionally, the children showed an impressive capacity of organisation to teach the class, of working as a group, of researching the theme they had chosen, and showed their creativity and originality to develop their idea.

The teachers mentioned that the making of the book was a very important experience for the children and, when asked about it, some children surprised us by referring first to the autobiographical book and not to the collective book. The autobiography was an exercise developed throughout a few sessions, whose importance to the children had been minimised by the artists until the interviews. For the children, it was very important to consider their life as a topic worth writing about, an important subject. The artists had considered it to be just another exercise of the sessions, but the children proved them wrong and some explained that even after they moved to another school they continued to use it to write down the story of their lives. A similar situation, as we described above, had happened in the first stage of the project in Vila Velha de Ródão, where the children also explained that after the sessions they continued or repeated the activities they had done in the sessions. In a way, the children took over the project and the children subverted the temporal restriction of the project.

The children valued not only that experience, but also the process of making of the book and the REVOADA sessions for recognising their ability in cultural production, their knowledge and for allowing them to develop a project of their own in a shared decision-making process. We define the way the project evolved as "collaboratively emergent", borrowing the expression Sawyer (2011) used to describe a collective narrative. We extrapolate his use of the expression to describe this characteristic of the project that was being collectively built as it went on. There were particular moments, such as the writing of the collective book and the sessions of REVOADA, that were an improvised collaboration between the children or between the adults and the children (respectively). In those moments in particular, the project was collaboratively emergent, in the remaining moments of the project, there was a potential for this co-creation.

The third research question considered how gender, ethnic and developmental differences could be minimised in their influence on the children. The sessions always proposed open-ended exercises (there was no expected final result as it was dependent on the children's input, interest and personality). These exercises were very different from one another and from the children's

experience in a regular class. Those two aspects, according to the adults, were fundamental to the inclusion of the children, particularly of those who did not speak Portuguese or who had learning difficulties. All the children were stimulated in the sessions to communicate and, because in the sessions the children who had had difficulties learning or speaking Portuguese were given the same tasks as their colleagues, they felt integrated with the class.

In the creation or improvisation exercises of the sessions, the children managed their own bodies; they chose how much they wished to expose themselves to the others. Because in most part of the sessions there was a combination between group work and individual attention and in most exercises the whole class, including the teachers, was doing the same exercise, we argue that the anonymity of being part of a group moving at the same time reduced the pressure of being watched and, hence, stimulated the children's empowerment in their actions. Moreover, the children felt their work and contributions were valued, gained the courage to show their work, seeming to increase their self-esteem and confidence. One boy gave the example of his experience: how he felt different from the rest of the group in the beginning of the year and that the sessions helped his integration in the class.

Another boy described how the project influenced two of his female colleagues who were Roma, from Romania. According to him, the sessions were important in their integration, making them feel happier at school and with more friends from outside the Romanian circle. Coincidentally, we had a film of a session when one of those girls, Georgiana, had a moment of breakthrough, which was chosen as the third episode. According to one of the artists, the sessions provided moments when the children overcame their limitations and transformed their relationships with the others; the third episode was one such example. It showed how an improvisation exercise where, through Georgiana's participation, her relationship with her colleagues, teacher and artists changed, and she decided precisely to direct and conduct that moment.

The teacher saw the project as a physical continuity of her classes, as a way of adding another layer to the children's learning process. According to her, all children can learn if their bodies are used as a learning tool. In the sessions, the children and their bodies were seen not as fixed entities but as flexible, complex and multi-layered and, because in the sessions the children were given a diverse array of possibilities of learning, they all found a way of connecting, at some point.

The fourth research question asked how the children's formal, informal and non-formal knowledge could be accepted and valued in their schoolwork. We argue that the project worked this interconnection of the children's knowledge and culture with the school and artistic cultures. This connection was always a relevant content of the sessions, especially in the making of the documentation of the session, which strengthened the children's learning from the sessions, connecting it at the same time with their previous (formal, non formal or informal) learning.

Moreover, there were two moments where the interconnection of knowledge and culture was adamant: the class taught by the children and the making of their book. In the class, the children showed a remarkably creative way of looking at information. Not only did they choose a topic that was already a fusion of elements usually seen separately (poetry and zoology) but also their exercises for the class had unusual connections (e.g. the animals' names and sounds with the children and the adults' names) and, lastly, the way they developed their own proposals (for example, in the rap made by one of the groups) showed that, when a topic is approached creatively, the options of studying it are manifold. The making of the book also showed the children's ability of cultural production, in a process that valued their formal and informal knowledge to create a richer narrative. The fact that the children felt that their comments, suggestions, knowledge, inputs and their work was valued, as we discussed before, seemingly increasing their self-esteem and confidence.

One of the artists mentioned that the regularity of the sessions helped to the continuous approach of the contents, even if they were from different subjects or from the children's daily life. Additionally, the artists felt that the sessions breached the distance between the curricular knowledge and the knowledge of the children about themselves. The artists felt that this connection between the children and what they learnt at school was important to help them understand the contents and lead to an increase of the children's interest in the sessions. One of the dancers exemplified with one session about the digestive system, where she noticed that the children were taught and had learnt by heart how to describe the digestive tract, but they did not know where in their bodies those organs were located. Another dancer and one of the teachers also mentioned a session about the digestive tract, which happened in another year and with different children. After this session, the situation was reversed: the children knew where their organs were in their bodies and what functions they had, but could not remember the names of the organs. This example besides showing the importance of the continuation and teamwork between the artistic structure and the school, showed the importance of the project in the creation of a bridge between the children and the school.

The fifth research question concerned the hierarchy between adults and children at school and how it could be minimised. This was an underlying idea of the project, that learning can be seen as a multidirectional process for the children and the adults and that the relationship established between them need not be of the teacher speaking to the many children but could be, like in the circle formed in the beginning of each session, a dialogue between the adults and the children.

One of the strategies deployed by the dance association to create symmetry between everyone involved was to have adults and children performing the same tasks and working together. That was visible in the sessions and especially in REVOADA, where the teachers, their students, former students and the artists shared the decision-making process. However, this does not mean that adults and children had the same power relation. We described the paternalistic behaviours expressed by the

adults in the class taught by the children and the artists described the challenge they felt to work with the children from a non-hierarchical position. The children recognised the power difference between them and the adults but most of them admitted the importance of participating in the shaping of the sessions, that is, of being able to intervene and have a voice in how the sessions developed, how the themes and the contents were approached.

Be it as it may, from the children's perspective there was a range of different ideas about the power of the children participating in the project. One boy disregarded the importance of participating in the shaping of the sessions, explaining that the artists always had a plan that he felt that had to be followed through. This admission of the unavoidability of the children's condition also came from other colleagues, about the class they taught to the adults. The children played the role of the teachers with impeccable detail and enjoyed that experience (some even described how it made them feel more empathy towards their own teachers) but some children also discussed how this role reversal was only momentary, something that would not change the permanent unequal power relation between the children and the adults. This showed that no matter how horizontal the practices of the project, the asymmetry in the relations between adults and children were still present, in the children's view. Be it as it may, interestingly, one girl described the power relations between the adults and the children as changing between them, the teachers and the artists.

The role played by the artists at the school, as they clearly were not students but also were not teachers, was considered to be ambiguous by one girl and by the artists, who saw it as an advantage in the sense that it was one goal of the project, viz. not to act or be like the other adults at school. The girl's comments, about not really understanding what the artists did for a living meant, on the one hand, some lack of communication between the artists, the teachers and children and, on the other, that there is a generalised lack of information regarding the work of researchers and artists.

Regarding the interaction between the teachers and the artists, both groups seemed to have overcome the project's past problems (described above). Both teachers and artists gave a lot of importance to the teamwork between them. That is, they all valued the continuity of work among them: the teachers felt able to delegate part of the contents they had to teach to the project, they all considered of utmost importance designing the sessions together and establishing a continuity between the sessions and the regular classes. It was clear for the teachers that the project was only viable when integrated into their classes and with constant feedback meetings.

The sixth research question described the relationship between the school and the community, and how the project created new ways of interaction between them. This question was particularly addressed in the REVOADA sessions. The sessions took months to evolve and to create their own dynamics. Eventually, they became a meeting point between the children who had already left the school but could still attend them, the teachers, the current students, the neighbours and the

structures of the neighbourhood (shops, restaurants, artistic structures, *etc.*) and the artists. The children enjoyed the sessions and the teachers and the artists recognised the project had an important impact on the families, making them participate more at school and in their children's education, creating a network between the school and the community.

One of the artists, mentioned the importance of time for the complexity of REVOADA and the artists described how REVOADA was collaboratively emergent, as mentioned before, how it was not fixed and was developed as it went on. This flexibility had the positive side of allowing for the complexity that was eventually created in REVOADA, but it also meant that the project had fragile roots, that it was easily susceptible to change, as we will discuss further on. The complexity, due to the amount of people and activities it involved, of the REVOADA sessions grew, eventually culminating in an outdoors sleepover. As one of the artists said, this complexity was built on the verge of impossibility. Several factors combined led to this near impossibility of the sessions: the participation (in the beginning the sessions were on Saturdays but still managed to attract the children's and even the teachers' attendance), the location (inhabiting the ruins of an empty building with children, with no insurance or authorisations written by their parents could have been problematic, plus the ruins themselves could have limited the people's action in the space), the logistics (sleeping in a public square with children, with their families and their teachers). During the last year of the fieldwork, the verge of impossibility was always transposed and the REVOADA sessions created very interesting dynamics.

Conclusions from the fieldwork

Our fieldwork consisted of participant observation of the sessions of three years of the project THE BODY AT SCHOOL, during which I took notes on a field journal and gathered visual data (photos, videos and drawings). At the end of that time, I interviewed the participants of the project and selected episodes for an in-depth analysis of the project's dynamics.

Children's bodies, hybrid between nature and culture (Prout, 2000) are at the base of their social life and experiences as children are embodied beings whose body is a political field (Foucault, 1975). Twenty-seven years after publication of the Children's Rights Convention, children participation is still not widespread. This thesis was done under the Childhood Studies approach: it considered the children as active social actors and they actively collaborated in our research in two levels. Firstly, because the fieldwork was done on a project called THE BODY AT SCHOOL, where children participated in classes at school (in different ways, as we will discuss again below). Secondly, the children were had a voice in the research we did about the project, as they were interviewed and they interpreted their own drawings about the project.

In the project *THE BODY AT SCHOOL*, the children learnt curricular, pedagogical, artistic and social contents, stimulating moments of interconnection between the children's knowledge and cultures and the school and artistic cultures. To the project's learning approach the pleasure and confidence the children got from learning was important, as was the encouragement of their intervention in the classes. The project, we argued, created a network of care and affection around the children. The open-ended exercises valued the children's personality and knowledge and the dialectic way the sessions were built made the children responsible for their participation in the sessions. And that, together with the fact that the proposed exercises were very different from their regular classes, meant that the children's body as project (Christensen, 1999, 2000) experienced a vast array of learning situations, multiplying their possibilities to establish a connection with the school and the curricular contents. We gave examples of situations where the project helped to bridge a gap between the children and the adults' worlds and this broad possibility for learning helped particularly with the inclusion of the foreign children and of the children with learning difficulties.

For example, the project's sessions helped the children create links between the somatic (what Christensen defines the adult perspective, that sees the child as an entity, a unity, but it does so through the separation, distinction, of the body in its parts) and the incarnate (defined by Christensen as the way children experience their bodies as fluid, permeable to the environment as well as to interactions with others) perspectives of the body.

The sessions of the project, we argue, were done in the zone of proximal development defined by activity theory (or the expansive cycle defined by Engstrom, 1999). That happened because the content, i.e. that what was studied, was defined, internalised and, through discussion, brainstorming and studying, a new model for activity was designed and implemented in each session. During the sessions themselves, the way the children intervened also followed the pattern of an expansive cycle. The contents and the activity proposals were explained to the children, who often suggested small changes to the exercises. Listening to what the children had to say meant to welcome uncertainty. Hence, the sessions themselves had plasticity, allowing for the children's activity to change what had been planned, also creating a new model for activity, sometimes different from what had been foreseen. Finally, if we focus on the individual child, we can discuss if during the process of learning experienced in the sessions they also go through an expansive cycle, leading to the acquisition of new knowledge (and the ability to transform it into a communicating object).

We hypothesised if by deconstructing the usual body posture of the children in the classroom they became more active in their process of learning. Indeed, the children considered their regular classes to be boring, they recognised that there they were assigned a passive role, unlike in the sessions of the project where the collaboratively emergent nature of the sessions gave the children a sense of empowerment. Because in the sessions, the children felt that they learnt as they played, they

were more relaxed and it enhanced episodic learning and memory (in the same way that was discussed by Lengel and Kuczala, 2010: 23-29, the brain notices and recalls the context where new knowledge is acquired when it learns something new).

We discussed how the project created a network of care and affection around the children and one thing that was very important to support this network was the connection created by the project between the school and the community. Sarmiento (2001) defended a simultaneous movement from the school to the community and vice-versa and, in a later work (Sarmiento, 2003b), he has addressed how the school should be considered as being part of a larger community, which also has responsibility for the learning of the children; the artists from the dance association described the same thing. According to Sarmiento (2003b), a school connected to its community should promote the following: cooperative work; a network within the community; active participation in the decision-making processes, starting with the children; a renovation of tradition; a friendly administration inside schools and at a state level. All these points have been covered in the project, except for the influence on the state level administration, as we shall discuss further on.

Garcion-Vautor (2003) described the rituals (a repetition of gestures and words) that mark the school culture. The sessions of the project THE BODY AT SCHOOL had the ritualistic repetition of a structure that served a similar purpose, it signalled to the children that something different, with rules different than their everyday classes, was about to start. This led to the recognition, by the children, of the sessions as a separate moment in their routine. This moment was finite: that is, the behavioural, relational and hierarchical changes brought along by the sessions were temporary. One strategy of the artists to guarantee a duration of the sessions was through documentation (a piece of work produced by the children at the end of each session). The documentation from the sessions was a way of condensing what the children had done and learnt in those ninety minutes and was also an anchor to the teachers, a link between the regular classes and the sessions of the project. Even if limitedly (because, in a larger timeframe, the project would always be temporarily restricted), the documentation ensured the continuation of the project.

This perspective recognised that the adults and the children are different and have different power relations, but it also admitted that power relations are not fixed (Christensen, 2004) and both are actors in a network of relationships (Prout, 2002). This view was present in every moment of the project but it was particularly evident in the class taught by the children, in the making of the book and in the REVOADA sessions. As mentioned before, in the sessions, the fact that adults and children performed the same tasks was important to create the ethical symmetry (Christensen and Prout, 2002) between them, but the children realised that the network of relationships (Prout, 2002) between them and the adults was not stable and that, just like there were temporary moments where this symmetry tangible, in most part of their lives at school, there was a permanent power difference

between them and the adults. Prout (2000a) described the tension between control and self-realisation lived by the children in their lives. The children in the project's sessions also experienced this same tension between being allowed to exercise some degree of self-realisation but at the same time, feeling that that adults remained "in charge". Nevertheless, the children subverted this situation and created shifts in the relationship with the adults of the project, for example, inverting their roles when the children became their teachers, and by their involvement and participation in the project overall.

Knowing that this asymmetry amongst the children and between the children and the adults involved in the project was impossible to erase (notably the differences of ethnicity, class, gender or development), the project made use of artistic exercises to reduce these effects to a minimum. In that sense, it created an approximation to the ideal speech situation (Habermas, 2010/2009), which was acknowledged by the children, who described and valued aspects of the project such as its ability to integrate the children. However, we have also argued that, as Habermas himself wrote, there is no society where an ideal speech situation, based in pure communicative action, may occur. To exemplify this, we described the moments when this tension between proposing a utopian relationship among the people in the project and reflecting, through the actions of the adults and the children, the unjust society that we live in.

In relation to the neighbourhood, in Mouraria, most of the buildings where the children that took part in our fieldwork lived were old and in need of renovation, and many of the children were used to playing outside rather than indoor. Despite the fact that, nowadays, adults are increasingly protective of the children against risk (Christensen and Mikkelsen, 2008: 114), the children in Mouraria move around with very little adult supervision. However, the children had very little knowledge of the city outside of their neighbourhood and admired their colleagues who knew the city beyond Mouraria's borders (for example, the children's stories for the book that happened in Lisbon were located in Mouraria, or very near). Zeiher (2003) discussed how the children live their lives from one island to the other, in a process she called "insularisation" of children's spaces. In a way, for the children, Mouraria was also an island separate from the rest of the city that allowed the children to have a certain degree of freedom but at the same time they limited themselves to the neighbourhood's borders. We argue that, as what is happening in Mouraria with the creation of a gentrified multicultural "island", separate from the rest of the city (Menezes, 2011), for the children Mouraria has also become an island, but one that they have conquered into a very large children's space.

Moreover, during most of the time of our fieldwork, in Mouraria there were very few places for children. There was one public playground, in a bad location and poorly equipped, that the children seldom used. Due to the streets being very narrow, the circulation of cars in the neighbourhood is

rather limited. All this leads to the children using the streets and public squares as one big playground, something the project incorporated, particularly in REVOADA. An important innovation of the project, hence, was connecting the children's use of the streets of the neighbourhood with their school, their teachers and the other school staff to what they learnt. In the beginning, the REVOADA sessions were something different from the sessions at school but, with time, the two different types of sessions came together, until eventually in that year the sessions of the project that would usually have happened inside the classroom happened in the public square. The project, we argue, managed to combine the children's emplaced knowledge with spatial knowledge (Christensen, 2003). In this thesis we have shown how the children's collective actions transformed places that were not originally designed for children into children's spaces (Rasmussen, 2004).

The sessions happening frequently and being a continuity of the classes was fundamental for providing the children with the intended vast array of possibilities for learning. This widening of the scope of learning activities was also enforced by the connection between artistic and curricular contents and by the fact that the exercises proposed to the children were open-ended exercises, where there was not only one correct answer. As discussed in the first chapter, the brain is continuously growing and its growth is triggered by stimulation. We hypothesised if providing the children with an additional form of learning that they normally would not have access to in schools, as the project did, would stimulate the brain in different ways than usual and if this could have a repercussion in learning. Using information from the mirror neurons, we wondered in particular if movement exploration and role-playing also provided additional mechanisms to help the children in the learning process. Also according to the data from neurosciences explained in the first chapter, enabling a connection of positive emotions to learning can help creating a somatic marker that, in turn, can create a positive feedback mechanism to learning that content. We did not conduct any tests that have allowed us to answer these questions, but these are examples of connections that could be established between social studies and natural sciences to search for the included middle in Childhood Studies as suggested by Prout (2005).

The children gave a lot of importance to having a say in the control of time, as had been discussed by Christensen and James (2001) and which, according to Foucault (1975) is one of the means of controlling children activity at school. Christensen (2002) had also described the importance for the children of being able to plan their own time and in the project *THE BODY AT SCHOOL*, the children appropriated the management of time or its co-management. Just as it happened in the study by Christensen and James (2001), the children recognised that at school they normally had little control over the use of time and in their interviews highlighted the importance of having that power. Sharing the control over time is an important way of sharing the management of a project with children.

The frequency and continuity of the sessions showed the importance of a deep group work between the teachers and the artists. According to Escudero (2010), any project to improve education is not possible to apply unless the teachers value it and assume it as their own. Corsaro and Molinari (2000) defined the development of the trust of the adult gatekeepers and particularly being accepted by the teachers and children (Corsaro and Molinari, 2000: 182) as an essential step in a research. In the case of the intervention that we studied in our thesis, this relationship built on trust was established not only between the teachers, the children and me; but also between them and the artists from the dance association, provoking changes in the habitus (Bourdieu, 1984) of everyone involved. Teachers and artists alike considered the feedback meetings fundamental, and their nonexistence was pointed out in the evaluation of the first phase of the project to be a cause for the ending of the project. The teachers hence proved they gave importance to a project that, according to them, gave their students different experiences than what they would have access to if they only relied on their classes. We think that our fieldwork was an example of one of the exceptions predicted by Roldão (2005: 20) in her study on the transfer of knowledge and practices between the academia and schools. According to her (Roldão, 2005: 19), the universes of the teachers and the academia meet in three moments: when the people studying to become teachers attend university, when the teachers attend postgraduate degrees and when university teachers participate in Continuous Professional Development events for teachers at school. Those are moments when the educational knowledge is discussed between the two groups, but there are, according to Roldão (2005: 20) exceptions to this generalisation, when the teachers and the academics work together questioning, theorising and researching with elements from both communities working together, as it happened in this thesis.

The artists had to balance how they structured the project with what was considered suitable for a primary school. They moved between the interstices of what was possible and what was allowed, because they always knew they had to be accepted by the teachers and by the school. This interstitial characteristic of the project made it susceptible to change, but also allowed for its complexity. The strict collaboration between the artists and the teachers was also another fragile aspect of the project. By the end of the third year of our fieldwork, both teachers who were involved with the project changed to two different schools. Even though shortly after the end of the fieldwork the project *THE BODY AT SCHOOL* ended, we argue that the project still continued in different ways. The documentation produced was still in the classrooms or had been offered to the children, who explained in their interviews that they carried on doing some of the activities of the project on their own. Besides, the teachers, after leaving the school, continued using some of the strategies of the project, which also had a lasting impact on the artists.

Nonetheless, the fragility of the project was paralleled by the precarity of the lives of the people involved in it. Not only were the children in a constant migration, entering and leaving the school following their parents migrations, as were the teachers, but also the artists, who lived in very unstable working conditions. But the precarity of the system is deeper and also involved the two structures of the project: the artistic association, which got its budget drastically cut, and the school, which will soon close down.

On a final note, one of the artists that worked in the project in its early stages mentioned it was too ambitious for the dance association's structure to have as one of its indirect goals to change public schooling, while at the same time remaining a small, independent structure working from outside of the system. The evaluation of the first stage of the project (Craveiro and Lopes, 2007, Lopes and Craveiro, 2008) described exactly the same and that was one aspect of the project that did not change over time and that, together with its fragility, led to its ending.

Christensen and Mikkelsen (2011) concluded from their research (discussed in Chapter 1) that the success of the action of the girls they worked with in building a place of their own depended on the sustainability of the places that were produced by them and of the alliances and connections that they created. We can extend their conclusion to the project THE BODY AT SCHOOL. Although taking part of the project was, as I have discussed, a very intense experience for the artists, the teachers and the children, I feel that the dance association did not build alliances and connections with the stable elements of their interaction. The teachers, the children, the artists and even the school itself turned out to be ephemeral. What remained stable in all these interactions over time was the school's direction, the dance association's direction and the school's helping staff. I feel that the dance association should have made the effort to gain legitimacy, at a bureaucratic level, to continue the project, or at least some kind of interaction with the school. It could have done so by creating an official contract with the school's direction, or even with the Ministry of Education, but instead they chose an adhocratic approach, which, as we have mentioned before, made the project very vulnerable to end at any moment. Additionally, as far as we noticed, there was no attempt to articulate of the project THE BODY AT SCHOOL with other alternative educational and artistic projects implemented in Portugal or internationally, which, in an age of fast and widespread communication and social networking, could have helped making the project more visible and sustainable.

In September 2014 I went to the school and was surprised to see one "grounded" girl missing playtime, sitting at a desk and copying repeatedly (one hundred times) a sentence sanctioning her bodily behaviour in the playground. She was sitting in a desk in a room through which all the other children had to pass by, on their way to and from the playground. In the last year of our fieldwork, this girl was in second grade and she was a cousin of one of the boys from the third grade class. She

did not attend the project's sessions but she did join REVOADA. She was being punished for making a headstand in a break in the playground, the one place at school where she was supposed to have some freedom of movement. Christensen, James and Jenks (2001), in a work addressed in Chapter 1, discuss this form of punishment, where discipline is enforced through the public exposure of the bodies of the children who did not follow the rules, who are consequently placed apart from their colleagues with their bodies are temporally and spatially restricted. In their study, like in the punishment we witnessed, the child who did not follow protocol saw the privilege of playtime being withdrawn and was not able to join their friends during that period. For her children, time stopped, as did her body (2001: 220-221), stuck between the battlefield of punishment and discipline (Christensen, James and Jenks, 2001: 203). In this case, the punishment was even more exaggerated because the offence did not happen during class time, it happened in the playground, during a school break. I had never witnessed anything similar to this during the years of the fieldwork, and I think it represents, in a way, the poor long-term impact the project might have had in the school (regardless of the long-term impact we think it did have on the teachers, the artists and the children involved).

Methodology reconsidered

To provide a thick (Geertz, 1973) and polyphonic (Clifford, 1988) description of the reality here studied, I used different methodological tools to generate the data (Graue and Walsh, 2003). I based my description on the maximum number of different sources of material, which were: statistical and academic data about the neighbourhood; my field journal to describe the scheduling, planning and dynamics of the project; episodes that were chosen to illustrate particular aspects of the project and interviews to the children and adults. To describe the five episodes, I used the texts written by the researcher and by the children, drawings made by the children, photographs and videos. In the chapters analysing the interviews I used my field journal to create a profile of the people interviewed and analysed the transcripts of the interviews and the drawings made by the children at the end of their interviews.

In order to allow a more fluid reading of this thesis, because we used extensively visual data, we opted to present a combination of images that, as separate tiles, worked together to create a larger mosaic. Separately, each image-tile depicted a moment of the session and, as a whole, the mosaic illustrated the whole scene. This was particularly relevant in the use of videos, from which we selected frames to create these visual compositions. This choice, we feel, allowed for an interesting way to integrate the visual data with information from other sources.

This effort of constant data triangulation was present throughout this whole thesis. However, like in any research project, our conclusions are limited by three questions: were the results described an outcome of the process we took as case study or to other events? Were there noteworthy events that we missed? Were there effects of the project under scrutiny that were felt in dimensions we did not study? These questions cannot be fully answered, but the use of a vast array of sources of information allowed us to build a more complete vision of the reality under study to reduce the level of noise in our sample and to, in the most complete way possible, answer our questions.

Suggestions for further research and implications for policy

The artistic and educational project that we studied in this thesis diagnosed a need for a change in the public school system in Portugal. Such a change should happen in order to the children being seen as co-creators of knowledge, as engaged participants in their own lives, and to comprehend different learning approaches. Specifically, we recommended approaches that allow the children to explore actively the curricular contents they must learn, in a classroom where children participation is valued and children's bodies are not restrained. The project we studied proposed moments with characteristics such as the ones I have just described, but these occurred during a very limited part of the children's schedule.

In a society where the schooling levels are recovering from a structural delay and the educational levels are still in need of improvement, all strategic tools should be used in order to improve the children's school results and interest in school, especially in a neighbourhood such as Mouraria, where the people have an even lower level of studies and a higher illiteracy rate than the country's average. As Sarmiento (2003) summarised, the social classes with more power and social status essentially define school culture and children from lower classes are distant from such a culture, having more difficulty learning it. To avoid this inequality, we argue that projects such as the one we described, that bring together the children's and the adults' worlds, should be implemented. In order to do so, teacher formation would also be necessary and the current intensive level of examination the teachers and the students face should be removed or limited, so that in their classrooms the children have the time to explore their self interest, valuing their different forms of knowledge.

It would be interesting to study the impacts of an educational project with similar characteristics but that would happen during the whole time of the children's curricular hours. Additionally, in this thesis we described how there was the beginning of a relationship between the school and different people living and working in the neighbourhood. It would be important to study the consequences of a more engaged exchange between the neighbourhood and the school.

In this thesis we studied one project developed by a small artistic association in a neighbourhood of Lisbon, in the future, as a continuation of the work now presented, I would like to study other projects with similar characteristics that have been or are being developed both nationally and internationally, which could not only provide interesting information about their development and conclusions, but also be important for their stability.

Lopes (2002) defended a sociology that scientifically studies affections and emotions, as well as practicing a sociology with affections and emotions, which is what we have tried to do in this study. On this topic, I suggest it would be important to further clarify the sensory motor pathways involved in learning, that is, the biology of the relationship between the central nervous system, the rest of the body and its surroundings in a process of learning and how it relates to a possibly positive feedback created from pleasurable activities.

This thesis described a situation that had already been diagnosed by Nóvoa (2002), who said that, because associations and schools act in different timeframes, their work together is fragile. That happens because, as we have also described in this thesis, the associations have a very precarious existence, based on short-term projects and decisions, whereas the schools base their action in a larger timeframe. Hence, one recommendation we have for policy making is to reinforce the social structures that work supporting official education, so that they can develop sustained and sustainable partnerships with the schools. Secondly, we also agree with Nóvoa (2002) in that the space of the school should be extended to other educational “partners” and, for that to happen, the teachers should be prepared for their relationship, not only with the students, but also with the local communities. Thirdly, we experienced, in the attempt to get the official authorisations required for this study, the immobility of bureaucracy, from the school and from the Ministry of Education. Thus, we strongly recommend, as Sarmiento (2003b) did, that the administration of schools and at a Ministry level, becomes more friendly and de-bureaucratized.

Regarding the city where our fieldwork was conducted, it is important to know that Lisbon does not fulfil the criteria to be considered a Child Friendly City. It would be an important public policy to change that situation to improve the quality of life of the children living and visiting the city. For example, children should be heard when their living spaces (cities, neighbourhoods) go under big changes, like what is going on in Mouraria at the moment, and at the very least, their opinions and wishes should be taken into account in the construction of places for children.

This thesis is, by its nature, a piece of collaborative research that was only possible thanks to the interaction and investment of everyone that accepted c.e.m's challenge. It is, on the other hand, a research into possible approaches to education, focused on an example that can be encouraging for (and improved by) other experiences in the area, rather than a description of a static and buried event in the past. Our goal, therefore, is to share the data from the fieldwork with everyone involved

in the project, and also to discuss it with people from outside of academia. Hence, our plan is now to edit a film about the project, to make a leaflet summarising the thesis to the students who collaborated in the research and who were a part of the project, and to write an extended summary of the project for the artists and teachers interested. We will be doing this for a matter of fairness: this work does not belong solely to one researcher, and the participants have the right to see the results of their collaboration. We will be doing it as well for a matter of memory: far too often, projects are forgotten after one year or two. It is relevant, we think, that a project of this kind becomes part of the collective memory and the collective records of a school and of a community. In this case especially, where the school may be closed very soon, it is important to have a material record of what happened in these school years in Mouraria. And finally, we will be doing it for a matter of future: school teachers are not usually academics, and the barrier between what happens within the walls of a university and the daily life of a primary school is not always easy to transpose. This work will have been worth nothing if it does not serve to encourage teachers as well to try different approaches to learning in their classes. On the other hand, it will have won a great victory if it succeeds to invite schools, teachers, children and communities to discuss how to encourage children to learn in different ways, to feel more integrated, and to become more aware of their bodies and the power they have to intervene in the world around them.

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